

Editorial

NO COMPROMISE : NO MORE WAVERING :

"India can be no party to such an imperialist war and will not permit her manpower and resources to be exploited in the interest of British Imperialism. In the event of an attempt being made to involve India in a war this will be resisted."

(From the Haripura Resolution On War)

On 22nd October full seven weeks after the outbreak of war — the Working Committee of the Congress decided to call upon the Congress Ministries to resign.

We acclaim this decision. Nothing would have been more shameful, more disruptive of national unity than continued association of the Congress with this war. A step has been taken which opens up new perspectives. The questions of nationwide struggle against imperialism has come to the forefront.

The struggle, however, will not develop automatically, nor merely as a result of the Working Committee's decision. The nature of the Working Committee's resolution — the policy that it reveals, the danger that this policy implies — all these must be clearly realised in order that the next step forward can be taken. *(Forward To War)*

The Working Committee met after the pronouncements of Zetland and Linlithgow. The iron voice of imperialism had spoken. Congress demand for clarification of Britain's war aims, for declaration by the British Government of India's right to freedom, for immediate concrete steps to give effect to that declaration had been replied to in a manner which could leave no doubt in any mind. Britain was fighting for maintenance of imperialist status quo; India's freedom was a demand outside the realm of "practical politics"; imperialism could not divest itself of its responsibility to minorities. *(On National Liberation)*

All pretensions of anti-fascism and democracy were gone. The imperialist nature of the war was crystal clear to even those who had till now refused to recognise that obvious fact.

After this, the only correct line for Congress was that of unconditional opposition to the war. National honour demanded it. As a

part of the world democratic front the Indian national movement could be no party to this imperialist war — no matter what "concessions" were made. Absolute and unconditional adherence to the Haripura resolution — this was demanded by the situation.

NEW TECHNIQUE OF COMPROMISE

That was not done. The Working Committee decided that it could not "give any support" to Britain and hence called upon the Ministries to resign. Not resistance to imperialist war by withdrawal of support, this became the new formula.

No call for action given — not even call for mass demonstrations. On the contrary, Congressmen were warned against "hasty action in the form of civil disobedience, political strikes and the like." If "the activities of the British Government in India" were made dependent what further step the Congress would take. This was subsequently explained by Gandhiji to mean that unless the British Government gave "grave irritation" and made "constructive work impossible" there need rise no cause for civil disobedience.

The initiative was left with imperialism. The Haripura resolution which was demanded active resistance to war and not passive non-cooperation was not implemented. The door was left open for a "solution" of the crisis --- for compromise.

And formulas for compromise began to be evolved almost immediately afterwards. In his statement issued from Wardha, Rajaji stated that if the British Government were willing to concede, at the end of the war, whatever the Indian people could agree to, not by majority but with the seal and approval of all important minorities and if responsibility in the Centre were conceded the Congress would cooperate with imperialism in the prosecution of war.

Once again the Viceroy is meeting Gandhiji. Speculations are rife about "new terms" for "settlement".

All these constitute part of a line and there is no mistaking where the line leads. This is the new technique of compromise.

IMPERIALIST STRATEGY

This situation is fraught with the gravest dangers. Imperialism is not prepared to make any concession. With the Congress Ministries out of office it would intensify offensive against the most militant sections in the Congress. By frequent promulgation of prohibitory orders, by

arresting most Congressmen, socialists, communists, kishan sabha and trade union workers, by suppressing radical papers, it would strive to destroy the revolutionary core of the national movement. By encouraging forces of communal disruption it would try to blackmail the Congress and spread demoralization. By bits, the national forces would be broken up. Every attempt on the part of the national leadership to restrain and restrict struggle, to confine it within the framework of law would inevitably sharpen the conflict within the national front and weaken the national forces. Defeatism and demoralization would grow, sporadic revolts, against economic distress caused by war measures and against police repression would be crushed ruthlessly.

With the vangurad crushed in isolation, with the main body of national forces paralysed by inaction imperialism would be able to dictate terms and demand complete surrender. That would be the strategy of imperialism.

Shall we be able to defeat this strategy? Shall the unique opportunities that the war crisis affords be fully utilized leading to the unification of the nation for capture of power? Or shall the stalemate continue leading to disruption and defeat? That is the question before the national movement. The answer to this question depends on the action that masses of Congressmen take to-day. At this hour of grave national crisis, it is they who must take the initiative and act.

PREPARE FOR STRUGGLE

In every province, in every district, in every locality Congressmen must proceed to form broadest based war-councils. Congress organizations must be placed on fighting basis with complete political and technical arrangement for production and distribution of anti-war materials, handbills, bulletins, posters, etc. The enrolment of volunteers must start immediately.

In closest cooperation with local trade unions, kishan sabhas and other anti-imperialist organizations Congressmen must organize mass meetings and demonstrations to condemn the Ordinance, to expose the real nature of the present war and explain the real policy of the Congress – the Haripura policy of unconditional opposition to war – to mobilize opposition against every war measure. Special effort must be made to draw the Muslim masses in these demonstrations, to explain to them the reactionary character of the Muslim League's policy. Wherever possible the support of the local Muslim League

organizations must be secured. Through these demonstrations, through intensive campaign against the war, through mass distribution of anti-war literature such a situation must be created as compels the Congress leadership to initiate struggle.

NEW PERIOD – NEW PERSPECTIVE

A period of mighty upheavals is ahead. With the deepening of the war crisis, with the prolongation of war, the crisis of imperialism will grow. Political and economic effects of the war will work out inexorably intensifying the ugliest features of imperialist rule – mass starvation, suppression of every right – bringing larger and larger sections of people into conflict with the Government, making them see in the Government their chief enemy – the chief cause of their distress.

If in this situation, we act boldly, decisively and unitedly making revolutionary use of every conflict – the isolation of the Government would grow apace. The war crisis shall develop into revolutionary crisis. The imperialist war shall be transformed into war of national liberation.

Such are the possibilities of the new period. That is the perspective. This perspective must determine our course of action.

NOT A SAILOR NOT A SOLDIER FROM INDIA TO HELP BRITAIN

COMMUNIST PARTIES FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

(The Communist international – the International of Lenin and Stalin – was born in the struggle against the first imperialist war. Today during the second imperialist war its sections are heroically carrying forward the glorious heritage – applying the general directives issued by the 6th and 7th Congresses to the concrete situation that exists in different countries.) – Editor.

Once again international social-democracy has repeated its ignoble performance of 1914 and has completely lined up behind the national bourgeoisie. Reaction in every country is using the war to carry on a ruthless offensive against the forces of revolution represented by the Communist Parties and to introduce Fascism openly by the front door. That the Communist Parties are, in the face of this savage counter-revolutionary offensive, facing up to their tasks boldly and

unflinchingly and carrying aloft the banner of the Leninist-Stalinist International will be obvious from the following extremely meagre and far from up-to-date account, made up from tiny bits of news that have come through the iron censorship now operating. This account will incidentally also show that Mr. Masani's assertion in the "Congress Socialist" that "the C. I. has gone to pieces against the impact of Stalin's foreign policy and Communists are rubbing their eyes in bewilderment and wondering what to do" is just on a par with his other periodic pronouncements on the C.I. and the Soviet Union.

