

IMPERIALISM & THE PEOPLE : WAR & POST-WAR

The world to-day is passing through a highly accentuated crisis of capitalism and our own country, India, is no exception.

Although the last shot in the second world war was fired some two years ago, the world is, even to this day, groaning under conditions of famine and oppression all around. There is no food, no cloth, no shelter, no employment, no civil liberties and no freedom for tens of millions of men all over the world. The second world war is dead past and peace treaties are now being drafted and signed, but still, there is no peace on earth. Look at China, look at Indo-China and Indonesia, look at Greece and Spain and you will find how war is being thrust upon the peace-loving peoples of those lands.

Why is it so? Why after so much of bloodshed in fighting Fascism, in defence of freedom and democracy, are the peoples of different countries being subjected to such inhuman treatment?

It is because capitalism and imperialism, since the close of the war, are feverishly trying to consolidate and regroup their forces by all possible means. Their only object is to retain their prestige and position and also to gain further ground by defeating the growing strength of the progressive and

freedom-loving peoples of the world that has resulted from the military rout of Facism in course of the last war. *

The last war was fought between the Allied Powers which included the highly developed capitalist countries of America and Britain, the Soviet Union and the progressive peoples on the one side and the Fascist powers and their vassals on the other. During the course of the war, the force of circumstances necessitated a temporary mitigation or suspension of the contradictions and antagonisms that existed between the different forces that constituted the Allied Camp. Prof. Varga, the leading Marxian Economist in an article entitled "*The General Crisis of Capitalism*" says :

"The fact that the Soviet Union and the highly-developed capitalist countries were in the same camp of powers fighting against the Fascist aggressors meant that the struggle between the two systems in the democratic camp was temporarily mitigated, suspended; but this of course did not signify the end of the struggle.....The Allies assisted the Soviet Union, but it cannot be said that, in so doing, they forgot the difference in the social system." (*Labour Monthly* Jan. '47)

Imperialism according to Lenin is the decaying or the last stage of capitalism. Accordingly in its imperialist or last stage, capitalism is faced with a perpetual crisis. In order to save capitalism from its dying stage, the most highly-organized monopoly capital resorted to Fascism. These monopolists wanted to establish their dictatorial rule over the whole of mankind. But their sweet dream turned into a nightmare with the miscarriage of Hitler's plan of world conquest. This defeat of the owners of cartels and trusts and their most well-organized military machine has in reality weakened capitalism as a whole and has accordingly accentuated the general crisis through which it is passing.

This weakening of capitalism, however, is reflected in varied degrees in different countries of the world.

We had visualised this weakening of imperialism and the consequent growth of the progressive forces on a world scale. We said in course of our Political statement adopted by the C. C. in March '45 as follows: "We could foresee that a Soviet victory in this war would not only destroy Fascism but would also weaken imperialism on a world scale. This destruction of fascism and weakening of imperialism, in our opinion, would open up the flood-gates of democratic liberties and would farther the cause of India's independence."

A glance at the political atlas of the world of to-day will concretely prove how correct we were in our visualisation. Before the second world war, the whole of the globe minus the Soviet Union and portions of Chins (where Border Region Governments were functioning under the leadership of the Chinese Communists) were socially, politically and economically dominated by the predominant imperialist powers and their capitalist brothers in different countries.

EUROPE: THE KEY-NOTE TO WORLD POLITICS

The European politics, since the last few centuries, has been the keynote to world politics. So, let us examine the condition of Europe before the last world war. At that time practically the whole of Europe was the playground of the rivalries between British and French imperialism. Most of the central and southern parts of Europe lay prostrate under the heels of Fascist tyranny. The whole of the Balkans was a hotbed of imperialist intrigues and was rotting under tyrannical, semi-feudal overlords. Poland and Finland were semi-fascist states. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were set up as imperialist buffer states against the Soviet Union under the terms of the Versailles Treaty.

Such was the political situation of Europe before the second world war. But to-day the political status and position of most European countries have undergone considerable transformation. Before the war the Soviet Union was the only revolutionary state in the world which was striving for the establishment of socialism throughout the world and was serving as the only beacon light for progressive humanity. But to-day the Soviet Union does not stand alone. Most of the European countries have undergone a progressive orientation. Foremost among them is Yugoslavia. Here the National Liberation Front under the leadership of the Communist leader, Marshall Tito, a Zagreb Metal Worker, controls the whole state machinery with its disciplined army of 500,000 men trained and tried through the fire of the war of liberation against the German Fascist hordes. In Bulgaria, Comrade Dimitrov, the General Secretary of the Communist International until its dissolution, is the Premier of the Patriotic Front Government with a solid backing of the working class and other progressive parties. In Albania, General Enver Hodsha the Albanian communist leader, is the Premier of an all-communist Government known as the Peoples' Democratic Front Government. In Rumania the communists hold all the important Cabinet posts with Peter Groza of the Ploughman's Front, a pro-communist, as the Premier. In Poland the Government is run by the communists and socialists jointly under the Socialist Premier but under the predominating influence of the communists. In Czechoslovakia the Communists with 114 seats is the largest party in a Parliament of 301 seats and Comrade Klement Gottwald, the Czech communist leader heads a coalition Government, the rock-bottom of which is a close United Front between the Communist and the Socialist Parties. In the same way the communists wield tremendous influence in the Government of Finland through the Democratic

League which controls 50 seats in a Parliament with a total of 200 seats.

