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Review of the Work on Kisan and Agricultural Workers Fronts and Future Tasks

(Adopted at the Central Committee meeting held on June 07-09, 2003 at Kolkata)

The Central Committee reviewed the work on Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts and adopted a document, "Review of the Work on Kisan Front and Future Tasks" in its meeting on 16-18 April 1993. Ten years have passed since then. The vigorously implemented liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation policies of the Indian government and the WTO regime are leading to major changes in the agrarian situation. A review of the implementation of the tasks of the 1993 document, a realistic assessment of the emerging agrarian situation and a serious introspection of the activities of both Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts and organisational condition are necessary to formulate the concrete future tasks.

Major Conclusions of the 1993 CC Document

The 1993 Central Committee document reiterated that the weakness of the agricultural workers movement and the Kisan Sabha, inspite of the favourable conditions, constituted one of the important weaknesses of the democratic movement in the country. The overcoming of this weakness alone can create a favourable situation for the growth of the Party. It called upon the Party to realise this and chalk out concrete plans for deploying Party cadres for the expansion of the agricultural workers and the kisan movement, so that all sections of the peasantry who constitute the people's democratic front are brought together.

The Central Committee document also reiterated that the peasant unity should be built centered around agricultural labourers and poor peasants. For achieving maximum peasant unity and to isolate the handful of landlords and their hirelings, many issues such as land and land-related matters, wages and social security measures for agricultural workers, irrigation, power, science and technology, infrastructural facilities, cheap credit, market protection, remunerative price for agricultural crops, public distribution system, public education, public health, corruption in governance, social atrocities, promotion of cooperatives,

strengthening of panchayat system, dairy development, fish farming, ecology etc. were outlined for being taken up.

It made a serious assessment of the agrarian conditions in the country, particularly the growth of capitalist production relations and the differentiation taking place among the peasantry. The CC document came to the conclusion that the situation in India varies from place to place and this diverse nature should be taken into consideration for identifying issues and formulating demands for building and expanding movement. It pointed out that the country could be broadly divided into three categories based on the level of growth of capitalist production relations, domination of semi-feudal relations, implementation of land reform measures, historical background and other factors. It also indicated in general terms the issues that could be taken up in different areas.

The Central Committee document pointed out that the new economic policy pursued under the dictates of IMF and World Bank was opening up Indian agriculture to the exploitation of the MNCs. It called upon the Kisan and the Agricultural Workers fronts to activate their units and members for mobilising peasants and agricultural workers against the MNCs and imperialist pressures. It was also mentioned that the anti-imperialist traditions of the peasantry should be roused to fight against the IMF, World Bank-dictated policies.

The Central Committee document stressed the importance of overcoming the weaknesses in organising tribals, planning and implementing activities against social oppression and atrocities on scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, campaigns against casteist and communal forces, increasing work among women, exposing and isolating landlord-led organisations, strengthening united actions of the Kisan and the Agricultural Workers organisations and building worker-peasant unity on a sound basis. It also directed that the organisational weaknesses in the Kisan and the Agricultural Workers organisations should be remedied as quickly as possible.

The Central Committee document reiterated the basic Party norm that every Party member should be asked to work in a mass organisation and the bulk of them in the rural areas should work either in Agricultural Workers Union or in Kisan Sabha. The Party units in rural areas were directed to consider work in the Kisan Sabha and the Agricultural Workers Union as one of their major tasks.

Changes in the Agrarian Situation and the Deepening of the Agrarian Crisis

After taking note of the growth of capitalist production relations in agriculture, the effects of the imperialist-driven globalisation and liberalisation policies and the differentiation taking place in the country, the Party Programme has pointed out the emergence of two important contradictions. First, there is sharp division between the rural rich comprising the landlords, capitalist farmers and their allies on the one hand and the mass of the peasantry, mainly agricultural workers, poor peasants and artisans, on the other. The second is the growing opposition to

imperialist-driven globalisation and liberalisation policies of the government not only from among the mass of the peasantry but also from sections of the rural rich.

The imperialist dictated globalisation and liberalisation policies have heightened imperialist penetration in all spheres of agriculture and have started a new phase of capitalist development after the exhaustion of the earlier phase of State-sponsored capitalist development. The imperialist-dictated policies are making profound changes in the agrarian situation and accentuating the crisis in agriculture. India is moving fast towards severe food shortage and starvation deaths. The per capita availability of foodgrains has declined and reached a low level unprecedented in the last five decades. Unemployment is growing fast. Poverty is spreading to newer sections and areas. Number of workdays and wages of agricultural workers are declining.

Most of the non-Left state governments are reversing the land reform process by relaxing the earlier land ceiling and tenancy laws. These governments have started giving away thousands of hectares of land either on sale or on lease at throw-away prices to multinational companies and domestic monopolists. Instead of vesting forest land to adivasis who cultivate it, the Central government had issued a circular calling for forcible eviction of lakhs of adivasis from the land. Many non-Left state governments have started evicting tribals, but the two Left Front state governments of Tripura and West Bengal have refused to implement it. The state is retreating from most of the economic affairs and transferring everything to capitalist market to decide. As part of the globalisation policies, the government has reduced public investments in irrigation, power, science and technology, infrastructure, public education, public health and in many other important areas, thereby making rural development in the interest of the masses impossible.

The successive Central governments have, over a decade, systematically slashed the subsidies that were being given to the peasantry for water, power, seeds, fertilisers, agricultural implements etc. This has led to shooting up of the cost of production in agriculture. The removal of quantitative restrictions on imports and tariff reduction measures have opened up the domestic market for the import of heavily subsidised agricultural commodities and other imports from developed countries. The steep fall in prices of agricultural commodities consequent to this and other factors, has already adversely affected the interests of all sections among the peasantry, particularly those of the poorer sections. The shrinkage in institutional credit facilities has intensified the exploitation by moneylenders. Indebtedness is growing fast. Sections of rural poor are being marginalised. The increasing migration of agricultural labourers, poor and middle peasants from the rural areas is causing serious social and economic problems. The deliberate dismantling of the public distribution system has increased the burden of agricultural workers and poor peasants. The government's refusal to provide adequate relief to all those who are adversely affected by natural calamities has further added to their miseries. The government is also slowly withdrawing from market intervention measures such as procurement of agricultural commodities

and providing minimum support price creating unprecedented insecurity leading to hundreds of peasants all over the country committing suicide.

With the patent regime instituted under the aegis of WTO, multinational companies are hijacking the traditional knowledge of the peasantry and seeds. Multinational companies have begun the invasion of Indian agriculture in the field of seeds, pesticides, water and power. Huge multinational corporations like Monsanto, Cargill and others are aggressively infiltrating Indian agriculture. India is being used as an experimental field for untested genetically modified seeds. In many states, water resources such as rivers, dams etc are being handed over to Indian monopolists and MNCs endangering drinking water availability for the common man and irrigation facilities for peasants. The present policies of the government are also leading to the degradation of environment and the destruction of the ecology in numerous ways.

