

Read along with this Pamphlet

Proletarian Leadership And Democratic Movement

By Ajoy Ghosh

This pamphlet, written by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, sharply and lucidly deals with some of the important problems facing the democratic forces in our country to-day. It shows in clear light the need for the assertion of proletarian leadership in the democratic movement and contrasts the features of the bourgeois-led national movement with the features that a revolutionary movement has to acquire and demolishes some of the current wrong notions about the Democratic Front. The emergence of the Communist Party as a national-political force is sharply underlined as constituting the new factor in Indian politics. The significance of sustained mass activity and the role of economic struggles in that context have been explained. The importance of Marxist education and of ideological struggle are stressed as also the orientation towards the basic masses. It ends with the elaboration of the correct method of organisational leadership.

The pamphlet will be of considerable significance to the entire democratic movement. It is a MUST reading for every man and woman interested in the Communist movement in our country.

TO BE OUT SOON

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RESOLUTION

on

PARTY ORGANISATION



Delhi

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

June 1954

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Resolution on Party Organisation

NOTE : In its meeting held in March 1953, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India adopted a Resolution on Party Organisation. That resolution was made the basis for strengthening the organisation of the Party and was discussed at the Provincial Conferences. It could not, however, be finalised and adopted at the Third Party Congress due to lack of time. The Congress entrusted the work of finalising the Resolution to the new Central Committee.

The Central Committee, in its meeting held from April 10 to April 18, 1954, considered the view of the Polit Bureau on the amendments that had been received. It also discussed thoroughly several important aspects of organisation which had been inadequately dealt with in the earlier draft. On the basis of this discussion, the Resolution has been amended and finalised.

All Party units and comrades should carefully study the Resolution and improve functioning in accordance with the guidance given in it.

—POLIT BUREAU

1. The General Elections and the developments that have taken place since then have sharply brought out the key role of the Communist Party in the present situation. During the elections, it was seen that, while discontent against the Government and the desire to replace it by a popular Government were widespread, strong opposition to the Congress could be put up by democratic forces only in those areas where the Commu-

nist Party had already, by leading mass struggles and building mass organisations, become a major force. It was also in these areas that lakhs could be set in motion against the Congress Governments and the elections developed into a mass political campaign. In areas where either there was no Communist Party or the Party was weak, the democratic opposition to the Congress also proved to be weak and generally ineffective. In several such areas, the discontent of the people was utilised by communal and feudal reaction to strengthen its own position at the cost of the Congress. The elections, therefore, not merely showed widespread opposition to the Government, but also revealed the fact that this opposition could be transformed into a mass democratic movement only if there was a strong Communist Party.

2. The Communist Party has emerged from the General Elections as a major national-political force and has achieved a key position in the political life of the country. It is looked upon today as the spearhead of the democratic opposition to the Congress, as the vanguard of the struggle against landlords, monopolists, and the reactionary policies of the Government, as the unifier of the democratic forces. The Left Socialist group, the U.P.R.S.P. and a section of the Kamgar Kisan Party have joined the Party, thereby considerably strengthening the Communist movement and the position of the Party. Large numbers from the Socialist Party and followers of the Congress have joined the Party and more want to join it. There is a big swing towards the Communist Party and it has acquired great prestige and authority among the masses.

3. In its resolution of August 1952, the Polit Bureau of the Central Committee sharply underlined the fact that the question of Party organisation has become a key political question. It was closely followed by the article of the General Secretary, *Some of Our Main Weaknesses*, which, on the basis of discussion in the Polit Bureau, underlined some of the most important and urgent problems facing the Party in the field of organisation.

Experience of the entire Party has confirmed the correctness of the formulations contained in that document. Party comrades and committees throughout the country have been bestowing growing attention to problems of Party organisation since then. The preparations for the Local, District and Provincial Conferences have contributed a great deal towards organisational consolidation of the Party. As a result of all these, today the Party has grown from the utterly disorganised state in which it was in 1951, to a country-wide Party, with functioning Provincial and District and many Local Committees and with a membership of over 50,000 and another 25,000 candidates.

4. Nevertheless, it is a fact that the growth of the effective organised strength of the Party lags far behind the growing political influence of the Party. The Party, therefore, finds itself unable to transform the growing political influence into an effective striking force and this is the most important factor retarding the development of the entire democratic movement in our country.

5. This is fully borne out by the events of the post-election period, during which opposition to the Government has spread to new areas and to all strata of the people. In the innumerable struggles and mass actions that have taken place in this period, it has been seen that for effectively guiding these struggles, for uniting the broad masses in support of these struggles, for building mass organisations on the basis of these struggles, strong units of the Communist Party are absolutely essential. In the absence of strong units of the Party, mass discontent against the Government either does not grow into a powerful movement or reactionary and communal elements succeed in giving popular discontent a wrong direction, divert it into disruptive channels.

6. It is obvious, therefore, that the growth of the democratic movement does not depend merely on the deepening of the economic crisis or the growth of popular discontent. It depends on the form and direction that are given to this discontent, the

manner in which the masses are led, the extent of democratic unity that is forged, the slogan round which the people are mobilised. This demands, above all, a strong and disciplined Communist Party, entrenched among the people, especially among the basic masses—the workers and peasants—and able to forge popular unity in action. The growth and success of the popular movement depend today, first and foremost, on the Communist Party and its growth—ideological-political and organisational—its strengthening in areas where it exists, its spreading to areas where it does not exist, the correctness of its slogans, the maturity of its leadership, the degree of political-organisational unification of the Party, the quality of its cadres at all levels and in all areas.

7. The question of Party organisation, as the most important and decisive factor determining the growth and strengthening of the democratic movement, has assumed great urgency today in view of the economic and political crisis that is developing and of the growing threat to our sovereignty from the imperialists, who are making frantic efforts to unleash a world war. In these conditions, the Party must, by correct and effective leadership of the masses and their struggles, become the *leading force* of the nation. To the extent the Party is able to do this, to that extent it will be able to advance the movement for full freedom, democracy and peace.