In almost all of these countries far-reaching changes of a social character has taken place whereby the domination of big business and landlords have been ended once for all and an economy of transition to socialism has been adopted. For instance in Yugoslavia "the most important achievements on the economic front have been the carrying through of the agrarian reform, the nationalisation of the most essential branches of industry..... The Agrarian Reform, adopted by Peoples' Provisional Parliament in August, 1945, provided for the confiscation of land held by big landowners, many of whom were Germans, Italians or Hungarians, without compensation. Holdings of more than 25—30 hectares (62½ to 75 acres) were subject to confiscation, whilst middle peasants losing land by this reform received compensation. The confiscated land is distributed to peasants with little or no land and both confiscation and distribution are carried out by Peoples' Committees assisted by local peasants." ("New Yugoslavia" by James Klugmann, *Labour Monthly*, Sept. '46, page 273—74). The Agrarian Reform in Yugoslavia which is contained in Article 19 of the New Constitution states that "the land belongs to those that tills it.....There can be no large land holdings in private hands on any basis whatsoever.....The state particularly protects and assists poor peasants and peasants with medium-sized holdings by its general economic policy, its low rates of credit and its tax system." (Ibid). As a result of a decree passed by the Presidium of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation confiscating all property held in Yugoslavia by enemy nationals and now criminals, over 80 per cent. of Yugoslav industry passed under state ownership and in Article 18 of the New Constitution, it is stated that "no person is permitted to use the right of private property to the detriment of

the peoples' community. The existence of private monopolist organizations such as cartels, syndicates, trusts and similar organizations created for the purpose of dictating prices, monopolising the market and damaging the interest of the national economy is forbidden." (Ibid).

In the same way, in present day Poland, the national economy has been rid of a number of parasitic factors which might have impeded its rehabilitation and development. Cartels and trusts have been abolished and large and medium industries, railways, river transports and banks have been taken over by the State in accordance with the historic Manifesto of the "Polish Committee of National Liberation issued in July 1944. By the beginning of December 1945, 2,888 workers had been promoted to managerial posts in industrial establishments and associations... ..The abolition of landed estates and the transfer of the land to the peasants as the result of the Agrarian Reform carried out in conformity with the above Manifesto have made vast opportunities available to the peasants of Poland. The abolition of the rule of the landlord and the usurer has liberated the peasants from the thralldom of perpetual indebtedness." (*The Foundations for the Resurgence of Democratic Poland*—by J. Kowalski—"New Times" Feb. 1, 1946).

These basic social changes brought about in the body-politic of the aforesaid European countries have definitely brought them closer to the progressive camp headed by the Soviet Union in the international field in direct contrast to the Anti-Soviet and reactionary foreign policy pursued by the rulers of these States before the war.

In the case of the post-first-world-war Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, they embraced socialism and merged within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics almost right at the start of the second world war and now they exist as autonomous Republics within that state.

In France to-day, the French Communist Party is the largest Party within the French Parliament and in the last general election in Italy, the Italian Communist Party captured 104 seats in a house of 516 by securing in all 4,204,000 votes inspite of the ruthless suppression of all communist elements during the 20 years of Fascist rule. In both these countries, the working class, the village poor and all other progressive elements, have rallied under the banner of the Communist Party, thereby making both these Parties the most powerful factors in the national and internal politics of those countries.

In other countries of Europe although the gains of the working class parties is not spectacular, yet in relation to the pre-war period their advance is considerable and of far-reaching importance. In Belgium, the Communist Party holds 23 seats in a Parliament of 202, in Holland 10 in a Parliament of 100 seats, in Luxembourg 5 out of 51 seats, in Sweden 15 in a Parliament of 229, in Norway 11 in a House of 150 seats and in Denmark 18 in a Parliament of 148. In all these countries although Communism has only a modest showing, its influence has grown enormously compared with pre-war figures. This growth in the influence of these Communist Parties constitutes a sure check on all reactionary intrigues by the capitalist classes of these countries.

In Hungary and Austria the strength of the progressive and working class parties is increasing every day inspite of all imperialist machinations. The Soviet occupied part of Germany has seen widespread social changes in the shape of Agrarian Reforms. In this area nearly 5,000,000 acres of land belonging to 8,000 landlords was confiscated and offered to actual peasants for cultivation.

Even in England, the homeland of British imperialism, the latter suffered a set back in the last General Election where the unchallenged war-leader of the British Empire, Mr. Churchill, with

his Conservatives were floored by the British Labour Party. Although the Labour Government is playing second fiddle to the fresh manoeuvres of the imperialist conspirators, an increasing number of Labour M. Ps. are raising their voice and consolidating their forces against it. So much about Europe.

THE RESURGENT ASIA

Now let us have a look at the Asiatic countries. In Asia also the influence of the imperialist powers reigned supreme in the pre-war period. The Middle and the Near East countries including Afghanistan were the centres of intrigues and rivalries between the different imperialist and fascist powers. India, Burma and Malaya constituted a solid block within the British Empire. Over Indonesia and Indochina, the Dutch and French imperialists held complete sway. In China the pre-war imperialist rivalries were manifested in the worst form. Large parts of China including Manchuria, Jehol, Nanking (Capital of China) and almost the entire coastal strip was occupied by Japan. In other portions of China, excluding the Border-Region Government areas run by the Chinese Communists, the peoples were subjected to the despotic rule of Chiang-Kai-Shek. In Japan a semi-feudal, fascist rule was the order of the day and Korea was sweating under Japanese military rule.

But to-day the imperialists are faced with a resurgent, revolutionary Asia. In our previous declarations we had visualised the emergence of a peoples' "third front" in the wake of peoples' struggle against Fascism. This meant insurrections by the peoples in the Fascist occupied countries and the setting up of People's Front Governments in those countries. Such popular uprisings occurred not only in the occupied countries of Europe but also in many of the Asiatic countries. Major portions of Indonesia and Indo-China to-day are Free Peoples' Republics, the whole of North China

including Jehol and nearly the whole of Manchuria has come under the control of the indefatigable Chinese Communists, over portions of Central Burma the Red Flag Communists under Comrade Thakin Soe hold their sway by defying the British army of occupation. A movement is raging in Arakan demanding an autonomous state, in that part of Burma. The sharply rising labour movements in India, Burma and Ceylone show which way the wind is blowing. The unique revolt of the Naval ratings in India and Ceylone and the mutiny in the ranks of the Indian military and police forces during the first half of 1946 are the sounds of the death-knell of the imperialist rulers. In the Near and the Middle Eastern countries, inspite of every machinations of the imperialist powers, the progressive forces are increasingly asserting themselves. The rise of the peoples of Iranian Azerbaijan under the leadership of the Leftist Tudeh Party against the British and American dominated Iranian Central Government, is clear demonstration of the growth of the leftist forces in these parts of the world.