The unprecedented all encompassing agrarian crisis is deepening fast and mass organisations must come forward to address all the issues involved effectively and mobilise the masses.

Review of the Experience of the Implementation of 1993 CC Document & the Major Activities of the Kisan and Agricultural Workers Fronts

A serious review of the experiences of the implementation of the tasks of the Central Committee document of 1993 and the activities of the Kisan and Agricultural fronts is necessary to formulate the future tasks.

Land and land related issues

The 1993 Central Committee document stressed the need to take up land and land-related issues. These included the implementation of land reform measures, distribution of surplus land, waste land etc, a ban on all evictions of tenants and share croppers, fixation of fair rent, restoration of land to the tribals grabbed by moneylenders and others, issuance of pattas to all the landless who are in possession of revenue or forest lands, struggle against the process of the reversal of land reform measures and preparation and updating of land records.

Two general all-India campaigns were organised for popularising land issues. August 26, 1996 was observed as 'land reforms day' throughout the country. Symposia, seminars, rallies, demonstrations were organised in states. In West Bengal alone, several lakhs of peasants and agricultural workers participated in rallies and processions.

All India Kisan Sabha and All India Agricultural Workers Union took the initiative of convening a national convention of seven Left-led peasants and agricultural workers organisation in New Delhi on August 21, 2000. The convention prepared a charter of demands. A massive rally of peasants and agricultural workers was held to highlight the charter of demands, particularly the

land issue, on November 30, 2000 in Delhi on the call of the convention. The Delhi rally gave a call for all-India picketing on February 5-7, 2001. The picketing was postponed to March 29-30, 2001 due to earthquake in Gujarat. This postponement and the immediate assembly elections dampened the efforts in some states for making the picketing programme a big success.

Certain serious efforts were made in taking up land-related issues in some states. In Bihar, land struggle assumed a mass character in some districts during the first half of nineties. But, after the initial upsurge, the Bihar land movement became stagnant due to lack of continuous efforts in expanding the movement, weakness in drawing proper lessons, growing attacks from landlords and their mafias, change in the attitude of the state government and police oppression. The unity of the Left-led peasant and agricultural workers organisations also got disrupted due to the wrong stands taken by some of them. Now the movement is mainly confined to resisting the attempts of the landlords to recapture the land from the landless. Many activists have suffered martyrdom in that continuing struggle.

Land struggles were organised in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Orissa, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand and other states. But the struggle was confined only to certain pockets.

The land struggle conducted was mainly for occupation of government land, village common land and forest land without green cover. In some places, government and forest land unlawfully held by landlords has been occupied. Ceiling surplus land too have been occupied on a small scale. Wherever land issues have been taken up, such attempts were met with strong opposition and brutal attacks from landlords, their musclemen, police and administration. Mainly peasants who are directly interested are active and coming forward in such struggles. Without a powerful movement and mobilising broad-based support from other democratic sections, it is difficult to organise and sustain land movements and achieve gains. The Party must ensure that its efforts are directed towards making this possible.

As per the Central government's circular, tribals and other landless peasants are being evicted from forest land in many states. Resistance movements have been organised in Assam, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and other states. Two Left Front governments -- West Bengal and Tripura -- are not implementing the circular. Certain state governments are handing over waste land to big business or MNCs. In some places, landlords and land mafias are forcefully occupying land possessed by poorer sections. Campaigns and resistance movements were organised in some places against these. More determined efforts are needed to build powerful movements against such measures.

Land cultivated by tribals for decades together should be permanently vested with them and pattas should be issued. Appropriate amendments in the Forest Act, 1980 are also necessary to provide pattas to those peasants who are cultivating forest land without green cover.

In West Bengal, lands which were caught up in court cases were distributed on the active intervention of kisan sabha. The West Bengal Kisan Sabha has also launched a powerful campaign among the peasantry for increasing productivity and production.

The state committees should discuss the land question and land related issues in each state and concretise the demands to be taken up. Issues related to land reforms are important in areas where semi-feudal relations are relatively dominant. Reversal of land reform process should be resisted by rallying all democratic sections.

Wage struggles of agricultural workers

The decision to take up the issue of agricultural labourers' wages was addressed seriously in many states. The Agricultural Workers front has organised wage struggles in Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Karnataka, Orissa, Bihar, Tripura etc. Powerful wage struggles were organised in Andhra Pradesh during this period in over 11,000 villages. Agricultural workers were successful in increasing their wages from Rs. 15 to Rs. 35 on an average in 2560 villages. In Tamilnadu, wage struggles were conducted in 1,200 villages demanding Rs. 65 for men and Rs. 45 for women. In Tripura, a big demonstration in the state capital was organised demanding Rs. 45 per day as wages. After the rally, wage struggles were conducted in many parts of the state.

In Kerala, agricultural workers are getting relatively higher wages than in other states because of powerful wage struggles. In West Bengal, the Kisan Sabha is organising regular campaigns for wage increase of the agricultural workers. In other states, wage struggle is restricted to a small number of villages. The issues of house sites, drinking water facilities, burial grounds, inflated electricity bills etc have been taken up in certain states.

On an all-India plane, the Agricultural Workers front is campaigning for a comprehensive legislation for agricultural workers. Different types of campaigns were organised during this period throughout the country.

In many states, large sections of agricultural workers are not getting minimum wages fixed by the state governments. There is also no effort from some of these state governments to raise the minimum wages once fixed. The Agricultural Workers front has sporadically taken up these issues in a number of states. What is required, however, is continuity in taking up such issues.

There is reluctance in taking up wage struggles of agricultural workers and organising them in many areas. Many Party committees show no interest in taking up wage struggles. Caste bias and petty property ownership bias are seen. Some Party committees hold the wrong view that if wage struggles are organised, that will divide the peasantry and a section of the peasantry may go away from the Party and Kisan front. The cadres allotted to work in the Agricultural Workers

front in some places are ineffective and in certain places show a lack of confidence in building agricultural workers movement.

In West Bengal, agricultural workers are enrolled in Kisan Sabha. At different levels, sub-committees have been constituted to take up the special issues concerning agricultural workers. The West Bengal unit of the Kisan Sabha is the most powerful peasant organisation in this country and it has a great tradition of many heroic struggles and great achievements. The cadres working in the Kisan Sabha units hold the view that if agricultural workers are separated from Kisan Sabha, that would weaken peasant unity and the movement in the present situation.

