

REASONS FOR ORGANISATIONAL FAILURE

FOR A LONG TIME, we have been repeating our organisational defects, weaknesses and failures, adopting pious resolutions to remove them and make a breakthrough on organisational front. Long-standing failures have created a sense of pessimism about our capacity to make a breakthrough and bring about a radical improvement in our organisation which has become the most vital need for the party to be able to discharge its political responsibility in the present period of growing political instability.

Before 1962, we used to console ourselves that political differences stand in the way of our struggle against organisational weakness. After 1962, we ascribed our organisational difficulties and defects to the serious political and ideological differences which had virtually paralysed the party and finally split it. But after the last Party Congress, there were no such major difficulties in our way to struggle for organisational improvement. And yet we failed to fulfil the organisational tasks laid down by the last Party Congress.

The Organisational Report had warned us that adoption of resolutions and formulation of tasks and directives are not enough. What is needed most is serious and sustained efforts to implement them:

The party has, during the last 10 years several times, passed resolutions pinpointing the serious defects affecting party organisation but no serious and sustained efforts were made to remove these defects. That has engendered a sense of frustration and cynicism inside the party. If the party is to translate the proposals made in the present Organisational Report into practice, it is necessary to evolve concrete guarantees for their implementation. (Organisational Report—Seventh Party Congress)

But we failed in creating those guarantees which were formulated by the Party Congress for implementing the organisational tasks. Formulation of tasks and guarantees

is only the expression of desire and intention. *But desire and intention do not get automatically fulfilled. They need first of all special and devoted people to fulfil them.* If the necessary apparatus to carry out urgent organisational tasks is not built up then the realisation itself remains only formal and the job cannot be done. Where cadres are put on a job, training and check-up to ensure a correct style of work are needed. The weapon of criticism and self-criticism must be wielded and constant struggle carried on for improvement in functioning and style of work. Unfortunately all these (a) special and devoted cadres exclusively for work of party building, (b) sustained struggle and check-up, (c) correct method (style of work) were lacking. It means spontaneity characterised our organisational practice which cannot but result in our failure to fulfil the tasks.

The successful holding of Bombay Party Congress had created immense enthusiasm throughout the whole party. But the time the party was getting ready to implement the Congress decisions, our defeat in Kerala mid-term election had thrown our party in confusion and demoralisation. But this was only a temporary phenomenon. The Kerala unit of our party, which was the main victim of this defeat, made serious efforts to get out of this state of affairs by strenuous and steadfast implementation of party decisions. It is the only state unit which had set up a separate department for party organisation and education, consisting of comrades solely devoting their time for this job and went about systematically building up the organisation and the education of members and cadres. They made a real turn in this matter.

It is the wrong idea that 'carry on mass struggles, the party will get automatically built up', and the non-realisation that party organisation will get built only if it is undertaken as a special job by capable cadres set apart, that are at the root of our failure to build up the party organisation. This is the reason for the non-functioning of the department of party organisation at the centre and for not even

setting up of organisational departments in most of the state units.

It is good our party has been in the forefront of mass struggles during the last two years, but organisational weakness is acting as a brake upon the further development of mass movement. *Unless we remove the weakness in our party organisation and build it up as an effective weapon capable of leading the people in this extremely unstable situation, it will be impossible for our party to further strengthen and revolutionise the mass movement and to play a leading role.*

It is a good sign that after the fourth general election, there is realisation on this point by party leaderships in the centre, state and lower levels. In a number of states, party schools were organised to train cadres. In two states, one or two-day schools were held to educate the members on Party Programme and elementary principles of organisation. Some state secretariats brought out small popular booklets on theory, policy and organisation. The detailed report regarding these efforts is given in the later pages in a separate section on party education.

As regards toning up of party organisation, preliminary steps were taken in the party conferences. For the first time every party conference was held only on its own political-organisational mass movement reports. In the past, all-India party centre's documents formed the main items of the conferences at all levels. Hence proper attention could not be paid to the political, organisational and mass problems of the respective localities, districts and states. These conferences have helped in a big way to discuss the political, organisational and mass problems at all levels concretely and take practical decisions. They have also helped, though in a limited way, the promotion of effective cadres to party bodies and key posts.

These efforts have to be kept up and given the shape of a sustained all-India campaign for building and toning up of our party organisation. Now we have the most favourable opportunity to do it. Our party is united—ideologically, po-

litically and organisationally—as never before. Political morale is quite good. Our party has acquired respect, love and stature in the eyes of the people.

Moreover, our country is passing through the most critical period of its life. The ruling Congress party, having landed our country in an insoluble economic crisis and political instability, has now taken the first steps with the aid of other reactionary forces to undermine parliamentary democracy and pave the way for the dictatorship of monopolists and feudal forces. The reactionary forces have stepped up their campaign of anticommunism, spreading all sorts of slanders and even organising physical assaults in some places. They want to isolate the communist movement from the rest of the democratic parties and forces and to beat it in isolation. This is the first step for ending parliamentary democracy. But the people and the left and democratic forces are not taking this lying down. They are resisting bitterly. What is needed is the removal of flabbiness of our party and building it into a well-organised, militant party capable of playing its due role in uniting and rallying all the left and democratic parties and forces, of steering its course through the twists and turns of this extremely unstable political situation and withstanding firmly the attack of reactionary forces.

Stern struggle has to be waged against bourgeois methods and habits which still remain in the party. While the party as a whole is healthy and has not been affected by these corrosive influences, yet alien-class tendencies remain, such as love for easy-going life, careerism, individual functioning and looseness in discipline. It is deplorable that such feudal practices as demanding and accepting dowry are not uncommon among sections of our members. All this damages the image of the party among the masses and leads to some weakening of our links with them and acts as a brake on our movement.

The party has to conduct a ceaseless struggle against these alien-class habits and tendencies. Unless these are fought out systematically and eradicated, and unless dis-

cipline is strictly enforced, our party cannot adequately advance the movement, despite the adoption of a correct political line. In this respect, the party leadership itself has to set an example and be a model for the ranks in the observance of communist standards of behaviour and norms.

One source of our weaknesses is the failure to observe and enforce the principles and provisions of the Party Constitution and utter ignorance of the same in wide sections of the party. The result is that in some cases even gross violations of the Constitution go unnoticed and unchecked. Effective steps are necessary to remedy this situation. Now that the Preamble of the Constitution has been adopted by this Congress, every state council should get the amended Constitution printed in the regional languages. Lectures on Party Constitution should also be organised on a wide scale. This should help to tighten discipline which has become a dire necessity. It will also help, along with other measures, the consistent application of democratic centralism in the party.

Now let us see the different aspects of our organisational problems in greater detail.

ALL-INDIA PARTY CENTRE

THE SEVENTH PARTY CONGRESS had formulated that 'strengthening and building the all-India party centre is the key to our organisational tasks.' Thorough reorganisation of the all-India party centre was considered to be the first guarantee for implementing the Organisational Report. It is stated in it 'The all-India party centre and the party centres in various states must be thoroughly reorganised so that they become real leading bodies imbued with a collective spirit and capable of fulfilling the many-sided tasks.'

After all is said and done, though there is some improvement regarding functioning, no basic change has been brought about in the discharge of the main responsibilities of the all-India party centre, i.e. building of an organisation capable of reacting quickly to events and leading the