

UNITY IN ACTION

FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE AND NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

*(Resolution passed unanimously by the First Congress of the
Communist Party of India, May, 1943)*¹



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Forward To Unity In Action

Resolution

I. NEW WORLD SITUATION

1. Meeting under the shadow of the deepening menace of Japanese Fascist invasion, when the robber army of the Jap imperialism is pressing on the Bengal-Arakan Front and when Jap bombs are almost daily destroying Indian homes and lives in Chittagong and in the eastern districts of Bengal and Assam, the first Congress of the Communist Party of India declares that the supreme task before our people to-day is the defence of the Motherland. The struggle for freedom of our country merges with this task, which can be discharged only by achieving the all-in unity of our people and in the closest co-operation with the peoples of the United Nations defending their independence and freedom against the fascist Axis. A new situation faces every people as well as India. A clear understanding of this alone would enable us to determine the correct patriotic policy and the task which face the people. The main features of this new situation are as follows:

a) One issue dominates the life of every people in the world to-day. It is the titanic conflict between the camp of the people and the camp of fascist-imperialism, between the forces of liberation and those of enslavement—the war between the coalition of the freedom-loving peoples of the U.S.S.R., China, America and Britain and the robber combine of Hitler Germany, Fascist Italy and Militarist Japan.

b) Before every people is posed the grim choice: Victory or Death; Freedom or Fascism; a People's world or a World of Enslaved Peoples.

c) It is the death battle of imperialism—the culminating point of a 25-year long road of deepening crisis of World Imperialism. The forces of fascism—the spearhead of aggressive imperialism are hopelessly surrounded, The growing unity of the peoples of the world, drawn in the battle array under the lead of the Soviet Union, draws the noose tighter round its neck. The pre-requisites of the annihilation or Fascism; of the end of World Imperialism as such are at hand.

d) The mighty Red Army of the Socialist Soviet Union, bearing the main brunt of the fascist onslaught has transformed the whole situation. By its unparalleled blows, it has already tipped the scales of battle in favour of people's victory. It is transforming the peril of fascist-imperial enslavement which menaces every people into an opportunity to win its own freedom, by uniting its people to defend the country and by uniting with the other peoples to strike together for a free world.

India's fate and freedom is indissolubly linked with the fight for world freedom. This is no longer a fine phrase but a grim reality which emerges ever more clearly out of the gruelling experiences of our own people during the last

eighteen months as well as from the happenings during the last two years of the war of liberation now being fought in five continents. Our people must unite to defend the Motherland, shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the United Nations. That alone leads to freedom. Refusal to see this leads to the disastrous illusion of “freedom through the Japs as through Hitler”. It leads straight to the other camp and to fascist enslavement.

Such is the clear issue posed by the new situation.

Stage Set For Final Battles

During the two years of epic battles against fascism, the Soviet Union has not only stemmed the gigantic onslaught of the Hitlerite hordes but inflicted on it such signal defeats at Moscow (December, 1941) and at Stalingrad (January, 1943) as have brought about a turning-point in the war. Soviet victories have given time and opportunity to the peoples of the world to strengthen their unity, internally and on a world plane, so that all may strike together the final blows that will crush fascist-imperialism and free the world. The basis for people’s victory and liberation is laid.

But the victory is yet to be won. The fascist beast is maimed, but not crushed. It is preparing for its last desperate counter-attack to escape its inevitable doom. Hitler, expelled out of North Africa and severely mauled by the hammer blow of the Red Army, is preparing for new military ventures. The Jap fascists will yet stage a full-scale invasion of India, taking advantage of our weakness and thus attempt to forestall the encircling counter-offensive by India, China and Australia, aided by the armies of Britain and America.

The Fascists are seeking to utilise every crack and fissure in the unity of the anti-Hitlerite nations, to paralyse them from within. For this they rely upon those reactionary pro-fascist elements yet powerful in the ruling circles of Britain and America. These are the descendants of the same “Munichites” who in the pre-war days, conspired against peace, nourished the fascists and built up anti-Soviet plans. To-day these are working against the speedy opening of the Second Front in the hope of weakening the U. S. S. R. They support Darlanism in North Africa, reactionaries in the Polish and Yugoslav governments, because they want to sabotage the people’s revolts and liberation in the Nazi-occupied countries of Europe. They support forces who deny India freedom because they want to perpetuate imperialist domination over the Eastern peoples. These disruptive intrigues of the agents of the fascists working within the camp of the United Nations, hold up the total mobilisation of the people and their united and decisive action on the key sectors, and imperil the outcome of these final battles due to begin after the clearing of North Africa, on which depends the fate and freedom of every people.