8. In order that we may carry out this task, it is first of all necessary to have a clear understanding of the nature of the difficulties that have to be overcome, the nature of the problems that have to be solved.

In the main, the problems confronting the Party today are problems connected with the growth of the responsibilities that the Party has to carry out. The organisation of the Party has not kept pace with this growth. A big gap has thus grown between the influence of the Party on the one hand and its effective organised strength on the other. The concrete form in which the problem presents itself is a problem of cadres. In every State, the Party is unable to cope with the immense tasks

facing it because of lack of cadres. This difficulty, however, has been further aggravated because legacies of the inner-Party happenings after the Second Party Congress have not yet been fully liquidated due to which the Party has not been able to mobilise fully even the existing strength.

9. It would be a mistake to think, however, that the main thing that is needed is to restore the functioning as it was before the Second Party Congress. It must be remembered, firstly, that because of the position it has acquired, the Party today has to act as a national political force and the organisation has to be one which enables the Party to play this role. It must be remembered, secondly, that the question of a proper kind of organisation is closely linked with the question of (i) struggle against bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and feudal ideologies; (ii) classes which form the main base of the Party; (iii) principles of democratic centralism of which criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below is a vital part; (iv) strict adherence to the principle of collective functioning in all units and in the Party as a whole. However, as we all know, in these respects the situation inside the Party, even in the pre-Second Party Congress period, was highly unsatisfactory. In fact, many of the shortcomings from which we are suffering today are due to the fact that certain basic weaknesses were allowed to persist throughout the history of the Party.

10. Ever since its formation, the Communist Party of India has played an important role in the development of the mass movement against imperialism and its allies. It was the first Party to point out the close link between India's struggle for freedom and the struggle of the world working class for Socialism. It was the first Party to stress that the anti-imperialist movement could succeed only if the vacillating and treacherous national bourgeois leadership was isolated and the proletariat succeeded in establishing its hegemony in the national movement. It was the first Party to emphasise the importance of struggles for immediate demands of the masses as an integral part of the general

democratic movement and of building mass organisations of workers and peasants for this purpose. The Communist Party not merely stated these principles, not merely propagated them, but, basing itself on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, worked self-sacrificingly and against heavy odds for their implementation. Without this, the Party could not have acquired its present position in the political life of the country.

11. At the same time, it must be realised that in relation to the democratic movement, the key task of establishment of proletarian hegemony could not be carried out. Hence, the movement remained generally weak, did not, as a whole, acquire the features of a powerful mass revolutionary movement for freedom and could be easily betrayed by the national bourgeoisie. This was due not merely to objective conditions but also to certain serious defects and weakness in our work itself.

12. In the first place, the decisive importance of ideological work was not realised and insufficient attention was paid to the task of waging the struggle against feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies, which, in our country, are extremely strong in all classes, including the working class. Again, the bulk of our Party members came from the middle-classes, both in cities and in villages. This was inevitable in the initial period. But most of these Party members were not developed ideologically to a sufficient degree, nor were they used in a planned way to inculcate Marxist-Leninist ideology in the working class and toiling peasantry. While, as a result of our Trade Union and Kisan Sabha activities and our anti-imperialist and Socialist propaganda, we drew towards the Party the finest elements from these classes, we generally paid little attention to their cultural as well as ideological-political development, failed to transform their elementary anti-capitalist, anti-landlord hatred, their democratic anti-imperialist consciousness into *Socialist* consciousness—Marxist-Leninist consciousness. Thus, we failed to forge them into cadres of a Marxist-Leninist Party. Not that this work was not done at all, but it was done in an inadequate manner and

to a very limited extent.

13. Another of our weaknesses was that Marxist-Leninist principles of Party organisation were not consistently applied. The Lenin-Stalin methods of functioning the Party play a big role in forging cadres, in raising their consciousness, in promoting their growth. However, democratic centralism was often understood and practised by us in a formal manner. Democratic centralism implies not merely subordination of lower committees to higher committees and of minority to majority. It also implies collective functioning, active participation by the entire Party and all its units in evolving and concretising of slogans and tactics. This demands criticism and self-criticism on the widest scale, especially criticism from below. It is thus that correct tactics are evolved, mistakes get rectified, the Party gets more and more unified and cadres grow in maturity, develop initiative and capacity for leadership. Comrade Stalin taught : "We understand democracy as the raising of the activity and class consciousness of Party masses, as the systematic attraction of Party masses in practice, not only into discussion of work but into leadership of work". The prevalence of the *leader-follower* pattern inside the Party in all our phases, the prevalence of the practice of broad political questions being discussed only in higher committees and lower units confining themselves only to *immediate practical work* and implementation of directives given from above, led to the arrest of the growth of a large number of valuable cadres and their fossilisation.

14. All this it is necessary to grasp today in order to take firm steps to liquidate our weaknesses. The question of the building of a mass Party must not be understood in a narrow sense as merely a question of recruitment of new cadres. Recruitment, of course, is vital and necessary, but together with it are necessary the reorganisation of the Party on a proper basis, the drawing of the entire Party into the task of evolving policies, the undertaking of Party education and the nursing and promotion of cadres. Then only the cadres recruited will grow and mature. It is through all this that the basis will be laid for the development

of a mass Party.

15. Despite the considerable improvements that have taken place in the inner-Party situation and in the functioning of Party units in recent months, it must be admitted that the Party as an organisation is still in a seriously defective state. Leading Party Committees—from the Central Committee to the District Committee—do not yet function as *leading committees*, rapidly evolving slogans and policies in a fast-developing situation, helping the lower committees to solve the problems confronting them, guiding mass activities, consolidating the Party's influence in strong bases, extending to new areas and spheres in accordance with a definite perspective and plan. Quite often, meetings of committees are not properly prepared for, there is totally inadequate check-up. Sometimes sub-committees formed by PCs and Fractions become virtually autonomous and tend to replace the PC itself in relation to the front, which it is supposed to help the PC to guide. Similarly, in the Party Centre, individual comrades-in-charge of fronts tend to become autonomous and function on their own. All this results in lack of co-ordination, prevents consolidation and expansion, prevents effective leadership.

