

linguistic unity of the people. Pakistan taking its stand on a similar fact has been made into a live issue. The persistence in its opposition cannot be supported. But self-determination by itself makes no difference to the people if it is to serve the purpose of some ambitious rich men. Self-determination thus abused strengthens the hands of different ruling classes to be locked in endless conflict to the detriment of people's interest in every state. Self-determination may mean greater understanding and unity instead of separation for conflict if people have the determining voice in their affairs.

#### Resolution No. 4

### ON PLAN OF ACTION

The political resolution of the conference necessitates the formulation of a plan of action taking into account, the quick succession of events in the national and international spheres, rendering immense possibilities for the building up of people's power on the one hand, and the conscious attempt of the apprehensive native fascists to consolidate their own position to thwart the people's bid for power on the other.

In these days of international civil war, the Indian forces of revolution have to play their own parts effectively in the home front, fully conscious of the possibility of victorious revolutions in Europe and abroad. So, in full consistency with the analysis in the political resolution, this Conference takes up the task of building up of power on the following lines :—

(1) To organise local Panchayets as future organs of power on non-communal and non-party basis. The

movement of Panchayets will embrace all the exploited masses on territorial basis. The primary units of the Panchayets will elect representatives to form the higher units and thus a pyramidal structure to be formed so that people's real organ of power evolves.

(2) The voluntary urge for the formation of panchayets by the people themselves to be developed out of the experiences of various movements to meet the day-to-day grievances of the people and to meet their cultural and intellectual hunger. The movement thus initiated for the formation of panchayets as people's own instrument for the solution of their immediate grievances will gain momentum, and the movement of liberation will be crowned with success.

The food-problem being an all important problem, the lead is to come from the panchayets to solve its complexities of procurement, distribution, transport etc., so that through the experiences of the struggle for existence the confidence of the people may be won in favour of the existing Panchayets, and from the example of the Panchayets thus functioning, spontaneous popular enthusiasm be developed to get the best benefit of the maturing post-war crisis by the creation of a new Social Order through the instrumentality of the Panchayets.

(3) To have this result, the relation of forces as visualised in the political resolution is to be the guiding factor. The working class constituting by themselves a homogeneous group as a force of production, can have no conflicting interests. Hence our task will be to oppose any attempt at disrupting the integrity of working-class movement by helping them to organise themselves on '**one union one factory**,' and '**one Panchayet one factory**' basis, in order that they may function collectively in all their struggles against exploitation in any form and thus ultimately build up their Organ of Power. The experience of the working class movement to be brought home

to other exploited classes thereby strengthening the general movement of liberation.

The working-class movement, if not conducted on the lines enunciated above, will mean betrayal of the cause and the process of sharp realignment of forces will be check-mated.

(4) The movements in other spheres like culture etc. to be organised and the experiences gained therein to be utilised for the healthy growth of the general movement of liberation.

(5) To aim consciously at creating cadres out of participants of the movements and to make a systematic drive to raise a new leadership of the movement of liberation from the experiences of the various movements which will be able to rise up to the occasion.

(6) Systematic drive to expose the reactionary leadership of the existing parties, and an intensive propaganda machinery to be set up.

(7) To meet the exigencies of the immediate problem, deliberate attempts be made to activise food and relief committees etc. in such a way that popular pressure can definitely check the profit-motive of the profiteers taking advantage of food committees and other public institutions.

(8) To co-operate with the Governmental relief measures and the like, to have temporary immediate and partial solutions of the crying problems of the day and aim at the better prosecution of war efforts and encouraging thereby the willful and conscious participation in the war against Fascism.

(9) To request all parties and persons concerned, to consider our views and suggestions, and if acceptable, to work them out. The D. V. will always be in readiness to work in co-operation with them.

(10) Our units and membership and nuclei are asked to launch intensive and extensive drive to raise up the cadre of workers both qualitatively and quantitatively right from now.

### **Elaboration & Explanation of the Plan of Action**

*as accepted by the Executive Committee of the  
Democratic Vanguard in its meeting of  
the 28th & 29th Sept. 1944.*

Our analysis of the National and International situation and visualisation of the future as referred to in our Political Resolution of the last Conference, make it incumbent on us to take an appropriate line of action to meet the situation as it is to-day and as it is likely to develop here-after. Hence a line of action is chalked out. The Executive Committee of the D.V. finds it necessary to elaborate and explain the implications of their plan for the guidance of the Democratic Vanguards everywhere and as recommendations to all Vanguards rising independently or in other Parties and Organisations through various movements of the toiling masses.

