

Political-Organisational Report
[Adopted at the 20th Congress of the CPI (M)
April 04-09, 2012]

Part I

POLITICAL REVIEW REPORT

The four year period since the 19th Congress was marked by sharp changes in the political situation. Within three months of the Party Congress, we had to withdraw support to the UPA government. After the Lok Sabha elections in May 2009, the UPA-II government was formed. Its three year tenure so far has been marked by its determination to push ahead with neo-liberal policies. There has been an unprecedented spell of price rise of food items and other essential commodities during this time. The neo-liberal policies have had its adverse effect on the peasantry and the rural poor. There has been a spate of corruption scandals which have engulfed the UPA government. The UPA government is still pursuing a pro-US foreign policy which has hindered the effective use of growing trend towards multipolarity in India's interests. The BJP has been trying to cash-in on the discontent engendered by the problems of price rise and corruption. But it is yet to regain its credibility among wide sections of the people.

The period saw the Party and the Left suffering two successive electoral reverses – first in the Lok Sabha elections followed by the Assembly elections in West Bengal and Kerala. There was a new political situation after the Lok Sabha election. There was a concerted attack on the Party in West Bengal. This required us to formulate the political-tactical line to meet the situation. For this, an extended meeting of the Central Committee was held in August 2010 in Vijayawada. It adopted a political resolution which we have been following.

Political Tactical Line of the 19th Congress

"1.1 The Political Resolution of the 19th Congress had set out four major tasks to be taken up in the coming period. They are:

"(i) The Party should ceaselessly struggle to defend national sovereignty, resist the neo-liberal policies and defend the interests of the working people; it should work for alternative policies.

"(ii) The Party should continue the efforts to isolate the BJP-RSS combine who spearhead the communal forces.

“(iii) The Party should mobilise all the patriotic and democratic sections to thwart the US designs to convert India into a strategic ally.

“(iv) The Party should champion the cause of the dalits, tribal people, women, minorities and other oppressed sections for social justice as part of the Left and democratic programme.”

“1.2 Among the current tasks spelt out was the priority to be given for developing the independent strength and expanding the political base of the Party. For this, the Party was to take up class and mass issues to develop movements and struggles. The Party was to continue to adopt tactics for isolating and defeating the BJP. It would not enter into any alliance or united front with the Congress.

“1.3 Further the Party would maintain relations with all non-Congress secular parties for developing united struggles and joint actions on common issues. The Party was to work for the building of a third alternative.

“1.4 Left unity should be strengthened and the Party should have a clear perspective for building movements and platform of the Left and democratic forces by taking up the issues of the basic classes.”

Withdrawal of Support To The UPA Government

The decision to withdraw support to the UPA government in July 2008 was correct and warranted. We could not continue to extend support to a government which had grossly violated the Common Minimum Programme and gone ahead with the implementation of the nuclear deal. As a Communist Party, we could not facilitate the implementation of the nuclear deal which was the key factor in the Indo-US strategic alliance. We withdrew support when the Congress betrayed the agreement not to proceed to finalise the IAEA Safeguards Agreement to operationalise the deal.

By the end of the second year of the UPA government in 2006, the Party and the Left were opposing the government’s failure to tackle the agrarian crisis and the price rise of essential commodities and conducting campaigns and movements against the government’s policies. The Left parties suspended their participation in the UPA-Left Coordination Committee in July 2005 on the question of disinvestment in BHEL, a navaratna company. After going back, in November 2006, the Polit Bureau decided that we need not revive the functioning of UPA-Left Coordination Committee. The forging of

the strategic alliance with the United States and the nuclear deal were a flagrant violation of the CMP. Finally, when the UPA government decided to go ahead with the nuclear deal with the United States despite repeated warnings, the Party decided to withdraw support to the government.

The UPA government began entering into a strategic alliance with the US which was not envisaged in the Common Minimum Programme. Violating the CMP, the Government signed a defence cooperation agreement with the US in June 2005 during the visit of the defence minister Pranab Mukherjee to Washington. This ten year agreement was unprecedented in the history of the country and it provided the framework for a comprehensive military tie-up. This was followed by the Joint Statement by President Bush and the Indian Prime Minister during Manmohan Singh's visit to Washington in July 2005. This spelt out the areas of strategic cooperation including defence, economic, political and nuclear. The Indo-US nuclear deal was to cement the strategic alliance. In December 2006, the US Congress adopted the Hyde Act which set out the terms and conditions that India would have to follow if it wanted nuclear cooperation.

The nuclear deal emerged as the touchstone for the alliance. The US was offering a quid pro quo – nuclear cooperation and an end to the sanctions, in return for India's cooperation with the US in the strategic and military spheres. This was a dangerous development. The Party began a resolute struggle against the strategic alliance with the US with the nuclear deal as the centre-piece.

Three months after the adoption of the political-tactical line, a major change took place with the withdrawal of support to the UPA government by the CPI(M) and the Left parties. The Political Resolution of the 19th Congress endorsed the decision of the Party and the Left to do *"whatever necessary to block the agreement"* as it was the cementing factor for the Indo-US strategic alliance. At the same time, the assessment given in the Political Resolution was that the Congress leadership had decided not to proceed further with the operationalisation of the agreement. The Resolution stated: *"Faced with the political consequences of such a confrontation with the Left, the Congress and the UPA decided not to proceed further with the operationalisation of the agreement."* (Para 2.32)

In the Political-Organisational Report of the 19th Congress, which reviewed the implementation of the tactical line, it was stated that:

“The government has been holding discussions with the IAEA from November onwards. Till the end of February five rounds of talks have been held. It is only when the government brings the outcome of the talks to the committee that the Left will take the stand that they should not proceed further to finalise the safeguards agreement or go to the Nuclear Suppliers Group. The successful conduct of the struggle to block the nuclear deal should help the Party and the Left to rally other anti-imperialist forces to go forward with the struggle to prevent the strategic alliance with the United States”.

The assessment made in the Party Congress did not prove to be correct. We have to review the events that took place and the stand taken. When the government ignored the objections of the Left and went ahead and signed the 123 Agreement in July 2007, the Party took the stand that the agreement should not be operationalised. Hence, the next step for proceeding with the agreement, i.e. going to the International Atomic Energy Agency for negotiating a safeguards agreement should not be undertaken. The Central Committee had met on August 24-25, 2007 and authorized the PB to take whatever steps necessary to block the agreement, including withdrawal of support.

After six rounds of talks in the Committee set up to negotiate with the left on the nuclear deal, the Government by end September was insisting on going to the IAEA for talks. At the CC meeting held in September 29-October 1, 2007, the decision to withdraw support if the government went ahead to the IAEA was reiterated. But along with that it was also decided to try and postpone a confrontation with the government through negotiations. It was on this basis that after negotiations held with the Congress leadership, an understanding was reached on November 10. It was agreed that the government would hold talks with the IAEA but would not initial or sign any draft. The draft would be placed for consideration before the joint committee and if the Left objects, they would not proceed to get it ratified by the Board of Governors of the IAEA. But the Prime Minister and the Congress leadership unscrupulously went back on their word.

In May 2008, the government concluded its negotiations with the IAEA for the draft safeguards agreement. It then insisted that it had to be sent to the Board of Governors for approval. The Congress leadership refused to abide by the understanding arrived at with the Left that they will not go to the IAEA Board of Governors for approval of the agreement, if the Left does not agree to it.

The Congress won over the Samajwadi Party which had been opposing the nuclear deal. After that, the government was prepared to go ahead with the IAEA agreement and face the withdrawal of support by the Left. In view of this situation the Polit Bureau met on June 29, 2008 and took the decision to withdraw support whenever the government announced its decision to go ahead. The Prime Minister while traveling abroad on July 7, 2008 announced that they would go to the Board of Governors of the IAEA for ratification of the agreement. The Left parties met on July 8 and decided to withdraw support on July 9, 2008.

The Central Committee endorsed the decision of the Polit Bureau to withdraw support in its meeting held on June 29, 2008. After the 15th Lok Sabha election held in May 2009, the Central Committee reviewed the decision and summed it up as follows: *"The decision to withdraw support when the UPA government decided to go to the Board of Governors of the IAEA for approval of the safeguards agreement was correct and there was no other option but to do so."* After the withdrawal of support, the Left parties gave a call for a nationwide campaign to explain our stand on the nuclear deal, the reasons for withdrawal of support and the government's failure to curb price rise. We conducted an extensive campaign amongst the people between August and September 2008. The review of the election campaign pointed out that the nuclear deal was an issue which was difficult to explain to the people. Though we tried to link it to the overall strategic alliance with US imperialism, it could not be made an issue in the election to rally the people around the stand of the Party. We could not succeed in bringing out the linkage between the domestic economic policies and foreign policy and its adverse impact on the people.

The Election Review of the Central Committee summed up this point as follows:

"The decision to withdraw support to the government when it decided to go ahead to operationalise the nuclear deal was correct. It was based on our understanding that the Party cannot support a government which is entering into a comprehensive strategic tie up with United States imperialism in which the nuclear deal was as the Party Congress put "the cementing factor". However, we could not mobilise people on the nuclear issue and rally them during the election."

The decision to withdraw support should have been implemented in October-November 2007, when the government had to go to the IAEA for talks. That was the time, any chance existed for blocking the deal. Not doing so at that time was a mistake. Given the deep

commitment of the Prime Minister and the Congress leadership to the Indo-US nuclear deal and the strategic alliance with the US, they preferred to break with the Left rather than jeopardize the nuclear deal. The PB and the CC underestimated the determination and the capacity of the ruling classes and US imperialism to pursue the nuclear deal as part of the strategic alliance. We also overestimated our own strength and capacity to influence events. Allowing the government to go to the IAEA for talks and the expectation that the Congress would abide by an understanding not to proceed with the operationalisation of the deal was wrong.

Subsequent developments including the close military collaboration with the United States, the continuing pro-US orientation on the foreign policy, growing American influence in domestic economic policies and the obnoxious Civil Nuclear Liability Bill, which is the last step in the implementation of the nuclear deal, have confirmed the correctness of the decision to withdraw support.

Electoral Tactical Line In Lok Sabha Elections

The Central Committee meeting at Kochi in January 2009 concretized the electoral-tactical line. It was formulated as follows:

"We should call for the defeat of the BJP and the NDA alliance to ensure that the communal forces are kept out of power at the Centre. The BJP's communal approach to terrorism should also be exposed. The campaign should attack the UPA government's anti-people economic policies and the harmful consequences of the strategic alliance with the United States for national sovereignty. We should call for the defeat of the Congress and the rejection of the UPA in the election. We should demand alternative policies to protect the jobs and livelihood of the workers, peasants and all sections of the working people. The Left parties alongwith the secular parties should work together to make a non-Congress, non-BJP alternative realizable."

Following this, the Central Committee while finalizing the Election Manifesto called for an alternative political platform which would work for the formation of an "alternative secular government".

Review of Election & Electoral-Tactical Line

The self-critical review made on the implementation of the political-tactical line summed up the experience as follows:

"It was necessary for us to enter into electoral understandings with

non-Congress secular parties wherever possible and give the call along with them to defeat the Congress and the BJP. However, the state-level alliances that were forged could not be projected as a credible electoral alternative at the national level.

"The call for an alternative secular government comprising non-Congress, non-BJP parties was a slogan which could not be believed by the people. It would have been more appropriate to call for an alternative by strengthening the Left and the non-Congress-non-BJP combination that we had forged."

The review pinpointed the two factors. Firstly, the alliance forged with the non-Congress secular parties in three or four states could not be the basis for projecting a national level electoral alternative. Secondly, we should not have called for the formation of an "alternative secular government" and should have stuck instead to the call for strengthening the non-Congress, non-BJP alternative.

The electoral-tactical line worked out by the Party of rallying the non-Congress secular parties helped in weakening the BJP-led NDA. The BJD left the NDA in Orissa and cooperated with the non-Congress secular parties. The BJP was also left with no worthwhile ally in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu and Orissa. This contributed to the defeat of the BJP-led alliance.

The UPA was able to win the election though it did not get a majority. It won 262 seats, of which the Congress got 206. Various parties like the SP, BSP, RJD and JD (S) extended support to the government. The BJP suffered a second successive defeat. It won 116 seats and the NDA got 159. The CPI(M) and the Left parties suffered a serious reverse. The Party won only 16 seats and the Left parties together got 24.

The setback suffered in West Bengal was analysed in the election review. There was a reduction of 7.42 per cent in the vote share of the Left Front compared to 2004. There was an erosion of support among the rural and urban poor and the middle classes. Apart from the national factors which influenced the people, the state factors have been spelt out in the election review. The reasons were in the political, organizational and government sphere. In Kerala too, the review identified the various factors in the state which led to the success of the Congress-led UDF and the weaknesses in the Party and the LDF. The disunity in the Party leadership and the LDF had an adverse impact on the people. Only in Tripura was the CPI(M) and the Left Front victorious getting an aggregate of 61.7 per cent of the vote.

New Situation After the Lok Sabha Election

Attack in West Bengal: The post election situation saw a concerted attack against the Party in West Bengal by the Trinamul Congress-led combine in collaboration with the Maoists. 112 comrades were killed in between March 2009 (when the election process began) and September 2009. The Maoists targeted the Party cadres and supporters in West Midnapur, Bankura and Purulia. Imperialist agencies also played a role in the manoeuvres against the CPI(M) and the Left.

The Political Resolution of the 19th Congress had warned that West Bengal, the bastion of the Party and the Left, has come in for special attack. This was due to the prominent role played by the CPI(M) in national politics in opposing the strategic alliance with US imperialism and waging determined struggles to check neo-liberal policies. The CPI(M) had to be weakened and the Left isolated. Hence the targeting of West Bengal.

The election review identified the shortcomings and weaknesses. The Party decided to adopt corrective measures – political, organizational and at the government level – to overcome the situation.

The Central Committee decided that the defence of the movement of Bengal and exposure of the anti-Communist gang-up and the role of the Maoists should be taken for a widespread campaign all over the country and democratic opinion mobilized. The attack in West Bengal is to be seen as an attack on the entire Party.

Extended C.C. Meeting -- Tactical Line

Given the fact that the Party Congress was postponed for a year in view of the assembly elections in West Bengal and Kerala, an extended meeting of the Central Committee was convened to formulate the political-tactical line in the new situation. The Political Resolution adopted at the extended meeting held in Vijayawada in August 2010 spelt out the tactical line to be pursued by the Party.

Unlike in the political-tactical line set out in the 19th Congress, the line now set out was that of opposing the UPA government and defeating the Congress. The Party stressed on the independent role and activities of the Party as the key task to overcome the weakness and strengthen the Party. The struggle to bring about a turn around in West Bengal where we had suffered setbacks gained importance. The forthcoming assembly elections in West Bengal and

Kerala had to be successfully fought. The Vijayawada resolution also called upon the entire Party to go to the people and rally the democratic forces to defend the CPI(M) and the Left in West Bengal to help fight back the attacks. The Party should also wage a determined struggle against the disruptive activities of the Maoists.

The Vijayawada resolution reiterated other aspects of the political line which were there in the 19th Congress resolution viz. (i) the key task is to fight against the whole gamut of neo-liberal policies which are being pursued by the Congress-led UPA government for the past six years since coming into office in 2004. Movements against the neo-liberal policies should be launched at the all India level, in the states and at the local level where the lives of the people are affected. (ii) Communal politics continued to pose a danger. Therefore the struggle against communalism and Hindutva based activities should be carried on. (iii) The Party should step up the opposition to the Indo-US strategic alliance and its various manifestations and mobilise the people for an independent foreign policy and against imperialism. (iv) The Party will champion the rights of the dalits, tribals, minorities, women and other oppressed sections as part of the general democratic platform. (v) The Party should fight against the Congress which is the prime mover of the neo-liberal policies of the UPA government and the Party should fight the BJP which practices communal politics and has a rightwing economic policy. (vi) The Party should stress on the independent role and activities and based on the Left and democratic platform and demands, mobilise the working class, peasantry, agricultural workers and other sections of the working people.

Review of West Bengal & Kerala Assembly Elections

The assembly elections resulted in a serious defeat for the Left Front in West Bengal. In Kerala, the LDF lost narrowly even though it succeeded in retaining substantial mass support. The Central Committee reviewed the assembly election results in June 2011. Some of the main conclusions of the review were as follows:

“Seven successive Left Front governments formed since 1977 have many historical achievements. Among these are land reforms which benefited over 3 million peasants and 1.5 million bargadars (sharecroppers); a decentralized and democratized panchayat system which enabled the involvement of the rural masses in local administration and development that became a model in the country; the firm implantation of democratic rights for the different sections in the working people; the creation of a stable secular administration marked by communal harmony and peace.

“Despite these important gains, the Left Front government was working within the limitations of a bourgeois-landlord system. Notwithstanding these achievements, the limitations and difficulties of working under an overall neo-liberal set-up also became evident.

“The Assembly elections were held in a situation marked by the concerted efforts of the ruling classes and imperialism to weaken the CPI(M) and the Left. These efforts began due to the role played by the Left during the UPA-I government in opposing the neo-liberal policies and the strategic alliance with the United States. They got intensified after the withdrawal of support to the government in July 2008. The ruling classes and imperialist agencies worked to assemble a range of forces to attack the Left in West Bengal, the strongest base of the Left in the country.

“The prolonged rule of the Left Front government for 34 years has led to an accumulation of various negative factors which have impelled the people to vote for change. A preliminary review indicates the reasons why this mood for change occurred. Some of them are as follows:

“(i) There were various shortcomings in the performance of the Left Front government in the recent years. Most of these shortcomings were noted during the Lok Sabha election review. They pertain to the public distribution system, health, education, rural electrification and other developmental and welfare measures. Some of the programmes and schemes were not taken up for implementation. The deficiencies in basic services and their delivery caused discontent among the people.

“(ii) At the political level, there was an all-in-opposition unity ranging from the rightwing forces to the extreme Left. Apart from the TMC combine which included the Congress and the SUCI, forces like the GJM and the Greater Coochbehar movement supported the TMC combine. The TMC-Maoist nexus was in operation. This anti-Left combination gained momentum in the last three years and was seen by sections of the people as an alternative to the Left Front.

“(iii) The Singur and Nandigram events brought the issue of land acquisition to the fore. It was used effectively against the CPI(M) and the Left Front by the TMC-led combine to propagate that the Left Front government would snatch away the lands of the farmers. As the Lok Sabha Election Review of the Central Committee stated: “The TMC-led combine has been effectively using this issue to drive a wedge between the Party and sections of the peasantry”. The administrative and political mistakes in this regard proved costly.

Despite the assurances that none of the lands would be taken without the consent of the people, the campaign against the Party and the Left Front government on this issue contributed to the erosion of support among the rural masses. The Nandigram events and the subsequent police firing alienated sections of the intelligentsia and the middle classes.

“(iv) The organisational aspect is also an important factor. The image of the Party amongst the people has been dented by manifestations of highhandedness, bureaucratism and refusal to hear the views of the people. The existence of corruption and wrong-doing among a small strata of Party leaders and cadres due to the corrosive influence of being a “ruling party” and running the government for a prolonged period was also resented. Links with real estate promoters and other unhealthy elements in some instances have met with an adverse reaction from the people. All these have affected the Party in the elections.

“(v) The erosion of support amongst the working class and the rural and urban poor indicates the failing to consistently take up the class issues. The independent role of the Party and the mass organisations was impaired due to the dependence on the administration.

“(vi) There was a systematic and concerted campaign against the Left Front and the CPI(M) in particular in the mass media controlled by the corporate sector. This sustained campaign over the last three years has influenced a section of the people particularly the middle classes. Identity politics was fostered to weaken the class based unity of the people. This election saw the use of money in a big way, not seen before in West Bengal. Various NGOs and imperialist agencies were active against the Left Front.”

In Kerala, The UDF won the elections to the Kerala Assembly very narrowly. The UDF got 72 seats which is just one more than the majority mark of 71. The LDF got 68 seats which is three short of majority. The LDF polled 44.94 per cent of the vote. This is an increase of 3 per cent compared to the Lok Sabha polls when the LDF got 41.95 per cent. The difference between the UDF and the LDF is only 0.89 per cent.

The elections were held at a time when the image of the Congress-led UPA government was tarnished by the massive corruption scandals and their failure to curb price rise. The corruption issue also rose prominently in Kerala with a former minister being sentenced by the Supreme Court. There was no anti-incumbency feeling among the people. The record of the LDF government with

its pro-people development and comprehensive social welfare measures found appreciation among the people. A notable feature was the support of the working class to the LDF. The coir workers, cashew workers, fisher folk and other sections of the working people voted in large numbers for the Party and the LDF candidates. The UDF benefited from the various caste and religious organisations. There was a Muslim consolidation in favour of the Muslim League in Malappuram district. Here the UDF could win 14 out of the 16 seats. This was one of the reasons for its narrow victory. The review states that we have to chalk out plans regarding work among the Muslim masses. There were some organisational shortcomings which led us to lose some seats with very small margins.

In Tamilnadu, the DMK alliance was routed and there was a sweeping victory for the AIADMK and its electoral partners. The big corruption scandals in which the DMK was embroiled at the Centre and the domination of the Chief Minister's family in various spheres of business evoked widespread anger among the people. Our Party had an electoral understanding with the AIADMK and contested 12 seats. We won in ten of them.

Other Elections

Assembly elections were held in a number of states during the last four years. In Andhra Pradesh and Odisha assembly polls were held along with the Lok Sabha elections in 2009. In Odisha we failed to win a seat even though there was an understanding with the BJD which swept the elections. In Andhra Pradesh, we had an electoral understanding with the TDP. We could win only one seat. In Maharashtra in the assembly elections held in 2009, the Party won 1 seat and lost in the other traditionally strong seat in the Nasik tribal belt. In Assam in the May 2011 elections we failed to win any seat. Earlier we had two seats. In Karnataka and Bihar our Party failed to retain the sole sitting seats we had. In the elections to Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Haryana and the recent round of elections in five states, including Uttar Pradesh and Punjab we could not win a single seat. The only exception has been in Rajasthan where in the 2008 assembly elections, the Party won three seats for the first time. Overall, this electoral performance underlines the continuing weakness of the Party in the states outside West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. There is a decline in our influence and strength in some of the states. There is stagnancy in some.

Weaknesses Identified

We must identify the reasons for this weakness and failure to build and expand the base. The political-tactical line formulated by the Party in the 18th & 19th Congresses stressed the importance of developing the independent role and activities of the Party. One of the key tasks set out was the fight against the adverse effects of the neo-liberal policies on different sections of the people by launching movements and struggles. It is through this that our Party's base can expand. A review of our work in this regard will show that we have not been able to take up this task adequately and develop widespread movements and struggles. The Vijayawada extended meeting of the CC had pointed out that the fight against the neo-liberal policies has to be at two levels. One, at the level of policies of the Centre and concerned state government and second by taking up the various issues among the people concerning their livelihood, land, employment, wages, basic services etc. This is linked to our capacity to develop sustained struggles on local issues. We have been lagging behind in developing such struggles. At the all India level and at the states levels too (outside the strong states) we are not able to conduct movements which are of widespread nature and which attract new sections of the people.

The other aspect concerns how we consolidate the influence from these struggles into the mass organisation and draw those people into the Party's fold. As has been pointed out in earlier Political-Organisational Reports such as the 16th Congress, while the struggles and movements on the economic issues of the people are the foundations for the Party's influence, that alone is not sufficient. It must be accompanied by the political and ideological work of the Party among these sections of the people.

Organising & Developing Struggles After Concrete Study

The political resolution adopted in the Vijayawada extended CC meeting had made some analysis of the impact of the two decades of economic liberalisation on the various classes of Indian society. There has been a differential impact. While inequalities have grown rapidly, there are some sections who have been more adversely impacted. Some sections have benefitted like a section of the middle class. Under the neo-liberal regime a big section of the working class is in the unorganised and informal sector. Those who are on contract work and other irregular forms of employment constitute the bulk of the urban poor. There is also a large section of self-employed persons in the services sector who eke out a subsistence living.

An important area for our further study and chalking out proper tactics is in the agrarian field. Which are the classes and sections which are today most affected by the policies of liberalisation and the intensified exploitation in the countryside. The landlords, big capitalist framers, contractors, moneylenders who constitute the rural rich have intensified the exploitation of the poor peasants, the agricultural workers and the rural poor. We have to identify these sections and build our movements based on them. Only by this can we overcome the lag in developing class and mass movements in the rural areas. The weaknesses and inability to develop widespread and sustained struggles against the neo-liberal policies – the key task in the political line – can be overcome only when we concentrate our work on the vast mass of workers in the unorganised sector along with the organised sector working class; the agricultural workers and the sections of the peasantry worst affected by the agrarian crisis.

The other feature which is relevant in some of the states where our electoral performance is poor is that coupled with our failure to develop the Party in the new areas, the continuous association with the bourgeois-regional parties has eroded our independent base and identity.

Fighting Corruption

The Anna Hazare led movement for a “Jan Lokpal Bill” became a rallying point for a large number of people, mainly from the urban middle class. The exposure of the 2G spectrum and other massive corruption case had aroused widespread anger. The acute problem of corruption from the highest level to the corruption which affects the ordinary people was the basis for this response. The government’s efforts to scuttle the movement, its highhandedness in arresting Anna Hazare before he began his fast in August, galvanized support for the movement.

There is an urgent need for an effective Lokpal law. This would deal with corruption by public servants in various spheres. Our Party has been demanding such a law for a long time. But the Anna Hazare led platform against corruption targeted only politicians. Its anti-political campaign mainly expressed the frustration of the middle classes. The root cause for the massive corruption, the neo-liberal regime, the role of the corporates and the nexus between big business-politician-bureaucrats was ignored.

The Polit Bureau of the Party, came out with a note on what should be there in the Lokpal Bill and how the issue of corruption should be

tackled over, which was released to the press in July 2011. The CPI(M) was the first national party to do so.

The Party emphasized that apart from the Lokpal Bill, there has to be a separate legislation for overseeing the judiciary through the setting up of a National Judicial Commission; electoral reforms are required to curb the use of money power in elections; steps have to be taken to break the big business-politician-bureaucrat nexus and reverse those neo-liberal policies which facilitate the loot of natural resources by the big business and corporates.

The Left parties observed a week-long campaign against corruption from July 15 to 21, 2011 by organising demonstrations, picketing, dharnas and rallies throughout the country. In Kerala, the demonstrations and picketing organised by the LDF saw the participation of tens of thousands of people in all districts. In Tamilnadu, rallies and programmes were organised in around 450 centres. In Tripura, about one lakh people were mobilised in rallies in 68 places. The anti-corruption week was widely observed in Maharashtra. In Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Gujarat, UP, Jharkhand, Delhi, Orissa and MP too the campaign was conducted.

The Left parties along with five other non-Congress secular parties gave a call for an anti-corruption campaign throughout the country on August 23 2011. On this day hundreds of meetings and rallies were held. The Left parties organised a rally before parliament on September 2 to demand an effective Lokpal and other measures against corruption.

The Lokpal Bill presented to parliament was a weak and ineffective one. The CPI(M) submitted a dissent note on the report of the standing committee on the Lokpal Bill. We spelt out our stand in both houses of parliament during the debate. The massive corruption of the Congress-UPA regime has been taken up by the Party and highlighted in our campaigns. At the same time we have also exposed the record of the BJP in the matter of corruption as shown by the notorious case of the Yeddyurappa government in Karnataka. The links of the bourgeois parties with the big bourgeoisie and the neo-liberal policies they adopt make them the repository of corrupt practices.

We rejected the government's motivated propaganda that since the Lokpal Bill has been presented to parliament there cannot be public agitations and protests against it. At the same time we criticized the Anna Hazare led group's efforts to undermine parliament and condemn all political parties as corrupt.

The Party has to continue the campaign and mobilise the people for an effective Lokpal law and for the other steps that are needed to be taken to curb corruption. It is necessary to link this fight against corruption with the struggle to reverse the neo-liberal policies which facilitate the loot of the country by the big business and corporates.

Campaign Against Communalism

The Party has been campaigning against the communal agenda of the BJP/RSS combine. In the states ruled by the BJP, the Party has been opposing the communalization of the administration and education. In this period, there were attacks on the Christian community in Kandmahal district in Orissa and at various places in Karnataka. We campaigned and conducted protests against these attacks. Campaigns have been mounted against the anti-conversion bill and anti-cow slaughter bill targeting the minorities.

At the call of the Central Committee, the Party observed a week against communalism and terrorism between October 30 and November 5, 2008. The issue of terrorist violence by extremist Hindutva elements as revealed by the Malegaon blast was also taken up during this campaign. This campaign was conducted in various states and was extended beyond this period. A notable campaign was in Karnataka where three state level jathas were organized throughout the state and it culminated in a mass rally.

The activities of the communal forces are not confined to the "political field". They influence the people with the communal ideology by their work through social, cultural, and religious institutions and the use of festivals where people gather. The RSS runs a wide network of schools and educational institutions. Muslim communal organisations are also doing so. It is the latent communal consciousness which is developed through this work that feeds the communal politics and support base of the BJP-RSS combine. Our campaigns against communalism are mainly directed at the political agenda of the communal forces and our intervention is mainly at the time of incidents of communal violence. It is necessary to address the continuous activities of the communal organisations in the social and cultural spheres. We should devise ways for doing so and step up our work in these spheres. In this connection, the Kerala state conference decided to step up the intervention in the cultural sphere. It has called for holding more cultural functions, seminars and literary programmes. New clubs will be established wherever cultural and arts clubs do not exist. Annual festivals of the art and cultural institutions will be conducted regularly.

All India Movements & United Protests

Anti price-rise Movement

In the period after the Party Congress, the Party has been constantly taking up the issue of price rise. The Party gave a call for protests against price rise on May 15, 2008 in which five lakh people participated. After the Lok Sabha elections, in August 2009, the Left parties gave a call against the price increase of petrol and diesel. Subsequently, after the National Convention on Price Rise and Food Security organized by the Party in August 2009, the Left parties gave a call for joint state conventions followed by state rallies on the issues of price rise, food security, PDS and drought. Various state level conventions and rallies were held. Upto then, the mobilization was mainly of the supporters and mass base of the Party and the Left.

It is only after the all-India joint rally of the Left parties in Delhi on March 12, 2010 that the anti-price rise movement picked up momentum. The call for the April 8 picketing and court arrest programme and the April 27 hartal call by 13 parties met with a good response. In the April 8 picketing, 20 lakh people participated and the hartal was a good success in at least nine states. The July 5 hartal against the second successive increase in petroleum prices had the widest sweep all over the country. This was the biggest protest action in the recent years.

The Party and the Left parties have been conducting protests whenever there have been increase in prices of petroleum products like in January and May 2011.

Working Class & Other Struggles

During the last four years there have been three general strikes of the working class. There was a general strike called on August 20, 2008 by the central trade unions except the INTUC and the BMS. The central trade unions came together to hold a national convention in September 2009 in which both the INTUC and the BMS participated. Subsequently, there was a strike on September 7, 2010 in which a call was given by the central trade unions including the INTUC with the exception of the BMS. The joint platform of all the central trade unions conducted a jail bhara in November 2011. This was followed by a general strike on February 28, 2012 in which for the first time all the central trade unions including the INTUC and the BMS participated. All the successive strike struggles have shown wider participation of the workers at every stage. While there

has been definite progress made in developing the united struggles of the working class, still the overall sweep and intensity of the movements and struggles are still inadequate to counter the neo-liberal policies.

While there have been struggles against land acquisition, for land pattas, for adequate prices for crops and wages for agricultural workers in different places, overall we have not been able to widen and intensify the struggles in the agrarian sector.

Anti-Imperialist Campaign

On foreign policy, the Party has been consistently opposing all steps to strengthen the Indo-US strategic alliance. The Left parties' called for a protest against the nuclear surrender on September 26, 2008 and subsequently observed 'Black Day' on October 4 when the 123 agreement was signed. The Party gave a call against the holding of the joint naval exercise with the US – the Malabar Exercises. The Central Committee called for a protest day on October 24, 2008 in the coastal states of Kerala, Karnataka, Goa and Maharashtra. There was a good participation in the protests in Kerala in various centres. The Party opposed the End User agreement, the Civil Nuclear Liability Bill and the stand taken against Iran, once again, in the IAEA.

