

NATIONAL UNITY
FOR THE DEFENCE
OF THE
MOTHERLAND

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PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE,
BOMBAY.

NATIONAL UNITY
FOR THE
DEFENCE OF THE MOTHERLAND

*(Resolutions of the two Plenums of the Central Committee of
the Communist Party of India held in September 1942 and
February 1943 Respectively)*

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CONTENTS

I

**A Patriotic Policy and Revolutionary Organisation
for India's Defence—For a Free India in a Free
world.**

II

Solve National Crisis Through National Unity

III

Pakistan and National Unity

IV

Production Policy and T. U. Tasks

V

Tasks of the State Peoples

VI

Greetings & Messages

VII

The Way out of the Crisis

VIII

**All Together—For Release of Gandhiji to End
National Crisis**

IX

The Food Crisis And Our Tasks

X

Party Finances



**DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE
ENLARGED PLENUM OF THE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA HELD
AT BOMBAY BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 15
AND 23, 1943**



A Patriotic Policy and Revolutionary Organisation for India's Defence—for a Free India in a Free World!

(From People's War No. 13, 4th October 1942)

1. An Historic Session

First Open Sitting

The meeting of the Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was an historic Session and for *two* reasons. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India was meeting openly for the first time in its history. The Session was announced in the daily press throughout India. Central Committee members and invited representatives of the Provincial Units came to the Session from all parts of the country. They met in the Office of the General Secretary at the Central Headquarters of the Communist Party in Bombay. The walls were decorated with large-size portraits of Lenin, Stalin and Timoshenko, and draped with big bright red flags with hammer and sickle. In a corner hung a red velvet banner sent by the proletariat of Leningrad to the workers of India. It was a thrilling reunion of 30 comrades, under the banner of Lenin-Stalin. Every one felt it as we stood at attention to the strains of the *Internationale* sung by the Bombay Students' Patriotic Squad. Some were freshly released from jail, some had recently popped up from underground, some were new bright faces, who had awakened to Communism in the period of the war.

For 14 years the Party had struggled against repression. It had taken hard knocks and given some. From a scattered network of local groups in the working-class centres, it had grown into an organised force in the national politics of our country, with a mass following among the working class and kisan masses throughout the land. That was why it had won its legality.

It was leading and mobilising its class loyally and successfully. It served the Motherland steadfastly. It had earned the love and admiration of the patriots and the people, That was why it had carved out its legality.

The Government could not crush it through 14 years of repression, through the persecution of its leaders, through driving it underground. The Party stepped forward determined to unite and rally the people, for National Defence, for National Freedom. That was why it had won its legality and was holding its first open Central Committee Session. That was the first reason why this was an historic Session.

The Task Before It

There was a *second* reason too. The Session was meeting at the most critical moment in the life of our nation. The hordes of Japanese imperialists were massing themselves on the borders of Bengal and Assam to pounce upon that part of our

country as soon as the monsoon passed off. At a time when our country and our people were standing in the direst peril, at such a time our land stood enveloped in the flames of grave internal crisis. At a time when it was required that our people should unite in one unbroken front to man the defences of our country, to organise a total people's resistance against the coming invader, at such a time the foreign bureaucracy continued to ride over the shoulders of our people and make a real national people's defence impossible. Instead, we were faced with the grim reality of imperialist repression stalking the land, of infuriated patriots and people tearing up the means of national defence and economy, and unleashing the forces of disruption and anarchy. The Central Committee was meeting amidst such a situation and was faced with the stupendous task of hammering out a clear-cut, bold and a united policy, a policy which would enable our Party, and its every unit, to effectively intervene in the situation, to lead the people out of the morass of disruption and anarchy and demoralisation on to the firm path of National Unity, National Resistance and National Freedom. On the shoulders of the Central Committee lay the responsibility of forging a policy and a practice which would enable our people, led by our Party, to make history. This was the second reason why it was a historic Session.

Ours—A People's Party

When we talk of our "historic Session", it is neither a mere hackneyed phrase - nor sheer boastfulness. It is stark reality, which Party members and supporters must grasp in all its significance. Though only 15 years old, our Party has grown to the stature of a real people's Party, it occupies a proud place in the national politics of our land, it has an international role which must not be overlooked. It is necessary to grasp the meaning of these three aspects of the greatness of our Party. For they alone will enable us to see the supreme importance of the decisions, and realise the grim responsibility that rests on our shoulders of carrying them out. Comrade Joshi again and again stressed these points to inspire the delegates with confidence and courage to face the new tasks. In his very opening speech on the 15th September, he gave three striking facts to show how ours was already a people's Party. He announced three donations: one was from an old Kisan woman from Malabar. She had nothing but a cow and she gave it to the Party. The second was Rs. 500 from a British soldier lad, a Communist at present in India, who gave away all his savings. The third was from Comrade Namboodiripad, the leader of the Provincial Party Unit in Kerala, who gave away all his property worth Rs. 30,000 to the Party. The facts speak for themselves. Our Party is the third biggest party in our country after the National Congress and the Muslim League, and in the international field it has to play a role which is next in importance to that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to that of the Communist Party of China. Comrade Joshi underlined these facts also in order to impress upon the minds of the delegates the immensity of the task which faced them.

2. A Session Of Political Unity

On the 15th September when the Session opened, the only business done was

the sending of messages of greetings. The first one was addressed to our comrades in jail. This specially mentioned Comrade B. D. Bhardwaj, a member of the Polit-Bureau, Comrades Dange and Batliwala and Comrade Ghate. Short messages of fraternal greetings were sent to the Communist Party of Great Britain, the Communist Party of the U. S. A., as well as to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and the Chinese Communist Party.

It was on the 16th that the main business of the session began. On the 16th, two main political reports on the main resolution were delivered by Comrades G. Adhikari and P. C. Joshi. The 17th and 18th were devoted to the reports of the various provincial delegates on the political situation, to

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people's movement. which had to be built to smash imperialist obstruction. It was not realised that our national disunity was the only remaining strength of the imperialist bureaucracy, and that its strategy to stick to power would be to maintain and intensify that disunity. Failure of the Cripps negotiations and the events that followed brilliantly confirmed this. After the Allahabad A.I.C.C. Session when imperialism began taking advantage of our national disunity to spread further disruption, we ought to have taken the initiative to launch a nationwide unity campaign. We did not. That showed that we had not grasped the plain fact that to rally the masses for achieving national unity, Congress-League unity, for the defence of the Motherland was the only revolutionary struggle for freedom in the present situation. The result was that when after the 9th of August and later, the Congress struggle for destroying defence in the name of freedom developed, our boys were bogged. "Not struggle but let us have unity first"—this is what some of our comrades tried to say and thus exposed themselves to the danger of playing straight into the hands of the struggle-mad patriots.

Self-Criticism

All this arose because we did not understand national unity as a process of struggle, as a revolutionary proletarian line. Comrade Joshi summed up the self-criticism in the following words:

"Even the Central leadership of the Party did not work out the slogans of national unity in its practical details. The general political slogan was, of course, given but the practical steps necessary to implement it were not taken. The immediate practical lead, the call for an immediate unity campaign, should have been given after the Allahabad A.I.C.C. Political slogans are not enough, unless the practical lead is given for day-to-day practice in implementing these slogans."

A Patriotic Policy

This' was, in fact, the key point of the main political reports and the starting point for the main practical-political slogan issued by the Session, namely, "Launch nationwide unity campaign!" One more point which arises straight out of this must be clearly grasped, The struggle for national unity and the unity campaign is not

only the anti-thesis of the Congress struggle for sabotage and deadlock, but its antidote. The Congress campaign means anarchy, disruption and chaos. It means-disunity incarnate now and growing disunity as struggle develops. The Congress campaign, therefore, puts the bureaucracy on the top of the people and isolates the Congress. Our unity campaign cannot grow side by side with this disunity campaign but at its expense. In other words our political and practical struggle to isolate the saboteurs and the promoters of anarchy etc., cannot be separated from our campaign for national unity. In fact, a mere campaign to dissuade people from sabotage, and acts of violence, etc., which is not simultaneously linked with the political campaign for national unity, is liberalism and not Bolshevism. Thus our slogan of national unity, would be nothing if it is not a campaign for people's mobilisation for the release of leaders, for National Government based on Congress-League unity, for national defence. The Congress slogan of struggle is a call for people's disunity and demoralisation. As our campaign for national unity gathers force, we are able to wrest Congressmen and patriots from the grip of the forces of anarchy and disruption, we are able to isolate the hardened disruptors, saboteurs and fifth columnists, we are able to put the united people on the top of the bureaucracy, and save the nation and the Congress. This is how our policy of national unity is the patriotic policy through which alone our nation can advance forward. Such were the key points of the main reports on the political situation.

Provincial Reports

These main reports were followed by the reports of the C. C. members and of provincial delegates. What did these speeches show? There was no complacency in these provincial reports. The lead for self-criticism given by the General Secretary was followed up by the comrades. There was no glossing over difficulties. The provincial delegates criticised their own work and experience in the light of the main reports. The speeches and reports of the provincial delegates continued for a day and a half. As the speeches proceeded they unrolled a mass of practical experience which not only confirmed the general line of the main reports but supplied material for chalking out practical-political tasks for each province. They enabled each one present to get a better idea of the all-India Party and greatly helped the members to come to a common understanding.

Joshi's Summing Up

Really speaking, the speeches and the reports of the provincial leaders and the C. C. members only led us towards a common political understanding. It became real and gripping to us only when we heard the brilliant, political summing up given by Comrade P. C. Joshi. He looked into these speeches and reports as if in a mirror to find out how much the slogans of the basic reports have been understood. He then reiterated the key slogans. This is what he said:

“Let us be clear that if the struggle is collapsing, it is doing so under the stress of imperialist repression and its own contradictions and NOT yet through our positive intervention. Either we solve the national crisis through national unity or terror wipes out the whole national movement. Such is the grim alternative. We are the

only organised Party which can intervene effectively and save the nation. No one else can. Let us get it clear that this campaign of anarchy and sabotage is not just mob-violence and destruction. Its political significance, as disruptor of the national movement and national unity must be grasped. Therefore it can only be fought on a political plane, firstly, through political explanatory campaign to counteract pro-Jap feeling, to isolate the fifth-columnist, from the misguided patriotic mass, by sharp political campaign against Jap and Fascist agents. Secondly, through national unity campaign, organised as a big mass upsurge: only then can we knock the initiative out of the hands of imperialism. This is the task which faces our Party to-day.”

After this general introduction, Comrade Joshi took the individual reports of the comrades from the various provinces, diagnosed them, so to speak, politically and organisationally, in brief and trenchant characterisations and prescribed to each the tasks. It was a remarkable achievement which was immensely appreciated by every comrade and did more to instruct and unify our team politically than any abstract political discussion would have ever done.

After three days discussion, the main political resolution was passed with minor amendments. Three days’ collective thinking enabled us to forge a common political understanding of the grim situation that faced us, of the policy which we had to carry out in order to transform that situation.