But the story of the upsurge against imperialism does not end here. Even in the traditionally 'dark' continent of Africa, streaks of bright rays are showing the promise of the approaching dawn. The revolt of the Algerians soon after the final defeat of Fascism in Europe had to be crushed with the help of British and American planes by killing 10,000 Algerians. The struggle of the Egiptian students and workers against the British Army of occupation goes on almost incessantly. Even the backward, almost unknown island of Madagascar is infected where the native population have revolted against the French imperialist power and have set up their own Government over large areas of their own country.

In America itself the strikes of tens of millions of workers which are almost daily features in the newspapers go to show the fighting spirit of the

American working class against American imperialists
—the owners of trusts and cartels.

All these factors put together demonstrate to what extent the relation of forces in world politics has changed out of this second world war. After the first world war the Soviet Union was the only organised state which singularly bore the brunt of the machinations of imperialist war-mongers, but to-day almost all the Balkan States and the States of Eastern Europe followed by liberated areas of China, Indonesia, Indochina and Burma and the resurgent peoples of the whole of Europe, Asia, Africa and America present a solid block against the imperialist system as a whole and specially to the imperialist planners of future wars.

We have said before and we wish to reiterate that the second world war had revolutionary potentialities. This war was of the nature of a class war fought on a higher plane. This war has materially weakened world capitalism in an immense scale. It has smashed the German Army which was the best military machine that capitalism has ever been able to produce; it has drawn away a number of pre-war capitalist countries from the orbit of capitalist economy and has wrought devastating damages to the means of production in a number of capitalist countries, the reconstruction of which would entail serious strain on the world capitalist economy. "In the case of this war, the impoverishment of the capitalist world as a whole will be much greater than it was then" (1914—1918) says Prof. Varga in his article "Toward a New Crash" in 'New Masses'—January 26, 1946.

All these factors conclusively prove that this war has weakened capitalism on a world scale. Capitalism, to-day, being in its last imperialist stage, this war has greatly weakened world imperialism as well. This has rendered the general crisis of capitalism to a more acute form.

DYING IMPERIALISM CONSPIRES TO STAY

But imperialism dies hard. Long before this aspect of the war, war was manifested in glaring outlines; the imperialist war-mongers were hatching their plans for consolidating their position for the future.

We had already stated in the Political Statement adopted by the Central Committee of the Party held in March, 1945 that, "while struggling to strengthen this camp (Anti-Fascist Camp) as a whole we should keep close vigilance on the different forces who march with us and must keep ourselves ready to fight out every deviation in our ranks from the democratic course by means of persuasion, mass mobilization, mass propaganda and also by creating mass sanctions."—(*Peoples' Front*, Vol. IV, No. 1, dated March 31, 1945.)

The German Fascist Army finally surrendered and the European war ended on the 8th May, 1945. But even before this task was accomplished, the imperialist rulers of the highly developed capitalist countries in the Allied combination, started their nefarious games. A realignment of forces on a world scale ensued. The imperialists feverishly started to rally under their banner all those forces which were scared by the victorious emergence of the progressive forces of the world headed by the Soviet Union as the predominating factor in world politics. While on the conclusion of the European war Comrade Molotov declared that "for Russia the war will not be over until all forces of Fascism and oppression are exterminated from the face of the world," the influential British journal "*Reynolds News*" reported that "friends of I. G. Farben (the great German Chemical monopoly) both in the United States and Britain are exerting pressure on their Governments under which British and American monopolies will be able to resume their operations with the I. G. Farben" (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, June 7, 1945).

"When the second world war came to an end, the struggle for the preservation of the capitalist system once more became the *chief* problem in the domestic policy of the capitalist countries, just as it had been after the first world war," says Varga. So we find, after the war, systematic offensives on the part of the capitalist Governments of different countries to curtail the political and trade union rights of the workers. Shooting down of workers engaged in strike struggles is occurring almost every day. Right to strike by the workers is being snatched away through legislations in America, in India and elsewhere. Fascistic policy of persecuting and banning all sorts of activities by the leftists is being pursued in various degrees in America, India, Canada and other capitalist countries. In Canada the Communist Party has been banned. In India leftist workers and organisers are being clapped within prison bars without trial. In America the Government has set up the Committee of Investigation of Un-American Activities which has not only denounced several labour organizations as either communist or crypto-communist, but it has urged Washington to implement stringent measures to control the "leftist forces of subversion". Meanwhile any American personality who speaks in favour of the Soviet Union is at once labelled a crypto-communist. Not very long ago, former Mayor of New York, La Guardia was accused as a communist..... It seems that any leftist talk or opinion is being regarded with suspicion in the United States."—(*Hindusthan Standard*, June 23, 1947). This is the way in which the capitalist countries are taking steps for the 'preservation of the capitalist system' in the domestic field. Both internally and internationally they are moving ahead for the 'preservation of the capitalist system' with unabated energy and resources.

AMERICA : THE IMPERIALIST BOSS

It is quite clear that out of this war America has emerged as the most powerful state in the

imperialist camp. From the point of view of material resources and financial stability the position of America stands supreme. Consequently all the capitalist countries of the world have to look to the U. S. A. for all kinds of support and assistance, inspite of the inner contradictions within the capitalist camp. America to-day leads the capitalist world for it is their only dependable banker and has the most powerful imperialist army to rely upon in case of emergency.

The world imperialists are alarmed at the growing strength of the Soviet Union and its progressive allies and are already sharpening their weapons for the future bout. The death of the Democratic President Roosevelt only a few days before the collapse of Hitlerite Germany and the promotion of Truman, a reactionary right-wing democrat, to his post, smoothened the path of the American monopolists to hatch their plans in comparative ease and security.