16. It is not enough to argue that all this is due to lack of cadres and immensity of work. That, of course, is true. But even the shortage of cadres cannot be overcome without proper organisation of the *existing* cadres at all levels of the Party—from the CC to the cells. For this, it is necessary, first of all, to get rid of certain erroneous notions. It is necessary to understand that the Party is a sum and system of organisations, and strengthening of the Party means strengthening of the organisations of the Party, or collective bodies, at all levels. Party organisation and Party building are the key tasks today and these tasks will not get carried out automatically as a result of mass work and mass activity—even of the most intensive type. Correct type of mass work rouses the masses into activity, gives them experience, heightens their political consciousness, draws the best

of them towards the Party and thus creates *possibilities and conditions* for the strengthening of the Party. But unless these possibilities are made into a reality by the *building up and expansion of the Party* which must be looked upon as an independent task, the Party will not grow and the mass movement also will not grow beyond the elemental stage—no matter how correct the policy and how intense the mass activity.

17. To carry out the urgent tasks of Party building, it is essential to build a strong collective central leadership. This requires a campaign for rooting out some wrong tendencies such as :

(a) Tendency to minimise the need for a strong Party Centre. This expresses itself in the form of (i) failure on the part of the PCs to realise the necessity for a sufficiently large number of leading cadres being relieved from Provincial work and allowed to devote their whole time for Central work; and of (ii) some of the comrades who are capable of functioning at the Centre, refusing to shoulder their responsibility in this respect.

(b) A similar tendency exists in the Provinces and in the Districts due to which, just as the Central leadership fails to discharge its Central task, Provincial and District leaderships are failing to discharge theirs.

18. A determined struggle against these practices and the wrong organisational conceptions lying at their root is an urgent task without which the Party cannot advance. This struggle should start from the Central Committee itself. For this it is necessary to take the following steps :

(a) *The functioning of the Central Committee should be radically improved* with a view to put an end to all traces of individual functioning and to establish real collective functioning.

i. All major questions of policy and organisation should

be discussed and decided upon by the Central Committee. It should be made the common consciousness of all the Central Committee members and also of the PCs that it is the Central Committee as a whole, and not any individual CC member or even a group of CC members that leads the Party.

- ii. Regular meetings of the Central Committee should be held at least once every four months. The Polit Bureau must place before the CC a report reviewing the developments since the last CC meeting, the lessons to be drawn, the work done by the Polit Bureau, the issues on which the CC has to take decisions.
- iii. The Polit Bureau should, so far as major questions of policy are concerned, confine itself to implementing and interpreting the CC decisions. If any major question of political or organisational policy arises when the CC is not in session and the matter is one of urgent importance, the Polit Bureau may take such decisions as are needed to meet the requirements of the situation. But care should be taken to see that such steps are nothing more than the minimum that is necessary. The earliest opportunity should be taken to hold the CC meeting at which the question is thoroughly discussed.
- iv. Polit Bureau members should become wholetime cadre of the Centre, going to provinces only as decided by the Centre and when it is necessary for the work of the Centre.
- v. Polit Bureau meetings should be held at least once a month. These meetings of the Polit Bureau should dispose of all current business and prepare for the CC meetings.
- vi. In between full Polit Bureau meetings, Polit Bureau members who are available at the Central Headquarters should meet and discuss political and organisational questions but they should not take decisions on behalf of the Polit Bureau, on any important question. Such decisions should be reserved for regular and full meetings

of the Polit Bureau.

- vii. Polit Bureau or CC members who are being sent by the Polit Bureau or the CC on specific assignments to provinces should not function in such a way as to replace or over-ride the Provincial Committees. It should be borne in mind that their job is to report to the PC on CC decisions and to see that the PC carries out the CC decisions on those issues which the CC has collectively discussed and come to decisions. On those issues on which the CC has not come to collective decisions, the Polit Bureau or CC member may explain his own personal opinions in order to help the PC to discuss and decide the matter, but he should not represent his views as CC views, nor should he give directives or instructions to the PC.

(b) One of the main objects of strengthening and reorganising the work of the Centre is to organise proper reporting at all levels. To this end, the following rules should be laid down and strictly enforced:

- i. Every PC should send a written report to the CC after each of its meeting and the CC should pay proper attention to these reports.
- ii. CC and Polit Bureau members who are sent out to provinces on assignments should submit written reports immediately after coming back from their assignments.
- iii. After every CC meeting, a short report on the major problems dealt with by the CC should be given to the Party as a whole.

In the Provinces

- i. All major political-organisational problems and mass problems of a basic and province-wide character should be dealt with by the PC.
- ii. At each meeting of the PC, the Secretariat should make a brief report of the work done by the Secretariat, of the decisions taken earlier, which of them implemented, etc.

- iii. At each meeting of the Secretariat, the Secretary should make a report of the work done.
- iv. The interval between two PC meetings should be generally two months and should not, in any case, exceed three months.

19. Collective functioning, however, does not mean merely the adherence to certain procedures as regards meetings, taking of decisions, sending of reports, etc. Nor does it mean only the collective functioning of each unit. These, of course, are essential, for without them, no improvement whatsoever is possible. But what is needed besides them is the functioning of the entire Party in such a way that its collective strength is mobilised and effectively utilised for implementation of the political and mass tasks. Also that the tasks are implemented in such a way that as the result and in the very process of the implementation, the collective strength of the Party, of all its units, grows, thus enabling the Party to discharge its duties and responsibilities in relation to the democratic movement in an increasingly effective manner. Organisation of collective functioning at all levels, therefore, demands that the general and current political mass tasks are not merely understood but are always kept in mind.