We were confident that collectively we had arrived at a correct policy. That was our strength.

The responsibility of effectively intervening and saving our nation fell on the shoulders of our Party and we were determined to be equal to it.

We had faith in the patriotic instincts of our people. Our persistent explanation and their bitter experience was bound to turn them round. Already a few-disillusioned student patriots and Congressmen were turning to us. The campaign for Congress-League unity was catching among the masses. That gave us courage and confidence.

Ours is the Party which saw the future clearly, and has the strength to mould the present with firm hands. For ours is the Party of the working class, the Party which faces the future with undying hope, the Party which is everywhere in the forefront leading and unifying the people, in every country, for victory in this war of liberation.

3. For A Revolutionary Organisation

Formulating a correct policy and chalking out practical-political tasks is not enough. For they will remain on paper if we do not have a revolutionary organisation to take that policy to the people, and to carry out those tasks.

That is why the Session devoted nearly two days to the question of Party organisation. The main organisational report was delivered by Comrade P. C. Joshi. It was a long and detailed report, which took the General Secretary about 7 hours to deliver. In printed form, it would be an extremely instructive and inspiring document.

Basic Organisational Tasks

Our basic organisational tasks to-day follow directly from the nature of the

present period and our basic political task to-day. The biggest national crisis is on at a time when the country is faced with Jap invasion. As already explained in the political report, our main political slogans of to-day are as follows:

- Our Party and our policy alone can save the nation;
- Unite the nation and we win!
- This is the simple policy we have to take to the masses in the shortest possible time.
- To teach the people unity in action is to rally the nation, is to win.
- Every patriot is bound to respond sooner or later to our Unity Campaign, for there is no way out for our nation except to unite.

The general organisational tasks which follow from this are:

- (a) Build a mass Party out of what we have to-day by extending it and by improving it.
- (b) Build organised leadership from top to bottom, moving as one team, trained, disciplined and devoted, capable of leading the Party as the unifier of our people.

Re-Educate The Party Leadership

Comrade Joshi then began to enumerate the practical jobs which have to be undertaken to be able to fulfil the above-named tasks. You cannot build a Party without building Party builders. Hence the first job is to re-educate the entire Party leadership. How to do this? This will have to be mainly done by organising special central and local schools for “Party Building” run by the C. C. or by the P. C. All the same leaders must do intensive self-education. Here are Comrade Joshi’s tips for the same: Study Party literature and the classics seriously. Don’t neglect the study of the classics. Get drilling for job-doing and reporting through your own Party Units. Use “People’s War” for the study circles you take and the reporting that you do.

Organised Working of Units

The next practical job he mentioned was: Let every Party Unit work in an organised manner. To explain this, Comrade Joshi took up a detailed review of each Party organ from the Polit-Bureau downward to the Cell. He nailed down what were the actual faults in the functioning of each unit and then suggested remedies. It is not necessary to go over all that here. But here is something trenchant which our Comrade Secretary said about the cell and its leader. We are quoting it in full:

“Those who complain that cells don’t function because cadres are backward are really anti-Party elements. The Party leader who bewails about backwardness and incompetence of the rank and filers is nothing but a snob, a bureaucratised boss. He can never become a real Party organiser. The truth is that no Party has got rank and file cadres likes ours. They are the cream of our people as they are. They are the makers of our history.”

Here is what Comrade Joshi says about a cell leader:

“Without trained Party functionaries, the Party cannot be built and the key is the cell leader. He is the leader of the people in his locality; factory or village. He must, therefore, be an all-rounder, agitator and unifier and leader of the team. Very

often he has those qualities inherent in him. This is especially so in the case of working class or kisan cadres. The purpose of Party training is to transmute these natural gifts into conscious qualities. The cell leader must get his unit members linked with the mass organisations and mass work. Then alone will the cell live and grow.

Strengthen The Party!

“What must we do to strengthen the Party? was the next question Comrade Joshi took up. Here are the directives he put forward: 1) Enforce and tighten discipline 2) Educate the functionaries, for without trained functionaries no Party can be built 3) Every Party member must do minimum jobs through his units 4) Purge out the chronically inactive and disruptive elements 5) Strengthen the proletarian base of the Party, by training and promoting working-class cadres into Trade Union and Party leaders. This is not the place to go into the details of these and of many other important points he mentioned.

To Drift Is To Die!

Comrade Joshi concluded his organisational report in these inspiring words:

“ Our nation is in crisis, this is the burning reality. National unity is the way out, this is our policy. How can it be worked without iron unity inside our own Party, which to-day means political unity in a rapidly changing situation? How can national disruption on a mass scale be prevented without the hardest work we have done in our lives? How can hard work be done except through every member functioning tip-top through his unit? To-day the job of all patriots of our Motherland has fallen on the shoulders of our Party. If we collapse, our people die, our nation perishes. We must do the jobs which will be decided in this session. Only by doing them shall we prove our worth as Bolsheviks. Only by doing them shall we unite our nation, fight the fascists and win freedom.”

Organisational Decisions

Comrade Joshi's report was adopted by the C. C. after a detailed discussion lasting over one full day and the following important decisions were adopted:

1. Party Convention to be held on Lenin Day (1943).
2. Party Membership to be increased by 100% so that the total membership of the Party reaches the figure of 10,000, with 20,000 volunteers, by Lenin Day. Create conditions for the call of 50,000 Communists from the Convention by May Day.
3. Give a call for raising two lacs of rupees as Party Funds to be collected by Lenin Day, out of which 50% would go to the Provincial Committees.

4. Other Questions

The third most important question taken up by the Session was the Report on Production policy and Trade Union (T. U.) tasks by Comrade B. T. Ranadive. Total National resistance against the Fascist invaders demands that production is not only organised but expanded and stepped up. The imperialist bureaucracy which

boasts of having stepped up Indian industrial production for war purposes, has really throttled it by methods which involve brutal exploitation of workers and the suppression of their T. U. rights. They have completely disregarded the needs of Indian industries and have created chaotic conditions. Indian industrialists though they want rapid industrialisation of the country for National defence and back the demand for National Government for the purpose, have never displayed a national outlook in industry and have ground down workers with the same callousness as the imperialists. Having described the policies pursued by the bureaucrats and industrialists, the resolution on production moved by B. T. Ranadive goes on to say:

“Recognising the vital role played by production, the Party declares that production can no longer be treated as the special concern of profiteers and the bureaucracy. On the other hand production has become the concern of the people whose very existence and freedom depend upon it. Popular national control over production exercised through National Government enjoying the full confidence of the people is the basic demand of the hour.”

In order that the working class should be able to play its role effectively in organising national production for the defence of the country, it raises certain immediate demands of action. These are as follow: Adequate dearness allowance, 25% rise in basic wage, recognition of Trade Unions and full freedom to organise mill and factory Committees, and limitation of profits. The Resolution states further: “While on no account are we prepared to surrender the right to strike, yet it is our policy to minimise stoppages and strikes consistently with the defence of the Nation.” The resolution further states “Our policy then is to seek settlement of disputes through negotiations backed by the united strength of the workers and resort to direct actions only when we are compelled to do so.” Such in brief is the Party's policy on production. The same resolution lays down our general tasks in the Trade Unions in the present period.

Besides Comrade Ranadive's report on Production there were Reports on Pakistan and National unity by Comrade Adhikari and on the States' peoples' movement by Comrade S. G. Sardesai.

Report On People's War

Comrade Joshi gave a report on our Party organ “People's War.” At the outset he formulated the question for comrades to speak on: Is it an effective populariser of the policy of the Party? His own criticism of the paper was that it was not as effective a collective agitator as it ought to be. Besides it was not being used as a collective organiser by the comrades. The poor sale of Hindi, Urdu and Marathi editions (viz. 2,000 each) showed that our comrades were not making special efforts to take it to the working class and use it as an educator. The sale of the three Indian Editions must easily go up to 5,000. That corresponds to our present influence among the working class. The English edition began with 5,000 and has risen to 9,000. It must be taken to 20,000 by the 7th November. There were very interesting speeches by the Provincial leaders on the- various points raised by Comrade Joshi in his report. The conclusion and criticisms given by Comrade Joshi

in his report were confirmed. Decisions regarding pushing up the sales of the paper as mentioned above were taken.

Conclusion

The most interesting feature of the Session was the last item. When all the agenda was gone through we sat down to review the Session. Every comrade was asked to say what he had learnt. Comrade after comrade declared his determination to do the job better. It was a Session which bore the impress of complete political unanimity. Every one of us was inspired with common zeal to get to grips with the common political tasks which faced us in the critical period that faced the Party. As the Session closed to the chorus of the Internationale lustily sung by us, each one of us made the silent vow that he must become a man of Stalin's mould in which the new humanity is cast. Onward to The job! onward to victory!

Solve National Crisis Through National Unity

(Political Resolution passed by the Enlarged Plenum of the C. C. of C. P. I. during its September Session, 1942)

Imperialist Repression

1. This Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, condemns unequivocally the military and police rule of blood and terror let loose by the imperialist bureaucracy against the people, following the arrest of the national leaders on the 9th August, 1942. The main responsibility for plunging the country into a grave and perilous crisis, which not only undermines the cause of the defence and freedom of India, but also that of the freedom-loving peoples of the United Nations, must be fastened on the shoulders of the British Government. The National Leadership had declared their readiness to undertake the full responsibility for uniting and organising the people for the armed defence of the country, in alliance with the United Nations and thus to take their full share in the war of world freedom against Fascist aggression, provided that Indian independence was recognised and a provisional Government set up, enjoying the confidence of the people and supported by the major political parties. But the British Government instead of pursuing the policy of winning the friendship and alliance of the Indian people, have persistently refused to part with power. Taking advantage of our national disunity, of the frustration and desperation of our national leadership, they have launched a war against the people, and are provoking a country-wide conflict which is being fully utilised by Fifth Columnists and Jap agents. Mr. Churchill speaking as the head of the British Government, has threatened to continue this diehard imperialist policy to its logical conclusion.

A Fifth-Column Incendiary Policy

2. This policy of the British Government is an incendiary and Fifth column policy. It prepares for the Indian people the ghastly fate of Burma and Malaya, It stabs the cause of the British and American peoples, of the Soviet and Chinese, people in the back. The Communist Party warns the British Government that if it persists in this policy, if it persists in its attempt to crush the Congress, it will only succeed in creating a common disaster for the British and the Indian peoples. The only way out of this perilous situation which grows more critical every day, is to stop this offensive of repression against the people and the Congress, to release Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress leaders, to lift the ban on the Congress and to open negotiations with the Congress and the other political parties especially the Muslim League, for the establishment of a provisional National Government, fully empowered and determined to unite and mobilise the people for the defence and freedom of the country in close alliance with the United Nations. The Communist Party of India, which is pledged to forge national unity to solve this national crisis, appeals to the workers and the progressive peoples of Britain and America to bring pressure upon the British Government to concede these just national demands of

the Indian people and thus clear the path of our common victory in this war of liberation.