K. Velikaner in his article "The American Monopolies and United States Foreign Policy" which appeared in 'New Times' on October 10, 1946, states how American Big Business is conspiring and setting the stage for their organized offensive against the progressive forces and oppressed peoples of the world. He says that in October, 1945 a conference was convened by the National Association of Manufacturers in the small American town of Absecon, near Atlantic City. It was attended by sixty-six industrial and financial magnates of America which included Herbert Hoover, former Republican President of U. S. A., Lammot and Irene du Pont, representing Pont de Nemours, one of the biggest chemicals and explosives firms in the world which is in cartel arrangement with the British Imperial Chemical Industries and German I. G. Farben Industries and is at present a leading manufacturer of atomic bombs, Winthrop Aldrich, representing Rockfeller group which controls Standard Oil and

its numerous subsidiaries, as well as bankers including Chase National Bank which is one of the biggest banks in the country. Eugene Meyer, representing the Morgan financial group which controls the United States Steel Corporation and Railways and corporations and also by representatives of General Motors, General Electric and other concerns. The conference continued for three days in deepest secrecy. No report of its deliberation was published. But the American reporters who always keep an eye on the way the rulers of the business world spend their time, discovered the departure of several of them from New York and traced them to Absecon. From them it was learnt that *"this Conference discussed problems of world import, laid down the general lines of post-war policy of the monopolies, and discussed ways and means of bringing the whole concentrated economic and military power of American capitalism to bear on world economic and political developments."* This conference was soon followed by the changes of personnel in the American Government, "in particular the resignation one after another of Cabinet members who had collaborated with the late President Roosevelt." The American monopolists are determined to maintain profits which attained fantastic dimensions during the war and *"in their lust for more profits, at all costs, outlined a programme of unrestrained imperialist expansion, to be carried out by military as well as economic means."* In support of this policy of American imperialism, Donald Nelson, former Chairman of the War Production Board in conjunction with the Army and Navy Munitions Board has prepared a report for the White House in course of which he "recommended that a considerable section of American Industry be maintained in a condition of readiness to renew the manufacture of war materials of all kinds." According to the Washington correspondent of the Associated Press: *Nelson's "programme went a long*

way beyond the plan of mobilization of America's industrial resources for world War II."

* BRITAIN—THE JUNIOR PARTNER

It is further to be noted that soon after Churchill's Fulton speech in which he called for a United Imperialist Front against the Soviet Union "that the American monopolists seriously took up the project of an International Bank for Reconstruction." In that speech Churchill indicated "that British imperialism was prepared, in the present relation of forces in the world arena, to consent to act as *junior partner* of the American monopolies in the realisation of their broad plans of expansion. In proposing in his speech an Anglo-American economic, political and military block, Churchill in fact placed Britain's application for a share in the American plans. While granting loans to Great Britain, American monopoly groups have made sure that they will possess adequate means of bringing influence to bear on the economy both of Great Britain and her dominions."

The aforesaid conference, its decisions and the acceptance by the British imperialists of junior partnership in American monopolist's plan of imperialist expansion, gives us a clear picture of the role of Anglo-American imperialism in this period after the Second World War. Their expansionist programme invariably includes the suppression of freedom-fighters in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, restriction, as far as possible, of industrialisation of the colonies and dependencies and intensification of exploitation of the peoples of those lands. Their plan, further includes, the smashing up of the new democratic states that have sprung up in Eastern Europe in the wake of fascist defeat and thus prepare the ground for the final onslaught against the Soviet Union, the land of Socialism, of promise, of freedom, peace

and progress, the most powerful bulwark of revolution against reaction and imperialist slavery. This plan, no doubt, presupposes the suppression of workers movements in the home countries, the cutting down of workers' rights and further increase in the rate of exploitation of the workers in those lands. The Labour Government of British Labour aristocrats had to give their seal of approval to this highly reactionary plan of Anglo-American imperialists for world conquest as they themselves thrive on the crumbs of imperial colonial loot.

IMPERIALISTS INTRIGUES WITHIN U. N. O.

This plan of the Anglo-American imperialists is a plan for world domination and world conquest. On account of this grand strategical alliance between two of the "Big Three" powers, the United Nations Organization is turning into a propaganda platform of the Anglo-American monopolists and a bargaining ground for extending their spheres of influence. Various progressive issues were sponsored by the Soviet Union in the U. N. O. Councils and Assembly regarding representation of World Trade Union Congress in the U. N. O. bodies, for the U. N. O. Trusteeship for colonies and dependencies, for international disarmament and universal control of atomic energy, for maintaining the integrity of Germany as a nation, etc. but none of these proposals could be carried or satisfactorily solved on account of the stiff opposition of the Anglo-American combination and its supporters who constitute a majority in that body. This majority of Anglo-American combination within the U. N. O. has been possible due to the separate U. N. O. membership of the British dominions and of the South American countries which almost always and most invariably vote with America and Britain due to their close financial and political ties with the Anglo-American Bloc. The efforts of this Bloc to isolate the Soviet Union and to run the United Nations Organization

even without the Soviet Union, for their own selfish ends and thereby turn the U. N. O. into a mere prototype of the League of Nations is already becoming manifest.

For the successful prosecution of their plan the Anglo-American powers are trying to mobilize all the reactionary forces of different countries to their side. They are pursuing various methods in various countries for the success of their mission. The policy of intimidation and persuasion are both being suitably applied and both American money and American military are ready at hand for achieving the desired object of world domination.