As against the desperate machinations of these reactionaries, the force of people’s unity, inspired by the towering Soviet victories, and led and organised by the Communist Parties, is growing in every country. In the fascist-occupied countries of Europe, the National United Front of the anti-Hitlerite patriotic forces is growing, leading to ever-growing sweep of patriotic partisan actions against the fascist butchers. The hour of liberation of the fascist-ridden peoples

of Europe strikes. In Great Britain and America, the unity of the working class and people is growing. The Communist Parties are in the forefront, carrying on a ruthless struggle against fascist agents, against promoters of disunity. They are striving to unite the labour and popular masses ever more firmly for the urgent and essential demands of common victory, viz., “Invade Europe Now!”, “Support anti-Hitler-Fascist revolutions in Europe!”, “Organise and raise production for victory!”, “No quarter to friends of Hitler!”, “Free India for common struggle for the liberation of East Asia from the Jap Fascists!”, “Closest cooperation, political and military, with the U. S. S. R. for victory and after!”

The First Congress of the Communist Party of India greets the brother Parties who are performing marvels of heroism and organisation in uniting the working-class and the people in their respective countries for victory in the common struggle. The Communist Party assures them that it is sparing no effort to rouse and unite the Indian people and bring them in the common battle-line, for the final all-out assault against the fascist gangsters.

II NATIONAL CRISIS

Forces And Policies Behind It

Imperialist Policy

India is faced with a double peril. The menace of Japanese invasion remains and grows. On the top of this comes the internal peril. Ignoring the grim warning sounded by the collapse of the imperial colonial regimes in Malaya, Singapore, and Burma, in the face of Japanese invasion, the British imperialist bureaucracy continued to think and act in terms of defending India as their colony and refused to free India to ensure active and voluntary co-operation of the people. Thus when under the pressure of the unity of the British and American people the Cripps Mission materialised, these reactionaries sabotaged it. The Cripps Mission failed mainly because the bureaucracy refused to part with real power to the Indian people and prevented formation of a National Government capable of mobilising the people effectively for defence. Thereafter they passed over to the repression against the Congress which culminated in the arrest of the national leaders. They took full advantage of the failure of the Congress and the League to unite and to take initiative for rousing the people for national defence. They took advantage of the Congress threat of struggle and non-cooperation. They justified the repression of the Congress in the eyes of the British and American peoples. They painted the Congress as Fifth Column which wanted National Government to negotiate with the Japanese and not for national defence, and thus drove a wedge between the people of Britain and America and those of India. The result was that the national crisis, precipitated by the arrest of the national leaders, has gone on deepening. The ghastly repression launched by the bureaucracy on the one hand and the sabotage movement organised by the Fifth Column and with the help of the angered patriotic masses on the other hand, created a situation of the gravest peril to India as well as to the cause of the United Nations. The

political crisis has deepened during the last month. It got intertwined with the economic crisis on the production and food fronts, which came in its trail. This means that while the menace of invasion grows the rear too is cracking up. Such is the double peril which faces our country.

Policy of Disunity And Defeatism

It was certainly the bureaucracy which struck the first blow and precipitated the crisis of August 9. The Communist Party of India declares that the responsibility for the debacle in India rests in the first instance, on the heads of those reactionaries in the British Government who think of defending India as imperialist colony, who think and act as if victory over fascism can be won militarily and without the active and voluntary cooperation of the people. They are playing with the fate of India as well as with that of the peoples of Britain and America.

But that is only one part of the picture. For it was the policy which our patriotic parties pursued, the policy of rejecting the only patriotic duty which the situation demanded. viz., the duty to unite the people to defend the country, which enabled the bureaucrat to run riot and gravely imperil the fate of our nation. The two great patriotic parties of our country, namely, the National Congress and the Muslim League, instead of realising that their first unconditional and paramount duty was national defence, instead of going forward to unite the people for the same, waited for the imperialists to give them power. They did not base their policy on the strength of national unity which was now possible on the broadest scale ever achieved, for the most simple reason that a common peril now faced every class, every section of the people. They did not base their policy on the vast reserves of patriotism of our people which could now be called up by stirring call to the defence of the Motherland. Instead of basing their policy on the unity and the patriotism of the people, they relied upon the greed of the imperialists to keep India as their colony. They thought and acted on the assumption that the imperialists, wishing to defend India as their possession against the Japanese, would come down sooner or later and settle up with them if they held up national defence long enough. It was the most disastrous miscalculation in history. In practice the policy led to two things:

- (a) It opened the flank of the nation to an attack by imperialist bureaucracy.
- (b) It opened the front of the country to the foreign invader.

Features Of The Crisis

It is true that the A. I. C. C. Resolution of August 8 spoke in the language of burning anti-fascism of Nehru, and demanded National Provisional Government for the defence of India in collaboration with the British and American armies. But this was coupled with the negative policy of refusal to take initiative to unite the people to defend the country. Nay, more. It was coupled with the threat of "struggle" of active mass non-cooperation with the war and national defence. This gave the bureaucrats the excuse and opportunity to strike suddenly at the national leaders and justify that step in

the eyes of the British and American peoples as a timely step against a planned Fifth Column revolt by the Congress. It gave them the opportunity to split the Indian people from their great allies, the British and American peoples. This is how the flank was opened to the imperialist offensive.