Campaign Of Sabotage And Anarchy

3. The arrest of Congress leaders and the regime of repression which the mad bureaucracy is intensifying every day has called forth a countrywide upsurge of people's indignation and mass conflict. Bands of honest but blind patriots are seeking to lead this mass upsurge by organising it as a Congress struggle for freedom of the country. The technique of the struggle is, in the main, to organise sabotage of communications (cutting telegraph wires and removing rails, etc.) to stop production, and to paralyse the apparatus of administration by all means. They hope by these methods to bring about the fall of the Government and the transfer of power to the people. What they are achieving, however, is exactly the opposite. By giving this pernicious direction to the anger of the people, they are only organising the destruction of the national defence and economy of our own country and are giving free scope to the forces of anarchy. This state of things suits the Fifth Column elements and Fascist agents the most, who are attempting to seize the leadership of the movement and to planfully reinforce the efforts at destroying the defensive capacities of the nation. Secondly, as the movement spreads, there is dislocation in national economy and growing anarchy. This hits the people and helps the would-be aggressor. It disunites the people more and more and thereby strengthens the hands of the bureaucracy. Thirdly, the indiscriminate and merciless repression by the police and military, firing, lathi-charges, whipping and collective fines, further aggravates the situation. As a result of this, a section of the people is angered and is driven to more mad acts of sabotage, while the bulk of the people begin to feel demoralised and helpless. They give way to moods of despair and frustration, which nourishes pro-Japanese sentiments and saps the will of the people to resist aggression.

Thus between the desperate activities of the blind patriots which are being taken advantage of more and more by the fifth-columnists, on the one hand, and the mad repression of the bureaucrats on the other, the defensive capacities of the nation as well as people's morale, strength and unity are being undermined, making the country ripe to fall under the axe of the Fascists.

Where It Leads

4. How did this situation arise? It arose because the national leadership instead of going all-out to unite the people to rouse them to do everything which strengthens the country's defences against the fascist aggressors and forging mass sanctions for securing National Government for national defence, chose the opportunist path of inactivity, of non-embarrassing non-cooperation with defence measures, hoping thereby to win the national demand as a gift from imperialism. The Communist Party had warned against this policy, which amounted to leaving the initiative and the fate of the nation entirely in the hands of imperialism. This only strengthened the obstinate attitude of the bureaucracy to deny power to the

Indian people and led to the growing moods of frustration and defeatism among the nationalist masses. Instead of drawing from this the requisite lessons about the urgency of unity, the national leadership took one more step in the direction of its own opportunist policy. It advanced from non-cooperation and neutrality to a plan of active opposition to measures of national defence in the name of launching a struggle for the national demand.

The path along which the present national upsurge is directed is one of national suicide, not of national salvation and freedom. It destroys the nation's indispensable defences inevitably leading to conditions of civil commotion and disorder, anarchy, and even loot and arson. It makes the national movement the prey of bureaucratic provocation in the name of struggle. Finally, it creates a mass basis for Fifth Column activity in the name of patriotism. It is a path, in short, which strikes at the very root of that people's unity which alone can be the means of securing National Government and ensuring successful National defence. Thus the policy of the national leaders instead of leading the people unitedly to compel the bureaucracy to concede National Government as an instrument of national defence and freedom, has left it free to hit at the people. It is leading the nation to a state of moral and political disruption and paralysis which far from helping the people to get their freedom can only clear the path of the invader. Such is the disastrous culmination of policies of not relying upon the strength of the people, i.e., on national unity, and leaving the initiative in the hands of the imperialist bureaucracy.

Favourable Factors

5. The situation can yet be retrieved. The Imperialist bureaucracy stands isolated and weakened as never before. The more it beats and represses the people, the more it earns the hatred and disgust of all sections of the nation. It has failed miserably in its efforts to build an anti-Congress front. Its political, economic and military policies are utterly bankrupt and it is quite incapable of uniting, leading and saving the nation in the crisis, created by the menace of invasion.

Secondly, a mighty potential basis for building national unity is there already. This broad unity, however, is by no means fully behind the present struggle launched by the Congress, on the other hand, sections oppose it. But it can be mobilised fully behind the main demands of the Congress, which are national demands, viz, recognise India's independence, negotiate for an all-round settlement, set up a National Provisional Government for mobilising the people for a people's defence against the aggressors in alliance with the United Nations. Such a national unity, broadest ever achieved, is within reach and if actually realised, will at once foil the game of the imperialist bureaucracy and bring it to its knees.

Thirdly, the demand of freedom and National Government for India is gathering ever-growing support among the working-masses and the peoples of Great Britain and America. The growing strength of the anti-fascist national front in the countries of the United Nations, led by their Communist Parties and backed by the power and prestige of the Soviet Union, will stand behind our united strength to defend the

country in alliance with them and make our national demand irresistible. Such are the favourable factors and such is the potential opportunity present in the perilous situation itself.

Unity The Way Out

6. The Communist Party declares that the way out of the national crisis does not lie either in the direction of continuing the present brutal repression to crush the Congress as the imperialists, the loyalists, and the Royists suggest nor in the direction of intensifying the offensive against the apparatus of national defence, and production as the Forward Blocists, Congress Socialists and many Congressmen propose. The path of the crazy imperialists and that of the blind patriots together would lead to the same result, namely, to disruption and anarchy, to national frustration and desperation, which will serve only the interests of the fascist invaders and of no one else. The only way out is the path which the proletariat and its vanguard – the Communist Party is putting before the people, the path of achieving the broadest possible national unity, based on Congress-League unity.

• The slogan of national unity is not a mere formula, or just a phrase to be flung in the face of those who advocate the path of so-called struggle. It is a revolutionary policy of rallying the broadest possible sections of the people for the defence of their common interests and the achievement of their most pressing demands. In the present world situation, it is the most potent and powerful and the only weapon which the people of India have to forge and wield in order to wrest power from the hands of the British imperialists, and to successfully defend the country against foreign aggression. Militarily, politically and economically, the rule of the British imperialists is at present weaker than ever before. It is fast disintegrating under the hammer-blows of the growing anti-fascist unity of the peoples of the United Nations. Its last and only weapon of withholding power from the people now is to keep them divided. The disunity of the Indian people is the main basis of its remaining strength in India and which it utilises to drive a wedge between India and the peoples of the United Nations, That is why complete national unity in the present circumstances must generate such a force before which the bureaucratic opposition must collapse. This is the decisive significance of national unity, of Congress-League unity, to-day! It is going to be the final blow that must compel India's present masters to sue for terms to the Indian people. Congress-League unity is not going to bring about a "change of heart" in Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery. It is going to transform the relative strength of the British imperialists and the Indian people. It is going to be the irresistible sanction of the Indian people behind their demand for a National Government.

The Main Task-Unity Campaign

7. The central tasks to which the Party must address itself to-day are threefold:
- a) Organise a countrywide campaign for national unity;
 - b) carry on persistent political explanation among workers, kisans, student militants and Congressmen, how the present struggle leads to destruction

- and anarchy and is suicidal;
- c) continuous and widespread agitation among Hindu and Muslim masses for Congress-League unity.

The main slogans of the unity campaign are: release Mahatma Gandhi and the national leaders, stop repression, check destruction, sabotage and anarchy, lift the ban on the Congress, negotiate for an all-round settlement, set up provisional national Government for India's defence. The campaign may vary in form and in slogans from place to place regard being paid to the varying development of the political situation. The aim should be to make the campaign as broad as possible and effective. It may begin as a campaign for signatures on a joint manifesto framed so as to secure the broadest local support. It may develop through a series of discussions and private meetings. It should further develop as a campaign for restoring peace and civil liberties, and culminate in the formation of an all-Parties' defence committee for pressing for the withdrawal of collective fines, for tackling the problem of food supply and profiteering and for strengthening the morale of the population for resisting the fascist aggressors.

Congress—League Unity

The slogans for Congress-League unity campaign should be:

- (a) Congress League agreement to set up a Provisional National Government for the successful defence of the country and freedom.
- (b) The positions already taken by the Congress as well as by the Muslim League on the question of the right of Muslims in certain areas to self-determination, can, with a given good will on both sides, afford a basis for settlement here and now.

On the basis of these two slogans, the campaign for unity must be run among the Muslim as well as Hindu masses. To the Hindu masses we must explain that what is just in this Pakistan demand, namely, the right of Muslim nationalities to autonomous state existence, including the right of separation must be conceded. It will give us unity now and lead to freedom. It will give us greater unity tomorrow and serve as a solid foundation for the freedom thus achieved. Similarly, we must get the Congress-minded people to recognise the urgency of the Congress conceding the right of self-determination of the Muslim nationalities and thus hasten the achievement of Congress-League unity. To the Muslim masses, we must show that Muslim independence can only come by joining with the Hindus and the Congress for joint action. Hence they must get the League leadership to move for Congress-League unity.

Tasks Among the Working Class

It is above all the strength and unity of the working-class movement which must be the indispensable and firm basis for achieving the unity of the entire people for the solution of the national crisis and the winning of national Government. Therefore, our first and foremost task must be to re-establish firmly the leadership of the Unions and the Party in the industrial centres, and stamp out the efforts of provocateurs and of misguided patriots to drag the working class into the suicidal

campaign of sabotage and anarchy. For this:

(a) We must conduct a political explanatory campaign among workers, through street-corner and basti (chawl) meetings as well as through public meetings;

(b) establish Vigilance Committees of militants in bastis (shawl) and mills to counteract, panic-mongering, check rowdyism and the activities of irresponsible provocateurs intent on sabotage or stoppage of production;

(c) we must concentrate more energy and attention on Union work and pay meticulous attention to the day-to-day and outstanding grievances such as dearness allowances, bonus, victimisation, etc. Unite workers to win these demands, fully utilising the existing legal machinery. Do not leave provocateurs and political adventurers to take the initiative and thus bring about dislocation of industry through this end;

(d) we must make the working class conscious of the leading role it has to play in restoring and maintaining peace, in developing the drive for national unity, for winning the national demand and thus leading the people as a whole.

Tasks Among The Kisans

Among the Kisans, in the rural areas, we must conduct a sharp political campaign against the saboteurs and promoters of anarchy and should seek to build unity to restore peace and to win back civil liberties. In villages and rural areas, where collective fines have been imposed, we must strive to develop all-parties unity committees to restore and maintain peace and carry on an agitation for the withdrawal of remission of the collective fines. Our slogans in the rural areas should be unity for restoring peace, unity for release of leaders, the winning of national demands and the saving of the nation; unity for solving food shortage and price problems relating to accumulated arrears of rent and debt. We must concentrate more energy and attention on the day-to-day work of the Kisan Sabhas.