Let us now see on whom these Anglo-American imperialists are depending for support :

1. Firstly, they depend on the remnants of Fascism in different countries for their support because they already are imbued with the Hitlerite technique of organisation for suppressing the progressive aspirations of the people and establishing the rule of big business. Their anti-working class and Anti-Soviet sentiments which have further accentuated due to the abject defeat of the Fascist armies at the hands of the Red Army, is being unscrupulously utilised by the Anglo-Americans to their advantage. Far from punishing the Fascists, the Anglo-American forces occupying Europe are definitely encouraging the members of the Nazi and Fascist Parties by harbouring them and entrusting them with important administrative posts. In many places the S. S. Hitler Youths and Fascist Youths organisations are being maintained by the American and British Commanders in a state of military mobilization. General Harmon the American Military Governor of Aachen, Dusseldorf and Cologne districts advanced the following arguments in favour of appointing Nazis to responsible posts :

"The Nazis administered Germany for a long time and practically all German administrative and commercial talent is concentrated within the Nazi

Party. You cannot administer railroads with drugstore clerks or factories with bootblacks. So in some cases we are compelled to retain Nazis with administrative knowledge."—*New Times*, July '45.

Soon after Labour victory in British elections, Foreign Minister Bevin openly declared in a statement on August 22, 1945, that is, within a few days after Japanese surrender, that, "his Government does not intend to intervene in Spain." This assured Franco, an accomplice of Hitler and Mussolini, a further lease of life. This is done at a time when Reuter was reporting that many of the German Business Firms including Agfa, Bayer, Siemens Industrial Electrical, with about 60,000,000 sterling had migrated to Spain and were freely operating there and when Aunos, Franco's Minister of Justice was openly propagating for a "Continental Bloc" which "would exclude Russia and be composed of Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Scandinavian countries, Italy and all the countries of similar Christian civilization. Germany would be included in due course" (Ibid)

Before the very nose of the Anglo-American occupation forces in Italy, a new organization, L' Uomo Qualunque (Common Man's Front) has cropped up, which includes in its ranks former members and sympathisers of the Fascist Party and has already set up some 3,800 'nuclei' in different parts of Italy. In spite of its being a Fascist organization it was allowed to participate in the elections in which they have secured some 30 seats. To-day they hold a balancing position in the Italian Parliament. The complete change of Front of the Anglo-American powers immediately after the conclusion of the European war was exposed in course of a letter addressed to the London "*Daily Mirror*" by an English sergeant which speaks for itself:

"This is the first day after V-day.....An order has just been issued to the troops in this district

to salute German Officers. Yes, salute !.....As far as I am concerned, I would rather shoot than salute them. I, like many millions more, have sacrificed six years of my life to bring the Huns to their knees... Why are we ordered to salute the brutes we have been fighting since 1939?"

The same policy of leniency is being pursued by the American Commander, Mac Arthur, towards the Japanese big business and Fascist war criminals. Japan surrendered some two years ago but Mikado still remains as the King of Japan. The trial of Tojo and his accomplices still continues and it was once reported in the Press that it had to be adjourned for paper shortage! In the name of democracy, a Japanese hierarchy is being created to subserve the American imperialists in times of need.

The Fascist nest in Argentina is being nurtured by America and Britain and she is allowed entry into the U. N. O. in spite of the opposition of the Soviet Union and the popular democracies.

The Anglo-American monopolists who at present constitute the leadership of world reaction, are sustaining the remnants of Fascist bloodhounds in different countries in order to use them against the rising forces of freedom and democracy in the colonial and capitalist countries and to throw them against the Soviet Union in their march for world conquest.

2. Secondly, they hope to get support from the collaborationist bourgeoisie of different capitalist countries occupied by the Fascist powers during the war. So the Anglo-American powers are rendering them political or military support in order to establish them at the helm of the state of their respective countries. For instance in case of Greece the British power has openly intervened in favour of the collaborationists with about a lakh of British troops. They have ruthlessly suppressed the popular forces of Greek resistance movement, ELAS, and

thereby paved the way for the Greek collaborationists and reactionaries to take the control of the Government in their hands. The British troops of occupation are still there in Greece, and a full-fledged Fascist Government is functioning there. In those countries of Eastern Europe where new democratic Governments have been established, and the collaborationist bourgeoisie have been deprived of their political power, the collaborators are getting every support and encouragement from the Anglo-American powers in their *intrigues against the popular forces in power*. This is particularly the case in Poland, Hungary, ect. In France also, Gen. De Gaulle, the most popular representative of the French bourgeoisie, is coming into the political arena with the help and connivance of Anglo-American big business. The only object of Anglo-American imperialists to help these anti-social elements is to invest them with political power by smashing the new democratic states and forces and then to use them as tools in fulfilling their own plans of world conquest.

3. Thirdly, they expect to get the support of the different capitalist countries of Europe, Asia and elsewhere.

Their only object is to consolidate the forces of capitalism in those countries in order that they may squarely face the growing strength of the people in their respective countries and can serve as a bulwark against the Soviets. With that end in view they are lavishly rendering financial and military assistance to those countries. By accepting these assistance from the Anglo-American powers, these capitalist countries are not only becoming their camp followers, but are also being obliged to grant substantial concessions to those powers. In this way American money has flowed into Turkey and Greece. In the same way considerable military assistance has been rendered by Britain to the Dutch and French imperialists to suppress the struggles of the Indonesian, Indochinese,

Syrian and Lebanese people. In China, Chiang-Kai-Shek has received abundant financial and military support from the American Government for forcing the Chinese Communists to surrender. It was a case of open aggression in China against the forces of democracy. An alliance between U. S. imperialism and Chinese reaction has taken place at all levels—political, economic and military. The concessions gained by the American monopolists from China by posing as the Savior, deserve special mention. "The U. S. has obtained extensive military rights in China, including the stationing of its own forces of all types, the establishment of a large military mission and above all Americanisation of the Chinese National Armies, Navy and Air-forecs, To these should be added the building by the American Navy of bases purportedly for the use of China. A new commercial treaty has been successfully negotiated with the Kuomintang whereby a Chinese coolie has just as much right to purchase the Empire State Building on Fifth Avenue as the Standard Oil Company has of maintaining an office on the Shanghai Bund. Then there is the new regulations governing the Chinese corporation which permit foreigners equal participation with Chinese capital in place of the minority participation previously allowed. There is also the little detail about import tariff schedules favourable to Americans."—(*New Masses*, Feb, 4, 1947). But all these alliances and military assistances have not been able to defeat and crush the forces of Chinese democracy headed by the Chinese Communists, who have occupied the whole of Manchuria and North China and are closely pursuing the American-trained army of Chiang who are retreating in the face of exemplary heroism and superior war technique of the Chinese Reds.