What followed was a spontaneous outburst of the patriotic masses, angered and incensed by the arrest of the leaders and repression. The Fifth Column entered and sought to seize control of the game and attempted to organise it as a widespread mass sabotage movement directed against national defence. The Fifth Column got the ear of the patriotic masses. It led them into acts of sabotage against communications and transport. It instigated strike and deadlock movement against production. It organised provocative bomb outrages against the police and the people. It let loose anarchy, loot and terrorisation in the villages, and incendiary acts in the educational institutions, It justified all this in the name of "freedom revolution". Indiscriminate and widespread repression which came on top of this, only added to disruption and anarchy and progressively destroyed the morale of the people. The country was rent from end to end with conflict. The police struck against all and sundry through collective fines, terrorisation, and mass arrests. The Fifth Column organised anarchy against the people and goaded the patriot to destroy the means of defence, to stop production and to dislocate trade. A situation was created which was extremely favourable to the invader.

Political Crisis Intertwined with Economic Crisis

Political crisis thus created got intertwined with economic crisis which was maturing during the two years of war. It deepened and aggravated the natural crisis to the extreme. The intensification of the economic crisis leading to the disruption on the production and food front follows the same pattern as on the political plane. The bureaucracy refuses to part with power to the people, and rapidly goes over to repression when they make the just demand of "power to defend". The national leadership instead of taking initiative for uniting the people for defence, goes over to plans of holding up national defence. The Fifth Column steps in and drives the patriots to create disruption, chaos and anarchy.

The Food Crisis

The deepening of the food crisis takes an exactly similar course. The Government's efforts to check prices of food grains which began to rise during the course of the war, prove singularly useless. They were based neither on the control of stocks nor on the general scaling-down of prices, nor on the co-operation of the people and the traders. The prices soar as the war approached the border of India. The bankruptcy of the Government policy of checking prices by chaotic bans and restrictions become apparent. It created the profiteer who now turns hoarder. The grain begins to disappear from the market. As the political crisis approaches, the Government attempts to eliminate the profiteering grain monopolists by entering the market directly for making purchases for the army as well as for the cities. After the 9th of August,

the grain monopolist hits back and goes over to systematic holding-up of stocks and as a part of struggle. The Government repression, and the general insecurity which follows makes hoarding by traders general. Food disappears from the market. A situation of mass starvation and food riots takes shape everywhere in the cities, towns and in villages. The Fifth Column appears on the scene, inciting hoarding by all and sundry and inciting food riots. "Government is robbing your food, so keep your grain," "Riot for food"; and "Loot, that's the only way to food", are its slogans. This is how disastrous the food crisis appears and deepens against the background of the political crisis. The complete crack-up on the food front with the enemy standing at the door created a situation of the gravest peril.

Production Crisis

A similar perilous situation arises and matures on the production front. When war comes to the soil of India, the production and transport apparatus have to meet the immense requirements of defence of India against invasion. At such time, the Government following its traditional imperialist policy obstructs the development of Indian industries because it fears the growth of Indian capital as against British monopoly capital. It refuses to grant the working class its basic demands and to get its organised co-operation for raising production because it is afraid of the rising political power of the working class. The result is that the entire transport and production apparatus begins to crack up under the load of new requirements. Industrial goods become scarce. Their prices soar up to 400 per cent (e.g. cloth). The worker is starving and discontented. The Indian capitalist grousing under the Excess Profit Tax and the lack of avenues for fresh investment is curtailing even the existing production. The political crisis coming on the top of this with the slogan "hold up production", and "deadlock" finds ready response among some industrialists who go over to sabotage and stoppage of production openly and others more clandestinely. The Fifth Column agents appear on the production front and attempt to close factories by all devices, by calling for "political strike for national struggle", by provoking strikes through the economic end, by taking the help of the millowners and closing the mills from above, and by finally attempting destructive sabotage in factories and the bombing of workers out of the mills.

Here again it is the policy of imperialist bureaucracy which creates the conflict, deepens the crisis and clears the ground for the fifth column. The policy of disunity, defeatism leading to suicidal struggle, followed by the patriots feeds the fifth column, who acts as saboteur on the production front, threatening a grave crisis in production. This is how national crisis reacts on the industrial front, imperilling production and transport, the main basis of national defence,

Changing Face Of Crisis

In the 10 months that followed the 9th of August, the national crisis shook the entire political, economic and social structure of the country. The fifth column, for

whom the ground was cleared by the imperialist policy and who got the backing of the patriotic masses, thank to the defeatist and suicidal lead given by the national leaders, succeeded for a time in riddling the country with anarchy, economic disruption and chaos. The invader could not have wished for a better preparation for an attack. The country was brought to the brink of national disaster.