BRITAIN

Writing in the September "Labour Monthly" just on the eve of the outbreak of war, R. Palme Dutt declares : "The direct responsibility for this situation rests with the policy of British reaction represented by Chamberlain — The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact is the logical and inevitable answer to the treachery, double-dealing sabotage of peace front, and counter-revolutionary war plans of British Imperialism and to the spineless importance, passivity, trust in Chamberlain and incapacity of leadership of the official democratic opposition in Britain and France This blow represents the heaviest defeat of world reaction, fascism and the whole policy of Chamberlain and the 'National' Government since the beginning of the offensive eight years ago. It has disrupted the camp of counter-revolution. It has blown up the Anti-Comintern Pact. It has thrown Chamberlain's counter-revolutionary policy into confusion..... The complete collapse and abdication of the official labour and democratic leadership in this testing time, the infamous attempt to divert the anger of the people which would be directed against Chamberlain into a campaign against the Soviet Union, the lining up of the official leadership in national unity behind Chamberlain and the demoralization of sections of labour and democratic opinion is the most serious danger of the present position. This official 'national unity' behind Chamberlain at a time when everything depends upon concentrating all forces to fight and defeat his policy, represents the climax of the whole record of betrayal and already takes on the full character of 1914. In this way the door is opened to the attack of Fascism in Britain, by increasing measures against the basis of democracy. The present situation requires not so-called 'national unity' which is in reality betrayal of the nation, but intensification of the fight against Chamberlain, immediate rallying of the labour and democratic movement against the present demoralization; unity of the labour and democratic forces for the defeat

of Chamberlain, for the defence of democracy against reaction at home and abroad and for collaboration with the Soviet Union and all states willing to participate in the establishment of a real peace system." Writing on August 31 on the eve of war, J. R. Campbell declares : "The Party will strive to develop the strength of the labour movement, to build up the trade unions and shop steward's organizations and so keep them on the clear path of working class struggle. It will keep flying the flag of working-class internationalism. The Communist Party is ready for any eventuality." The success of the Party's explanation of the Soviet-German Pact to the British working-class is shown by the fact that during the last week of August the "Daily Worker" doubled its circulation and that a great outdoor meeting addressed by Harry Pollitt in London on August 27th resulted in a collection of £ 50 being taken and 50 new recruits on the spot for the Party. The Party is now working for quick ending of the war by a fully democratic peace settlement in close collaboration with the Soviet Union.

THE DOMINIONS

The Chairman of the Communist Party of New Zealand in an interview just after the outbreak of the war declared, "The present war is an imperialist war for which the imperialist and capitalist groups of all countries bear responsibility. German Fascism is the main instigator of this war, but British Imperialism through Chamberlain bears a major share of the responsibility... Struggle against the reactionary forces in Britain and New Zealand is the first indispensable condition for the defeat of Hitler. By developing this struggle we will also be paving the way for the victory of socialism in our country" The "Peoples' Voice" (the organ of the C.P.N.Z.) writes in its editorial of September 15 : "In war time the only Socialists are those who understand how to carry on a struggle against the reactionary forces in their own country, to set themselves against the stream, if necessary, in order to fulfil their duties." The Party demands a "fully democratic peace settlement in close collaboration with the Soviet Union, which should include the restoration of full democracy in Germany, freedom for the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Austrians and the Poles, the withdrawal of all German support from Franco's dictatorship and the recognition of the rights of the Ukrainians and the White Russians, saved from Nazi oppression by the Red Army, to live work in unity and peace with their fellow-nationals within Soviet borders". ("Peoples' Voice", September 29.) The Party has carried a vigorous campaign in defence of the Soviet Union, explaining the full significance of the Soviet-German Pact and

the tremendous revolutionary consequences of the liberation of the Ukrainians and White Russians from the horrors of war and fascist national oppression on the oppressed and poverty stricken masses in the Balkans and the Baltics.

A statements issued by a prominent leader of the Communist Party of Australia just before the outbreak of the war declares : "If war comes, we will be told that we shall be fighting for democracy against fascism. But there will be no democracy if the Governments have their way. Fascism will have been established throughout the British Empire. If war comes, we, Communists, will strike at the cause of war — capitalism. We will inscribe on our banner the struggle for Socialism". Other leaders of the Party issued declarations to the same effect.

FRANCE

A proposal for a world Labour Conference to secure "unity of action on an international plane in order to bar the way to the war-mongers and repel reaction" was made, before the outbreak of war, to the labour and Socialist International by Comrades Cachin and Thorez on behalf of the CPF. The proposal was turned down. The Party's explanation of the Soviet German Pact was so prompt and successful that all the issues of "Ce Soir" containing it were confiscated by the police and all the issues of "L' Humanite" of August 23 and 24 were completely sold out by 9 in the morning. This is the answer to malicious rumours about defections in the leading ranks of the Party. The Party remains as firm and united as ever. Following the outbreak of war, the Party was declared illegal and its press completely suppressed. Following the Party's call for a quick and fully democratic peace settlement in close collaboration with the Soviet Union (a peace settlement characterised by the reactionary war-mongering Government of Daladier and Bonnet as "treasonable peace"), warrants were issued for the arrests and imprisonment of all the 72 communist deputies of the Chamber. The Party however was fully prepared for all eventualities and no amount of repression will prevent it from pursuing unflinchingly its Bolshevik, policy true to the tradition of the Commune and the International.

GERMANY

The Soviet-German pact, contrary to Trotskyist distortions, has had a tremendous effect on the activity of the illegal Communist Party for Germany. Writing in the London "News Chronicle" of August 29, Vernon Bartlett, a well-informed commentator on Germany, declared :

"The Soviet-German Pact has, it appears, encouraged many Communists who had 'gone underground' to criticize the regime openly and to suggest that it has been compelled to bow down to Stalin". The whole of Nazi ideology has been shattered. The German Party is fighting for the defeat of the Hitler Government and for the military defeat of the Nazis in the War. "The Peoples' Voice" of September 29 reports : "Well-informed London cricles realize that the C.P.G. is the only party that has been carrying on mass activity against the Nazis within the country". Prior to the outbreak of the war, but after the signing of the Soviet-German Pact, trial blackouts in Berlin had to be abandoned because Communists took advantage of them to plaster Berlin with "Down with Hitler" posters. The assertion of the Social-Democrats and the Trotskyists that after the Soviet-German Pact the C.P.G. gave up its struggle against Hitler is thus a worthless fabrication. A call for mass strike action against Hitler's war moves was issued by the Party just before the outbreak of war, in its illegal paper "Rote Fahne" ("Red Flag"). Under a front page heading "what is to be done", the Party issued a concrete programme of mass resistance to war, including strikes, varied propaganda, economic resistance, mass meetings wherever possible, fraternization with mobilized soldiers, peace meetings in factories, street and villages, organized hampering of war preparations, etc. The article declared : "To counter Nazi lines, the truth about the clear firm peace policy of the Soviet Union must be made known". It also called for the maximum "bold initiative in the development of Party organizations and cadres really capable of becoming the flesh and blood of the masses". The British imperialists will shortly realize that "buying off" the Freedom Station is quite a different thing from corrupting the German working class. They want neither Hitler nor Chamberlain. Reuter's reports truefully declare that Communism is spreading among the German working class.