20. The Political Resolution adopted by the Party at its Third Congress puts forward the establishment of a Government of Democratic Unity as the key political slogan in the present period. It is obvious that such a Government cannot come into existence merely as the result of growing mass distress and struggles breaking out as the result of that distress. In order to crack the mass base of the Congress which is still far broader than that of any other Party, what is needed is the development of a powerful organised mass movement by the transformation of the present upsurge which is still in an elemental stage, into an upsurge of mass action and mass activity in the widest scale and in every sphere. This demands a radical change from the present method of work, which very often is one of intense activity on specific occasions—elections, preparation for some big rally, a major

struggle, etc.—followed by periods of comparative inactivity. In order to develop a powerful mass movement the first step that must be taken is the organisation of *sustained mass activity* on all fronts—political, economic and ideological—and in all forms—parliamentary and extra-parliamentary struggles for immediate demands, cultural, sports, relief and other activities, effective mass political agitation and education, etc.

21. These activities have to be undertaken with a view to achieve the maximum possible *concrete immediate results*—winning of demands, exposure of the anti-people policies and acts of the ruling classes and their Government, mobilisation of support for specific demands and slogans, increase in the circulation of newspapers and literature, securing of new contacts and drawing of new people into some form of activity, collection of funds, spreading of literacy and general knowledge, giving concrete expression to the opposition against the Hydrogen Bomb tests and UN Observers, enrolling of new members and extending of activity of various organisations, etc. The immediate aim and purpose of the activity must be to help the people, to heighten their consciousness and increase their self-activity.

Above all, the mass activity must be of such a nature that it results in heightening the consciousness of the basic masses, the workers, toiling peasants and agricultural workers, and the strengthening of the mass organisations, *especially trade unions, kisan sabhas and agricultural workers' associations*, in building them up as united class organisations, in strengthening their basic units—factory, village, etc. The extent to which the mass movement can grow without a powerful expansion and strengthening of the mass organisations of workers and peasants is severely limited and that limit has already been reached in many areas. The utmost emphasis in the entire work, therefore, must be on the building up of these mass class organisations. Through this alone the upsurge can be consolidated and taken forward, through this alone the growing hatred against the Government can be transformed into purposeful mass action, through this alone can the Congress—as was seen in the General Elections—be

effectively isolated. Through this alone also, the vast number of cadres who are getting drawn towards the Party can be trained and can grow into leaders of mass struggle and organisers of mass activity.

22. It is in relation to this task of organisation of sustained mass activity on all the three fronts of class struggle—political, economic and ideological—through multiple forms and with special emphasis on the basic masses—it is *in relation to this task* that the organisational problems facing the Party have to be tackled and the organisational tasks solved. In other words, the Party has to be organised, from top to bottom, in such a way that it can organise sustained mass activity on the widest scale; it has to be organised in such a way that the whole Party and its entire collective strength can be mobilised for this task, it has to be organised in such a way that the higher committees can give the maximum possible help and guidance to the lower committees for the actual implementation of this task.

23. It will be wrong to think that this will be achieved if the Party Committee at each level strives to lead and organise directly the day-to-day mass activities of the corresponding level through fractions, "fraction committees" or sub-committees; the Central Committee leading and organising the day-to-day all-India mass activity and the Provincial Committee the day-to-day Provincial mass activity. The activity on each front and at each level must be led and organised by the corresponding committee of the mass organisation itself.

Also the practice which prevails in some places, of fractions becoming virtually independent of the Party and also functioning *in place* of the mass organisation—this practice must be abandoned. It must be borne in mind that the development of sustained mass activity is possible only on the basis of the strengthening and proper functioning of the mass organisations. This requires, *firstly*, correct guidance by each Committee of the Party to comrades working in the corresponding unit of the mass organisation; *secondly*, the purpose of the guidance should be

not primarily as to how to put the Party's slogans through the mass organisation but how to strengthen the mass organisation itself and build it as a *united mass organisation*. To what extent the Party units are correctly guiding the comrades working in the mass organisations is to be judged by the test as to how strong the mass organisation and specially its basic units are growing, to what extent they are getting rooted among the masses and winning their loyalty and confidence by serving and leading them, to what extent workers, peasants and others following different political parties are coming to look upon the mass organisations as their *own organisations*, as organisations that guide and help them in solving their day-to-day problems. It is only by such guidance that the Party will be able to organise sustained mass activity and develop a powerful movement, thus transforming the present awakening and upsurge into an upsurge of organised mass actions. And it is only through this that the whole Party will be activated, militants and sympathisers trained and educated and it will be possible to draw tens of thousands into the Party.

24. Together with this and as a part of the task of developing sustained mass activity, there is necessity to improve the *quality of our agitation* so that people are not only roused *against* the Congress but won over *for* our policies; concretisation of demands for each area so that maximum mobilisation can be achieved; using of the legislatures, district boards, municipalities, etc., with a view not merely to expose the Congress but also to secure relief for the people; proper study and utilisation of the various laws enacted by the Government under popular pressure so that they may benefit the masses; production and sale of literature; undertaking of education with a view to wipe out illiteracy from among the Party members, militants and raise their cultural level; organisation of systematic education on the teachings of Marxism among the workers and peasants as well as the intelligentsia, especially students.

25. In the task of consolidation of the mass influence of the Party and its expansion, effective agitation and propaganda plays

a great role. Yet, this is one of the most neglected spheres of our activity. Quite often, a characteristic feature of our agitation (whether in speeches or writings) is its extremely general and diffused nature. Our speakers seldom prepare their speeches beforehand, seldom study the subject on which they speak, are not sufficiently concrete either in their exposure or in relation to specific issues which agitate the peoples in the areas and on which mobilisation is possible.