Though the crisis has deepened and broadened during the last 10 months, the country had been saved, though temporarily, from a national disaster. The main factor which is responsible for bringing about this change is the heroic fight of the Communist Party against the Fifth Column and its slogans. The fight to isolate it from the patriotic masses, to unite the latter for defence, production, food and the release of leaders, to forge Congress-League unity for winning National Government of national defence. However, whatever success the Communist Party has so far achieved in averting the disaster, is rendered possible by two other factors. It is the thundering Soviet victory at Stalingrad (January 1943) and the expulsion of the Hitlerite armies from the Caucasus, which not only smashed Hitler's dreams of crashing through the Caucasus into the Middle East and of invading India, but forced the Jap fascist to revise his invasion time-table. This warded off the blow when India was most vulnerable and gave us time to isolate the Fifth Columnists from the patriots. The second favourable factor was the sound patriotic sense of our nationalist masses, born of 50 years of our freedom movement. It is this which enabled the patriot, out of his experience, to turn away from the Fifth Column. It is these three factors which have gone to save the country for the time being from the grave peril which faced our country in the most critical days of the crisis.

The fight of the Communist Party against the Fifth Column, aided by the sound patriotic sense of the nationalist masses, and by the favourable conditions created by the Soviet victories are bringing about a new shift in the camp of patriots. It is at present small but proves clearly the soundness and strength of our policy and shows how it is changing the face of the crisis. The changes that have taken place during the last 10 months are briefly as follows:

(i) The Fifth Column, the advance-guard of the fascist invader has lost the first round. He attempted to seize control of the entire nationalist movement and sought to build out of the first spontaneous outbursts an organised sabotage campaign. He failed to do so. After the first experience of the outburst and the repression which followed it, many Congress patriots began to turn away from sabotage, and the political base of the Fifth Column began to crumble. In the first flush of anger, the patriot mistook the Fifth Column policy to be patriotic and the logical continuation of the policy of the jailed Congress leaders. But as the ugly anti-people and treacherous face of the Fifth Column emerged, through his criminal bombings, through his leaflets, and through his slogans on the food front, the patriot began to turn away from him. Communist Party actively assisted the process, by directly fighting against sabotage, by intervening in the disturbances between the police and the people, by its bold exposure of the Fifth Column and its slogans.

The followers of Nehru were the first to make the turn. Many genuine Gandhites too are turning away. The growing political isolation of the Fifth Column from the patriots is a major defeat for the former. But it is not yet his annihilation. The bulk of the patriots who have turned away from sabotage think they have fought and lost because the Fifth Column groups were

worthless leaders. They do not yet see that the lead which the Congress gave them itself was wrong. They realise vaguely that unity is essential, doubt if it is possible. They do not realise what is necessary is unity in action for national defence, for holding the rear (food and production) and strengthening the front against the fascist invader, they do not realise that this alone will make the bureaucrat bend and get them national government. Consequently, they feel frustrated and demoralised. This represents a potential danger, for in the event of an invasion, it will afford a basis for the Fifth Column to stage a come-back.

(ii) The Fifth Column sustained a signal failure on the production front. Except in two centres (Ahmedabad and Jamshedpur) where the stoppage was powerfully engineered from the top, saboteurs whether from the top or from the bottom, nowhere succeeded in stopping production. The Fifth Column threw the whole prestige of the Congress into battle, with the slogan "Strike for Swaraj under the banner of the Congress". Communists went into action against them with the slogan: "Stick to your jobs, for the defence of the country, under the banner of the Party." The rout of the fifth column was complete. The Communists held the industrial front against the assaults of the fifth column because of their long-standing political and trade union leadership of the working class. But the Communists have not so far been able to advance from this defensive position. They have not been able to rouse a patriotic upsurge among the working class thereby enabling it to play its leading role in the defence of the country. Unless the working class itself girds its loins and comes forward to implement a patriotic production policy, for raising production for the army, and for the people, the anti-working-class policy of the bureaucracy, the sabotage and restriction of production by profiteering owners and the nefarious activities of the fifth column cannot be finally defeated. Unless the Communists make this decisive turn, the situation on the production front will continue to be as perilous as it is to-day.

(iii) Large-scale Jap invasion did not materialise when chaos and disruption was at its peak or even later. "When the invasion did begin in the form of the bombing of Calcutta and the eastern districts of Bengal, it became a test of the political strength and organisational capacity of the Communists to the fifth column, to sustain the morale of the people in Calcutta and in the countryside and to hold production and transport. The Communists of Bengal have passed the test with flying colours. The heroic fight they waged against the fifth column, the marvels of patriotic mass mobilisation they performed in face of Jap bombs has become the beginning of a new shift in the patriotic masses all over India. It served to further isolate the treacherous fifth column from the patriotic masses. At the same time, the experience of Jap raids on Calcutta served to underline the danger which demoralised patriots represent by affording pliable material in the hands of the fifth columnist mischief makers.