Our International, the Leninist-Stalinist International, was born out of the struggle against the First Imperialist War. To day, during the Second Imperialist War, its sections are heroically carrying forward that glorious heritage, applying the general directives of the Seventh World Congress on war and defence of Soviet Union, the Socialist Fatherland, to the concrete situation existing in each country. Neither persecution nor counter-revolution can tarnish the Bolshevik banner of the International of the working class and of its socialist citadel, the Soviet Union.

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL THESES ON WAR

Immediately after the outbreak of the hostilities the Communist International formulated its theses on the character of the present war and laid down the tasks of the international working class in the new situation created by it. The full text of the theses is not yet available in India. We hope to publish the full text soon.

In the following we give the summary of the main points :

- (1) The present war is an imperialist war and as such an unjust war.
- (2) The slogan of the defence of Poland is raised by the imperialist Governments to hoodwink the people and to hide the true nature of the war. It has nothing to do with the defence of the Polish people. That slogan in reality amounts to the defence of the fascist rulers of Poland who participated in the criminal intrigue together with the imperialist governments of Britain and France in provoking this war.
- (3) The responsibility for instigating and starting this war rests equally on the bourgeois-democratic Governments of Britain and France as on fascist Germany. War guilt is thus shared equally by both.
- (4) On the international plane there can be no distinction whatever between imperialism and fascism.
- (5) The reactionary role which the second International and the leadership of the socialist and labour parties are playing by completely lining up behind the imperialist bourgeoisie has to be taken into account in determining our tactics in winning the majority of the working class in our struggle against war and for the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism and fascism.

STATEMENT OF THE POLIT-BUREAU ON CPI POLICY AND TASKS IN THE PERIOD OF WAR

*International aspect of our struggle against war,
Crisis of 1929 : New Partition of World begins.*

1. The war that is raging in Europe to-day is not a war of democracy against Fascism. It is an imperialist war—the second imperialist war, the heir and successor of the last Great War of 1914-18. Its outbreak was predicted by the 7th Congress of the Communist International (August 1935) in the following words : "The intensified struggle on the world market which has shrunk extremely as a result of the economic crisis (of 1929-33) has passed into a fierce economic war. A new partition of the world has begun". The German fascists "whose

adventurist plans for hegemony of German imperialism over Europe were arousing moods in favour of a world," were characterized as "the chief instigators of the war." The reactionary policy of British Imperialism, of aiding and abetting fascist aggression in the hope of directing it against the Soviet Union was laid bare as "the most important factor accelerating the outbreak of a world imperialist war."

CRISIS OF 1937 :

SECOND IMPERIALIST WAR BECOMES A FACT

The rapid spread of fascist aggression since 1932, when Japan attacked Manchuria, its accentuation, after 1935 (war against Abyssinia and its further development in Western and Central Europe, thanks to the British and French imperialist policy of "non-intervention") an appeasement (counter-revolution in Spain, annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia and Memel by Nazi Germany, seizure of Albania by Italy) all these developments brilliantly confirmed the sharpening of the inter-imperialist conflict predicted by the Communist International. Comrade Stalin in his masterly political report before the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B), (March 1939) drew the balance of the events of the last four years and declared that with the out break of the new economic crisis in 1937 and with the consequent accentuation of fascist aggression, "the entire post-war peace regime was upset" and "the second imperialist war had become a fact". "The new imperialist war had not yet become a world war".

APPEASEMENT OF FASCIST AGGRESSION LEADS TO WAR

This, Comrade Stalin pointed out, was due to the fact that the non-aggressor "democratic" states — England, France and United States of America, were making concessions after concession to the fascists, and retreating before them though every advance of aggression meant a blow to their imperialist interests. This apparent contradiction in the policy of these states was due partly to their fear of the revolution which were sure to follow in the wake of a war, but mainly it was due to the reactionary policy of British and French imperialists, who were perpetually seeking to turn the edge of the fascist aggression against the Soviet Union, to embroil Germany in a war with the Soviet. Their game was to allow the belligerents to sink deeper into the mire of war and then dictate terms to them when they had weakened each other.

Comrade Stalin sharply condemned this policy of so-called "appeasement", "non-intervention" and "neutrality" as the policy of "giving free reign to war and consequently of transforming the war into a world war".

STALIN'S PROPHETIC WARNING

As early as in March 1939, Comrade Stalin uttered prophetic warning : "The big and the dangerous political game started by the supporters of the policy of non-intervention may end in a serious fiasco for them". The prediction has come true. German imperialism which became immensely strong as a result of Munich, dominating Central Europe and isolating France, turned towards the domination of Poland, conquest of the Balkans and the Near East. These aims of the so-called "land policy" of Hitler as outlined in his *Mein Kampf* if materialized would have dealt a mortal blow to British and French imperialism. Messrs, Chamberlain and Daladier could have stopped Nazi aggression, saved peace as well as Poland, had they signed the pact of mutual assistance which the Soviet had proposed to them in the course of the Anglo-Soviet negotiations. They tried to involve the Soviet in a war with Germany. This double-faced game ended in a "fiasco" for the imperialists, thanks to the watchful diplomacy of the Soviet Union (German-Soviet Pact of 23rd August 1939) and the might of the Red Army. The inter-imperialist conflict came to the forefront, leading to the outbreak of the present war.

WAR AIMS OF BRITAIN AND FRANCE

2. Britain and France are not fighting in defence of freedom and democracy. Their victory would not mean the destruction or even the weakening of fascism. Their victory would not lead to the establishment of peace. All through these years, they have been trying to build up a Four-Power alliance under their leadership directed against the Soviet Union. That continues to be their policy, though in a different way --- through war.

Already, taking advantage of the war crisis, Chamberlain and Daladier have established semi-fascist Dictatorships in their own countries. In France the Communist Party has been suppressed. In Britain attack against the Communist movement has been launched. In both countries, under the pretext of war emergency, democracy is being fast destroyed. This represents the gravest danger to the world forces of peace and democracy.

Chamberlain and Daladier are using the anti-fascist sentiment of the people to purpose their imperialist aims, to entrench fascism in their own countries. They would destroy the last vestige of democracy in their own countries. They would intensify political and economic exploitation of the colonies. They would seek to come to an understanding with Japanese fascism at the expense of the Chinese people and directed against the Soviet Union. They would strive to establish the domination of Anglo-French fascism over Central and Southern Europe and build up a new war-combination against the Soviet Union under Anglo-French leadership and in alliance with Japanese imperialism. They are prolonging the war and not taking steps to establish peace because they want the war period to be used by reactionaries to crush the revolutionary forces at home and thus pave the way to the realization of their own imperialist war aims.

