

ORGANISATIONAL REPORT

OUR PARTY HAS REGISTERED significant advance during the last three years since the Seventh Party Congress held in December 1964 in Bombay. It has grown politically and organisationally in tireless struggles against repression of its class enemies on the one hand and continuing slanders and disruption of the CPM on the other.

Today the party is more united ideologically, politically and organisationally than it was ever before in the recent past. Its political prestige and status have enhanced in our country. From the status of persecuted opposition party, it has acquired the status of a ruling party in coalition with other parties in five states. It is increasingly being looked upon as the builder of popular unity and national advance. Its organisation has spread to newer areas. Its membership has increased by more than 50 per cent. Its representation in Parliament, assemblies and local bodies has increased and the circulation of its papers has gone up. Its links and contacts with the people have become closer and wider.

The confidence about the advance of our party shown in the Organisational Report of the last Party Congress has come true. The Report had said:

Even though our movement has suffered a temporary setback because of the split in our party, if we regroup our forces and mobilise the masses on the basis of correct political and ideological understanding, our party can register success.

And we have registered significant success. But the advance registered falls far short of the need of the situation.

The capitalist path of development pursued by the congress rulers has entered the phase of acute crisis, engulfing the whole country in its ruinous all-pervasive consequences. The cloud of political crisis is thickening every day. Mono-

poly of congress power has been broken. The Congress is disintegrating still further. Imperialists and Indian reactionary forces are feverishly operating to block the national-democratic advance and take the country back to neocolonial path. This situation of growing economic crisis, increasing political instability, fierce clash of political alternatives and growing mass struggles, needs a strong militant mass communist party. It should be ideologically, politically and organisationally united more than ever before. It should be capable of organising and leading diverse forms of mass and political actions. It should be mature enough to advance correct and timely slogans in complicated situations of sharp twists and turns. Above all, it should be flexible enough to be able to unite all national-democratic forces of our country, each with its own unique peculiarity.

The advance registered by the party would have been surely bigger if we had not failed in implementing many of the tasks which were laid down in the Organisational Report of the last Party Congress. This Report had analysed at some length, long-standing weaknesses and defects of the party and formulated tasks to overcome them. They were:

1. Systematically fight tendencies of indiscipline, bourgeois habits and methods.
2. Build and develop mass organisations in order to strengthen links with masses.
3. Remove the gap between mass influence and organisation.
4. Build and strengthen the all-India party centre as the key to organisational tasks:
 - The apparatus of the party centre should be radically expanded;
 - Proper distribution of work among central leaders who would function on the basis of collective decisions, individual responsibility and collective check-up;
 - The work of the party centre should be organised in the form of various departments run and led by proper cadres.

5. Improve the style of work:

- Hold prepared and businesslike meetings of party committees;
 - Review implementation of decisions and resolutions;
 - Enforce the system of sending and submitting written reports by lower committees to higher committees;
 - Root out the evil of individual functioning; establish norms of collective functioning and criticism and self-criticism;
 - Proper division of functions and specialisation should be practised as a system by party committees;
 - Spontaneity in the matter of selection, training and promoting cadres should be replaced by conscious and systematic efforts;
 - Part-time capable cadres should be drafted into the day-to-day work of the party;
 - One person should not be put in charge of too many responsibilities; one should be given at the most two functions;
 - Develop innerparty democracy; organise innerparty discussion on big mass, political and organisational issues.
6. The system of party finance should be put on a firm foundation.
 7. Increase the circulation of party journals and improve their quality.
 8. Organise People's Service Corps.

While formulating the above tasks the Organisational Report had taken into consideration the prevailing frustration and cynicism in the party ranks in the matter of removing long-standing organisational weaknesses and bringing about desired improvements. Therefore, it had evolved the following guarantees for their implementation under the heading 'How and Where to Begin':

1. The all-India party centre and the party centres in various states must be thoroughly reorganised so that they become real leading bodies imbued with a collec-

tive spirit and capable of fulfilling the many-sided tasks laid down in the Organisational Report.

