

Forward to a United Party

Manifesto of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India on PARTY UNITY

To all Party Members! To all Communists and Communist Groups Outside the Party!

Comrades,

The present Central Committee was formed by uniting most of the isolated Communist groups existing in our country into a *centralised All-India Party*. Since then the Party has grown all round, in every way. Today we have functioning party organisations in all the major provinces, our political influence is far greater than our organisational strength; we are bending all our energies to become a political force in the country. In achieving our revolutionary tasks the first and one of the most important impediments is the fact that we are *not yet a United Party*; individual Communists and Communist groups exist outside the Party.

The Communist individuals and groups we have in mind are eager and willing to work under the leadership of the CC, they are entirely loyal to the Communist International, whole-heartedly accept the direction of the Seventh World Congress. The Central Committee throws open the doors of the Party to them and expects all Party members to give these comrades a ready revolutionary welcome into our ranks and assimilate them in our Party organisation.

The Central Committee calls upon all Party members not to regard such comrades as coming from 'opposition' groups or being an opposition group in any real sense of the term. Every Communist outside the Party is not necessarily a pseudo-communist. We must admit, what is a fact, that individual communists have remained outside the party, organised themselves into groups and proved their revolutionary worth by building up and becoming a part of the militant mass movement. We must find out an explanation for this—how elements whose rightful place was inside the party remained out of it and could nevertheless work among the masses. They dared remain outside the Party because the Party was weak; they as a group could build up mass organisations and mass influence because of the various mistakes of the party organisations. The existence of the independent groups is a living proof of the weakness of the party. Should such a state of affairs be allowed to continue anymore? No, Never. All party comrades! Join the Central Committee in saying this and prove it by your deeds.

The Central Committee declares that it is improper for a communist to remain outside the Party and impermissible to form an independent group. Such comrades have thereby created un-Bolshevik traditions for the party, hindered the possible growth of the party, and prevented the building up of a far-wider mass influence for the policy of Communism. Their place from the very beginning was under the banner of the Party; they would have thereby strengthened the party and enabled it to pursue a more truly Bolshevik mass policy. These comrades put forward the state of inner-party life or the mistakes of local and provincial party organisations as their justification for remaining out of the party. The Central Committee declares that this is no valid justification. It assures these comrades from its own intimate knowledge of inner-party life, of our achievements and our mistakes that if they would have joined the party at the right moment they would have improved the party all round and prevented things which should never have happened. Every aspect of our Communist movement is decisively pointing to and conclusively proving the elementary organisational principle of the comintern that *no real, abiding communist work is possible except through the Communist Party*, not by remaining outside the party and never against the party. Party above all—we call upon all our nonparty comrades to recognise this and prove it by their deeds.

ALL IN!—into the party, is the fervent appeal of the Central Committee to all Communists who are not inside the party. We recognise it as our main task to facilitate their entry into the party by every means at our disposal, we expect every party member to heartily welcome them inside the party, we expect these comrades to work in a way as to earn the unquestioned confidence of us all.

The Central Committee calls upon all Communist to cease forthwith all carping criticism of each other, give up the hunt for imaginary deviations, and the delightful pastime of discovering the “mistakes” of others. In our struggle for party unity we must concentrate on finding out our point of agreement which will enable us to see our remaining differences in their true perspective. Let us, after this stage is reached, decide together and also separately whether our few remaining differences (political and otherwise) are of a type which could be discussed and decided upon inside the party in the usual way, or so fundamental and far-reaching as to make party unity impossible. The central committee does not desire to smother criticism either of itself or of the party as a whole or of other independent groups, but suggests the means whereby discussion could be fruitful. Everything must be discussed and all serious differences liquidated BEFORE party unity is achieved; but in all our discussions let us not lose sight of our aim—party unity—let us not degenerate into an endless debating society.

We all whole-heartedly accept the line of the Seventh World Congress the policy of united front, but we have been so far failing to effectively carry it out in

practice. The Central Committee is working out and applying our new line to the concrete situation in India, it calls upon all non-party comrades to join up and help it in its new tasks. The Communist Party is the real builder and the most consistent supporter of united front. Unity on the party front will immediately accelerate the successful formation of the united front. Who dare deny this?

Our Spanish comrades have proved that a numerically small but united CP can successfully build up a broad-based united front; our French comrades have demonstrated the immense potentialities of the united front movement; our German and Austrian comrades are showing us how to build up a united party and united front movement in conditions of terror and illegality; we have the heroic example before us of the model colonial party of our International, the Chinese CP which in conditions of unimaginable terror and against unheard of difficulties is building up a growing united front movement against the rapacious Japanese Imperialism and successfully defending Soviet-China. We communists have the most glorious revolutionary heritage which is being enriched from day to day by our brother parties; let us not lag behind but fulfill our Bolshevik role. We would be justifying ourselves before the communists of the whole world by establishing a united party and through it launching ourselves successfully on the path of the United Anti-Imperialist Peoples' Front.

The Central Committee states that there are groups and parties with whom party unity is not *immediately* possible, but the successful working out of the united front line in collaboration with such groups would create conditions when party unity with them would be feasible and proper. The Central Committee declares that it works and will work for the aim of party unity with them as well and it can best be realised through our joint experience of the united front struggle.

A United Communist Party of India as the lever of building up the *United Anti-Imperialist Peoples' Front* and through the successful experience of the united front struggle a still stronger CP worthy of its historical leaders and teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Such is the prospect today, and it is a realisable prospect. Let us realise it, *all together*.

Central Committee

Communist Party of India, (Section of the Communist International)

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