( A )

1. We must continue to unconditionally co-operate with all war efforts of the Anti-fascist forces, in keeping with the spirit of our first Manifesto, till the final victory against the Fascist powers is achieved.

2. As we believe that the fighting capacity of the people is being seriously impaired by the deterioration of the food situation, consequent ill-health, starvation and death of a large number of human beings,

As we believe that such deterioration in the situation offers ground for Fifth Column activities.

as ours is a special responsibility of fighting Fascism in the Home Front, where fight against starvation happens to be the most important sector,

and above all, as the people's cause is ours and without their existence every other thing happens to be a mockery,

the problem of food as well as of the Medical Relief, should be undertaken with all the seriousness we are capable of commanding. While pursuing our previous line in this regard, it is desirable that we should immediately put more emphasis on rousing the consciousness of our people with regard to the plan and on the need of co-ordination of all activities on this behalf. To this end, we shall have to approach the people and tell them that this co-ordinating authority can be no other than the people themselves; for it is they who are vitally concerned and only it is they who can effectively secure their own interest. But nobody is going to or able to give them this authority; they will have to build it up for themselves. This can be done if the strength of the people, of the toiling masses, be mobilised for the purpose and organised for the requirement of the following actions:—

- (1) to deal with the authorities in all matters connected with the problem,
- (2) to secure food, medical relief and all other requirements of life,
- (3) to organise more local production of foodstuff with a view to meeting all emergency that may arise,
- (4) to prevent wastage,
- (5) to find substitutes for consumption goods including food, and to make it known to all concerned,
- (6) to arrange proper distribution of the things and facilities secured,

(7) to organise rehabilitation including rebuilding of dwelling houses, re-organisation of industries, replacement of cattle and other live-stocks etc. or to get it done by other agencies authorised by the Government or doing it independently,

(8) to arrange and encourage new productions, either to meet the requirements of the people or to secure employment for the un-employed,

(9) to mobilise all the resources, including land lying fallow, in its own jurisdiction,

(10) to make such demands as are necessary to remove restrictions on the possibilities of further productions and to develop sanction on this behalf,

(11) to secure facilities of transport and to organise a new ones to meet any emergency that may arise,

(12) to organise medical relief with all the available medical knowledge and facilities and its proper distribution or to get it done by other agencies functioning in the same area,

(13) to demand for the amalgamation of all efforts meant for the welfare of the people,

(14) to organise amusements, sports, reading libraries, lectures and other cultural shows to relieve intense tension of their miserable existence of to-day, thus maintaining the morale; this is of course to be tried only when the situation then obtained permits,

(15) to organise the local strength of the people for the purpose of their own protection,

(16) to arrange for amicable settlement of dispute cropping up between inhabitants of the locality,

(17) to attend to all other needs of the people of the locality,

(18) to encourage the formation of similar institutions in the neighbouring areas and to arrange a system of co-operation and co ordination with similar institutions of the neighbouring areas, if they are already in existence.

While trying to give effect to this plan, all concerned are warned that the tremendous speed of change we have been witnessing now, does not stop any where and at any time and we must go on taking note of these. It is worth mentioning here that the curve of intensification of the general crisis has been indicating a trend so long not perceptible; business in general is showing a sign of decline; small business will suffer; women are coming out in increasing numbers for employment with very much poor equipment and hence a new problem of unemployment will have to be faced; prostitution has increased to a horrible proportion; family life is being dislocated to its very foundation; middle class people with fixed income have been rushing towards extinction, and getting hopelessly emmaciated, babies being the worst sufferers; the paddygrowers who were better off during the last intensification of the crisis, are now being bled out, on account of sudden fall of the price of paddy, the production cost of which was almost eight times of what it can fetch on selling today; educational institutions are being dislocated in the mufassils due to the teaching staff being forced to abandon their post, to the death of a large number of students, to growing sickness, to the parents' inability to meet the expense of their wards and to many of them being forced to seek employment.

So our immediate and local programme must be adjusted to the requirements of these developments. Residential institutions for the children, run with a plan of making them less costly and partially self-supporting and similar institutions for training and employment of women in various places may be tried.