4. Fourthly, the Anglo-American war-mongers count on the assistance of faked socialists, particularly, the Social Democratic Parties of the

Western European countries for furthering their war ambitions. These are the Parties that served as the stepping stone for Fascism to rise into power in Europe. These Parties have robbed the workers of their striking power by sowing the seeds of disruption in them. These are the Parties responsible for sustaining the political influence of the bourgeoisie over a section of the working class. Their politics is to tug the workers on to the capitalists and to generate in them a feeling of toleration towards the capitalist system. They preach bourgeois democratic principles and thrive on the political backwardness of the workers. Their main plank is anti-communism and their main task is to sear away the workers from the path of revolution. The policy of class-collaboration suits them very well because they constitute the class of labour aristocrats who live on crumbs of imperial loot. Their policy of class-collaboration and deliberate refusal to unify the working class against Fascism when it was not yet an established force, was mainly responsible for the emergence of Fascism, which forced an unprecedented war on the progressive peoples and has caused untold suffering to humanity at large.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

But this devastating war has taught the Social Democrats of the Western countries practically nothing. Unlike their counterparts in the Eastern European countries who have joined hands with progressive parties against reactionary capitalist cliques, they are harping to the tune of their imperialist masters. They are still carrying on their policy of disruption with unabated energy. They do not care to sacrifice the cause of the working class at the altar of their hatred towards the communists. Rather than joining hands with the Communists, they would make common cause with capitalists and thereby help in the retention of

capitalists and imperialist stranglehold over the toiling masses. That is what happened in France after the Second World War. The Communist Party appeal for United Front at the referendum was turned down by the Socialists which resulted in the rejection of the democratic single chamber constitution approved in the First Constituent Assembly by the joint efforts of the Communists and Socialists. This strengthened the hands of French reaction and a double-chamber constitution had to be adopted. The Communist Socialist joint front in the French Parliament affairs went on for some time after the war. But the apathy of the French Socialists towards the demands of the French workers for higher wages and better conditions of work as also their unstinted support to the policy of repression pursued in Indo-China, Madagascar and other French colonies were issues to which the Communists could not lend their support. So the same old policy of class-collaboration followed by the French Socialists was responsible for the parting of the ways between the French Communists and Socialists. Although the largest single Party within the Parliament, the Communists have resigned from the cabinet and are at the forefront of the struggle of the French workers for improved conditions of work and living. They are also at the spearhead of the movement of the French people for the liberation of the French colonies. This has on the one hand added to the strength and political prestige of the French Communists, and on the other exposed the French Socialists as an appendage of the bourgeoisie. As a result of this betrayal by the French Socialists, the French bourgeoisie are already assuming an upper hand in their Foreign deals and De Gaulle is raising his head for staging a come back. Such is the position of the Social Democrats in all the Western European countries including Italy and the Anglo-Franco-American zones of Germany.

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY AS THE LEADER OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The leadership of this whole Socialist bloc is, however, in the hands of British Labour Party. These British Socialists have gained a thumping victory over the British bourgeoisie in the last General Election. The Party of the British big business—the Conservative Party of Churchill—was literally flooded. These Socialists have talked much about achieving socialism by peaceful and parliamentary means. And look at them to-day. To-day, when they are actually in a position to put their principles to the test, having the backing of an overwhelming and solid majority, they would not raise their finger against the capitalist system! On the contrary, they are following the same old Churchillian policy in international affairs. They are not siding with the Soviet Union and the new democracies against the Anglo-American war-mongers but are actually giving ditto to their plans for world domination. The idea of a 'Western Bloc' in Europe against the Soviet Union and the new democracies which was sponsored by the imperialist war-mongers was immediately taken up by the leaders of the British Labour Party who rallied behind them the support of the Socialist Parties of Western Europe. Although the Western Bloc has not yet come into existence, its protagonists are not sitting completely idle. The British Labour Party Ministers have made much propaganda about their policy of 'Nationalisation'. According to the election programme of the Labour Party, the Chemical industry, the Ship-building industry and the Iron and Steel industry, i. e., the major basic war industries controlled by the British monopolists, are exempted from nationalisation which, according to it, "are not yet regarded as ripe for nationalisation"—(*New Times*, Jan. 15, 1946). All that they have done is the so-called nationalisation of the Bank

of England and the British coal industry. As regards the Bank of England, *Capital*, the leading economic journal of British big business in Calcutta, writes:

"In point of fact the nationalization of the Bank was the least difficult operation.....and the publicly owned Bank differs little from the privately owned one. The new Court of Directors is smaller and the composition is slightly altered."

As a matter of fact Lord Catto, the Governor of the Bank, still occupies that post. Almost all the previous Directors would also remain and the 17,000 stock-holders of the Bank would be given compensation in the form of an annual income, proportionate to their average yearly income for the last 20 years. So, the Bill for the nationalisation of the Bank was favourably received by the circles concerned. This much about the Bank of England.

Now about coal. Here also the proposed nationalisation stands on the same basis of compensation. The coal magnets of England, due to whose lust for profit and excessive exploitation of the workers, the whole coal industry was coming on the verge of collapse, have now been guaranteed heavy compensation by the State, thereby turning them merely as a state bond-holders. This means that there would not be any appreciable minimisation of the exploitation of colliery labour in England.

So this is how the Social Democrats of Britain have put into operation their oft-boasted scheme of nationalisation! This is so because these labour aristocrats of Britain cannot displease their masters whom they serve with perfect obedience, lest the crumbs of imperial loot that they receive is discontinued and the British working class take to the revolutionary path of Lenin and Stalin which they dread no less than their imperial masters.