(iv) Mahatma Gandhi's correspondence with the Viceroy released at the time of his 21 day-fast in February last, in which he came out against sabotage and expressed his wish for a reconsideration of the situation and for the solution of the food crisis was another blow to the fifth column. These statements of Gandhiji became the starting point of another shift among the patriotic masses to move away from the policy of sabotage. They helped the communists wean away sections of patriotic students well as Congressmen from the grip of fifth column influence. But Gandhiji's statements by themselves do not help the patriot to free himself from the coils of a negative policy, which is the cause of his demoralisation. For Gandhiji repudiated sabotage and wants settlement but goes on fast to achieve it. He does not advance to accept self-determination as the basis of Congress-League unity. He does not advance from repudiation of sabotage to unity for defence and food. Therefore, his statements though they serve to turn the patriot away from sabotage, leave him yet helpless and demoralised.

(v) The campaign run by Communists for Congress-League unity on the basis of self-determination, for the release of leaders, and against sabotage, as well as the successful efforts made by them in some provinces to force unity with the League for the solution of the food crisis, has brought about a shift in the ranks of the League patriots. The desire to see Congress and League united for the solution of the deadlock and for the winning of National Government of national defence is growing among League patriots, among the rank and filers as well as among provincial and district leaders. This mass urge for unity has found expression in the statements of Mr. Jinnah which he has made in recent months. He has concretised the demand for self-determination still further which should bring the League near the Congress. He has expressed himself for Congress-League unity if Congress were to take the first step. But Mr. Jinnah and the League continue to pursue a negative policy towards unity and defence which is parallel to that pursued by the Congress. The League will not rouse the Muslim masses for national defence till the Government grants the self-determination demand. The League will not campaign for Gandhiji's release till Gandhiji writes to him his agreement on the self-determination demand. The grip of the influence of this negative policy on the League patriots is yet powerful. It presents the mass urge for unity from advancing to action for unity.

III. ROLE OF THE PARTY IN THE CRISIS – MAIN DEVIATION

Against the dark clouds of deepening national crisis, the remarkable growth of our Party and its dogged fight against the fifth column stands out as a streak of silver-lining. During the past nine months, our Party has grown from a hunted underground organisation to a major political force in the country third in importance after the National Congress and the Muslim League. During this period we have surpassed in many respects all that we achieved in the last 15 years of our Party's life. Our membership has grown from 4,464 in July 1942 to 15,563 (May Day 1943). The circulation of our Party organs in all the 11 languages has reached a figure of 60,000. Workers and kisans organised in trade unions and Kisan Sabhas, under the influence, of the Party, number about 3 lakhs and 4 lakhs respectively. 39,000 organised students stand under the influence of the Party. Thousands of women have awakened to political life under the Influence of the Party's work. 41,000 of them are organised in Mahila Sanghs. This progress we have achieved during the period of the crisis, at a time when the bulk of the nation and the patriots did not approve of our policy and thought it was a surrender. The Party has achieved this progress by tirelessly working for unity for food, production and defence by campaigning for national unity on the basis of self-determination, for the release of Congress leaders and for National Government of national defence. Ever-growing number of patriots are realising to-day that our policy is sound and our practice yields results. The Party prevented sabotage in cities, villages and educational institutions. It stopped food riots and inspired faith and hope- that food crisis can* be solved. It kept up production and transport. This enabled the Party to isolate the fifth column politically and forge closer links with the Congress patriot. Through ceaseless work for Congress-League unity, the Party has brought patriots from Congress as well as from the League to realise that unity is possible and essential.

Our achievements are great but they are of a defensive and negative character. We have held the fronts and created an urge for unity. But we are not yet able to transform that urge into a mass-swing for unity in action for food, production and

defence. The crisis is worsening very rapidly. The tempo of our mass mobilisation is slowing down. While the growth of the Party between August 1942 and January 1943 has been a leap; from January to May 1943, our progress has slowed down. In the first period, the task was general agitational—the popularisation of our basic slogans. In the second period, the task is to strengthen mass organisations, to draw masses in the campaign for food, production, and for growing more food.