The Left parties held protest meetings and demonstrations during the visit of President Obama in November 2010. The protests highlighted the US aggression in Afghanistan, Iraq and other places.

Taking Up Social Issues

The 19th Congress had enjoined the Party to take up the cause of the tribals, dalits, women, minorities and other oppressed sections for social justice. We have been stressing on the Party directly taking up social issues since the 18th Congress.

During this period some specific efforts were made to take up some of the major issues concerning these sections. A convention was held in Delhi in 2010 on the implementation of the Sachar Commission and the Ranganath Mishra commission reports for the Muslim minorities. Some state level conventions were also organised. And in some districts in certain states. But this could not be taken up in many states.

There has been more progress in taking up the adivasis issues. The Party has been stressing the importance of work in the tribal areas where in some areas Maoists are active and in other RSS and other

reactionary forces are entrenched. With the setting up of a National Platform for Adivasi Rights (Adivasi Adhikar Rashtriya Manch) at a national convention held in Delhi in June 2010, there has been more attention on tribal issues. Prior to this convention, for the implementation of the Forests Rights Act a day was observed. There have been struggles on the issue of forest land rights in Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. In Andhra Pradesh there has been struggle against the displacement related to mining licences. A national convention was held in New Delhi in March 2012, which was well attended, to highlight some of these demands.

The Party held a workshop on the sub-plan for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in Delhi in December 2011 to demand that the allocations be utilised properly and not be diverted and be made non-lapsable. Compared to the period between the 18th and 19th Congresses, when there was a spurt in the activities on dalit issues, in the current period under review there was no such thrust except in a few states. Tamilnadu conducted effective campaigns through the Eradication of Untouchability Front. During this period, seven walls built to segregate dalits and one gate were demolished in different parts of the state as a result of the agitation conducted by the Front. In Andhra Pradesh, the issues of caste discrimination were taken up through the anti-caste discrimination organisation.

There is still a lack of realization in the Party at various levels on the importance of the Party directly taking up social issues whether it concerns dalits or women. We have to take up social issues and mobilise people on issues of social oppression if we are to draw these sections into the class based movements. Such an integrated approach of combining class and social issues is also needed if we are to counter narrow identity politics.

Campaign on West Bengal

After the May 2009 Lok Sabha elections, there was widespread attacks against the Party and the Left in West Bengal. The Central Committee had in June 2009 called upon all the Party units to conduct a campaign against the violence unleashed on the CPI(M) by the Trinamul Congress and the Maoists and for the defence of democracy. In Tripura, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Delhi, Punjab, UP, MP, Jharkhand and other places meetings and processions were held as part of this campaign. Again, after the assembly elections in West Bengal when violent attacks were intensified the Central Committee gave a call to observe 1-7 July 2011 as a solidarity week with West Bengal. In most of the states meetings and rallies were held to demand an end to the violence in Bengal and for restoration of democratic rights. A convention was held in Delhi.

On August 25 a dharna was held by the Left Front outside parliament. People from Delhi and neighbouring states also participated. On that day in several state capitals there was a march to the Raj Bhavan or demonstrations. The Polit Bureau gave a call for collection of funds to support the families of martyrs and to express solidarity with West Bengal. In this, it is notable that the Kerala State Committee collected Rs. 3 crore 79 lakhs in the form of mass collections from the people.

On Land Acquisition

During this period, the issue of large scale acquisition of agricultural land for special economic zones, real estate development and for various corporate projects became an acute problem. In the Vijayawada Extended meeting of the CC in August 2010 it took stock of the problem and the struggles which were going on against forcible land acquisition. The review report stated:

Given the nature of land relations, the nature of capitalist development and the agrarian crisis, the peasantry face the constant threat of land being alienated from them. The small peasantry see no other means of livelihood except their land holdings. In such a situation, the acquiring of agricultural land by corporates for setting up industries is seen as a direct attack on their basic rights and livelihood. We should keep this in mind and take a firm stand against acquisition of fertile agricultural land of peasants against their will. The acquisition of land by the government for public purposes like highways, railways, irrigation, state-run power stations and other basic development may be necessary. When doing so, adequate compensation and proper rehabilitation measures should be assured. The Land Acquisition Act of 1894 does not protect the interests of the farmers and land owners adequately. There must be new suitable legislation which protects the right of farmers and ensures adequate compensation. This should be accompanied by a law on rehabilitation.

The issue of land acquisition has acquired a new dimension after the onset of the neo-liberal regime. As part of the capturing of natural resources the corporates and the real estate companies are out to grab land cheaply with the aid of the State apparatus. The peasantry, particularly the small peasantry sees this as a serious threat to its livelihood and especially when corporates and real estate speculators are going to make huge profits out of such lands. In West Bengal when the Left Front government adopted the policy of industrialisation, we could not properly assess or understand the apprehensions and the depth of opposition which land acquisition

would engender. That is why the opposition to the Singur project and the proposed petrochemical hub in Nandigram and the issue of land for other projects in West Bengal became the source of alienation of sections of the peasantry from our Party. The campaign against the Party and the Left Front government all over the country on this issue damaged our image and it posed difficulties in our stand on the SEZs and against large scale acquisition of agricultural land.

The Party or the Kisan Sabha have been involved in struggles in various states like Andhra Pradesh, UP, MP, Haryana and Odisha etc. against forcible land acquisition.

In the coming days, we should take up the land issue seriously, stress the struggle for land distribution and land reforms, protect land rights of the peasantry and oppose the dispossession of their land by corporates. We have to safeguard the rights of the tribal people over their lands which is threatened by large-scale, indiscriminate and illegal mining by foreign and Indian companies.

The Land Acquisition & Rehabilitation Bill replacing the 1894 Act is before parliament. Our party has set out the changes that are required in the Bill to make it an effective instrument to protect the rights of the farmers and those dependent on land and also to ensure that they get adequate compensation and rehabilitation if their lands are acquired. We have to mobilise support for these changes.

Left Unity

At the time of the last Party Congress we had noted two features in the united work of the Left parties. At one level, the CPI(M), CPI, Forward Bloc and the RSP had worked closely during the period of extension of support to the UPA government. In formulating policy issues, in conducting struggles and mobilisation there was close coordination. At another level, there were differences aired with regard to the events in West Bengal like the Singur and Nandigram issues and about the functioning of the Left Front government. It was noted that we had been able to confine these issues to West Bengal and tried to settle the problems there. The national level coordination continued without any difficulties.

During the period under review this cooperation of the four Left parties has continued. They unitedly decided to withdraw support to the UPA government in July 2008. Subsequently, the Left parties have taken a joint stand on major national political issues. After the UPA government came back to power, the Left parties have

conducted joint campaigns and struggles against price rise, for food security and against corruption. The United Left initiative on price rise which began with the March 12, 2010 rally helped to galvanise other non-Congress secular parties to come together for joint actions.

After the electoral setbacks in West Bengal there have been discordant voices among the Left Front partners, some of whom have publicly put the blame wholly on the CPI(M) for the electoral reverses. Such criticisms have been voiced at a time when there is a severe attack on the CPI(M) with a large number of comrades being killed. We have seen vacillations on the part of some of the Left parties earlier too at the time of severe attacks by the ruling classes. We should patiently deal with the criticisms and the situation and so that Left unity is maintained and strengthened.

There is need for further discussion and improving of mutual relations between the CPI(M) and the CPI. This is needed at the states level too. It is crucial for strengthening and broadening Left unity.

We have emphasized the building of the Left and democratic alliance as the real alternative in the political resolution. In order to accomplish this we have to further strengthen and broaden Left unity.

One aspect of broadening Left unity is the need to draw in the Left minded individuals and groups who exist outside the fold of the Left parties. Some of these intellectuals and groups were alienated after the Singur and Nandigram episodes in West Bengal. The situation is changing since then. All the Left-minded sections can be brought together on various joint platforms forged to take up various issues and struggles. Issues such as anti-imperialism, defence of national sovereignty, defence of secularism, forcible land acquisition, the setting up of imported nuclear plants; and issues of patents and intellectual property rights etc.

Relations with Non-Congress Secular Parties and the Third Alternative

The political-tactical line of the 19th Congress had provided the direction that as against the Congress and the BJP we should strive to build a third alternative. For this the Party should work for joint actions and build united struggles with the non-Congress secular parties on commonly agreed issues.

In the current tasks set out in the political resolution of the 19th Congress it was stated:

“The Party will maintain relations with all the non-Congress secular parties for developing united struggles and joint actions on common issues. The building of a third alternative must be undertaken. The Party should take the initiative for this and strengthen Left unity to facilitate this work.”

Earlier in the 16th, 17th Congress and 18th Congresses too we had set out the tactical goal of building a third alternative as against the Congress-led alliance and the BJP-led alliance. In the 17th Congress, summing up the experience of such third formations being attempted, it was stated that it should be based on some common programme. The process of formation of such a third alternative as distinct from electoral understandings for specific elections must begin by drawing the non-Congress secular bourgeois parties and other democratic forces into campaigns and struggles on common issues.

In the 19th Congress we further clarified that a third alternative will materialize only when there is a change in the stand of the political parties which are today either with the Congress or the BJP. As far as economic policies are concerned, most of the regional parties adhere to the policies of liberalisation. Without affecting a change in the outlook of these parties it will not be possible to form an alternative political combination. This can be brought about only by building big movements and unleashing struggles which can bring about change in these political parties. The resolution stated: “It is only through such movements and struggles that the masses following these parties will be influenced so that the shift will take place”.

We have to review the experience of our efforts to forge such a third alternative in the past one decade. We have been noting the change in the character and role of the regional parties since the 16th Congress in 1998. The regional parties represent mainly the interests of the regional bourgeoisie and the rural rich. As such they are not against the liberalisation policies which have benefited the regional bourgeoisie too. They may oppose some of these policies while in the opposition but adopt the same when they are in state governments. Further, with the advent of coalition politics at the Centre, the regional parties aspire to be in the central governments in order to strengthen themselves in their states. This has led to their taking opportunist positions. They join hands either with the

Congress or the BJP whenever it suits them and they can be in the central government.

We have to keep these factors in mind while striving to have joint actions and joint platforms with these parties. The regional parties have a substantial mass base. The Congress and the BJP seek to rally these parties into their all India alliances – the UPA and the NDA. It is necessary for us to maintain relations with the non-Congress secular parties which include the regional parties. It is possible to have joint struggles and united actions with some of these parties on people's issues to widen the mass movements. At the national level our experience has been that on some issues like price rise, farmers' issues and Centre-state relations we can join hands with these parties. We did so in the anti-price rise movements. The joint calls given by the 13 Left and secular non-Congress parties for the April 27, 2010 hartal and the subsequent hartal on July 5 are such examples. We had given also a joint call against corruption and on the Lokpal Bill with some of these parties in August 2011. Inside parliament, we have been cooperating with the non-UPA, non-NDA parties like the TDP, AIADMK, BJD and the JD(S).

At the same time, we have to note the vacillations and the opportunist changes in the position of these parties, both the Samajwadi Party and the RJD, while they participated in the all India hartal on price rise, backed out when it came to the question of supporting the cut motion on the Union Budget in 2010. The RLD led by Ajit Singh joined hands with the Congress on the eve of the UP Assembly elections. The AIADMK has recently distanced itself from participating in joint campaigns and struggles outside parliament and is keeping its options option before the next parliament elections.

The other experience in the states is that many of the regional parties are reluctant or averse to joint actions and struggles in any consistent way. The 19th Congress resolution had said that it is only by joint struggles and campaigns with these parties that we can influence their mass and build pressure on these parties to bring about a shift in their policy positions. But such sustained struggles and joint movements with these parties are not happening. Further, as many of these parties are in a position to come into state governments, it is difficult to forge a common programme which they will adhere to once they are in government.

Moreover, as it was pointed out earlier in the 16th Congress, the formation of a stable third alternative can come about only when the Left gets further strengthened at the all India level. Without

this, such combinations are short term measures. In the present situation where the Left has not been strengthened it becomes all the more difficult to rally these parties and to retain them in any stable formation.

At the time of elections it may be necessary to have electoral understanding with some of these parties. But as pointed out in the review of united front tactics with bourgeois parties in the 17th Congress, it should be confined to the election concerned and should not be extended to a long term one.

Given all these circumstances it is not feasible or practicable to project the slogan of a third alternative with these parties. It is not possible to have a third alternative based on a common programmatic platform with these parties at the national level and to expect that it will emerge through building widespread united struggles and movements with them.

Not putting forth the political slogan of a third alternative does not mean however that there is no need to maintain relations with the non-Congress secular parties. In the present situation, particularly when serious efforts are on to isolate the CPI(M) and weaken the Left, we should strive to maintain relations with these parties.

In the present situation our attitude to the non-Congress secular parties should be as follows:

We have to strive to draw such parties into joint actions and struggles on people's issues which will help us to widen the movements and help us to have access to the masses following these parties. There are other issues such as the defence of secularism, Centre-State relations and defence of democratic rights on which joint actions are possible. Along with this, it is important to coordinate and maintain relations with the non-Congress, non-BJP parties inside parliament. During elections, whenever possible we may enter into electoral understandings with some of these parties depending on the Party's interests.

We have been setting out the Left and democratic alternative as the real alternative to the bourgeois-landlord policies. Since the tenth Congress we have been putting out the tactical goal of building the Left and democratic alliance. This should be our main focus. In the course of our efforts to build the Left and democratic alliance, we may have to forge joint platforms with some of the secular, non-Congress parties from time to time. But this should help us in our endeavours to rally all the forces which need to be brought into the left and democratic front.

In the present situation wherein the CPI(M) and the Left have suffered electoral setbacks and the key to overcome our weakness and to strengthen the Party's influence lies in the expansion of the Party's independent role and activities, we must ensure that our tactics of entering into electoral understanding and joint platforms with these parties should not hamper or blur the Party's independent identity and activities among the people.

The international situation has undergone a change after the prolonged global capitalist crisis. There is growing opposition and struggles against the neo-liberal policies by the working class and other sections of the working people, youth and students. The neo-liberal ideologues are on the defensive. There is greater scope for developing movements and put forth alternative policies. It is in this context that the tasks we are setting out in the political resolution have to be taken up for implementation. The struggle against the neo-liberal policies, the movements and struggles of the working people, the fight against the communal forces and imperialism are all to be taken up with renewed vigour. We have to develop the independent strength and base of the Party all over the country. We have to recover the lost ground in West Bengal and fight back attacks by mobilizing the people on their basic demands and in defence of their democratic rights. This is part of our endeavour to strengthen the Party. The Party has to take up the organisational work to build and expand the mass movements and the Party all over the country.

Part II

REPORT ON ORGANISATION

I

The Report on Organisation is divided into four parts.

- I. The first part is the introductory part and it explains the key tasks set out at the 19th Congress, the conclusions and tasks arrived in the Mid-Term Review of the Implementation of the Organisational Tasks set out in the 19th Congress and a summary of the achievements made during this period.*
- II. The second part deals with the major all-India campaigns and struggles conducted, political education conducted, special efforts made by the Party Centre in organising special categories of people such as tribals, minorities, children, people living in urban areas, disabled sections etc, agitation and propaganda work done, the circulation and state of affairs of People's Democracy, Loklahar, The Marxist and Party organs in states, functioning of sub-committees and fraction committees, fund collection, finance etc.*
- III. The third part of the document explains about the efforts made by the Party to implement the tasks set out in the 19th Congress and mid-term review of the implementation of the organisational tasks and the experiences.*
- IV. The fourth part of the document deals with the future organisational tasks.*

ORGANISATION

The 19th Congress, after reviewing the experience of the activities and organisational work of the Party and assessing the important features of the emerging situation, came to the following conclusions and tasks:

“1. Plans should be made to take up local issues and conduct sustained struggles. Activate the work of the Party members in mass fronts, so that the mass fronts can achieve rapid expansion.

“2. Plans should be made to take up social issues and organise agitations and struggles.

“3. Concrete plans to activate and improve the quality of the Party members to organise more economic, political and ideological struggles. More political education classes should be organised.

“4. Concrete plans should be made to improve the functioning of the branches and Party committees at all levels. Strengthen Party Centre.

“5. Review the present state of democratic centralism and take concrete steps to strengthen democratic centralism and improve collective functioning of the Party.

“6. Ideological document should be prepared by the Central Committee.

“7. Launch a rectification campaign against all wrong trends. The Central Committee should prepare an updated document for launching a rectification campaign.”

The Central Committee made a mid-term review of the implementation of the organisational tasks set out in the 19th Congress at its meeting held on May 5-7, 2010. The mid-term review came to the following conclusions and tasks:

- It noted the major electoral setbacks suffered by the Party and Left in Lok Sabha elections and its impact. It pointed out that the attack on the Party in West Bengal, the strongest base, had compelled to change the priorities of organisational work to some extent. Defending the base of the Party and recovering the lost ground in West Bengal had become one of the important tasks. The changed situation further emphasised the need to concentrate in expanding the Party in the rest of the country.

- Noted that the achievements made in other states had not been satisfactory and commensurate with needs and tasks. Except to a limited extent in Rajasthan, the Party was not able to expand in new areas. Though we conducted many struggles, the Party was not able to consolidate the influence in Andhra Pradesh.
- Stressed the importance of independent work and development of mass organisations. In other states, Party was not able to adequately develop struggles on local issues in a sustained manner.
- Stressed the need to develop peasant and agricultural workers struggles and movements on land, wages and other immediate issues, including MNREGA implementation.
- The PB and CC should give more attention to the work in priority states and the state committees should implement the tasks in a planned manner and provision of cadres for achieving expansion.
- In Hindi-speaking states, the stagnation of the Party is continuing.
- More attention is to be paid to the work of the class and mass organisation, recruitment and development of cadres and developing struggles on class and mass issues.
- The rectification campaign should be continued.
- More efforts should be made for enhancing the political-organisational level of the Party members through Party education and proper functioning of branches and committees.
- The Party should undertake the preparation of an ideological document for inner-Party discussions.
- The PB and CC should review the work of mass fronts, the first front to be reviewed should be the agricultural workers front.
- The review document directed to step up the independent activities and struggles led by the Party.
- Efforts should be made to step up the independent role of the Party in political campaigns, mass struggles and commensurate organisational work.

Achievements

The achievements during the past four-year period after the 19th Congress can be summarized as follows:

1. More all-India campaigns, agitations and struggles were conducted and Party tried to intervene in political developments.
2. More Central Party Schools have been organised. A school for the Central Committee members was conducted.
3. More agit-prop material has been produced.

4. More efforts have been made to take up tribal, dalit, disabled and minority issues.
5. Party and mass front's membership increased except in the case of youth and women fronts.
6. There has been improvement in the functioning of the Central secretariat, sub-committees and fractions.
7. The Central Committee adopted a document 'On Rectification Campaign'. The PB and CC initiated the process of rectification by adopting separate documents based on the CC document.
8. The Central Committee prepared the following documents: (a) Draft document 'On Some Ideological Issues' as decided by the last two Party Congresses; (b) 'On the Jammu & Kashmir Issue'; and (c) 'Approach Paper on Restructuring of Centre-State Relations'.
9. The CC reviewed the work of the following fronts: (a) Agricultural Workers Front; and (b) Trade Union Front.
10. The Party Centre prepared guidelines for the work in urban areas and among children. (a) A meeting of the representatives of states where work in the children's organisation exist was held and prepared guidelines for children's organisation and work among children as decided by the 19th Congress. (b) A workshop was organised for cadres working in urban areas and the Party Centre prepared guidelines for Party's work and expansion in urban areas.
11. The work of the international department has been strengthened. The 11th international meeting of the Communists and Workers Parties was held in New Delhi from November 20-22, 2009.

II

All India Campaigns and Struggles

After the 19th Congress, the Party and mass fronts conducted many nationwide campaigns and struggles. Some of the important campaigns and struggles are mentioned here.

Price Rise

- The Left parties and the United National Progressive Alliance (UNPA) jointly announced a week long nation wide protest movement from April 16-23, 2008. As part of the programme, Members of Parliament belonging to Left parties and UNPA conducted 'march to Parliament' on April 15. A national seminar on 'Inflation in India' was held in New Delhi on April 19.

Demonstrations, conventions and house to house campaigns were organised in many states.

- Party had given a call for mass picketing campaign in front of Central government offices all over the country on May 15, 2008. The plan was to rally 10 lakh people. Around five lakh people participated in different states.
- CC meeting held on October 12-14, 2008 had given a call for conducting struggles against price rise. Demonstrations, dharnas and road blocks were held in different states.
- CC meeting held on July 11-12, 2009 had given a call for campaign and struggle on the issues connected with the right to food. In this connection, a national convention on Right to Food was held in New Delhi on August 26 and a resolution was passed. It was decided to hold state level conventions with Left parties. State level conventions were also held in different states.
- PB meeting held on September 5-6, 2009 endorsed the decision of the national convention and appealed to all state units to hold rallies in state capitals in the month of November. The campaign was organised in most of the states along with the Left parties.
- The Left parties held an all-India rally in Delhi on March 12, 2010 to focus on the demands to curb price rise, protection of lands of the peasants and land reforms, employment for all and attacks on democracy and violence against Left in West Bengal. Around 70,000 people participated in the rally.
- At the call of the all-India rally, the Left parties announced mass picketing and court arrest programme outside Central government offices on April 8, 2010. Around 20 lakh people participated in the mass picketing and court arrest programme.
- A countrywide hartal against price rise was held on April 27, 2010. The hartal was a complete success in most of the states.
- The Left parties held a national convention on food security and price rise on July 1, 2010.
- Along with the Left parties, the AIADMK, TDP, Samajwadi Party, Biju Janata Dal, Janata Dal (S) and INLD gave a call for a countrywide hartal on July 5, 2010. All India hartal was a big success. Despite detention and arrests of thousands of protestors, there was a bandh like situation in all parts of the country.
- The convention on July 1, 2010 had given a call to conduct an extensive campaign in the month of August on food security and price rise. Padayatras, jathas and rallies were held in different states.

- The PB meeting held on January 15-16, 2011 decided to conduct struggle against price rise. On the basis of this decision, Party Centre held a meeting of the Left parties, TDP, JD(S), BJD, AIADMK and RLD and decided to conduct week-long agitation from February 3-9, 2011. A dharna was held in Delhi on February 9 addressed by the leaders of the nine political parties. Protest demonstrations were organised in different states.
- The CC meeting held on March 4-5, 2011 had given call for continuing the agitation against price rise, corruption and issues of peasantry and rural poor.
- CC meeting held on August 6-7, 2011 had given a call for a campaign for an effective food security law.
- PB meeting held on September 29-30, 2011 had given a call for conducting campaigns and protests from November 1-7 on the issues of price rise, corruption, fertilizer prices, unemployment and FDI in retail trade. Protest actions were held in different states along with the Left parties.

Price Rise of Petroleum Products

- The Left parties had given a call for powerful countrywide protest movement from June 5-11, 2008. Observed general strike and hartal in different states.
- The Left parties, TDP and JD(S) jointly given a call for observing Protest Day on December 2, 2008 for bringing down the prices of petrol and diesel.
- The Left parties on June 25, 2010 had given a call for launching protest actions.
- The PB on December 14 called its units to launch vigorous campaign on petrol price rise.
- The PB meeting held on January 15-16, 2011 had given a call for conducting protest action in states.
- The Left parties on May 15, 2011 called to mobilise people and organise protest against petrol price rise. Protest actions were held in different states.
- The Left parties on June 25, 2011 had given a call to organise hartals, demonstration and other protest actions. Protest actions were held in many states.

Withdrawal of support

- The Left parties had given a joint call for a campaign from July 14, 2008 to highlight the major issues behind the withdrawal of

support to the UPA government. Meetings, rallies and seminars were held in different states.

Nuclear deal

- The Left parties, TDP, BSP and JD (S) had given a joint call for countrywide protests on September 25, 2008. Members of Parliament staged a protest demonstration in Parliament House. Protest demonstration, dharna, procession, rallies and rasta rokos were held in different states.
- At the call of Left parties, 'black day' was observed in many states on October 4, 2008.

Malabar Exercise

- CC meeting held on October 12-14, 2008 had given a call for organising protest on October 24 in Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka and Kerala against Indo-US naval exercise. Protest demonstrations and public rallies were held in these states.

Communalism and Terrorism

- CC meeting held on October 12-14, 2008 had given a call for observing a 'week against communalism and terrorism' from October 30 to November 5, 2008. Jathas, conventions, protest demonstrations and rallies were held in many states.

Implementation of Forest Right Act and REGA

- CC meeting held on October 12-14, 2008 had given a call for activities for implementation of Forest Right Act for the tribal people and REGA. Dharnas and picketing were held in many states.

National Political Campaign

- CC meeting held on January 8-10, 2009 had called all its state units to devote the whole month of February to the political campaign projecting the Party's political position and policies. This campaign was organised in different forms in many states.

Solidarity Campaign with West Bengal

- The CC meeting held on June 20-21, 2009 called its units to launch a powerful campaign in solidarity with comrades in West Bengal and against the politics of terror unleashed by the Trinamool led alliance as well as against the Maoist gangs. Protest rallies,

processions and mass meetings were held in different states in the month of June.

- PB meeting held on September 5-6, 2009 decided to step up all India campaign to express solidarity with West Bengal. Campaign was organised in many states.
- PB meeting held on July 3-4, 2010 called all democratic and progressive circles to condemn the activities of the Maoists and to organise protest actions.
- The extended CC meeting gave a call to observe a solidarity week from September 12-19, 2010 in solidarity with the CPI(M) and Left Front in West Bengal. In most of the states, public rallies were held and leaders from West Bengal addressed the rallies.
- PB meeting held on May 16, 2011 had appealed to all democratic forces in the country to protest against the anti-democratic attacks and physical violence in West Bengal.
- CC meeting held on June 11-12, 2011 had called for a week-long campaign from July 1-7 against violence in West Bengal. There was good response from the people all over India.
- CC meeting held on August 6-7, 2011 decided to hold a campaign all over the country and a protest dharna in Delhi on September 25 by the Left Front of West Bengal. Protest meetings were held in all state capitals and memorandums were given to Governors.

Barack Obama's Visit

- The Left parties organised protest demonstrations throughout the country on November 8, 2010 on the occasion of the visit of Barack Obama, President of USA.

Corruption

- The CC meeting held on November 19-21, 2010 had called for a week-long campaign from December 5-11. Rallies, processions and dharnas were organised in many places in most of the states.
- The Left parties had given a call to organise demonstrations, dharnas, picketing and rallies throughout the country from July 15-21, 2011. Programmes were held in different states.
- Left and secular opposition parties had given a call to conduct demonstrations and dharnas all over the country on August 23.
- CC meeting held on August 6-7, 2011 had given a call for holding a demonstration outside Parliament on September 2 for an effective Lokpal law and for taking other anti-corruption measures. All India leaders of the Left parties addressed the public meeting at Parliament street.

FDI in Retail Trade

- The CC meeting held on November 19-21, 2010 decided to mobilise small traders and shopkeepers against the entry of foreign retail chains.
- CC meeting held on August 6-7, 2011 had given a call for mobilizing people against FDI in retail trade.
- CC meeting held on January 17-20, 2012 decided to conduct a sustained campaign among the people to stop the entry of FDI in retail trade.

Joint Trade Union Activities and General Strike on February 28, 2012

One of the significant development during this period has been the building of the unity of all Central trade unions on important issues affecting working class and common people. The comrades working in the trade union front did a commendable job by bringing together all Central trade unions, including INTUC and BMS, through many phases of activities and patient work. The all India strike of February 28, 2012 was the first joint strike after independence. The development of a united platform of all Central trade unions is a landmark in the history of the working class movement in the country. Ten crore working people participated in the strike on February 28, 2012.

Political Education

All India Level

In the period after the 19th Congress, more efforts were put to organise schooling on a consistent basis. Many schools were organised for Party leadership and comrades working in mass organisations. Two political schools were organised for the leadership. The medium of teaching in one school was English and the other was Hindi.

A school for CC members was organised for the first time. All the CC members except those who are ailing and aged, attended in two batch classes – the first in December 2010 at Hyderabad and the second in January 2011 at Chennai. Experts in their respective subjects were invited to present their views, particularly on the contemporary developments in economics, history, philosophy and agrarian situation. These classes have helped the CC members to update their understanding.

School was conducted for students, youth, women, activists working in science movement, Party media, tribal front and for various TU fractions intervening in different movements.

State-Level Classes

At the state-level, Party leadership schools were organised in Kerala, Tripura, West Bengal, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan and Odisha. Separate state level schools were also conducted for mass organisation cadres in many states. There is an improvement in the number of schools organised at the district level too in this period.

Wholetimer workshops were conducted in Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Tripura and Karnataka. Based on this experience, all India education sub-committee decided to hold these types of workshops in all other states. Kerala, Haryana and West Bengal state committees have organised teacher training classes. Conducting seminars on important occasions is a regular feature in Kerala, Tamilnadu, West Bengal, Tripura and Andhra Pradesh. Printed material for teaching was published by Punjab, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh committees. Punjab state committee has got a building and space near Chandigarh donated by a state committee member in Punjab as a donation for a regional Hindi school that will be a sub-centre to the central school.

In Kerala, batch-wise classes for 1200 local and area committee secretaries out of 1400 were organised for five days each. Separate classes on legal aspects was also organised. Family get together have been organised across the state to counter anti-Communist propaganda. During this period, EMS Academy developed as a centre of political education. 20,000 Party and mass front comrades were trained in this centre. In Andhra Pradesh study circles are being organised in a systematic way from mandal level cadres to PC members. Sundarraya Vignana Kendram became a centre for education. It is occupied 250 days per year. In Tamilnadu, one workshop for Party district secretaries was organised.

Obstacles in the conduct of Political Schooling

Though there is an increase in holding classes, this is not sufficient to meet the requirements of the Party in the current situation. Lack of preparedness to hold the classes amidst hectic work schedules is a major

barrier that is coming in the way of imparting political education. There is a wrong notion of looking at political education as a 'separate entity', out of the day-to-day work. The all India education sub-committee held two extended meetings to chalk out an annual plan and discussed on handling of the subjective hurdles in imparting political education. Efforts are on, to have an annual plan for the national, state and local-level schooling. A separate meeting with the in-charges of Hindi speaking states was held to discuss this plan and the schedule.

Role of Sub-Committee

To discharge the responsibilities assigned by the Party Congress, CC sub-committee on political education met four times. No meeting was held in 2011. An extended meeting of the sub-committee with state in-charges was held in Chennai. One exclusive meeting was held with Hindi-speaking area education sub committee in-charges to workout annual plan. Sub-committee discussed and approved notes on some subjects prepared by sub-committee members. Even though sub-committees in some states are meeting regularly, the functioning of the sub-committees in weaker states and majority of the districts is still not up to the mark. If the task of political education has to be taken seriously, it is imperative for these sub-committees at all the levels to increase their initiative and involvement. The important tasks of these committees are regular planning, execution of the decisions to conduct schools, helping in teacher training and development, preparing curriculum, publishing syllabus and synopsis, monitoring lower level committees on education.

Tasks:

- Organise study circles at all levels as a movement. Party intellectuals can be used for this purpose.
- All Party members should be covered with at least two day classes
- All branch secretaries and intermediary committee members should be covered with three-day classes
- Five to seven day classes for district and state level Party and mass front leadership
- Priority should be given for whole timer classes and workshops. Should be completed in a phased manner.
- Publish resource material and textbooks for various levels
- Sale of literature and organising classes should be assigned as a priority work in weaker states and districts.
- Seminars and public lectures should be conducted on current issues to enhance the understanding on Marxist studies

- All fraction committees and sub committees working for mass fronts should plan and submit to All India Education Sub-Committee about their own schedules on political education every year.
- Classes should be organised for Auxiliary Groups before promoting them into Party membership
- Classes for Central Committee members should be continued. CC meeting can be extended for one day for this purpose.
- Teachers training classes should be organised in all states. Priority should be given to weaker states.
- Specific syllabus has to make for unorganised sector activists.
- All India Sub-Committee should meet at least twice a year.
- Review on education should be conducted in the CC once in a year.