A NEW PERIOD OF REVOLUTIONS

3. These aims, however, shall not be realized. 1939 is not 1914. With the out break of the second imperialist war begins a new period of revolutions on a world scale. Due to the experience of the First Imperialist War, due to the anti-war campaign carried on by Communist Parties during the last twenty years and particularly since 1932 when the new crisis began to mature, due to systematic and ruthless exposure of the lies about "defence of fatherland", deepest hatred against war and war-mongers has been growing all over the world. And now when war has actually broken out, no longer it is possible for imperialists to deceive the masses as easily as they did in 1914. Right from the beginning of the war and not after years of war as the case last time—anti-war and anti-imperialist movements gather strength. Thus rises the new wave of world revolution—mightier than the first wave and on a higher plane.

And the forces of revolution—forces capable of intervening and transforming the war crisis into revolutionary crisis, of transforming the imperialist war into war for the overthrow of imperialism and fascism ---are immeasurably stronger to-day. Between the first and second imperialist wars lies the period of the most stupendous growth of working class and national revolutionary movements in world history.

REVOLUTIONARY FORCES THEN AND NOW

Then, there was no Communist International, no Soviet Union, no Red Army. Then, except the Bolshevik Party of Russia, there was no mass revolutionary party of the proletariat. Then treacherous social democracy had undivided sway over the working class in capitalist countries. Then, the national liberation movements in China, India, and other countries had not grown into mass movements.

To-day the situation is radically different. To-day in the midst of a war and crisis stricken capitalist world, stands the victorious land of socialism—the Soviet Union—exercising profound revolutionary influence on all peoples, its invincible Red Army, a revolutionary force of tremendous importance. To-day, the Communist International -- the International of Lenin and Stalin—unites the revolutionary vanguard of the world proletariat and leads the world struggle against Fascism and imperialism. To-day, powerful Communist Parties have grown in every country--parties that under the severest conditions of illegality are carrying on heroic struggle against the war-mongers and uniting larger and larger sections for the onslaught on the citadels of Imperialism and Fascism. To-day, treacherous social democracy has less influence than ever before: the working class is far more conscious and politically mature; a swing towards revolution is taking place among the masses of social democratic parties. To-day national liberation movements have reached unprecedentedly high level; in China the people stand united in their struggle against Japanese imperialism; in India the National Congress has become the organ of a powerful mass movement; in Palestine, Syria; Indo-China and other colonies mass movements have been rapidly growing.

ISOLATION OF IMPERIALIST WAR-MONGERS

Thus, the second imperialist war begins with the revolutionary forces immeasurably stronger than ever before; with world capitalism already in the midst of a deep crisis, with the masses already filled with hatred for imperialist war-mongers. As the war crisis deepens, distress is aggravated and mass slaughter intensified, hatred grows into revolutionary mood. Demand for peace becomes irresistible. The imperialist war-mongers are more and more isolated.

Thus opens up the perspective of revolutionary unification of the people against the Fascist and Imperialist war-mongers; of quick ending of the war; of the victory of the forces of peace, democracy and

socialism on a world scale.

Such is the character of the new period. Such is the perspective. It is with this perspective that the Communist Parties shall determine their attitude towards each specific issue arising in this period.

THE FRONT OF PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM
HEADED BY THE SOVIET UNION

4. Against this reactionary combination of Chamberlain and Daladier on the one hand and Hitler on the other, the victory of either of which would mean the victory of reaction, a new front of peace and democracy is rising under the leadership of the Soviet Union. The check to Hitler's advance in the East, the entry of the Red Army in Poland and the Sovietization of the West Ukraine and White Russia, the rapid elimination of Fascist influence from the Baltics, the growing influence of the Soviet Union in the Balkans have not only prevented the whole of Europe from being engulfed in the conflagration of imperialist war, but have also laid the basis for the victory of socialist and peoples' revolution in Europe. In the period of mighty upheavals that is ahead, the Soviet Union and the Red Army will undoubtedly play a tremendous role as the defender of the peoples against aggression, as the defender of revolution against counter-revolution. Within Austrian Czechoslovakia and Germany itself anti-Hitler forces are daily growing in strength and volume. In France and Britain, the struggle against Chamberlain's and Daladier's war-mongering policies, against their onslaughts on democracy, has already begun. The strengthening of these democratic and revolutionary forces in the capitalist countries and their closest alliance with the Soviet Union alone can guarantee victory to the cause of democracy and socialism, the destruction of fascism and the emergence of a world order based on freedom and peace.

REVOLUTIONARY FIGHT FOR PEACE—TRANSFORM
IMPERIALIST WAR INTO CIVIL WAR— DEFEND
THE SOVIET UNION

5. The policy of the proletariat in the capitalist countries and their revolutionary vanguard is clear. It was laid down in these words by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International (C.I.) : "should a new imperialist world war break out, despite all efforts of the working class to prevent it, the Communist will strive to lead the opponents of war, organized in the struggle for the transformation of

the imperialist war into a civil war, against the fascist instigators of war, against the bourgeoisie for the overthrow of capitalism." The same Congress further declared :

"At the present historical juncture, when on one-sixth part of the globe, the Soviet Union defends socialism and peace for all humanity, the most vital interests of the worker and toilers of all countries demand that in pursuing the policy of the working class, in waging the struggle for peace, the struggle against imperialist war before and after the outbreak of hostilities, the defence of the Soviet Union must be considered paramount."

COMMUNIST PARTIES FIGHT FOR PEACE

The policy which the Communist Parties all over the world are following is a concrete application of these clear directives laid down by the Comintern. The Communist Parties of Britain and France are ceaselessly working to expose the imperialist character of the present war. They are seeking to unite the working class and democratic forces for the achievement of a democratic peace. In cooperation with the Soviet Union, for the overthrow of the war-mongering Governments of Chamberlain and Daladier, which are acting as peace makers of reaction in Europe of a war against the Soviet. The Communist Parties of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland are similarly working for the overthrow of Hitler and of all the reactionary classes who support him. The main slogan of the Communists is the immediate cessation of hostilities, the calling of an international conference with the participation of the U.S.S.R. for the conclusion of a fully democratic peace, for a new settlement of Europe, for the creation of effective international guarantees against any future aggression, and for the preservation of the independence and democracy of all the peoples and nationalities of Europe. Such a peace would embody a completely new balance of the forces in Europe and the world, with the Soviet Union and the forces of democracy holding the lead.

AGAINST CHAMBERLAIN, DALADIER AND HITLER

Such a peace would tremendously weaken both fascism and imperialism, strengthen the forces of democracy and social revolution. It would turn the balance in favour of the Chinese and the Indian people, fighting against imperialism for their freedom. That is why the imperialists oppose such a peace. That is why Daladier condemns the

Communists of France for carrying on propaganda for "treasonable peace." That is why such a peace is impossible of achievement without successful struggle against Chamberlain and Daladier. This is how the Communists implement the Leninist slogan of converting imperialist war into civil war in the given situation of the present war. This is how the Communists fight against war, for the defence of the Soviet Union, for the overthrow of fascism as well as imperialism, for the advance of social revolution and the emancipation of the colonial people.