In the context of the growth of capitalist production relations in agriculture, there is both the need and possibility to build and expand the Agricultural Workers front. More determined efforts are necessary to organise agricultural workers and to take up their issues.

Fight against social oppression and atrocities on scheduled castes and scheduled tribes

The 1993 Central Committee document noted that the protest against social discrimination and caste tyranny represented the anti-feudal, anti-landlord discontent of the agrarian masses and directed the Party units to take up issues of social discrimination, caste oppression and atrocities against scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. It also stated that the failure to take up these issues had contributed to the slow growth of the movement in many parts of the country and also to the growth of caste organisations which the bourgeois-landlord political parties had diverted into isolationist and divisive channels.

Both the Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union have taken up social issues like caste oppression and atrocities against scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In many places, people belonging to backward classes are also subjected to caste oppression. Such issues have also had to be taken up.

Social and economic issues affecting the tribals have been taken up in West Bengal, Tripura, Maharashtra, Tamilnadu, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. However, more efforts are required to increase the activity among the tribal people.

During this period, the all India Centre and the state committees of All India Agricultural Workers Union have made special efforts to highlight the issue of caste oppression. State and district conventions were organised in Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab, Maharashtra and Karnataka. In Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh, campaigns and direct actions were organised against the system of separate glasses for upper castes and lower castes in tea shops in rural areas. In Rajasthan, issue of atrocities on scheduled castes and scheduled tribes was taken up in Ganganagar, Alwar and Sikar districts and the government was forced to act.

Wherever these issues have been taken up, the Kisan and the Agricultural Workers fronts have been able to expand their influence among these sections. It is also a fact that such movements have not attained a mass character. Certain state committees have not touched this issue at all. They even claim that there are no such instances. Certain comrades hold the view that if such issues are taken up, people belonging to backward and upper castes would leave the organisations. The hesitation to take up social issues should be examined concretely in states.

Struggles against liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation policies and fight for alternative policies for agricultural development

As part of the implementation of the 1993 Central Committee document that stressed the need to activate, educate and mobilise the peasants and agricultural workers against the IMF, World Bank-dictated economic policies and imperialist pressures, one of the important tasks fulfilled during this period was the adoption of an 'Alternative Agricultural Policy' document for exposing these disastrous economic policies, for projecting the immediate alternatives in contrast to them and for building the peasant and agricultural workers movement.

The all-India committees of AIKS and AIAWU held their meetings on September 27-28, 1993 after the national seminar held on September 25-26 and adopted the 'Alternative Agricultural Policy' document. The document characterised the new agricultural policy of the government as anti-agriculture and anti-peasantry. The 'Alternative Agricultural Policy' document stands *"for completion of land reform measures, distribution of land to agricultural labourers and poor peasants, expansion of irrigation facilities, supply of adequate power to agriculture, making more public investments in irrigation and power, making more public investments in science and technology, expanding infrastructural facilities, use of improved varieties of seeds, pesticides and modern technology etc, giving subsidies to protect the interest of small and middle peasants, assuring remunerative prices, protecting the interest of peasantry from natural calamities by providing a comprehensive crop insurance scheme, tackling the problems of agricultural workers by providing land to them, passing a central legislation for providing minimum wages and social security measures for agricultural labourers, expanding public distribution system, giving priority to foodgrains self-sufficiency, restricting multinationals and big business entering into agro-based industries, generating more jobs in the agrarian sector, promoting agricultural research, expanding drinking water facilities, public health, public education etc, expanding rural employment generation scheme linked to the development programmes, democratising panchayat institutions and cooperatives, solving the problems of tribals, taking adequate measures for protecting environment, re-generation of degraded areas, prevention of soil erosion etc."*

The main thrust of the 'Alternative Agricultural Policy' document has been to stress the need for State intervention for increasing productivity and production that is necessary for protecting the interests of the poorer sections who constitute the overwhelming majority among the peasantry. This is also in opposition to the

policy of retreat of the State from economic affairs and handing over everything to the vicissitudes of the world capitalist market. Both the organisations should organise campaigns and struggles based on all or any of these alternative policies in states after considering the concrete situation. The 'Alternative Agricultural Policy' document helped not only to expose the policies of the government but also to project the distinct identity of Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union from other peasant and agricultural workers organisations.

Many state committees took up the issues of the price crash of agricultural commodities and dairy products, power, credit, subsidies etc and organised powerful agitations and struggles. The movements in Kerala, Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab were significant. The governments were forced to give some concessions to the peasantry on certain issues. Crop-wise issues have been taken up in states after calling crop-wise conventions on a regional basis. Conventions of sugarcane farmers and coconut growers were held.

Weaknesses are still there in identifying the issues, planning appropriate forms of agitations and struggles, building united fronts, rallying wider sections, organising propaganda work and also consistently working for achieving certain gains.

PDS and related issues

The Agricultural Workers front has been consistently highlighting the issue of the deliberate disbanding of the Public Distribution System by the Central government and by many state governments. Campaigns have been undertaken in Kerala, Tripura, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar etc to highlight the issue.

All these culminated in the action programme of September 18, 2001 when thousands of agricultural workers marched to FCI godowns and exposed the government policy of allowing food to rot while people starved. It cannot be said that the work is satisfactory even in those states where this issue was taken up. The struggles for preserving and expanding PDS and for ensuring food security are most urgent in the present situation.

Similarly, struggles have been undertaken in Maharashtra, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh to deal with the issue of mechanisation; the provisions of the welfare fund for agricultural labour in Kerala, against inflated electricity bills for agricultural labour while landlords get free electricity in Punjab etc.

Developmental issues and social security schemes

Issues such as public education, public health, culture, sports etc have been taken up only in certain places. Effective implementation of the social security measures is important to protect the interests of poorer sections. The intervention of the kisan and agricultural workers activists to ensure that the benefits of the government schemes reach the genuine beneficiaries is confined only to certain areas and must be broadened. Many state committees are ignoring such issues.

The powerful West Bengal Kisan movement organised activities covering the entire life of the peasantry such as taking up all land related issues, encouraging and helping the peasantry to increase productivity and production, developmental issues, organising cultural and sports activities, a literacy movement, a health movement, improving the functioning of the panchayats, organising and reactivising cooperatives, ensuring fair wages for agricultural workers etc.

Agitations and struggles on local issues

Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts are taking up local issues in many places. But there are serious weaknesses in taking up such issues consistently, particularly in the case of those states where both these fronts are weak. Issues such as a small embankment, a drainage scheme, a small irrigation problem, a connecting road in a village, a school, a hospital, an eviction from land or homestead, a dispute over getting back a mortgage land, police repression, an attack of goondas of a landlord, social atrocities, local problems with regard to fertiliser pesticides etc, the functioning of cooperatives, panchayats, getting relief from government schemes and even matters of family feuds etc can be considered as local issues that are of concern to Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts.