New Mass Organisations

The 19th Congress pointed out the possibilities of building new type of mass organisations of different sections of people. It directed the Party Centre and state committees to study the different problems of various sections of people and try to form special type of mass organisation. The Party Centre made efforts to implement the directions of the 19th Congress.

Work among Tribals

In implementation of the direction of the 19th Congress to pay specific attention to expansion of work among adivasi communities, a national platform for adivasi rights was formed at a national convention held in June 2010. At that time, there were membership based organizations of adivasis functioning in seven States, affiliated to the kisan organisation. Since 2010, six more States have formed State level platforms of the adivasi manch. The platform now has representatives from 13 States. It also includes representatives from the mass organizations working among workers, students, youth and women, apart from the kisans and agricultural workers. Some of the main issues taken up have been : implementation of the Forest Rights Act and against displacement and land grab of adivasi land; BPL status for tribal communities; against atrocities on tribal women; survey on tribal student hostels and struggles for increase in stipends; implementation of Tribal Sub-Plan. There has been good implementation of the all India calls for these demands through observance of demands Day, dharnas, demonstrations and delegations. Work among adivasis has improved in weaker States like Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat where the party has

been paying special attention to work among these sections which is reflected in local struggles and mobilisations. In Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh there have been big mobilizations and struggles on issues of forest land rights and in AP against displacement related to mining licences given. A national public convention which was very well attended was held in New Delhi in March 21, 2012 to highlight some of these demands.

The experience of organizing tribal communities on their specific demands is positive an important step in countering narrow identity politics promoted by the ruling classes and a section of NGOs. On the other hand Maoist organizations are working in many of these areas forcing tribals in a situation where they are caught between Maoists terror on the one hand and the repression of State forces on the other. In such a situation the formation of this platform has had a positive impact on advancing the struggles of tribals for their demands and helped to draw more sections of tribals towards the movements led by us. At the party level also more attention is being paid to the development of tribal cadre and building the party among the tribal communities. The centre is also providing some financial assistance to help tribal cadre.

Taken together the membership of tribals in different mass organizations is approximately 35 lakhs.. However this substantial strength is not reflected in a comprehensive Left presence in tribal areas mainly because of the lack of coordination and planning between mass organization with a tribal membership. We have to strengthen a coordinated intervention. In the coming days with the intensification of the neo-liberal policies, intensified efforts have to be made to organize different sections of tribal communities for their demands. Special efforts to reach out to students and the educated tribal youth who have different aspirations from the older generations must be made. We will have to study how the positive experience of organizing a separate platform for tribal communities can be taken forward and developed.

Disabled Persons' Organisation

The 19th Congress of the Party had adopted a resolution expressing solidarity "with the efforts of the disabled and their guardians to demand the expansion and implementation of laws and projects meant for them." The resolution had called upon Party units and mass organizations to take up their cause, help to organize them and to bring their issues into national agendas.

Subsequent to this, efforts were made by the Party centre for implementation. In October 2009, a meeting of Party comrades working in this sector from different states was convened and a Party Committee in the Disability Sector was setup. Under the initiative of this committee, a convention was held at Kolkata in 2010. At that time of the Convention, organisations of disabled persons led by our comrades existed in four states – West Bengal, Kerala, Karnataka and Jharkhand. Now it has expanded and organisations have also been set up in Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Tripura, Odisha, Manipur & Gujarat. Initiatives have been taken to set up units in Madhya Pradesh, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. All these organisations put together have a membership of around four lakhs.

Various issues concerning persons with disabilities have been taken up during this period both at the level of the states and at the centre. Around five thousand disabled persons participated in a day long dharna in Delhi on April 20, 2010. This was the largest mobilisation of disabled persons in the capital. Some of the issues taken up which have had a big response are – issuance of BPL cards to all disabled persons; universally valid Identity cards for the disabled; free health care; filling up of backlog of vacancies against the quota for disabled in all government departments & PSUs etc. A three day study camp was held at Chennai in 2010. As the activities have expanded it has been decided to set up a committee of the organisation, which was until now being coordinated through the Party Committee. There are plans to hold a conference of the organisation during this year.

Children's Organisation

The Party Centre called a meeting of the in-charges of the children's organisation from states, which have children's organisations, on April 25, 2010. Comrades from Kerala, West Bengal, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Jharkhand and Haryana attended the meeting. Comrades from all states reported that the RSS, Christian organisations, Muslim organisations, many caste organisations, media and in some places political parties are organising children's organisations. They all stressed the need to form children's organisation in all states. They suggested that the children's organisation should be an independent and democratic organisation of the children belonging to the age group of 7 to 16. It should not be organised as an adjunct or wing of the Party. The nature of the functioning of the children's organisation should be in such a manner as to attract children belonging to all sections irrespective of their political, religious or caste background. On the basis of the discussions, the Polit Bureau prepared a guideline for the functioning of

the children's organisation and send to all states. The PB directed the state committees to form children's organisations in states where we don't have any organisation.

Work in Urban Areas

A workshop on work in urban areas was organised by the Party Centre on November 13-14, 2010. Based on the discussions in the workshop, the Polit Bureau prepared some guidelines for Party's work and expansion in urban areas. The PB advised the state committees to take necessary organisational steps for advancing our work in urban areas.

Work in Free Software Movement and IT

A national coalition was formed at the founding conference held in Bangalore after the 2009 elections. 1,500 members participated in the conference. The Party Work Group met seven times in this period after the last Party Congress. The formation of the national coalition has helped the democratic functioning of the mass organisation. The organisation has expanded to Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, West Bengal, Tamilnadu, Odisha, Tripura, Haryana, Meghalaya, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra etc. Our intervention has been in the form of two methods – one through anti-monopoly struggles in software/knowledge etc and the other on the issues of the workforce that is associated with the knowledge economy. There is ample scope for expansion of the organisation in other states.

Agit-Prop Committee

The agit-prop committee comprising of eight members has expanded its work in this period. The committee has by and large been able to provide information to help the campaigns being taken up by the Party. Since the last Party Congress, 27 booklets on various issues were published. A series of folders after withdrawal of support from the UPA Government on the nuclear deal were published to counter the vicious propaganda against the Party. The other major issues on which booklets were published were on price rise, petrol and diesel price hikes, food security, on the Bhopal Gas Issue, two pamphlets against Hindutva, on the violence against Christians in Orissa, on the 2G scam, and corruption and the Lok Pal issue. Two booklets on the attacks on the Party in West Bengal were published for the all India solidarity campaign with West Bengal as well as an earlier one in defence of the Left front Government in West Bengal. In addition, material collected and prepared from the

Centre on other issues such as against communalism and terrorism, were sent as talking points for the use of the states. A booklet on caste and casteism was also brought out in Hindi.

During the Lok Sabha election, 13 booklets on various issues were published and released from the Centre. A special website during the election campaign was also run from the Centre which had received a positive response. The experience also shows the potential for running a website as part of the future work of the committee.

However although a decision was taken to bring out booklets on the lives of leaders, only the booklet on Harkishan Singh Surjeet could be published in English and Hindi.

An area of some improvement has been the publication of Party documents in Hindi. In this period, all Party documents have been made available in Hindi without too much delay. The agit-prop committee had taken the initiative to hold two meetings with the in-charges of Hindi speaking States. This has helped both the translation work as well as the publication and sale of Hindi booklets. In the case of the two booklets on price rise and petrol price hikes, the order went up from an average of around 2,000 to 50,000. The anti-corruption booklet on Lok Pal also sold around 30,000 copies. This is also because of the low price of the said booklets. The Communist Manifesto was also published in Hindi. On the basis of this experience, in future, coordination with the agit-prop committees of Hindi-speaking states should be strengthened.

A continuing weakness is the lack of publications in Urdu. Although some sporadic attempts were made during the election campaign to bring out Urdu pamphlets, there is a dearth of such material. Conscious efforts will have to be made to overcome this weakness by the required organizational steps.

The committee held 14 meetings in this period. However some mechanism should be developed to get more feedback from the states. The lack of feedback does hamper the necessary steps required to further improve and strengthen the work of the committee.

Circulation of Central Party Papers

The circulation of *People's Democracy* declined from 22,923 to 18,507. The circulation in Kerala declined from 7,577 to 3,464, Tamilnadu from

1,853 to 1,472, West Bengal from 8,597 to 7,442 and Maharashtra from 538 to 338.

The circulation of *Lok Lahar* declined from 12,783 to 10,354.

The circulation of *The Marxist* declined from 2,321 to 2,063.

The publication of *Shabtaab* was closed because of lack of adequate number of subscription.

The Party Centre called a meeting of the Party daily in-charges from five states of West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu in February 2010 and took decision about the circulation campaign for *People's Democracy* and *Lok Lahar*. The Central Committee gave a call for circulation campaign in the first fortnight of May 2010. But there is no improvement in the circulation.

The decline in the circulation of the Central Party papers – *People's Democracy*, *Lok Lahar* and *The Marxist* – is a matter for concern. The problem should be addressed urgently.

After the Party Congress, a campaign for increasing the circulation of *People's Democracy*, *Lok Lahar* and *The Marxist* should be organised.

Party Organs in States

There is expansion and strengthening of Party organs in some states.

Kerala: *Deshabhimani* is published from seven centres. The circulation of *Deshabhimani* increased from 2,53,475 to 2,96,013. Political weekly *Chintha* and cultural weekly *Deshabhimani Weekly* are published regularly. AKG Study and Research Centre publishes the quarterly *Marxist Samvadam*. A children's monthly *Thathamma* is published. Chintha Publishing Centre publishes Marxist, Left and progressive books.

West Bengal: *Ganashakti* is published from three centres. There is decline in circulation due to the attacks unleashed by Trinamool Congress against the agents and subscribers in many places. The Bengali weekly *Desh Hitaishee*, Hindi weekly *Swadhinta* and Urdu daily *Abshar* are published regularly. Cultural monthly *Nandan* is published regularly in Bengali. *Marxbadipath*, a theoretical quarterly, is published in Bengali. The National Book Agency publishes Marxist, Left and progressive books.

Andhra Pradesh: *Prajashakti* is published from nine centres. There is a slight improvement in the circulation of *Prajashakti*. A theoretical monthly *Marxistu* is published regularly. Prajashakti Publishing House publishes Marxist, Left and progressive books.

Tripura: *Desharkatha Daily* is published regularly from Agartala. The circulation increased from 25,461 to 36,422. *Purbabhas*, a progressive cultural journal, is published regularly.

Tamilnadu: *Theekkathir*, Tamil daily, is published from four centres. The present circulation is 30,545. The fourth edition from Trichy was started in September 2010. A theoretical monthly *Marxist* and a cultural monthly *Semmalar* are being published regularly in Tamil. Bharathi Puthakalayam publishes Marxist, Left and progressive books.

The weeklies – *Jeevanmarg* in Maharashtra, *Ganashakti* in Assam, *Janashakthi* in Karnataka, *Samyabadi* in Odisha – and fortnightly – *Lok Samvad* in Uttar Pradesh, *Lok Jatan* in Madhya Pradesh, *Chintan* in Gujarat, *Lok Janvad* in Bihar – are being regularly published.

Leftword Books

Leftword Books has been publishing a range of titles including Marxist classics and books on contemporary issues and it has published 21 new titles during this period. Leftword Books has acquired building for its office and bookshop.

Sub-Committees and Fraction Committees

TU Sub-Committee: The reconstituted TU sub-committee met many times after the last Party Congress and considered the issues before the united trade union movement. Industrywise fraction committees were formed. The TU sub-committee prepared a review report of the Party activities on TU front. The Central Committee adopted the report. Since the last Party Congress, a remarkable unity of the entire trade union movement was achieved on the question of rise in prices, growing unemployment, non-implementation of labour laws, demands of unorganized sector workers and opposition to disinvestment and privatization.

Agrarian Sub-Committee : Agrarian sub-committee met many times during this period. In the sub-committee meetings, discussions were held

on the implementation of the 19th Party Congress tasks, identification of local issues, planning struggles on local issues, taking social issues and NREGA in selected districts and to organise sustained struggles. The alternative policy document of the Kisan front was updated in the joint seminar held in Wayanadu, Kerala on January 31-February 1, 2009. The sub-committee discussed about the functioning of both Kisan and Agricultural Workers front and made plans to strengthen the functioning of the All India Centres. The review of the work of the Agricultural Workers front was completed and the CC adopted the report.

Women's Sub-Committee: After the last Party Congress, a women's sub-committee comprising of ten women CC members working in the women's front was formed replacing the earlier fraction committee. The Women's sub-committee met 11 times in this period. As part of the mid-term review, the sub-committee held a series of meetings with the State sub-committees or fraction committees towards the implementation of the tasks set out by the 19th Congress. The main focus has been (1) tasks of Party building among women (2) training of women cadre (3) implementation of tasks on Party and mass organization relations (4) policy issues concerning the mass organization (5) organizational issues in the mass organisation. In 2010, a review on these aspects was given to the PB and CC. A special meeting was held between the in-charges of the women's front in the major and the priority states which was attended also by the General Secretary and the PBM. These efforts have resulted in some improvement at different levels of the Party. However the functioning of the women's FCs in the priority states must be regularized. The Party-in-charges often are too preoccupied with other tasks as a result of which the meetings are not held regularly which negatively affect the front. Responsibility from the Party must be given to a comrade who is able to discharge his/her responsibility.

Student Front : Student fraction committee has been reorganized. The committee met many times. The efforts of the Party in this front was greatly facilitated by the adoption of the Party policy document for the student by the CC before the 19th Congress.

Youth Front : After the 19th Congress, the fraction committee was formed. The fraction committee met many times. The decision to prepare a document on the task on the youth front is not finalized. A questionnaire was prepared and send to states by the PB. Only some states have responded to the questionnaire. The decision to prepare a document on youth front has to be completed immediately after the Party Congress.

Cultural Front : After the 19th Congress, efforts were made to finalise a policy document on culture. During this period, three meetings were held to discuss about this draft culture policy. The final report is under the consideration of the PB.

In the era of globalisation, people's culture has become a victim and every field connected with culture is being commercialized and converted into a commodity. In this background, there is every need to expand our cultural movement in a more systematic way. But the present quantity and quality of our movement is not enough to meet these challenges. Our intervention in cultural front is in two ways – i) culture as a means of mobilisation and propaganda as to serve the purpose of democratic movement. ii) our intervention within cultural movement itself to mobilise writers and activists. Our cultural movement is actively working and helping democratic movements in major states like West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu. Our units in Karnataka, Delhi and Haryana are to some extent actively engaging in cultural activities. But the quantum of our activities is still very limited. Song troupes and street plays are being performed in many places. The Janawadi Lekhakh Sangh is organising Hindi writers. In Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Bengal, our writers' associations have influence. At all India level just before parliament elections, one workshop for Hindi songs was organised in Delhi.

Tasks

- To finalise the policy document.
- All India fraction committee should meet regularly
- Develop performance and literary work both in quantity and quality
- Organise professional/folk artists and build movements on their demands
- State committees should take up tasks to activate the cultural front

Committee on Scheduled Caste Affairs: During this period, there is some progress in activities among Dalits in various states.

Workshop on SC-ST Sub-Plan: At the all India level, a workshop on SC-ST Sub-Plan was organised in Delhi on December 12, 2011. 101 members from 16 states and representatives of the four mass fronts attended the workshop. The workshop formulated 13 demands and decided to launch a nationwide movement for proper allocation, effective implementation of the SC Sub-Plan. The workshop also decided that the

state units should take up issues at the local level and organise broadbased united action on issues.

Activities in States : In Andhra Pradesh, two-month campaign organised on the implementation of SC/ST sub-plan which received a good response. Cycle jathas were organised in 407 mandals in 14 districts. The programme was concluded by a big rally with 30,000 strong public meeting.

In Tamilnadu, under the leadership of TNUEF, many campaigns were taken up. Of those, Uthapuram and the Nagarajapuram's wall issues came up again. They organised one 'March to Uthapuram' in January which was encircled by police force and arrested the leaders in mid-way. In Nagarajapuram, the wall was destroyed by authorities because of our struggle. In Nandanar in Chidambaram district, temple entry programme was successfully organised.

Dr. Ambedkar Education and Employment Coaching Centres are successfully conducting classes for competitive exams and spoken English. Coimbatore district in particular gained good impact.

Many district conferences of this organisation were held in recent period.

In Kerala, on the decision of the Party state committee, SC colony associations were formed. There are 24,600 such colonies in Kerala. In Kollam, district level committee also constituted after forming 760 colony associations. District convention was also held. In Pathanamthitta – 81, Alappuzha – 130, Kottayam – 42, Thrissur – 516, Palakkad – 642, Malappuram – 418 and in Kozhikkode – 89 colonies were formed. Wayanadu district convention was held.

In Assembly elections, out of 14 SC reserved constituencies, LDF won 12 seats, out of which CPI(M) got 10 seats.

In the West Bengal Assembly elections, though relatively we got good sum of votes from rural poor, the erosion among Dalits are noted. Out of 68 SC reserved constituencies, Left Front won 20 seats, of which CPI(M) got 11. It was 54 out of 59 in 2006.

State conference of Tripura Tapasili Jathi Samanvaya Samiti was held on June 25-27, 2011 at Agartala. 518 delegates, including 66 women, were participated. A new committee was constituted with 129 members, out of

which 29 are secretariat. Conference adopted seven resolutions and a 21-point charter of demands.

A good campaign was taken up throughout the state of Karnataka. The campaign started with a state rally in June 2010. The main demand was increasing budget allocation on special component plan and its effective implementation. A month-long campaign was taken up. Booklets and posters were published. Finally the government conceded some demands. In January 2011, a two-day workshop was organised with 93 comrades. 31 district and taluk committees were formed.

In Madhya Pradesh, state level workshop was organised with Party representatives from 14 districts on January 2-3, 2011. Another state level Dalit Adhikar Convention was held at Bhopal on February 13. An exclusive student workshop was held on July 9-10, 2011 in Gwalior with 35 participants.

Though Uttar Pradesh is a big state with huge population of Dalits, sufficient attention is not given to take up dalit issues. Survey forms were sent by the state Centre to districts. The only activity taken up recently was the issue of appointment of Dalit cooks for mid-day meal in government schools.

In Jharkhand, Convention was organised for tenancy rights to Dalits and OBCs under CNT Act on March 14 by four Left parties.

In Maharashtra, it was decided to hold surveys to study the issues.

In Bihar, conventions were organised in 16 districts.

People's Science Movement: Party members are actively working in the people's science movement and it has been active in the areas of science, popularization, science and technology policy, literacy and education, health, women's empowerment and rural artisan technology etc. Many states do not have functioning science fractions to guide the Party members working in the people's science movement. State committees which do not have fraction committees should organise fraction committees to guide Party members.

Parliament Sub-Committee : Despite the reduced strength in Parliament, our MPs have been trying to intervene on all important issues and to articulate the Party's position. There is need to better reflect the issues and struggles of the Party and the mass fronts. The Parliamentary

Party Committee is meeting regularly and there is better coordination between our MPs from the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. There is improvement in the functioning of the Parliamentary office.

Fraction Committees

Fraction committees are functioning in university and college teachers front, school teachers front, university employees front etc.

CC Units

All CC units, except one or two, out of fourteen are regularly functioning. For politicalisation, CC office units and CITU office units have put serious efforts in the form of study circles. CC units collected fund for Harkishan Singh Surjeet Bhawan, West Bengal solidarity and for elections. They participated in public activities organised by Delhi Party, May Day, Bharat Bandh etc. EMS centenary programme was organised at CC office. All units discussed and identified weaknesses at the time of rectification campaign. Still some problems like mechanical style of functioning, bureaucratic trends, lack of political consciousness is continuing among some members. Professional skills should be developed to meet the requirements of the Central offices of both Party and mass organisations.

International Department

The Party co-hosted the 11th International Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties, along with the CPI from 20-22 November 2009 in New Delhi. 89 participants representing 57 parties from 48 countries took part in the meeting. The meeting had unanimously adopted the 'Delhi Declaration' and the press communique of the meeting. Five delegates and eight observers represented CPI(M) in the meeting. A public meeting was organised on the last day of the meeting in Mavlankar Hall. Apart from both the General Secretaries of the CPI(M) and CPI, the General Secretary of RSP, representatives of the Forward Bloc, Cuba, US, Palestine, Israel, Greece and Portugal addressed the public meeting.

The bulletin on international developments is regularised and another bulletin on the ideological positions and activities of the various communist parties and the debates among them was also brought out.

The international department had many fruitful discussions with the delegations from various fraternal parties. Delegations from China,

Vietnam, Cuba, Japan, Venezuela, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Turkey and Germany visited our office and had bi-lateral discussions. Diplomats from various embassies too visited Party office and exchanged opinions on political developments.

After the 19th Congress in 2008, four delegations visited China. A leadership delegation consisting of CC members led by Sitaram Yechury visited China in 2008. Three delegations of cadre to study different aspects of Chinese society – education, health and Party building – visited upon the invitation of the Chinese Communist Party. In 2011, General Secretary Prakash Karat led a two-member leader's delegation to Japan. PB members Brinda Karat attended the Congress of PCdoB and B V Raghavulu attended the Congress of AKEL, while Central Committee members Nilotpal Basu and Tapan Sen attended the Congress of KKE and PCP respectively. Apart from this, CPI(M) is regularly attending the nine-member Working Group of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

Prakash Karat was invited to deliver a lecture by Marx Memorial Library/Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Britain in 2011. Sitaram Yechury was invited to deliver lectures by the Ho Chi Minh National Administration-Politics Institute, Vietnam in 2010; Cambridge University, Britain (2011), Stanford University, USA (2011) and Columbia University, USA (2010 and 2011).

The Party is playing an important role in the leadership of various solidarity organisations like the All India Peace and Solidarity Organisation (AIPSO), National Committee for Solidarity with Cuba, Indo-DPRK Friendship Association etc. These organisations are broad-based organisations with representatives from various political parties, mass organisations, NGOs and individuals. There is scope for revitalising the functioning of these organisations and further improving our involvement.

Fund Collection

Harkishan Singh Surjeet Bhawan Building Fund: The Central Committee decided to construct a building to house the permanent Party school in New Delhi. For this, 2,500 sq. meters of land was allotted to the Party by the government of India. The Party has already paid Rs. 55 lakhs for acquiring the land. The Central Committee has decided to name the building as Harkishan Singh Surjeet Bhawan. The Central Committee gave a call to all Party units to collect funds for the project.

The quota for fund collection is as follows: West Bengal & Kerala – one day fund collection, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu & Punjab – Rs. 15 lakh each, Tripura – Rs. 10 lakh, Maharashtra and Karnataka – Rs. 2 lakh each, Bihar, Rajasthan, Assam, Odisha and Delhi – Rs. 1 lakh each, Uttar Pradesh – Rs. 75,000, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh – Rs. 25,000 each, Chattisgarh, Uttarakhand and Gujarat – Rs. 10,000 each, Jammu & Kashmir, Goa, Manipur, Sikkim and Andaman & Nicobar – according to their capacity.

The CC decided that the state committees should raise the fund through mass collections and contributions by individuals within a period of 12 months, i.e., by January 31, 2011.

The Party Centre has received an amount of Rs. 1,35,48,078 from states. Many states are yet to fulfill their quota.

West Bengal State Relief Fund: The Central Committee gave a call to all Party units to collect funds to support the families of those killed, injured and displaced in the attack in West Bengal after the Assembly elections. The Central Committee informed the state committees to send cheques and drafts in the name of West Bengal State Relief Committee and send directly to West Bengal state committee. The West Bengal State Relief Committee received an amount of Rs. 4,42,77,066 from states.

Bihar Flood Relief Fund : The Party Centre received an amount of Rs. 89,91,337 from states.

III

Review Of The Implementation Of The 19th Congress Tasks

This part of the report examines how the important seven tasks set out in the 19th Congress were implemented, the achievements made, the failures and mistakes happened and the lessons drawn.

I

Expansion of the Party

The 19th Congress assessed the situation as one that offered opportunities for expansion of the Party and decided that the Party should make all

efforts to achieve expansion particularly in areas where the Party was weak. This is necessary not only for expansion at the all-India level but also to sustain the strength of the Party in states where the Party is strong. The Party has been continuously pointing out the need to expand the Party in the weaker states. The Salkia Plenum held on December 27-31 December 1978 directed that immediate attention should be given to the wide Hindi-speaking areas comprising of several states considering their political importance as well as the prospects of speedy growth. After the 17th Congress, the Central Committee selected Assam, Jharkhand, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra as priority states to concentrate efforts for expansion. The Party should examine whether the Party has been able to achieve expansion during this period.

The expansion of the Party is assessed on the basis of the growth of the Party and mass fronts, the rallying strength of the Party in activities and struggles and the electoral strength of the Party.

The Party membership increased from 9,82,155 at the time of the 19th Congress to 10,44,833 in 2011, an increase of 6.38 per cent. But there is decline in the rate of growth of Party membership during this period compared to the rate of growth achieved during the period between 18th and 19th Congresses. The Party membership declined in Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. There is also decline in the rate of growth of Party membership in many states. This is the reason for the decline in the rate of growth of Party membership.

The mass organisation membership declined from 6,17,93,166 to 6,10,39,800 and the percentage of decline is 1.22. Both youth front and women front membership declined. Due to the difficult situation in West Bengal, many mass front membership declined during this period. The increased activities in the TU front helped to achieve substantial growth in the TU front membership.

Hindi-Speaking States

Among the Hindi-speaking states, Rajasthan achieved some expansion by taking up the issue of canal water and the supply of electricity and its charges. There is impressive growth in Party and mass front membership in Himachal Pradesh and Haryana. Some state committees are active and taking up issues of the common people and organise campaigns and struggles wherever the Party has some presence. The efforts to expand the Party in Hindi-speaking states should continue. In order to give special attention, the Party Centre held three meetings of the state secretaries of the Hindi-speaking states.

Priority States

The Party selected Assam, Jharkhand, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra as priority states in order to concentrate efforts for expansion. The purpose was that the Party Centre should give more attention and the state committees should utilize their resources to carry out specific tasks for expansion on a time bound basis. It was also decided that the state committees should select certain districts as priority districts for concentrating efforts for expansion. The 19th Congress came to the conclusion that the selection of priority states and priority districts for concentrating efforts for expansion of the movement had helped to a certain extent in activating Party and mass fronts in those states and districts.

The PB and the Central Secretariat members who are in-charge of the priority states attended the state committee meetings regularly and also attended general body meetings and some district committee meetings. There is some growth in Party and mass front membership but the situation differs from state to state. In Maharashtra and Jharkhand, Party achieved some advance in panchayat and district council elections. In Jharkhand, Party won ten positions in district councils. But the Party has not been able to make substantial growth in any of the priority states.

After the Party Congress, the CC and state committees should review the whole experience and should decide how to continue the efforts for expansion including the selection of priority states.

Experience Summed Up

The political review report reviewed the electoral performance of the Party. The review of the agitations and struggles is done in the next section of this part.

A review of the Party and mass front membership, the rallying strength of the Party and mass fronts in activities and struggles and the electoral strength of the Party lead to the following conclusions:

1. The Party and mass fronts have not achieved any breakthrough in the weaker states. There is decline in some states and districts.
2. The unevenness in development of the Party and mass fronts at the all-India level is continuing. 73.12 per cent of the Party members are from West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura and if the membership

of Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu are added, the percentage will rise to 90.04 per cent. The mass front membership from the three states of West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura is 78.6 per cent and the membership of the five states of West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu is 91.14 per cent of the total mass front membership.

Work among Women

The period since the last Party Congress has seen a significant increase in the mobilization of women under the Party banner. During the elections also women have played an important role in taking the Party's message to the people. In most of the state reviews this factor has been noted. However there is still not a commensurate improvement in taking up gender issues by the Party. Some states as, for example, Haryana have done good work on the issue of specific caste based honour killings. In Tamilnadu, some initiatives were on the Party platform to organize anti-dowry conventions. In Kerala, the Party has been involved in mobilization against some specific cases of violence against women.

However, as a whole, the Party has not taken up the task seriously. At a time when issues such as increasing violence, female feoticide, dowry are coming to the forefront, it is essential that the Party should take up these issues from Party's platform.

Particulars of Party Members

The particulars of Party members are prepared on the basis of the details received at the Party Centre from the state committees. Out of the total 10,44,833 Party members, figures available for compilation is 10,03,776. Details have not been received from Andaman & Nicobar, Goa, Jammu & Kashmir, Manipur, Rajasthan and Sikkim.

Age distribution:

The percentage of Party members at the all-India level upto the age group of 25 years is 6.28, between 26 to 31 years is 15.53, between 32 to 50 years is 51.04, between 51 to 70 years is 25.06 and above 70 years is 2.09. The youth composition has improved and efforts to recruit more youth into the Party should continue. There is wide variations among states.

Year of joining the Party

At the all-India level, the percentage of Party members who joined the Party before 1947 is 0.04, between 1947 and 1963 is 0.52, between 1964 and 1976 is 3.25, between 1977 and 1991 is 18.95, between 1992 and 2000 is 23.49 and after 2000 is 53.74.

Class Composition:

At the all-India level, the percentage of Party members belonging to the working class is 35.27, agricultural labour is 23.2, poor peasant is 17.89, middle peasant is 8.81, rich peasant is 0.59, middle class is 10.37, landlord is 0.11 and the bourgeois is 0.04. At the all-India level, 76.36 per cent of the Party members are from working class, agricultural labourers and poor peasants. There is one per cent improvement compared to the last Party Congress figures.

Scheduled Caste Composition:

At the all-India level, 20.48 per cent of the Party members are from scheduled castes. The percentage of Party members from scheduled castes in different states are: Andhra Pradesh— 25.14 (23.2 in 2007), Assam— 9.76 (8.48 in 2007), Bihar—20 (24.38 in 2007), Chattisgarh— 12.58 (16.65 in 2007), Delhi— 25.04 (18.23 in 2007), Gujarat— 21.26 (10.69 in 2007), Haryana—27.49 (28.86 in 2007), Himachal Pradesh 18.71 (12.21 in 2007), Jharkhand—19.23 (18.82 in 2007), Karnataka— 12.03 (19.38 in 2007), Kerala—15.33 (14.97 in 2007), Madhya Pradesh— 22.76 (22.33 in 2007), Maharashtra— 10.3 (9.7 in 2007), Odisha— 19.32 (23.04 in 2007), Punjab—40.05 (49.74 in 2007), Tamilnadu—30.02 (28.88 in 2007), Tripura—17 (19.03 in 2007), Uttarakhand— 14.68 (15.52 in 2007), Uttar Pradesh— 15.75(16.10 in 2007), West Bengal— 23.45 (22.25 in 2007). There is slight improvement in the scheduled caste composition.

Scheduled Tribe Composition:

At the all-India level, 6.86 per cent of the Party members are from Scheduled Tribes. The percentage of Party members from scheduled tribes in different states are: Andhra Pradesh—13.18 (13.08 in 2007), Assam—9.48 (8.22 in 2007), Bihar—3.23 (2.12 in 2007), Chattisgarh— 34.65 (35.44 in 2007), Delhi—0.48 (0.27 in 2007), Gujarat—12.36 (16.42 in 2007) Himachal Pradesh—4.18 (4.55 in 2007), Jharkhand— 19.78 (19.81 in 2007), Karnataka— 7.94 (9.44 in 2007), Kerala—1.31 (0.90 in 2007), Madhya Pradesh—19.89 (16.96 in 2007), Maharashtra— 50.3 (49.3 in 2007), Odisha— 30.2 (18.99 in 2007), Punjab – 0.41, Tamilnadu—1.45 (1.19 in 2007), Tripura—30.01 (34.31 in 2007), Uttarakhand— 0.54 (0.85 in 2007), Uttar Pradesh— 0.39 (2.05 in 2007),

West Bengal—5.36 (5.40 in 2007). The scheduled tribe composition during last Party Congress was 6.43 per cent.