This is the way in which the Social Democrats of Western Europe are directly helping the Anglo-American monopolists in their war plans just as they did to the Fascists before their rise into power. But these Anti-Soviet and pro-imperialist activities of these Socialist Parties are creating polarisation within their ranks. Such polarisation or splits have become manifest within the Socialist Parties of Germany, Italy and Britain. So within the ranks of these Socialist Parties, a definite progressive trend is developing its head which stands for alliance with the Soviet Union and the new democracies and they wish to have no track with the machinations of imperialist war-mongers. There lies the hope of the working class and the progressive peoples.

IMPERIALIST PLAN OF 'SHAM INDEPENDENCE' TO COLONIES

5. Fifthly, the Anglo-American imperialists are trying to win over the native bourgeoisie of different colonial and semi-colonial countries to their side in order to use them as their camp-followers and thus to complete the circle of world reactionary combination. This they are doing by granting "sham independence" to the colonies and by drawing the native bourgeoisie as their financial partners. Certain economic concessions are offered, which coupled with the joint financial partnership willy-nilly makes the native bourgeoisie, a willing associate in their war plans.

This plan of the Anglo-American imperialists has been successfully applied by the U. S. A. in the Phillipines where an imperialist brand 'independence', has been granted. Although Phillipines is declared a 'free' country to-day, America retains about 200 war bases in that country and the economy of the country is still tied hand and foot with the economy of the American monopolists.

This sham independence has, of course, granted some freedom of enterprise for the upper classes of Phillipinos in alliance with the Americans, but has left millions of natives of the island in age-long poverty and destitution.

The same plan is now being followed in a number of other colonies as well, such as in India, Indo-China and Indonesia. In our own country, India, the plan is receiving almost unstinted support from the propertied classes of India. But in the other two countries, the existence of real, independent areas brought about through the armed struggle of the people against imperialism, in which the leftist parties wield considerable influence, the plan is receiving serious setbacks.

THE SITUATION IN INDIA

Let us now make a searching analysis of the behaviour of different classes and sections of the Indian people in this changed world context. As we are to exert all our energy for a successful revolution in India, only a correct analysis of the Indian situation, a proper understanding of the role of different classes of people in the country in the changed world context, a well thought out programme for wrecking the imperialist plan and the efficiency with which we can put that programme into action, will alone determine the amount of success that we will be able to achieve in our revolutionary march ahead.

To-day we are meeting at time when unprecedented things are happening in our country. We are seeing before our very eyes how our country is being divided in a most undemocratic and arbitrary manner at the command of the foreign rulers under the seal of approval from the Congress and League leaders. The whole country is besmeared with fratricidal blood which is flowing in torrents only serving the interests of the ruling classes. We, the leftist parties, stand as mere spectators to such

vandalism engineered by the vested interests. We must try to find out the clue to such a state of affairs in the country.

Gandhiji was already released before we assembled in our Second Party Congress in Calcutta in June '44. In the thesis adopted by the Congress, we had already stated that although the Government declared Gandhiji's release on medical grounds, "the real reason of Gandhiji's release is, however, political." (Postscript—"Indian Politics" 1941-43). We had also stated in that document that "the old condition of open, fatal clash between the bourgeoisie and the Government, has changed and "the new period of negotiation between the Congress and the Government, a period of haggling, ambiguity and eventual compromise has began." (Ibid).

To-day we see how correct we were in our estimation at that time. We should further try to understand how the period of open, fatal clash came to a close and a new chapter was set in. For this we shall have to go into some details regarding the respective positions of the British Government and the Indian bourgeoisie which had led to their ultimate compromise which is a settled fact to-day.

THE CASE OF THE INDIAN BOURGEOISIE

Let us take the case of the Indian bourgeoisie first. We know that in 1942, the Indian bourgeoisie had definitely calculated in terms of an Axis victory in the war. Their calculations at that time were based on the march of the Axis armies in the European and Far Eastern theatres of war. But their calculations were soon belied. Japan could not aggress into India and Hitler's army began to roll back after its devastating defeat in the battle of Stalingrad. This knocked down the moral basis of their sabotage movement. Now, having become convinced of an Allied victory, the Indian bourgeoisie shifted towards making the best out of a compromise with the British Government. This

is only one factor for seeking a compromise but there were other equally powerful factors too. That is in the economic front.

As a result of this war the Indian capitalists have economically become very much more powerful. By supplying war orders and by resorting to unscrupulous black-marketing in unheard of dimensions they had amassed fabulous amounts which may be rightly termed as primary accumulation of capital for heavy industrial expansion. "In the year 1769 and 1770" says Marx, "the English brought about a famine (in India) by buying up all the rice and by refusing to sell it again except at fabulous prices." (*Capital*, Vol. II, Everyman's Library Edition, Page 834). This, among others, was one of the methods resorted to by the British colonialists for primary accumulation of capital for industrialisation of Britain. We have seen the same thing in India in 1942-43 and this time the Indian capitalists got the lion's share of this primary accumulation because it were they who as traders and hoarders took the leading part in creating this famine, and carrying on a roaring business with peoples' food when the people in their millions were dying of starvation. This famine also upset the whole rural economy. Major portions of the arable lands owned by the poor peasants were sold out or mortgaged to the landlord or the money lender. Big capitalist concerns also purchased thousands of acres of lands during these days at nominal prices either for factories or farms or for speculation. This rendered the previous-owners of these lands, only those that could survive the terrible depredations of the famine, into landless labourers. Having been deprived of any earning in the villages, many of these people flocked to the towns only to swell the army of industrial proletariat. This solved to a great extent the problem over so-called shortage of labour in the

work of industrial expansion and thereby helped the capitalists in an indirect way. Moreover, on account of the stoppage of normal import trade due to exigencies of the war, the Indian capitalists almost enjoyed virtual monopoly in the Indian market for vital consumer goods such as cloth, sugar, salt, medicines, toilet products, stationery articles etc. Rocketing black-market prices at which these articles were sold in the open market also brought soaring profits to our indigenous manufacturers. Above all, there were war contracts. The volume of such orders placed with the Indian industrialists will be understood from the following informations gathered from "*Recent Social and Economic Trend in India*" (1946 Edition).