Among The Students

The first task is to carry on a political explanatory campaign among the militants who are being gripped by the mass frenzy for destruction, sabotage and anarchy. We must explain to them that to pursue the policy of permanent strikes, to go in for destruction and anarchy is not to play their part in the freedom movement. It only gives the bureaucracy the chance to drive them out of colleges, to disrupt institution life and to smash the student movement. This results in honest student patriots being driven into the hands of Fifth Columnists to be utilised as tools for undermining the nation's morale and defences. Our main slogan for the student movement is: "Maintain the unity of the student movement, revive institution life build unity movement for the national demands."

Conclusion

The Committee recognises that the entire Party membership and its lower units have already been working on the basis of the line of work and agitation laid down in this resolution and have already won some significant successes. But the national

crisis is by no means over and difficult turns are yet ahead. The Central Committee, therefore, calls upon every member and unit to spare no effort and sacrifice in order to fulfil the tasks set forth in this resolution.

19th September, 1942

Communist Party of India.

Pakistan & National Unity

(Resolution passed by the Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India on the 19th September, 1942)

All-in national unity based on communal harmony and Congress-League joint front is today an urgent and pressing necessity to solve the present national crisis, to win National Government from the hands of the British imperialist bureaucracy and to defend our Motherland against the fascist aggressor. This has brought the controversy of Pakistan versus the unity of India sharply to the forefront. The Communist Party, therefore, lays down the main principles of the Communist policy on this issue.

1. The Communist Party draws together the toilers of all castes, communities and nationalities in common class organisations (Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas, etc.). It unites them politically as the vanguard of the united national front for achieving the freedom of our country and democracy. This is the cornerstone of the policy of achieving communal unity.

2. To build the united national front of the peoples of the various communities and nationalities that inhabit India, for the defence and freedom of our country, it is however necessary to dispel the mutual distrust and suspicion that exists among them. This is a remnant of memories of past historical oppression and of present social inequalities arising out of the feudal imperialist exploitation. For this purpose, the basic rights of the communities and nationalities must be made an essential part of the programme of the united national front.

3. The programme of the U. N. F. must declare that in Free India, there will be perfect equality between nationalities and communities that live together in India. There will be no oppression of one nationality by another. There will be no inequalities or disabilities based on caste or community. To ensure this the national movement must recognise the following rights as part of its programme for national unity.

(a) Every section of the Indian people which has a contiguous territory as its homeland, common historical tradition, common language, culture, psychological make-up and common economic life would be recognised as a distinct nationality with the right to exist as an autonomous state within the free Indian union or federation and will have the right to secede from it if it may so desire. This means that the territories which are homelands of such nationalities and which today are split up by the artificial boundaries of the present British provinces and of the so-called "Indian States" would be re-united and restored to them in free India. Thus free India of tomorrow would be a federation or union of autonomous states of the various nationalities such as the Pathans, Western Punjabis

(dominantly Muslims), Sikhs, Sindhis, Hindusthanis, Rajasthanis, Gujeratis, Bengalis, Assamese, Beharies, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamils, Karnatikis, Maharashtrians, Keralas, etc.

(b) If there are interspersed minorities in the new states thus formed their rights regarding their culture, language, education, etc., would be guaranteed by Statute and their infringement would be punishable by law.

(c) All disabilities, privileges and discrimination based on caste, race or community (such as untouchability and allied wrongs) would be abolished by Statute and their infringement would be punishable by law.

4. Such a declaration of rights in as much as it concedes to every nationality as defined above, and therefore, to nationalities having Muslim faith, the right of autonomous state existence and of secession, can form the basis for unity between the National Congress and the League. For this would give to the Muslims wherever they are in an overwhelming majority in a contiguous territory which is their homeland, the right to form their autonomous states and even to separate if they so desire. In the case of the Bengali Muslims of the Eastern and Northern Districts of Bengal where they form an overwhelming majority, they may form themselves into an autonomous region as the state of Bengal or may form a separate state. Such a declaration therefore concedes the just essence of the Pakistan demand and has nothing in common with the separatist theory of dividing India into two nations on the basis of religions.

5. But the recognition of the right of separation in this form need not necessarily lead to actual separation. On the other hand, by dispelling the mutual suspicions, it brings about unity of action today and lays the basis for a greater unity in the free India of tomorrow. National unity forged on the basis of such a declaration and strengthened in the course of joint struggle in the defence of our motherland is bound to convince the peoples of all India nationalities of the urgent need to stick together and to form a free Indian Union or Federation in which each National state would be a free and equal member with right to secede. They will thus see this as the only path of protecting the freedom and democracy achieved and building, on that secure basis a greater unity of India than our country has ever seen.

In spite of the apparent conflict and seemingly insoluble difficulties, the burning desire for unity is taking firmer hold of the people who today follow the Congress or the League. Under the stress of the growing menace of the fascist invasion and of the present national crisis, the leadership of the two organisations also have moved closer together and in the direction of the very solution given in this resolution. There is no room whatsoever for defeatism on the question of unity. The Communist Party calls upon all patriots to join hands with it in popularising the principles laid down herein and thus speed up the realisation of Congress-League Unity, which is today the only path of national salvation for our Motherland in the hour of her gravest peril.

Production Policy & T. U. Tasks

(Resolution passed by the Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, 22nd September, 1942.)

This meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India declares that not only has the Government failed to mobilise the industrial and productive resources of this country in the common fight against Fascism, but that its policy constitutes a growing menace to the safety of the country and only ensure chaos and collapse with the first impact of Japanese invasion.

The Government throttles the development of war industries and thereby undermines national defence. It is not able to utilise the existing industry to its full capacity and satisfy the normal requirements of the people. Its transport is breaking down, causing food famine and chaos in the country leading to a perilous situation in face of an enemy attack. Its production policy is based on a share-out of the gains of exploitation and appeals only to the profiteering motive of industrial interests. There is no organised plan but that of organised profiteering and mere distribution of war orders. Through its Supply Department, it merely secures priority for state orders at the expense of the people. There is no plan to increase production to keep the normal life running, on the other hand, profiteering is already leading to a breakdown of normal life. With prices soaring high, articles of industrial production are getting beyond the reach of the people. Between high prices and the demands of the Supply Department, people are forced to go without the necessaries of life.

There is no plan for protecting production and the normal life of the people against enemy attacks and invasion. No systematic air protection in industrial plants against air-raids, no plans for rescuing and evacuating industrial machinery, no plans to see that the economic life of the nation, its power of economic resistance, continues in face of any grave emergency.

The Government imposes unbearable economic burdens on the working class to satisfy the profiteers. It attempts to coerce the workers to accept them by using force and repression, by making repeated inroads on freedom of organisation and strikes. It attempts to run production through ordinances, prohibition of strikes, and free use of the police force. Its formula of running production can be briefly summarised as—ban all strikes under threat of penalty and force the workers to accept insufferable conditions of life.

Against this policy of starvation and coercion, the indignation of the working class breaks out into strikes and angry riots. The policy of the Government forces the workers to stop production. It continuously jerks the industrial machine when it ought to be running smoothly and at a headlong speed. It alienates the workers from production, makes them hostile to it. It makes production synonymous with brutal exploitation and turns them away from building any national resistance through productive efforts.

With the continuation of this policy, stoppages and strikes become more and more frequent and production gets disorganised. With the growing hatred of the

worker towards it, the will to run production for national resistance is daily sapped and the ground is prepared for a complete and total collapse of the production machine in face of enemy bombing and attack. The lessons of Bombay and Calcutta in February last when thousands of workers evacuated on the rumour of Japanese bombing is an unmistakable portent of events to come.

The Government fails to secure the co-operation of the industrialists for an all-out plan to organise production. It shows open partiality to foreign concerns and creates lack of confidence and hostility among the industrialists. By denying National Government to the Indian people, by throttling industrial development, it has driven the national bourgeoisie to desperate acts of lockouts and deadlocks in production.

The Industrial Bourgeoisie

The Indian industrialists stand opposed to Fascist aggression and fully support the demand for National Government. They stand for increased production and the development of industrial resources. They correctly accuse the Government of throttling industrial development and menacing the safety of the country.

Yet in practice, they do not display a national outlook towards production. They do not unite with the workers and the people to remove the bureaucratic stranglehold over production, they do not invite the co-operation of the workers to solve production problem; they fail to gather the workers' strength behind them and present a joint demand for increased production. They thus hinder the struggle for National Government and national production.

Instead they pursue a policy which pits the workers against them and disunites the struggle for increased national resistance. They oppose Trade Union organisations which alone can successfully mobilise the mass of the workers for the production struggle. They refuse to deal with them to settle the grievances of the workers. They take advantage of the repressive legislation to impose unbearable economic conditions. Their policy only results in growing stoppages and strikes.

In their utter helplessness, they now resort to production deadlocks and lockouts to bring pressure on the bureaucracy. This policy only leads to chaos and defeats the national objective of organising production to resist the invader.

Communist Party & National Production

As against the policy pursued by the bureaucrats and the industrialists, the Communist Party pursues a policy based on organising production for total national defence and resistance.

Recognising the vital role played by production the Party declares that production can no longer be treated as the special concern of the profiteer or the bureaucracy. On the other hand, it has become the concern of the people whose very existence and freedom depend upon it. Popular national control over production exercised through a National Government enjoying the full confidence of the people is the basic demand of the hour.

To increase national resistance to the invader, it is necessary to increase and

extend production. It is equally necessary to do away with the chaos in transport and industry, created by the bureaucracy's incompetence and utter disregard of the needs of national resistance.

To save production from growing dislocation, it is necessary to defeat the mad policy of the Government and industrialists which drives the workers to stoppages and strikes.

To protect the economic life against enemy attacks it is necessary to compel the Government to grant adequate production to workers and industrial plants; to evacuate plants and machinery from danger zone, to do everything possible to save every machine and plant.

To build production as a weapon of national resistance, it is imperative that problems of maintaining and expanding production should be solved through joint consultation among employers, Government and the workers. Organisation or workers councils in production units, their recognition in solving problem of production in avoiding waste is absolutely essential.

The outlook of the Party on production is a national outlook. It regards production as a vital national duty which has to be performed to save the country from economic collapses, and strengthen resistance to the invader.

It is based on snatching the initiative from the hands of the bureaucracy whose criminal policy threatens to undermine national resistance by creating economic chaos.

It is directed to meet the vital needs of our people who tomorrow will be bearing the brunt of Japanese attack. It is directed to sustain them in this fight for our country's freedom.

Producer—The Unifier Of The People

In implementing this policy, the Party relies primarily on the working class which runs the entire production.

Thanks to the merciless exploitation, the working class to-day is not only indifferent to problems of increasing and organising production, it is hostile to it. So long as this hostility continues, production will be ruled by profiteers and the bureaucracy to the growing peril of our country. Production cannot and will not be run in any grave emergency, it cannot be expanded so long as the producer does not stand by it.

