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COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST)

Central Committee

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Report on Implementation of Organisational Tasks

*(Adopted by the Central Committee at its meeting held between
September 24 and 26, 2006)*

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) is playing an important role in national politics. In the Lok Sabha elections of 2004, the Party won the highest number of seats. Alongwith other Left parties, it decided to extend support to the UPA government. The intervention of the Party in all political and policy matters has visibly increased. The consistent role of the Party in defence of national sovereignty, opposition to neo-liberal policies and championing of the interests of the people have earned it greater support among different sections of the people. The Party has ceaselessly countered the communal forces and is in the forefront in opposing US imperialist pressures and in defence of an independent foreign policy. This has earned it wide recognition among the intelligentsia and amongst those who normally do not support the Left.

In the period since the 18th Congress, political campaigns and mobilisations on people's issues have increased the reach of the Party among new sections. More and more people today look up to the Party with expectation. The Political-Organisational Report of the 18th Congress had stressed the crucial importance of expanding the Party to new areas and new sections among the people. The Party has to be strengthened as an all-India force if a third alternative is to emerge and the way opened to build the Left and democratic front. The organisational tasks set out in the 18th Congress have to be accomplished if we are to advance towards these goals.

This document reviews the experience of the implementation of the organisational tasks set out by the 18th Congress and attempts to reassess the present organisational situation, so that the future organisational tasks can be further concretised.

Tasks of the 18th Congress

The 'Conclusions and Tasks' in the Organisation part of the Political-Organisational Report summed up the immediate future tasks as follows:

“1. Concrete plans should be prepared for making use of the present opportunities for expansion at all levels. Priority states, districts and areas should be identified. The plan should include identification and deployment of cadres by assigning them specific tasks, improvement of the class and social composition of Party members, activation of the Party members, branches and committees at all levels. The implementation of the plans should be reviewed every year. This should be done from the Central Committee to all lower levels.

“2. Agitations and struggles should be organised at the all-India level. Give adequate importance to organise local struggles by taking up partial and immediate demands of the common people. The mass fronts should be activated. The review of work based on the CC document on mass organisations should be undertaken.

“3. There should be continuous efforts in raising the political, ideological and organisational consciousness of the Party members. The PB, CC and state committees should chalk out appropriate Party education programmes for this purpose. The ideological and agit-prop work of the Party should be increased in order to popularise our views on various issues and to meet the challenges of the ideology and propaganda of the enemy classes.

“4. The CC should adopt a document on ideological issues which should be the basis for inner-Party discussions. Such a document should be prepared within a year from the Party Congress.

“5. The Party should recruit more young cadres at all levels, deploy them in different parts by assigning specific tasks, monitor their performance and promote them on the basis of their efficiency. Adequate attention should be given to recruit cadres from basic classes, women, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and minorities. Party committees should ensure payment of adequate wages to meet the minimum requirements of the cadres. If there is any deficiency, Party Centre should help the state committees.

“6. A rectification campaign should be launched to eradicate all violations of organisational principles and to streamline the Party at all levels. Efforts should be made to eradicate factional and federal tendencies and to strengthen democratic centralism and collective functioning. Periodic

review should be organised. The rectification document has to be updated taking into consideration the present situation and the experience of its implementation.

“7. All violations of Communist norms should be pinned down and fought against. The efforts should be a continuous one.”

Progress Made

Since the Party Congress we have been able to make progress on many aspects of organisation. What we have been able to achieve is as follows:

1. The Party centre’s intervention in political and policy matters has been enhanced.
2. There has been an improvement in the functioning of the Party Centre with the working of the Central Secretariat and better functioning of the sub-committees and departments.
3. More extensive political campaigns such as the recent August campaign.
4. There has been a growth in Party membership and of the mass organisations.
5. Some more attention has been paid to the priority states.
6. More attention has been paid to Party education and central schools are being held regularly.
7. PD circulation has increased to the highest ever level with new editions being brought out from Chennai, Agartala and Kochi.
8. More agit-prop material has been produced in the form of pamphlets and booklets.
9. More attention to work on the tribal front. A beginning has been made on dalit issues.

Efforts for Implementation

The Central Committee, after the Party Congress, decided to prepare concrete plans in states on the basis of Party Congress and state conference decisions for implementation on a time bound basis. The priority tasks have to be decided on an yearly basis for implementation. On that basis, state committees finalised one-year plans. Due to assembly elections, local body elections, floods etc., finalisation of the plans was delayed in some states. Finalisation of the plans at the district, zonal, local and branch levels also took a longer time. In many states, it extended up to the beginning of 2006.

The review of the implementation of the one-year plans must be done by the state committees. West Bengal state committee attempted a half-yearly review of the implementation of the yearly plan. A thorough review of the implementation of the one-year plan has to be completed in all states within three months. This is necessary to concretise the states tasks in the immediate future.

The formulation of the one-year plans, the work reports of the state committees and the membership position of the Party and mass organisations give inputs about the expansion of the Party and the present organisational situation.

Party & Mass Organisation

Membership Growth

The Party membership increased from 8,67,763 in 2004 to 9,45,486 in 2006 – an increase of 77,723 (8.95 per cent). The level of growth of Party membership is higher than the previous Party Congress period. The Party membership increased in most of the states except Orissa, Gujarat and Goa. The Party membership in Andhra Pradesh increased from 46,742 in 2004 to 63,037 in 2006 – an increase of 16,295 (34.86 per cent). Mass organisation membership also increased substantially in Andhra Pradesh.

The membership of all mass organisations increased during this period. The figures of the trade union front is provisional as the final figures will be available only at the time of the All India Conference. The increase in membership in the case of Kisan front is 28,40,895, agricultural workers front is 7,99,121, women's front is 9,66,080, youth front is 10,68,047 and student front is 2,87,906.

A comparative study of Party and mass organisation membership figures shows that Andhra Pradesh has made perceptible progress during this period. Among the priority states, there is growth in Party and mass organisation membership in Maharashtra. Assam made some growth in Party and mass organisation membership, except in the case of student front. The growth in Party membership in Jharkhand is not reflected in the growth in mass organisation membership. The youth front and student front membership declined in Jharkhand. Some growth is reflected in Party and mass organisation membership in Uttar Pradesh. Bihar is stagnant and there is a slight decline in the membership of agricultural workers, youth and student fronts. Outside the priority states, Rajasthan made some expansion and growth.

Among other states, there is no perceptible change in Andaman & Nicobar. In Chattisgarh, Party membership growth is not reflected in mass organisation membership. There is decline in the membership of youth and women's fronts. The Party has to pay special attention to build mass organisations there. In Delhi, the Party membership increase is not adequately reflected in mass organisation membership and women's front membership has declined. Student and kisan fronts membership declined in Gujarat. In Haryana, there is a decline in the membership of agricultural workers front, though there is slight increase in kisan, women, youth and student front membership. In Himachal Pradesh, there is slow growth in the case of all mass organisations, except student front. Himachal Pradesh has a powerful student organisation. Jammu & Kashmir is facing a difficult situation. There is increase in Kisan and youth fronts' membership. There is no student front membership in Jammu & Kashmir. There is growth in Kisan and agricultural workers union fronts' membership in Karnataka. Women and student front membership declined during this period. In Madhya Pradesh, Party membership growth is not reflected in the growth of mass organisations. The state committee has to give more attention to building mass organisations. In Manipur, the 89 per cent increase of Party membership is not reflected in the growth of mass organisation membership, except in the case of student front. In Orissa, mass organisation membership growth is not reflected in the growth of Party membership. There is some growth in Party and mass organisation membership in Punjab. There is growth in Party and mass organisation membership in Rajasthan except in the case of youth front. There is growth in membership in Party, Kisan, agricultural workers and student front membership in Tamilnadu. There is a decline in youth front membership. Uttaranchal recorded slow growth in Party and mass organisation membership. West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura recorded overall growth and influence of the Party and mass organisations during this period. This expansion of influence is reflected in activities and also in electoral terms.

Activisation of Party Members & Branch Functioning

The important task of activising the Party members and raising their political-ideological consciousness in order to discharge their minimum duties and responsibilities was taken up seriously by the Central Committee.

The Central Committee meeting held from December 14 to 16, 2005 chalked out concrete guidelines for improving the membership recruitment and functioning of the branches for this purpose.

West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi and Punjab sent reports to the Party Centre about membership scrutiny. Efforts were made in most states to improve the functioning of the Party members, their political-ideological training, activation of the branches, formation of local committees etc. It is not possible to make a thorough review of the implementation of the CC decisions concretely and mentioning the achievements and shortcomings in states as many state committees have not sent review reports or performance regarding membership scrutiny. There is some improvement in many states but it cannot be said that there is substantial improvement in the overall situation. The following reports from states give an idea about the present situation in different states concerning the activation of Party members and branch functioning.

West Bengal: *“Half-yearly evaluation of Party organisation and Party members have already been introduced. In order to raise the quality of Party members, eight-point organisational norms for the recruitment of the Party members is stressed. Keeping the records of the auxiliary groups, training them with Party education, regular meetings of the AG members and checking the tasks assigned to them and Party class among them about Party Programme and Party organisation before recruitment of the candidate members have been made obligatory. However, a substantial number of branches are not strong enough to carry out this process strictly.”*

Tamilnadu: *“Of the 11,000 Party branches in the state, more than one-third function regularly. Another one-third meet few times in a year to implement the calls of the Party. The third bloc is dormant and meets for renewal exercise, during election times and other such actions. The prevalent political-ideological level of the Party membership brought about a discussion that there has been liberalism on the question of recruitment. Nonetheless, the fact remains that after recruitment, the Party had not taken serious efforts in imparting Party education to them.”*

Tripura : *“The academic standard of the Party members remains the same as before. While members in GMP front has increased a bit, in kisan and agricultural labourers fronts, it has declined. In women and student fronts, Party members increased. In the income category of the Party members, it shows that the number of Party members earning less than Rs. 500 per month have decreased from that of last year. The number of other categories have increased. This might have many probabilities.*

- a) *Income of the Party members in general has increased.*
- b) *The number of less earning Party members has decreased.*

- c) *The trend of non-concealment of the real income of the Party members has developed.*
- d) *Impoverished section of the people are not being drawn or drawn marginally to the Party.*
- e) *Drop out from Party membership due to non-renewal mostly belong to the lesser income group.*
- f) *People belonging to affluent sections are getting into the Party in more numbers”.*

The general rule is that all candidate members should be recruited through auxiliary groups. But the recruitment of candidate members from auxiliary groups is not practiced in some states. All states have now decided to recruit candidate members only from auxiliary groups.