If such issues are taken up with sufficient strength and consistency than is being done at present, there are possibilities of achieving certain gains. Such gains will give confidence even to the backward sections among the people and will help in rallying them to the organisation. While taking up such issues, the peasantry should be educated how local issues are not isolated from basic issues, but part and parcel of them and how the final solution rests with the successful completion of the agrarian revolution.

Work to raise the consciousness of the peasantry

The majority of the agricultural workers and rural poor are illiterate and culturally backward because of centuries-old exploitation and oppression. They are living scattered over distances in rural areas where communication and transport systems are ill-developed. They are divided into different castes, sub-castes and face constant threats of oppression and repression at the hands of local landlords, moneylenders, police and bureaucracy. All sorts of obscurantist and unscientific beliefs and practices are prevalent in the rural society. The communal and caste leaders are deliberately propagating and encouraging such customs and practices.

Experience shows that democratic consciousness and socialist consciousness will not develop automatically whatever may be the level of militancy or duration of the period of struggle. Patient, prolonged and sustained efforts are necessary to raise the consciousness of the agricultural workers and peasants. The people who participate in agitations and struggles should be enrolled as members in the mass organisation and regular contacts with them should be maintained. Sufficient attention should be given at the mass organisational level to raise the democratic consciousness of the people who have rallied in activities, agitations and struggles. The Party should continuously educate the masses about the basic issues such as

completion of agrarian revolution, people's democratic revolution, socialism and their relations with partial demands through its propaganda and activity. If sufficient attention is not given to these important aspects, the relations established with the masses through agitations and struggles will be lost. The Party should develop a socialist consciousness among militants on the basis of the democratic consciousness created by the activities of Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts who have rallied in agitations, struggles and activities of these mass organisations. They should be recruited into auxiliary groups, deployed in different activities and trained and promoted to Party membership. The Party alone can develop a socialist consciousness among them. The Party units and members working in the rural areas should give more attention to this important task.

Concretisation of demands and method of work

The Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts have identified all the main issues and demands at the all-India level. The 1993 Central Committee document, the 'Alternative Agricultural Policy' document and the General Secretary's reports in all conferences have analysed the agrarian situation and formulated all important demands. It is the task of the state units to decide on the concrete issues to be taken up in each state. The Centre should help them in this matter. Due to unevenness in growth, unevenness in the level of consciousness and also of experience, different organisational methods and tactics have to be used. The experience of the stronger states can provide rich lessons for the weaker states, but those methods or tactics adopted by the stronger states cannot be mechanically transplanted. Appropriate demands and form of action should be evolved through continuous work and review of experiences in different conditions. After 1993, certain serious attempts have been made to concretise demands and tactics in states. These attempts have to be carried forward.

Fight against communalism and casteism

Communal propaganda is dividing the society on communal lines and preventing building of class unity. The Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts have organised many campaigns against the menace of communalism independently and jointly with other mass organisations. Despite all these activities, it cannot be claimed that sufficient attention has been given to campaigns against communalism.

The Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts should unite with other mass fronts and organise general campaigns for social reforms and for developing a scientific outlook. The leaders and activists of these mass fronts should be "role models" for the common people in such matters. Campaigns against caste and communal forces should be taken along with the basic issues.

Work among women

The 1993 Central Committee document stressed the importance of Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts' work among women in organising them, training them and promoting them to leading positions. It also pointed out the need for

persistent ideological struggle against feudal and oppressive ideas among the people and especially among the Party members.

Women are an equal partner of men in agricultural operations. But efforts at recruiting women agricultural workers and peasants, taking up their issues such as equal wages for equal work and joint pattas, organising them, training them and promoting them into leading positions of Agricultural Workers and Kisan fronts, are weak and not satisfactory.

The Agricultural Workers front has made some serious efforts in this direction. Reports from states show that 50 per cent of members in Maharashtra and 40 per cent of members in Tripura are women. In Andhra Pradesh, 10 to 20 per cent members in committees at all levels are women. In Karnataka, women are recruited in committees at various levels. In Kerala too, there are few women working as committee members particularly at lower levels.

The Agricultural Workers front discussed the problems of women agricultural workers and decided to call state and district level conventions of women agricultural workers. Andhra Pradesh, Tripura and Madhya Pradesh held such conventions. In Tripura, women agricultural workers' conventions at local levels are held every year.

The weakness in organising them and rallying them in the activities of Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts is restricting the attempts for expansion. At the time of the last all-India conferences of these two fronts, attempts were made to include some women in the all-India committees. Such attempts were also made at the time of the state conferences. Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts should take up specific issues affecting women and should conduct agitations and struggles on them. In such issues, both fronts should coordinate with the womens front. The decision to constitute sub-committees of women agricultural workers at different levels are yet to be implemented in most of the states. Specific tasks should be concretised for enrolling women in large numbers, training them and promoting effective cadres into leading position.

Work among Tribals

According to 1991 census, 8.08 per cent of the total population in India are tribal people. In numerical terms, this amounts to 76.8 million people. Their numbers will definitely go up in 2001 census. Majority of them are agricultural labourers and poor peasants. They are victims of brutal capitalist and semi-feudal exploitation. Their lands are alienated from them, their right to forest denied and they are source of cheap and bonded labour for contractors and landlords.

The Party's influence among them is confined to Tripura, West Bengal, Thane and neighbouring areas in Maharashtra, parts of Andhra Pradesh and certain pockets in many other states. In Tripura, tribal people are organised in Gana Mukti Parishad. In West Bengal, Maharashtra, Assam etc, they are enrolled in Kisan Sabha. In Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Tamilnadu and Madhya Pradesh separate

organisations for tribals have been formed. But the influence of the Party among them except in Tripura and West Bengal is minimal. The Party should make determined efforts to expand its influence among the tribal people in order to strengthen Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts and the Party.

The 'Policy Document on Tribal Question' adopted by the Central Committee in March 2002 pointed out the need to organise the tribals for their rights as workers, agricultural labour and poor peasants by successfully building the common movement of workers, agricultural labour and peasants. It also stated that, at the same time, in order to emphasise their special problems and specific demands, the Party should set-up mass organisations of the tribal people as a platform which can voice their specific demands and link them up to the general democratic movement. The document also chalked out charter of demands for a better life for the tribal people.

The Party should study the specific issues affecting the tribal people and try to rally them either in Agricultural Workers Union or in Kisan Sabha considering the class character of the different sections of the tribal people. Efforts should be made to recruit, train and promote cadres from the tribal people. State committees should concretise the demands and the form of action for rallying tribal people.