The task of the Party, therefore, is to win over the working class to a national outlook on production. The workers must be inspired to look upon their daily job as a patriotic duty. They have to be made conscious of the fact that their labour is part of national labour to save the country. They have to be taught that it is their national duty to demand better production to expand it, to remove all obstacles created by profiteering owners, to demand consultation so that they can play a worthy part in the struggle against Fascist invaders. They alone can compel the Government and owners to move in the direction of the popular will.

Neither the Government nor the capitalists can resist this united pressure. Both are completely dependent upon the working class. Its powerful pressure, exercised

to strengthen the nation's resisting capacity is bound to have its way.

Soon the working class will be called upon to perform acts of heroic patriotism. It will be its responsibility to keep railway communications intact, in face of enemy bombing; to continue production in face of enemy attack; to transfer entire industry from one place to another to save the resisting capacity of the nation, to make every factory a centre of national resistance, every machine a weapon of national freedom.

Unless the deep patriotic instincts of the working class are roused to action, unless he is fired with the zeal to defend his country, unless he looks upon production as his patriotic duty the working class will prove unequal to the task, give way to panic and desert his post. The logic of bureaucracy's policy will assert itself.

The patriotic struggle of the working class to organise national production inevitably unites the people for common resistance to the invaders. It is bound to draw in the entire people of our country who will soon understand that production must be kept up in their own interest; that it cannot be left in the hands of bureaucracy and the capitalists. The heroism of the working class in face of an enemy attack, will be a model of patriotic duty fulfilled and will inspire our countrymen to acts of greater heroism and courage.

By fulfilling its role as the patriotic producer, the working class directly unites and leads the people against the fascist invader. At no other time was its role as a producer so directly linked with its political leadership. If he fails in one, he fails in the other.

Such is the vital importance of the Party's outlook on production.

Partial demands & Production

Obviously the working class cannot be won over to this policy by mere propaganda and agitation. So long as production is synonymous with brutal exploitation, it will continue to regard it as slavery and drudgery and not as national duty.

As has been pointed out, the policy of the Party can be implemented only by defeating the policy pursued by profiteers and sanctioned by the Government.

Defence of partial demands of the working class is of paramount importance in the execution of our policy.

The interests of the working class cannot be surrendered to the capitalists in the name of war-production. Such a surrender is not only unjust and brutal but anti-national as it hits at the initiative of the workers to maintain and expand production.

Rights of organisation cannot be surrendered to the ordinance rule of the Government. On the other hand, more rights are required and have to be won if the working class is to lead in organising national production.

The working class can never surrender its right to strike nor will the Party ever consent to give up under any conditions.

The Party raises the following five demands as immediate demands of action:

(a) Full compensation to meet the intolerable rise in the cost of living; adequate

dearness allowance.

(b) Immediate grant of bonus.

(c) 25% rise in basic wage.

(d) Recognition of Trade Unions and full freedom to organise mill and factory committees in every plant and industry, to liquidate grievances and production problems.

(e) Limitation of profit in the interest of the people.

To neglect these demands is to ruin our production policy. To win them is to win over working class to play its role as a patriotic producer.

At the same time, it is not enough only to win partial demands. Every partial success must lead the workers to understand that their role as producers for the nation, for national resistance; must create a revolutionary consciousness towards their daily jobs. Defence of day to day interests is inseparable from our production policy.

Enforcement of Partial Demands & Strikes

While on no account are we prepared to surrender the right to strike, yet it is our policy to minimise stoppages and strikes, consistently with the defence of the interests of the working class and the nation.

Minimisation of stoppages and defence of day-to-day demands is not mere phrase with us. The two are not contradictory, Pre-war experience is no guide in this respect.

Both the Government and the owners realise that to goad the working class under present conditions to organised action on a countrywide scale is to invite ruin for themselves. The working class has recently often compelled them to retreat before its united strength (attempt to enforce ten hours in Bombay). They are able to pursue their policy of reckless exploitation only in so far as they are not unitedly opposed.

The fear of united direct action forces both the Government and owners to seek compromise and settle disputes. That is why we take advantage of every machinery to settle disputes, conciliation courts and other machinery which we formerly accepted only under duress. Our policy then is to seek settlement of disputes through negotiations backed by the united strength of workers and resort to direct action only when we are compelled to do so.

Our Tasks in the Trade-Union Field

Our policy throws new responsibilities on our Trade Union work.

Our task is to mobilise the entire working class through the Trade Unions for our patriotic policy on production, for national popular control over production.

This means that the Trade Unions must develop the requisite strength to set in motion the workers in all industries to defend their daily interests. They must be in a position to mobilise the entire class and not merely advanced sections. They must, in particular, mobilise the workers in strategic industries, transport, iron and steel, coal mines.

Mobilisation of workers already organised by us is not enough. Our Trade Unions are weakest in strategic industries. Our working-class base is weak in the threatened provinces.

The scope of the trade union work must immediately extend; it must extend to reformist trade unions; it must extend to strategic industries; it must extend to unorganised workers.

Our policy seeks to unite the entire class for the common task. The task cannot be achieved by splitting existing trade unions.

A systematic plan of trade union expansion embracing all sections alone meets the needs of the situation.

This also means a tremendous improvement in the day-to-day work of all trade unions. No more can we content ourselves with general agitation, as in the past. Every issue of trade union conflict has to be correctly understood, its importance correctly gauged in the light of our general policy. Facts and figures regarding cost of living, independent statistics, reasonable demands based on those—these must be the basis of our agitation. The tendency to put forward exaggerated demands making settlement difficult has to be avoided at all costs. Failure to justify the workers' case before courts must be regarded as a serious crime. It will force a strike on the workers through sheer incompetence of the leaders.

The tendency to neglect day-to-day work, quick despatch of grievances and substitute for it general political propaganda must be sharply attacked.

Our trade union agitation must be precise and concrete. Our trade union work must be perfect. Our trade union organisations must once more become the mass mobilisers—the leaders and organisers of the workers in the struggle for partial demands.

With our growing strength we have to lead the All-India Trade Union Congress towards our Policy. It is your weakness that enables the T. U. C. to sit on the fence. To-day our production policy comes violently into clash with the policy pursued by blind patriots. In the name of creating deadlock they direct their attack against production and transport; they attempt sabotage, they exploit the economic grievances of the workers to bring about indefinite strikes; they sow panic among the workers; they seek to goad them into acts of violence and sabotage. They create a favourable soil for fifth-columnists.

In their mad frenzy, they not only disorganise production but also disrupt the organised strength of the working class.

This anti-national offensive against production has to be beaten back. This planned disruption of the working-class ranks must be defeated.

The lesson of the last few days already shows that the offensive could not succeed where strong ties bound the workers to their trade union organisations, where they had already earned the confidence of our workers as the champion of their daily interests.

This means that to protect the workers against this offensive on questions of economic demands, our T. U. organisations must not allow the initiative to pass into the hands of promoters of indefinite strikes or fifth-column provocateurs.

They must increase their general agitation a hundredfold to strengthen the confidence of the working class in its T. U. organisations and its Political Party the C. P. I.

They must expose the tactics of indefinite strikes, as means of disruption, and positively ask the workers to fight against disunity. They must warn them against sabotage as the work of fifth-columnists. They must ask them to hold peace, when they -are on the streets.

And finally they must expose the entire game as an anti-national campaign, ruining the nation and the workers.

To conclude, the production policy of the Party is of a piece with the political line of our Party.

The Party fights the war as a war of national freedom. Production, therefore, is production for freedom. It is to be organised as national production. The working class must lead this battle for the people, for the nation. It must secure its vital demands as part of the general advance against imperialism, as part of national defence.

In this battle for production, the trade unions must come forward as the mass mobilisers of the working class, enabling it to unify the entire people for national defence and national popular control over production for National Government and national freedom.

Task Of The State Peoples

(Resolution passed by the Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India on the 22nd September, 1942.)

1. The dire peril of foreign invasion threatens the people of the Indian States exactly as it does our country as a whole. The path which they have to follow to defend their homes and hearths and to achieve freedom is also basically the same as the one for the rest of the country. Nothing short of a complete mobilisation of every section of the people in the States can enable them to-day to vanquish the Fascist enemy that may any moment break into their territory, particularly into the States of Orissa, Kerala, Assam and Hyderabad. In the States no less than in British India, united governments composed of all the patriotic parties in the State and commanding the devotion of all the sections of the people alone can lead the people to victory against the foreign invader. Neither the existing regimes in the States nor governments backed by some majority section or sections of the people can be equal to the task. The need of the States is the widest mobilisation of all parties and peoples on the basis of national defence for the immediate establishment of a united, all parties patriotic government in every State.

2. The common bond between the people of British India and the Indian states is to-day of stronger than ever before. Both are vitally interested in the defence of the territory of the other since in the event of foreign aggression, the strength and the weakness of each are going to be the strength and the weakness of other. The people of British India are therefore, most vitally interested in securing the establishment of genuinely patriotic governments in the states for the purpose of strengthening their defence in the same way as the people of Indian States ought to be interested in the establishment of a national government in India for strengthening the defence of the country as a whole. The struggle for people's unity in the States is, therefore, an integral part to the struggle for uniting the whole of the Indian people for facing the aggressor that stands at the threshold of our country.

3. True to their reactionary and autocratic traditions, the rulers of Indian States continue their repressive policy unabated, completely oblivious of the ghastly calamity that threatens to overwhelm the States people together with British India. Every demand of the people for responsible government is suppressed with an iron hand. Civil liberties are non-existent. The food crisis is as acute and profiteering as rampant as elsewhere. In many States even open pro-Japanese propaganda, often indulged in by responsible State officials, goes unpunished. The policy of the Indian Princes on the issues of granting popular rights and organising defence is as criminal as that of the British Government and deserving of equal condemnation.

4. The question before the States people under the circumstances is neither one of giving up their demand and struggle for responsible government, nor of pursuing it in the old way. It is clear that the governments in the States today must have behind them the broadest and the most active support of the people. At the same

time, the struggle for such governments has to be conducted within the framework of the task of rousing and uniting the states peoples for the task of national defence. And what is of the supremist importance at the moment is to realise that this task not only must but can be achieved today, for the dire necessity of defence creates the basis for building up a broader people's unity and strength than what any other issue has done in the past. Given real people's unity based on communal harmony and the satisfaction of their vital economic needs, the securing of all-parties' patriotic governments in the Indian States is at this hour not more difficult but easier than it has ever been before.

5. The question before the States people, therefore, is not of formally reasserting their adherence to the goal of responsible government and launching a campaign of sabotage or civil disobedience for its achievement. That course must destroy the means of our national defence, disrupt the people, create chaos and lead the people to ruin in the same way as in British India. The task of the States people is to focus their energies on forging the widest unity among themselves for achieving a patriotic all-parties' government and shouldering their proper burden in the task of national defence. This alone is the real path that will take them both towards responsible government and successful defence, and not the one of formally declaring the goal of responsible government and launching a campaign of sabotage or mass civil disobedience for its achievement.