The main reason for this lag is a serious left-nationalist deviation which runs like a red-thread through all our agitation and mass campaigns. Thus in the first period of the crisis, we concentrated the fire on the bureaucracy as the main incendiary. We exposed the fifth columnist and his sabotage slogan. But we did not expose to the patriot the negative and defeatist policy of the national leadership which had brought him straight into the hands of the fifth column. The result was that when miss of patriots swung away from sabotage, they remained sunk in demoralisation instead of advancing towards the policy of patriotic defence. It is not enough to expose the fifth column to the patriot. We have to rouse the patriot to fight the fifth column. This we will be able to do only when we wean him away from the negative attitude towards defence which the Congress leaders taught him, only when we make him see that any advance against the bureaucrat is possible only by uniting for defence.

In the second phase, namely, that of building national unity in action, continuance of left-nationalist deviation is a far greater drag on progress. For instance, a food campaign which reduces itself to a mere exposure of the bureaucracy coupled with formulation of general demands, leads not to food but to riots. The point is to unite the people against riots and for positive tasks in connection with the solution of the local food problem. This enables us to force the bureaucracy to change or modify its measures and prevent riots. Not to do this is to open the door of food riots to let in the fifth column.

In the case of both “grow more food” as well as in the case of the production policy on the working-class front, the main deviation is to completely miss the patriotic political basis of the production policy. The tendency is to carry out work on the kisan front as well as on the working class as of old, i.e., under the slogan, unite the kisan and the worker to win partial demands. This is sheer economism. Refusal to rouse the worker and the kisan to the patriotic task of defending the country by raising production, leads to failure to win the demands as well as to strengthen organisation. This would leave the worker and the kisan helpless against the fifth column and the production front both industrial and food, exposed to the danger of sabotage.

On the student front, again, the tendency has been to take the easy path of carrying on the release campaigns as anti-repression campaigns only. Propaganda against sabotage, against the fifth column and his role as well as for the main slogan, unite for the defence of the country, has been slurred over. The result has been that our student Communists pleased the patriotic boys but failed to bring about a mass swing among the students for unity and defence.

All these deviations have one common root—namely, the failure to conduct a sharp struggle against the fifth column and its slogans, failure to expose the negative policy followed by the Congress leaders and the tendency to over-emphasize the “exposure” and the wordy abuse of the bureaucracy. In practice, this lends to under-emphasis on the slogans, unite for defence, fight the hoarder

and the rioter, etc. If this tendency were to persist, it will reduce the striking power of our policy and practice and reduce our progress to stagnation. This deviation must be rooted out from every front in order that we may be able to advance from general agitational awakening to moving masses for unity in action.

IV. MAIN SLOGANS AND CAMPAIGNS

The basic slogan of to-day is national unity for national defence to win National Government of national defence. To implement this slogan, to win National Government the urgent need to-day is to build unity in action for defence, food and production. That alone would lead to freedom and victory. The Communist Party, therefore, enjoins every member and every Party unit to put out supreme effort to rally the people behind the following mass campaigns:

1. Unity For Defence against sabotage, against fifth column, for civil defence and for the support of armies. The fight against the fifth column as the agent of the foreign invader comes first and foremost. He must be fought out on all occasions, everywhere and on all issues. The groups which make up the fifth column are the Forward Bloc, the Party of the traitor Bose; the C.S P., which betrayed Socialism at the beginning of the war and pursued a policy of opportunism and disruption and ended in the camp of the Trotskyite-traitors; and finally, the Trotskyite groups which are criminal gangs in the pay of fascists. The Communist Party declares that all these three groups must be treated by every honest Indian as the worst enemies of the nation and driven out of political life and exterminated.

The Communist Party exhorts everyone of its members in the threatened provinces to join the A.R.P. and Civil Defence Services.

The Communist Party exhorts every member to popularise the role of the Indian allied armies as defenders of India.

In the threatened areas, Communists must offer organised co-operation of the people through their mass organisation, and Party units, to the British or Indian troops for offensive as well as defensive preparation.

For the support of the armies, and to build fraternal relations between them and the people, the Communist Party offers its anti-fascist cultural patriotic squads to raise the morale of the Indian and British armies.

2. Unity for the release of National leaders. The key slogan which we place in the forefront in the course of this campaign before all is END DEADLOCK. We want the release of national leaders, for making settlement possible, for their participation in the National Government of national defence. In uniting Congressmen for the release campaign, we must rally them against sabotage, against the fifth-column and for accepting of the right of self-determination of Muslim (and other) nationalities. It must be brought home to them that this alone is the key to the release of leaders and no other. In winning the support of the League patriots to this campaign, we must explain how the release of Congress leaders, and Congress-League unity alone is the way of winning self-determination and no other. The only way to smash the resistance of the bureaucracy here and to assist the forces abroad which are pressing the British Government in London, is to bring about a mass swing among Congressmen against sabotage, and for the acceptance of self-determination. as well as a mass swing among the Muslim

followers of the League for the release of leaders.