Experiences of observance of all-India calls and united actions

At the all-India level, Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts are part of the national platform of mass organisations. But the participation of peasants and agricultural workers in campaigns and struggles of NPMO is not satisfactory though during the general strike of May 21, 2003, they came out in force in many states. A feeling persists that NPMO is mainly taking up trade union issues and issues of other fronts are not given adequate attention or importance. Proper planning and preparation is necessary for the involvement of peasants and agricultural workers. NPMO is not functional in many states, particularly at the district level.

An all-India convention was called in 2000 and a united platform of seven Left-led peasant and agricultural workers organisation was formed. It organised a rally in New Delhi and mass picketing in states raising the issues of peasants and agricultural workers. The seven Left-led peasant and agricultural workers unions decided to organise more agitations and struggles by building wider unity with other peasant and agricultural workers organisations in the states. In Karnataka, Kisan Sabha had organised united actions with Rytu Rajya Sangha. In Maharashtra, Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union are active participants in the Maharashtra Rajya Shetkari Shetmajur Sangharsh Samiti -- a united front of many peasants and agricultural workers organisations. In Kerala, united actions were conducted with peasants and agricultural workers organisations associated with Left Democratic Front partners. Many united actions were conducted in Punjab by taking up different issues. In many states, there are no united activities with other peasant and agricultural workers organisations. United actions were

organised in states on the issue of a comprehensive central legislation for agricultural labourers.

There are many practical difficulties in building agitations and struggles on all-India basis. The agrarian situation and the needs of the peasantry on many issues in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura are different from the situation and needs in other states. The unevenness in growth, uneven level of consciousness, the diversities in the nature of agricultural situations, climatical conditions, harvesting seasons, the diverse needs, the impact of the new policies on different crops etc are certain factors that restrict countrywide movements and struggles. The influence of caste and communal organisations and the low level of consciousness of the agricultural workers and peasants are other hurdles.

There are also difficulties in building united actions with other peasant and agricultural workers organisations, particularly on all-India basis. The unevenness in strength of both Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts is the major factor. All other Left-led peasant and agricultural workers organisations are confined to those states where Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts are strong. Other peasant organisations are either single state-based, or, in two or three states, as in the case of Bharatiya Kisan Union (BKU) led by Tikait. Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts do not have much strength in those states where BKU has considerable influence. Many of these organisations are raising demands centered around the interests of landlord sections. They are opposed to land distribution and agricultural workers demands. This makes consistent joint activity with them difficult at the all-India level.

The Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts have conducted certain powerful struggles in states, including weaker states, on some issues rallying wider sections of people and achieved gains. Experience shows that if continuous and persistent efforts are made on proper issues, powerful movements can be built and gains can be made even in weaker areas. More attention should be given in taking up issues directly affecting these sections and building powerful movements on them.

At the state level, there are more possibilities for building united actions with other peasant and agricultural workers organisations. Certain peasant organisations who had supported liberalisation, privatisation, globalisation policies have, after realising the adverse effects on agriculture and the peasantry, now started opposing these policies. Some NGOs are taking up certain issues such as opposition to genetically modified seeds, entry of MNCs etc. All opportunities for building united actions with those sections who are opposed to liberalisation, privatisation, globalisation policies should be properly used. No hesitation should be shown in building united actions with them. At the same time, the Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts should explain their basic approach and alternatives through their independent activities. Continuous propaganda work should be organised to expose kisan organisations of the landlords and to counter their influence among the masses.

Peasant unity centered around agricultural labourers and poor peasants

Peasant unity is built centered around agricultural labourers and poor peasants, rallying middle peasants as reliable allies and winning over rich peasants. There is weakness in giving adequate importance to this aspect of building peasant unity around agricultural workers and poor peasants in many states. While taking up the issues such as subsidies to electricity charges, water charges and waiver of loans and interests, in certain places, no demarcation is made from the demands of landlord sections in the name of "all in peasant unity". On certain issues, some organisations led by landlords also come forward to oppose certain effects of globalisation policies. This cannot be the ground for joining with them and raising demands for free electricity, free water, waiver of loans etc for all, including landlords. The Party has two aims to achieve on building peasant unity. One aim is to build peasant unity centered around agricultural labourers and poor peasants, rallying middle peasants as reliable allies and winning over rich peasants. The second aim is to isolate landlords and their allies from the peasantry. The success in building peasant unity centered around agricultural labourers and poor peasants mainly depends on the efforts to win over their confidence through direct actions on their issues and demands against all oppressors and exploiters.

The strengthening of the unity of agricultural workers and poor peasants as a powerful force is necessary to rally middle peasants and rich peasants for building broader peasant unity. The Party and Party cadres working in both Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts should not show any hesitation to demarcate their position from the demands of landlords and should come forward to counter their ideological influence over the mass of the peasantry. Concrete issues should be identified to organise class struggles at the local level to build peasant unity centered around agricultural labourers and poor peasants and rallying together middle and rich peasants with them as a basis.

In the context of the growth of capitalism in agriculture, the contradictions and conflicts between agricultural workers and other sections of the peasantry who employ them are intensifying and creating many practical problems in building peasant unity. The Party should address these issues and plan united actions of Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts on many agrarian issues against globalisation policies, strengthening of Public Distribution System, expansion of public education, public health, campaign against communalism, social oppression etc. Continuous propaganda work should be organised by the Party and particularly the Party members working in these fronts explaining the need for building peasant unity.

Periodical meetings of the Kisan-Agricultural Labour sub-committee should be convened more often to review activities and to plan united actions. Periodical joint meetings of the office-bearers of the two fronts should be called at different levels to plan united actions and organisational measures to build unity.

Democratic character of Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts

Recruitment of millions of members alone cannot make an organisation as a mass organisation in the true sense unless it is able to rouse and activate its members from its own platform and earn the confidence of the masses. The true democratic functioning of the organisation alone can build class unity and develop democratic consciousness, which requires collective functioning at every level of the organisation. Many political parties in India have formed their own different mass organisations as feeder organisations and this situation is creating hurdles for building class unity. There are many weaknesses in the style of functioning at different levels. There is no distinction between the Party and the mass organisation at different levels, particularly at the lower level, in many places.

While organising the peasants and agricultural workers on various issues, the trend of using the platform of the Party is evident. Postering, wall writing, issuance of pamphlets are seldom done in the name of Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union in many places. Even in mass meetings, certain speakers often forget that they are speaking on behalf of Kisan Sabha or Agricultural Workers Union. In some places, Party decisions are mechanically imposed on mass organisations giving an impression that the mass organisations have no independent stature or existence. Due to these weaknesses, common people do not find any difference in the character of Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union from other kisan and agricultural workers organisations. The Party members working in mass organisations should ensure that all those who agree with the policies and willing to work, as provided in the Constitution, can become members and all policy and organisational matters are democratically decided at the mass organisation level. The members of the Party are active in these organisations as these organisations uphold the genuine interests of the peasantry. United actions with other peasants and agricultural workers organisations have to be organised. The aim is to build wider class unity by breaking all barriers put up by other political parties, caste and communal forces and landlord-led peasant organisations. The Party alone is interested in building broader class unity.