6. The extremely variegated conditions in the states require that within this broader framework, the specific tasks in each be worked out with great care and in minute details. The State of civil liberties in Indian States is generally even worse than in British India. The political consciousness and organisation of the people, on the other hand, are lower than in the latter. Mass organisations like Kisan Sabhas, T.U.s, Students' organisations, though well developed in certain States, are also, in most cases, non-existent or weak. The C. P. functions in still fewer States. Under these conditions, the necessity of defining the task of people's mobilisation for securing all-parties' patriotic governments in terms of specific tasks suited to specific conditions in each State, is of vital importance. If this is not done, there is a danger of political workers in States sinking either into passivity and defeatism or unconsciously playing the role of disrupters and tools or provocateurs and playing into the hands of the State bureaucracy.

7. The Central tasks of the States peoples are these:

(a) Popularisation of the demand for a united, all-parties, patriotic government in each State, the establishment of civil liberties, release of political prisoners, the withdrawal of repressive measures and legislation and bans on States Peoples' Conference where they exist. Mobilisation of the public behind these demands.

(b) Widespread mobilisation of the people, particularly, of the workers and the peasants behind the demand for effective control of food supplies and their supply at prices within the means of the poor, as also other important and day-to-day economic demands of the people.

(c) The organisation of anti-Japanese rallies and People's Defence Committees, especially in badly disturbed areas, and the threatened states.

(d) Organise an explanatory campaign for unity based on the demand for the release of the national leaders, stopping of repression, lifting the ban on the Congress and for a Congress-League agreement for the establishment of a Provisional National Government. The suicidal nature of the present struggle being carried on in British India and in some States also to be explained. The unity of the peoples of British India and States and their common interest in the matter of defence, as also the necessity of their struggling together for securing a national government in British India and all-parties' patriotic governments in Indian States, must be particularly stressed.

8. In the execution of these tasks, the endeavour must be to bring in every organisation with a mass basis, e. g., the Proja Mandal, Muslim League, T.U.s, Kisan Sabhas, Students' Unions, etc. Wherever sufficient civil liberties are available, mass meetings and processions must be organised for mobilising the people. Where that is not possible, propaganda will have to be carried on from house to house on the basis of a campaign of signatures, and civil liberties gradually widened out. In every situation, the issues chosen and the method followed for securing popular support must be such as would not play provocatively into the arms of the state bureaucracy and must be related to the state of civil liberties and the strength of people's organisations in the states concerned.

9. In States where the Proja Mandal or States People's Conference has launched civil disobedience or some other form of struggle subsequent to the arrest of the national leaders after 9th of August, special emphasis must be laid on explaining the suicidal nature of the struggle and on the task of isolating and exposing the Fifth Column elements attempting to exploit it for their ends. Even where no such struggle has been launched, the issue must still be explained to the people for preventing similar developments in such localities and States.

Greetings & Messages

(Sent by the Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India at its September, 1942 sitting)

Gratitude To Our Chinese Brothers

The Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party salutes all our Chinese brother Communists, your leader Mao Tse Tung, and Chu Teh, the Commander of the immortal Eighth Route Army. Through you we send our fraternal greetings to your great people who have been resisting the Japanese aggressor with the courage of unconquerable warriors, with the calm of an ancient civilised nation, with the confidence that comes out of fighting for the cause of justice and freedom.

Under the banner of freedom, for five long years your people have single-handed held the front against the Jap aggressor. That was not only your front but ours as well. While you defended your sacred soil, you kept the Jap militarists off our frontiers. Your epic National Resistance is the war of India's national defence as

well. We take this opportunity to express our abiding gratitude to your people.

The Jap aggressors to-day are getting ready to launch a direct offensive against our nation and seize our beloved country. In this hour of trial, we Indian Communists, draw inspiration from your example. We are struggling to make our fellow- patriots and people see that national unity alone can be the spiritual strength for successful national resistance. The situation inside our country is as grave as it was inside yours on the eve of the Jap invasion. We are working for a United National Front to win National Government and together with the United Nations fight the Fascist aggressors for a free India in a free world. History has not only united in a common war the Chinese and Indian peoples but also placed on their shoulders the historic mission to liberate the whole of Asia through common struggle to-day. The harder we fight, the more we unite, the closer will come the day of certain victory.

Greetings To American Communists

Red greetings to our American brother Communists from the Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India.

Our country is in imminent peril of Japanese aggression. Our danger is also your danger, that is why your Government has sent American technicians and airmen to help to defend our country. Through you we greet your great people.

We look up to you not to let your people be confused by British imperialist propaganda but make them see the tragic situation in India as self-evident home-truths. No foreign government can inspire the people it has kept and continues to keep enslaved to fight the aggressor. No irresponsible autocratic regime can unite the nation behind the armies at the front. This and nothing else is at the root of the tragedy that is being enacted in our land to-day.

If the Japs get India the British imperialists only lose their colony but we lose our Motherland and your people lose India's 400 millions to the Japs together with India's untapped rich resources to be used against your people, your defence and your freedom.

Imperialists Started "Struggle"

Don't let your people believe the imperialist lie that the National Congress began the trouble. The leadership of the Congress stood for settlement and not conflict. It is the British Government that struck the first blow and removed most of India's foremost leaders behind the bars. What imperialist propagandists call nationwide campaign of sabotage is the elemental outburst of an angry people left leaderless and destroying what they can lay their hands on in the spirit of blind patriotic revenge. Make your people realise that it is the policy of repression that is creating a patriotic mass basis for the real fifth-columnists, of Bose's Forward Bloc which during the last two years counted for nothing in the Indian national movement and stood isolated as a national disruptive and politically opportunist organisation. Terror against the Indian people is becoming a rich soil for the real Fifth-Columnists. They are reaping the harvest.

Reject Diehard Slander

Don't let your people believe the diehard British Tory propaganda lie that the leadership of the Congress is unreliable or has gone over to the Japs. Nehru, Azad and most of the Congress leaders are as good and as great anti-Fascists as your own President. Gandhiji is pledged not to stand in the way of offering armed national resistance to the Fascist aggressors if the rest of the national leaders are satisfied that what the British Government has offered India is a real National Government which enables India's patriotic political leaders to rally the people to fight for their own freedom as well as the freedom of the world. Make your people realise what every Indian knows that not one patriotic political party or group is behind the insane policy of the British Government, all demand an All-Parties' National Government.

Our Party is launching a nationwide mass campaign for stopping repression by the Government, on the one hand, and sabotage of the country's defence by the misguided patriots on the other, for the release of the Congress leaders to negotiate with the British Government for an all Parties National Government, for forging all-in national unity to make the demand for National Government irresistible, ending the era of Indian disunity, the last prop of the British imperialists to-day and the first step for the Fascists to get into our country. Our Party members have already saved India's production by successfully preventing stoppage of production and sabotage in most of the industrial centres. We are going all-out to save our nation, by relying on our own strength—national unity.

Our Cause Is Yours

The primary responsibility of defending our Motherland, is of course, ours, of our fellow-patriots and of our entire people. We are endeavouring our very best to discharge the great debt we owe our ancient nation.

India's fate is directly linked with the fate of your own country, as it has never been before. If the Japs get India your own West Coast would be the next target of Jap attack. We know when we will be defending our own borders we will be defending your shores, too. This is how we have a right to appeal to your people.

Rouse your people to rally to the support of every measure that is necessary for the successful defence of India, as if it were their own country. Make them realise how perilous is the situation in India. Get them to move your great President Roosevelt to press the British Government to immediately release the Congress leaders, recognise Indian freedom and implement it by agreeing to the establishment of an all-Parties' National Government. This alone can save the situation, win India for the Indians, and get for the united nations India's 400 millions fighting shoulder to shoulder as brothers-in-arms the battle of freedom-loving humanity in the spirit of our heroic Chinese neighbours. To help India tide over the existing national crisis is to help yourselves.

We appeal to your eloquent leader Browder to immediately launch a national campaign for India, we expect every American Communist to put all his enthusiasm

into it and win for it a response worthy of your great people so that the burning hatred of your President against the Fascist aggressors may become active aid to the Indian people, leading to the establishment of an Indian national defence.

Homage To Our Martyrs

We pay homage to those brave sons of our great people, the members and sympathisers of our Party who, in defiance of imperialist bullets, the fascists' knives and the rigours of underground work stood at their posts, held aloft the banner of the Party and gladly sacrificed their own lives so that our people may live and be free. We dip our banner to the memory of comrade Somen Chanda who was murdered by fascist thugs, to comrade Mohammed Haris of Calcutta whose death was hastened by hard underground life and continued police persecution, to comrade Umabhai of Ahmedabad who was killed by police bullets while trying to pacify the enraged crowds during the recent disturbances and to those other unnamed heroes of the working class who similarly sacrificed their lives in different parts of India. We are proud of these comrades who died at their posts serving their people and their class. With clenched fists, we salute them and promise them that we will work with unflinching determination and zeal to carry forward the proud heritage they left behind.

Salutations To Soviet Peoples And Stalin

We greet the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union fighting titanic battles upon which depends the fate of humanity. The Fascist imperialists led by Hitlerite Germany are fighting the battle for the imperialist domination of the world. Your successful resistance is the rock on which their dreams of domination are being dashed to pieces. Our people owe a particular debt to you. By the superhuman resistance with which you are stopping the Hitlerite hordes at the gates of Stalingrad and at the foothills of the Caucasus, you have held them from bursting through to our country.

We mourn with you the loss of the brave fighters who have fallen in the struggle and the many millions of women and children who have suffered torture, outrage and atrocity at the hands of Fascist beasts. We pledge to rouse our people to see that your unprecedented sufferings have saved our people from the same.

Your sacrifices are the sacrifices for all peoples of Europe in the West, of Asia in the East. Your strength has become the strength behind every struggling people. The indestructible unity of the different Soviet nationalities is inspiring every nation to forge and strengthen its own national Unity as the only foundation of successful struggle. Your death-defying spirit, fierce hatred of Fascism, and unbeatable patriotism is inspiring the patriots of all lands to emulate you.

In this world struggle against world Fascism, you lead the battle for world liberation.

Together with you in the battle of Indian defence, your defence and defence of all peoples against the axis aggressors! Together with you for Indian liberation and world liberation!

Long live the Red Army, the mightiest people's Army ever created!
Long live the Soviet peoples, the most united peoples the world ever saw!
For the unity of the peoples of the world!
Salutations to the great Stalin who leads the battle, the battle of freedom-loving
humanity!
In your footsteps, we shall follow!

Our Pledge To You Comrades Behind The Bars !

The Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India sends its warmest fraternal greetings to all the comrades who are behind the bars or have yet to work underground.

We greet Comrade Bharadwaj, member of our Polit-Bureau who led the Communists inside the Congress, built our Party in the U. P. and created a Red fortress out of the Cawnpore working class. He is languishing to-day inside the Bareilly prison. Through him, we greet all our young U. P. comrades who are in the same jail or other jails, many of whom, in spite of their staunch loyalty to the Party, the bureaucracy refuses to recognise as Communists. Above all, we greet "CHACHA" JAN MOHAMED, aged worker-Bolshevik who yet suffers under an insane life sentence for one single speech.