3. Unity for Food means first and foremost unity to prevent food riots, and unity against hoarding. The danger and gravity of the present food situation demands the concentrating the fire of propaganda against rioting as mutual slaughter and bold intervention to prevent food riots. The wrath of the people must be roused against hoarding as thieving people's food.

Communists must practically intervene in the food situation by building all-in people's food committees with all sections and parties in it. The more they discharge these agitational and organisational tasks the more they will be able to solve the problem and change the present position in which the bureaucracy makes paper schemes minus the people and leaves the execution in the hands of the hoarder and officials. 'District and town people's food conferences must be organised under the joint initiative of popular organisations and parties to create joint food committees, to achieve the following: defeat the fifth column propaganda among the peasants to withhold stocks, prevention of rioting and exposure of hoarders, the unearthing of their stocks, fair price to the kisan, public control of all stocks, stabilising of all prices at a reasonable level, transport facilities for getting stocks, and smooth working of rationing in towns, and a regular supply of stocks to honest traders and food committees in rural areas.

4. Unity of the working class to produce more for the defence of the motherland. The production policy of the Party is the practical and specific application of the main slogan: Unity for Defence. To the industrial front, production is the key base of national defence which the working class mans. It is the patriotic duty of the worker to strengthen defence by taking initiative for organising more production and better transport, and against stoppage of work irrespective of what the boss or the bureaucrat does. The worker alone has the production in his grip and therefore, he alone can make practical production plans.

— 100 per cent unionism is the key lever for implementing the slogan of production for the army and for the people.

— Communists take a bold and open stand against strikes as they injure the defence of the country by holding up production.

—100 per cent unionism, winning recognition of trade unions and mill and factory committees and the formation of Joint Production Committees to organise production to enable the worker to win his demands.

—Communists intervene in spontaneous strikes and settle them as soon as possible.

—Vigorous political explanatory campaign must be launched among workers exposing the role and the real face of the fifth-column groups such as C. S. P., Forward Bloc and the Trotskyites. Expose the role of the Royists as the splitters of Trade Unions and as anti-patriotic agents of the bureaucracy.

Production Conferences should be organised in the different industrial centres. Through them is launched simultaneously an intense explanatory campaign for our production policy, for drive for mass trade unions, and for the formulation of practical plan for increasing production which workers can put into practice on their own, despite existing obstacles. This specific plan must be worked for each industrial centre by studying the industry mill by mill through

preliminary workers' delegates' meetings.

The crux of our production policy is to rouse the worker to his patriotic duty in this hour of country's peril, is to rouse him to the consciousness of his leading role in defending and saving the country. Even the elementary appeal for 100% unionism to-day must not be made through the economic end of partial demands but through the patriotic end: "To defend the country, to raise production." Unless the Communists make a decisive turn on the industrial front and rouse the working class to implement the patriotic production policy, they will not be able either to strengthen organisation or to win for the workers, adequate dearness allowance, 25% rise in wages, bonus, and the recognition of union. Unless this is done, the perilous situation which exists to-day on the production front cannot be liquidated and the door bolted and barred to the fifth-column. It is by carrying out this production policy that the working class strengthens the industrial rear and leads the organisation of National Defence.

5. Unity of Kisans to Grow More Food. The slogan of "Unite the peasantry to grow more food" plays the same role in the present situation on the kisan front, as the slogan "Unity of the working class for production" plays on the working-class front. It is the specific application of the general slogan "Unite to defend the Motherland" on the Kisan front. The appeal to the kisan to unite in thousands in the Kisan Sabha must to-day strike the strident note of patriotism – Unite to defend the hearth and home, unite to defend your fields and crops, unite to grow more food. Patriotism demands of the kisan that he unites to grow more food, to solve the food crisis, to feed the army that defends his land, to feed the worker who makes goods for the army and for the people. The kisan occupies a key role in the defence of the country which is on a par with that of the worker. The bureaucrat beats the drum of the "grow more food" campaign but wants to run it without winning the willing co-operation of the kisan or of his organisation, both of which he hates, and without granting a single demand essential for the success of the campaign. No wonder that the campaign has brought no change. The landlord too cannot be expected to take the initiative for the grow more food campaign. Left to himself, his patriotism does not go beyond his rent receipts and he has no love for the Kisan Sabha either. It is the kisan who has to get on his legs and gird his loins for uniting thousands of kisans for the campaign. As soon as the kisan unites on this patriotic basis neither the bureaucrat nor the landlord can withstand his just demands for fallow land, for irrigation facilities, for seeds, taccavi and for relief or remission from rents and interest.

The basis of all Kisan agitation and organisation, at present, must be this patriotic slogan of growing more food. The village unity built on this will be invulnerable to fifth column incitement to civil war. Congressmen and Leaguers can and must be drawn into this campaign. Thus it will not only enable us to bend the bureaucrat and the landlord and to expel the fifth-column from the village but will also enable us to build national unity in the village. To popularise the slogan and to initiate campaign, organise every local kisan conference as Grow More Food Conference, to plan out practical steps to grow more food and which in the locality must be made the basis of the campaign. In the preparatory campaign for the conference the political patriotic essence of the slogan must be thoroughly explained and the kisans won for it on that basis.