Worker-peasant alliance

The Party considers that the core and basis of the people's democratic front is the firm alliance of the working class and the peasantry. This alliance is the most important force in defending national independence, accomplishing far reaching democratic transformations and ensuring all-round social progress. The role of other classes in carrying out the revolution depends on the strength and stability of the worker-peasant alliance. No serious effort has been made in this direction. United actions of workers and peasants can be the starting point for building the alliance of working class and the peasantry.

Some united actions are conducted at the NPMO level and their strength and weaknesses have already been noted. In certain states, trade unions contribute funds for Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union's activities. In certain

areas, when workers engaged in strikes, the peasantry collected materials and money to help the workers.

The Party should take appropriate steps to build worker-peasant unity through organising campaigns, struggles and propaganda work. The peasants and agricultural workers should feel through their experience that the working class is their closest ally and their leader in their fight against pre-capitalist and capitalist forms of exploitation. On the other hand, the working class should feel through experience that peasants and agricultural workers are their closest allies in their fight against capitalist exploitation and for social revolution. United actions at the mass level and continuous propaganda work should be organised to build worker-peasant unity. The fight against liberalisation, privatisation, globalisation policies, strengthening of the public distribution system, developmental issues, social issues, campaign against caste and communal issues, anti-imperialist campaigns etc are certain areas where united actions are possible. There should be solidarity actions from the other fronts when any important struggle or activity is organised by any front. Party committees at different levels should call meetings of the cadres working in TU, Kisan and Agricultural Worker fronts for planning and reviewing united actions. Party committees and Party cadres working in these fronts should consider this as one of their major tasks and periodical review should be organised to review the progress.

Broader united activities can be organised by bringing trade union, kisan, agricultural workers, student, youth, women fronts together on many important issues such as fight against imperialist pressures, expansion of public education, public health facilities, campaigns for social reforms, literacy, science awareness etc.

Expansion of the movement and the unevenness

All India Kisan Sabha and All India Agricultural Workers Union are the largest peasant and agricultural workers organisations in the country. All India Kisan Sabha has units in 22 states and two union territories of Andaman & Nicobar and Dadra Nagar Haveli and its membership in 2002-2003 is 1,70,29,895. All India Agricultural Workers Union has units in 14 states and its membership in 2002-2003 is 29,09,666.

The membership of both these organisations in 2002-2003 is 1,99,39,561. It was 1,44,80,283 in 1993-1994. The increase of membership of All India Kisan Sabha from 1993-1994 to 2002-2003 is 46,92,153, an increase of 38 per cent and the increase in membership of All India Agricultural Workers Union during this period is 7,67,125, an increase of 35.8 per cent. The total increase in membership of both these organisations is 54,59,278. The membership growth shows a healthy trend of expansion of the movement. But it is to be mentioned here that the unevenness in strength of the Party is reflected in the strength of the Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts.

The present West Bengal membership is 75.7 per cent of the total membership of the Kisan Sabha and West Bengal and Kerala membership accounts for 87.3 per cent. The share of the Kerala membership in the total membership of the Agricultural Workers Union is 55.3 per cent. In West Bengal, agricultural workers are enrolled in Kisan Sabha. They constitute an important component of the Kisan Sabha membership in West Bengal.

The increase in membership of both these organisations shows encouraging indications of growth in certain weaker states. Twelve state units of the All India Kisan Sabha registered an increase of more than 50 per cent during this period. They are Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Karnataka, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Jammu & Kashmir, Tripura, Kerala, Tamilnadu, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. Some of these states have shown consistent growth. But the Kisan Sabha membership declined in Andhra Pradesh, Haryana and Manipur. The decline in Andhra Pradesh is 14,764, a decrease of 7.5 per cent.

All India Agricultural Workers Union membership increased in all states except Punjab, Maharashtra and Orissa.

The decline and fluctuations in membership in Andhra Pradesh is due to the insufficient attention given to membership enrollment. Already certain steps have been taken to remedy the weaknesses.

The experience since 1993 Central Committee document shows that wherever effective plans have been made and decisions have been implemented, expansion has been achieved. This experience highlights the need and possibility for determined and consistent efforts in building and expanding the movements in weaker states and weaker areas.

General organisational situation

There is some improvement in the functioning of the all-India Centre and a few state centres. Comrades working in the all-India Centre are visiting states and trying to help them. But there are shortcomings in direct participation in agitations and struggles in states, helping movements and making appropriate intervention in matters connected with agriculture and the peasantry.

There have been efforts to strengthen the state centres. In addition to West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh, there has been some progress in strengthening the state Centres in Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh. This is reflected in some expansion of the movement in these states. The decision to allot at least two to five cadres at state centres of both these organisations is yet to be fulfilled in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Haryana, Assam etc. There are deficiencies of cadres at the district level. All tasks identified will remain unimplemented if adequate number of effective cadres are not allotted. In many places, the wages of the cadres of Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts are very low and even such wages are not paid regularly. Abrupt

transplantation of cadres from one front to another front is also causing difficulties in certain places.

Enrollment of membership is done as a campaign and movement only in a few states. There is no proper organisational work at the lower levels in many weaker states and the higher committees do not give any importance to this.

Fund collection, both in kind and money, is very essential for strengthening the organisation. The practice of collecting fund at the time of harvesting season or other occasions is in existence in all stronger states and in some stronger districts in weaker states. After every struggle, peasants and agricultural workers should be approached for funds. Fund collection strengthens the bonds between the organisation and the masses. Fund collection has to be undertaken as a political and organisational work.

It is the major responsibility of the all-India Centres to see that the weaknesses in implementing the decisions at various levels are remedied. The all-India Centres should continuously monitor the progress of implementation of decisions.

Bulletins brought by All India Kisan Sabha and All India Agricultural Workers Union are appreciated by units and cadres. Pamphlets should be brought out to expose the policies of the government and to explain the position of the Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union.

Future Tasks

The review of the experience of the implementation of 1993 Central Committee document, activities and organisational condition of the Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts draw attention to the following future tasks:

1. Ensure correct class orientation in building peasant unity

Party state committees should review the work of the Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts in order to ensure correct class orientation in building peasant unity centered around agricultural labourers and poor peasants, rallying middle peasants as reliable allies and winning over rich peasants. While formulating demands, demands of agricultural labourers and poor peasants should be given proper emphasis.