A second feature of our agitation is that it is often marked by repetitiveness and hurling of slogans instead of explaining them. Such agitation does not educate the people nor tell them anything new, anything they do not already know.

A third feature of our agitation is that it does not pose questions which rise in the mind of the people about the Party and its policies, about the Government and its measures and answer them in a convincing manner. Quite often it is forgotten that people will get drawn towards the Party not by the *vehemence* of our denunciation of the Government, but by the *effectiveness* of our exposure and through conviction about the *correctness* of our policies. This is particularly true of the vast number of Congress masses and other politically-minded people who are getting critical of the parties which they followed but are not yet ready to join us—a section that is often absent from the mind of our agitators.

A fourth feature is that agitation and propaganda are carried on almost exclusively through the press, and from platform. It must be noted that Communist Parties have always attached the greatest importance to *individual verbal propaganda*, explanatory work carried on in the course of day-to-day contact between Party members and non-Party masses. This is a job which has to be done by all Party members and not merely by the speakers at public meetings. It is a bourgeois concept that agitation and propaganda are carried on only by the leaders at public meetings and the rank and file content themselves merely by arranging such meetings.

Effective agitation and propaganda, on all issues confronting the people, agitation and propaganda with a view to educate

the people and rouse them for action, with a view to draw them towards the Party is one of the most important tasks and has to be organised in a planned way.

26. All this, however, will not happen automatically. Nor can this be achieved through the unaided effort of each unit of the Party. Many a time it has been stated that reliance on spontaneity is the most serious deviation inside the Party. It has to be realised that this reliance on spontaneity expresses itself in the sharpest form today in the relationship that has come to be established between many of the higher committees on the one hand and the lower committees on the other. The higher committees, the CC and the PC, very often content themselves with *general guidance* on political issues and to the mass fronts and pay very little attention to the task of helping the building up of the lower committees of the Party. Due to this method of leadership, higher committees often remain ignorant of the concrete problems, which lower committees face, they remain ignorant about the cadres and their capacities and are therefore unable to evolve methods for promoting and developing cadres, of fully utilising their talents.

27. The strengthening of the Party, on which depends to a great extent, the strengthening of the mass movement, means the strengthening of the organisations of the Party. The effort to achieve this has to take the concrete form of practical help by the higher committees—improvement of Party journal, running of Party schools, careful studying of reports made by lower committees, positive practical suggestions about improvement of work, helping them to improve their agitational work and evolve correct agitational slogans, guidance as regards areas and tasks which should be given priority and on which there should be main concentration, etc., and practical help by the lower committee to the higher committee in the form of cadres, cash, factual report for the journals and the Party office, suggestions, constructive criticism and so on. An essential condition for the strengthening of the Party is the establishment of proper relationship between

the higher committee and the lower committees—relationship not merely for sending and receiving of circulars, reports and instructions and occasional extended meetings but relationship based on the understanding of each other's problems, and help to solve them so that the Party as a whole can become stronger. The present practice in many areas of the higher committee *intervening* only when something goes wrong has to be changed to one of practical concrete guidance by the higher committee and its Secretariat to the lower unit in order to help to build it up in such a way that the political and mass tasks described earlier can be undertaken by it.

It must be stressed here that this help should not take the form of *spoon-feeding* of higher committees doing the work which lower committees should do. On the contrary, the whole object of the help should be to *strengthen* the lower committees and develop their *initiative* to the utmost extent.

28. The leading role which higher committees have to play in the system of Party organisation necessitates that they are strengthened. This demands not only that sufficient number of CCMs and PCMs are available for the proper functioning of these committees but also that a sufficient number of other cadres also must be there to help them. At the same time, even this will not lead to the strengthening of the Party as a whole unless it is always kept in mind that the strengthening of the higher committees must have as one of its main objects the strengthening of the lower committees. The strength of the Communist Party always depends on :

- (a) the political correctness of the line of the Party;
- (b) the general influence and prestige of the Party and its leadership;
- (c) and finally and above all, the firmness and mobilising power of the lower units of the Party, especially the primary units, local units and cells, their links with the masses (above all, the basic masses in the cities and rural areas), in factories, villages, streets, localities, their capacity to

move them into action. Whatever the main political slogan of a particular period, whatever the task at the moment, whether it is a strike, or a demonstration, or an election, it is the primary units that in the final analysis are the decisive factor. On their strength and contact with the masses, on their capacity to move them into action depend the strength of the Party. Also, on the political and cultural level of the comrades in these units depends the establishment of real inner-Party democracy and the effective exercise of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, especially criticism from below.

Hence, a most important aim of the organisational policy of the Party must be to strengthen the lower units of the Party in general and the primary units in particular, to make them the leadership that organises mass activity in the factory, in the village, in the street and in the locality. It is precisely these units through whom the bulk of new members, coming from the ranks of workers and peasants, have to be drawn into the Party and developed politically. Hence, their key importance in the system of Party organisation and in the development of mass activity.

29. It is with the foregoing in mind that the tasks and functions of each committee have to be defined. Obviously, higher committees cannot discharge their duties and responsibilities in the system of Party organisation and give effective help and guidance to the lower committees, if they do not properly organise their own work and if the present tendency of blurring the distinction between Party committees and mass organisations, the tendency of Party committees undertaking many of the jobs which should be done by committees of the mass organisations, is not combated.

The Central Committee must act as :

- i. The ideological-political leadership of the Party on a national scale, giving lead on issues in relation to the struggle for full freedom and peace as well as mass issues of national importance, organising Party education, running the

Central journals;

ii. The leadership of the Parliamentary fraction of the Party;

iii. The leadership that determines the policies which Party members in all-India committees of mass organisations should strive for;

iv. The leadership that helps Provincial Committees with practical guidance on political as well as organisational matters.