Deployment of Party Members in Mass Organisations

In order to activate the Party members and for expansion of the Party, Party members should be allotted to different mass organisations, guide them in taking up the issues of the common people and organising their agitations and struggles. The branch should make the Party members always active and should monitor their work and guide them. The militants among those who participate in struggles and activities should be recruited in auxiliary groups and train them to become Party members. Party’s expansion is achieved through the constant activities of the Party members and activation of the branches. In some states, branches do not even discuss the responsibilities of Party members in mass organisations. Branches also not keep records of activities of the Party members.

Madhya Pradesh report observes: *“While finalising the membership of 2005. the following weaknesses are continuing this year also and the state secretariat decided the following measures to overcome the weaknesses.*

- 1) *There is no record about the activities of the Party members in the branch. Record of Party members must be kept in Party branches from this year.*
- 2) *Branches have neither discussed nor given responsibility to the Party members of any particular mass organisation.*

Party branches should fix the responsibility of every Party member.”

The weaknesses in the functioning of the branches should be rectified and all Party members should be allotted to different mass organisations.

Droppage of Party Members

Droppage of Party members and candidate members is very high in Kerala. This was pointed out on earlier occasions also. In 2006, 10.19 per cent of Party members and 23.19 per cent of candidate members did not renew. In 2005, the percentage of droppage from full members was 9.11 and from candidate members was 22.81. The percentage of droppage in 2006 varies from district to district. In Idukki district, 16.42 per cent PMs and 36.59 per cent CMs were dropped. In Pathanamthitta, it is 12.17 per cent PMs and 28.78 per cent CMs, in Alappuzha, it is 11.08 per cent PMs and 25.79 per cent CMs and in the case of Ernakulam, it is 7.81 per cent PMs and 25.65 per cent CMs. There are complaints that in some places, candidate members are recruited irregularly for factional purposes. Serious efforts have to be made to curb these wrong tendencies in order to improve the quality of the Party members and to curb wrong practices developing.

In Delhi, the percentage of droppage from Party members is 17.05 and from candidate members it was 13.9 in 2005.

The Tamilnadu report states: *“What causes serious concern is the ratio of drop out. It ranges from 4% to 20% in certain districts and the average works out to a moderate 11.95%.”*

In Karnataka, the percentage of drop out was 14.21 per cent in 2005.

The picture in Tripura and West Bengal is entirely different from the above states. The Tripura report states: *“From the compilation of the scrutiny, it reveals that 1,148 (2.63%) Party members and 417 (0.92%) of candidate members have not renewed their membership.”*

In West Bengal, the droppage from full members is 2.31 per cent and from candidate membership is 9.7 per cent.

The percentage of droppages of Party members and candidate members differ from state to state, district to district etc. The high percentage of droppage shows the liberalism in the process of recruitment, lack of political-ideological and organisational training, deficiency in deployment of Party members in multifarious activities, monitoring of their work, guiding them to activities etc. In some places, factionalism also contributes to irregular recruitment of Party members in order to capture Party positions at the time of Party conferences.

Party state committees should review the process of recruitment of Party members, their allocation to mass organisations, monitoring their work, how guidance is given, their class and social composition, payment of levy as fixed by the Central Committee, participation of the members in activities, how political-organisational training is given and take appropriate remedial measures.

State Committees

Efforts were made to strengthen the functioning of the state committees, state secretariats and state Centres. There is improvement in the functioning of Maharashtra, Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh state committees. But many weaknesses are persisting in the functioning of some state committees. In some states, the state Centres and the state secretariat are not functioning properly. Karnataka state secretariat should make conscious efforts to overcome problems and strengthen collective functioning. Bihar and Jharkhand also should make more efforts to strengthen the collective work of the secretariat. Efforts should be made to strengthen the state secretariat in Punjab. In Kerala, majority of the state secretariat members have become ministers. Steps should be taken to strengthen the secretariat. In some places, state Centre fails to react to the political developments in the state through appropriate intervention. Whenever there is an important issue, the Party should come forward with our approach or alternative. As stated earlier, in the case of certain state committees, there is lack of collective effort to review the experiences gained. Some leaders are taking initiative or showing determination in implementing decisions. This aspect has to be reviewed in state committees and appropriate decisions have to be taken.

In weaker states, it is not possible to expand the Party simply through political campaigns. Even the political campaigns are organised in a routine manner and the strength of the Party is not appropriately mobilised to make the campaign a success. It is to be noted here that the national campaign during August 2006 was organised by all state committees in an effective manner by mobilising Party members and sympathisers. The political campaign certainly will create a favourable condition for expansion. But it is mainly through struggles on the basis of issues of the common people that the classes and sections of the people who are to be rallied in the people's democratic front are mobilised and the enemies are separated or isolated. This consciousness is lacking in the case of some committees while planning agitations and struggles. Some state level and district level leaders do not give importance to their physical participation in struggles and earning the acceptance and confidence of the common people. The present

style of functioning of the leaders and cadres has to be reviewed at the respective Party committees for necessary corrections and rectifications. More attention has to be given for taking up the day-to-day issues, local issues, partial demands and to organise activities and struggles on a sustained basis and building mass organisations.

The other major weakness is that many state committees are not giving attention to building mass organisations and expanding their activities. Many sub-committees and fraction committees are not properly functioning. Party state committees should review its functioning and immediate remedial steps should be taken.

Assessment of Work in Priority States

While implementing the decisions of the 17th Congress, the Central Committee meeting held in May 2002 selected Assam, Jharkhand, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra as priority states to concentrate efforts for expansion. The 18th Congress reviewed the work in priority states and decided that efforts should be continued seriously. After the Party Congress, the Central Committee again selected these states as priority states. In order to prepare one-year plan in priority states, a team of PB members and CC members participated in the meetings of the secretariats and state committees. Due to assembly elections, local body elections and floods, the date of finalisation of one-year plans and the beginning of implementation of the plans differed from state to state.

Among the priority states, Assam finalised the one-year plan in September 2005, Jharkhand in December 2005, Bihar in May 2005, Uttar Pradesh in September 2005 and Maharashtra in October 2005. Due to assembly and local body elections, the implementation of the plan in Bihar got delayed. Due to personal difficulties of S. Ramachandran Pillai, Party Centre was not able to give adequate attention to the organisational matters in Bihar.

The review of the implementation of the one-year plans is yet to be done by the state committees.

Maharashtra : Maharashtra has been able to achieve growth and expansion of the Party and mass organisation. The Party membership has increased by 14.13 per cent. The mobilisation strength of the Party and mass organisation also improved during this period. This was reflected in the statewide rally in Mumbai on issues like food, land, power, employment, education and housing; September strike in 2005; mass rally at the time of the 31st National Conference of the All India Kisan Sabha; and the rallies organised on tribal

issues. The functioning of the state Centre has improved. There is also improvement in the collective functioning of the state committee and state secretariat. Organisational problems in some of the districts have also been taken up to resolve them. The Party is taking up various issues affecting the common people and trying to rally them. The Party and mass organisations also expanded to newer sections and newer areas.

Assam: There is growth in Party and mass organisation membership. The growth in Party membership is 14.08 per cent. There is growth in membership in Kisan front, women's front and youth front. There is a slight decline in student front membership. More attention should be given to build student front. Some efforts are there but it is not adequately reflected in the membership growth. The collective functioning of the state Centre, state secretariat and state committee has improved. There are efforts for political schooling of the cadres and members. The Party has two MLAs in the present assembly. Inter-State Border Committees have been formed with Tripura and West Bengal. The work is progressing.

Uttar Pradesh : There is growth in Party and mass organisation. The growth in Party membership is 8 per cent. Kisan front membership increased substantially during this period. There is also growth in women's front, agricultural workers union and youth fronts. The student front membership is stagnating. There is improvement in the functioning of the state Centre, state secretariat and state committee. Serious efforts are there for political schooling of the cadres and members. Functioning of some district committees also improved. The state committee discussed and adopted a document on the situation of the Party and mass organisations in the state based on the CC document. Periodical review of the work of the mass organisations has also been conducted, the last being of the agricultural workers union. Three new wholetimers were fixed up with wages which includes two district secretaries.

Jharkhand : There is 37.69 per cent growth in Party membership. But this growth is not reflected in the mass organisation membership growth. There is growth in Kisan front and women's front. Youth front and student front membership declined during this period. Independent functioning of mass organisations is to be strengthened. There is improvement in the functioning of the state Centre, state secretariat and state committee. The state Centre is intervening in all political issues and this has helped in projecting our Party at the state level. There is scope for expansion of the Party. Planned work among tribals and development of tribal cadres must be a priority.

Bihar : There is no growth in Party membership. The membership in Kisan front and women's front increased during this period. But there is decline of membership in agricultural workers union front, youth front and student front. The two elections, by-elections and local body elections put a lot of strain on the Party hindering its organisational efforts. There is slight improvement in the functioning of the state Centre, secretariat and state committee. A state level class for branch secretaries was organised. Now district level classes are being organised to train the Party branch secretaries. Some improvement is there in taking up mass issues and building mass movement. A political education programme has also been undertaken. The Party state secretariat should make more efforts to make use of the opportunities for expansion. Streamlining the Party organisation at many levels is necessary. More attention should be given to build youth and student fronts. The youth content of the Party membership should be improved.