Muslim Minorities Composition:

At the all-India level, 9.57 per cent of the Party members are Muslims. The composition of Muslim minorities in different states are: Andhra Pradesh—4.5 (4.52 in 2007), Assam – 18.95 (17.57 in 2007), Bihar—7.8 (11.29 in 2007), Chattisgarh— 2.20 (2.26 in 2007), Delhi—11.46 (10.52 in 2007), Gujarat—5.15 (6.38 in 2007) Haryana—1.69 (2.49 in 2007), Himachal Pradesh—0.8 (1.05 in 2007), Jharkhand—8.31 (9.37 in 2007), Karnataka—3.89 (7.40 in 2007), Kerala—9.56 (10.35 in 2007), Madhya Pradesh— 4.26 (5.20 in 2007), Odisha—1.42 (0.87 in 2007), Punjab— 0.73 (1.08 in 2007), Tamilnadu—2.4 (2.74 in 2007), Tripura— 5 (5.67 in 2007), Uttarakhand—1.71 (5.80 in 2007), Uttar Pradesh- 12.35 (13.12 in 2007), West Bengal—14.98 (both Muslims and Christians) (14.67 in 2007).

Christian Minorities Composition:

At the all-India level, 4.78 per cent of the Party members are Christians.

Women Composition:

14.05 per cent of the Party members are women. The percentage of women in different states are: Andhra Pradesh—17.92 (partial figures) (13.79 in 2007), Assam – 18.43 (15.35 in 2007), Bihar (partial figures)— 10.01 (3.65 in 2007), Chattisgarh— 9.43 (7.66 in 2007), Delhi—22.97 (18.88 in 2007), Gujarat—16.11 (16.44 in 2007), Haryana—8.88 (8.13 in 2007), Himachal Pradesh – 11.94, Jharkhand— 7.52 (6.25 in 2007), Karnataka—20.87 (18.46 in 2007), Kerala—13.87 (11.28 in 2007), Madhya Pradesh 14.07 (12.39 in 2007), Maharashtra— 16.57 (15.39 in 2007), Odisha—9.12 (7.32 in 2007), Punjab—4.7 (6.74 in 2007), Tamilnadu—15.4 (13.34 in 2007), Tripura—25.22 (23.16 in 2007), Uttarakhand—12.61 (12.57 in 2007), Uttar Pradesh— 5.77 (6.88 in 2007), West Bengal— 10.84 (10.47 in 2007).

There is improvement in the women composition of the Party members during this period. The percentage of women membership increased from 11.93 to 14.05. In most of the states, women membership increased because of the special efforts to recruit more women into the Party. The efforts to recruit more women into the Party should continue.

Educational Background:

At the all-India level, 2.58 per cent of Party members are post-graduates, graduates—9.1, Higher Secondary/Intermediate/Pre-degree—16.45, upto class 10—46.12, upto class 5—17.83, no formal schooling—6.79.

Droppage of Party and Candidate Members:

At the all-India level, the average percentage of full Party members dropped is 5.63 per cent and candidate members dropped is 12.45 per cent. The figures in states are as follows: Andhra Pradesh—5.16 (PM), 15.82 (CM), Assam—6.94 (PM), 29.57 (CM), Delhi—11.95 (PM), 11.50 (CM), Haryana—4.41 (PM), 11.43 (CM), Himachal Pradesh—11.69 (PM), 19.38 (CM), Karnataka— 9.45 (PM), 35.02 (CM), Kerala—7.87 (PM), 20.45 (CM), Odisha—5.05 (PM), 58.5 (CM), Punjab—1.57 (PM), 4.55 (CM), Tamilnadu— 15.05 (PM+CM), Uttarakhand—3.26 (PM), 29.03 (CM), Uttar Pradesh – 5.76 (PM), West Bengal—5.25 (PM), 7.74 (CM).

No break-up about droppage is available of Andaman & Nicobar, Bihar, Chattisgarh, Goa, Gujarat, Jammu & Kashmir, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Rajasthan, Sikkim and Tripura.

II

Taking up Local Issues and Conducting Sustained Struggles: Activisation of Party Members in Mass Fronts to Achieve Rapid Expansion of Mass Fronts

The first task decided by 19th Congress was to make plans to take up local issues and conduct struggles in a sustained manner. Activise the work of the Party members in mass fronts so that the mass fronts can achieve expansion.

After the 19th Congress, the state committees organised campaigns and struggles on many issues.

The Party committees at different levels took up issues related to price rise, MNREGA, PDS, the workers in the unorganized sector, agricultural workers, land and wages, issues of different sections among the peasantry, issue of irrigation, flood, drought, electricity charge, Forest Rights Act, developmental issues, police atrocities, attacks against women, social oppression, corruption in different levels of administration, efficient implementation of government schemes, selection of beneficiaries to the government schemes, functioning of the panchayati raj institutions etc. The general experience is that wherever

Party took up such issues and organised agitations and struggles continuously, Party was able to rally wider sections of people.

In **Kerala**, the Party and all mass organisations together took up the issue of the adverse impact on the life of the people in Kerala consequent to India signing Free Trade Agreement with ASEAN countries. The agreement will have disastrous impact on the life of the people in Kerala and southern states. Extensive campaign was organised to educate the masses on the adverse impact. 20 lakhs of people participated in the 'human wall' programme organised in Kerala on October 2, 2009. The Party has been able to reach wider sections.

In **Andhra Pradesh**, Party and mass fronts took up many issues and conducted campaigns and struggles. Andhra Pradesh mid-term review report states: *“Multifarious activities were conducted. We could mobilise thousands of people on the issues of ration cards, house sites, land struggle, direct action against caste discrimination, hostels movement, comprehensive development etc. Padayatras were organised and comprehensive surveys was done at mandal level etc. Our prestige has gone up. Our contacts widened. Despite this, the people mobilised in these struggles could not be consolidated politically.”*

Rajasthan state committee has conducted sustained struggle on many issues. Rajasthan mid-term review report states: *“The Party in the state have been conducting sustained struggles on issues of sufficient water supply from Rajasthan canal, supply of electricity, problems of NREGA workers etc. The student front has been conducting struggles against fees hike and for student union elections. The Party members and mass organizations especially kisan and student fronts are most activated. Other mass fronts, TU, women, youth are also active in their fields. The Party membership has increased but not according to the planning.”*

About Party's intervention in MNREGA, **Karnataka** work report states: *“In more than 200 gram panchayats in 35 taluks of Bidar, Gulbarga, Raichur, Koppal, Bellary, Kolar, Chikballapur, Mandya, Uduppi, South Canara, Uttar Canara, Belgaum, Gadag and Haveri. 50 thousand agricultural labourers and farm workers, majority of women, got the benefits of this scheme. There were clashes in many places where some vested interest had control over the local administration. In more than 15 centres, our workers were physically attacked. In many centres, overnight dharnas demanding proper implementation of the scheme, timely payment of wages, payment of wage arrears were held. Local grama panchayat offices were locked by people as a mark of protest.*

Due to effective intervention in this scheme, we could win many seats in grama panchayat elections. Around 427 of our Party candidates or candidates supported by us won the seats.”

The differentiated nature of the impact of the neo-liberal economic policies are creating new problems for building movements. It brought many changes in the economic life, social situation and lifestyle of people. These changes are creating problems for building united movements of different sections. The Andhra Pradesh state report noted these difficulties. It states : *“Neo-liberal policies have brought many drastic changes in the economic, social situation and people’s life style. These changes are making the conduct of our mass movements and struggles in varied ways. It is becoming difficult to formulate demands, agitation forms and organisational forms that can unitedly move vast number of people. The specific problems, agitation and organisational forms for different sections and groups are increasingly gaining significance. Government too is encouraging such organisational forms (Development of women and children in rural areas (DWACRA), DUMVA, neighbourhood committees, ryot mitra (peasant) groups etc). NGOs too are encouraging these types of practices. The divisions, inequalities, in securities created by the neo-liberal policies are creating fertile ground for strengthening all caste organisations, communal ideology and identity groups”.*

The capitalist path of development and the neo-liberal economic policies are making big changes. The Party should concretely study the changes, the direction of the changes and make concrete plans to take up such issues on which the classes and sections of people of the people’s democratic front can be rallied together. Concrete study of the concrete situation is important to identify the issues on which people can be rallied together.

The experience in launching movements and struggles, assessed and reviewed by the state conferences in their work reports can be consolidated and summarized as follows:

- 1) State committees conducted many campaigns and struggles on local and immediate issues. However, no class or mass organisation was able to make any substantial or sustained growth. In Rajasthan, we were able to consolidate the influence gained through the struggle on the canal water issue and electricity to some extent. In many states, our growth is very nominal. There are three main shortcomings. Many committees organised campaigns

rather than struggles. In some other states, Party and mass fronts failed to build sustained struggles. Some state committees have not made any serious effort at all.

- 2) Despite the growing agrarian crisis, Party and kisan and agricultural workers fronts have not been successful in building powerful agrarian struggles reaching wider sections. The weakness in giving adequate attention to the problems of the peasantry and identifying appropriate issues in building peasant unity around poorer sections among the peasantry is continuing. The intensification of the class struggle in the rural areas has not been the main feature of the work of the kisan and agricultural workers fronts or the Party's priority. Obviously, there are serious obstacles in the way – the differentiated nature of the adverse impact of the crisis among various sections among the peasantry, regions, crops and periods, the deep-rooted casteism which divides the peasantry, the strong influence of landlordism and feudal elements, the growing criminalization and resort to goonda violence, low level of political consciousness – all these have to be surmounted by planned and determined organisational work and by raising correct slogans and building movements on the issues of land, wages, prices of crops, credit, social oppression etc.
- 3) Although a series of joint actions, including general strikes, have been organised, a much bigger section of the workforce, both in the organised as well as in the unorganized sectors, still continues to be outside these actions and our influence. The weakness in utilizing the opportunity provided by the united actions to approach broader sections of the workers and expand our influence is continuing. The prevailing urge for unity among the working class of all affiliations should be fully utilized by the trade union front and the Party and more planned efforts are needed to reach and rally them.
- 4) There is weakness in identifying the demands on which people would respond and deciding the form of propaganda and the form of struggles. The work style of the Party and mass fronts should be changed and the demands, the form of propaganda and the form of struggle should be decided considering the experience of the masses and their level of consciousness. In the present changed situation, we should work out different types of organisational forms, methods of work and forms of campaigns and struggles for different areas and sections of people.

- 5) The Party and mass fronts in many places failed to appropriately intervene when issues come up or spontaneous struggles took place. Due to the impact of neo-liberal economic policies and the context of growing agrarian crisis, new movements and struggles of the oppressed sections of the masses are bound to increase in the coming period. The Party and mass organisations should make use of all such opportunities and come forward to encourage, participate and lead such spontaneous struggles and, thus, win the confidence and leadership of the masses. The bold leading of such struggles will help the broadening and deepening of the movement in the old areas and spreading the movement to new areas and reach hitherto unorganized mass and help to create new opportunities for building mass organisations and Party and also for drawing and training new cadres for the Party. Any weakness in intervention in the spontaneous protests and struggles will either give opportunities to the disruptive forces or to the enemies to intervene and lead the masses into divisive channels or the masses may again fall back to cynicism and inaction.
- 6) As stated in the CC document 'On Approach to Mass Organisations' adopted in 2004, the works of the trade union front, kisan front and agricultural workers front are still limited to among a small section of these classes in states other than West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura. The same situation applies in the case of youth, student and women fronts. The weaknesses in the independent democratic and active functioning of the mass fronts at different levels is persisting in many states. The weakness in enrolling and organizationally integrating people who are participating in the movements of the mass fronts is also continuing.
- 7) The weakness in Party building is continuing. The activists in the mass organisations should be identified, recruit them in auxiliary groups, give them work, monitor their work, educate them politically and organisationally and promote them as Party members those who successfully carry out the tasks.
- 8) The Party Constitution directs that one of the important duties of Party members is to devotedly serve the masses and consistently strengthen the bonds with them, to learn from the masses and to report their aspirations and demands to the Party, to work in a mass organisation unless exempted under the guidance of the Party. These duties of the Party members are not insisted upon and

implemented. Many Party branches and units also failed to deploy the Party members in various mass organisations and to review their work.

III

Taking up Social Issues and Organising Agitations and Struggles

The Party Congress decided to take up social issues and organise agitations and struggles. The 1978 Salkia Plenum also pointed out that the Party should take the initiative and actively participate in socio-cultural movements and use all intellectual and cultural resources of the youth, student and writers for transforming the present situation. After the 19th Congress, we made some efforts to take up social issues in states.

The most important work done during this period was in Tamilnadu. The Party and mass organisations took the initiative and jointly with many dalit organisations, formed Tamilnadu Untouchability Eradication Front (TNUEF). The TNUEF took up many social issues and organised campaigns and struggles. The TNUEF conducted field surveys in 1849 villages spread over 22 districts and identified 85 types of untouchability and 23 types of violence in villages. Field surveys conducted in Chennai and Madurai showed that discrimination continues in respect of provision of education, health, drinking water and other basic amenities where dalits live. The TNUEF took up the different forms of discrimination against dalits, including the wall put up in Uthapuram to divide dalit and non-dalit areas and the right to enter temple.

Andhra Pradesh state committee took up social issues seriously. An anti-caste discrimination front was formed and took up many social issues and organised campaigns, including cycle jathas and struggles.

Certain social issues were taken up in Karnataka. Karnataka report states: *“When we study the data, it is clear that the dalits are facing discrimination in day-to-day lifes. They face it in hotels, barber shops etc. They have no access to temples, drinking water facilities or even to burial ground. Dalit women are treated even more atrociously. If they dare question these practices, they are subject to humiliation and attacks mercilessly. Our struggle against this oppression is most important. Even though this inhuman system exist for a long time, our intervention in these matters is negligible”*.

The main weakness in taking up social issues is in the Hindi-speaking states. The meetings of the state secretaries of the Hindi-speaking states decided to take up social issues and to conduct surveys in order to concretize the issues on which agitations and struggles can be organised. In most of the Hindi-speaking states, no serious effort was done to conduct surveys in order to concretize the issues on which agitations and struggles can be organised. The Delhi state committee conducted a survey within the Party ranks on the issue of dowry. Workshops were also organised in states and identified certain issues.

Despite the decisions of the previous Party Congresses, state committee meetings and the meetings of the state secretaries of Hindi-speaking states, no serious follow-up work was organised by Party committees to take up the issues of social oppression, caste discrimination in a sustained manner in states. Haryana is an exception where we have opposed the khap panchayat diktats leading to honour crimes. The Party is not making the anti-caste propaganda and struggle as part of its daily activity even among the basic classes. The rise of the communal forces, the deeper communalization of social life, the erosion of secular values in substantial sections of the educated middle classes, the use of caste by bourgeois-landlord political parties for electoral mobilization – all these has led to the retreat from secular democratic values. The present situation creates difficulties for building and expanding the Party and mass organisations.

It was decided that the Party would take up gender issues from its own platform. However, except for the anti-dowry conventions organised in Tamilnadu and Delhi, there is no improvement. At a time when women are coming into public life in greater numbers, more so after reservation in panchayat has been raised to 50 per cent, it is all the more important to draw women into Left-oriented politics. The Party must champion the cause of women from its platform in a sustained manner as part of its own campaign as well as in specific campaigns.

The reports show that cadres working at different levels show reluctance in taking up the issue of social oppression of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes and gender issues. Some of them consider that if the Party take up such issues, some supporters of the Party may go away from the Party. The caste prejudices or the alien patriarchal notions about women and women's role, of a section of the comrades is also responsible for the lack of enthusiasm or reluctance in taking up social issues and organising campaigns and struggles.

IV

Improve the Quality of Party Members, Organise More Economic, Political and Ideological Struggle and to Activise them

Another important task set out at the 19th Congress was to improve the quality of Party members in order to enable them to conduct more economic, political and ideological struggle and to activise them. The Party has to carry out all-sided struggles – economic, political and ideological – in order to achieve expansion. The Party members should be fully equipped to successfully conduct these struggles.

The state committees made efforts to improve the quality of Party members and to activise them. More political classes have been organised during this period. After the 19th Congress, the following All India Schools were organised for Party and mass organisation leaders. The details are as follows:

1. Three-day school for comrades working in Party media was held in Thiruvananthapuram on November 1-3, 2008. 86 comrades attended from 14 states. This is the first school of this kind.
2. Three-day school for cadres working in tribal front was held in Hyderabad from January 16-18, 2009. 128 comrades from 13 states attended.
3. Five-day Party school for state leadership was held on November 1-5, 2009 in Delhi. 119 comrades attended from 21 states.
4. Two-day school for comrades working in IT sector was held in Hyderabad on February 28-March 1, 2009. 90 comrades from 8 states attended.
5. Five-day school for activists working in science movement was held on March 23-27, 2010 in Delhi. 105 including 11 women comrades attended.
6. Five-day school for comrades working in student front was held from June 6-10, 2010 in Delhi. 114 students from 19 states attended.
7. School for CC members were held in two batches – first in Hyderabad from December 14-18, 2010 and the second in Chennai from January 7-11, 2011. 76 CC members, including PB members, attended the classes.
8. Three-day school for Party cadres working in the disability sector was held in Chennai from November 12-14, 2010. 162 cadres from 13 states attended.
9. Three-day school for comrades working in CG front was held in Thiruvananthapuram from February 17-19, 2011.

10. Five-day school for state level leaders in Hindi-speaking states was held in Chandigarh from March 12-16, 2011.
11. Two three-day classes for Party members working in Anganwadi employees was held on August 16-18, 2011 at Chandigarh for Hindi-speaking states and another in Bengali for eastern states on September 17-19, 2011 at Kolkata.
12. A political school for Hyderabad minorities at the request of the Andhra Pradesh state committee was organized in New Delhi from August 20-24, 2008. 88 comrades participated.

At the state level, Party leadership schools were organised in Kerala, Tripura, West Bengal, Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab and Rajasthan. Andhra Pradesh and Kerala state committees are organising regular classes for cadres.

The work reports from many states showed that the level of consciousness of a large section of Party members is that of a militant in a mass organisation or that of an active supporter of the Party in elections. The Party was not able to raise their elementary consciousness generated in economic struggles, political campaigns and work in elections into socialist consciousness. They are also not trained to work within the framework of the organisational principles of a Communist Party.

Andhra Pradesh report states: "Some membership might have increased here and there due to the expansion of our movement. But the maximum increase still is from our sympathisers and followers who are politically with us. Thus this membership growth indicates the loosening of our quality and not the expansion of our revolutionary organisation. This is the reason why the quality of our Party membership is severely falling. 30 per cent of the members are completely uninvolved in our work. Another 40 per cent are involving in the work only nominally. There is a slight improvement during very important campaigns like elections. Only one-third are active."

The Party is facing another problem – the problem created by the new entrants into the Party. It is an undoubted fact that without new entrants, the Party cannot achieve expansion. 54.35 per cent of Party members joined the Party after 2000. The percentage of Party members joined after 2000 differs from state to state. Serious efforts are necessary to raise the political, ideological and organisational consciousness of the Party members. But if the new entrants are not taught and trained in Marxist politics, ideology and organisational principles, they bring with them

their alien, wrong, petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideologies, politics and concept of organisation. This is one of the main reasons for the growing trend of individualism, careerism, factionalism, parliamentarism and other bourgeois vices among the Party members.

West Bengal report states: *“Party education was not conducted with proper importance in last four years as four major elections were held during this period. A state level school and another state level camp for tribal comrades were held. In spite of the difficult situation, it must be admitted that there were deficiencies in central planning too. State sub-committee has formulated syllabus and notes for classes for a number of times and sent those to districts. It also sent teachers to conduct classes. Youth and student fronts have conducted some state level camps and in districts too. Women front has done that in districts and also conducted camps in Siliguri and Kolkata for North Bengal and South Bengal respectively. District committees have conducted camps at district level but the experience of camps on the same subject at zonal or local level is not satisfactory. At that level, the persons ranged from 35 to 55 per cent. Even in exceptional cases, it did not cross 65 per cent. Majority of those attended did little effort to comprehend and exercise”.*

The state reports also show that a large section of Party members are inactive. Many of them do not carry out the minimum responsibilities laid down in the Party Constitution. The ‘Report and Resolution on Organisation’ adopted by the Salkia Plenum pointed out : *“At present even the minimum duties are not carried out by a large number which reduces the Party to an amorphous conglomeration of individuals and saps the basis of the Party.*

“Here it is the direct responsibility of the State and lower committees to ensure this discharge of responsibilities, receive regular reports on it and take proper steps to improve the situation.”

Kerala report states: *“Many members are continuing in the Party without taking part in any activity. Even those not residing permanently in a place also have Party membership.....In some places, those who are not qualified as per Party norms to be members are recruited. There are many people who have not participated in any meeting or taken part in any activity. There are also units which allow some individuals to continue as members who have habits and types of behaviour which disqualify them to be Party members. What is necessary is assessment and decisions in which higher committees are also involved. May be*

during the period of factionalism as part of which when membership is increased for numbers sake norms were not observed.”

Another weaknesses noted in the state reports is the high percentage of dropouts from the Party membership. The faulty membership recruitment process, low political, ideological and organisational level of Party members, inactivity of the Party members and inactivity of the Party branches are the main reasons for this high percentage of dropouts from the Party membership. The floating nature of Party membership in some states will create serious political and organisational problems.

Karnataka work report states: *“In this four year membership, 2,870 Party members did not renew their membership. It means 38 per cent of the Party members have gone out of the Party. It highlights serious condition in this regard.In these four years, 3,677 new members are added. That is 48.84 per cent of the total membership. ...Weaknesses in giving proper attention to enhance the level of political, organisational understanding of the current members, while putting efforts in bringing new members to Party fold. This is also the main reason for the large dropouts in the Party membership and this is the main weakness of the state Party among other weaknesses.”*

Tamilnadu state report states: *“We do not have the details as to how many PMs dropped out, how many CMs dropped out. We could calculate only the total dropout. Dropout details in the last four years : 2008 – 13,855, 2009 – 15,210, 2010 – 14,015 and 2011 – 13,408. The total dropout in all these four years had been 56,488.*

“Reasons for dropout: The reports of the district committees indicate that reasons such as adoption of stricter criteria at the time of renewal of Party membership and insisting on raising the quality required of Party members also contributed to the high dropout in the Party membership. However, the dropouts do occur for a number of other reasons. These include: irregular functioning of Party branches, failure to activate the Party members; failure to enthuse Party members by conducting movements on local people’s issues; failure to allocate work to Party members properly; not activating the Party members to work fully in the mass and class organisations; not solving then and there the problems that arise in the branches, not taking efforts to collect the levy regularly every month; Party members not fulfilling the basic duties including the reading of Theekkathir and taking Party education; and (our) failure to bring about the realization in every member that to be a member of the Party and work for it constitutes a great opportunity in one’s life. While

deaths and change of residence are also among the reasons for dropout, the aforesaid are the reasons for the majority of instances of Party members dropping out.”

Kerala report states: *“In 2007 among PMs 30,777 (10.83%) did not renew. Among CMs 13,329 (25.91%) did not renew. In 2008 27,466 (9.25%) did not renew and among CMs 8,518 (21.43%) did not renew. In 2009, 26,794 (8.91%) PMs did not renew and among CMs 8,099 (20.31%) did not renew. In 2010, 29,181 (9.6%) PMs and 13,709 (22.8%) CMs did not renew. In 2011, 25,418 (7.89%) PMs and 8,091 (20.46%) did not renew.*

“The dropout of Party members is continuing with some increase or decrease. When district-wise data are considered in 2008 dropouts among PMs varied from 6.70% to 12.51%. Dropouts among CMs varied from 13.78% to 29.72%. In 2009 dropouts among PMs varied between 7.01% and 11.28%. That among CMs varied between 8.79% and 25.38%. In 2010 dropouts among PMs varied from 7.3% to 11.4% and that among CMs from 13.3% to 38.4%. In 2011 dropouts among PMs varied between 5.81% and 12.77% and that among CMs varied from 13.26% to 29.40%.

“Though there is a slight decrease in the dropout rate compared to the period of last conference, it cannot be said that an appreciable change could be made. It shows that a major shortcoming exists in making those coming into Party membership participate in daily political-organisational work and in increasing their consciousness by continuously imparting Party education. It can be said that there is a major change in the trend assessed by the last conference. Party CC had pointed out this shortcoming in 2006 itself. It cannot be claimed that, that situation has substantially improved.”

Sometimes the assessments about the seats Party shall win in elections indicate that the Party at different levels suffer from some degree of subjectivism.

Though efforts have been made to improve the political, ideological and organisational consciousness of the Party members, there is no noticeable improvement in the overall situation. The main reasons for the growing inactivity among the Party members and the increased number of dropouts from Party membership are because of the defective nature of membership recruitment, their political, ideological and organisational training, inactivity of the branches, non-allocation of specific tasks to Party members, lack of monitoring their performance etc. The inactive

Party members and the low political-ideological and organisational level of Party members are creating many political and organisational problems inside the Party.

V

Efforts to Improve the Functioning of the Branches and Party Committees at All Levels Including the Party Centre

Branches

There are at present 93,107 branches working. In order to ensure every Party member discharge his/her minimum responsibilities, it is necessary to improve the functioning of the basic unit of the Party – the branch. Lack of efficient secretaries and low political, ideological and organisational level of Party members and the inactivity of the intermediate committees and the district committees are the major reasons for the defective functioning of the Party branches. The work division among the Party members and the review of the activities of the Party members are seldom done in most of the branches. Improving the functioning of branches will activate Party members and help in achieving expansion of mass fronts and Party.

The Party Congress and the Central Committee documents point out certain specific tasks for improving the functioning of the Party branches.

1. The branches should hold at least 12 meetings in a year.
2. The higher committee should conduct yearly review of the branches at the time of the renewal of Party membership.
3. The district committees should hold periodical meetings of the branch secretaries and should make concrete plans for training branch secretaries to make them politically and organizationally capable of discharging their responsibilities.

State committees made efforts to improve the functioning of the Party branches. The state work reports reveal that the situation differs from state to state and district to district. There is improvement in the functioning of the branches where district committees are active. Whenever and wherever efforts are made, there is improvement.

Tripura report states: *“Information coming from branch conferences shows generally 53 per cent branches has met 7 to 12 times or more in a year. The interim organisational analysis after the last conference revealed that 75% of branches had held 12 or more meetings. So we*

have lagged behind to some extent in organising monthly branch meetings. The local and divisional committees have to find out the reason behind this.”

The Tripura report shows there is ups and downs in the process of improvement and improvement is directly related to the efforts.

Andhra Pradesh report states: “Branch meetings are not held properly. Members are not paying their levies properly. Very few middle class members are calculating their income and paying their levy according to the Party rules. They are paying lump-sum amounts. If we are insisting that they have to pay the stipulated amount, they are opting to dropout as members. For this reason, Party committees too are not acting strictly. The effects of reforms like consumerism and indebtedness are influencing the members in this manner. The gap between our rules and their implementation is increasing by the day. Revolutionary spirit is getting diluted.”

Local Committees

There are 5,733 local committees in different states. The local committees are the next higher committee to the branches. The Central Committee had instructed all state committees in 2009 that if there are three or more branches in a contiguous area under a district committee, a local committee should be organised in between branches and the district committee in order to guide, assess and activate Party branches. Many state committees organised local committees in between branches and district committees as per the direction of the CC. Earlier it was not possible for many district committees to monitor and guide all branches as there are more branches under it. Normally, local committees are comprised of important branch secretaries, leaders of different mass organisations and Party leaders in the locality. The functioning of the local committees helped in activating the branches, Party members and mass organisations at the grassroot level.

Zonal/Area Committees

There are 971 zonal/area committees. Zonal/area committees are constituted when there are more Party members and branches under a district and the district committee is not able to guide and help the activities of the branches, local committees due to expansion of the Party and the increase in the Party membership. The zonal/area committees are

the next higher committee to local committees and next lower committees to the district committees.

District Committees

There are 273 district committees, 102 district organising committees and 22 district level local committees and altogether Party committees are in 397 districts. In weaker states, a large number of district committees and district organising committees are not properly functioning. They don't have any office or centralized functioning. It is necessary to strengthen the functioning of the district committee in order to activate branches, intermediate committees and mass organisations. The state reports show that the branches are active where the district committees are active. There is shortage of adequate number of wholetimers in those areas where the Party is weak. The district committees should select adequate number of wholetimers. Centralised functioning of the district committees also should be ensured. A serious effort should be made in all states to activate the district committees. The state committees should regularly review the functioning of the district committees.

State Committees

There are 22 state committees and four state organising committees. There is improvement in the regular meetings of the state secretariat and state committees. Written reports are presented in most of the state committee meetings. Comrades from the PB and CC attend most of the state committee meetings. One of the weaknesses of the functioning of the state committees, where the Party is weak, is that the state committees do not make concrete plans for expansion and pool their resources for achieving expansion. Many state committees ignore the importance of recruiting adequate number of wholetimers and regular payment of their wages. Some of them show weaknesses in making political interventions in the political developments in the state. Some state committees do not issue statements even when important developments take place in the state. Ideological struggle is completely ignored. Different types of weaknesses such as lack of collective functioning, lack of centralized functioning, lack of taking initiative, bureaucratism etc can be seen in the functioning of the state committees. Each state committee should concretely examine the weaknesses and take immediate remedial measures.

Polit Bureau

Fifteen members were elected to the Polit Bureau after the 19th Congress. They were : Prakash Karat (General Secretary), V. S. Achuthanandan, S. Ramachandran Pillai, Sitaram Yechury, M. K. Pandhe, Biman Basu, Manik Sarkar, Pinarayi Vijayan, Buddhadeb Bhattacharya, K. Varadharajan, B. V. Raghavulu, Brinda Karat, Mohd. Amin, Nirupam Sen and Kodyeri Balakrishnan. Jyoti Basu was included in the Polit Bureau as a special invitee because of his ill health. Jyoti Basu died on January 17, 2010. M.K. Pandhe died on August 20, 2011. V. S. Achuthanandan was dropped from the PB for violations and breach of discipline.

Party Centre : Prakash Karat, S. Ramachandran Pillai, Sitaram Yechury, K. Varadharajan and Brinda Karat are working from the Party Centre. Mohd. Amin who was working from the Centre has now shifted to Kolkata after his retirement from the Rajya Sabha in 2011. Buddhadeb Bhattacharya, Biman Basu and Nirupam Sen are concentrating in West Bengal. Nirupam Sen, in addition to his responsibilities in West Bengal, is helping the Odisha state committee with the assistance of Surjyokanta Mishra. B. V. Raghavulu is concentrating in Andhra Pradesh as secretary of state committee and he is discharging responsibilities as convenor of the education sub-committee. Pinarayi Vijayan is the secretary of Kerala state committee and both Pinarayi Vijayan and Kodyeri Balakrishnan are concentrating Party work in Kerala. Kodyeri Balakrishnan is in-charge of the Kerala-Karnataka border committee. Manik Sarkar is the Chief Minister of Tripura and concentrating his work in Tripura. He also attended some important meetings of Assam state committee.

Responsibilities of PB Members

Prakash Karat: General Secretary, overall coordination and head of the Central Secretariat, Editor of *The Marxist*. Looking after the committee on Muslim minority. State responsibility of Uttar Pradesh.

S. Ramachandran Pillai: Convenor of the organisation and finance sub-committees, in-charge of lawyer's front and Chairperson of Central Discipline Commission. State responsibility of Bihar, Punjab and now attending some meetings of the Assam state committee.