The Provincial Committees and Secretariat must act as :

i. The political leadership of the province, taking decisions on issues of political and mass importance for the whole province, concretising and implementing CC decisions, organising Party education, running the Provincial journals;

ii. The leadership of the Assembly fraction of the Party ;

iii. The leadership that guides the mass activities of the Party by application of the CC policy on the various fronts (the guidance to be in accordance with principles explained earlier);

iv. The leadership that reviews the struggles and campaigns of province-wide importance and draws correct lessons from them;

v. The leadership that helps the District Committees with practical and concrete guidance on the basis of actual study of the situation in the district.

The District Committees have to act simultaneously as (i) the political leadership of the district; (ii) the co-ordinator and guide to the mass activities; (iii) the organisational leadership of primary units. Because of the very nature of the work of the DCs and their direct contact with the masses, it will be unreal to attempt complete separation of functions. At the same time, the tendency on the part of DCs to virtually replace the leaderships of mass organisations and function on their behalf should be abandoned. The most important organisational job of the DCs, it must be remembered, is to build up the primary

units of the Party in such a way that they become organisers and leaders of the masses in the areas, factories and villages concerned.

30. The Party Committees in general and the Central Committee and Provincial Committees in particular, have to make it a most important immediate task of theirs to strengthen and improve the quality of the *Party journals*. Party leaders and leaders of mass struggles must write regularly for the journals, the Central Committee and the Provincial Committees must regularly discuss the journal with a view to improve it, a campaign has to be launched in the entire Party to increase the circulation of the journals, to suggest improvements, to collect funds. Without this, it will be impossible to stabilise and consolidate the influence of the Party, improve the quality of our agitation, enthuse the sympathisers and supporters of the Party, spread to new areas, heighten the political consciousness of the masses and draw the best of them into the Party.

Equally important is the role of *pamphlets* dealing with such current issues as US-Pak Pact, Linguistic Provinces, Bhodan and also answering propaganda against the Party and against Communism indulged in by enemies—propaganda that often confuses the masses. Such pamphlets not only educate the masses, but also activate the Party ranks, sharpen their understanding of Party policy and unify them politically, thus playing a most important part in *strengthening the organisation of the Party*. They make it possible to swing the entire Party into action in a disciplined and organised way on the issues confronting the people. It is necessary, therefore, for the Party Centre as well as PCs to plan out the production and sale of such pamphlets which must be written in a simple and effective language.

31. It must be admitted that despite the intense amount of activity that the Party has carried on for the last two years, a certain amount of *stereotypedness* is visible and the movement as a whole is not going forward as powerfully as it should, in view of the possibilities of the situation, in view of the awakening among

the masses, in view of the successes that have already been won. If this situation continues, two tendencies will inevitably gain ground. One, the tendency of complacency, of thinking that nothing more can be done, the tendency that will drag the Party into dead routine and eventually reformism; the other, the tendency of attempting to galvanise the masses by resort to adventurist forms of action.

What must be understood is that though the problems facing the Party are, as already stated, basically problems of growth, this should not cause any complacency, because, failure to solve the problems effectively will inevitably cause stagnation in the work of the Party and in the mass movement. The necessity today is of (i) transformation of the present awakening among the people into organised mass activity; (ii) transformation of the Party members, militants, sympathisers, into cadres of mass activity, and builders of mass organisations, above all, trade unions, kishan sabhas and their basic units; (iii) Converting of areas where the mass movement is relatively strong into *firm bases of the Party* and expansion of work into new areas and spheres in accordance with a plan.

32. All this will become possible if we do not rest content with the progress that has been registered till now, make determined efforts to improve the work of the Party and overcome the very serious defects which still persist.

(a) Of great importance for this is the struggle against alien trends and tendencies. The method of individual functioning which persists at all levels, often arises from refusal to recognise one's own limitation, refusal to realise that the experience, theoretical grasp and maturity of each comrade is limited and that only the pooling together of the experience and understanding of all, through collective discussion can lead to the most correct decisions. Struggle against all tendencies of individual functioning has to be conducted at all levels and in each Party unit.

At the same time, it must be realised that collective

functioning has to be combined with individual responsibility in relation to implementation of decisions. Unless this is done, unless, after a matter has been collectively decided upon, specific jobs are assigned to specific members and their work is checked up collectively by the unit, the decisions will not be properly implemented. Collective functioning does not eliminate the need for individual responsibility; on the contrary, it makes it all the more necessary. The principle of individual responsibility in relation to the unit, the principle of collective responsibility of the whole unit in relation to the higher and lower units and in relation to the masses—this principle is an integral part of the principle of collective functioning.

(b) It is necessary to end resolutely the unhealthy attitude, trends and practices that persist in many Party units and among many comrades—cynicism in relation to the Party and its work, tendencies towards forming of groups, indulgence in loose talk, mutual bickerings, etc. Such things are always harmful and disruptive, but they are more than ever so today because of the immensity of the tasks that the Party faces and the vast number of people who are being drawn towards the Party. Anti-Party trends, attitudes and practices not merely weaken the unity of the Party and prevent mobilisation of its strength, but also repel the new elements that want to join the Party. All the Party units must exercise utmost vigilance and ensure that these harmful tendencies are rooted out.

(c) We have to put an end to the divergence between decisions and their practical implementation—a divergence which can be seen in the work of every unit of the Party. Many decisions are taken which often remain on paper. This is sometimes because all factors are not soberly assessed when taking the decision and afterwards when it is found that the decision cannot be implemented, it is quietly dropped and members of the committee are not even formally informed about it. Sometimes even decisions are not put in writing so that disputes arise in subsequent meetings whether a particular decision was

taken or not. Quite often the failure to implement decisions arise from not taking decisions seriously, not creating organisational guarantees for implementation of decisions. Such things breed cynicism, create contempt for decisions, give rise to frustration and helplessness, and strengthen tendencies of individualism, indiscipline and disruption. It is essential, therefore, that each meeting of every unit starts with a report from the Secretary explaining what decisions were taken in earlier meetings, how they were implemented, which decision could not be implemented and why. Without such check-up no progress is possible.