To implement the concept of priority states/districts/fronts, it is necessary, in actual practice, that priority be given in the work of the leadership at various levels. How far this priority is being accorded has to be checked up. As far as the PBMs in-charge of priority states are concerned, it was decided that they should go there not only to attend secretariat and state committee meetings, but also visit districts and participate in the campaigns and movements. In the last one year, the concerned PBMs have generally given more time to these states. More attention has to be given to Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. It is also necessary that the all India mass organisation centres are briefed about the priority areas and tasks set out in the five priority states, so that they can also help in developing the mass organisations and movements in these states.

In the states where priority district/fronts were decided, the state leadership and state Centre have to give priority in planning the work, checking up on them, dealing with organisational matters and participation in the campaigns and struggles. In some states, too many priority districts/centres have been chosen which detracts from providing concentrated attention and work. Further, it is necessary to coordinate work so that all-round development of various mass fronts also take place in the priority districts/fronts. More attention should be given to the priority districts/areas in Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, Bihar, Karnataka and Orissa.

The overall experience shows that the selection of priority states and efforts for concentration have helped in expanding Party and mass organisation though the level of achievement may be different in different states. The priority states should make a serious review of the experience of the

implementation of the one-year plans and should concretise the future tasks. This task should be completed before December 2006.

Planned Development in Neighbouring Areas

The 18th Congress decided that the stronger states can supplement the efforts of the PB in helping the neighbouring states in their efforts for expansion. Certain efforts have been done in this direction after the Party Congress. West Bengal state Centre is continuing its efforts to help the Party and mass organisations in Sikkim and Andaman & Nicobar. Comrades from West Bengal are regularly attending the meetings of the Party and mass organisations in these states. Border committees between West Bengal and Jharkhand have been constituted for coordinating the efforts for expansion in the neighbouring districts in Jharkhand. Steps are being taken for constituting inter-state border committees between West Bengal and Orissa. Tripura state committee and Assam state committee have formed Inter-State Border Committees. The first meeting of comrades from Tripura and Assam was held on September 3, 2006. 26 comrades attended. Decisions were taken for coordinated work in the border districts. The decision to implement inter-state border coordination committee between Kerala and Karnataka is yet to be implemented. Immediate steps should be taken in this direction.

Taking up Social Issues

The 18th Congress decided that the Party and mass organisations should concretise the issues on which agitations and struggles against social oppression and economic exploitation can be conducted.

Under the initiative of the Party Centre, an 'All India Convention on Problems of Dalits' was held in New Delhi on February 22, 2006. This was the first time that the Party had organised a convention on dalit issues. 600 delegates representing 21 states attended the convention. The convention adopted a 15-point charter of demands. The Party resolved to conduct a week-long countrywide campaign during the month of April on the 15-point charter of demands.

Some state committees took up social issues and organised different types of activities. State level and district level conventions were held in many states highlighting this issue. Andhra Pradesh state committee took up this issue and held a cycle jatha in Ranga Reddy district. As part of this programme, some direct actions were also organised such as forceful

opening of the temples for dalits and other oppressed sections of people etc. Orissa took up the issue of untouchability and organised some activities. In Tamilnadu, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh, conventions were organised highlighting social issues. Madhya Pradesh took up the issue of bonded labour and atrocities against dalit women. But more conscious efforts are necessary to take up social issues and rallying the poorer sections.

Work Among Tribals & Tribal Coordination Committee

As decided by the 18th Congress, the Party made efforts to take up tribal issues.

An extended meeting of the Tribal Coordination Committee was held on October 4 and 5, 2005. It was attended by 40 comrades. The meeting discussed about the Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005 and formulated Party's amendments. The Polit Bureau gave a call for observing November 18 as All India Demands Day. This was the first time that the Party gave such a call at the all-India level on tribal issues. Rallies were organised in Rajasthan, Uttaranchal, Maharashtra, Jharkhand, Chattisgarh, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa.

The PB and CC had decided even before the 18th Congress that in states which have a substantial tribal population like Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Orissa, the state committees should plan out work in tribal areas by selecting at least two centres for concentrating work and cadres. Two centres each and cadres have been identified in Chattisgarh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Maharashtra. Work among tribals has been planned and started in these states. Altogether, a subsidy of Rs. 32,100 a month is given from the Party Centre to these states from January 2006. Jharkhand state committee has not identified any new cadre as wholtime working among the tribals. The work among the tribals in these states has to be checked up and reviewed after a one year period.

Political Education

A good beginning has been made both at the Centre and at the states in organising a series of political education programmes after the 18th Congress.

At the all-India level, four political education programmes were organised during this period. This is the first time the Party Centre had organised so many schools in a year. Some more classes are being planned.

?? A three-day school for women cadres was held from November 12 to 14, 2005. 102 women cadres attended the school.

?? A six-day school for Hindi-speaking regions for training teachers from the Hindi-speaking region was held from November 30 to December 5, 2005. 82 comrades from 12 states attended.

?? A six-day class was organised for CC staff between March 25 and April 27. This was the first time that the Party Centre organised a systematic political education class for the CC unit members.

?? A five-day political education class was organised for the youth cadres from July 27 to 30, 2006. 141 youth cadres attended the class.

Most of the state committee made serious efforts to organise political education classes during this period. Many state committees have not made proper review of the political classes conducted, the experience gained and the percentage of Party members covered. It is not possible for Party Centre to make a comparative assessment about the achievements and shortcomings of different states.

Andhra Pradesh state committee made serious efforts in conducting a series of classes for cadres working among different sections of the people.

Kerala state committee has to make appropriate plans to properly use the infrastructure facilities available in the EMS Academy for regular schooling of the cadres and Party members. The state committees and district committees which have such infrastructure facilities for political education should make proper arrangement for the regular functioning of the political education schools. The reports so far received – both written and oral – show that less than 50 per cent of Party members have been covered in many states during this period. The state committees should make a serious review of the experience of the political education classes and make plans to cover the entire Party membership.

Circulation Drive For Central Party Papers

The 18th Congress and subsequently the Central Committee in December 2005 decided to organise a campaign for boosting the circulation of *People's Democracy*, *Lok Lehar*, *The Marxist* and the Urdu monthly, *Shabtaab*. The Central Committee decided that there should be a two weeks

campaign from February 1 to 15 for increasing the circulation of the Central papers. The following chart shows the circulation at the time of the 18th Congress and the present position:

The circulation of *People's Democracy* increased from 12,137 to 16,869 in the first week of August 2006. After the Kerala edition of the *People's Democracy* started in the third week of August, the circulation in Kerala has gone up to more than 10,000. Now *People's Democracy* is published from Delhi, Kolkata, Hyderabad, Agartala, Chennai and Kochi. The 40th birthday of *People's Democracy* was organised and the June 27 and July 3, 2005 issue was dedicated for this purpose. Through advertisements, the *People's Democracy* has generated sufficient income to pay back loans and arrears of payments. *Lok Lehar* circulation has increased from 10,116 to 12,514. The circulation of *The Marxist* has increased from 2,137 to 2,469. The average annual circulation of *Shabtaab* in 2005-06 decreased from 733 to 721 in August 2006. There is much scope in increasing the circulation of all Party papers and particularly the circulation of *Lok Lehar*. State committees should make definite plans to increase the circulation. The circulation campaign should be organised in the coming months.

Agit-Prop Work and Publications

The agit-prop committee has met regularly and prepared materials for all our campaigns during this period. 33 Party documents and pamphlets were published after the Party Congress. This work has helped in meeting the current requirements of the campaigns.

Apart from the state committees of West Bengal, Kerala, Tripura, Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu, state committees of Maharashtra, Himachal Pradesh are paying attention for the distribution of Party documents and campaign materials. Some state committees are not giving sufficient attention in the distribution of campaign materials among the Party members and sympathisers. Some state committees take publications from the Centre and fail to pay back the money. The distribution mechanism at the Centre is also weak. The publication wing is incurring a heavy loss. We have to publish more books and pamphlets to meet the current requirements of campaigns. A permanent mechanism for Hindi translation should be made. Steps should be taken to publish basic books for political education. The work of the publication wing should be restructured keeping in view the increasing requirements.

There is shortage of Marxist literature in Assamese, Oriya, Kannada and Gujarati languages. The state committees should make appropriate schemes

for the publication of Marxist literature in these languages with the help of Party Centre.

Education front

After discussion in the Polit Bureau and the Central Committee, it was decided to have an overall in-charge of the education front, so that the work on the college, school teachers and students fronts can be coordinated.

To develop the joint initiative among the college, school teachers, student, youth and science fronts, a convention was organised in January 2006. Issues of higher education, school education, regulation of private professional institutions and FDI in higher education were taken up.

All India Campaigns & Local Struggles

All India Campaigns

During this period, the Party took the initiative on certain important issues and organised national level campaigns and activities. These campaigns and activities have increased the prestige of the Party and also helped in projecting our views before wider sections of the people.

All-India Campaign on Land, Food & Employment

The 18th Congress gave a call for a countrywide movement on the issues of land, food and employment. A national campaign was conducted in the month of August and September, 2005. The Central Committee meeting held in June 2005 decided that the campaign will be followed by movements and specific struggles on some of these issues. Padayatras, jeep jathas, public rallies, picketings and dharnas were organised. The agit-prop sub-committee had prepared five folders on different topics. Pamphlets, folders and posters were printed in states. Wherever activities were organised, there were good responses from the common people. However, in states like Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, because of local body elections, the movement could not be conducted. The decision of the Central Committee that the campaign will be followed by movements and struggle on some of these issues has not been taken up seriously by many state committees. This would have given an opportunity in our weaker states to mobilise the support of the common people for expansion of the movement. The direction of the Central Committee to conduct a serious review of the

campaign in states was also not carried out. The Party Centre also failed to pursue the implementation of the decisions in the states.

Food-for-Work Programme & Intervention in Implementation of REGA

The Party Centre decided to assess the condition of the food-for-work programme in states which was initiated in November 2004. The Party Centre directed the state committees to check up how this programme was implemented in the backward districts of the states. Some efforts were made in some states. But this also was not pursued systematically.