When the Government machinery failed to cope with the food situation, and the field was getting ripe for the evolution of the Panchayets, Food Committees were devised just to carry on and they serve as palliatives. But they are there with some power and cannot be done away with. Its name, scope, initiative, content, function and even the tradition of its short period of existence are against it. Any attempt at turning them into real Panchayets of the people is bound to fail. On the other hand it has a number of advantages, such as assured supply from the Government sources, its even ramifications throughout the country and it has been able to recruit some of the excellent workers who still do have faith in the possibilities of these institutions developing into the real Panchayets of the people. Ours will be the task to help, supplement, absorb and ultimately replace them by Panchayets. Now the main line to be pursued is to get these Food Committees yield the maximum amount of service. All these attempts, institutions and any other temporisation can not but fail in the course of further intensification of crisis, creating preconditions for the evolution of Panchayets throughout the country. It is the Panchayets that can succeed. But the others must be thoroughly tried, for today they can yield good results and it is the experience of failure even when given the fairest of trials that will ultimately bring final great swing in favour of the Panchayets. Halfhearted attempts now will give the people a different experience; they will naturally think that those who worked these institutions were not the right sort of people and instead of disillusionment in the possibility of these institutions a lingering hope of their possibility if done through better agencies will persist. Besides as the right type of institutions of the people cannot be organised overnight, we will not be able to render services to the people without the Food Committees and the like. We will work these institutions for what

they are worth, but we must not develop any attachment for the institutions we may create or work through. Thus rendering what services we can, through them till they are found unsuitable, we shall be able in the process to help the people to get dis-illusioned precondition for the people to take the right line,

3. Our participation in the working class movement has yielded good results, owing to the sound principles we have adopted. The time has now come to go to the offensive. A systematic drive against any disruptive activities, not in the way others do it, but in our own way which never accomodates any sectarian move, much less a so called drive against disruption to cover sectarianism. Our new drive will include :-

(1) mobilisation of workers' Union in favour of **ONE UNION IN ONE FACTORY** ;

(2) demand for the amalgamation of Unions in one factory or workshop, if there are more than one ;

(3) strict watchfulness over the activities of the union and its officials ;

(4) to activate the unions and to democratise them in the real sense ;

(5) to help the unions to function democratically ; this implies that in case of all initiatives the workers of the factory concerned and particularly the members of the union should be taken into confidence to keep them posted with all that is happening in their union, what the union has been doing for them and in their name ; they should also be told as to what is being done by the trade union movement in the country and elsewhere in the world ; the other aspect of working class movement which cannot be covered by the trade union movement should also be brought to their knowledge ;

(6) to popularise the working class demands with full implications of them.

(7) to acquaint them with all that is happening and is likely to happen in the country and all over the world ;

(8) to mobilise opinion with regard to our tasks ;

(9) to explain them the dangerous implications of the demand for the National Govt ;

(10) To attend to other needs of the working class including the needs of guarantee against starvation, of sanitation, of education, of recreation and other amenities of life :

(11) To mobilise workers' demand for co-ordination of all activities being done for the workers ;

(12) To mobilise workers' opinion in respect of their duty towards other exploited classes and as to how this duty is linked up with their best interests ;

(13) To nobilise workers' opinion and activate them in favour of encouraging similar activities in other factories and workshops ;

(14) To nobillise opinion and where-ever possible to organise **THE MAZDUR PANCHAYETS** to attend to activities mentioned above.

It must be understood clearly that no organisation is possible on the basis of a future plan of action and it can be brought into existence only as an arrangement of action to be immediately performed. We have enough of activities as suggested here and if and when sufficient support will be forth-coming for these activities the panchayets may be immediately formed ; when and where this opportunity does not arise, we shall have to continue to preach the idea and wait for the opportunity which is bound to come.

4. Our comrades working in the cultural movement should always keep in mind that culture itself is being threatened with the danger to human existence. So the movement has to do its own part. We suggest that the leadership of the movement may see to it that it may adjust itself to this new requirement of the hour.

5. Our student comrades are enjoined to speed up the process of formation of the cadre from amongst the students, who, up till now, have been supplying the vast majority of workers in our land. Here, we are to expose the pretensions of all, who talk in the name of unified students' movements, for there is none now existing; on our part, we shall be contented by forming our own cadres without any pretention of representing the students community as a whole; students coming from different classes cannot be expected to hold the same view in respect of the question of power. For the general welfare of the community and the interest of their education, the students' union recognised by the authorities will best serve the purpose. Those who are in the know of the party squabbles in the students' world are only anxious to find out a solution like ours and if the student comrades do their part well, they will find good response awaiting them.