REACTIONARY SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY REPEATS

As against this the reactionary leaders of the socialist and labour parties in Britain and France are repeating their performance of 1914 by lining up behind "their own" bourgeois Governments. An opportunist distortion of the slogan of anti-fascist struggle serves them as a handy cloak for their new National Chauvinism. They attack the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties which are the only forces working for peace and fighting for peace and fighting consistently against fascism and imperialism. By raising the reactionary cry of "national unity" of the working class, helping to keep up the mad fervor in favour of imperialist war, and against the Soviet Union. The considerable influence which they still wield among the working class over the Trade Unions, makes them a serious obstacle in the path of peace and the revolution. The exposure and the isolation of these reactionaries inside the labour movement as the agents of the war-mongers, becomes the most important task of the Communists, in their struggle to win the majority of the working class in the fight against war and for the advance of the social revolution.

INDIA STANDS FOR A DEMOCRATIC REFASHIONING OF THE WORLD

6. On the international plane, two opposing forces face each other working to "refashion the world" in two opposite ways. On one side stand imperialist and fascist reaction, on the other side stand the forces of the revolutionary international proletariat, of the subject people and nationalities yearning for peace, democracy and freedom, and of the socialist peoples of the Soviet Union. In this world conflict India occupies a position of supreme importance. The role that India plays in the period ahead shall be one of the decisive factors in determining the

course of history. The question before the Indian people in this war is not whether they support imperialist Britain or sympathise with Nazi Germany. The question is whether they stand with the forces of reaction, fascism and war, or with those of freedom, democracy and peace. To help imperialism in this war is to strengthen fascism in Europe, to consolidate the imperialist status quo, is to perpetuate wars and the enslavement of subject nations is to help a reactionary refashioning of the world. To oppose the imperialist war which is being forced upon us, to link up our resistance to war with our struggle for freedom is the way to weaken British Imperialism, the main bulwark of world reaction and therefore world reaction itself.

RESIST IMPERIALIST WAR—LAUNCH STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

We have to join those forces that are working for a real peace, and for the all-round defeat of fascism and imperialism. Thereby we shall help in the democratic refashioning of the world. The duty of the Indian people as a part of the international army of freedom and democracy is to unconditionally resist war, to achieve her own freedom, weaken British Imperialism, the bulwark of world reaction and thus strengthen the forces of revolution on a world scale.

A TRULY INTERNATIONAL POLICY

Such is the policy of our party towards this war, viewed in its international aspect. It is not conceived in the spirit of narrow nationalism. It is a truly international policy, in line with the policy pursued by the vanguard of the international proletariat by the Comintern and its constituent parties and by the socialist peoples of the Soviet Union. It fully corresponds to the needs of the struggle for freedom of the Indian people. It is in that sense truly revolutionary and national policy. Our struggle against war is inseparable from our fight for freedom, is part of the world struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

II

NATIONAL POLITICAL TASKS

7. Revolutionary utilization of the war crisis for the achievement of national freedom — this is the central task before the national forces in the new period.

FEATURES OF THE PERIOD OF WAR IN INDIA

What are the new features of the present situation ? What are the new possibilities that it create ? What is the new perspective that has opened out ? The war crisis brings out in the sharpest manner and intensifies a thousand fold the conflict between the British Government and the Indian people.

The hollowness of Provincial Autonomy stand exposed. (Defence of India Ordinance.) The mask of "benevolence" falls off. The Government makes drastic inroads in the sphere of whatever restricted civil liberties the people have. It bans meetings and processions on flimsiest pretexts. It most ruthlessly interferes with the most ordinary and normal activities — political, Trade Union and cultural and academic (Bengal, Punjab and States). It invests the pettiest police officer with arbitrary powers of arrest, search and detention, introduces and intensifies the activities of spies in every institution and creates an atmosphere of insecurity. It imposes severest censorship on the press, bans publication of political and anti-war news. It doles out false reports about British "victories" and suppresses news, about defeats and disasters — news which invariably leaks out and undermines popular confidence in the Government and in its integrity.

Prices rise sharply. Attempt on the part of workers to raise wages is crushed with the help of police. Landlords and Princes ever eager to prove their loyalty fleece the peasants to fill the war-coffer of imperialism. Economic distress is accentuated a thousand-fold.

By lies and threats, by cajolery and compulsion, by utilization of the economic distress caused by war, imperialist recruiting agents force peasants into the army. Where the soldiers are sent is kept strictly secret even from their relatives — thus giving rise to anxiety and distress.

This suppression of political and civil liberties, this aggravation of economic distress, this creation of atmosphere of insecurity and alarm are seen by the masses to be the direct result of the war — the war launched by the British Government. The British Government is seen as the chief enemy, the chief cause of distress. Hatred against it becomes intense.

Accentuating the contradiction between the Government and the people, exposing imperialist rule in its naked and brutal form, the war crisis — the more it deepens — tends to set the Government against the entire people, brings every section of the people in conflict with the Government.

GROWING POPULAR HATRED AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR

Opposition to war measures grows. Struggle breaks out. Every struggle in this period, no matter how elementary in form, acquires intense revolutionary content and unfolds revolutionary possibilities. Every struggle for the assertion of democratic rights — right of the Press to publish authentic news, right of citizens to hold meetings, right of students to discuss and express their views on the war in their institutions; every economic struggle — the struggle for higher wages, the struggle against profiteering, against war levies and taxes, become immediately a struggle against the war, and the British Government.

With the deepening of the war crisis and the prolongation of the war, the most hideous features of imperialist rule more and more stand out and become dominant.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVE

Distress increases. Conflicts become sharper, deeper and more widespread, the more it relies on brute forces and reactionary elements. That enhances its isolation still further and ranges more and more sections in active opposition to it. The idea of storming the citadel of imperialism begins to take shape in popular mind. The revolutionary process is accelerated a thousandfold. What takes place in normal periods in the course of years, takes place in the new period in months.

Thus grows the possibility of the most rapid and wide-spread mobilization against the Government, of drawing even the most backward strata into active struggle against the Government, of carrying the isolation of the Government to the extreme point. Thus opens up the perspective of transformation of imperialist war into war of national liberation.

This perspective must be brought before the entire national movement. This outlook must determine the action of every Congressman in this new period. Capture of power is an immediately realizable goal — a goal for which preparations must be begun in right earnest.

More than ever before our party has to grow and act in this new rapidly changing situation on the initiative displayed by communists in utilizing the situation, on their capacity to move the masses and on their readiness to make the utmost sacrifice would depend the fate of the national movement to a greater extent than ever before.

IMPERIALIST STRATEGY IN THE NEW PERIOD

8. British Imperialism is fully conscious of the dangers of the situation, fully conscious of its revolutionary possibilities. It wants to utilize India's resources and man-power for the war. But more than anything else it wants the maintenance of "Internal Peace". That peace it hopes to achieve partially by holding out threats of severe repression (Defence of India Act), by the most drastic measures against the revolutionary core of the national movement — Socialists, Communists and radical Congressmen, by nipping in bud every movement. It would encourage forces of communal disruption that would threaten to submerge the national movement in communal riots.