The Central Committee had given a call to all units and mass organisations in which Party members are active to ensure that the Rural Employment Guarantee Act is properly implemented in the districts where the scheme has been launched from February 2006. The Party Centre also pointed out that this would give an opportunity to come into contact with the common people where our movement is weak.

Efforts and interventions were made in many states such as Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnadu, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Orissa, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Haryana etc. In many states, district level workshops were organised to train mass organisation and Party cadres for our intervention. This intervention has helped in reducing the workload and rectifying many irregularities in its implementation. In Andhra Pradesh, we were able to rally large sections of people. The membership of the Agricultural Workers Union increased substantially.

All state committees should review the work of the implementation of the Rural Employment Guarantee Act and plan sustained efforts for our appropriate intervention.

Campaign on India's Independent Foreign Policy

The Party took the initiative of rallying Left parties, Samajwadi Party, Janata Dal (Secular), academics, editors and former diplomats for organising a campaign on India's independent foreign policy. A committee was formed and meetings were organised in New Delhi, Lucknow, Hyderabad, Chandigarh, Kolkata and other places.

75th Anniversary of the

Martyrdom of Bhagat Singh

The Central Committee called upon all Party units to observe the 75th anniversary of the martyrdom of Bhagat Singh and his colleagues on March 23, 2006. The Central Committee decided that the occasion should be utilised to propagate the heroic martyrs' message of anti-imperialism, secularism and socialism. The day was observed in various centres in Punjab, UP, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, Uttaranchal, Jharkhand, Delhi and Gujarat. The programme attracted wider patriotic sections of the people.

National Political Campaign

As per the decisions taken in the June 2006 meeting of the Central Committee, Party units throughout the country have successfully conducted the national political campaign in August and the first half of September 2006. During this period, the Party had highlighted the political platform of the CPI(M) against communalism, for alternative economic policies, for addressing the immediate problems of the farmers and other sections of the working people, for strengthening the public distribution system and for an independent foreign policy. More than 100 public meetings were organised throughout the country which were attended by all-India leaders of the Party. Another 100 meetings were organised attended by state and district leaders. The Party units in states took up the national campaign programme seriously and activated the Party members and sympathisers for making the campaign a success.

Local Issues

The 18th Congress stressed the importance of taking up partial demands and local issues for organising agitations and struggles on a sustained basis. It was also pointed out that conducting struggles on partial demands and local issues and linking these struggles to the broader political mobilisation for a Left and democratic platform will open the way for Party's expansion. Some state committees took the initiative in taking up local issues and conducted sustained activities.

The Rajasthan state committee and the Kisan Sabha again took up the issue of water supply and against the increased electricity charges in 2005. After two months of the resumed struggle for water in Ganganagar and Hanumangarh districts, the Party decided to begin a new front by raising the issue of the steep increase in power rates which affects other parts of the states, particularly the districts around Jaipur. A call was given for a

`mahapadav' (massive sit-in) in Jaipur. For eight days, this mass gathering took place and it is estimated that 50,000 farmers participated. On the 8th day, the state government, in talks, accepted some of the demands. The 40 per cent hike was kept suspended and a committee was constituted to look into the issue. The victory had enthused the peasants and the prestige of the Party and Kisan Sabha is high among wide sections of the people. The state committee met and chalked out plans to consolidate this influence in the Kisan Sabha and to recruit militants into auxiliary groups.

The Andhra Pradesh state committee took up four important issues during this period and mobilised wide sections of people and conducted activities. It conducted a cycle jatha in Ranga Reddy district against untouchability and caste discrimination in April 2006. The cycle tour visited 152 villages. Direct action against caste discrimination was organised in 59 villages. The cycle tour had a good impact at the state level. Several intellectuals, associations and dalit leaders congratulated the Party for taking up the issue of untouchability and caste discrimination. The state committee reviewed the experience of the cycle jatha and decided to expand the work in all districts.

The state committee conducted marches taking up the issue of all-round development of the districts during the last three-year period. The programme started in August 2003 in Khammam district and concluded in March 2006 in Nalgonda district. These marches took place in 22 districts. Altogether, 248 activists and leaders participated in these marches which lasted 30 to 100 days. The marches covered 26,343 kms visiting 7878 villages in 22 districts. These marches enthused the rank and file of the Party and attracted the attention of the common people.

The report of the Andhra Pradesh state committee states: *“The tour has helped the Party very much to develop contacts with the general public. Contrary to the method of mobilising the people and lecturing by the leaders, this tour has given a lot of qualitative benefit as a method of leaders and cadres going to the people and meeting them. It has given an opportunity to the leaders for not only telling the people but also to hear from them and see for themselves. It has given districtwide recognition to the Party. It has enhanced the interest of the people about the Party all over the district.”*

The state committee also made efforts to increase the base of the Party in urban areas. Padayatras were organised in 80 municipalities in all districts. Leaders from the state Centre also participated in the padayatras. The slogan

of self-governance, good governance, ration cards, house sites, drinking water etc were raised.

After this, a workshop was organised by the state committee for three days. 380 comrades representing 90 municipalities of all districts participated. In continuation of this, workshops were held in 20 districts. Wholetimers were allotted for work in urban areas. The state committee summed up the experience as: *“It was for the first time that such a long term movement was conducted at the state level on the issues of the urban poor. The movement has made it clear how the people would respond if the problems troubling them immediately are taken up. That is why irrespective of politics, people belonging to different parties, followers of those parties and those who voted for different parties in the past also widely participated in the movement.The struggle has proved that only when programmes were conducted with militancy on a long term basis, not for name sake, then only the rulers would come to terms.In connection with the movement, the Party’s prestige enhanced..”*

The Andhra Pradesh Party state committee and Agricultural Workers Union took up seriously the issue of implementation of the Rural Employment Guarantee Act and intervened. This has helped in increasing the membership of the Agricultural Workers Union.

Gujarat state committee has been continuously taking up the issue of public distribution system and irregularities related to issue of BPL cards. Maharashtra state committee took up many local issues and organised activities. Uttaranchal took up the issue of displaced peasants. Haryana took up the issue of peasantry and organised sustained activities and made certain gains. The reports from states show that there is improvement in taking up local issues and organising sustained activities.

The sum total of the post-Party Congress experience show that wherever and whenever the Party took up local issues with seriousness and mobilised people continuously, there the Party has been able to attract newer sections of people and expand the Party’s influence. Party committees at all levels should concentrate on identifying important local issues on which agitations and local struggles can be organised and launch agitations and struggles. The state committee should ensure that this is put into practice wherever the Party have some sizeable presence. The state committee and the Central Committee should continuously review the experiences and draw lessons.

Cadres

The 18th Congress decided to recruit more young cadres at all levels and deploy them in priority areas and fronts by assigning specific tasks. The 18th Congress also decided that the Party committees should give special attention to recruit cadres from basic classes, women, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and minorities. As stated earlier, tribal cadres were identified in two centres each in five states. Out of a total of 14 wholetimers, who are being paid wages from the CC, 12 are tribal comrades and one is a woman. In Uttar Pradesh, of the three comrades selected for payment of wholetimers wages with the help of the Centre, two belong to the scheduled castes.

As decided by the 18th Congress, the CC framed guidelines for guidance of the state committees and other lower level committees. This was to act as a broad approach to cadre policy.

Certain state committees discussed cadre issues and made some efforts in selecting cadres, deploying them in priority areas and fronts, deciding their wages etc. In many weaker states, it is reported that young cadres are not coming forward to work as wholetimers. This issue has to be seriously addressed. The political-ideological education among the student and youth cadres should be strengthened. The Party committees should give special attention to identify capable student and youth cadres and help them to become wholetimers. A continuous flow of equipped cadres is necessary for the growth and expansion of the Party. There was a strong student movement in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana two decades ago. Many of the present Party and mass organisation leaders came through the student movement. Now the student movement is weak in these states and new student and youth comrades are not coming forward to become cadres of the Party. Serious efforts should be made to build student and youth movements in these states in order to meet the shortage of cadres required for the Party's expansion. The work of the cadres should be continuously assessed by the respective Party committees. The Party should ensure the regular payment of a minimum wage to all cadres and the minimum amount should be equal to the statutory minimum wage fixed for an unskilled worker in that state. The state committees should collect special fund for payment of wages to wholetimers. The All India Centre should monitor this work and help the states if there is any deficiency in the initial period.

Review of the Implementation of the CC Document “On Approach to Mass Organisations” And the Work of Mass Fronts

Before the 18th Congress, the Central Committee had reviewed the work of the TU and Kisan Fronts. The Central Committee also adopted a document, “On Approach to Mass Organisations” reviewing the experience of the implementation of the 1981 CC document on mass organisations. As there was insufficient time before the Party Congress to review the relations between Party and mass organisations in states on the basis of the CC document, the 18th Congress decided that the state committees and the lower level committees should undertake this task immediately after the Party Congress. The 18th Congress also decided to review the work of all mass fronts on an yearly basis. Certain state committees prepared documents reviewing the relation between Party and mass organisations. All state committees should review the work of the Party and mass organisations on the basis of the CC document “On Approach to Mass Organisations” and make necessary corrections and rectifications.

A review of the work of the mass fronts will enable the PB and CC to have a collective understanding on the work of the mass fronts, their strength, shortcomings and weaknesses and the tasks undertaken by them. As there is no serious review of the work of the mass fronts in PB and CC meetings, the PB and CC are not getting opportunities to collectively intervene to give guidance and leadership to the work of the Party on mass fronts. The present practice is sub-committees and fraction committee discuss all matters and decide on their own. Some important issues may come up for discussion in the PB.

All mass fronts’ sub-committees and fractions should undertake the task of preparing review document of the work on mass fronts. The Party Centre should prepare a timetable for the review of the work of the mass fronts. Every CC meeting should review a mass front’s work.

That the building of mass organisations and taking up the immediate issues of the common people is the starting point of the expansion of the Party has to be stressed again. Shortcomings and weaknesses at all levels should be examined and tasks should be concretised.