- Sitaram Yechury: In-charge of international department, parliamentary sub-committee, science fraction, editor of *People's Democracy* and *Loklehar*, looking after the educational front as a whole and student and youth fraction committees. State responsibility of Maharashtra.
- K. Varadha Rajan: Convenor of the agrarian sub-committee, in-charge of committee on scheduled caste affairs and cultural fraction. State responsibility of Karnataka and assisting Maharashtra.
- Brinda Karat: Convenor of tribal committee, in-charge of agit-prop department and women's front, disability sector. State responsibility of Jharkhand.
- Mohd. Amin: Trade Union Centre.

The PB meetings are held normally within 45 days and urgent meetings are called whenever necessary. 37 PB meetings were held during this period.

The Party has been struggling to build a strong and effective Centre to discharge the political, ideological and organisational tasks from the time of the Salkia Plenum onwards. There has been progress in many respects but certain important shortcomings continue.

The daily meeting of the available PB members is an important mechanism for collective functioning and team work. These meetings have helped in the Party's prompt reactions to political developments and dealing with urgent organisational matters.

The PB tried to intervene in most of the important political, economic, social and ideological issues and expressed the views of the Party on such matters. The PB tried to help the state committees in formulating the political-tactical line of the Party in states and organisational tasks. The PB also helped the state committees in settling organisational issues and in carrying out the rectification campaign. The PB intervened and helped the Kerala state committee to evolve a common understanding on certain

political issues and matters related to elections, government related matters and to solve certain organisational problems.

However, two weaknesses are continuing. The PB members at the Party Centre are not finding time to discuss the reports submitted by the sub-committees and fraction committees and on that basis have a collective assessment and provide guidance. The second weakness is the Party Centre is not discussing collectively the work done by all-India mass organisation Centres and their performance and place the reports before the CC.

Only Agricultural Workers front and Trade Union front reviews have been done during this period.

Regular reviews of the work of mass fronts and struggles will help to focus on extra-parliamentary work. It will help to strengthen emphasis on mass struggle and help to settle integration of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary work. It is very important that our parliamentary work should reflect the mass struggles.

The PB and CC have to function strictly on the principle of democratic centralism. The cohesion inside the PB and CC is important. The authority and image of the PB gets affected if there is lack of cohesion. At times, there is lack of unified understanding within the PB and the Party Centre. This finds expression at times in public statements and remarks to the media. It also percolated down.

It is also necessary to have a collective understanding about the cadres and their deployment.

Federal tendencies which were noted in the Salkia Plenum continue. The PB as a whole will have to fight this trend. With the uneven development of the Party and the difference in regional experience, there is an objective basis for the federal trends. It is also true that except for some issues regarding the functioning of the state government which were brought to the PB, the PB has been unable to have a comprehensive review of the work of the state government. This also reflects a federal tendency.

The PB members working at the Party Centre must acquire a proper understanding of the issues and problems of the various states and movements and to integrate their work in such a manner as to help develop the Party and mass movement. Special efforts have to be made

to have a collective assessment and to prioritise the work of individual PB members and to check up whether the tasks are implemented.

There were also weakness in implementation of the understanding of the CC document of 1981 'On Mass Organisations' and the 2004 CC document 'On Approach to Mass Organisations'.

Central Secretariat

The Central Committee elected a seven-member Central Secretariat consisting of Prakash Karat, Hari Singh Kang, Nilotpal Basu, Hannan Mollah, Srinivasa Rao, A. Vijayaraghavan and Jogendra Sharma.

All Central secretariat members, except A. Vijayaraghavan, are now working from the Party Centre. The work of the Central secretariat as part of the Party Centre is getting integrated. Hari Singh Kang is in-charge of the office and discharging part of the work of the international department. Apart from the state responsibilities in Haryana and Punjab, Nilotpal Basu is attached to student front, college and university teachers, university employees and lekhak sangh fraction committees. Apart from state responsibilities in Rajasthan and Bihar, Hannan Mollah is attached to youth fraction. Jogendra Sharma is looking after states of Delhi and Chattisgarh. A. Vijayaraghavan is looking after Himachal Pradesh. He is concentrating in Agricultural Workers front and discharging Party responsibilities in Kerala. The work of the CC units is being coordinated by Srinivasa Rao. There are 14 units directly supervised by the Central Committee. 89 members are working under CC units. Publications and press are also looked after by Srinivasa Rao. He is assisting the functioning of the school teachers fraction and free software movement.

There is a scope for further enhancing the work of the Central secretariat.

Central Committee

The 19th Congress elected 86 members to the Central Committee and six members as special invitees to the Central Committee. Among the CC members, Jyoti Basu and M. K. Pandhe died during this period. Among the special invitees to the CC, Harkishan Singh Surjeet, E. Balanandan, P. Ramachandran and Pappa Umanath died. Balwant Singh and Subodh Roy were expelled from the Party and W. R. Varada Rajan was removed from the Central Committee.

CC Members working at the Centre: A. K. Padmanabhan, Tapan Sen, Hemalatha, Sukomal Sen, Suneet Chopra, Noorul Huda and Sudha Sundararaman are working from the all India mass organisation Centres. A. K. Padmanabhan, Tapan Sen, Hemalatha and Sukomal Sen are concentrating on trade union front; Suneet Chopra on Agricultural Workers front; Noorul Huda on Kisan front; and Sudha Sundararaman on women front.

State Responsibilities:

Andaman & Nicobar	:	Gautam Deb
Assam	:	Biman Basu, Benoy Konar & Gautam Deb
Bihar	:	S. Ramachandran Pillai & Hannan Mollah
Chattisgarh	:	Jogendra Sharma
Delhi	:	Jogendra Sharma
Goa	:	Vivek Monteiro
Gujarat	:	Sukomal Sen
Haryana	:	Nilotpal Basu
Himachal Pradesh	:	A. Vijayaraghavan
Jammu & Kashmir	:	Mohd. Salim
Jharkhand	:	Brinda Karat
Karnataka	:	K. Varadharajan & Kodiyeri Balakrishnan
Maharashtra	:	Sitaram Yechury & K. Varadharajan
Manipur	:	Noorul Huda
Odisha	:	Nirupam Sen & Surjyokanta Mishra
Punjab	:	S. Ramachandran Pillai & Nilotpal Basu
Rajasthan	:	Hannan Mollah
Sikkim	:	Asok Bhattacharya
Uttarakhand	:	Tapan Sen
Uttar Pradesh	:	Prakash Karat

18 meetings and one extended meeting of the Central Committee were held after 19th Congress. The CC meetings are held normally once in three months.

The CC members who are not working from the Centre are concentrating their work in states. During the rectification process, the CC reviewed the work of the CC members and noted the shortcomings and weaknesses for rectification.

Central Discipline Commission

The Central Committee constituted a Central Discipline Commission consists of S. Ramachandran Pillai (Chairperson), V. Srinivasa Rao, Vasuki and Madan Ghosh vested with powers to investigate complaints of corruption or violation of norms set out for Communist cadres. The Central Discipline Commission received complaints from only three states – Tamilnadu, Odisha and West Bengal. It seems enough information is not there in the Party about the constitution of Central Discipline Commission.

Research Unit of the Party Centre

The research cell of the Party Centre is functioning under the guidance of the Polit Bureau. A wholetime comrade is in-charge of the research unit. The unit has been doing good work and it is responsible for preparing notes and background materials for the use of the Party Centre and the Parliamentary Party.

VI

State of Democratic Centralism and Concrete Steps to Strengthen Democratic Centralism

The 19th Congress directed the Central Committee and all other units of the Party to review the present state of democratic centralism in the Party and to take concrete steps to strengthen democratic centralism and improve collective functioning of the Party. The Party had earlier noted the existence of unhealthy trends such as factionalism, careerism, individualism and absence of collective functioning which are harmful to the strengthening of the democratic centralism. When factionalism prevails, all sorts of wrong trends will be allowed to flourish. The growth of individualism is connected to the lack of collective functioning and absence of criticism and self-criticism. There are also instances of comrades putting their individual interest above the interests of the Party. The Party Congress and the CC documents warned about the increasing trend of leakage of inner-Party discussions even in the case of leading committees to the bourgeois media. The problem has become more widespread and it has become not just a question of leakage of discussion but the issue of systematic use of the bourgeois media to project individual and factional interests. Bureaucratic behaviour and intolerance to criticism is weakening inner-Party democracy in the Party.

West Bengal report states: *“The lack of proper understanding about democratic centralism prevails among the leadership also. We cannot claim with force that we have been successful in creating the atmosphere of free and frank inner-Party discussion fully and at all levels. It cannot be denied that some times a sense of fear prevails about the leadership more than respect or pride. Comrades want to maintain distance. If this situation is not overcome, discontent will increase in the Party. Individuals with dishonest intentions will use this discontent to form factions. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the leadership to ensure that principles of democratic centralism is implemented in the Party.”*

Certain leaders take decision on cadres not on the basis of collective assessment of cadres but on the basis of their likes and dislikes. The wrong trends of liberalism and federalism are surfacing at various levels of the Party. Federalism means violation of centralized political line and the tendencies of some units of the Party to disregard the higher committee of the Party and its political line and organisational decisions. In a country like India where there are various linguistic nationalities, language, cultures and uneven development of the Party etc provide atmosphere for the growth of federal tendencies.

The state reports noted the weaknesses in maintaining democratic centralism at the state committee and in lower committees. As a result of that, the collective functioning of the Party is hampered. Due to this phenomenon, factional activities are gaining ground in some districts and zonal committees. There are also reports that the state committee members and district leaders are either directly or indirectly involved in factional activities. Quite often, criticism is expressed outside the committee by certain comrades. The reports also stated that the collective work, unity and discipline of the Party are getting weakened. Federalism and bureaucratism are gaining strength in the Party.

Liberal tendencies which are opposed to democratic centralism is present in the case of many committees and cadres. Party members are hesitant to express freely their views in committees. At different levels, slackness and violations of discipline is tolerated. Many Party committees and cadres are afraid to raise criticism against an influential leader. Intolerance to criticism is also growing in the case of many. It seems at different levels, the important mechanism of correction and rectification in the Party – criticism and self-criticism is abandoned. All these wrong tendencies are weakening democratic centralism.

VII

The 19th Congress directed the Central Committee to prepare a document on ideological issues. Due to Lok Sabha and Assembly elections and the fast changing political situation, the Central Committee was able to prepare the draft 'Resolution on Some Ideological Issues' only in the meeting held on January 17-20, 2012.

VIII

Rectification Campaign

Another important task set out at the 19th Congress was to launch a rectification campaign in the Party against all wrong trends. The Party Congress directed the Central Committee to update the rectification campaign document of 1996. The 'Review of the 15th Lok Sabha Elections' also underlined the need for such a rectification campaign. The Central Committee had adopted a document for rectification campaign in 1996. The Party conducted a rectification campaign in 1996-97. The Central Committee adopted a document 'On Rectification Campaign' in its meeting held on October 23-25, 2009. The present rectification document, while reviewing the experience of the last twelve years, self-critically admitted that the Party has not been able to conduct the rectification campaign on a continuous and sustained basis. It was a fact that certain problems pointed out in the 1996 document were taken up for correction and implementation in the past years. One of the major weaknesses in the earlier campaign was that the rectification process was not adopted from the top, i.e., from the PB and CC.

Hence the CC decided that the rectification campaign should begin with the PB and the CC undertaking the process of rectification. The PB conducted a self-critical examination of its work and functioning, so that the shortcomings and wrong trends, if any, could be identified. The Central Committee had examined its own functioning and that of the PB and prepared a report.

The views of the PB members and the individual Central Committee members and their criticisms were taken into consideration by the CC while preparing the rectification report of the PB and CC which was adopted by the CC in its meeting on May 5-7, 2010. The rectification report of the CC noted the following tasks for the PB to undertake as part of its rectification process.

“1. The Polit Bureau has to prepare the ideological document for discussion. It should pay more attention to set-up systematic Party education.

“2. The Polit Bureau has to review the work of the class and mass organisations periodically and place it in the Central Committee for discussion. The PB has to make serious efforts to see that the understanding contained in the 2004 CC document on mass organisations is implemented at all levels in the Party.

“3. The Polit Bureau should take the initiative to build mass struggles; the Party Centre has to coordinate so that the issues of the struggles of the Party and mass organisations are raised in parliament.

“4. The Polit Bureau has to pay more attention to work in the priority states and the Hindi region.

“5. The Party Centre must have a collective understanding of cadres and their deployment. It must make a collective assessment of the individual responsibilities undertaken and the work of the cadres.

“6. The Party Centre must further strengthen its collective functioning and present a cohesive viewpoint outside.

“7. The Polit Bureau has to be conscious about federal tendencies and check them.

“8. The Polit Bureau has to adopt norms for itself about fund collection.”

The following tasks should be undertaken by the CC as part of the rectification process by the CC:

“1. Make serious efforts to study and educate oneself on Marxism and keep abreast with latest developments in the field of theory and knowledge and establish practice on that basis.

“2. CCMs should consciously eschew any hankering for parliamentary positions. Those in elected institutions should combine their activities and integrate with the extra parliamentary work. CCMs should exert their influence so that the 2 to 3 terms for elected representatives is adhered to.

“3. CCMs should set the example in observance of democratic centralism. They should ensure inner-Party democracy. They should firmly discourage loose talk and criticisms outside Party forums. They should exercise the discipline and practice of not speaking out of turn to the media.

“4. The CC as a whole should strive to absorb the correct approach to mass organisations. The CC should periodically review the work of the class and mass organisations.

“5. CCMs should take the permission of the PB while acquiring a flat/building a house, or other fixed assets or buying a vehicle. They also

have the responsibility to see that the Party funds and mass organisation funds are properly utilized and accounts maintained.

“6. The Central Committee members have the responsibility to adhere to communist norms and set the example for the rest of the Party. They should take the lead in observing the 7 points for rectification set out in the rectification document and the six guidelines for conduct of leading Party functionaries and elected representatives.”

The document ‘On Rectification Campaign’ was reported in state committees and rectification documents were adopted. Though the Central Committee decided that the process of rectification should be completed in all district committees and lower level committees before the end of June 2010, it is yet to be completed in most of the states.

Most of the state reports stated about the increasing trend of parliamentarism in the Party. Hankering to become candidates in elections from parliament to school committee is very much prevailing in the minds of a good number of comrades. After failing to become a candidate, a section of comrades are not hesitant to work against the Party or not to work seriously for the Party in the elections. Many Party comrades elected to parliamentary institutions do not submit their details of income to the Party in a correct manner.

Tamilnadu report states: *“The report of the district committees point out that in most districts, wrong tendencies like contesting against the official candidate, ignoring the Party’s decision, contesting the official candidate of DMDK for whom the constituencies were allotted according to the agreement reached, distributing cash for votes, spending his own money in the elections were there. In certain districts, even though they were aware of the fact that winning was a remote chance, or, for that matter obtaining honourable vote was never possible, there was a tendency to contest the election were found among certain comrades. In constituencies allotted for women, the tendency to nominate women candidate from their family instead of nominating women candidates from the Party or from women front”.*

The reports from states also noted the alien tendencies that are creeping into the Party at different levels. Many state reports stated about the political-ideological impact of imperialist propaganda and neo-liberal policies. The state reports also show that there is erosion of Communist values and ethics within the Party. Andhra Pradesh report states: *“The economic reforms and consumerist values have had a strong impact on the Party. Some of our cadre could not stand and continue in the*

movement due to the unfavourable atmosphere. Some strayed after succumbing to lures. The parliamentary craze in some came out very clearly during the 2009 elections. A section of our leadership in Khammam district indulged in anti-Party disruptive groupism. There have been instances of corruption and financial anarchy in some places.”

Some state reports pointed out the urgent need to improve the political and ideological level of the state committee members. In many states, instead of collecting funds from the masses, big amounts are collected from few affluent people. In the case of expenditure, there are many instances of unjustified or extravagant expenditure at state and district levels. There are also instances of misappropriation of Party and mass organisation funds. There are also cases of corruption and misuse of positions in the Party and mass organisations to enrich oneself.

Tripura report says: *“Because of the lack of this Communist consciousness, a significant section of the Party members at different levels instead of getting rid of the trends are more and more dipped into trends of corruption, financial establishment, nepotism, non-Communist behaviours, religious superstition etc. Bourgeois and feudal thoughts are infecting directly or indirectly.”*

Kerala report states: *“CPI(M) is different from other political parties. It is not sufficient that the differences exists only in the ideological plane. When the workers of the bourgeois parties become involved in perversions, Party comrades should become different from them and role models before the society.”*

The disciplinary actions taken by the Central Committee and the cases of disciplinary action taken by the state committees sent to the Central Committee for ratification show the varied nature of violations of discipline and wrongs committed by Party members.

Though it is specifically directed in the guidelines issued by the Party Centre for preparing the work report states that it should contain specific details about the nature of wrong trends existing in the Party and about the progress of implementation of rectification process in districts and lower level committees, many state reports do not contain specific details about the implementation of the rectification process.

IV FUTURE TASKS

The Political-Organisational Report of the 19th Congress pointed out that the situation offered opportunities for expansion of the Party. It also noted that the situation may not last long as hostile forces were rallying together to stop the advance and to attack the Party. The events followed confirmed the conclusions of the 19th Congress. The Party and the Left suffered serious electoral reverses both in the Lok Sabha and Assembly elections and the strongest base of the Party – West Bengal – is under the combined attack by the enemies.

Defending the West Bengal movement is one of the important tasks in the present situation. In order to successfully meet the attacks on the Party in West Bengal and to accomplish the political task of forging the Left and democratic alternative, it is necessary to achieve steady growth in the strength of the Party and mass organisations, the number of their members in different states, the militant activities and the unity with all Left and democratic forces.

The situation offers opportunities for expansion of the Party and its influence. To make use of the present opportunities and to achieve the important objectives, the Party should make a concerted effort to immediately fulfill the following organisational tasks:

1. The Party should concentrate all its efforts to achieve expansion in states, districts or areas where Party is weak. The resources of the Party and mass fronts should be pooled together for optimum use for rapid expansion. Priorities should be fixed and try to complete the tasks within a fixed timeframe. The PB and CC should help the state committees for preparing such plans for expansion. The progress in implementation of the tasks should be reviewed periodically.
2. The impact of the capitalist path of development and neo-liberal economic policies have increased the miseries of the common people and the present situation offers many opportunities to organise agitations and struggles. The Party and mass fronts should launch campaigns and struggles on issues affecting the common people, the workers particularly in the unorganized sector, the agricultural workers, the poor and middle peasants, middle class employees, and all other toiling sections of the people. The weaknesses in taking up the social issues and organising activities, campaigns and struggles also should be immediately addressed. The activities and struggles should be conducted in a sustained manner. The new contacts the Party establishes through struggles

should be organizationally and politically consolidated. The class and mass organisations should be strengthened by rallying wider section of people within their fold and activities.

3. The weaknesses in Party building, membership recruitment and giving political and organisational training to Party members should be addressed. Party branches and committees at different levels should be activated. The quality of the Party members should be improved. The present rectification campaign should be completed covering all members and Party committees within a timeframe fixed by the CC after the Party Congress.
4. The Party needs adequate number of wholtime cadres because without sufficient number of wholtime cadres, various activities of the different fronts and areas cannot be sufficiently carried out. The Party should recruit sufficient number of cadres, give them appropriate training, deploy them in various activities, monitor their activities, collectively guide and promote them on the basis of merit and performance. Each state committee should discuss the issue of wholtimers and should make appropriate arrangements for payment of adequate wages. Special care should be taken to recruit cadres from basic classes, women, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and minorities.
5. The Party is built from the top. The Party Centre should be strengthened. More equipped comrades, who have direct experience in building mass movements and Party, should be brought to the Centre. The work of the Party Centre, PB and CC should be streamlined. The All India Centres of the mass fronts also should be strengthened and adequate number of main functionaries of the mass fronts should work from the All India Centre in order to build movements and to help weaker states.

Part III

REPORT ON MASS FRONTS

Trade Union Front

The 19th Congress of the Party, in its political organizational report on trade union front reiterated at the outset the directions of 2002 TU document on the urgent tasks before the TU front on widening and strengthening the united struggle against the anti-working class policies on a nationwide scale, strengthening the organization for discharging such tasks and also and raising the political consciousness of the workers with particular attention to Party building among the working class. The 2002 document also stressed upon the need for conscious and consistent effort to fight the communal and divisive forces and also against all kinds of social oppression. It also emphasized on effectively pursuing the initiative on workers-peasants alliance.

The Political Resolution adopted by the 19th Congress emphasized on stepping up of Party's work among the basic classes, the working class in its entirety—which includes both the workers in the strategic and organized sector and also the vast multitude of unorganized sector workforce. And the Political Resolution for the 20th Congress also focused in particular the need to expand influence of the Party among the workers of the organized and strategic sector.

United Struggles

The period since the 19th Congress witnessed considerable expansion of the initiative of joint struggles, both at industry level and on countrywide scale. During the intervening period, there have been three countrywide general strikes, all directed against the neo-liberal policies of liberalization, privatization and globalization. And every successive action demonstrated widening of the platform of united struggle and widening participation of the workers in the united actions.

The first general strike was on August 20, 2008 at the initiative of the Sponsoring Committee of Trade Unions comprising mostly Left unions in which INTUC and BMS did not join. This was the 12th countrywide strike action called by the Sponsoring Committee since 1991. The strike was widespread even in the weaker states and was joined by a large number of government employees. The participation of the unorganised sector workers was noteworthy.

The second general strike was held on September 7, 2010 in which the INTUC also joined. Though the BMS was part of the united campaign, it did not join the strike and at the same time it did not oppose the strike action either. This strike was also successful and its impacts spread to new sectors of industries and enterprises due to the INTUC joining the strike.

After the successful strike action of September 7, 2010, a massive march to parliament was organized by the joint platform of trade unions on February 23, 2011 which could draw more than five lakh workers and employees demonstrating before Parliament. The TU Centre and unaffiliated trade unions and federations could mobilize near about a lakh of workers and employees in the said programme from all over the country.

After this, the BMS also came forward to join the united platform of trade unions and a massive jail bhara agitation was organized on 8th November 2011 all over the country. Along with the five point demands formulated in the first joint convention of 2009, the demands on minimum wage of not less than Rs 10000/-, removal of all ceilings on PF and bonus, enhancement of gratuity, assured pension, same wage as regular workers for the contract workers and compulsory and time-bound registration of trade unions were included in the charter of demands. This was followed by the third countrywide general strike on February 28, 2012.

February 28 strike was the fourteenth general strike since 1991 against the neo-liberal policies. For the first time in independent India, all the Central trade unions of the country have come together on a single platform of strike action. And this all in unity of trade unions has led to further broadening of the platform of struggle in the run up to the preparatory campaign of the strike. Numerous independent and unaffiliated trade unions from all the sectors of the economy, both form public and private sector, organized and unorganized sector joined the strike action in a big way making this general strike the biggest ever strike action by the working class in the annals of trade union movement in the country. Response of the toiling people to the strike call in all the states of the country was more vigorous both in terms of its coverage and sweep. Notable has been much wider involvement and participation in the strike by organized sector workers in large industrial units, both in public and private sector including the strategic infrastructural sector like electricity, transport, petroleum etc and also massive participation of contract workers across the sectors.

In West Bengal, despite continuous murderous attack on the activists of trade union and democratic movement by the hoodlums of ruling party and threat of dire consequences against the government employees held out by the state government, the workers and employees both from organized and unorganized sector, public and private sector, industries and services in the state responded to the strike call magnificently and resolutely.

A review of the three general strikes shows that still workers in many large industrial enterprises in the corporate sector were outside the purview of the strike. Many of these enterprises do not have unions which are affiliated to the Central trade unions. The railway sector as a whole has been out of the purview of these strikes because of the anti-strike approach of the main railway federations.

The all in unity in the trade unions of different affiliations on a common platform of struggle has created tremendous enthusiasm among the mass of the workers and that could draw a much wider section of workers hitherto unreached by the joint trade union activities into action. But such all-in-unity has not come into being all of a sudden. It is the result of sustained decades-long efforts by our trade union front, along with left trade unions, for building a broad platform to strengthen united struggles of the working class against the neo-liberal policies of globalisation.

Secondly, another distinct feature of the present phase of united struggle is more visible united move by the trade unions and their affiliates in the preparatory campaign for the programmes at the state, district and workplace level and enthusiastic response of the workers at the grassroots level to the same. Such a situation, if effectively supplemented by independent campaign on our part on the issues before the workers would help in consolidating the unity of the workers at the grass root level and thereby sustaining the united platform of struggle for moving forward.

It is crucial to carry on campaign from our independent platform in order to carry our politics to the grass-root level workers, if we are to fully harness the potential of united struggle to heighten the pitch of the movement as well as to direct the same for reversal of policies. Any failure, negligence or weakness in this aspect will help reformism and reformist forces to gain ground and help the sectarian, communal and extremist elements to exploit the situation in their favour.

Other struggles

Besides united movement and three countrywide general strikes during the intervening period, there have been numerous actions at the sectoral levels including sectors having strategic importance. Most notable had been the successful strike action in coal industry against disinvestment single-handedly by the coal federation on May 5, 2010 after other trade unions backed out from joint decision for strike. This independent action led to the united industrywise action on October 10, 2011. Other strike actions were in the public sector steel industry in October 2009 by the independent initiative of the steel workers federation; two-day industrywise strike in August 2009 by the BSNL employees union. In the telecom sector, there were three industrywise joint actions in this period.

Intervening period has also witnessed increasing conflicts and struggles in workplaces throughout the country where workers' rights are being attacked by the employers and the governments. Notable of them were the militant longdrawn struggles including strike action in defence of trade union right or demanding the right to form trade unions by the workers of Hyundai and Foxconn and a number of MNCs in Tamilnadu, Volvo in Karnataka, and Maruti-Suzuki at Gurgaon, Haryana braving tremendous police atrocities. In support of the three months long struggle by Maruti Suzuki workers, countrywide solidarity could be organized by the TU Centre.

Another notable feature of the trade union movement during the intervening period is increasing organized actions by the contract workers in different sectors in the country. 20 days strike by the contract workers of Vizag Steel Plant in 2009, 40 days' long strike by the contract workers of Neyveli Lignite Corporation in 2010, and 19 days long strike by contract workers of NALCO (Odisha) are some of the notable struggles by contract workers besides multiple days strike on number of occasions in 2009 and 2010 by the contract workers in Durgapur Steel Plant.

There have been various struggles including multiple days strikes by the workers in many industries/projects in defence of their rights and livelihood in almost all the states of the country.

The struggles by Anganwadi workers, mid-day-meal workers and ASHA workers during the intervening period needs a special mention in view of their spread in almost all the states and continuity maintained in different phases of the agitation and struggles by their respective federations and coordination committees, both at state-level and all India centre. Our

organizational and movemental activities in these sectors considerably increased during the intervening period and have been receiving good response from the mass of the workers. Special attention is required to be given to them by both the mass front and Party committees at all levels.

Struggle against Violent Attacks in West Bengal

Attack on trade union democratic rights have intensified after the last Assembly elections and the formation of the TMC-Congress government in West Bengal. Around 400 union offices were captured and hundreds were ransacked. Six trade union leaders have been killed. Resistance against these attacks have to be built up and the scope for such mobilization is getting brighter. It is important that outside West Bengal, we mobilised the trade unions and workers to protest against such attacks on trade union rights and democracy and extend all support to the working class of West Bengal through solidarity actions.

Membership

Between 18th and 19th Congress the membership in trade union front had grown by 14.7%. Since 19th Congress the annual returns on membership received from the states at TU Centre for the year 2010(not yet complete) reveals a rise in membership by 26.6 per cent. And the reports on membership drive being carried on for the year 2011 indicate that such rise in membership may reach around 35 per cent from the 19th Congress position.

There has been improvement in membership in almost all the states. In the four major states of West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu, the membership increased by 4.8% while Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh among them increased their membership by 13.9% and 29.6% respectively. In some of the states besides the four major ones, like in Maharashtra(19.4%), Haryana(25.9%), Jharkhand(33.9%), Karnataka(14.9%), Assam(30.8%), Odisha(29.2%) and Himachal Pradesh(34.6%) improvement was quite sizable. And the membership of the entire Hindi-speaking states taken together has increased by 42% in 2008 as compared to 2005 and the trend is continuing during last two years as well.

However, the extent of rise in membership still falls much short of our influence on the movement and our movemental activities. Moreover, still a large section of workers, both in organized and unorganized sector

remain outside our reach, or in that matter, outside the reach of the trade union movement as such.

The problem of extreme unevenness among the states still continues despite some marginal improvement over the years. As estimated on the basis of 2008 membership, four states, viz. West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu account for 78.19% of total membership. 14 Hindi-speaking states account for 11.69% of membership. The share of rest of the states, in total membership is 10.12%.

But there are certain areas of concern in the composition and profile of membership which need to be addressed with proper appreciation of their political-organisational and ideological implications for the party of the working class. Out of total membership the share of organized sector membership is hardly 30 per cent and rest are from unorganized sector.

There is a clear trend of stagnation, in some cases decline, in the organized sector. And this means a major section of modern working class are still out of our organizational and movemental reach. This cannot just be explained by the shrinkage of the organized sector employment alone. In organized sector, regular workforce is shrinking and contract and casual workers are replacing them. Contract workers are integral part of the organized sector production process and we are failing to organize them effectively. There are efforts here and there but the matter is yet to be taken up by our organized sector unions and the concerned state-leadership in its entirety. Further, many new industries have come up in modern and high-tech sector, where we are yet to penetrate visibly.

Major factors of stagnation or decline in some cases, in our existing strength and striking capacity in the organised industries, both in public sector and private sector are our incapability to attract the modern educated workers in these industries in most of the places on the one hand and neglect of organising the contract workers in the concerned areas on the other. The first factor also reflects negligence to update and equip the leadership at all levels intellectually, ideologically and organisationally keeping in view the changes taking place in the industry and workers' profile. This neglect arises out of the political-organisational insensitivity about the importance of that task among our leadership both at frontal and political level. In organised private sector, the situation is even more precarious and our initiative is mostly limited to small and some medium size segments in most of the places except in 4/5 states.

There are difficulties and weaknesses in organising unions in industrial enterprises run by big corporates and multinationals. In this connection, the experience in Tamilnadu is to be noted. The TU Centre could wage struggles in many enterprises of multinational companies for the formation of unions. As a result, unions either affiliated to the TU Centre or independent unions where we have influence were set-up in 20 MNC enterprises. This experience should be used to organise workers in such enterprises elsewhere.

The state committees, both at mass front and also at political level, should pay adequate attention to the PSU unions or major unions in organized sector.

Despite the increase in membership in the unorganized sector, we could reach only a small segment of the 16.8 crore strong unorganised sector workforce in non-agriculture occupations. Unorganised sector is not a homogenous sector and our priority and strategy of work have to be decided in due consideration of the heterogeneity and relative importance of various segments in the national economy. Private transport sector like passenger buses, auto-rickshaw, private taxi, goods transport etc, head-load workers in big markets or mandis, road and building-construction workers, garments, market-complex workers, private security agencies etc are some of the important areas which should draw our priority attention. Equally important in terms of potential to create social impact is anganwadis, mid-day-meal workers, ASHA workers and nurses. These are only examples. The moot point is that our work in unorganised sector, is yet to reach many of those important segments of unorganised sector in all the states.

Due to the development of the capitalist relations in agriculture and the agrarian crisis, employment in agriculture is declining and a new section of non-agricultural workers emerging in the rural areas. Also a large number of workers who were previously employed in agriculture are migrating to the urban areas and becoming part of the workers in the unorganised sector in the towns and cities. There should be a planned initiative to bring these sections into the trade union fold.

We have also to explore developing contact with the unorganised sector workers in their residential areas and besides taking up their occupation specific demands, we should also take up the issues relating to their housing, water supply, ration card and most importantly the issue of social oppressions and injustice since the major section of unorganised

sector workers generally belong to most downtrodden section of the society.