So far as our cadres are concerned, it can not be too strongly emphasised that they have got to train themselves in respect of our entire line, to be followed by training for specialisation. For the training we shall have to increasingly depend on our field of action and as usual on our study circles.

6. We have another task to perform and it will be a very important task. We must establish touch

with all vanguards rising through various movements of the toiling masses, exchange our experience, and arrange co-operation with them on issues, where-ever it is possible.

Vanguards in other parties cannot be neglected either. We may not have appreciable response immediately, but in due course it is bound to yield wonderful results.

7. For reasons mentioned above we have to develop touch with movements of the toiling masses. It must however be understood that not only the touch but direct participation in such movements has been the very foundation of our programme;—here, we are emphasising the need of it from the point of view of our immediate requirement.

This will be best done through correspondence in the initial stage till we can establish direct local touch. We shall, however, always be on the alert, so that, no chance may be missed to popularise our views and to be of service to the movements we come in contact. If we do not fail to correctly conduct ourselves, our march from success to success in this field cannot be prevented.

8. This brings us to the other important task of spreading of finding Democratic Vanguard through the country, to function as nuclei. Functioning as such, they will establish local contacts with all movements and with the participants thereof. The same procedure of popularising our views will have to be pursued. Such nuclei will also come in touch with individuals with a view to persuade them to join us.

When in any particular place, we have a number of Vanguards willing to join us organisationally, when their participation in local movements is real

and effective and when they are willing to form themselves as a local unit of the Democratic Vanguard, the initiative may be taken by the nucleus for the formation of the unit. But we must always remember that our unit must not be a got-up show and our membership is not a concessional arrangement.

9. Organised units of the D. V. must function democratically in all local movements of the toiling masses, improve the quality of its membership, increase its quantity, shoot out its nuclei where-ever possible, maintain effective touch with the next higher organs of the D. V.; and send such reports as they are required to do by the D. V. rules and circulars.

10. Our activities in different movement and different fields will of course to be determined by the requirements of our as formulated in our programme or as they may be amended, added or developed from time to time, with the spirit of our plan of action intact, our actions are bound to serve as a means to expose the old leadership, isolate it from the masses and the rising leadership thus be recognised in time.

( B. )

Our opposition to the national Govt, coalition Govt, or party Govt under the system of parliamentary Democracy that brings the vested interest to power or against any other form of Govt in the hands of the rich, has to be based on our positive plan of building up of the peoples own panchayets which will be their organ of power. All criticism against other moves must be based on this positive aspect of our programme.

To this end, we have only limited scope; our main activities have to be agitational at least for some time. We shall have to take advantage of the inter-

vacuum created in the camp of the vested interest. The American vested interest has a quarrel with that of Great Britain's with India's and all in their own lands have their conflicts. In India proper, we find them fighting on various issues and in every field. No doubt, they may compose their differences in face of a common danger, the revolution, but the process of unification may not be complete or perfected before it is too late. These differences offer us field for effective actions and we must not lose it. We are in a much better position, so far as the native vested interest is concerned, provided of course we carry through our plan of action; they mainly depend on forces pertaining to the toiling masses. If the masses are to-day with them, it is only because that they are not yet fully conscious, though they have been gaining experience through the course of the crisis. Ours is the task to hasten the process: the vested interest in India derives the strength in their fight against foreign vested interest mainly from that of the seppele; it has, in the process, become more or less dependent on the strength of the people which they hope to be able to mislead for all time to come. If we can liberate the toiling masses from their grasp, the native vested interest cannot maintain their own provide they do not mount to the power and get themselves sufficiently consolidated, before the time is matured. Hence, our emphasis is justly laid on our refusal to do anything to remove the conflicts and differences that they have in their own camp.

Our positive programme of Gana panchayet will, as it will be given effect to, bring the people face to face with exploitation and zulum, resulting in the growth of class consciousness of the toiling masses. So, through this movement, we shall get the people

organised with certain amount of experience gained by them. Some amongst them, becoming more conscious than the rest will come to swell our ranks either directly joining us organisationally or as independent vanguards pursuing the same line: parties functioning will not be able to escape the effect of this healthy development in the country and the vanguards within them will see to it that the people's cause may not be sacrificed without any protest from within.