The work of the All India Centres and state centres of the mass organisations should be reviewed. The strength and weaknesses of the Centres should be identified for necessary remedial action.

Policy Documents on Mass Fronts

The Central Committee finalised the document “On Party’s Perspective on Women’s Issues and Tasks”. This document should be reported in all states and tasks should be concretised. The decision to prepare policy documents on student front and youth front is yet to be implemented. This has to be taken up within a period of six months.

Central Party Fund

The Central Committee gave a call for Party fund collection in September 2005 and asked the state committees to remit the fund before March 31, 2006. The quota fixed and the amount received by the Central Committee is shown in the chart.

Assam, Andaman & Nicobar, Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and Sikkim have not paid any amount to the Central Party Fund.

Many state committees are collecting fund regularly and there is improvement in the situation. Uttar Pradesh and Delhi give annual fund calls. Haryana has district fund calls. Karnataka, Chattisgarh and Uttar Pradesh have given calls for office building funds. But certain state committees are not giving adequate importance to fund collection drive. Collecting funds for the activities of the Party from the common people is a political and organisational work. Funds are necessary for meeting the multifarious activities of the Party. The experience of those states where funds are collected regularly shows that common people are generously contributing to the Party Fund. If the Party committees are inactive and failed to take up the issues of the common people and winning their confidence, it is difficult to collect fund from them. Collecting funds from the common people and spending it for the activities of the Party establishes a strong relation between the common people and the Party. All states should develop the practice of collection of fund for the Party’s activities. In some places, individual leaders collect fund and spend for programmes and work. In some places, no proper account is kept. All these wrong practices should be remedied and fund should be collected regularly from the common people.

Rectification Campaign to Eradicate all Violations of Organisational Principles

The 18th Congress decided to organise a rectification campaign to eradicate all violations of organisational principles and to streamline the Party at all levels. Efforts also should be made to fight factional and federal tendencies and to strengthen democratic centralism and collective functioning. The 18th Congress decided to update the rectification document taking into consideration the present situation and the experience of the implementation of the earlier document. The Central Committee should take appropriate action for the preparation of the document after collecting necessary information from states.

The 18th Congress expressed serious concern at the persisting disunity and factional tendencies in Kerala and directed the new PB and CC to take appropriate steps to eradicate factionalism and to strengthen unity of the Party in Kerala. The PB and CC made serious efforts to implement the directive of the Party Congress. A team of PB members attended the meetings of the state secretariat and state committees and tried to help in resolving the pending issues and to tackle the new issues that came up. The PB had to intervene in many issues such as the formation of the state secretariat, the preparation of the review report of the Malappuram state conference, Party's attitude towards DIC(K), issue of choosing PBMs working in Kerala as candidates to assembly election, leadership of the ministry, portfolio allocations etc.

The PB decisions on many such matters were explained to the regional meetings of the district committee members, area committee members and local committee secretaries by Prakash Karat, General Secretary. The state committee recently considered a report on the leakage of the state Party conference proceedings and took disciplinary action against certain comrades. The state committee also adopted the report of the commission appointed to enquire into the factional activities that took place at the time of the district conferences. The state committee pointed out the mistakes of the comrades who were involved in factional activities and decided to include certain comrades in district committees who were factionally excluded in district conferences.

The 18th Congress stressed the need to continue the fight to eliminate the factional tendencies and to unify the Party at all levels. It also pointed out that the Party leadership in Kerala has an important responsibility in this regard. The Party leadership should collectively and individually make a

serious introspection about all deviations – political, ideological and organisational – in their functioning and should change and fall in line with the Party positions. The unity of the Party in Kerala can be strengthened only when the whole Party leadership in Kerala takes correct organisational methods to resolve policy and organisational differences and consciously follows organisational norms. All violations of organisational principles should be taken seriously.

The Kerala Party has to deal with many major policy and organisational matters. It is quite natural that the leaders may have different attitudes and approaches on such matters. While taking decisions, it should be ensured that all comrades should feel that the issues raised by them are seriously considered and decisions are taken on objective basis. If there are differences on issues which do not require any immediate decision, they can wait till a common understanding is reached. If there are differences on issues which require immediate solution, they should try to settle these differences with the help of the Party Centre. Except on important policy matters, attempts should be made to accommodate differing views to evolve a consensus with the aim to build unity.

The leadership in Kerala should earn mutual confidence through conscious efforts. No Party leader should talk publicly or outside their units about inner-Party matters. Any violation of this should be seriously viewed by the Party and disciplinary action should be taken on such violations. The press in Kerala is always projecting that the Party in Kerala is a divided house. The media tries to provoke some leaders with questions in order to get responses and to use such responses against the Party. The Party leadership should be very careful in giving replies to the queries of the press people. All policy pronouncements of the leaders and ministers should be based on the collective discussion and decision of the Party. If there are any new issues, they can reply to the press that the Party and government will consider the matter and a decision will be taken later. Efforts from all comrades are necessary to build unity in the Party in Kerala.

Functioning of Elected Representatives

The Party has representatives in Parliament, assemblies, different level local bodies, cooperatives, boards, authorities, corporations etc. At the Parliament level, Party parliamentary committee is guiding the Parliament members with the help of the Party Centre. At the state level, sub-committees or fraction committees are constituted to guide the MLAs. For guiding the local bodies, sub-committees and fractions should be constituted

to monitor and guide the work of members of the local bodies. But, in many states where the Party is weak, there is no mechanism to supervise and guide the elected members. Respective Party committees should review the performance of the elected representatives of the Party.

Work of the Party Centre

Work of the Polit Bureau & the Party Centre

The collective work of the PB members working at the Centre has improved. Other than Harkishan Singh Surjeet, seven PBMs are working from the Party Centre. They are Prakash Karat, S. Ramachandran Pillai, Sitaram Yechury, M. K. Pandhe, Chittabrata Majumdar, K. Varadharajan and Brinda Karat. Sitaram Yechury, Chittabrata Majumdar and Brinda Karat are discharging additional responsibilities as Members of Parliament. Due to his ill health, Harkishan Singh Surjeet is not able to contribute much in the recent period. The available members are meeting regularly at the Party Centre and minutes are kept. The available PB members meetings discuss the important urgent issues, decide on our interventions, issue statements, give directions to the parliamentary group in Parliament and state committees, hear reports from the PBMs who attended the state committee meetings etc. The interventions of the Party Centre has helped in projecting the identity of the Party at the all India level.

After the formation of the UPA government, Party Centre has to devote more time and attention on many policy matters related to the functioning of the government.

A research unit was set-up with one qualified comrade before the 18th Congress. He is coordinating with other experts for preparing notes and background materials for the Party Centre, parliamentary group and mass organisations. Party Centre prepared many policy documents explaining the approaches and alternative positions of the Left parties. Recently, Party Centre has prepared a document for debate on the functioning of the Election Commission.

The policy documents helped in projecting Party's views on different issues both inside the Parliament and outside. This is an important work done during this period. These documents were printed and published.

The Party Centre has been able to rally academics, former diplomats, editors, scientists etc on foreign policy matters against the policy positions

of the UPA government. Due to our effective intervention on the Indo-US nuclear deal, the Prime Minister was forced to give certain assurances in parliament safeguarding the long-term interest of the country.

During this period, the Party Centre took the initiative on many issues such as intervention in food-for-work programme, Rural Employment Guarantee Act implementation, taking up dalit issues, work among tribals, campaigns against the policies of the UPA government, activation of Party members and Party branches, cadre recruitment and deployment, political education programmes etc. The comrades working at the Centre also took active part in the assembly elections in states.

The Party Centre helped the state committees in adopting correct political tactics in states and also resolving major organisational problems. During this period, Party Centre had to give more time in settling certain policy matters and inner-Party organisational issues in Kerala.

The work report of the Polit Bureau to the Central Committee meetings now gives only a narration of activities. It should contain a review of the experience and the assessment of the Polit Bureau. To facilitate this, state committees should send their work report at least fifteen days ahead of the meeting of the Central Committee. At present, work reports are given to the Party Centre at the time of the CC meeting and they are circulated at the time of the Central Committee. State Committees also should send a report on the state committee meeting which contains important decisions, assessment of the political situation, activities undertaken during the period, experience gained and a review of the activities.

Though the sub-committees and fraction committees are sending their reports to the Party Centre, these reports are not considered in detail in the meetings of the Polit Bureau or the available PBMs' meetings. On certain important matters, the available PB members or the PB meeting may take some decisions. A time should be set apart for considering the reports of the sub-committees and fraction committees. The reports of the sub-committees and fraction committees considered and approved by the PB should be circulated.

The work of the Party Centre can be further strengthened. Refixing the priorities of work of the PBMs at the Party Centre will help in further strengthening the collective work of the Centre. The Central secretariat members can be given more responsibilities in the functioning of the sub-committees, fractions and departments. They can follow up with the states in the implementation of the decisions of the PB and Central Committee.

Periodical review of the work of the comrades working at the Party Centre should be organised by the PB.

The Party Centre was not able to prepare the ideological document for discussion due to many pressing responsibilities and assembly elections in states.

The Party Centre has not called a workshop of the representatives from states to review the experience of the Self Help Groups. This has to be done immediately.

The other task of reviewing the experience of children's movement in states to formulate guidelines is also to be implemented as early as possible.

Central Secretariat

After the 18th Congress, the Central Secretariat was constituted consisting of Prakash Karat, Hari Singh Kang, Hannan Mollah, Srinivasa Rao and Nilotpal Basu. Responsibilities of Secretariat members were allocated.