2. An organisational department should be set up from top to bottom for improving the organisational structure of the party.
3. The new National Council, at its first meeting, should formulate guidelines for selection and promotion of new cadres and removal of ineffective cadres at all levels in a planned manner.
4. A central innerparty journal should be started by the organisational department. Wherever possible state councils should also run such a journal.
5. The party centre should bring out a Hindi weekly.
6. The state councils of the party should meet within two months after the Party Congress in special session devoted entirely to problems of party organisation in the state and take concrete organisational decisions to implement the proposals made in the Organisational Report.
7. An education department should be set up in the centre and in the states, charged with the following responsibilities:
 - To run a permanent central party school for training advanced cadres and teachers for schools in the states;
 - To run a permanent central party school for training cadres from Hindi-speaking states;
 - To help state committees to organise schools for the experienced cadres who did not have the benefit of modern education, as well as training branch secretaries;
 - Publish popular pamphlets and books on Marxist theory, Party Programme and other topics for the education of party members and militants.
8. The state councils should convene meetings of comrades working on kisan and agricultural workers' front for chalking out a mass line for rural areas, reviving the kisan sabha and building agricultural labour organisations. Basing itself on the reports of these meetings, the Central Secretariat should convene a meeting of the

important kisan front workers from all over the country with a view to evolve a general line on this front and revive the kisan organisation.

9. An all-India meeting of women cadres to be convened.
10. An all-India meeting of student comrades should be held in May 1965 to finally resolve the questions facing the student movement for long years.
11. A conference of party editors, leading party journalists and editors of party publications should be convened by the Central Secretariat.
12. The National Council should appoint a commission for writing the history of the Communist Party of India.

With a view to activate the whole party immediately in its efforts to fulfil the tasks formulated by the Party Congress the Organisational Report had decided three all-India party campaigns and three all-India mass campaigns.

The party campaigns were for (a) toning up the party organisations, (b) collection of Rs. 10 lakh party fund, and (c) increase in the circulation of party journals.

The mass campaigns were for (a) food and against rising prices, (b) bonus and DA, and (c) increasing food production.

A review of our struggle to carry out the abovementioned tasks, guarantees and campaigns decided by the last Party Congress shows that only a few of them have been carried out. A number of them were not even attempted while others were either formally carried out or initiated but not carried forward in a serious and sustained way.

Of the six campaigns, those in the sphere of party organisation—i.e. toning up party organisation, collecting Rs. 10 lakh party fund and increasing the circulation of party journals—have suffered casualty mainly due to the failure of the centre to plan them properly and to implement them persistently. But despite this failure of the centre, party members have increased, party activity has grown, circulation of party journals has gone up and more party fund has been collected during this period largely due to initia-

tive of state and district organisations on such occasions as 1st September March to Delhi, general election and party conferences.

On the whole the mass campaigns were carried out with great amount of success, the details of which are given in the Review Report.

Similar has been the fate of 12 directives (guarantees) of which one-third was implemented, one-third was not even attempted and the remaining one-third was formally implemented but not carried forward.

Among the first category (i.e. those that were implemented) are: (a) bringing out *Party Life* as innerparty journal; (b) publication of *Janyug* as the central Hindi weekly; (c) setting up of a number of departments; and (d) holding all-India meetings of party editors, kisan cadres and youth cadres.

Among the second category (i.e. those that were not even attempted) are: (a) through reorganisation of all-India party centre; (b) formulation of guidelines for selection and promotion of new cadres; (c) setting up permanent central party school; and (d) setting up party history commission.

The rest of the 12 directives fall in the third category (i.e. those that were formally implemented but not carried forward).

The net result is that the main organisational tasks of the Organisational Report remain where they were. The party continues to suffer from all those defects and weaknesses which were analysed and nailed down at the last Party Congress. Tendencies of indiscipline, bourgeois habits and methods persist. Mass organisations continue to remain weak. The gap between mass influence and organisation of the party still continues. The all-India party centre remains weak and ineffective. No improvement in the style of work has come about. The financial position of the party continues to be deplorable. The circulation of party journals remains poor.