If all these factors contribute to make it impossible for the vested interest to mount to power, an excellent precondition will have been created for the people to assert their power, for when the native vested interest will be prevented from mounting power, the foreign vested interest cannot effectively function, partly due to the opposition of the native 'haves' and others and mainly due to the nature of the crisis: yet, men must live, things must go on, and the people already made conscious to a certain extent and having their organisations functioning in different parts of the country to inspire hope to the rest, will have the necessary determination for the assertion of their own power, in a world where revolution will be churning its wonderful creativeness to save humanity from disaster and finally to take it to its glorious goal.

2. Considering the time factor as well as the gross betrayal of the people's cause by parties and individuals who profess to serve it, we may not be able to prevent the undesirables from coming to power. Our fight then will have an initial advantage, as by that time, we would be far more strong not only numerically and qualitatively so far as the organisation of the D. V. is concerned, but we will

have also the hacking of the conscious and organised massed and of other vanguards rising through movements. Vested interest will then forced to come to the organised masses, the Gana panchayets, for receiving sanction for every thing they want to do they will still bluff and even the helpless masses, helpless because till then they will not be able in possession of all the materials to save themselves with may temporarily lend their support to this illusory plans of their enemies. This has got to be turned to our account; while the vested interest will be wooing masses we should see to it that the people's so-called right to freedom of thought, platform, press and association may not be tampered with and to see that these rights may be utilised by the masses, as a matter of course and not as matter of concessions given to them by their masters, for the further progress of their organisational strength. The much needed experience of the people as to the impossibility of their needs and wishes being realised when the power is transferred to their 'beloved leaders' will run its complete course. It will then be our task to provide the strong leadership.

Here, the elections will serve as a powerfull levers to turn the swing of the people's psychology in favour of the people's cause. But as we don't entertain any illusion about the possibility of people's men coming to power through these elections, we will never be guilty of creating any 'illusions' anywhere. Our election struggle must be conducted to dispell illusions, to expose pretentions and to isolate the masses from the reactionary leadership.

Due to the vigorous activities in all fields as proposed in this plan, together with the possibility of disillusionment of a large number of political

(T) building up of solidarity of the combination  
 as vital to its existence as an effective factor to revol  
 tion, as aala to the masses and



worker's who still believe that some of their trusted leaders will not really betray the interest of the masses, the party of the people, the party that will lead the revolution, may come to existence in an atmosphere of generalised experience.

Ours must be the initiative, we must then be able to send an effective call to all who really count. So from now on our propaganda machinery must be increasingly utilised to create the necessary preconditions.

Our approach to other parties and organisations must not miss this essential requirement of our task. And while doing all these we must evolve a cadre of leadership with such wonderful discipline that it may serve as an ideal for the future party of the people that is yet to come.

( C )

If things take shape as we expect, task is bound to be enormous. We must, for the requirement of this task, get into such an organisation, as will be appropriate to the task we shall have to perform. For this we shall have to give attention to :—

- (1) Qualitative developments of individuals,
- (2) Swelling of our number,
- (3) Spreading of our nuclei,
- (4) Formation of unite when and where the field is ready,
- (5) evolution for our organisational scheme with a structure to suit the requirement of our task.
- (6) evolution of that discipline which is essential for success,
- (7) building up of solidarity of the combination so vital to its existence as an effective factor of revolution, as also to the cause, and

(8) various other organisational problems cropping up through our activities everywhere.

2. Our members in units and functioning as nuclei are, therefore, enjoined to face these problems with all the seriousness they demand. Some of them may be discussed in study circles and even individually thought of ; the result of such deliberations may be duly communicated to the office of the D. V. thus helping in the process of collective shaping of our organisational structure.

3. In view of the tremendous speed with which the world is to-day moving and in view of the difficulties of publicity we suffer from, all nuclei and units are enjoined to keep correspondence with the office in Calcutta. This is an important matter that we may neglect at heavy cost to ourselves and to our Cause.

4. All our units, nuclei, friends and sympathisers, as well as public spirited men, are requested hereby to give effect to our resolution on press publicity, so that the people's cause may not go in default.

Resolution No. 5.

#### POST-WAR PLANNING.

The capitalist system of production, which has developed its own contradictions, and is anachronistic, has failed hopelessly. It has not only failed to satisfy human demands but has increased miseries of many to secure plenty for a few. Even these few are not safe and secure within this decaying system. The worst feature of the system is that it restricts its own possibilities of production and upsets its own arrangement of production at short