All the Central Secretariat members are working from the Party Centre. The work of the Secretariat as part of the Party Centre is getting integrated. Based on past experience, it has been decided that the meetings of the secretariat should be held with available members present on a regular basis. Otherwise, it becomes difficult to fix meetings where all are present. Minutes are kept of the meetings. Hari Singh Kang is in-charge of the office and discharging part of the work of the international department. Nilotpal Basu is attached to students fraction committee and college teachers fraction committee. He has also been given responsibility of the Lekhak Sangh fraction and will look after Haryana. Hannan Mollah, apart from state responsibilities, is attached to the youth fraction. The work of the CC units is being supervised by V. Srinivasa Rao. There are eleven units directly supervised by the Central Committee. 82 members are working under these units. Publications, managerial work of the *People's Democracy*, *Lok Lehar* and *The Marxist* are also looked after by V. Srinivasa Rao. He will also assist in the functioning of the school teachers fraction. Since the secretariat began work, there is a distinct improvement in the functioning of the Party units under the Central Committee and in particular the CC office units. There is improvement in various departments of Party education, agit-prop and publications. There is scope for further enhancing the work of the Central secretariat.

Central Committee Members Working at the All India Centre

Kanai Banerjee, W. R. Varada Rajan, Hemalata, Suneet Chopra, A. Vijayaraghavan and Noorul Huda are working from the all-India mass organisation Centres. Jogendra Sharma is working from the Party Centre. Kanai Banerjee, W. R. Varada Rajan and Hemalata are concentrating on trade union work. Suneet Chopra is concentrating on Agricultural Workers Union work apart from his state responsibility. A. Vijayaraghavan is concentrating in Kerala alongwith Agricultural Workers Union work. Noorul Huda has been relieved of his Assam state responsibilities and has joined the Kisan Sabha Centre.

Work of Sub-Committees & Fraction Committees

The Central Committee had constituted the sub-committees, fraction committees and fixed the responsibilities of the PB members and CC members.

TU Sub-Committee : The TU sub-committee met five times since the 18th Party Congress. It considered the question of formation of industry-wise fraction committees and reviewed the issues of joint trade union movement. It also discussed the issues raised in industry-wise fractions and issues of the international trade union movement.

The fraction committees in railways, Central government, state government, banks, insurance, Anganwadi, pharmaceuticals, BSNL, nuclear power are functioning while in case of defence, civil aviation and coal, they are in the process of formation. Fraction committees in steel, construction and oil are yet to be formed, though a decision has been taken. Reports of the fraction committee meetings are submitted to the Polit Bureau.

Central TU fraction committee met twice since the last Party Congress. It reviewed the activities on different fronts and chalked out programmes of united movements on common issues.

Political classes for Party members were organised for the CG employees and civil aviation. Union-wise Party members who are office-bearers of unions are called to discuss the problems before the union and also to finalise the new leadership on the eve of the annual conference of the union.

Agrarian Sub-Committee : Agrarian sub-committee met twice after the 18th Congress – one in September 2005 and other in March 2006. The sub-committee discussed about the struggle in Rajasthan and fixing wholetimers to strengthen the organisation. Hindi area statewise classes were planned and implemented. It reviewed the convention conducted in Delhi on August 23, 2005 and the rasta roko campaign conducted on August 29. Comparatively these programmes were successful. The sub-committees discussed about the functioning of both the Centres and decided to strengthen Centre functioning. After this, Noorul Huda and Vasudevan joined Kisan Sabha Centre. Streamlining of office work has begun.

Organisation review on the basis of CC document on Kisan Front was discussed but not finalised in many state committees. In Rajasthan, Orissa, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh and Tamilnadu discussions were held in state sub-committees.

Zonal classes for Agricultural Workers Union cadres was planned and implemented. Classes were held in Kodaikkanal (Tamilnadu) and Delhi. The national campaign (Jathas to be held in November) was planned.

Women's Fraction Committee : The fraction committee of the women's front was constituted in August 2005. It has met twice – once in 2005 and in February 2006. The main issues discussed at the meetings were constitution and functioning of state level fraction committees; tasks emerging out of the CC document on "Party's Perspective on Women's Issues and Tasks", most importantly recruitment and promotion of women Party members; and functioning of the AIDWA Centre. In the meeting held in 2005, AIDWA's approach to work among Muslim women was also discussed.

Youth Fraction Committee : The youth fraction, which was formed for the first time, has met twice. It discussed the observance of the 75th anniversary of Bhagat Singh's martyrdom and other programmes. For a youth policy document of the Party, the sub-committee decided to collect all the information from the states and prepare a draft.

Student Fraction Committee : The 18th Party Congress had decided that unlike in the past the Party mechanism to guide the Party's work in the student front will be through a student's fraction committee and not a student-youth sub-committee. The same pattern will be followed at the state level as well.

The formation of the student fraction committee was slightly delayed because in between the all India conference of the SFI had taken place.

Since the formation of the secretariat three meetings have taken place till this CC meeting.

The major issues which have been dealt with in the fraction committee include the review of the SFI all India conference, the review of the direction and the central thrust of the student movement and the need for necessary reorientation, annual plan for the student organisation and the movement, the major issues to be taken up in the context of the tactical line of the Party as proposed by the Party Congress vis-à-vis the Party's attitude to the UPA government and the new opportunities arising thereon. The student front is embarking on a ambitious national programme of conducting two central jathas in November covering the entire country from two corners and culminating at Kolkata and Trivandrum respectively.

A major initiative has been taken to assess and improve the Party's work in the student front. A detailed questionnaire has been formulated in consultation with the fraction committee to elicit information from the state committees on all aspects of student organisation as well as the Party's work to develop the front. Further, to get a first hand account of the position in the states' meetings of state level students fraction committee in the presence of state Party secretary, state party in-charge of the student front, district level party in-charges for the front with the participation of the Central Secretariat member have been held in five states – Assam, Bihar, Maharashtra, Orissa and Karnataka. A few more of such meetings will be held. The experience of these meetings together with the replies to the questionnaire will form the basis of a document which will be placed before the CC.

Education Sub-Committee: The education sub-committee met thrice since the 18th Congress – in August 2005, an extended meeting with state education in-charges in January 2006 at Hyderabad, and a third meeting in June 2006 again in Hyderabad. In these meetings, the Central schools for the year 2005 were finalised; plans were made for updating the five notes for education prepared earlier; Party education material from the states collected to study and utilise them; and a list of new subjects in which notes and reading materials should be prepared. The Central schools for 2006 were also proposed to the Polit Bureau. As a result of the work of the sub-committee and the Central secretariat member in-charge of education, for the first time, a number of schools have been held at the Central level in the last two years.

Tribal Sub-Committee : There has been regular functioning of the tribal sub-committee. Four meetings of the tribal sub-committee and one extended meeting were held. Two all-India days were observed by the Party in

November 2005 and July 2006 at the call of the Polit Bureau on the proposal of the tribal sub-committee. The main demand in these related to the passage of the tribal Bill. The main discussions in the meetings have been the provisions of the Bill and amendments to be moved by the Party; the impact of neo-liberal policies on tribals and increasing displacement of tribals as a result of indiscriminate licenses to industries; lack of rehabilitation policies and implementation of PESA; and situation of tribals in different states. State reports have been discussed in the meetings. On the organisational front, the committee has made certain suggestions to the PB regarding follow-up of sub-plan for tribals in state committee annual plans. This included review of the organisations/platforms working separately under Party leadership of tribals. It has also suggested expansion of the sub-committee by inclusion of members from some states. A syllabus for education specifically for tribal cadre has also been discussed though not finalised.

North East Sub-Committee : The sub-committee met twice after the 18th Congress. In its first meeting, it discussed how to develop the Party and mass organisations in the North-Eastern region. It also took up the issue of setting up Inter-State Border Committees. The second meeting discussed the mechanism of the Assam-Tripura Border Coordination. The Assam-Bengal Coordination is yet to be taken up.

Parliament Sub-Committee : The parliament sub-committee has been meeting regularly when sessions are on. However, regular meetings ahead of the session must be held to ensure proper coordination and planning. In both houses of parliament we were able to take up a number of issues effectively, concerning the UPA government's policies, people's problems, foreign policy and communalism. On some legislations where we disagree we were able to check the government from pushing them through. The performance in the Lok Sabha where we have 44 MPs should be improved with better delegation of work and encouraging comrades to prepare and make interventions.

The work in the Standing Committees of parliament is an important area where we are weak. Time and again our MPs are not able to intervene to record our views on legislations and reports taken up in the committees. Dissenting notes are not appended where we have a basic disagreement.

MPs in the standing committees have to inform about the issues being taken up and a mechanism must be set up for scrutinising legislations/reports and briefing the MPs concerned.

Our MPs have been going to a number of places where struggles are on or major events take place. MPs teams have gone to Maharashtra, Himachal, Jammu & Kashmir, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan, Assam and other places in connection with communal violence, terrorist attacks, floods, drought and workers and peasants struggles.

The parliament office requires to be revamped and strengthened so that it can discharge its functions more effectively.

There has been an overall improvement in the work of the sub-committees and fraction committees. Some more new all-India fraction committees have to be constituted such as for the doctors (IMA), university employees and some other industry-wise fractions.

This report does not deal with the work of the all-India mass organisation centres or a review of the mass fronts. This will have to be undertaken in the periodical review of each mass front by the Central Committee.

History Commission

History Commission was reconstituted with Harkishan Singh Surjeet, Jyoti Basu, Prakash Karat, P. Ramachandran, Koratala Satyanarayana, Anil Biswas & V. S. Achuthanandan.

A meeting of the History Commission was held in Kolkata in December, 2005. The Commission discussed about the publication of the second volume covering the period between 1935 to 1951. Biman Basu and B. V. Raghavulu have been inducted in place of Koratala Satyanarayana and Anil Biswas, who have passed away.

Conclusions & Tasks

The whole experience of this period confirms that the present political situation offers opportunities for expansion of the Party. The Party has been able to make some advances in certain areas. The present opportunities may not last for long. The entire Party has to move quickly to utilise the opportunities offered by the present situation. The shortcomings and weaknesses of certain committees and comrades to change their routinised style of functioning, to be with the masses to take up the multifarious issues affecting them and to take broad and bold approaches in tackling the issues that have emerged, should be pinpointed and rectified. The present situation demands a serious introspection right from the CC to the branches to re-

assess again to find out what is lacking and where we are lagging behind. The CC calls upon the entire Party to make this serious introspection and to concretise the tasks. The present review should be completed at all levels before January 2007.