6. Unity Of Students. Unity of the students to guard their right for education and freedom in institutions, to fight out the Fifth Column from the institutions,

unite the students for civil defence and for the defence of the motherland, for food and against sabotage—these are the main slogans on the student' front. It is of the utmost importance to intensify political explanatory campaign among the students. It is essential to expose the real treacherous role of the various fifth-column groups (C.S.P., F.B. and the Trotskyites) to the patriotic students and tear to shreds their pretensions to being Marxist-Leninist groups. It is essential to emphasise the acceptance of the right of self-determination as the only basis for national unity and the release of leaders. Special efforts must be made to draw the Muslim students into student organisations, closer links must be established between the Muslim Students' Federation and the A.I.S.F. for joint action on the issues of food, release of national leaders, civil defence, etc.

7. Women's Movement. One of the most striking features of the mass awakening that has taken place as part of the Communist crusade for unity during the crisis period, is the upsurge of women's movement, especially in the threatened provinces of Bengal, Andhra and Malabar. Profiting from this experience, Communists everywhere must pay special attention to the organisation of women especially toiling women. The main slogans for the organisation of women are self-defence, food and national unity. The entire Party must be awakened to the tremendous importance of women's front in the fight to win over the patriotic masses and strengthen all mass organisations.

Such are the main campaigns which this Congress of the Communist Party directs its units to undertake and pursue with determination and vigour to create among the patriotic masses a mass swing towards unity in action for defence, food and production. Only if we make them a resounding success can we take our nation out of the crisis, prevent its deepening and extension, and bring National Government. There is no other short-cut to National Government.

IV. BUILD MASS C. P. AS BUILDER OF NATIONAL UNITY

The Congress emphasises with particular stress that only an all-round consolidation of the advances made by us in the growth of the Party and its building up as a mass Communist Party alone would enable the Communists to mobilise the widest masses for unity in action, for defence, food and production, for winning National Government for National Defence. The phenomenal growth registered by the Party during the last 10 months clearly shows that all the conditions necessary for building a mass C. P. firmly rooted in the working class and the toiling peasantry are at hand. If the progress has been slowed up during the last two months, it is entirely due to certain sectarian approach towards the recruitment and training of Party members. The growing number of working-class, kisan and student militants who are daily participating in the mass campaigns under the direction of the Party either as Red Guards or as Volunteers must be boldly recruited inside the Party and must be rapidly educated as active Party members.

Above all the mass campaigns enumerated above must be run in such a way that they result in building up of mass organisations. Building up of Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas, and Students' and Women's organisations as a part of the food,

“grow more food,” production and national unity and release campaigns is the more urgent task. Every Party unit must be drawn planfully on this drive to build the mass organisations. This is absolutely essential for laying an ever-widening base for the building of a mass Communist Party.

VI. FOR FREE INDIA IN A FREE WORLD

The national crisis is reaching a new stage, the pre-requisites for its solution are maturing. They are seen in the growing mass swing of the patriots away from sabotage, in the growing sweep and striking power of our unity campaigns for food, for Congress-League unity, for the release of national leaders. What we have achieved so far is but a silver-lining in a situation which is yet dark. But the silver-lining is growing and is pointing the way to the solution of the crisis. All out effort on all hands, on all fronts, is the supreme need. The destiny of the nation is in our hands. We are the only Party on whose shoulders rests the task of pulling the nation out of the bog of demoralisation and getting the patriotic parties together to turn away from the barren path of disunity to the only patriotic path possible today, namely, for all-in unity for national defence. We are quite capable of shouldering this task. We are the Party of the working class, which is destined to shape the future of the world and of mankind. It is doing so already. The glorious Red Army under the leadership of Stalin and of the Bolshevik Communist Party of the Soviet Union is blasting the way to victory and freedom for us, for every people in the world. The strength of the peoples of the world is rising in support of our country's freedom as never before. For it is the urgent need for every people that India that is a breach in the world front today be converted into a bastion of popular national defence and a base for people's offensive for the liberation of East Asia. That is why every effort we make for unity here is healing the breach in our country. It is reinforced by the rising unity of the British and American people. Every blow we strike against the fifth column is struck against the common enemy together with the Red Army and is reinforced by it. What is needed is:

—ALL-OUT EFFORTS FOR NATIONAL UNITY. —

—FOR THE SUPREME PATRIOTIC DUTY WHICH FACES US TODAY—

NATIONAL DEFENCE.

We will unite the patriots to save the Motherland shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army and the armies of the United Nations and win a free India, in a free world.