The weakness noted earlier about reluctance to take up the issues of agricultural workers and to organise them should be examined concretely in states, districts and at other levels. Concrete tasks should be formulated. Agricultural Workers Union is organised in 14 states. Steps should be taken to organise Agricultural Workers Union in all states other than West Bengal.

2. Concretise demands and appropriate forms of action

Concretisation of the demands and chalking out appropriate forms of action is important to rally wider sections. Out of the various issues identified, specific

issues should be selected depending on their comparative importance either on the basis of a state or of a region within a state for launching agitations and struggles. Tactics commensurate with the situation and consciousness of the masses should be evolved. Continuous efforts should be made. All types of tokenism should be avoided.

Emphasis should be given for building state level independent actions and united actions with other peasant and agricultural workers organisations. Special attention should be given for taking up local issues.

On certain occasions, all-India agitations and struggles can be organised either independently or unitedly with other peasant and agricultural workers organisations. Agitations and struggles against the globalisation and liberalisation policies should be given adequate attention. Almost all sections among the peasantry are adversely affected by the globalisation and liberalisation policies. In the context of the growing crisis in agriculture and the unrest among the peasantry, there are immense possibilities for building powerful movements by taking up the various issues. The Party members working in Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts should be activated to take up the various issues and to build powerful agitations and struggles. Any failure on this score will enable caste and communal forces and landlord-led peasant organisations to divert the growing peasant unrest into diversionary channels.

3. Take up social issues

The Party should decide the social issues to be taken up such as social discrimination, caste oppression, atrocities against scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes. The weakness noted earlier should be examined and concrete form of action should be chalked out.

Special efforts are to be taken to formulate women's demands and appropriate form of action should be organised.

Cultural activities and sports should be taken up in appropriate manner.

4. Strengthen Kisan and Agricultural Workers organisations at all levels

The Party state committees should organise periodic review of the implementation of decisions. Responsibilities should be fixed both at the individual and collective levels. While reviewing the experiences, new issues may come up for consideration. There should not be any hesitation to take up those issues.

Functioning of the all-India Centres of both these fronts and particularly collective functioning should be further strengthened. Office work should be reorganised.

Two to five cadres should be allotted at all state centres exclusively working for Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union. In districts, one to three cadres should be allotted taking into consideration of the relative strength of the organisation. The Party state committees should consider this as an important task. Special attention should be given in selecting appropriate cadres for Agricultural Workers Union. Importance should

be given for selecting and promoting cadres from agricultural workers, poor peasants, scheduled caste and scheduled tribe sections of people.

Fund collection, both in kind and money, should be organised and steps should be taken to ensure adequate wages to the wholetimers.

After every membership campaign, conferences upto block or taluk level can be held wherever necessary. Lower level committees should be encouraged to take up local issues. Democratic functioning of the organisation at different levels should be reviewed and shortcomings and weaknesses should be rectified.

Some regional grouping of districts centered around some strong organisational centers can be attempted in bigger states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, for effective deployment of cadres, pooling of resources and for planned expansion. In weaker states, priority districts and areas should be selected for concentrating the efforts for expansion.

The Party state committee should ensure that the district committees and lower level committees in the rural countryside are giving sufficient attention and importance for building and expanding Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts.

The Party should make serious efforts to organise other sections of the rural labour who are not agricultural labourers such as artisans, construction workers, beedi workers etc.

5. Build Party and organise ideological struggle

The Party units in rural areas should look upon working Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts as their main job. Every Party member and Party unit working in the rural areas should awaken to the urgency of building Kisan Sabha and Agricultural Workers Union in accordance with the new understanding. All members, not only in Party branches but also in all higher committees of the Party in rural areas, except those who have been assigned work in other mass fronts by the respective Party committee and approved by the higher committee should join and actively work in the Kisan or Agricultural Workers fronts. Consistent efforts should be made at the mass organisational level to raise the democratic consciousness of the peasantry. The Party should chalk out concrete plans for developing socialist consciousness in the militant activists of Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts and to enroll them in auxiliary groups and to train them and to promote them as Party members. The expansion of the Party depends on the success in carrying out these important tasks.

Continuous ideological propaganda should be organised to counter the ideological influence of bourgeois-landlord classes.

The shortcomings and weaknesses noted in building peasant and agricultural workers unity and worker-peasant unity should be concretely reviewed by Party committees at all levels and appropriate remedial action should be planned.

Kisan-Agriculture Labour sub-committees should be formed in all states. They should hold periodical meetings for reviewing the work of these two fronts. The meetings should not be restricted to formalising decisions. Discussions must give time for broader issues of perspective and planning to be raised.

The Party committees at all levels should complete the review of the work of Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts and formulate tasks for immediate implementation on the basis of this document within a period of six months.

Conclusion

In all documents that deal with the tasks on Kisan front, the Party has been continuously reiterating that the future development of the democratic movement and the Party depend upon how effectively and quickly the existing lags and shortcomings on the work on Kisan and Agricultural Workers fronts are overcome and how speedily and effectively kisan and agricultural workers are organised for the fulfillment of the tasks of facing up to the needs of the growing crisis in agriculture and in keeping with the perspective of the agrarian revolution. The achievements and failures are reviewed and the future tasks are set out in the document.

The deepening of the agrarian crisis and the consequent growing miseries of agricultural workers and peasants have further increased the importance of urgently addressing these tasks. The emerging situation will witness many spontaneous outbursts of protests from agricultural workers and different sections of peasants. It is the responsibility of the Party and Party members working in Agricultural Workers and Kisan fronts to urgently take up all issues affecting agricultural workers and peasants to immediately establish contact with the spontaneous outbursts of protests to rally and to lead agricultural workers and peasants in proper direction. The Party and the Agricultural Workers and Kisan fronts should ensure that adequate attention is given to these important tasks. Any failure in addressing these tasks will again provide more opportunities for caste, communal and sectarian forces to divert the agrarian unrest into diversionary channels and the continuation of the sufferings of agricultural workers and peasants. The genuine redressal of their problems and the growth of the Party and the Agricultural Workers and Kisan fronts depend on the success in carrying out the tasks. The Party, at all levels, should show determination and sincerity in implementing them.