1. Concrete plans should be made for implementing the Party Congress decisions on a time-bound basis. Half-yearly and yearly review should be organised from the Central Committee to branches. The review document should point out the achievements, shortcomings and failures and also the future tasks in concrete terms.

2. More stress should be given to build mass organisations and Party building. Work of the Party and mass organisations should be reoriented on the basis of Party documents. The review of the work of all mass organisations should be completed within a period of one year. The PB should prepare a time table for this. Policy documents on student and youth fronts should be finalised within six months.

3. Make more efforts for activating Party members and cadres in all states. While making plans, the electoral prospects in the state should be kept in mind. The Party should be able to win more assembly and parliament seats in the coming elections.

4. A document on ideological issues should be prepared for discussion within six months time.

5. The Central Committee should prepare an updated rectification document for providing a fresh thrust to the rectification campaign. For this, the Polit Bureau should elicit information and review of the experience of rectification through a questionnaire to the state committees.

Statement of Party Membership

Name of State	Year		
	2004	2005	2006
Andhra Pradesh	46,742	57,469	63,037
Assam	10,901	11,793	12,436
Andaman & Nicobar	90	73	169
Bihar	17,353	18,686	17,413
Chattisgarh	1,054	1,327	1,376
Delhi	1,408	1,589	1,785
Goa	67	--	61
Gujarat	3,398	3,383	3,396
Haryana	1,608	1,690	1,618
Himachal Pradesh	1,024	1,122	1,180
Jammu & Kashmir	850	1,391	1,600
Jharkhand	3,292	3,900	4,533
Karnataka	6,492	6,980	6,515
Kerala	3,16,305	3,27,839	3,41,006
Madhya Pradesh	2,320	2,680	2,803
Maharashtra	10,256	11,148	11,706
Manipur	300	418	567
Orissa	3,658	3,817	3,508
Punjab	10,050	11,503	10,508
Rajasthan	3,120	3,498	3,774
Sikkim	75	80	80
Tamilnadu	94,343	1,00,610	1,00,327
Tripura	51,343	53,836	58,495
Uttaranchal	829	940	988
Uttar Pradesh	5,877	6,345	6,346
West Bengal	2,74,921	2,72,923	2,90,164
CC units	87	94	95
Total	8,67,763	9,05,134	9,45,486

Party Membership
(% of increase/decrease)

Name of State	Year		Increase/Decrease	% of increase/decrease
	2004	2006		
Andhra Pradesh	46,742	63,037	(+) 16,295	34.86
Assam	10,901	12,436	(+) 1,535	14.08
Andaman & Nicobar	90	169	(+) 79	87.77
Bihar	17,353	17,413	(+) 60	0.34
Chattisgarh	1,054	1,376	(+) 322	30.55
Delhi	1,408	1,785	(+) 377	26.77
Goa	67	61	(-) 6	8.95
Gujarat	3,398	3,396	(-) 2	0.05
Haryana	1,608	1,618	(+) 10	0.62
Himachal Pradesh	1,024	1,180	(+) 156	15.23
Jammu & Kashmir	850	1,600	(+) 750	88.23
Jharkhand	3,292	4,533	(+) 1,241	37.69
Karnataka	6,492	6,515	(+) 23	0.35
Kerala	3,16,305	3,41,006	(+) 24,701	7.80
Madhya Pradesh	2,320	2,803	(+) 483	20.81
Maharashtra	10,256	11,706	(+) 1,450	14.13
Manipur	300	567	(+) 267	89
Orissa	3,658	3,508	(-) 150	4.10
Punjab	10,050	10,508	(+) 458	4.55
Rajasthan	3,120	3,774	(+) 654	20.96
Sikkim	75	80	(+) 5	6.66
Tamilnadu	94,343	1,00,327	(+) 5,984	6.34
Tripura	51,343	58,495	(+) 7,152	13.92
Uttaranchal	829	988	(+) 159	19.17
Uttar Pradesh	5,877	6,346	(+) 469	7.98
West Bengal	2,74,921	2,90,164	(+) 15,243	5.54
CC units	87	95	(+) 8	9.19
Total	8,67,763	9,45,486	(+) 77,723	8.95

**Membership Of TU Front
(After 18th Congress)**

Name of State	2002	2003	2004
Andaman & Nicobar	2,417	2,242	2,287
Andhra Pradesh	2,43,594	2,23,090	2,61,662
Arunachal Pradesh			17,900
Assam	58,726	55,511	60,355
Bihar	23,717	6,792	6,883
Chattisgarh	17,968	15,428	13,303
Delhi	28,308	24,865	22,957
Goa	1,147	1,174	947
Gujarat	7,599	8,557	8,532
Haryana	25,321	29,361	22,670
Himachal Pradesh	13,242	12,175	14,684
Jammu & Kashmir	910	6,352	204
Jharkhand	38,181	40,566	35,872
Karnataka	99,044	93,803	95,300
Kerala	10,19,507	8,85,836	6,31,353
Madhya Pradesh	25,220	10,690	730
Maharashtra	63,355	56,540	59,069
Meghalaya			1,460
Orissa	31,749	45,235	58,221
Punjab	32,915	59,943	54,318
Rajasthan	31,840	22,990	22,359
Tamilnadu	2,78,745	2,31,253	2,57,952
Tripura	80,363	98,697	1,14,726
Uttaranchal	11,704	10,298	9,460
Uttar Pradesh	24,350	13,195	11,306
West Bengal	12,76,360	11,49,828	10,42,659
Total	34,36,282	31,04,421	28,27,169

Membership Of Kisan Front
(After 18th Congress)

Name of state	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06
Andaman & Nicobar		4,000	4,693
Andhra Pradesh	1,34,373	3,00,722	2,89,620
Assam	1,35,878	1,78,944	1,88,554
Bihar	2,30,080	2,58,600	2,40,147
Chattisgarh	4,500	3,500	5,953
Gujarat	18,120	14,140	15,700
Haryana	21,200	20,150	25,400
Himachal Pradesh	15,533	20,015	20,750
Jammu & Kashmir	12,500	15,000	25,000
Jharkhand	30,000	22,200	35,601
Karnataka	1,18,448	1,52,782	1,51,840
Kerala	18,66,061	21,71,263	23,81,730
Madhya Pradesh	36,297	27,102	33,262
Maharashtra	1,72,147	1,75,751	2,01,114
Manipur	3,000	1,340	2,220
Orissa	47,759	95,000	1,07,557
Punjab	1,48,758	1,55,712	1,51,250
Rajasthan	44,740	71,513	1,63,543
Tamilnadu	3,69,705	4,38,276	4,64,300
Tripura (KS+GMP)	3,46,678	3,82,590	4,05,210
Uttaranchal	11,823	22,902	24,700
Uttar Pradesh	1,32,169	1,90,310	2,03,371
West Bengal	1,32,78,998	1,41,31,093	1,48,78,146
AIKS Centre	5	5	6
Total	1,71,78,772	1,88,52,910	2,00,19,667

Membership Of Agricultural Workers Front
(After 18th Congress)

Name of state	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06
Andhra Pradesh	5,56,470	7,88,906	11,12,972
Bihar	88,078	1,15,360	78,310
Gujarat			
Haryana	17,000	14,168	9,000
Karnataka	22,979	29,997	49,310
Kerala	16,62,438	17,50,498	17,50,570
Madhya Pradesh	3,000	2,200	2,600
Maharashtra	55,955	60,580	74,430
Orissa	6,500	9,289	14,100
Punjab	64,741	69,670	91,485
Rajasthan	13,750	17,500	22,000
Tamilnadu	2,26,330	2,74,450	2,81,734
Tripura	1,57,770	1,76,160	1,85,501
Uttar Pradesh	62,250	58,000	64,370
Total	29,37,261	33,66,778	37,36,382

Membership Of Women's Front
(After 18th Congress)

Name of State	2004	2005
Andhra Pradesh	3,30,000	5,10,000
Assam	60,271	67,638
Bihar	29,948	35,000
Chattisgarh	1,500	1,450
Delhi	73,442	67,322
Gujarat	9,676	13,000
Haryana	25,440	30,500
Himachal Pradesh	3,805	5,750
Jharkhand	25,000	30,025
Karnataka	24,041	23,450
Kerala	21,97,070	24,96,342
Madhya Pradesh	8,880	13,061
Maharashtra	61,686	70,037
Manipur	3,001	3,500
Orissa	21,260	24,393
Punjab	20,000	27,814
Rajasthan	14,770	17,000
Tamilnadu	4,60,007	4,65,247
Tripura	3,35,280	4,16,200
Uttaranchal	7,100	9,650
Uttar Pradesh	39,150	51,570
West Bengal	43,73,358	47,11,816
Total	81,24,685	90,90,765

Membership Of Youth Front
(After 18th Congress)

Name of State	2004	2005
Andhra Pradesh	3,16,810	4,92,001
Assam	57,800	78,192
Bihar	1,13,450	1,07,591
Chattisgarh	7,450	1,290
Delhi	26,544	28,690
Gujarat	15,350	18,000
Haryana	9,472	10,100
Himachal Pradesh	12,353	17,432
Jammu & Kashmir	5,000	80,562
Jharkhand	28,500	26,745
Karnataka	75,187	85,162
Kerala	45,48,955	45,31,020
Madhya Pradesh	9,510	9,632
Maharashtra	82,907	91,684
Manipur	3,519	3,021
Orissa	34,293	35,388
Punjab	43,425	44,211
Rajasthan	53,114	41,852
Tamilnadu	7,68,108	7,50,196
Tripura	3,52,260	3,71,879
TYF	1,09,600	1,30,000
Uttaranchal	4,955	5,170
Uttar Pradesh	37,400	41,547
West Bengal	75,73,243	83,55,887
Centre	5	5
Total	1,42,89,210	1,53,57,257