We greet Comrade DANGE, the most popular working-class leader of Bombay and the founder of the mightiest Trade Union in Asia, the great Bombay Girni Kamgar Union. We greet Comrade BATLIWALA, one of our most popular national agitators. These two yet remain inside Yerawada prison.

We greet Comrade GHATE, founder member of our Party and its first General Secretary. He built our Party in the Southern Provinces. He is yet behind the jail walls of Vellore. Through him, we greet all our Tamil and Andhra comrades who are held in detention together with him.

We greet Comrade K. P. R. GOPALAN, whose life the people's mobilisation helped to save, but who is not yet free. We greet the four Kayyur comrades who face the gallows whose mercy petition the Madras Governor has rejected. The last word on their fate yet lies with the Governor-General. Through the persons of those death-defying heroic comrades of ours, we send our greetings to all our Malayali comrades, prisoners, detenus and underground workers.

We greet over a hundred of our Punjab comrades headed by BABA GURU MUKH SINGH, the grand leader of India's revolutionaries and the hoary white Babas, SOHAN SINGH, and RUR SINGH. They are mostly in Gujrat jail.

We greet the warriors of Chittagong Armoury Raid and other pre-reforms days prisoners and through them hundreds of our Bengal Comrades who are prisoners, detenus, externees or internees or have yet to suffer underground existence. We greet our comrades of Bihar, who are detained in Hazaribagh jail.

We greet the comrades-in-arms of Bhagat Singh, the Lahore Conspiracy Case prisoners—GAYA PRASAD, SHIV VERMA, JAIDEV KAPOOR and others, who have proved their revolutionary worth by coming over from terrorism to Communism, even while confined inside prison-walls away from the people's

movement.

We greet all our comrades, unknown heroes of our people, who dedicated their young lives to fight fearlessly for the freedom of India and the whole world, whom a soulless and brainless alien bureaucracy yet keeps chained and caged and refuses to release so that they may shed their young blood, defending our holy Motherland.

You Shall Rejoin Our Ranks!

Comrades behind the bars! The first word does lie with the foreign government; that is why you are not yet by our side. But the last word lies with the people and that is our pledge to you that we will win you back in our ranks to rally the people you have served and led before, to fight for the defence and freedom of our ancient land.

Brothers torn away from the revolutionary brotherhood which is our Party! While we were in the midst of the mass campaign for your release and were winning greater and greater support of our fellow-patriots and the people, the alien government instead of releasing you and negotiating for a National Government with our national leaders, struck at the national movement itself, arrested the national leaders and has let loose a reign of terror. A new and perilous situation faces our country.

We have not forgotten you, how can we? We call upon you to realise how difficult and complicated the situation in our country is to-day. Black despair hangs over our fellow-patriots. The national movement is threatened with disruption from within and terror from without. The fate of our nation hangs in the balance.

But rest assured comrades that there is no despair and defeatism inside your Party. The bureaucracy in the last six weeks has rearrested several of our recently released comrades and many more, together with the Congress patriots. We are launching a nationwide campaign for the release of national leaders and negotiations for National Government. We pledge our word that we will put your release in its honoured place in our mass campaign, we are confident that we will win!

If we cannot rally the people, to win your release, we would be unworthy of being your comrades.

We Crusade For Unity We Will Win!

If we cannot make sense to our fellow-patriots and make them see that we have all to unite, to get the release of India's foremost national leaders and force an unwilling foreign Government to negotiate for National Government, we would be unworthy of our nation and then not freedom but fascism will be the destiny of our great country.

This is the burning realisation of every Communist. We pledge our all that every Party Member will work his hardest and best to turn the tide, to win you back in our midst, to win the national leaders back in their rightful place in our national movement to guide India's destiny through an all-parties National Government against the Japanese invaders, in alliance with the freedom-loving peoples of the

United Nations.

We have unbounded faith in the sound patriotic instincts of our fellow-patriots. We have undying faith in the irresistible might of our 400 million-strong people. We will win! Bless our patriotic mobilisation and holy crusade for national unity and accept our Lal Salaams.

Red Greetings to British Communist Party

Warm Red greetings from the Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India to our 50 thousand Communist brothers of the British Party. We are proud of the fraternal duty you are discharging among your people, rallying the support of British Labour and progressives for India's national demand.

India is in imminent peril. We stand in danger of losing our country to the Fascist invaders. Our danger is also your danger. We know you realise this as well as we do, we appeal to you to make your realisation the common realisation of the British people as a whole, in the common interest of our two great peoples.

Awaken British People To The Peril

Rouse the British people to realise as keenly as our people do that an alien Government cannot rouse the national patriotic spirit of our people to fight the fascist invaders to death, this, only India's national leaders heading an all-Parties National Government can do. Make them see that whatever the number of British troops the British Government is able to send to India, whatever the number of convoys bringing the best arms and latest equipment, they cannot successfully defend India without the active co-operation of India's 400 millions which only the political leaders of our people can secure and guarantee. Churchill and his advisers are banking on a purely military defence of India and are bent on ignoring the political problems. It is the same bankrupt policy that lost Europe to the Fascists, it will work no other way in our country. Rally your people to make Churchill take back all that he said about his Indian policy in his latest speech in the House of Commons. To pursue that policy is to gamble with India's fate, at the cost not only of our people but of your people too, their hard labour, their beloved sons in the army.

Fight Imperialist Falsehoods

Tell the British people that the leadership of the National Congress stood for settlement with the British people and not conflict with the British Government. It is the British Government that struck the first blow, and has caused all the trouble. To ignore this would lead to calamitous results for the British and Indian peoples alike. To understand this is the first step towards uniting us both.

Tell the British people that it is the unparalleled blitz of repression that has driven unarmed patriots to acts of sabotage in the blind spirit of revenge.

Tell the British people that the policy of the British Government is creating a mass patriotic basis for the real Fifth-Columnists who used to count for nothing in the Indian national movement. Police repression is only helping to feed the real

Fifth Columnists whose main slogan to-day is that the Japs could do no worse but will deal with us better.

Tell the British people that no patriotic Indian political Party or group supports the British Government, or its policy of repression and all demand National Government.

Tell the British people that to try to crush the Congress is to make the vain attempt to crush Indian nationalism. In the perilous situation of to-day it is to destroy India's national will to resist the Fascist aggressors.

Tell the British people that to settle with the Indian people, release of Congress leaders and negotiations with them are necessary as it would have been to get your T. U. C. and Labour Party inside the Government to make it national, to mobilise your own people behind Britain's war-effort. There is no getting round this fundamental fact, in your interests as well as ours.

We Weather The Storm—We Fight to Unite

Tell the British people that your brother Party in India is launching a nation-wide campaign to unite all Parties and rally all patriots, for stopping repression by the Government and sabotage by misguided patriots, for securing the release of national leaders, for forging all-in national unity so that United National India may negotiate with the United Nations for the immediate establishment of National Government in our country, pledged to rally India's millions in a free and equal partnership in the Grand Alliance of the freedom-loving nations.

We know this is the only way to save; our country. Make the British people realise how this helps them too. Tell them how this is the only path for uniting our two great peoples.

Tell British Labour that our Party has been able to retain its leadership over the Indian working class and has saved the majority of industrial centres from stoppage and sabotage while our trusted central leaders like Dange, Bharadwaj, Batliwala, Ghate and others with hundreds of our local leaders were never released from detention and hundreds more have been arrested for daring to stand between the people and the police and for asking angry crowds to protest peacefully against repression.

Tell every one of our British Comrades that no Indian Communist will know any rest till national unity has been realised, our national leaders released, National Government won and our people fight the Fascist enslavers shoulder to shoulder with your people for our freedom as well as yours, ending for ever the era of the enslavement of our nation by your ruling class. Rest assured brothers that our Party will fight to its last member against the Jap Fascists who threaten our fair land.

Our Need Is Yours Too

Rouse your people to realise how desperate is the situation in India, how urgent the need to end the present deadlock, which helps neither your nation nor ours but only the Fascists. Your people in their own interest, and our people in our own

interest, will have to ultimately unite in the common struggle against the Fascist aggressors, why not unite right away, that will guarantee that there will be no Burma in any Indian province, no useless suffering for your soldier-sons, less sacrifices for your workingmen. Make every honest son of the British people regard Indian freedom as if it were the freedom of Britain itself. If the Japs get us they get us at your cost. If your people can get your rulers to release our people you get India's 400 millions against the Japs for deathless heroism in the common anti-Fascist struggle, inside the common freedom front for common victory of humanity against barbarism, of freedom against slavery. Let you from there, and we from here do our patriotic duty by our own peoples and tirelessly work for their unity. We shall win!



**DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE ENLARGED
PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA HELD AT
BOMBAY BETWEEN FEBRUARY 10 AND 24, 1943.**



The Way Out Of The Crisis

(Report on the decision taken by the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, between February 10 and 24, 1943)

A 14-day session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India along with the secretaries of all the Provincial Committees began on February 10 and concluded on 24. It was by accident that Gandhiji's fast too began on the same day. It moved us as deeply as the rest of the patriots, and we shared the feeling of nightmare that hung over the nation.

I made the Political-organisational report. Comrade B. T. Ranadive, made the report on Production and Trade Union tasks; and Comrade S. G. Sardesai on the Food Crisis.

Deepening Crisis

We had last met in September and characterised the period that began from 9th August as one of national crisis. What did we say then, as to what constituted the national crisis?

(1) The Government attack on the Congress, came from the selfish desire of the imperialist ruling class to deny power to the Indian people. It was an attack against the organised strength of Indian patriotism. The more it succeeded the more it would destroy the morale of the people, and spread defeatism.

(2) The mass upsurge that took place was primarily, the patriotic indignation of the people, left leaderless, which Fifth Column elements sought to organise into acts of anarchy and sabotage.

The bureaucracy had created a mass basis for the Fifth Column to operate upon and there was grave danger of enraged patriots playing into the hands of the Fifth Column as its dupes.

Economic Crack-Up

Six months had gone by since 9th August. We discussed the intervening period thoroughly and came to the conclusion that it had been one of intensification of crisis; with 9th August the period of deadlock had ended and the period of disruption had begun.

It began as a political crisis, stirring the mass of patriots to unheard of depths. The Government was hitting the patriots in the name of defending India. The patriots were hitting at defence in the name of freeing India. Repression was becoming normal Government activity; demoralisation and frustration was creeping over the patriots.

It saw economic crisis becoming intertwined with the political crisis and the entire people being drawn into it through food scarcity. The Government blamed the hoarders little realising that if its analysis of the food crisis was sound the only way out for the people has civil war! The hoarders blamed the Government little

realising that when they gamble on people's starvation and seek to palm off their profiteering as patriotism they are inciting the people to organise food riots from which they themselves would be the first and the worst sufferers!