Membership chart -- All India Kisan Sabha

State	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-2000	20
Andaman&Nicobar								
Andhra Pradesh	2,11,465	1,37,100	2,25,137	2,25,234	1,00,808	2,15,933	1,00,000	
Assam	1,44,538	1,59,723	1,01,324	1,44,545	1,18,611	1,61,277	1,44,588	
Bihar	2,10,000	2,30,100	1,52,000	2,00,000	2,04,000	2,17,000	1,84,000	
Chattisgarh								
Dadra Nagar Haveli								
Gujarat	13,000	9,140	11,500	6,000	6,000	8,400	10,440	
Haryana	14,500	12,500	12,300	13,000	15,000	14,100	16,150	
Himachal Pradesh	5,200	5,000	6,000	7,000	13,000	12,780	10,000	
Jammu & Kashmir	4,500	5,000	5,000	5,000	6,000	4,000	7,000	
Jharkhand								
Karnataka	52,000	75,000	89,633	92,568	67,160	73,515	70,775	
Kerala	10,05,760	12,26,488	11,91,666	13,23,562	13,33,620	17,66,606	19,45,366	
Madhya Pradesh	19,000	19,252	36,012	37,482	48,965	37,534	50,411	
Maharashtra	69,800	70,000	85,343	92,273	90,371	92,340	1,21,807	
Manipur	5,740	4,100	4,720	5,140	4,700	4,960		
Orissa	22,000	18,349	26,392	21,700	22,000	31,364	30,000	
Punjab	80,000	1,05,600	1,30,120	90,000	1,02,000	1,06,000	1,20,000	
Rajasthan	32,432	71,659	36,000	54,040	55,893	59,496	50,950	
Sikkim	500	1,600	2,000		1,600			
Tamilnadu	2,50,000	2,50,000	2,46,289	3,00,000	2,71,355	3,00,000	4,01,029	
Tripura K.S.	1,01,000	1,11,920	1,26,500	2,12,000 (KS+GMP)	1,21,500	1,38,000	1,35,650	
Tripura G.M.P	52,000	60,000	85,000		92,000	92,000	70,000	
Uttaranchal								
Uttar Pradesh	89,655	1,28,450	1,26,000	1,60,000	1,15,844	1,37,499	1,15,084	
West Bengal	99,54,652	1,05,38,499	1,11,06,406	1,14,59,519	1,00,55,121	1,12,18,075	1,10,11,153	
AIKS Centre								
Total	1,23,37,742	1,32,39,480	1,36,25,726	1,44,49,063	1,28,45,248	1,46,90,879	1,45,94,403	1

Membership chart -- All India Agricultural Workers Union

<u>State</u>	<u>1993-94</u>	<u>1994-95</u>	<u>1995-96</u>	<u>1996-97</u>	<u>1997-98</u>	<u>1998-99</u>	<u>1999-2000</u>
Kerala	11,82,170	12,07,920	12,30,395	12,74,044	12,53,750	14,22,922	14,95,560
Andhra Pradesh	5,10,785	3,84,187	4,94,960	5,15,000	2,00,000	2,50,000	3,40,000
Tamilnadu	1,35,318	1,34,000	1,32,775	1,55,385	1,58,070	1,65,830	2,00,440
Punjab	60,268	65,760	46,292	45,350	50,000	96,200	76,740
Tripura	65,100	80,000	85,000	88,000	85,000	93,400	97,000
Uttar Pradesh	50,000	60,100	57,888	62,000	67,600	60,000	70,545
Bihar	60,000	78,240	67,885	76,453	80,500	80,465	80,220
Maharashtra	47,240	46,000	31,570	42,520	52,751	52,950	55,000
Haryana	5,900	6,854	8,600	10,500	10,000	11,000	11,500
Rajasthan	8,796	9,460	8,450	11,410	14,380	4,000	---
Karnataka	10,334	12,000	22,800	13,500	13,320	18,000	12,470
Orissa	6,630	6,825	4,484	9,164	3,632	10,000	4,225
Madhya Pradesh	----	----	1,700	4,650	3,700	4,000	2,000
Gujarat	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
Total	21,42,541	20,91,346	21,92,779	23,07,976	19,92,703	22,68,767	24,45,700

All India Kisan Sabha
Membership increase/decrease

<u>State</u>	<u>1993-94</u>	<u>2002-2003</u>	<u>Increase/Decrease</u>	<u>% of Increase/Decrease</u>
Andaman & Nicobar		500		
Andhra Pradesh	2,11,465	1,96,701	(-) 14,764	7.5
Assam	1,44,538	1,69,889	(+)25,351	17.5
Bihar	2,10,000	2,22,000	(+) 12,000	5.7
Chattisgarh		7,729		
Dadra Nagar Haveli		511		
Gujarat	13,000	18,180	(+) 5,180	39.8
Haryana	14,500	14,000	(-) 500	3.6
Himachal Pradesh	5,200	16,500	(+) 11,300	217.3
Jammu & Kashmir	4,500	10,000	(+) 5,500	122.2
Jharkhand		16,340		
Karnataka	52,000	1,37,002	(+) 85,002	163.5
Kerala	10,05,760	19,65,305	(+) 9,59,545	95.4
Madhya Pradesh	19,000	46,460	(+) 27,460	144.5
Maharashtra	69,800	1,55,162	(+) 85,362	122.2
Manipur	5,740	2,200	(-) 3,540	160.9
Orissa	22,000	55,928	(+) 33,928	154.2
Punjab	80,000	1,23,833	(+) 43,833	54.8
Rajasthan	32,432	95,020	(+) 62,588	193
Sikkim	500			
Tamilnadu	2,50,000	4,26,477	(+) 1,76,477	70.6
Tripura K.S.	1,01,000	1,79,000	(+) 78,000	77.2
Tripura G.M.P	52,000	1,08,000	(+) 56,000	107.7
Uttaranchal		17,000		
Uttar Pradesh	89,655	1,48,599	(+) 58,944	65.7
West Bengal	99,54,652	1,28,97,554	(+) 29,42,902	29.6
Total	1,23,37,742	1,70,29,895	(+) 46,92,153	38

**All India Agricultural Workers Union
Membership Increase/Decrease**

<u>State</u>	<u>1993-94</u>	<u>2002-03</u>	<u>Increase/Decrease</u>	<u>% of Increase/Decrease</u>
Kerala	11,82,170	16,10,987	(+) 4,28,817	36.3
Andhra Pradesh	5,10,785	6,22,784	(+) 1,11,999	22
Tamilnadu	1,35,318	2,25,655	(+) 90,337	66.8
Punjab	60,268	60,000	(-) 268	0.4
Tripura	65,100	1,34,210	(+) 69,110	106.2
Uttar Pradesh	50,000	64,450	(+) 14,450	28.9
Bihar	60,000	1,00,250	(+) 40,250	67.1
Maharashtra	47,240	32,050	(-) 15,190	47.4
Haryana	5,900	11,000	(+) 5,100	86.4
Rajasthan	8,796	15,540	(+) 6,744	76.7
Karnataka	10,334	22,575	(+) 12,241	118.5
Orissa	6,630	6,165	(-) 465	7.5
Madhya Pradesh	----	4,000		
Total	21,42,541	29,09,666	(+) 7,67,125	35.8