On Women membership

Share of women workers have increased significantly during the intervening period. At the time of 19th Congress women membership of TU was 22.6% of the total. On the eve of 20th Congress it rose to 25.01% in 2008 and as per annual returns received from the states for 2010(not yet completed) it has already risen to 28.84%. Not only women workers' share in trade union membership has been increasing, working women's participation in various struggles and mobilizations both at state and central level have increased considerably during the intervening period. Moreover, in the women dominated occupations like Anganwadis, Mid-Day meal, ASHA, beedi and other segments of unorganized sector, trade unions have been more active in enrolling members and participating in different programmes both in sectoral actions and also in joint trade union movement. This reveals the immense potential of the working women in the trade union movement. But in most of industries and occupations like plantation, brick kiln, construction and many service establishments having sizable women workers, the task of activating the women members and bringing them to the leadership is being perpetually neglected on the part of the leading committees at all the tiers of the organization. Effort is also lacking in consistent initiative in preparing them politically and organizationally to enable them to take up the leading positions. Conscious effort must be made to pay more attention to our work among working women at central, state and union levels to overcome present shortcomings.

Worker-Peasant Alliance

According to our Party Programme 'The core and basis of the People's Democratic Front is the firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry'.

There are a few instances of the trade unions led by us helping the peasants' organisations like in Himachal Pradesh, where the state committee of TU helps in organising the peasants in the villages surrounding the hydroelectric projects in the state and providing financial support for the fulltimers of the Kisan front. The TU state committees of Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu collect funds from the workers to provide financial support to the agricultural workers' movement. The demand of a comprehensive legislation for agricultural workers has also been included

in the charter of demands of the Sponsoring Committee at the initiative of the TU. But, on the whole, the trade union organisations led by us have not organised such types of solidarity campaigns that lead to the peasants looking at the working class as their leader or to the workers understanding the importance of the agrarian revolution and the need to champion the rights of the peasantry. Certainly, we have not been able to make the workers ‘peasant-conscious’. The country is reeling under a serious agrarian crisis and reportedly hundreds of thousands of peasants have committed suicides during the last few years. But no efforts have been made by the trade unions under our leadership to mobilise the support of the working class in support of the peasantry.

Till now, the Party has not taken any measure to ensure that the trade unions led by us take such initiative. A beginning can be made by our own mass organisations coming together for joint struggles.

In this context we may quote here from the Review of work in Trade Union Front adopted by the Central Committee in March 2011: “We have to increase our efforts to develop joint struggles of industrial workers, agricultural workers and peasants. We must identify the issues on which joint campaigns and struggles can be conducted by the trade unions and the kisan organisations in a manner that they can create an impact on the struggles of the toiling people in the country.”

Democratic Functioning

Organisational advancement is possible only through expanding and unleashing initiative at all levels of the organisation. And this can be realised only through making democratic functioning at all levels more and more effective, ensuring participation and involvement of widest possible section of workers in activities, decision making and implementation.

During the intervening period, there has been some improvement in the democratic functioning at various levels of the organization which got reflected in overall improvement in our membership and mobilization in struggles and other activities. Functioning of the state committees in most of the states and many of the major federations have improved to some extent both in terms of frequency of the meetings and attendance reflecting more collectivity. But that is far short of the requirement of the times in terms of intervening capacity of the working class movement in the happenings in the economic and political fronts. In the functioning of the mass front, serious weakness still prevails in the functioning of the

district level and union level committees which represent the direct link with the workers at the grass root level and the leadership at different tiers.

The root of continuing shortcomings in the democratic functioning of the organization/unions and persistent lacunae in overcoming this weakness in many places lies in the lack of our realization of the political-ideological significance of democratic functioning as an instrument to widen and consolidate the class movement and inspire the rank and file for this objective. Weakness in democratic functioning at various levels of organisations gives rise to pernicious trend of personalisation of leadership instead of collective functioning which in turn provokes various types of corroding practices including corruption creating alienation among mass of the common workers.

Effective democratic functioning at all level of organisation must be central to all our organisational initiative and it should be constantly pursued and closely monitored at all level. The Party committees leading the frontal activities have got a crucial role to play in this regard in the light of and with proper appreciation of the role of working class party in guiding the working class movement as stipulated by the document on “Party and Mass Organisation”.

We have to overcome these shortcomings in democratic functioning and the factors contributing to the same and our work both in the mass front and Party need to be reoriented in that direction.

Functioning of the Trade Union Centre

The 2011 Review document on TU Front noted “The key responsibility of carrying out the policy and directions of the Party among the working class lies with the Party comrades working from the TU centre. However, we have not been able to strengthen the TU centre by recruiting the necessary cadres. On the other hand, the number of comrades functioning from the centre has actually reduced, while activities have increased.”

The above observation clearly points to the urgent need for strengthening the TU Centre with more leading comrades to work from the Centre. Induction of senior and capable comrades is of great importance particularly to strengthen our activities among the unorganised and contract workers. Strengthening the TU centre by recruiting more young cadres has to be taken up.

Despite difficulties, during the intervening period, the TU Centre made effort to discharge its responsibilities. Initiative has been taken by the Centre to maintain the continuity of united movement and involving the TU Centre and friendly unions in the frontline role in such united struggles. Centre had taken initiatives to effectively liaison with all the Central Trade Unions and keep the united exercise in the right track and direction. In all the three countrywide general strikes in 2008, 2010 and 2012 that took place in the intervening period, initiative was taken from the centre to activate its own units throughout the country as well as involving other trade unions in the same exercise more effectively. There have been visible improvement in the joint campaign as well as independent campaign for all the countrywide united action programmes, three General Strikes, two jail-bharo programmes and “March to Parliament” through numerous state-level and industry-level activities through consistent monitoring from the TU Centre.

The monitoring of the work of some of the major federations with the involvement of the centre has also improved to some extent. The work of Federations in Steel, Coal, Electricity and Waterfront could be made more regular with the active involvement of Centre comrades. Transport and construction federations are also functioning regularly keeping the centre informed of their activities. Anganwadi Federation is the most active federation in the unorganised sector monitored from the centre itself. At the centre’s initiative the all India coordination work among the mid-day meal and ASHA workers could advance visibly during last few years with the state-level activities in those two sectors picking up in many states. Other federations are also functioning actively in respective spheres. Nevertheless, such marginal improvement in federations functioning is not enough. The TU Centre must be able to more actively associate, involve and integrate its work with the functioning of these all India industrywise federations which represent all crucial segment of country’s working class movement.

Secretariat members at the centre have been meeting more or less regularly and jointly discussing the plan and tasks undertaken by the Secretariat, working committee and general council from time to time, besides exchanging experiences and information in respect of their visits to states and other activities. Overall, collective functioning at the centre has improved to some extent but shortage of adequate strength is still hindering the centre functioning which needs to be addressed urgently in order to avoid serious defaults and improve the central functioning.

Education

The TU Centre could not organise central school during the last three years despite planning for the same. In 2011, one school was held for the Hindi speaking states which was attended by the leading comrades from all the concerned states. Also a school was organized in January 2012 for the working women activists in Hindi speaking states. The Central School for other regions could not yet be organized owing to other movemental and organisational preoccupation. This is a gross shortcoming.

Trade union education should be made an integral part of other regular organizational activities and it is the urgent requirement of the time. And our focus on education programme should be on equipping our leading comrades at all levels of the organization. Without this how can we educate the common workers and raised the consciousness of the working people? Concerned Party committees in the trade union front have to closely monitor this urgent task continuing education activities in the mass front.

Party Building

It remains a matter of serious concern that recruitment of Party members from among the workers and employees is lagging much behind compared to the activities and struggles by trade unions and the workers and employees involved in the same. This is reflected in the abysmally low percentage of workers in the membership of working class party. This aberration has been continuing since long despite repeated pointers in successive Party congresses. In the unorganised sector also, the situation is almost the same, even worse.

How to address this chronic shortcoming? In the industries in which state level and all India fraction committee functions, these fraction committees in association with the Party state leadership or central leadership, as the case may be, must have to take up the task of seriously discussing Party building in the concerned front and take concrete measures to activate the Party members within that front in that work. Fraction committees both at central and state level must take up at least once in six months the review on Party-recruitment in that particular front. The industries or occupation where no such fraction committee exists, concerned Party committees/units functioning in that industry/occupation have to take up the work of expanding Party in that sector. This task can no way be left to spontaneity. As the situation exists

today, Party building is yet to be conceived as an integral task of our Party members working in most of the concerned trade unions/federations. This reveals a most backward political consciousness of the concerned Party members/committee on the one hand and/or a kind of bureaucratic and personalised functioning in both the concerned mass front and the Party on the other. Both the trends need to be fought back consciously and continuously, if Party is to expand in strength in the working class front.

The effective measures have to be taken to overcome such situation and the Party committees at all level have to be involved in this task. Efforts must be made to popularise Party journals along with other progressive literature to develop Party sympathisers among the workers and gradually attract them towards the Party. Crucially important is to sensitise the TU-Subcommittees both at state and the centre and also the fraction committees to take up the task of Party building in association with the concerned state committees and Party committees at respective level. Moot point is to sensitise and activate the Party members working within trade unions to take the urgent initiative in the matter.

Role of the Subcommittees and Fraction Committees

After 19th Congress, the TU Subcommittee decided to form 18 fractions at national level in 18 sectors. Since 19th Congress, TU Subcommittee met 21 times and mostly discussed movement-related issues in the background of the developing broader unity of trade unions and also on sectoral struggles and related organizational issues. TU Subcommittee also dealt on reviewing the implementation of tasks adopted by the 19th Congress. During the intervening period since 19th Congress, the Central TU Fraction could meet only thrice. At the initiative of TU Subcommittee, one central Party school for the trade union front could be organized during the intervening period.

Of the all India fractions in different sectors, some of the fractions met only once during the intervening period reflecting extreme irregularity. The meetings of the fractions in various employees fronts, banks and insurance are comparatively regular while the fractions in steel coal, waterfront, construction, electricity, pharmaceuticals have started functioning with some regularity. Though the TU Sub committee decided to discuss the functioning of these fraction committees one at a time, it has not yet been able to do that. In fact TU Subcommittee could not develop yet appropriate mechanism for monitoring the work of all India fractions at regular intervals.

In most of the fraction committees, both at state and central level, discussions are mostly preoccupied with the issues related to the front and matters related to Party building and political work are neglected perpetually. Even on the frontal issues dealt in many fraction committees mostly relate to trade union and functional matters which can very well be taken up in the union committees and as a result the concerned union committee meeting is reduced to mere formality dampening the initiative and democratic functioning at the mass front level. Such practice must change and fractions in the trade union front must concentrate on political orientation of the work in the mass front and Party-building. The fraction should also plan for Party education programme for the leading comrades.

The constitution of the fraction committees also should be made in order to make it more effective in discharging its politico-organisational responsibility within the front. The 2011 Review document has noted in this respect, “It is also necessary that the fractions are so constituted that they would be in a position to effectively fulfil their responsibilities. This requires that workers, particularly those in service and those who are in close contact with the workers, and the ground realities in the particular industry are given proper representation in the various fraction committees. This is particularly so in the case of the higher committees of the unions and fraction committees in the unorganised sector where often the representation of actual workers is nominal. It is necessary to ensure that proper balance of workers and non-workers is maintained while forming the fraction committees.”

Fight against communalism

The 2011 Review document on trade union front reiterated the same critical observation made in the 2002 Review document on weakness of trade unions in carrying on consistent campaign against the communal forces. This reflects the lack of concern as well as appreciation about the danger of inroad of communal ideology with the ranks of the working people and its impact on the class unity at all levels of trade union organisation and concerned Party committees.

Not much improvement has taken place in overcoming this shortcoming. The trade union movement, along with other mass organisations, had on occasions taken up campaign against communalism; but that remains thoroughly insufficient, both in terms of mobilisation, regularity and consistency.

We should view with concern the inroad of this communal ideology within the ranks of the working class and also our weakness in fully combating the same. This weakness has to be overcome, with conscious independent initiative at all levels of the organisation, to expose the communal-disruptive forces and defend the unity of the class. The campaign against communalism and its various expressions have to be taken up consciously as an integral part of our every independent initiative of propaganda work among the workers on a regular basis and concerned Party committees have to closely monitor this task.

Fight against casteism and other disruptive and divisive forces

Problems arising out of casteism have also posed a severe challenge to the working class unity, weakening the trade union movement. This is a problem inherited from the old feudal socio-economic order. It perpetuated the caste system and the social oppression associated with it. That is why, even today worst form of caste repression exists side by side with the so called modernity infused by the capitalist way of development. However, there had been a greater assertion by the down-trodden sections and oppressed castes. This assertion is also getting reflected in the socio-political arena. This is a positive development and has its democratic content. But interested quarters, guided by 'vote-bank politics', are making hectic efforts to channelize this growing assertion, against social oppression and injustice, within the narrow confines of the respective caste based polarisation. This is to keep the down-trodden sections detached from the common democratic struggle against the very root of this oppression and injustice. This also is having its reflections in the trade union movement in a big way, particularly in the areas where the democratic movement is very weak.

The task before us is to make conscious and consistent efforts to channelise the growing assertion among the oppressed castes towards class-consciousness. This makes it incumbent on the trade union movement to take up the cause of social justice and lead the struggle against social oppression on a priority basis. While exposing the casteist ideology and along with it, the futility of caste based compartmentalization, the working class movement must also with all seriousness, throw its weight against all social oppression and atrocities and all discriminatory practices against down-trodden masses, from its class platform. In order to draw the oppressed masses on to the platform of class struggle, unshackling them from various caste based formations, the class-platform needs to establish its credibility as true champions of these oppressed people.

The trade unions must consider proactive initiative to fight social oppression in all its facets, both in the society and in the workplace as an integral part of its class-task. Our trade unions have taken some initiatives in some states in taking up issues of social injustice/oppression in a more regular manner as in Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh. But in most of the states, and particularly in those states where social oppression is rampant and more visible, such initiative is still lacking.

The recent developments of `Adivasi Vikas Parishad' or `Gorkha Jana Mukti Morcha' creating serious disruptions in our traditional strongholds among tea garden workers in West Bengal indicate the type of threat that our neglect of the specific social issues of these sections could pose to the unity of the working class that we seek to develop, as well as the erosion of our political influence among these sections. Similarly, the growing influence of various tribal and ethnic groups among the tea garden workers in Assam, the increasing influence of caste based parties like the BSP among the working class etc, indicate the necessity for an urgent review of our approach to the problems of the socially oppressed sections. The trade unions led by us must pay more attention to the specific problems of the SC, ST, minorities and other socially oppressed and discriminated sections. They have to patiently explain to them the impact of the neo-liberal policies on their living and working conditions and make sustained efforts to integrate them into the united working class movement.

Kisan Front

Kisan front report of the 19th Congress set out the following tasks for implementation:

“1) Organise more local struggles on immediate issues affecting the peasantry. All India agitations should be planned to highlight policy issues.

“2) Take up social issues and organise campaigns and struggles. The reluctance in taking up social issues should be reviewed and rectified.

“3) Plans should be prepared for expansion and they should be implemented on a time-bound basis. Periodical review should be organised.

“4) Adequate number of cadre should be selected and allotted for building agitations, struggles and expanding the activities of the kisan front.

“5) The main functionaries of the kisan front at the all-India, state and district levels should give priority for the kisan front work. The respective Party committees should make adequate arrangements for this.

“6) The functioning of the sub-committee should be strengthened and periodical review of the kisan front should be organised.

“7) The functioning of the All India Centre should be strengthened and more help should be given to states in planning and organising agitations and struggles. Periodical reviews and corrective measures should be undertaken.”

All India Initiatives and Protest Actions

The 32nd All India Conference of the kisan front had given two important calls, i.e., protest actions against the attack on democratic rights in West Bengal; and against the price rise and the policies of the government. While efforts have been made in many states, in most places, it was part of the activities organised by the Party.

Workshop for Hindi-Speaking States

An organisational workshop for Hindi-speaking states was held in New Delhi on July 10-11, 2010. The workshop was the first of its kind to have been held in recent years specifically to address the organisational issues and to identify the issues on which the peasantry can be mobilised in Hindi region in particular. The workshop helped to identify the important issues on which agitations and struggles can be organised and also the major organisational weaknesses. Based on the decision of the workshop, similar workshops at the state level have been held in most of the states in Hindi-speaking region. Representatives of the All India Centre of the kisan front attended these workshops. The state level workshop helped to further concretize the concrete demands in each state. It cannot be said appropriate follow-up actions have been organised in many states.

National Roundtable on Free Trade Agreement with European Union

A national roundtable on Free Trade Agreement with European Union and Israel was held on July 29, 2010 along with other Left-led kisan organisations. The roundtable underlined the adverse implications of the free trade agreements to agriculture particularly dairy farming, fisheries, issue of public procurement, agro-processing industries etc. This has to be taken up in states and have to organise wider unity and wider mobilizations.

March to Parliament

A 'march to Parliament' was held against the anti-peasant policies of the Congress-led UPA government. The Central slogan of the march was protect our land, seeds and peasant agriculture. Thousands of peasants from across the country marched to Parliament on March 11, 2011 to highlight the agrarian crisis and the pressing problems of the peasantry.

National Seminar on the Impact of the World Economic Crisis in Agriculture

The global economic crisis had serious implications for the peasantry and the rural poor. All India Kisan front and All India Agricultural Workers front jointly held a national seminar at Wayanadu in Kerala in January 2009 to take stock of the situation and came up with alternatives. Delegates from all states, agricultural experts, economists and social scientists participated in the seminar. The Alternative Agricultural Policy

adopted earlier in 1993 and updated in 2003 was further strengthened based on these deliberations.

Struggles on Local and Immediate Issues

In most of the states, kisan front took up the local and immediate issues and tried to organise campaigns and agitations. Land and land related issues, including displacement, rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced people, flood relief, issues of the sharecroppers, menace of wild animals, projects related displacement issues, abaadkar issue, mandis related issue, corruption in procurement, forest rights, implementation of MNREGS, issue of prices, spurious seeds, subsidies, irrigation, input costs, credit facilities, PDS etc have been taken up during this period. The problems of dairy farmers also have been taken up in some states. Campaigns and struggles were conducted in Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, West Bengal, Karnataka, Bihar, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Gujarat, Uttarakhand, Maharashtra, Tamilnadu etc. The joint struggle in Andhra Pradesh forced the government to pass an ordinance to register the tenant farmers. The formation of tenant farmers association to take up the issue of oral tenants also yielded some benefits. In Bihar, implementation of the Bandopadhyaya Commission on land reforms was taken up. Jathas and demonstrations were organised.

In Kerala, the kisan front, along with other democratic organisations, actively participated in the campaign against Free Trade Agreement with ASEAN countries and the human wall programme from Thiruvananthapuram to Kasargode. Conventions and public meetings were also organised.

Kisan front took up the issue of land grab by corporates in some states like Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Haryana, Odisha, Karnataka etc. Kisan front should come in the forefront to take up such issues.

Crop Specific and Sectional Issues

In Himachal Pradesh, the decision to form apple growers association has been received well and the association has recruited about 5,000 members. Under its aegis, protests have been held against the exploitation of farmers by traders and middlemen. In Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, struggles on issues of onion farmers as well as potato growers were held and this has helped to expand the organisation among wider sections. Sugarcane issue was taken up in Uttar Pradesh. Betel leaf growers

association and silk and tassar growers association in West Bengal, dairy farmers in Tamilnadu and Kerala are some other interventions. The kisan front made efforts during this period in order to reach newer and wider sections. States like Kerala, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu and Karnataka have been successful in organising the peasantry on sectional issues and the experience shows that such interventions helped in expanding the organisation among newer sections or newer areas.

A committee against duty free import of silk was formed after a convention in Bangalore. Under its leadership, struggles have been launched in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and some efforts have taken place in Tamilnadu too. A convention was organised in New Delhi. There are possibilities for expansion of the movement among silk farmers.

An all-India salt farmers convention was held at Ongole in Andhra Pradesh on August 31, 2011 in which delegates mainly from Andhra Pradesh as well as from Odisha and Tamilnadu attended. Issues have been identified.

Taking Up Social Issues

Some efforts have been made in Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Anhdra Pradesh to take up social issues. But it cannot be said that there is any improvement in the overall situation. The weakness in taking up the social issues continues. In the Hindi-speaking states, there is still hesitation to take up the issues of caste oppression, untouchability and gender oppression in a consistent manner as part of the daily activity of the kisan front. Though some conventions and seminars were organised, no direct actions have been organised. The weakness in taking up social issues should be addressed.

Growth and Spread of the Movement

The organisational strength in terms of membership is huge and has been consistently over 2.2 crores from the last Party Congress onwards. However, the capacity of mobilization is not commensurate to the membership and there are signs of stagnation in many states. In West Bengal, our strongest Centre, there has been consistent decline in membership during 2008-09 and 2009-10. In 2010-11, there was a recovery and it rose above the 2009-10 level, although it was below the 2007-08 and even 2008-09 figures. This was the result of continuous attacks by enemies and alienation of certain sections of the peasantry due

to concerted campaign unleashed against the Left in the wake of Singur and Nandigram developments. After the Bengal elections, the attacks on the peasantry has intensified. On taking up the issues of the peasantry, the West Bengal unit is active among the peasantry with agitations and struggles.

Kerala, Tamilnadu, Trpura, Karnataka, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh are the only few states where there is a consistent growth in membership over the last five years. In other states, either there is stagnation or irregular growth. Bihar, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Jharkhand had shown inconsistent trends in membership with few years showing growth and inability to sustain it in following years. This problem has to be addressed.

Cadre Development and Wholetimers

The consistent criticism that even the main functionaries working on the kisan front in many states are not giving enough time to the kisan front activities, has been addressed to a certain extent. However, there continues to be a dearth of wholetimers for working on this front. The decision taken earlier to allocate two to five cadres primarily to work on the kisan front is not yet implemented. There is also the problem of ideological training of the cadre and issues and regularity in payment of wages especially in the states where the organisational presence is limited. These are hampering the expansion of the organisation to newer areas and newer sections.

Organisation: Democratic Functioning

The kisan front has been having regular state conferences and the All India conference. The 32nd All India Conference was held at Guntur, Andhra Pradesh in January 2010. This was preceded by state conferences in all the states. Democratic functioning has been stressed. District level conferences and committee functioning has improved. However, in some of the states where the movement is weak, there are difficulties in having conferences and meetings of the district committees and lower level committees regularly.

Distinction between the Party and the kisan front is absent at different levels. This was noted even in taking up certain programmes. The overlapping is a common practice even among leaders, especially in states where the movement is weak.

All India Centre

There has been an effort to streamline and strengthen the functioning of the All India Centre. After the 32nd Conference, the available office-bearers met and collectively arrived at decisions. The office-bearers have been allotted specific responsibilities in different states. Vijoo Krishnan has joined the All India Centre after the 19th Congress.

The interaction of the Centre with the states has improved and the Central functionaries visit the states regularly for the Committee meetings, campaigns, workshops, classes and struggles. Responses to government policies, Acts, budgets and reactions on important issues affecting the peasantry and rural poor have been prompt and sharp. The Centre's intervention on the issue of Seed Bill, Pesticide Management Bill, Minimum Support Prices, sugarcane pricing, fertilizer prices, Bt. Brinjal etc have been widely appreciated and also been covered by the national as well as the regional media. After detailed discussions, the All India Committee of the kisan front has reached a common understanding on the issue of land acquisition and the Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill 2011. The understanding reached will help our interventions in land acquisition related matters. The kisan front bulletin is more informative and efforts have been made to bring it out both in English and Hindi. However, the decision to make it a bi-monthly publication has not been successful. A blog by the name 'peasant's struggle' with the address *peasantsstruggle.blogspot.com* has also been created where all the important documents and articles are being uploaded. All conference documents and reports of commissions were brought in both Hindi and English. The press statements have been mailed immediately to states.

There is a scope for further improvement of the Centre functioning and greater efforts are required to ensure accountability in implementing the decisions collectively arrived at.

Agrarian Sub-Committee

The agrarian sub-committee met and discussed all important issues. There is a need to increase the frequency of the sub-committee meetings. On the important policy matters like the Seed Bill, the Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill and other issues also it has intervened in a timely manner to evolve a position. Members of the sub-committee have actively been involved in conducting training camps and classes for cadre and giving direction to state organisations. Most

members have specific responsibility in states which they are fulfilling. The need to distinguish between Party and mass fronts has to be stressed and independent functioning and separate programmes have to be ensured.

Evaluation of Experience

The kisan front organised agitations and struggles in many states during this period. Kisan front was more active in states. But the kisan front was not able to organise wider peasant mobilizations, struggles and unity in a consistent manner despite the growing agrarian crisis, increasing number of suicides and the increased attacks on the interest of the peasantry through the neo-liberal policies. In certain states and districts, kisan front has been able to reach wider sections and rally them in kisan front activities. It is a fact that the differentiated nature of the adverse impact of the agrarian crisis among various sections among the peasantry, regions, crops and periods, the deep-rooted casteism which divides the peasantry, the strong influence of the landlords, feudal elements and richer sections – all creating difficulties in organising agitations and struggles. Wherever some efforts were made in weaker areas, there had been strong attacks on the cadres of the kisan front by the landlords and richer sections. These difficulties have to be surmounted by planned and determined organisational work and by raising correct slogans and building movements on the issues of land, wages, prices of crops, credit, social oppression etc. There is need for a more pro-active role from the All India Centre by giving proper direction, identifying issues and immediately intervening on all important issues. The All India Central also needs to be further strengthened given the nature of responsibilities and organisational spread. In many states, the kisan front state leadership showed weaknesses in organising struggles in a consistent manner. Because of the multiple responsibilities of the kisan front cadres, their response to issues on many subjects have become mechanical, ritualistic and adhoc in nature. Without expanding kisan front in weaker states, it is not possible for the Party to advance. Party should plan and make serious efforts to expand the kisan front in weaker areas.

Future Tasks

- 1) Plan should be prepared at the all-India and state levels for expansion of the kisan front in weaker states and districts.
- 2) Organise agitations and struggles on local and immediate issues, including social issues, in a consistent manner.

- 3) Activise the committees at all levels. The functioning of the primary units, local, area and district level committees should be strengthened. The state kisan front Centre should be strengthened drafting three to five cadres as wholetimers.
- 4) Work of the All India Centre should be streamlined and strengthened.
- 5) The functioning of the sub-committees at all levels should be strengthened.
- 6) Organise joint agitations and struggles with other peasant organisations particularly Left-led peasant organisations. There is also possibility to take up certain issues jointly with other mass fronts.

Agricultural Workers Front

The Agricultural Workers Front tried to implement the future tasks listed out in the Political Organizational Report of the 19th Congress.

They were as follows:

1. Efforts should be continued to form agricultural workers front units in states where they are not organised other than the state of West Bengal.
2. Organise agitations and struggles on issues of wages, land, house sites, proper implementation of NREGA and social issues.
3. More attention should be given to take scheduled caste and scheduled tribe comrades in leading positions in agricultural workers front at all levels.
4. The All India Centre of the agricultural workers front should be strengthened.
5. An independent office with minimum two to five comrades should be ensured in all state centres. The district committees ensure adequate numbers of cadre are allotted to the agricultural workers front.
6. Special efforts must be made by the party committees to educate the militant comrades in agricultural workers front and recruit them in the party

In this period, from 2007-08 to 2010-11, the membership of the Agricultural Workers front has grown from 42,33,470 in 2007-08 to 50,54,502 in 2010-11 the front has grown by 19.39%, in this period. The largest membership is from Kerala, 21,34,639 (42.2% of the total). Andhra Pradesh follows with 15,14,960 (30%). Tamilnadu has a membership of 5,09,546 (10.1%). Tripura has a membership of 2,34,009 (4.6%). Punjab follows with 1,70,520 (3.4%). Maharashtra has a membership of 1,26,530 (2.5%). Karnataka has a membership of 1,07,546 (2.12%). Bihar follows with 90,280 (1.8%), U.P with 82,332 (1.62%) and Haryana follows with a membership 35,500 (0.7%). Orissa has a membership of 25,640 (0.5%) while Rajasthan has a membership of 23,500 (0.5%). These figures, while they still reflect the uneven development of the front, also reflect the beginning of development in the weaker regions, whenever the Party has taken an initiative to develop the front.

All states have shown growth of membership since 2007-08 except Bihar and Rajasthan. Karnataka shows a growth of 90.89%. Punjab

despite many problems shows a growth of 69.83%. UP shows a growth of 47%. Maharashtra has grown by 42.6%. Haryana among the weaker states shows a growth of 98%. It is evident that the activities of the union have helped to increase membership in many more states than previously. Although Kerala, Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Tripura are still in the lead, Punjab, Maharashtra and Karnataka have crossed the one lakh mark. Bihar and UP are close to that figure, leaving only Haryana, Rajasthan and Orissa below 50,000. One of the major reasons for this development has been the use made by a number of state committees of the opportunity provided by the MNREGA legislation that has helped to organise agricultural labour and provide the hope of alternative employment through the state, though the actual provision of such employment is still very low except where we have taken the initiative to implement the schemes notably in Tripura, Kerala, Tamilnadu and Andhra. In weaker states too like Punjab, Maharashtra, Karnataka, UP and Haryana the front has found this legislation to be a help in organizing rural labour under its banner.

Silver Jubilee and All India Jatha:

Another major activity that helped in consolidating the Agricultural Workers front's all India image and existence was the observance of the Silver Jubilee of the Agricultural Workers front from November 2007, all over the country followed by the All India Jatha that was organised from November-December 2008. Three contingents took part. They culminated their over 12000 Km journey with a total participation of around 4 lakh people at Hyderabad, where a massive rally of 25000 was organised. Even the weak states took initiative and organised public meetings in which 300 to 10,000 agricultural workers and rural poor in general were mobilized. Massive campaigning and mobilization was in lakhs in Kerala, Tamil Nadu and A.P where the three jathas converged. In Karnataka, over two thousand gathered to receive the jatha in Mandya and Bangalore. In Maharashtra, Punjab, Haryana, UP, Bihar and Orissa too, the state committees of the union made an effort to highlight the jatha. In Tripura, in connection with jatha programme, the state committee organised 5 big rallies, in which 37060 workers of our union participated. In many states state-level jathas were also arranged focusing on local pressing demands. The jatha aimed to highlight the 25th anniversary of the Agricultural Workers front, raising issues like the proper implementation of NREGA, increase in Minimum Wages, a welfare relief fund for rural workers, pensions and Comprehensive Central Legislation for

agricultural workers. The feed-back from the states has been that the jatha enthused our cadre with an all India impact.

Employment in Agriculture and Alternative Employment:

The Agricultural Workers front has also focused in this period on the issue of the sharp reduction in days of work available in farming activity and local alternatives to it. The thrust of its struggles has been to ensure that work is available in the village and nearby areas, especially when farming activity is not at its peak, to prevent both distress employment for very low wages and distress migration, which has improved statutory minimum wages and reduced migration from states where the law has begun to be implemented.

The role of Agricultural Workers front in the struggle to ensure the passage of this act, its implementation and its bringing benefits to the mass of people who have offered to apply for manual labour to stave-off unemployment, has been successful in conducting struggles for higher wages in a number of states. Wage struggles have increased in this period. The organization of migrant labour and resistance to bondage have both been taken up on a wider scale than before while some 25,000 villages were targeted in wage struggles.

Migrant Labour

A serious situation has arisen with regard to increased landlessness and large numbers of the rural population are migrating to urban areas as never before. The uneven development of agriculture too, generates migration from backward to more developed areas. A number of state committees have addressed problems of migration in Punjab, but a systematic all India approach is necessary with intervention from the Centre.

Agitation against Neo-Liberal Policies:

After the all India jatha, the Agricultural Workers front gave a call for an all India agitation in different states in January 2008 in which 340 centers were covered and 2,93,664 people took part. A similar programme was conducted during the budget session of parliament in 2010. It culminated in a rally largely of the northern states of 7,000 at New Delhi on Nov. 30, 2010 which was coordinated with actions of nearly two lakhs from states like Tripura, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu and Karnataka. While this helped in enrolling a far larger

membership than before, not all states took initiative to launch continuous mass struggles at the local level which could have given even better results. The understanding of building consistent movements at the state and district levels is still not implemented uniformly all over the country.