Membership Of Student Front
(After 18th Congress)

	2003-04	2004-05
Andhra Pradesh	4,92,528	5,88,109
Assam	25,594	22,812
Bihar	27,876	26,632
Chattisgarh	Nil	Nil
Delhi	3,300	4,529
Gujarat	7,375	4,730
Haryana	13,122	14,445
Himachal Pradesh	26,926	24,751
Jammu & Kashmir	Nil	
Jharkhand	9,522	8,500
Karnataka	62,092	58,391
Kerala	8,57,729	9,23,858
Madhya Pradesh	Nil	Nil
Maharashtra	32,022	32,617
Manipur	1,025	3,825
Orissa	4,258	5,746
Punjab	8,500	11,738
Rajasthan	32,289	34,840
Tamilnadu	1,25,532	1,51,917
Tripura	1,10,892	1,12,021
TSU	23,590	25,050
Uttaranchal	8,751	11,800
Uttar Pradesh	12,283	12,281
West Bengal	13,03,482	13,98,000
CEC	72	74
Total	31,88,760	34,76,666

Party & Mass Organisation Membership
(Comparison at the time of 18th Congress & the present position)

Name of State	Party membership		TU Front		Kisan Front		Agricultural Worker's Front		Women's Front		Youth Front		Student Front	
	2004	2006	2002	2004	2003-04	2005-06	2003-04	2005-06	2004	2005	2004	2005	2003-04	2004-05
Andaman & Nicobar	90	169	2,417	2,287		4,693								
Andhra Pradesh	46,742	63,037	2,43,594	2,61,662	1,34,373	2,89,620	5,56,470	11,12,972	3,30,000	5,10,000	3,16,810	4,92,001	4,92,528	5,88,1
Arunachal Pradesh				17,900										
Assam	10,901	12,436	58,726	60,355	1,35,878	1,88,554			60,271	67,638	57,800	78,192	25,594	22,8
Bihar	17,353	17,413	23,717	6,883	2,30,080	2,40,147	88,078	78,310	29,948	35,000	1,13,450	1,07,591	27,876	26,6
Chattisgarh	1,054	1,376	17,968	13,303	4,500	5,953			1,500	1,450	7,450	1,290	Nil	
Delhi	1,408	1,785	28,308	22,957					73,442	67,322	26,544	28,690	3,300	4,5
Goa	67	61	1,147	947										
Gujarat	3,398	3,396	7,599	8,532	18,120	15,700			9,676	13,000	15,350	18,000	7,375	4,7
Haryana	1,608	1,618	25,321	22,670	21,200	25,400	17,000	9,000	25,440	30,500	9,472	10,100	13,122	14,4
Himachal Pradesh	1,024	1,180	13,242	14,684	15,533	20,750			3,805	5,750	12,353	17,432	26,926	24,7
Jammu & Kashmir	850	1,600	910	204	12,500	25,000					5,000	80,562	Nil	
Jharkhand	3,292	4,533	38,181	35,872	30,000	35,601			25,000	30,025	28,500	26,745	9,522	8,5
Karnataka	6,492	6,515	99,044	95,300	1,18,448	1,51,840	22,979	49,310	24,041	23,450	75,187	85,162	62,092	58,3
Kerala	3,16,305	3,41,006	10,19,507	6,31,353	18,66,061	23,81,730	16,62,438	17,50,570	21,97,070	24,96,342	45,48,955	45,31,020	8,57,729	9,23,8
Madhya Pradesh	2,320	2,803	25,220	730	36,297	33,262	3,000	2,600	8,880	13,061	9,510	9,632	Nil	
Maharashtra	10,256	11,706	63,355	59,069	1,72,147	2,01,114	55,955	74,430	61,686	70,037	82,907	91,684	32,022	32,6
Manipur	300	567			3,000	2,220			3,001	3,500	3,519	3,021	1,025	3,8
Meghalaya				1,460										
Orissa	3,658	3,508	31,749	58,221	47,759	1,07,557	6,500	14,100	21,260	24,393	34,293	35,388	4,258	5,7
Punjab	10,050	10,508	32,915	54,318	1,48,758	1,51,250	64,741	91,485	20,000	27,814	43,425	44,211	8,500	11,7
Rajasthan	3,120	3,774	31,840	22,359	44,740	1,63,543	13,750	22,000	14,770	17,000	53,114	41,852	32,289	34,8
Sikkim	75	80												
Tamilnadu	94,343	1,00,327	2,78,745	2,57,952	3,69,705	4,64,300	2,26,330	2,81,734	4,60,007	4,65,247	7,68,108	7,50,196	1,25,532	1,51,9
Tripura	51,343	58,495	80,363	1,14,726	3,46,678	4,05,210	1,57,770	1,85,501	3,35,280	4,16,200	4,61,860	5,01,879	1,34,482	1,37,0
Uttaranchal	829	988	11,704	9,460	11,823	24,700			7,100	9,650	4,955	5,170	8,751	11,8
Uttar Pradesh	5,877	6,346	24,350	11,306	1,32,169	2,03,371	62,250	64,370	39,150	51,570	37,400	41,547	12,283	12,2
West Bengal	2,74,921	2,90,164	12,76,360	10,42,659	1,32,78,998	1,48,78,146			43,73,358	47,11,816	75,73,243	83,55,887	13,03,482	13,98,0
CC units	87	95												
Centre					5	6					5	5	72	
Total	8,67,763	9,45,486	34,36,282	28,27,169	1,71,78,772	2,00,19,667	29,37,261	37,36,382	81,24,685	90,90,765	1,42,89,210	1,53,57,257	31,88,760	34,76,0

Central Party Fund

Name of State	Party fund	
	Quota fixed	Amount received
Andhra Pradesh	2,00,000	2,00,000
Assam	25,000	Not received
Andaman & Nicobar	3,000	Not received
Bihar	25,000	Not received
Chattisgarh	5,000	8,500
Delhi	25,000	30,000
Goa	3,000	3,000
Gujarat	5,000	5,000
Haryana	10,000	10,000
Himachal Pradesh	5,000	5,000
Jammu & Kashmir	5,000	Not received
Jharkhand	10,000	Not received
Karnataka	20,000	Not received
Kerala	10,00,000	10,00,000
Madhya Pradesh	15,000	15,000
Maharashtra	25,000	25,000
Manipur	3,000	3,000
Orissa	15,000	15,000
Punjab	1,50,000	1,05,000
Rajasthan	15,000	15,000
Tamilnadu	2,00,000	2,00,000
Tripura	50,000	50,000
Uttaranchal	5,000	4,500
Uttar Pradesh	20,000	Not received
West Bengal	10,00,000	10,00,000
Sikkim	3,000	Not received
Total	28,42,000	26,94,000

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

State	<i>People's Democracy</i>			<i>Lok Lahar</i>		
	2004-05 (11 months)	2005-06	August, 2006	2004-05 (11 months)	2005-06	August 2006
Andaman & Nicobar						
Andhra Pradesh	661	801	786	1	2	2
Arunachal Pradesh	1	1	1			
Assam	528	539	561	5	9	11
Bihar	125	126	130	1153	1176	1273
Chandigarh	37	37	38	53	53	53
Chattisgarh	18	19	20	259	295	393
Delhi	264	287	344	484	541	798
Goa	2	2	2			
Gujarat	12	13	16	56	51	148
Haryana	19	32	45	565	686	918
Himachal Pradesh	101	116	103	465	538	827
Jammu & Kashmir	19	17	27	20	18	27
Jharkhand	78	32	39	239	225	270
Karnataka	304	316	271	3	3	4
Kerala	314	271	390	1	2	3
Madhya Pradesh	15	17	18	306	314	302
Maharashtra	420	492	574	440	476	503
Manipur	6	7	19			
Meghalaya	14	13	13			
Orissa	279	316	318	10	25	26
Pondicherry	13	13			1	
Punjab	80	116	139	27	50	67
Rajasthan	21	25	32	498	676	696
Sikkim	1	2	2		1	1
Tamilnadu	1047	1205	2801		2	3
Tripura	592	597	2132	2		74
Uttaranchal	7	8	8	304	279	252
Uttar Pradesh	122	142	155	1547	1674	1787
West Bengal	7,003	7448	7850	3678	3860	4104
Foreign	34	34	36			
Total	12,137	13,045	16,869	10,116	10,954	12,541

Note: After the Kochi edition, the circulation of *People's Democracy* from Kerala has gone up to more than 10,000.

Circulation of *The Marxist*

State	2004 Vol. 20 (3)	2005 Vol. 21 (1-4)	2006 Vol. 22 (1)
Andhra Pradesh	211	190	173
Assam	84	105	115
Bihar	19	29	34
Chandigarh	10	11	11
Chattisgarh		14	14
Delhi	108	67	134
Goa	1		
Gujarat	3	1	1
Haryana	4	11	11
Himachal Pradesh	18	54	54
Jammu & Kashmir	5	23	23
Jharkhand	13	25	25
Karnataka	141	157	162
Kerala	98	127	127
Madhya Pradesh/Chattisgarh	11	3	3
Maharashtra	103	120	134
Manipur	0		
Orissa	96	135	147
Pondicherry	0	15	15
Punjab	28	28	28
Rajasthan	3	13	13
Tamilnadu	215	254	272
Tripura	70		
Uttaranchal		5	5
Uttar Pradesh	38	48	48
West Bengal	854	883	920
Foreign	4		
Total	2137	2318	2469

Circulation of *Shabtaab*

State	April 2005-March 2006	August 2006
Andhra Pradesh	19	19
Andaman & Nicobar	5	5
Bihar	5	10
Delhi	4	4
Haryana	1	1
Himachal Pradesh	6	18
Jammu & Kashmir	5	15
Jharkhand	4	4
Madhya Pradesh	3	3
Maharashtra	146	106
Orissa	10	10
Rajasthan	4	4
Uttaranchal	5	5
Uttar Pradesh	17	17
West Bengal	500	500
Total	733	721