(d) The full unfolding of criticism and self-criticism is an imperative necessity in order to root out the weaknesses and shortcomings from which the Party is suffering today. In this, criticism from below is of great importance—criticism not merely with regard to political formulations, but also with regard to organisational methods and policies, behaviour towards cadres, attitude towards criticism made by others, tendencies of favouritism, personal habits and deeds that harm the Party, weaknesses of Party journals, etc. Such criticism, it is necessary to emphasise, should be free and frank and at the same time comradely and helpful. Criticism from below must not only be permitted, but actively organised and encouraged by higher committees. Higher committees have to set an example before lower committees as to how self-criticism is made and how to take criticism in the proper spirit. One essential way of organising and encouraging criticism by leading Party committees is to reply to all letters and reports sent by the comrades from below and to pay prompt attention to matters raised by them for consideration. Negligent attitude towards this or tendency to endlessly delay consideration should be overcome. Bureaucratism manifests today quite often, not in the old form but in the form of scant attention paid to criticism from below—an attitude which discourages criticism.

(e) Higher committees and their members have not only

to enforce observance of Party rules and norms of Party behaviour; but also, and above all, practise them in their own day-to-day work and life. The higher the committee of which one is the member, the greater must be the awareness of responsibility. Then only it will be possible to educate the entire Party in this matter.

(f) One of the gravest weaknesses of the Party today is that lower units, and especially cells, have not yet been drawn into active political life of the Party, into the task of live political discussion. In these units and even in DCs, generally only such immediate issues as allocation of work, tasks in relation to campaigns are discussed. Questions of broad politics—policies and methods of the Government, tactics of United Front and attitude towards other parties, work of the Party in the Legislature, defects of Party journals, etc.—are left for discussion in higher committees only in the mistaken belief that they alone are *competent* to discuss such questions. At best, lower committees demand from higher committees that on such and such an issue *the line* should be given—without themselves discussing what the line should be and sending their views to the higher committee. The lower committees express themselves on political issues only when discussion on such issues has already taken place in higher committees, and lower committees have been asked to express their opinion. This practice must be ended. It is necessary that lower committees are encouraged not merely to participate in political discussions, but even initiate them.

(g) Another weakness is that even in respect of the area in which the Party units like DCs, Taluq Committees and cells function, they generally discuss only such subjects as are directly connected with the fronts and spheres where the Party is already active. Developments taking place in other parties, the methods to draw Congressmen, PSP followers and others into joint work, local issues like sanitation, water supply, primary education, on which broad mobilisation is possible, are either not discussed

at all or discussed in a cursory, desultory manner leading to no practical activity by which the Party can broaden out, forge unity and link itself with the masses. This prevents Party units from becoming leaders of the masses in areas where they work.

(h) Still another shortcoming is the absence of plan in work which is revealed in inadequate utilisation of the capacities and talents of cadres. Quite often there is dispersal of forces, attempt to do too many things at the same time over a big area. Quite often effective agitators and organisers are allowed to sink themselves in particular spheres merely because they started work there, while, at the same time, major industries, areas and fronts which are more important from the point of view of the movement and where far greater results can be achieved are neglected. The tendency to move in a groove, to follow a routine pattern, not to evaluate from time to time the progress achieved as a whole and to modify methods of work accordingly, is widespread.

(i) The present chaotic and planless methods of work must be abandoned. Fixing up of targets and quotas with regard to sale of Party publications, Party papers and Marxist literature, with regard to enrolment of members of the trade union and other mass organisations, with regard to collection of Party funds, with regard to collection of signatures to the Peace Appeals, etc., and the checking up of work done by each unit and by each member, regular discussion on work done and how to improve it—all these must become the normal practice of every unit of the Party.

(j) General body meetings have become in many areas a *substitute* for cell functioning. This has become a hindrance to the proper education of members, to division of jobs, to check-up of work and to tightening up of discipline and for exercising revolutionary vigilance in relation to cadres. As such, it is imperative that the whole Party immediately returns to cell functioning. But this does not mean that meetings of Party

members and sympathisers are barred even for explanation and for campaigns such as Party funds, literature sales drive and the like.

(k) A specific feature of our Party units in almost all areas is that although the Party membership in itself is very small compared to the influence of the Party even this membership has not been drawn into sustained mass activity. The majority of Party members get active only during major struggles and campaigns and the normal Party work is carried on by the whole-timers. This pattern of work acts as a serious obstacle in the way of our developing into a mass Party. It is necessary, therefore, that every Party unit evolves methods and fields of work so that the whole Party may be activated.

(l) In spite of the fact that a large number of women are participating in the democratic movement and coming under the influence of the Party, the number of women Party members is insignificant. Special efforts should, therefore, be made to recruit women into the Party and arrangements must be made for their proper education.

33. It is not enough to admit and record these weaknesses *in general* most of which, in some form or other, prevail in all units of the Party. What is needed is a concrete struggle against the concrete manifestations of the wrong trends, ideas and practices with a view to improving the work of the unit and of each comrade. Not all the weaknesses and defects can be fought simultaneously and with equal vigour. Attempt to do that will mean frittering away of energy. What is needed for each unit is the utmost concentration on those *specific* shortcomings which can and must be removed immediately in order to improve work. Each unit has to wage this struggle but its own effort taken by itself is not enough. It is precisely here that the help of the higher committee is needed most. In order to act as leader in the system of Party organisation, the higher committees must concretely study the work of the lower committees and point out which

particular weaknesses and shortcomings in the specific unit are having the most serious effect, at the moment, on Party and mass work, what those weaknesses are leading to and how they are to be removed. Higher committees have to help the lower committees to understand what specific correction has to be made and how, what task has to be given priority, what specific orientation has to be made in their work, on what to concentrate immediately and so on.