Land Issues:

The General Council meeting of the Agricultural Workers front held at Thiruvananthapuram in 2008 had decided to expand the land movement in the country. In states like Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu and Maharashtra where massive struggles were conducted—in A.P lakhs of people participated in the struggle that developed into a powerful movement after the Mudikonda firing of 2009 in which 7 agricultural labourers were shot by the police. In the movement that followed, a number of all India leaders from different states took part in over 40 actions, giving the movement an all India character, which helped in collecting for the martyrs' families as well. The movement began with organising a march in front of the State Assembly. Similarly, in Tamilnadu and some weaker states along with Kisan front agitation movements were organised. In Maharashtra and UP too initiative has been taken in this regard. There has been an increase in the demand and struggle for house-sites too. However the failure to extend the movement that began successfully in Bihar as a joint movement of the Kisan and Agricultural Workers front in other northern states in the last ten years is a matter that should taken up jointly after the Party Congress.

Social Oppression:

State level conventions on social oppression and district level programmes in most states. In A.P, continuous agitation against the social discrimination of various types was prominently recognized. In Tamilnadu, Agricultural Workers front took part in the Uthapuram movement and highlighted the issue of caste discrimination in 15 districts. In Maharashtra Agricultural Workers front immediately gave a call to hold state protest marches in all tahsils and this call was promptly carried out. At the time of the events of social atrocities, Agricultural Workers front workers immediately rushed the spots, tried successfully to get the culprits arrested, got compensation for the victims and fought for rehabilitation in different states. But much more work is needed.

Women agricultural workers:

Women constitute half the agricultural labour force but in most areas they are not given equal wages for equal work, they are denied land rights and they are subject to rape and honour killings even in economically advanced states like Haryana. State level conventions of women workers were held to activate the work among women. In 2010 and 2011 massive participation of tens of thousands of women in our mass actions in Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Tripura reflects the success of this orientation in our work. This must be developed in a systematic way in other states as well. Women agricultural workers constitute less than a quarter of our total membership, except in states like Kerala, Tripura, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh where their enrolment is better. In Kerala, out of a total membership of 21,79,350 no less than 13,50,051 were women in the year 2011-12.

Local Level Agitations:

Besides, the struggles on the major issues, there were local and spontaneous agitational activities in most of the states. The movements were conducted for the proper implementation of different government schemes like Indira Gandhi Old Age Pension, Sanjay Gandhi Niradhar Yojana, Avas Yojana, distribution of BPL cards, debt relief, free electricity, against conversion of land for non-agricultural use and for the full quota of ration at Antyodaya rates. Due to consistent and sustained struggles on such issues in some States we could achieve successes in getting actual benefits to the really needy rural poor, thus expanding the mass base. But spontaneity alone is not enough. In weaker states struggles should be planned and launched on state and district levels.

Study Class:

There were two study classes conducted to equip the cadres theoretically and politically at two centres. One class was organised at Tirupati in Andhra Pradesh for the cadres from southern States and one at Delhi for the rest of the states. Delegates of the Agricultural Workers front also participated in joint with AIKS in Wayanad in 2009 and a joint convention in Delhi.

Organisation:

In this period, the 7th All India Conference of the Agricultural Workers Front was held at Trichirapally in Tamilnadu on 17-19 July 2010. The Conference success can be measured in terms of the growth of membership that followed it.

During the last Congress, the Agricultural Workers front was functioning in 177 districts across the country in 12 states. Since then there was an expansion to over 200 districts in 13 states. Kerala, A.P, Tripura and Tamil Nadu have increased their membership considerably. Kerala has in fact surpassed the total number of agricultural workers in that state enrolling more membership among the rural workers. Karnataka, Punjab, U.P, Maharashtra and most states registered an increase in the membership. But the situation in Bihar was not encouraging. Party and mass front coordination has to be strengthened in Bihar, Maharashtra and Punjab. The membership declined in Bihar. Membership figures in Haryana, Rajasthan and Orissa show a wavering trend. Agricultural Workers front evolved a detailed pattern of the struggle in Andhra Pradesh on MNREGA. In this state, as a result of the prolonged movement and number of issues taken up the membership went up from 12 lakhs to over 15 lakhs.

Wherever the Party took initiative to develop Agricultural Workers front, it is expanding. The growth of the organisation is related to the number of burning issues of the rural poor on which movements and struggles were launched. In some of the other states, the front has increased the membership where implementation of MNREGA were taken up seriously. The front is still confined to 12 states and could not expand. Despite growth of Membership where the front is in existence, it is not expanding in other states. Deliberate efforts should be made to organise agricultural workers where Agricultural Workers front does not exist. Party committee should give priority to this task.

State Committees:

There are 12 state committees functioning at present. Although the Party had decided to form units in all States excluding West Bengal, this has not materialised so far. There is a lack of whole timers in many states to carry forward and streamline the organisational activities. State Committees in Kerala, Tripura, A.P, Tamilnadu, Punjab, U.P and Maharashtra have improved their activities. The functioning of the Bihar State Committee is not proper as there is a

lack of coordination among the concerned comrades. Also, the Agricultural Workers front has suffered a similar setback in Maharashtra. It is evident that a number of State Committees need to develop a proper orientation to the Party line in order to start and expand the Organisation to the extent possible in present conditions.

District Committees:

Over 200 district committees now function in the country. Since last Congress, the presence of the Agricultural Workers front has increased to 195 districts now with 161 district committees which is more than our last conference but less than our target of 300. Efforts are on to expand the organisation to more districts in the states. District committee meetings are today more regular but need a constructive perspective of development. Proper training and political education is needed for the district level activists from whom wholtime workers of the front can be recruited. Annual district level convention should be held to review the functioning of the lower level units. Proper training for the new developing cadres should be planed at district level. Efforts are on to form lower level committees in all states where they do not exist at present.

Tehsil and Area organisation:

Organising the grass roots level units needs at most attention. These are the organisational links to keep regular contact with agricultural labour and organise them highlighting their day to day demands. Keeping in mind the grave situation prevailing in the rural areas in our country there is need to organise village level units in all areas where there are some contacts.

Village Committees:

The village level organisation is the foundation of the Agricultural Workers front. Most of the weaker states fail to organise the grass root units Proper support must be given to the village committees by higher committees for defending their struggles.

Sub-Committees:

In Kerala, Tripura, A.P and Tamilnadu, sub-committee functioning has improved and there is a regular reporting to the Party and Union. In Maharashtra sub-committee meetings are conducted and reports of

the sub-committee are submitted to the party. But in Hindi belt the functioning of the sub-committees is very weak. Questions of work and activities of the Agricultural Workers front are not seriously discussed in them. Provision of new cadre and whole timers for this front is not taken seriously. The functioning of the All India sub-committee should be strengthened.

With regard to the sub-committees functioning in states like Tamilnadu, Rajasthan, U.P, Bihar, Karnataka, Tripura, the fronts have joint sub-committees for both Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts. Kerala, Maharashtra, Haryana, Orissa and Punjab have separate sub-committees or fraction committees for agricultural workers. Nearly 705 wholetimers are working in this front which 628 from Kerala and Andhra Pradesh. In the Hindi speaking area only 32 whole timers are working in this front. Punjab: 15, U.P: 4, Bihar: 3, Haryana: 7 and Rajasthan: 2. Allotment of cadres having ability to carry out the responsibility of Agricultural Workers front is not given the priority it requires by the Party.

All India Centre:

The functioning of the All India Centre has improved. Three central functionaries are based in the Central Office at Delhi. The office has two wholetime comrades in its staff. The Central functionaries meet frequently at the Central Office and also visit and attend various state and district level meetings and functions. The meetings of the National Council and Central Working Committee are conducted regularly in which a satisfactory attendance is observed. Division of work has been charted out between A. Vijayaraghavan, Hannan Mollah and Suneet Chopra as well as Kumar Shiralkar and P. Ramaiah. The latter two for different reasons have been unable to function regularly from the Centre, though their opinion is taken from time to time. But, yet more efforts have to be taken to improve the coordination. The Bulletin was published at random and lacks regularity. The preparation of informational and educational material could also be improved. There is scope for further improvement in the functioning of the central leadership which needs to be expanded.

The following points need noting:

1. Efforts should be made to organise units in all states excluding West Bengal.

2. There are visible changes in the nature of work in the rural areas and they should be studied concretely and strategies ought to be evolved to organise them. The Party will discuss the issue and take a decision after the Party Congress.
3. Also, the struggle for Wage, land and for social reforms has to be enhanced. Organising migrant labour too should be given more consideration.
4. State Committees with stronger organisation prepare study materials for the education of the cadre, but the Centre should pay more attention to their production and dissemination in the weaker States.
5. Emphasis should be given to increase women's participation in the organisational activities. But it must be understood that to be able to be effective women cadre must be properly trained to function among agricultural labour.
6. The Agricultural Workers front has been achieved a membership of fifty lakhs but much more needs to be done as favourable conditions exist for organising the rural proletariat for mass struggles under the banner of their own mass front to build a meaningful worker-peasant unity with increased coordination both with the Kisan Front and the Trade Union front.

Women's Front

Taking note of the increased participation of women in various struggles, the 19th Party Congress had laid down certain important tasks to expand our influence among the mass of women, at the level of the Party as well as the mass front. The women's front has tried to carry out these tasks in the last three years, with mixed results.

1) Issues and Struggles

Most of our struggles and campaigns in this period have been against different aspects of the ways in which neo-liberal policies are impacting on women. The role of the media in both the glorifying of these policies and in constantly degrading and commodifying women has been significant.

Price Rise and PDS : On the issue of price rise, there has been growing anger and discontent among women. Protests held in front of the Planning Commission and Parliament, with women trying to breach the police barricades, highlighted this anger. However, except for our own members, women's participation in the many anti-price rise demonstration held is limited by the feeling that such protests do not yield results. In contrast, we have had a better response on the numerous local, state and central demonstrations around PDS and ration card issues. Intervention by our local units in several states got some immediate relief for women through issuance of ration cards including BPL and this helped them to gain confidence. We have combined our protest against government policies (dismantling of the PDS through targeting, cutting quotas, introduction of cash transfers etc) with achievable demands at the local (administrative and shop) level for immediate relief. In some states, the affected women could be brought into the mass organisation. However, the inability to get any relief by forcing a substantive policy change has made mobilizations difficult.

Local Struggles: There have been several initiatives by units on local issues, ranging from land, housing, sanitation, water etc many of which are actually manifestations of wider neo-liberal policies of the central or state governments. This has helped to expand and build the organisation in new areas and to consolidate existing units.

In Solidarity with West Bengal : The organisation made efforts to counter the anti-Left campaign unleashed by the ruling classes in the last four years particularly the political terror unleashed by the TMC-Maoist

combine along with other reactionary elements in West Bengal. In West Bengal, women comrades have played a most courageous role in facing the situation where women have been special targets of attack. Two Central conventions in defence of the democratic rights of women in West Bengal were held at which victims of the violence narrated their experiences. Resolutions adopted by the CEC were widely reported in the various states to educate the membership. These were also published in English and Hindi and also translated into a number of regional languages. There was an effort to collect a solidarity fund which was successful in the stronger states such as Tripura, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu. In other states, women participated in the joint programmes on this issue.

Against Communalism : Campaigns against communal violence perpetrated by the Hindutva forces were taken up in states like Odisha, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. A Central delegation visited Kandhamal after the spate of attacks against Christians and a report was published and disseminated. In 2011, a central convention, initiated by the women's minority sub-committee, was organised in which Muslim victims of communal violence in Rajasthan, Uttarakhand, UP and Bihar participated. The anti-minority role played by the state in both BJP and non-BJP ruled states was exposed. Recognising the need to counter the ideology of fundamentalism and communalism, a document was prepared for discussion and dissemination amongst our cadre. However, a self critical review revealed a need for more sustained efforts.

Violence against Women : This period has witnessed a sharp increase in incidents of violence against women. The women's organisation has been very active on this issue. There has been a strong campaign for the effective implementation of the PcpNDT Act. Another effective intervention has been on the regressive role of caste panchayats with regard to killings and crimes in the name of honour. We have held campaigns which have helped to break, in some cases, the acute hostility which impacts the victims and their families. The deep-rooted caste prejudices are most apparent in such cases, which are very difficult to overcome. Our leaders and activists have also been threatened by these reactionary forces. A Central convention, with victims of honour crimes speaking about the range of violence they were made to suffer, effectively underlined the dimensions of the violence and the need for a separate law which has been drafted and has received a positive response. The bid by conservative forces to dilute Sec 498-A of the IPC, citing misuse, is being resisted.

Political Reservation for Women: The mass organisation continued in its demand for the women's reservation Bill which is pending in Lok Sabha even two years after being adopted in the Rajya Sabha. There is a Bill fatigue because women have generally become cynical about all political parties as far as the Bill is concerned. In our campaigns, we have tried to show that the Left is different because of its consistent support to the Bill. It would help if the Party increased the number of women on its candidate lists. Increasing numbers of women, however, have had the opportunity to enter local bodies due to the enhancement of reservation to 50% in many states. It is a challenge to bring these women into the organisation.

Research Centre : In this period, for various organisational reasons, the earlier good work done by the Research Centre could not be sustained. Some effort is being made to rectify the situation. There is tremendous scope for our intervention in this area.

Legal Issues : The women front Centre has been very active in not only focusing on various legal issues but also in the actual drafting of important legislation like the Sexual Assault Bill, the Sexual Harassment in the Workplace Bill etc. It has also intervened strongly against the concerted efforts being made to water down the provisions of Sec.498A.

2) Work among New Sections of Women

Young Women: The neo-liberal offensive has increased differentiation among women. The changing aspirations of the younger, vocal, middle class sections were noted and discussed in our committees. A National Survey of young women and a National Convention to highlight their issues were organised followed by several state level conventions. The issues concerning young sportswomen were taken up.

Single Women: Attention was given to the specific demands of single women, especially widows and deserted women by raising their economic, social and legal demands. In Kerala, a separate organisation has been formed for these sections.

Women Workers : The intensified exploitation of women as workers in the neo-liberal regime has been recognized as an area of priority for organisation and struggle. In some states (Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, West Bengal) efforts to organise domestic workers have made progress, while in Delhi there has been a major initiative to organise home based workers. More needs to be

done on this account. In Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Jharkhand and to some extent in Uttar Pradesh, efforts have been made to take up issues concerning REGA. Karnataka has been most active in struggles around these issues. However, in general, the activity of our village-based units is very limited and mainly driven by district or state and national level programmes and calls.

Self Help Groups : The Party had underlined the importance of advancing struggles amongst Self Help Groups. The role of Micro Finance Institutions (MFIs) in exploiting thousands of poor women was highlighted through the struggles taken up by affected women in Andhra Pradesh, Odisha and Tamilnadu and the policy demand for regulation of the MFIs could be advanced. The issue of including women in the priority sector lending of banks has been effectively raised with the RBI.

Interventions amongst socially deprived sections: We have tried to make special efforts to take up the issues of minority community women, particularly Muslim women in this period, with some positive results. There is a larger participation of Muslim women in our programmes. On the other hand, while we have taken up specific cases of violence against dalit women across states, the weakness in taking up the general issue of caste discrimination remains. Similarly, work amongst tribal women has been taken up in some states such as Jharkhand and Maharashtra but it needs to be expanded.

3) United Struggles

There has been a general fragmentation among women's organisations in the last few years which is reflected in the absence of a strong united intervention on women's issues. There was a setback to joint interventions with other women's organisations, owing to the developments in West Bengal. The organisation had to counter systematic efforts by anti-Left forces to isolate us from larger platforms but our sustained efforts to maintain contacts with women's organisations and groups and the holding of joint meetings with them on common specific issues helped to prevent our isolation. The situation has improved and national women's organisations continue to organise many common interventions on issues.

4) Organisational issues

Work in Priority Districts in the States: It has been observed that in many of the priority districts, the mass organisation does not exist or is

very weak. This is a serious shortcoming and needs to be addressed and redressed at all levels.

Membership : The membership of AIDWA has decreased by 3.65 per cent between 2007 and 2011. Out of 22 states, eight have registered a drop and 14 an increase in membership. However, the comparative record of the Hindi-speaking states is quite positive: in Jharkhand, the increase is 48.14%; in Bihar it is 10.98%; in Haryana, it is 17.25%; Punjab it is 45%; Himachal Pradesh it is 48.51%; in Delhi it is 59%. However, UP (-5% and Rajasthan -25.40%) registered drops.

A significant drop of 28.24% has occurred with West Bengal due to the very difficult political situation and the terror that prevails in several areas.

In states like Rajasthan, (-16.32%), Assam (-20.17%), Maharashtra (-4.51%) and Rajasthan certain organisational problems have affected membership adversely. In some states, the insistence by the Party on strict adherence to a time-bound membership campaign could be relaxed.

On the other hand, the strong state of Kerala (+54%) and Tripura (23.39%) have registered a significant increase in membership; priority state Jharkhand (+48.14%) and Bihar have also registered gains while UP has registered a drop(-5%; Karnataka (+26.22%), among the weaker states, has also improved its position. The North Indian states of Haryana (+17.25%), Delhi (+5%), Punjab (+45%) and HP (+48.51%) have increased their membership. Overall, an uneven pattern persists and the issue needs greater attention from the Centre and State Committees. An organisational workshop of the Northern States will be held in May as a first step.

The direction given in the Perspective Document that women members of other organisation should also be encouraged to join the mass organisation should be implemented.

Hindi-Speaking States: Classes were organized in many of the Hindi-speaking states and central notes in Hindi have been widely circulated. Regular publication of Samya has also been helpful and its readership has increased. More efforts are needed to address the specific and diverse problems of this area.

Sub-Committees: The review of work in the last National Conference held in 2010 had observed that, except for the sub-committee on Muslim

Women's issues, other sub-committee functioning was not satisfactory. Some progress has been made to rectify this.

Centre: In this period, the mass organisation has successfully undertaken a fund-raising campaign in order to buy office space. The new office was inaugurated in October 2011. At present there is only one All India Office Bearer functioning from the Centre and here is a need for this number to be increased in order to cope with the growth of the organisation. To deal with this situation, office bearers living in neighbouring states are being given more responsibilities and are spending more time at the Centre. The meetings of the Secretariat and the CEC of the mass organisation are being held regularly, with around 65% attendance. Most state committees meet regularly after the CEC meeting and the participation of secretariat members helps to strengthen the link between centre and states. The experience with district committees is mixed. The emphasis is and has to continue to be on the functioning of unit committees and the higher committees have a critical role in ensuring this.

A review the experience of members of the mass organisation who are being elected to local bodies in increasing numbers is necessary.

While more classes have been held in different states for whole-timers, new cadres, etc., a lot more needs to be done.

The Centre publishes a Hindi and an English journal and West Bengal, Tripura, Tamil Nadu, AP and Kerala bring out their own journals in their respective languages. 14 publications were brought out by the Centre and many states brought out publications in their regional language.

5) Future Tasks

The mass front has also identified some important tasks and priority areas for its future development and expansion. These are:

- a) More attention to be paid young women, their problems
- b) Continued and increased initiatives on sectional issues like socially deprived section - Muslims, dalits, advasis; unorganized workers, NREGA workers, home-based workers etc.
- c) General campaigns and intensified struggles on immediate issues e.g. concrete impact of various neo-liberal policies on the rural and urban poor, violence etc.

6) Party Level

Sub-Committee: The women's sub-committee comprising of ten CC members has met regularly. However since the leadership of the mass organisation also require a Party platform to discuss some of the important issues that come up at the central level, it is suggested that a fraction committee be also constituted which may meet from time to time.

The sub-committee initiated a mid-term review in 2010 of the functioning of fraction committees, Party recruitment and other tasks set by the 19th Party Congress. A meeting of the in-charges of the women' front from the five major states and the priority states was held for the first time to discuss some of the issues. There has been an improvement in some areas, mainly in the relations between the mass organisation and the Party. The role of the party is mainly through the functioning of the sub-committees and FCs. Unlike in the past there are only very rare occasions when party leaders conduct meetings or rallies of the mass organizations as in the past. A review of the functioning of the sub-committees/FCs in the five major states shows that they meet on an average once in three months. However there is scope for the improvement of the FCs at the district committee level. In the priority states, following the mid-term review there has been some improvement, however the situation in Bihar deteriorated because of some specific cadre problems.

Party recruitment: The recruitment of women in the Party though improved is still painfully slow. At the all India level the women's party membership has increased from 12% - 14%. Tripura has the best record with almost 25.22% of the party's membership comprising of women. In Tamil Nadu it has increased from 13 % to 15.4% . In West Bengal it has remained the same at around 10% . In Kerala it is 13.8%, a small increase. In the priority state of UP it remained static. In AP, women party membership is 15.92%.

Some states like West Bengal, Kerala and Tamil Nadu had decided to ensure recruitment of at least two women per branch which is yet to be implemented fully. As the Kerala report put it if the decision had been implemented there would have been over 5000 more women members in the Party. The CC perspective document on Women had suggested certain guidelines for recruitment of women in the party, stressing on the need to take the assistance of FCs in recommending women membership. It has also stressed on special efforts to recruit the large number of women participating in panchayat elections on party tickets. These suggestions need to be discussed and implemented.

Committee membership: There has been an all round improvement in the number of women in the various committees of the Party. In most states there are women in the district secretariats and state secretariat. The exception is Kerala where there is no women in any of the district secretariats.

Cadre policy: While the number of wholetimers has certainly improved, especially in the stronger states, there is need for much more expansion. In Kerala there are 105 and 1715 unpaid wholetimers; Tamil Nadu -126 paid, many unpaid; West Bengal – 93 paid, many unpaid; Tripura 126 paid; AP 152 paid, 252 unpaid; Karnataka, MP, Haryana – 5 -10. All other states, there are less than 5 wholetimers. One problem that needs attention is the lack of financial resources which leads to many unpaid wholetimers and part-timers who are given a token amount. Party classes have been held in most of the states but more needs to be done for their political training and development.

The mass organisation has been implementing the 3-term limitation on the 3 main offices at all levels of the organisation for several years. The organisation has certainly benefited from the induction of new and young leaders. At the same time, it is very important to assign new responsibilities to the senior and experienced leaders demitting office. The relevant party committees must pay attention to their re-deployment.

Perspective Document, Party syllabus and classes: it is also essential that the Perspective Document be discussed at all levels in the Party and that it be included in the syllabus for all party classes. In addition, Party classes need greater engendering and Party teachers need to be much more sensitive to gender issues.

Leadership in trade unions: In Unions where a large section or majority of members are women, women must be encouraged to assume leadership positions.

Priority Districts: Party state committees must ensure that special efforts are made to form or expand the mass organisation in Priority Districts.

Youth Front

Youth constitutes an overwhelming majority of our population today that makes India a country of young people having a huge demographic dividend. As per the 2011 census out of the total population of 122 crores, 92% is below 59 years and an estimated 40% people are in the age group of 15-40 years eligible to be members of the youth mass organization.

In the last three decades since its inception, in order to build a powerful democratic youth movement, youth front has been organizing the youth by launching campaigns and struggles on their demands at various levels and has emerged as the largest entity of the organized youth with 1,34,72,478 members in 2011. But, if we compare this with the total youth population, it is clear that a vast majority of youth is unorganized and is out of our reach. It is natural that they are vulnerable targets and an easy prey to all sorts of opportunist and reactionary forces and to the ideological offensive in the prevailing neo-liberal order that has had a profound impact on youth in the last two decades.

This process of neo-liberal globalization accompanied by rapid technological advance has given rise to jobless growth, massive unemployment, rising inequality, exploitation, a new consciousness of consumerism on the one hand and to growing aspirations through the unprecedented reach and impact of electronic media on the other. The inability of the system to meet these aspirations of youth has created a situation in which they are being roped in caste, religious, regional and other divisive and disruptive mobilizations. Numerous NGO's are also taking the advantage. In absence of any constructive engagement a large section of disgruntled youth is falling prey to anti-social activities and to the menace of drugs.

In order to carry forward the task of expansion of youth organization in this changed situation, first we have to recognize and understand this new reality and then while we have to focus our efforts on basic issues and questions of social oppression, discrimination and atrocities; we have to devise new forms of struggles and propaganda in order to draw this sections of youth who are unorganized and who are rallied under different political parties, caste and communal organizations and NGO's into our movement.

It is in this context of evolving a clear perspective and to build the youth organization capable of making an expansion by meeting the current

challenges, the task of preparing a document on Youth Front was adopted in the 19th congress. This task is still pending and need to be completed as early as possible.

The present situation shows that while youth organization is still limited amongst a small section of youth, due priority and importance is yet to be accorded to youth organization and certain other important tasks such as recruitment of youth cadre, cadre deployment, proper wages and minimum basic facilities to whole timers, their training and political education, regular periodic review of mass organization and party members working on the Youth Front and 'approach to mass organizations', adopted by the previous congresses are yet to be implemented at different levels.

Major Activities

In the last four years, since 19th Party Congress, the Youth Front has taken up several important political-organisational activities in the course of facing the challenges posed before the youth community. These campaigns and movements were aimed at mobilizing the youth against the ill effects of neo-liberal policies and thereby expanding the base and influence of the mass-organisation. While the question of employment has been the major issue, the youth front has also raised other important issues affecting the youth and the people.

In this context, soon after the 19th Congress when the political scenario changed with Indo-US nuclear deal and global economic crisis surfaced in the second half of 2008, the youth front promptly responded. A month long *Azadi Bachao- Save India* movement was undertaken against UPA government' strategic alliance with imperialism. Three all India youth jathas were taken out and thousands of youth were approached during this campaign. All India youth rally was held in Delhi on November 3rd 2008. Main mobilization in this rally was from the weaker states. Upholding the glorious legacy of anti-imperialism protests were organized against imperialist intervention in Libya and other places.

In solidarity of 'Occupy Wall Street' movement, a solidarity campaign was launched and solidarity demonstrations were organized in Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai and some other places. In some places seminars were organized.

During this period youth front organized campaigns and agitations on the issue of unemployment at all India and state level. Every year anti-

unemployment day was observed on March 28 and on September 15 'Jobs for all, Education for all' demands day was observed. At state levels youth were mobilized in Assembly and Raj Bhawan marches in 2010 and 2011. On 10th June 2008 all India protest was held against contractualisation of banking services. On 3rd August 2010 a successful Chakka Jam protest was organized in many places all over the country. A national conference on employment was held on 3rd November 2009. All India youth convention was organized on 10-11 February 2010 in which papers were presented by experts and a demand charter was adopted. In order to broad based this campaign a joint left-youth convention was held on 28 March 2010.

Against malpractices in the implementation of MNREGA, youth front has made active intervention in states. State level workshops on youth organization' role in ensuring its effective implementation were held in some states. At village level surveys were conducted and MNREGA workers were organized and mobilized in rallies and protests.

Youth Front has played an important role by actively participated in joint calls for broader movement against anti-people policies. Youth Front actively participated in every general strike call during this period. Protest actions were organised against price-rise, and corruption all over the country. Youth Front activists participated in the general elections, assembly elections and local body elections held during this period. During this period youth front organized some agitational programmes with other left-youth organizations and with student, women, and Trade union organisations.

Against mega corruption in CWG, 2G and other scams, youth front took timely initiative to react and twice organize nationwide signature campaign and protests, but we failed in expanding and sustaining this campaign.

In wake of the Maoist attacks on our cadres in West Bengal and other innocent people in other parts of the country, a campaign was launched. An all India convention was organized on the theme of 'Stop anarchism in the name of Maoism' on 20th August, 2010, at New Delhi. In some states, state level programmes were held.

On the issue of climate change, a weeklong all India awareness campaign was conducted at the time of Copenhagen summit. In Kerala and Tripura campaign was very effective and got a good response from the youth and general public.

During this period, 17th World Festival of Youth and Students was held in South Africa with the slogan “Let’s defeat imperialism, for a world of peace, solidarity and social transformation”. The Youth Front was the Coordinator of the National Preparatory Committee (NPC) of India.

Against the judgement on Bhopal gas tragedy, nationwide protest day was observed on 8th July 2010. Against the incidents of terrorist attacks and communal violence, protests were organized. ‘An Anti-Terrorism, Anti-Communalism’ convention was organized on 18 December 2008.

Movement on Local Issue

As per the 19th Party Congress’ emphasis on movement on local issues there has been some improvement in terms of making intervention in local issues in many states. But there is a serious weakness in making conscious efforts to identify the issues for our independent initiative. In some states like Tamil Nadu, Tripura and Kerala and in some other states Youth Front has played an effective role in taking up local issues and building movements. In other states, though the youth front has improved its intervention but that is limited to a few spontaneous issues. There is a need of continuous emphasis on local issue movements at district and lower levels. More efforts and guidance is needed to raise the consciousness of the youth front cadre at all levels in order to make this task as the most important task of youth organization activity.

As part of its organizational activities, youth front organized its 3rd All India Tribal Youth Convention in September 2008 at Ranchi. 3rd All India Young Women Convention was held on 10-11 October, 2009 at Hyderabad. All India study camps were held in 2008 at Asansol and Thiruvananthapuram. An all India organization workshop was organized in September 2010 at Mumbai.

The review of the activities shows that barring some initiatives of campaign and movements, most of the activities are part of a routine nature and are being followed as a routine exercise. In order to break this attention should be given on streamlining the aspects of planning and implementation.

Central Office

During this period, youth front achieved success in having its own central office in New Delhi. An office building was purchased in New Delhi and registered in the name of Shaheed Bhagat Singh Memorial Youth Trust.

Youth Organisation

At the time of 19th Party Congress, Youth Front membership was 1,71,50,232 (2007). In 2011, it decreased to 1,34,72,478. The analysis of membership shows this decrease in the total membership is due to a major fall in membership in West Bengal in the new situation due to widespread attack on the organisation. In West Bengal alone membership has come down from 98,51,355 in 2008 to 57,50,002 in 2011. This comes to a total decrease of 41,01,353. Still West Bengal is the largest contingent of the youth front movement and comrades have expressed confidence and commitment to overcome this set back. Apart from this, there is declining trend in membership in Assam, Punjab, Uttarakhand and Manipur. The membership has fallen in Bihar and Delhi. There is stagnation in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Maharashtra. In J&K where the growth in youth front membership was noted as significant in the report of 19th Congress, the initiative was lost due to organizational problems during this period. As a result no membership is submitted from J&K in 2009 and 2010. In Chhattisgarh too due to the inaction on the part of the Party committee there is no membership of youth front since 2009.

In Kerala, Tripura and Tamilnadu youth front has further expanded its base registering a continuous increase in membership. Among weaker states though there has been an improvement in Rajasthan, UP, Himachal Pradesh, Jharkhand the pace of growth is very slow and a breakthrough is yet to be achieved. As far as the attempts made for expansion into new areas and sections is concerned in a significant development during this period, the youth front has been successful in forming its state committee in Nagaland in 2008 and has registered a steady growth in its membership in the state.

The overall decline in membership of the youth front is a matter of concern. This underlines the importance of the Party paying proper attention to this front.

In order to reach out to new sections of youth serious attempts have been made in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Rajasthan. In Tamil Nadu, Tamil Nadu Tribal Youth Federation (TTYF) is formed. The all India centre organized young women, Tribal and Dalit youth conventions at all India

and state levels but there has been a lack of local level initiative to carry forward this task for further expansion. In this regard the experience is that wherever serious sustained efforts have been made success was achieved. Only symbolic activity for the sake of activity remains a tokenism.

In order to activate the members of the mass organization as inactivity of the members was pinpointed as a major weakness and task of activating the members was set out as an important task for the youth front by the 19th Party Congress, this task has been taken up during this period with emphasis on yearly unit formation, and to ensure the proper functioning of the committees at different levels especially on primary units continues from the All India Centre. In the process of making attempts in this direction efforts have also been made to give more calls and programmes for participation and mobilization. A continuous and conscious emphasis is needed to rectify this weakness in coming days. Apart from the political calls there is a need to take up the agenda of constructive activities on a regular basis to ensure participation of maximum members.