The workers, under the leadership of our Party had so far kept the wheels of production running. The crisis had begun spreading to the production front too. Rise in food prices hit the working class most and wages began lagging behind prices as they had never done before. The Government did not intervene in time, but generally carried on the old policy of smashing strikes, arresting and detaining workers' leaders.

Comrade Ranadive massed facts and figures and told us that a countrywide spontaneous strike-wave is already on and another 9th August threatens to break out on the production front.

Ruling Class Staggering

How has the crisis affected the imperialist ruling class and the National movement, the two forces on which the destiny of our country depends?

The imperialist ruling class has no way out for itself or for our people. It produced the crisis and the working out of the crisis had only isolated it more and more from the people. Denial of National Government for National Defence has alienated every section of patriotic opinion, inability to solve the food problem makes even the non-political ask how the Government can defend us when it cannot even get us food.

The bureaucrats who run the Government machine swing from panic to complacency. When they drift they only let the national crisis grow faster, when they act it is only to make cuts in the body of our people. India under the present policy of the existing Government has become such a festering sore that the personally honest elements inside the Government itself feel sick over the situation. Such a stage is reached only when a ruling class stands before its doom. The ruling class is not emerging stronger and more stable, but weaker and actually staggering.

Patriots Demoralised

What constitutes the crisis of the national movement? The threat of "struggle" advanced by the Congress leadership has not brought the Government down but disrupted the national movement and resulted in unparalleled demoralisation of Congress patriots. In the first phase it was a spontaneous upsurge, the leaders and responsible workers of the Congress had been removed, the armchair "revolutionaries" who called themselves Congress Socialists began calling themselves "the underground Congress" and got in the Forward Blocists, who had already been thrown out of the Congress, and together began organising the struggle.

The struggle failed as it was bound to fail, because it was not national struggle but nation-wide sabotage, when the issue was successful defence of the country. Disillusionment began when the enraged and deluded patriots saw that what was supposed to be a struggle against Imperialism was becoming a struggle against our

own colleges, factories, and countrymen.

In the second phase masses were out of the scene and the race began between the Communists and the Fifth Columnists to get the ear of the mass of patriots, who were getting rapidly demoralised with “nothing can be done.” Not personal cowardice but lack of political clarity, and absence of political leadership, was responsible for the sweeping wave of defeatism over the Congress masses.

New Phase—Its Features

What did it all boil down to?

The base of the crisis had extended: it had begun by provoking the mass of patriots into destructive acts, it had drawn the mass of the people into its vortex through food scarcity, and it threatened to engulf the working class through mahagai.

The intensity of crises too had increased: because the bureaucracy instead of changing its policy and yielding place to a National Government had persisted in its set arrogant and selfish course which was only alienating the people more, destroying national economy, and sapping national morale. The situation was one of all-round chaos, leading towards growing anarchy, if left to itself.

This was strikingly revealed by the December-January bombings of Calcutta and Eastern Bengal, which almost brought production to a standstill and showed how perilously low the morale of the people had sunk. It further showed how vital was our slogan of national defence and how weak was the rear under existing political conditions.

It was in such a situation that Gandhiji's fast broke out. It marked a new phase of the national crisis, opened a crossroad before the national movement. Gandhiji's stand about the political and economic crisis in the country was the same which our Party has been taking all through. He has, in short, put the main responsibility on the Government, he has repudiated the policy and deeds of the Congress-Socialists and the Forward Blocists who have so far been speaking and acting in the name of the Congress

Way Out Of Crisis

To get Gandhiji released is to stop all sabotage and isolate misguided patriots from Fifth Columnists, to get Congressmen work for the food campaign, make the Congress start negotiations with the League as the only way out of the deadlock. The logic of the situation as we analysed it, is such, that Gandhiji's release is the first step out of the national crisis paving the way for the subsequent ones.

To let Gandhiji remain in imperialist hands is to deepen the crisis, to let the Fifth Column propagate and get away with the slogan, 'for Gandhiji's release intensify struggle' i.e. another round of chaos and anarchy, followed by another slump towards greater demoralisation.

To win Gandhiji's release is the way out of the crisis, to ail is to sink deeper into it.

In this simple and living form the present phase of the crisis faces our people.

For six days we reviewed our last six months political work, province by province, in the service of the nation and the record of our achievements gave us supreme self-confidence in the policy of our Party and the worth of our comrades who had taken it to the people.

Party's Achievements

Our Party had faced two fires. The Government attacked us as the Fifth Column of the Congress, arrested our agitators, detained our organisers without trial, raided our offices and denied us permission to hold meetings. We suffered the lack of civil liberties with the rest of the national movement except that our Party was formally legal.

The Fifth Column slandered us as the Fifth Column of the British: burnt our offices, stabbed our comrades, and bombed our Press.

Despite all this our Party has grown all-round, grown with a tempo as only a vital and creative force can grow.

We have more than doubled our membership. We lost 29 old members but gained 4,448 new ones. Party membership today as 9,219 besides 8,816 auxiliaries in training for full membership. Of these about 2000 are whole time Party workers.

The sale of People's War has increased by 124%. It comes out in five languages besides provincial organs in six more languages. Over 65,000 copies of the Party organs are produced in 11 languages. Without any effort the figure could go beyond 2 lacs if we could only get paper.

Party publications have proved best sellers. Central Headquarters alone has brought out 26 pamphlets in 42,500 copies and 92.5% of which is already sold out.

The Party gave the call for 2 Lac Party Fund; by Lenin Day it was already 3 lacs and the final accounts that the comrades from the provinces brought showed that the 2 lac fund had become 5 lacs.

The Party not only works directly among the people but helps different sections of the people to strengthen their own organisations. The link of the Party with the mass organisation has become strong as also these organisations.

Behind the patriotic policy of the Party stand organised:—24,610 Volunteers in Red Guards or P. V. B. s; 1,97,629 workers in 240 Trade Unions; 2,81,109 Kisans in their own Sabhas; 25,822 women in Mahila Sanghams or Atma-Raksha Samities; 6,400 Kids in 190 Bala Sanghams.

Political Evaluation

What lies behind this record of bare figures? Growing acceptance by our people of the policy of our Party as the best patriotism, and ceaseless practical-organisational work by our comrades in the ranks of the people. And what has been the result?

During the most difficult days of the crisis we kept the banner of Indian patriotism flying and prevented the country from being divided between a foreign Government and a native Fifth Column with patriots behind the bars or reduced to demoralised helplessness. Our main political slogan 'National Unity for a National

Government of National Defence' is becoming more and more the commonly accepted policy of every patriotic organisation.

Our propaganda for self-determination as the basis of national unity has found great response among the Muslim masses and has improved the outlook of the middle leadership of the League towards the Congress and even Mr. Jinnah took the stand of neutrality rather than hostility towards Gandhiji's release.

The patriotic fervour of our policy has drawn even backward women into getting organised for national defence. It is noteworthy that almost the entire membership of our women's organisations comes from the 3 threatened provinces of Bengal, Andhra and Kerala, and an overwhelming majority of them are peasant women. In Malabar patriotic enthusiasm for our policy has drawn even little kids towards the Party; the entire membership of Bala Sanghams is from that province.

Our Party held the production front by holding the majority of the working class. We let neither the misguided patriots nor the Fifth Columnist play with production. Ahmedabad where we are a minority, and Jamshedpur from where all our comrades had been externed are the only two exceptions.

Our Party units throughout the country and especially in industrial areas have saved the country from a wave of food riots, by organising the people to get food and by manning the food queues.

If Calcutta did not become another Rangoon when the bombs fell, the credit for it after the Allied airmen goes to our Calcutta comrades. The Bengal Government provoked its utmost the starving and shelterless workers to evacuate en masse but our comrades inspired the workers of essential services—tram, electricity and water supply, to stick on for all they were worth. The fifth column tried desperately to get the A.R.P. workers out on strike but our comrades inside the A.R.P. foiled this game by personal example coupled with patriotic propaganda among the citizens in general and A.R.P. workers in particular.

A self-critical review showed that we had so far succeeded only in generally popularising the policy of national unity, not yet in building it; we were being driven by the crisis not yet moving people fast enough to master it and solve the manifold problems it threw up.

The Tasks

The tasks set by the session of the Central Committee are simple and concrete; they enable the Party to build unity in .action of different sections of the people, that help to rally the masses against the worsening effects of the crisis and for the way out. These tasks are the organisation of the following campaigns on a nationwide scale.

Release Gandhiji Campaign: to give the widest possible mass basis to the Delhi All-Parties Rally for his release, to call upon the Congress patriots to sever all connection with the sabotage campaign, to isolate the Fifth Column as traitors falsely masquerading in the name of the Congress, to intensify the explanatory campaign among Leaguers to work for Gandhiji's release and among Congressmen to declare acceptance of the right of self-determination.

Food Campaign: Hold food conferences throughout the country to elect representative People's Food Committees, to move the district authorities to get food stocks and offer people's organised co-operation for distribution, to create public opinion against hoarding and unearth hidden stocks.

Intensive popularisation of the slogan that the alternatives are not starvation or riot but people's food or civil war between the consumer and the trader.

Production Campaign: Hold Production conferences in every industrial centre to convince the mass of workers that the battle for production is the test of their own patriotism and the pledge to keep up production is consistent with the defence of their own interests; formulate concrete working class demands and actual plans for better and more organised production to escape total disruption of production through spontaneous strikes; organise the strikes that break out with a view to their speedy settlement. Mobilise the mass of workers to minimise the strikes, move the Government machinery and win recognition for the unions so that workers may have no need left to interrupt production to get their burning grievances redressed.

Grow More Food Campaign: in every rural district hold Kisan Conferences to convince the peasant that if he does not grow more food nothing can stop civil war between the town and village and on the other hand by growing more food he feeds his own people and helps to build up national unity. In every locality evolve a concrete plan that will actually lead to increased food production and a fair price to the peasant for his produce.

Build National Unity In Action

In its last session (in September) the Central Committee advanced the general slogans of the National Unity campaign which helped to politically unify the Party and enabled our comrades to argue with our fellow patriots against sabotage and for unity.

In this session the crisis was already six months old having created havoc with our national life and its end not yet in sight.

The Central Committee decisions of this session take the Party from the stage of general political propaganda for the policy of national unity to simple practical jobs to build the unity of our people in action and generate such strength within the national movement that through the activities of all patriots our nation is led out of crisis towards victory.

In these tasks facing the people we seek the co-operation of all patriots and their organisation. The experience of the last six months has convinced us that they all will unite more and more, for they all have begun to see that without unity there is no way out even for the daily needs of food, wages and personal safety.

—Mass mobilisation to build national unity in action.

—Strengthening mass organisations as bases for national unity.

—Building a mass Communist Party as the crusader for national unity which acts as the bridge between the two premier political organisations of our people, the Congress and the League, and as a Party that seeks nothing for itself except to be acclaimed as a worthy young brother party discharging its patriotic duty in the hour

of trial.

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