

SOLVE NATIONAL CRISIS THROUGH NATIONAL UNITY I

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Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, passed at its meeting, September 20th, 1942.

In the following we reprint the full text of the main political resolution passed by the Plenum of the Central Committee (C. C.) of the Communist Party, which was in continuous session during the last two weeks.

It was the first open session of the highest organ of the Party after its legalisation in August last. It was attended by thirty Communist leaders from all over India, which included, apart from the members of the Central Committee, specially invited provincial leaders

The message of greetings to the jailed comrades adopted by the session makes special mention of prominent leaders and C. C. members who still continue to be incarcerated. They are Comrades R. D. Bharadwaj, S. A. Dange, Soli Batliwala and S. V. Ghate. The Session sent a message of greeting to Comrade Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, prominent member of the Polit-Bureau who was unable to attend the session due to illness.

The main political report on the resolution was made by Comrade G. Adhikari which was followed by a co-report by Comrade P. C. Joshi. In this moment of the gravest national crisis and peril, the resolution as well as the report struck the confident and courageous note that it is also the hour of greatest opportunity for the patriots and the people of our country.

It condemns imperialist repression against the Congress and the people. It points out that at a time when the imperialist bureaucracy is riding rough-shod over the people, it is really isolated from all sections of the people and is tottering.

It sharply brings out the fact that the so-called struggle for freedom unleashes the forces of disruption and anarchy which strengthens the bureaucracy and opens the gates to the fascist invader.

It sees in the growing forces of national unity the powerful weapon with which the patriots and the people can smash the game of the bureaucracy and win National Government to organise

total national resistance to Fascist aggressors and achieve freedom.

Its ringing call is for :

—A political explanatory campaign to turn patriots away from the suicidal path of sabotage and to isolate and expose the Fifth Columnists, to stop national disruption.

—A countrywide campaign for National Unity, for the release of national leaders, for forcing the hands of the bureaucracy, for National Government.

—A campaign among the Hindu and Muslim masses for Congress-League unity, the key to national unity and national salvation.

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 dihard imperialist policy to its logical conclusion.

A Fifth-Column Incendiary Policy

2. The 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 peoples, 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 country-wide 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 re-inforce 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 a mood 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-co-operation with defence measures, hoping thereby to win the national demand as 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-co-operation 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 hammerblows of the growing anti-fascist unity of the peoples of the United Nations. Its last and only weapon of withholding power from the people 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 three-fold :

- (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 a 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 goodwill 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 the Pakistan demand, namely, 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 (chawls) 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 the 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 or 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 and 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.*

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