As far as the efforts to educate the activists is concerned, at all India level and state levels schools and study camps have been organized. But there is lack of regularity and follow up and also there is a need to have study camps at district level. This task is also supplemented through a regular practice of giving written reports and circulars from the CEC having a review of international and national political scenario and developments. But this cannot be a substitute of regular political-ideological schooling at all levels and mass organization journal 'Youth Stream' which has not been published regularly.

The need of the independent role and identity of the youth front was emphasized by the 19th Congress. But apart from the strong states, this twin objective is yet to be achieved in almost all other states. Among these states Tamil Nadu has shown some progress in moving towards this goal. Due to the efforts made from the Centre, progress is there at the level of state committees but below that in many places the distinction between the Party and Mass organization is not very clear. It seems as if Party Committees are satisfied with this situation as there are no conscious efforts from the Party fraction committees to guide the mass organization in how to play its independent role and create its independent identity.

In order to improve the democratic functioning of committees at various levels, efforts have been made from the youth front centre and there has

been improvement on this aspect at least at centre and state level. Mass organization CEC meetings are regular and with the exception of some states, state committee meetings are also regular though low attendance in meetings has been a matter of concern. Below state level, functioning of the committees has not improved much. Conferences of the state committees are regular. In Uttarakhand and Bihar state conferences are due since last three and two years respectively. Efforts for improvement in democratic functioning of the committees at the district and lower levels have to be intensified. The youth organization's 9th All India Conference was due in May 2010. For various reasons, this has got delayed by almost two and a half years. This in turn has delayed the replenishment of the leadership. Now it is scheduled to be held in September, 2012 at Bangalore.

All India Centre

Since the 19th Congress there is not much improvement in the functioning of the all India Centre. In the report of the 19th Congress, the need to strengthen the all India Centre was mentioned. But, as the number of cadres working from the Centre could not be increased the task of strengthening the Centre remain unfulfilled and centre some how managed to discharge its responsibilities during this period. Four comrades – President, General Secretary, Treasurer and one CEC member were supposed to be based and functioning from the Centre. But that was not the situation. Presence of the central functionaries at the Centre has to be a matter of practice and not dictated by the needs of specific programmes. Youth Front all India Centre is providing allowances to 3 central functionaries, the office secretary and one office assistant and 7 other comrades in different states. In order to improve the functioning of the Centre, not only the number of cadre working from the Centre to be increased but their presence in the Centre has also to be ensured.

Party and the Youth Front

The 19th Congress report on the Youth Front had pointed out that there is lack of proper cadre policy with regard to youth front in many of the states. This situation continues even now. Some of the states have failed to provide state level cadre for the youth front. In some states, fraction committees for the youth front are not functioning.

There is an urgent need for discussion on youth front in these states and as part of a proper cadre policy not only the aspects of recruitment,

deployment and promotion should be taken care of but attention should also be paid on the proper deployment of cadres who got relieved from the youth front.

The central youth fraction committee constituted after the 19th Congress met five times during this period and there is slight improvement in terms of number of meetings in comparison to the previous experience. But in these meetings though the questions of policy were discussed, other important issues of Party building, recruitment into the Party etc. could not figure in the agenda. The fraction of the CEC of the youth front has been taking place regularly for political reporting.

Apart from the strong states, with the exception of few other states, the periodical review of the youth front work has not been undertaken. There is also the need to orient the work of the youth front on the basis of the approach spelt out in the CC document 'On Approach to Mass Organisations'.

Further it was decided in the last Congress that the Party Central Committee should adopt a policy document on the youth front. This could not be fulfilled. There was firstly a delay in getting replies on the questionnaire sent regarding the youth front from the states. Subsequently, the work for the document on the youth front could not be pursued.

Conclusion

The All India Centre of the youth front has to be strengthened. The Party state committees should ensure the deployment of adequate cadres at the state level youth front and in the districts. The youth front should be given due priority keeping in mind that 40 per cent of the population is in the age group of 15 to 40 years. The Central Committee should adopt a policy document on the youth front as early as possible.

Student Front

The tasks set out for the student front at the 19th Congress of the Party relate to the taking up of local and immediate issues at the institution level for building sustained movements, linking up the local issues with the central agendas thereby building up the all India movement, taking up the social questions within the student community, selection of priorities at all levels thereby strengthening the organisation and giving importance to the question of Party Building. It also pointed categorically on implementing the Policy Document of the Student Front. The Student Front assigned utmost priority on building up unit based movements identifying the local issues at the institution level. There were efforts to link up the local issues with central agendas of fighting against the Centralisation and Commercialisation tendencies in the education sector. There has been some positive breakthrough in this regard but undoubtedly a lot more needs to be done. Sustained efforts have to be there in order to fully utilise the potentials that exists in the present context of time.

The poor status of education in India continues to exist despite the otherwise high growth rates the country has achieved. One of the most important reasons for this has been the continuing apathy and unwillingness of successive central governments in committing more resources to the education sector. The UPA I also did not make any serious efforts to overcome this problem. The small increase in spending, which was done under pressure from the Left Parties was also far from sufficient and reached nowhere near ensuring the promised spending of 6% of GDP and 10% of the budget on education. Attempts to further the neo-liberal agenda of commercialization also continued in various forms.

The UPA II, which does not even have a Common Minimum Programme, has waged a renewed offensive in the field of education. This constitutes the twin attacks of commercialization and centralization of education. These attempts being made not only seek to push for increased commercialization and opening up of the education sector to foreign players, but they are aimed at fundamentally changing the structure of education sector in the country. To put it in simple terms, the thrust is to fundamentally curb the democratic values in the realm of education policy and make it subservient to the whims and fancies of the market.

There is an urgent need to expose the intentions of the government which are being justified in the name of “radical reforms”. A thorough and painstaking campaign must be waged to explain the dangers which such

policies pose to the education sector at large. Also the student front must wage militant struggles to pressurize the government to commit more resources to the education sector and stop its dilly dallying on its long pending demands and withdraw all plans which seek to further the agenda of centralization and commercialization of education. Given the larger stakes involved, which pertain to the very character of the education sector there is also an urgent need to mobilize the student community along with other democratic sections in the society against such moves.

The student movement had witnessed a growth in this period. The growth is in terms of unit level functioning, activities conducted and struggles organised. But undoubtedly there had been ample room for further improvement. In spite of the growth it must be accepted that we failed to utilise the opportunities at length that prevailed in the country.

The policy Document of the student front has been of immense support in the building up of clarity and it identified certain key areas where we have prioritised. Along with the priority states of the Party Karnataka, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan have been the priority states for the student front. Educational institutions, government and government aided in nature and students coming from the deprived sections of the dalits, adivasis and the minorities were identified as the priority. The question of building institution level functional units has been given the utmost importance in this period. There have been successes in this regard but a lot more needs to be done. The experience is that earlier at many places units did not exist in a proper way. In this period consistent efforts have been there not only to build units but also to sustain them and develop cadres from there. Efforts to identify the issues at the local levels and linking them with the central demands have been there though not of a satisfying degree. In this period there has been a serious efforts to register the units which did not materialise. The issue of registering units are of extreme importance and has to be taken on serious notes. Regarding the question of making substantial gathering at the all levels there has to be a change in mind set. The gatherings must not be seen as tokenism but serious efforts must be there to rally more and more students behind our demands at the roads. The question of effectively striking through huge mobilisations has to be a priority at all levels. These efforts must continue more vividly in the coming days. Building of broad based unity involving the other sections of the academic community against the neo liberal designs of the central government in the education sector remains to be one of the main priorities ahead.

Some of the weaknesses identified during the time of the last congress are

still continuing. Despite the attempt to conduct sustained struggles, tokenism continues still in some states. The unevenness in the growth is still continuing. The experience of the Border Committees has been very helpful in helping the weaker movements but the strong states needs to respond in a more positive manner.

Three comrades are working from the All India Centre. The centre is functioning with coordination and centre meetings are regular where works are planned. Out of the three comrades the All India President of the mass organisation who happens to be a Member of Parliament from Kerala is naturally busy with his Parliamentary work. Though he had tried in his best possible way to help the Centre scarcity of manpower remains one serious concern. The effective strength of the centre has been two and comrades found it very difficult to manage all the works. The comrades tried their best in attending programmes at the state level though the manpower questions at time were impediments in this regard. In the coming days the question of strengthening the centre and office functioning along with concrete helps from adjoining and strong states must be concretised. The secretariat of the mass organisation failed to function in an independent manner which is not desirable. The secretariat in the coming days has to function independently not only in case of meetings but also in the effective rendering of help to build the movement on an all India basis.

The student front in this period took up united and joint activities at the All India level. The mass organisation organised an all India convention in New Delhi in 2010 in order to categorically discuss the offensive launched by the UPA II government as far the education sector is concerned. A guideline and charter of demands for fighting the tendencies of commercialisation and centralisation tendencies were chalked out. It was decided based on which movements at the state level have to be strengthened. March to Parliaments were organised involving the same set of demands. On the joint scale along with other teachers, students, youth, parents, science organisations a body namely “National Forum in Defence of Education’ was constituted with the resolve to carry forward a united broad based struggle against the offensives in the education sector. Self critically we must note that more efforts in this regard at the all india and the state levels needs to be there and we have to utilise the opportunities prevailing in translating an effective united broad based struggle against attacks on the education sector.

Regarding the publications there has been serious efforts from the Centre. Despite shortage of cadres efforts were made to regularise Student

Struggle, the English monthly of the student front. The centre in this period brought out a Hindi Journal Chhatra Sangharsh for consecutive eight issues. The journal became immensely popular in the Hindi states though mostly due to the non-payment of loans from the Hindi states it has been temporarily stopped. Whole hearted initiatives in repaying back the dues must be there which primarily can reassure the uninterrupted publication of this magazine which can be a effective tool of our organisation in the Hindi speaking areas. The centre in this period also published “Indian Researcher”, a Research journal aimed at targeting the university movements. Efforts in this regard must continue.

One of the major concerns in the student front is the question of party building. The task of building party among the students has to be accepted as a task of the concerned party committees as a whole and not only that of the comrades working in the students’ front alone. Without this mind set we cannot overcome the challenge of building party in the student front. Proper cadre policy is yet not present and thus the dividends the party ought to gain from the activities of the student front remain illusive. In terms of recruitment of whole timers the student front is a very prospective one and this fact is registered out by the history of the growth of our party. The questions of new recruitment, nourishing, nurturing and developing the cadres and properly placing them in other organisations and party once their student tenure is over must be seriously looked by the party.

There was a decision taken in the 18th congress to form fraction committees instead of student youth sub committees. Accordingly this change was made at the all India level and also at states. But the functions of fraction committees at some states are not regular. Constitution of fraction committees at lower levels have not been materialised everywhere. The Fraction Committee at the all India level meets regularly discussing Policy issues and question of party building among the students.

The student front Policy document, though a very useful one has not been properly taken to all levels. Even in some strong states proper discussion regarding the document has not been carried out. Formation of student Fraction committees at all levels has not been realised till now.

As the question of education and employment continues in a sorry state of affairs within the youth targeting the socially and economically marginalised sections of the students’ community along with the demand, campaign and struggle for ensuring democratic rights of the student

community needs to be taken up on a sustained basis. Efforts have been there to address the issue of democratic rights of the student community at various states. There has been an attack on the democratic rights of the students in many states. The right to have union elections is still a matter of day dreaming in many states. Braving all odds and obstacles the student front put up a good show in the university and college union elections in Himachal Pradesh. Significant victories were achieved also at Kerala, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Tamilnadu. In some institutions of Maharashtra, Assam, Odisha successes have been registered.

In West Bengal there has been an all-round attack on the democratic rights of the student community. Through imposing ordinances the new state government has been diligent in curbing the democratic rights of the student community in the colleges and universities. There have been constant physical attacks on the cadres and the supporters of the student front. They are not being allowed to sit in their examinations. They are also not allowed to enter the colleges and in this time period after the assembly elections more than 120 comrades had to be hospitalised. 103 elected students unions have been forcibly captured where no elections were conducted. Till date there have been elections to the unions of 63 college unions. The student front registered victory on 53 occasions. Incidents of beating up teachers at various levels are also taking place at regular intervals. The state administration instead of condemning such shameful acts is openly attempting to guard the miscreants who belong to the ruling party. All facets of the 'hoodlum years' of the seventies in the state are thick in the air. Fighting for the democratic rights of the student community needs to be the main agenda for the front in the coming days in the state. The way the student comrades have faced the situation is to be appreciated.

Phenomenon of growing unemployment and under employment in absolute terms has been a menace for the society. Students and youths, in this era of globalisation are increasingly turning individualistic, looking at each other less as fellow beings with whom to live and share, and more as competitors vying for better lifestyle, job and fortune. The cultural milieu accompanying globalisations have aided the process. This milieu has bred enormous cynicism towards politics in general. Efforts for politicising students have to be one of the major concerns in the coming days.

Today more than fifty percent of the students study in the private sector(especially in higher and professional sector education), where we are almost absent save a few exceptions. Education in the era of

globalisation has witnessed a structural change where the private sector is emerging rapidly attracting bright students also in a big number. We cannot let loose this sector which today comprises of more than half of the student strength in the country. We are mostly operating at government and government aided institutions where also the attacks on the democratic rights of the students are intensifying. The vast private sector remains outside the ambit of democratic content. The objective reality demands the student front to draw innovative and imaginative avenues and ways in order to address and organise the students of the private institutions. The experience of 'Technos', 'Medicos' in Kerala, the social welfare Hostels in Andhra Pradesh and organising through social networking site in Kharagpur IIT(West Bengal) are some examples based on which concrete plans are to be chalked out. This must be a priority of the coming days.

Statement of Party Membership
(After 19th Congress)

Name of State	Year				
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Andaman & Nicobar	235	244	243	228	205
Andhra Pradesh	68,405	80,372	82,735	79,468	82,388
Assam	13,072	14,267	14,847	14,514	14,359
Bihar	18,644	19,359	18,788	20,101	20,850
Chattisgarh	1,499	1,658	1,710	1,863	1,670
Delhi	1,843	1,952	1,974	1,835	1,885
Goa	61	60	54	54	54
Gujarat	3,526	3,528	3,534	3,556	3,575
Haryana	1,881	1,811	2,023	2,164	2,434
Himachal Pradesh	1,505	1,667	1,730	1,930	2,010
Jammu & Kashmir	1,980	2,068	1,803	1,654	1,694
Jharkhand	4,562	4,843	5,575	5,698	5,066
Karnataka	6,653	7,071	7,364	7,528	7,824
Kerala	3,36,644	3,40,534	3,65,848	3,62,597	3,70,833
Madhya Pradesh	3,001	3,156	2,759	2,724	3,027
Maharashtra	12,051	12,618	12,947	12,248	12,586
Manipur	400	618	596	542	557
Odisha	4,620	4,817	4,849	4,757	4,914
Punjab	10,140	10,325	8,975	8,830	9,044
Rajasthan	4,263	4,635	4,638	4,499	4,821
Sikkim	93	150	150	120	110
Tamilnadu	90,291	91,733	93,034	93,792	94,472
Tripura	67,764	69,600	75,426	76,374	78,738
Uttarakhand	1,050	1,100	1,075	1,110	1,110
Uttar Pradesh	6,175	6,113	6,134	6,180	6,056
West Bengal	3,21,682	3,14,233	3,32,962	3,19,435	3,14,438
CC staff	115	124	110	107	113
Total	9,82,155	9,98,656	10,42,287	10,33,908	10,44,833

Year-wise Membership increase/decrease

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Membership	9,82,155	9,98,656	10,42,287	10,33,908	10,44,833
% of increase/decrease		(+)1.68	(+) 4.37	(-) 0.80	(+) 1.06

**Membership of TU Front
(After 19th Congress)**

Name of State	Year			
	2005	2006	2007	2008
Andaman & Nicobar	2,727	3,078	2,692	2,992
Andhra Pradesh	3,07,615	4,70,866	3,42,402	4,44,163
Assam	59,651	52,022	55,020	71,991
Bihar	22,415	5,430	19,188	24,762
Chattisgarh	17,496	19,052	20,119	21,712
Delhi	29,511	30,810	31,296	36,795
Goa	551	618	788	677
Gujarat	12,588	13,135	13,129	14,849
Haryana	48,483	15,534	53,418	67,255
Himachal Pradesh	16,996	13,448	30,089	40,523
Jammu & Kashmir	6,376	276	5,589	4,372
Jharkhand	43,634	72,956	74,293	99,503
Karnataka	1,19,713	1,11,088	1,40,517	1,61,478
Kerala	10,69,798	10,89,448	11,50,443	12,69,523
Madhya Pradesh	24,005	24,297	30,677	31,516
Maharashtra	81,571	86,134	95,054	1,13,732
Mizoram				2,560
Odisha	82,885	88,553	84,253	1,08,780
Punjab	79,971	72,535	66,555	79,000
Rajasthan	31,228	31,016	33,735	40,423
Sikkim	370			
Tamilnadu	3,30,856	3,56,780	4,57,825	5,17,846
Tripura	1,34,215	1,39,997	1,39,821	1,61,049
Uttarakhand	15,657	11,166	13,867	20,102
Uttar Pradesh	25,791	26,178	28,669	32,392
West Bengal	14,15,192	13,98,418	18,90,322	17,96,420
Total	39,79,295	41,32,835	47,79,761	51,64,415

Membership Of Kisan Front
(After 19th Congress)

Name of State	Year				
	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11
Andaman & Nicobar	4,900	3,538	4,245	1,509	1,305
Andhra Pradesh	2,82,426	3,32,862	3,55,956	3,70,246	3,65,957
Assam	2,31,703	2,69,826	2,52,379	2,71,545	1,95,398
Bihar	3,25,484	3,62,301	3,79,060	4,05,694	2,89,532
Chattisgarh	7,086	5,000	3,336	2,455	3,817
Gujarat	15,928	16,840	12,320	19,807	20,420
Haryana	37,101	61,094	73,526	94,884	1,10,063
Himachal Pradesh	38,339	30,000	37,800	43,229	52,000
Jammu & Kashmir	35,000	50,000	32,000	40,500	41,000
Jharkhand	70,299	84,628	96,054	96,400	76,200
Karnataka	1,32,634	1,45,736	2,02,543	2,34,542	2,57,692
Kerala	26,39,030	29,58,040	30,85,229	34,25,238	35,07,242
Madhya Pradesh	34,169	44,948	38,340	33,925	32,540
Maharashtra	1,90,197	2,03,231	2,46,455	1,65,593	2,35,234
Manipur	1,700	1,736	3,040	3,500	3,860
Odisha	77,170	1,22,000	1,24,027	1,09,800	1,13,920
Punjab	1,56,945	1,78,550	1,82,242	1,87,600	1,55,660
Rajasthan	2,41,576	2,95,810	2,39,540	1,51,133	2,54,216
Tamilnadu	5,09,181	5,46,906	5,81,451	6,35,045	6,33,570
Tripura (KS+GMP)	4,34,268	4,50,818	4,72,885	4,83,943	4,99,022
Uttarakhand	25,000	36,000	38,500	40,840	33,000
Uttar Pradesh	1,59,846	1,95,717	2,23,871	2,29,131	2,39,392
West Bengal	1,57,16,988	1,63,67,809	1,59,47,779	1,49,36,337	1,53,47,553
AIKS Centre	6	7	6	7	7
Total	2,13,66,976	2,27,63,397	2,26,32,584	2,19,82,903	2,24,68,600

Membership of Agricultural Workers Union Front
(After 19th Congress)

Name of State	Year				
	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11
Andhra Pradesh	12,65,283	12,69,725	13,37,023	14,93,996	15,14,960
Bihar	1,36,610	92,280	68,970	1,07,898	90,280
Gujarat				800	
Haryana	18,030	17,673	20,109	25,000	35,000
Karnataka	72,689	56,337	85,056	89,450	1,07,546
Kerala	18,23,482	18,75,207	19,61,988	20,50,282	21,34,639
Madhya Pradesh	1,500				
Maharashtra	83,540	88,724	1,02,300	1,12,317	1,26,530
Odisha	20,510	21,208	11,000	24,032	25,640
Punjab	1,02,527	1,00,403	1,00,600	1,28,000	1,70,520
Rajasthan	22,000	24,350	22,500	19,600	23,500
Tamilnadu	4,35,748	4,18,842	3,97,704	4,90,639	5,09,546
Tripura	2,01,300	2,12,718	2,32,460	2,27,990	2,34,009
Uttar Pradesh	67,535	56,003	58,256	61,800	82,332
Total	42,50,754	42,33,470	43,97,966	48,31,804	50,54,502

Membership of Women's Front
(After 19th Congress)

Name of State	Year				
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Andaman & Nicobar	2,000	3,050			
Andhra Pradesh	5,62,350	6,58,350	7,14,690	5,27,200	4,70,539
Assam	82,268	90,630	96,653	78,625	65,672
Bihar	54,157	55,328	58,190	56,154	60,105
Chattisgarh	2,330	3,265	3,240	2,050	2,150
Delhi	35,000	41,873	39,831	31,555	37,012
Goa		300	860	470	500
Gujarat	25,070	29,780	30,130	30,253	30,182
Haryana	34,600	40,534	43,000	45,110	41,038
Himachal Pradesh	10,625	11,458	14,487	14,725	15,780
Jharkhand	46,975	48,500	55,100	60,250	61,777
Karnataka	55,098	46,555	61,869	60,323	60,545
Kerala	30,79,360	34,73,900	37,38,103	39,26,620	42,43,132
Madhya Pradesh	15,358	16,253	14,341	20,734	22,767
Maharashtra	85,993	85,799	86,509	92,048	73,510
Manipur	2,600	2,100	1,016	3,000	3,600
Nagaland		7			
Odisha	33,079	34,000	36,000	35,000	32,230
Punjab	22,100	21,470	30,400	32,500	32,500
Rajasthan	19,907	20,900	19,700	14,577	14,850
Tamilnadu	5,81,241	5,98,038	6,53,176	6,27,864	6,15,870
Tripura	4,67,525	5,01,000	5,27,666	5,49,235	5,76,800
Uttarakhand	9,110	8,910	9,120	7,252	8,060
Uttar Pradesh	60,671	70,000	68,363	56,862	57,112
West Bengal	58,18,701	60,45,296	57,08,779	58,44,815	41,76,079
Total	1,11,06,118	1,19,21,719	1,20,02,223	1,21,17,222	1,07,01,810

Membership of Youth Front
(After 19th Congress)

Name of State	Year				
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Andaman & Nicobar	1,020				
Andhra Pradesh	4,55,950	4,28,450	4,09,815	4,09,264	4,04,861
Assam	62,500	70,178	72,447	38,625	34,056
Bihar	1,52,075	1,70,194	1,47,000	1,26,278	1,30,411
Chattisgarh	11,866	6,000	Nil	Nil	260
Delhi	33,324	20,101	16,000	12,423	12,000
Goa		260	Nil	Nil	Nil
Gujarat	19,556	19,781	20,203	20,375	21,304
Haryana	12,010	15,045	16,200	18,192	17,915
Himachal Pradesh	17,614	12,054	8,543	19,700	35,135
Jammu & Kashmir	1,31,000	1,25,000	Nil	Nil	9,000
Jharkhand	42,055	51,594	55,965	58,520	59,582
Karnataka	1,02,289	90,000	96,287	96,638	90,000
Kerala	46,11,374	48,78,619	49,29,066	49,41,618	48,20,290
Madhya Pradesh	14,511	14,305	9380	7,985	10,809
Maharashtra	74,985	94,026	92,074	90,367	86,055
Manipur	5,123	4,026	3,884	4,030	3,905
Nagaland		1,500	3,500	7,000	10,500
Odisha	40,200	30,000	23,500	21,750	26,700
Punjab	53,020	53,367	46,029	30,100	33,000
Rajasthan	76,399	73,853	69,975	72,180	77,168
Sikkim	1,500				
Tamilnadu	8,44,875	8,45,999	9,45,766	9,28,885	10,53,054
Tripura	5,60,000	6,22,410	6,63,812	7,02,250	7,26,251
Uttarakhand	8,019	7,483	7,040	6,800	5,500
Uttar Pradesh	54,288	54,434	47,000	51,540	54,715
West Bengal	97,64,674	98,51,355	81,33,200	84,92,180	57,50,002
Centre	5	5	5	5	5
Total	1,71,50,232	1,75,40,039	1,58,16,691	1,61,56,705	1,34,72,478

Membership Of Student Front
(After 19th Congress)

Name of State	Year				
	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11
Andhra Pradesh	6,77,659	8,79,140	9,68,011	11,32,122	9,42,461
Assam	27,118	24,729	24,077	26,127	19,899
Bihar	26,781	33,609	45,000	37,500	46,050
Chattisgarh	10,038	12,872	14,972	Nil	Nil
Delhi	4,529	5,108	5,000	5,000	4,294
Gujarat	4,230	7,743	Nil	Nil	Nil
Haryana	12,567	12,021	9,716	9,911	8,240
Himachal Pradesh	18,517	19,686	16,868	17,000	21,000
Jharkhand	10,176	7,455	9,551	10,026	9,136
Karnataka	90,709	1,12,074	96,256	94,654	83,949
Kerala	10,29,681	10,95,031	11,35,685	11,89,189	12,67,863
Madhya Pradesh	3,420	7,156	3,556	3,567	5,210
Maharashtra	23,398	31,215	30,948	24,371	35,335
Manipur	1,912	3,254	Nil	Nil	Nil
Odisha	5,176	8,944	9,053	7,057	8,412
Punjab	10,400	7,200	7,012	9,422	8,241
Rajasthan	44,630	49,088	49,182	52,242	51,060
Tamilnadu	1,58,981	1,70,724	1,63,655	1,56,917	1,81,240
Tripura	1,55,177	1,56,097	1,75,156	1,80,053	1,69,601
Uttarakhand	8,000	8,110	8,900	9,000	7,672
Uttar Pradesh	7,417	7,416	9,716	9,797	6,170
West Bengal	16,09,199	16,69,327	16,35,890	13,57,873	13,02,158
CEC	76				
Centre				5	4
Total	39,39,791	43,27,999	44,18,204	43,31,833	41,77,995

Increase/Decrease in Membership of Mass Fronts from 19th Congress to 20th Congress

Front	19th Congress	20th Congress	Increase/Decrease	% of increase/decrease
TU	39,79,295	51,64,415	11,85,120	29.8
Kisan	2,13,66,976	2,24,68,600	11,01,624	5.2
Agricultural Workers	42,50,754	50,54,502	8,03,748	18.9
Women	1,11,06,118	1,07,01,810	(-) 4,04,308	(-) 3.64
Youth	1,71,50,232	1,34,72,478	(-) 36,77,754	(-) 21.44
Student	39,39,791	41,77,995	2,38,204	6.05
Total	6,17,93,166	6,10,39,800	(-) 7,53,366	(-) 1.22

Membership of Each Mass Front in Priority States

Front	19th Congress	20th Congress	Increase/Decrease	% of increase/decrease
TU	2,33,062	3,42,380	1,09,318	46.9
Kisan	9,77,529	10,35,756	58,227	5.9
Agricultural Workers	2,87,685	2,99,142	11,457	3.98
Women	3,30,064	3,18,176	(-)11,888	(-) 3.6
Youth	3,85,903	3,64,819	(-) 21,084	(-) 5.46
Student	94,890	1,16,590	21,700	22.87
Total	23,09,133	24,76,863	1,67,730	7.26

Hindi-Speaking States

Front	19th Congress	20th Congress	Increase/Decrease	% of increase/decrease
TU	2,75,216	4,14,983	1,39,767	50.78
Kisan	9,38,900	10,90,760	1,51,860	16.17
Agricultural Workers	2,45,675	2,31,112	(-) 14,563	(-) 5.92
Women	2,88,733	3,20,651	31,918	11.05
Youth	4,22,161	4,03,495	(-) 18,666	(-) 4.42
Student	1,46,075	1,58,832	12,757	8.73
Total	23,16,760	26,19,833	3,03,073	13.08

Comparison of Party & Mass Front Membership from the time of Salkia Plenum

	1978		1992		2011	
	Party	Mass fronts	Party	Mass fronts	Party	Mass fronts
Membership in three major states	1,14,679 (71.09%)	52,61,317 (74.38%)	4,36,345 (75.28%)	2,39,68,680 (83.28%)	7,64,009 (73.12%)	4,79,81,633 (78.6%)
Membership in five major states	1,34,974 (83.67%)	62,08,466 (87.77%)	5,12,292 (88.38%)	2,62,41,382 (91.18%)	9,40,869 (90.04%)	5,56,35,700 (91.14%)
Hindi-speaking states	14,109 (8.75%)	3,57,457 (5.05%)	30,820 (5.32%)	12,83,564 (4.46%)	48,929 (4.7%)	26,19,833 (4.3%)

Comparison of Party and Mass Front Membership in Priority States from the time of its selection

	Party		Mass organisation	
	Membership	%	Membership	%
2002	46,116	5.52	16,85,842	3.67
2011	58,917	5.64	24,76,863	4.06

Circulation of *People's Democracy* and *Lok Lahar*

State	<i>People's Democracy</i>				<i>Lok Lahar</i>			
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2008	2009	2010	2011
Andhra Pradesh	565	504	833	643	5	8	4	3
Arunachal Pradesh	3							
Assam	552	541	510	506	7	5	5	5
Bihar	114	108	86	86	1277	1345	1129	935
Chandigarh	41	40	37	36	54	55	46	54
Chattisgarh	20	19	52	56	362	391	381	385
Delhi	309	281	262	257	727	711	611	563
Goa	3	2	3	3				
Gujarat	14	13	16	17	63	63	50	52
Haryana	32	40	40	40	834	919	804	853
Himachal Pradesh	94	85	75	81	661	698	824	692
Jammu & Kashmir	18	19	26	24	23	22	20	31
Jharkhand	56	55	36	28	397	381	331	312
Karnataka	220	212	148	141	4	6	3	2
Kerala	7577	4708	3971	3464	6	4	4	2
Madhya Pradesh	23	29	26	25	356	356	240	259
Maharashtra	538	450	352	338	526	477	405	397
Manipur	7	8	6	7				
Meghalaya	16	17	17	16				
Odisha	283	252	252	265	22	10	9	10
Pondicherry	1							
Punjab	91	89	70	67	45	54	50	48
Rajasthan	30	25	16	13	915	755	711	714
Tamilnadu	1853	1634	1783	1472	2	2	3	4
Tripura	1760	1780	2515	3329	66	51	47	39
Uttarakhand	9	11	9	10	288	239	211	197
Uttar Pradesh	115	116	122	119	1839	1855	1719	1693
West Bengal	8597	8115	7951	7,442	4305	4502	3740	3104
Foreign	25	26	24	22				
Total	22923	19179	19238	18507	12783	12909	11347	10354

Circulation of *The Marxist*

State	2008	2009	2010	2011
Andhra Pradesh	153	150	177	138
Assam	76	75	64	74
Bihar	35	29	18	27
Chandigarh	12	12	5	20
Chattisgarh	14	8	9	7
Delhi	173	134	105	151
Goa	1	1	2	1
Gujarat	3	3	5	6
Haryana	11	6	3	4
Himachal Pradesh	8	9	6	4
Jammu & Kashmir	9	8	4	3
Jharkhand	20	15	13	13
Karnataka	148	112	85	104
Kerala	89	55	60	48
Madhya Pradesh	5	6	11	7
Maharashtra	135	108	102	101
Odisha	88	70	88	79
Punjab	40	26	22	20
Rajasthan	9	5	6	5
Tamilnadu	235	157	218	194
Tripura	50	50	56	33
Uttarakhand	21	12	11	20
Uttar Pradesh	32	30	37	46
West Bengal	941	928	970	946
Foreign	13	10	12	12
Total	2321	2019	2089	2063