But repression would not be the only nor even the main weapon of imperialism if it can be avoided. Imperialism would try above all to keep on its side the main body of the national leadership—the leadership of the National Congress. For that purpose however, imperialism is not prepared to make any major concession—political or economic—even to the national bourgeoisie. War does not mean the beginning of "decolonization" or a turn in the imperialist policy towards conciliation of the national bourgeoisie through major political and economic concessions. On the one hand, the economic difficulties of imperialism drive it to greater aggression against the Indian people and the bourgeoisie. This is amply proved by the economic and political measures which imperialism has taken during the last five years. On the other hand, the need to preserve internal peace in the time of war drives imperialism to seek a political conciliation with the national leadership and the bourgeoisie. There is thus a certain conflict between the economic and political needs. In the economic field imperialism is systematically counteracting the impetus to industrial development which war conditions are sure to give.

CONFLICT BETWEEN ITS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL NEEDS. GREATER AGGRESSION AGAINST INDIAN PEOPLE AND THE BOURGEOISIE

The timely import of British capital in the typically war industries of iron and steel and heavy chemicals, the policy of building large stock of imported material and of price control are measures calculated to forestall the Indian bourgeoisie and cheat it of the profit and advantage of war. In the political field imperialism wants the Congress Ministries to continue, wants the national leadership to preserve the peace and police the country during the period of war but it is not prepared to

make any political concession whatsoever (statements of the Viceroy and Lord Zetland). Conciliation without concession is imperialism's way of solving the conflict between its economic and political needs. To push through this policy imperialism relies on the reactionary forces which have always been its mainstay, namely, princes, landlords, forces of communal reaction and anti-national vested interests. With the help of these forces imperialism is trying to force the Congress into surrender. It relies on the weakness of our national leadership, on its fear of mass movement. Hence it has dared to reject in the most categorical terms the demands made by the National Congress.

COMPROMISE POLICY OF NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

9. Representing the national bourgeoisie the dominant leadership of the Congress wants to utilize the war crisis for securing concession from imperialism. It wants imperialism to at least abandon the project of federation and introduce responsible government at the centre.

The national leadership, however, does not want to use the weapon of mass struggle to secure its objective. It is conscious of its weakness, conscious of the "dangerous" turn that the mass movement may take. It knows that to-day to a far greater extent than in 1930 or 1932, the revolutionary forces have grown and are capable of transforming even mass satyagraha into a revolutionary movement. It knows that the influence of Gandhism has dwindled among Congress masses. It knows that once unleashed, the force of struggle will tend to break through the reformist framework of Gandhian non-violence.

For these reasons the dominant leadership of the Congress does not want to use the weapon of mass struggle; it wants to utilize the war crisis for striking a hard bargain with imperialism without struggle. That becomes obvious from the steps that it has taken since the outbreak of war. The statement of the Working Committee issued immediately after the outbreak of war which demanded the clarification of Britain's general war aims, declaration of India's right to freedom and immediate steps to give effect to that declaration has already been quietly shelved. The demand for responsible government at the centre—though not yet officially formulated has already begun to be voiced as the demand on the basis of whose acceptance by the British Government, the Congress would support war. (Sjt. Rajagopalachari's statement, dated 23rd October).

As yet, imperialism has refused to make any concession. This attitude of imperialism together with the overwhelming sentiment among masses of Congressmen against any surrender on the war issue

has sharpened the conflict between imperialism and the national leadership. Congress Ministries have been withdrawn.

No call for action, however, has been given, no preparations have been undertaken by the national leadership for launching struggle. On the contrary, militant action has been banned. Through the new technique of restriction of opposition within the parliamentary framework, through the new slogan of neutrality, the old policy of compromise is being pursued. Compromise and not struggle continues to be the policy. Even if the national leadership is forced, by mass pressure, to launch struggle, its attempt would be to restrict the scope of struggle so as to use it as a weapon of compromise.

COMPROMISE SPELLS DISASTER AND DISRUPTION OF NATIONAL UNITY

10. Compromise between Imperialism and the Congress on the issue of war would be treachery to the cause of world democracy and disaster for the national movement. Compromise is possible only on the basis of some sort of "responsibility at the centre". This has been and continues to be the chief demand of the dominant section of the national leadership. Such compromise would demand the operation of the hated Defence of India Act by Congress Ministries against the anti-war movement. It would demand support of the Congress to the anti-national bourgeoisie who want the maintenance of "industrial peace" and to the reactionary landlords who would fleece the peasantry for filling the war coffers of the British Government. It would demand acquiescence by the Congress in the misrule of autocracy in the states. It would demand "agreement" of the Congress with reactionary communalists. Compromise would thus inevitably mean a new alignment of forces, the alignment of the Congress with forces of reaction and against forces of revolution. That would lead to widespread demoralization and disruption of national unity. That would mean the destruction of the glorious heritage of the Congress.

The danger of compromise has not been eliminated with the withdrawal of Congress Ministries. The stalemate continues — though in a different form. The initiative remains with imperialism. Attention continues to be focussed on Whitehall and Simla. There is no doubt that during the period of stalemate imperialism would concentrate attack on the Left—Socialists, Communists and radical Congressmen — and try to crush the revolutionary core of the national movement. With the vanguard crushed in isolation, with the main body of the national forces paralyzed by inaction, the British Government would be in a position to

dictate terms. Forces of disruption would grow and the way would be paved to surrender. Thus the great organization which has become the expression of our national unity and is to-day one of the most powerful units of the world forces of democracy stands in danger of being gradually committed to a policy of disruption and acquiescence in or even support of Chamberlain's imperialist designs. How to avert this danger now, how to break through the stalemate — are questions of supreme importance to day.

ISOLATE THE COMPROMISERS

11. Progressive isolation of the compromisers representing the national bourgeoisie, progressive realization of proletarian hegemony in the national movement — through initiative in developing the anti-war movement on the broadest scale, through organization of mass anti-war actions can alone guarantee us against such a calamity. That alone would moreover free the movement from the bourgeois restrictions and develop it along revolutionary lines.

MOVE CONGRESS AS A WHOLE TOWARDS MASS STRUGGLE

It must be clearly realized, however, that the movement against war and for freedom can acquire national dimensions and be really effective only when it is led by the Congress, that the proletarian hegemony in the national anti-war movement has to be achieved not outside and independent of the Congress but through it. Every attempt on the part of the compromisers to continue the present stalemate or to restrict the struggle when launched to use reformist methods must be sharply criticized and its underlying policy ruthlessly exposed. That alone however would not enable us to achieve our objective. Nor shall we be able to break through the stalemate by ourselves issuing "call" for nationwide direct action against war.

THROUGH MASS ACTIONS OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS

All our anti-war activities to-day (during the period of the continuance of the stalemate), viz., protest strikes, local anti-war actions, demonstrations, mass distribution of literature, anti-war propaganda must have as their main objective, the creation of such powerful anti-war sentiment among the people in general and the

masses of Congressmen in particular as would move the Congress itself towards struggle. Even Satyagraha struggle, when launched by the Congress immediately assumes mass form on a national scale and therefore acquires revolutionary possibilities; but when "call" for such action is given by one tiny group, it becomes adventurism, disrupts the national movement and dissipates our forces. The present stalemate cannot be broken by such "Calls" for nation-wide "action" or by organizing "revolt" against the Congress but by the patient and systematic anti-war propaganda, frequent and widespread anti-war strikes, demonstrations, exposure of imperialist lies about the "democratic" character of the present war and sharp but convincing criticism of the present policy of "wait-and-see" pursued by our national leadership.