34. Inseparably connected with the question of combating alien trends and tendencies, with the question of improving Party work and with the question of political and organisational unification of the Party is the question of waging principled inner-Party struggle.

Its necessity arises from the constant penetration of non-proletarian ideologies, outlook, habits and methods into the Party—ideologies, outlook, habits and methods without combating which the Party cannot grow into a mass proletarian Party and fulfil its task.

It must be realised that despite the great deal of political unification that has been achieved, especially at and after the Third Party Congress, differences on several issues still exist. Such differences will arise in future also because of the complexity of the problems and the rapidly developing situation which will pose new problems. They will have to be resolved—not by glossing over the differences (as was done often before the Third Party Congress) but by sharply formulating them and by means of principled inner-Party struggle. Further, when the organisational problems are tackled concretely, differences will arise on several organisational problems as well. An attitude of liberalism, an attitude of *balancing* will not help in solving these problems. Comrade Stalin taught: “It may be said without fear of exaggeration that the history of our Party has been a history of inner-Party conflicts, a history of resolving those conflicts, and of gradually strengthening the Party in the process of resolving them”; and that “the resolving of inner-Party differences by means of struggle is a law of development of our Party”. But,

as our own history teaches, principled inner-Party struggle, inner-Party struggle that strengthens the Party can take place only on the basis of observance of Party forms, proper Party behaviour and a correct comradely attitude towards those from whom one differs. Also consolidation of the Party and its discipline can take place only through principled inner-Party struggle to root out wrong tendencies, ideas and tactics.

35. The urgent *necessity* and immense *possibility* of rapid expansion of the Party must be kept in mind. Along with other reasons, one main reason for the failure of the Party to grow is the deep-rooted sectarian attitude on organisational matters both with regard to those who have been in the category of “militants” for a long period and with regard to new members seeking admission into the Party. This sectarianism must be abandoned in order that the Party may grow and carry out the immense tasks confronting it. At the same time, utmost vigilance has to be exercised against the swamping of the Party with undesirable elements. A policy of rapid promotion of cadres must be initiated.

Special care must be taken to enrol members from the working class and toiling peasants and special attention must be paid towards their *ideological development*.

36. Further, it must be remembered that in order that the Party may acquire a firm base in the working class and peasantry, especially the poor peasants and agricultural workers, education of cadres from these classes is a key task. This task, in view of the general cultural backwardness of the country, involves not only education in Marxism but also, and as a step towards it, *general education*, general raising of their cultural level including literacy. This task had to be undertaken by the Chinese Communist Party also, as it had to train a large number of cadres coming from the ranks of the peasantry.

37. What has been stated about the importance of building a firm base for the Party in the working class and peasantry should

not lead to minimisation of the significance of work in the intelligentsia—especially the students. These sections which are extremely important in a semi-colonial country like India, cannot get drawn towards Communism and the Communist Party through struggles for their economic demands alone. In order to draw them, especially the most serious and intellectually developed among them, towards the Party, ideological work on the basis of Marxism has to be carried on among them on a big scale and the doubts which they express have to be patiently removed. They have to be intellectually convinced about the correctness of Marxism, of the Programme of the Party and the falseness and inadequacy of the theories and solutions preached by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties. Such systematic ideological work today is practically absent. Without this, the Party will remain politically weak, the work of educating Party members will suffer and the problem of cadres which has already grown serious will not be solved.

38. Newly enrolled members should be placed in the category of candidates. As far as possible separate cells should not be formed of candidate members and candidates should be placed in the same cell as full-fledged Party members. This will help their education and political development. Where, due to absence of Party units, cells have to be formed with candidate members alone, special attention must be paid by PCs and DCs and Local Committees towards their functioning and education.

39. Party building, it must be emphasised again and again, takes place in sharp struggle against theories of spontaneity, theories which often manifest themselves in recognising the importance of every kind of activity—except such activity as builds the Party itself, as strengthens the Party organisations, as brings new members to the Party, as helps the Party to overcome its organisational and financial and other difficulties. The formula that the Party is the highest form of organisation is repeated quite often but its implications are not understood. It is not under-

stood that in the final analysis the work of each unit and each comrade is to be assessed by the extent to which it helps to draw the masses towards the Party and the best of them into the Party. This is the acid test of the effectiveness of our work as a whole and it is this test that must be applied continuously and systematically by every unit when reviewing its work, when checking it up, when evolving ways and means to improve work. In other words, progress is to be measured not merely by the growth of “general political influence” but by the growth of mass organisations, circulation of newspapers, collection of funds and, above all, growth of the Party itself.

40. Together with all this, and as a part of the task of strengthening the Party, it is necessary for each *individual* comrade to improve his own functioning, to re-examine his own work, to remould his own life and educate himself by regular study of current political literature as well as classics of Marxism. Collective functioning *helps* each comrade to carry out this task better but no amount of collective functioning, collective check-up, collective discussion, can be a *substitute* for conscious effort by each comrade to raise his ideological-political level and improve his work.

Naturally, all the weaknesses and defects in our organisation cannot be removed in a short time. It demands not merely adoption of certain rules and resolutions, but prolonged and sustained efforts.

The point to grasp is that only on the basis of an immediate and all-sided assault on these weaknesses, at all levels, will it be possible to build a strong Party which alone will be able to lead the masses to victory.

41. The political aim of the Party as put forward in the Party Programme will not be realised unless the Party puts before itself an organisational aim also—its growth into a mass political party and the building up of a collective leadership in the Centre and at all levels—and makes a sustained effort to realise that aim steadily in the course of its work. The maturing of economic and

political crisis in the country makes the serious undertaking of this task all the more urgent. On our activity to carry out this task will depend the success of the movement for freedom, democracy and peace.