MAINTAIN UNITY OF THE CONGRESS

That is the only way. Maintenance of the unity of the Congress is the supreme need of the hour. That unity is threatened both from "Right" and "Left". Hence the urgent need for stressing the importance of dynamic unity at this critical hour, unity for resistance to war, unity for launching struggle for freedom. Hence the need for utmost development of the anti-war movement through Congress organizations and through closest alliance of working class and peasants organizations with them. Hence the need to popularize our slogans among masses of Congressmen. Hence the need to place Congress organizations on fighting basis—formation of war councils, preparation for period of prolonged struggle, enrolment of Congress volunteers. In the measure we succeed in embedding ourselves in the Congress and in popularizing our central slogan, utilization of war-crisis for achievement of freedom — in the measure we are able to develop mass actions through and in unity with the Congress in that measure we shall succeed in creating the basis for nation-wide movement, in that measure we shall succeed in defeating disruption.

GIVE PROLETARIAN IMPRESS TO THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE

12. For broadening and deepening the anti-war movement, for popularizing revolutionary forms of struggle and for giving proletarian impress to the entire national movement, when the Congress itself has moved on the path of resistance to war, independent class action by the proletariat will be one of the most indispensable and powerful weapons.

Mass anti-war strikes by the working class, anti-war rallies and demonstrations shall bring the working class before the masses as the most uncompromising opponent of imperialist war and most consistent fighter for national freedom. Such action will be possible only by our intensive political agitation in the working class through street-corner meetings, handbills, study groups, exposing the real character of the war and making the working class conscious of its role and tasks. Confining proletarian action only to struggle for economic demands, higher wages in view of rising prices, etc., would mean renouncing the task of making a bold bid for proletarian leadership of the political struggle ahead.

Similarly peasant actions in the form of anti-war demonstrations, marches and rallies, anti-war strikes of students must be organized frequently and on the most extensive scale. Thus we shall not only broaden the basis for nation-wide anti-war movement but shall also popularize militant forms of action, and ensure that effective methods of struggle – mass action – becomes a dominant feature of the national initiated movement on as broad scale as possible.

DEVELOP EXISTING ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

Already the masses are on the move. Mass anti-war meetings and demonstrations are taking place in every part of the country. The decision of the Working Committee for withdrawal of Ministries has already opened up the perspective of nation-wide struggle. An atmosphere has been created in which united struggle becomes an immediate possibility. Everywhere larger and larger sections of Congressmen are becoming conscious of the possibilities of the new period, are preparing for struggle. The United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee has already taken measures to place the Congress organization on war basis. The great anti-war strike of Bombay workers of October 2, the strike in which over 80,000 workers participated, the huge anti-war demonstrations that are taking place everywhere, the resolutions adopted by the Frontier, the Punjab and other Congress Committees — all these unmistakably indicate the rapid lining up of these forces of struggle, rapid growth of anti-war movement.

This movement must be broadened and deepened still more, mass action must be made more and more the chief feature of the movement. Energetic steps must be taken to place the Congress organizations on a fighting basis, to enrol Congress volunteers to conduct the anti-war movement through and in closest alliance with Congress organization.

Thus we shall be able to move the whole Congress towards struggle.

BREAK THROUGH THE SHACKLES OF GANDHIAN TECHNIQUE

13. Henceforth our chief task shall be to give the mass movement revolutionary content and form. When mass no rent, no-tax, and general strike become the characteristic features of the national movement, when even the most exploited strata of the masses enter the arena with their own demands and give their impression on the national movement when this movement breaks through all restrictions imposed by the Gandhian technique of non-violence and develops into mass insurrection against imperialist rule, then and only then shall capture of power become the immediate perspective. This development, however, cannot be brought about in a day. We shall be able to direct the movement into revolutionary channels only in the measures in which we have embedded ourselves in the Congress and have won confidence of the masses of Congress men by our leadership of the existing forms of struggle decided upon by the Congress.

RAISE NATIONAL STRUGGLE TO A REVOLUTIONARY LEVEL

While proletarian action in the form of mass strikes must be developed to the utmost and shall be one of the most effective and revolutionary forms of anti-war struggle in industrial areas, the party of the proletariat, the Communist Party, shall fail to overcome its isolation and become a national political force able to swing the entire national movement to the path of revolutionary struggle except through whole hearted participation in the struggle launched by the Congress—whatever its forms be — and developing it to higher and higher plane by actually convincing the Congress cadres of the greater anti-war, and anti-imperialist effectiveness of the proletarian technique of agitation and action. Through proletarian initiative and effectiveness, through our leadership of the existing form of struggle shall be created the basis for proletarians hegemony of the national movement.

THE BOLSHEVIK TACTIC OF REALIZING PROLETARIAN HEGEMONY

14. Our tactics of to-day are designed not only to move the whole Congress into action but also to influence and shape the struggle in

such a way that it bursts the bonds of bourgeois technique, of the Gandhian technique, and makes a sweep of a full-blooded revolutionary struggle involving active mass action and mass initiative by the working class and the peasantry. This putting of the proletarian impress on the struggle, so to speak, is in fact the struggle to realize the hegemony of the proletariat over the national movement. Hence the specific function of independent political proletarian action and of co-ordinated local struggles under proletarian leadership is to make a consistent and decisive bid, in this period, for leadership of the national movement. In the process of such action and through such action the proletariat would come forward as the most revolutionary class before all the people, would consolidate its alliances among the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie and thus would, in fact, establish its hegemony. This is the Bolshevik path, the path of Bolshevik tactics, the path which leads to the hegemony of the proletariat and to the co-ordination of all partial mass struggles into a general strike and no rent and no-tax campaign leading finally to capture of power through armed insurrection and paving the way for the passing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the proletarian revolution.

THE MENSHEVIK TACTIC OF GANDHIAN SOCIALISM

15. There is another path, put forward by the C.S.P. leadership and by the Forward Bloc, too. This is the path of individual satyagraha, of organized gaol-going expeditions, etc. This path, at best, would lead to the Congress launching a struggle. But the struggle so launched would remain solely under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and would be dominated by the Gandhian technique of releasing the minimum of mass energy and initiative. It would be reformist struggle which is bound to end in compromise and demoralization, and decimation of all the revolutionary forces. This path in practice is based upon defeatism and lack of faith in working class. It is a complete repudiation of the political role of the proletariat in the national movement, of the hegemony of the proletariat and a surrender of the working class and the national movement to the leadership of the bourgeoisie. This is the path of Menshevism, the path of Menshevik tactics.

The path advocated by Roy, though different in form, is basically the same Menshevik path in substance. Roy believes that the bourgeoisie has merged completely with imperialism. He advocated patient waiting during the war period. The bourgeois leadership would "Expose itself" and after that would come Roy's "alternative

leadership" to lead the struggle. In practice, Roy's theory during the war period would exactly play into the hands of the bourgeoisie. Passivity would mean strengthening the bourgeois leadership. Roy's recent letter addressed to A.I.C.C. members and his "lead" after the Viceroy's statement calling upon Congress "to declare neutrality" completely confirms the above statements. We differ radically from Roy's position.

THE "TAILIST" TACTIC OF M.N. ROY — THE WRONG THEORY OF THE AUTOMATIC EXPOSURE OF THE BOURGEOIS LEADERSHIP

We refute the contention that the bourgeoisie has completely merged itself with imperialism. The vacillations of a section of the bourgeoisie, the need for the bourgeoisie to deceive the masses, the differences within the bourgeois ranks themselves, all these can and must be utilized by the working class to expose and isolate the compromisers. The bourgeois leadership will not "expose itself" automatically but only through the efforts and the actions of the working class. There cannot be a petty-bourgeois leadership of the national movement — either bourgeois leadership or the leadership of the working class. We work for the latter. This would come not as a condition precedent to the launching of struggle nor as an isolated grandiloquent act, but in fact in course of struggle and as a result of the tactics of independent political activity by the working class, of co-ordinated local struggles etc., outlined above. Proletarian hegemony will be built up in the course of action. Roy's theory is a complete repudiation of the United National Front, of the political role of the working class and of the hegemony of the proletariat.

III ORGANIZATIONAL STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY FOR A MASS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

16. The general organizational tasks of the Party follow from the political tasks outlined above. The party being the weapon of realizing the hegemony of the proletariat, the needs for strengthening the party and for making it a real mass Revolutionary Party of the working class is urgent. The party is faced with the most critical period in its history. It stands before an opportunity which if fully utilized can enable it to

consolidate the advance it has made during the last three years and to transform itself into a real Bolshevik revolutionary party of the working class. We have to take immediate organizational measures, clearing the board for action, preparing the party for a protracted period of illegality and severe repression and also taking the fullest advantage at every stage of all the legal possibilities available for open mass propaganda and agitation for the strengthening of the Trade Union and Kisan organization.

PREPARE FOR ILLEGAL FUNCTIONING

The creation of a central illegal press, bringing out of the central organ of the party, arranging its distribution throughout the country, guaranteeing the building up of local illegal presses in all the national languages, the effective cooperation and initiative in the broad illegal anti-war agitation--these are the most important agitation-propaganda tasks of the party in this period. At the same time every attempts must be made to fully utilize the legal possibilities to push forward our propaganda. In case of the Congress launching the struggle, we must place our man-power at the disposal of the illegal printing apparatus of the Congress Committee and show initiative in running it effectively.

EXTEND MASS BASIS AMONG TOILERS

In this period, the party must develop methods to activate and train the large mass of class-conscious workers and peasants who generally follow the lead of the Party, organize them into auxiliary groups for distribution of illegal literature and into shock troops for carrying out mass political actions such as protest strikes, give them political training and thus broaden the effective mass basis of the party among the workers and the toiling masses.

IMPLEMENT SOCIALIST UNITY IN ACTION

17. In this critical period when the Indian working class is faced with such important political tasks as the struggle against compromise and the development of proletarian initiative to give the impending mass struggle a decisively revolutionary turn, the achievement of unity in the Socialist movement becomes an urgent and paramount necessity. As those who stands for Marxism-Leninism, who believe in the necessity of developing proletarians leadership in the national struggle and who ally themselves with the international forces working for

socialism through the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat through the forceful overthrow of capitalism and imperialism must now immediately achieve political and organizational unity. The time of strain and stress which is ahead, however, demands unity of action--unity based not merely on the acceptance of general principles but on the identity of the political line to be adopted on the basic issues raised by the war and the prospect of nationwide struggle in our own country. The unity which we want to-day must be based on the sharp demarcation from those who join with the reactionary "socialist" leaders of Europe in denouncing the attitude of the Soviet Union and from those who take a "neutral attitude" towards the Soviet in the name of "Unity".

ISOLATE THE ANTI-SOVIET ENEMIES OF SOCIALIST UNITY

It is not enough to recognize the imperialist character of the war and the need to fight against it. It is incumbent on every socialist to defend the revolutionary role played by the Soviet Union in this war against the slanderous attacks of the imperialist and reactionary socialists. It is not enough to decry bourgeois compromisers. It is necessary to concretely fight against compromise through the independent political actions of the proletariat and peasantry. Socialist initiative and leadership is not established by organizing a parallel centre of jail-going satyagrahis, in isolation from the proletariat but by developing and participating in proletarian action by achieving unity with the Communists.

UNITY ON THE BASIS OF BOLSHEVIK ACTIVITY

There is a deplorable tendency visible among a section of socialist leadership to take a neutral attitude towards the "socialist" slanderers of the Soviet Union, to repudiate the struggle for proletarian hegemony, to follow the Menshevik tactic of "tailism", to refuse unity with the Communists. This attitude is a hindrance to the achievement of immediate unity. It is, therefore, the task of the Communists and revolutionary socialists to-day to proceed to implement the slogan of the United Socialist Party in practice and from below on the basis of a correct socialist policy in relation to war, the Soviet Union, the fight against compromise and for proletarian hegemony, and socialist unity.

FOR A UNITED PARTY OF SOCIALISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

We are approaching a period of intense national activity and struggle which will also be a period of a mass swing towards socialism and proletarian policy. That is why it is urgently necessary to take active steps to carry on a sharp ideological struggle against these anti-socialist tendencies to violate the elements representing these and strive to realize in localities the unity of socialists and communists in action, on the basis of a correct Bolshevik policy. To shirk the struggle against anti-socialist chauvinists and liquidators, to refuse to implement socialist unity in this critical period is to repudiate socialism itself. On the other hand, to achieve unity in spite of hindrance, to fight for the correct socialist policy, and a single Socialist Party is to lay the foundation of a united revolutionary mass party of socialism and the working class.

18. The period ahead is pregnant with revolutionary possibilities and also full of gravest dangers. Our party shall have to display supreme heroism in this period. It will have to make the utmost sacrifice. It will have to develop tremendous initiative.

We have to prove ourselves a worthy section of the Communist International – the International of Lenin and Stalin – the International of which the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, China, Spain, Germany and France are sections – the International which leads the world struggle for freedom and socialism.

We have to uphold the glorious traditions of the Indian National Congress – the great national organization of our people. We have to act as the vanguard of our people in the impending war of independence. Our brother party – the great Communist Party of China – has already shown us how that is done, how the Communists can and must act as the unifiers of the struggle for national freedom.

We have to prepare our class – the proletariat – to play a decisive political role in this period. It has to win the leadership of the movement, by giving its impress on the entire struggle. Our revolution – bourgeois-democratic in content, proletarian in form – will march forward only in the measure in which our class, the proletariat is able to fulfil these tasks.

Under the banner of the Communist International, defending with all our might the glorious heritage of the Congress and the honour of the national tri-colour, leading our class into mass political action, we shall march forward.