"Whereas the value of Government orders placed with Indian industry in 1938-39 was not even double the orders placed abroad, in 1944-45 the Indian share was 72 times the foreign share."

All these orders were accepted and executed by the Indian industrialists at abnormally high rates but they forced their workers in most cases to work at starvation wages. This also resulted in the accumulation of huge profits in the hands of Indian capitalists.

The enrichment of the Indian capitalists out of all these transactions will be best realised from the following figures :

"The company profits very nearly quadrupled between 1938-39 and 1943-44, rising from Rs. 377.6 million in 1938-39 to Rs. 1,344.9 million in 1943-44" (Ibid)

Further the total deposits in the Indian Scheduled Banks have increased by more than three times during the same period, i.e. from Rs. 2,478.6 lacs on September 1, 1939 to Rs. 8,921.8 on September 7, 1945. At the same time loose floating funds, held on Demand deposits, shot up by more than four times.

The Indian capitalists made so much money during these years that the Indian Banks outstripped the British Banks in India in their deposits. Before the war the British Banks had more money in their deposits than the Indian Banks. Their deposits in 1938 totalled Rs. 1487.1 million as against Rs. 1068.1 million in the Indian Banks making a difference of Rs. 419 million more in the British Banks. Even in 1942 the British Banks led by Rs. 620 million more in their deposits than the Indian Banks. But in 1943, the Indian Banks overstripped the British Banks with about 1 1/2 per cent more in their deposits than the latter. (Reserve Bank of India: Statistical Tables Relating to Banks in India and Burma for the years 1942 and 1943).

Along with this fabulous enrichment of the Indian capitalists in general during the war years another very serious nature of development was noticeable which requires special mention. From the following it will be seen how Indian capitalism has grown extremely narrow, concentrated and oligarchic in character. "Control is exercised, not only by a few trusts, but in the last resort by a few individuals 500 important industrial companies are managed by 2,000 directors. 1,000 of these directorships are held by 70 men. At the apex of this pyramid stand 10 men holding 300 directorships. This oligarchy in industry is a closed preserve. The son succeeds the father" (Wadia and Merchant, "*Our Economic Problem*," Bombay, 1943, Page 481)

In these calculations, however, the Indian sterling balance amounting to Rs. 1,600 crores (which J. C. Kumarappa writing in '*Harijan*' claims to be Rs. 5,000 crores) is not included; the major portions of which, if and when realised, will also get into the coffers of these big Indian industrialists. All these figures amply prove how this war

has enriched the Indian capitalists in huge dimensions and has strengthened its monopoly character, but it has not given them ample scope to develop basic and key industries. India being a British colony, its economy is also of a colonial character. Even during the dark days of the war the British monopolists were not prepared to give the Indian capitalists any chance to develop large-scale basic or key industries, lest they become powerful competitors in the post-war period. There was much talk of ship-building, aircraft and locomotive manufacture in India during the days of the war but things could not proceed much further. The Hindusthan Aircraft Co. of Bangalore is said to have produced the first Indian made plane in 1942 but soon after the Government of India purchased 2/3 of its shares and the factory was turned into an assembling and repairs plant. The ship-building plant after its establishment at Vizagpatam was once transferred to Bombay and then retransferred to Vizag and after much prayers and entreaties only 2,600 tons of steel reached the plant and then this whole stock was again requisitioned for urgent war purposes. Some locomotives were produced in the Government Railway Workshops, but that too was in an unplanned, half-hearted and slipshod manner. This policy of Government check on industrialisation has been summed up in Birla's *'Eastern Economist'* in the following words :

"During the war we were asked to do plenty of odds and ends but never the whole thing ..

"We could make everything and yet nothing. We were .. menders, repairers of all things on earth but makers of none."

"We had no system, no plan. Or rather, there was a plan—clear-cut and thorough—to prevent the industrialisation of the country." (*Eastern Economist*, Aug. 31, 1945).

The same thing was repeated by Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the Chairman of All-India Manufacturers' Organisation when he said:

"The orders for products required for the present war seem to have been distributed among the various belligerent countries within the Empire....."

"According to the arrangements made, only a few products which required no superior technical skill or practice seem to have been assigned to Factories and Industrialists in India." (Prosperity through Industry by M. Visvesvaraya, Page 5).

Such a state of affairs in the economic front and the debacle of the Fascist armies in different theatres of war was too much for the Indian bourgeoisie. They had money but most of it was idle capital. So, their main consideration now was to find ways and means for using the money in heavy industrial purposes. "The Indian bourgeoisie" said Stalin, "is more interested in their money bags than revolution." There were two ways of escape for the bourgeoisie from such a situation. One was to fight out the British imperialism to the finish which could be accomplished only through a successful overthrow of imperialist rule and the other was to come to terms with British big business. The Indian capitalists naturally decided to pursue the latter course as the former one meant risks and sacrifices which they were not prepared to undertake for obvious reasons. So the condition was created for opening up negotiations leading to final settlement with the British imperialists.

The following equally important factors created by the war troubled Britain and goaded her also to seek alliance with the Indian bourgeoisie:

(1) The emergence of America as the foremost imperialist power by overstepping Britain in all branches of commerce and industry. Moreover, Canada, Australia and New Zealand were inclining more and more towards the U. S. A. for financial

and political support. Then their is the 3750 millions of loan to Britain by the U S Govt. which made Britain financially subservient to America as the creditor nation. This naturally accentuated inter-imperialist contradiction between America and Britain. Britain was jealous of America but was totally helpless in the matter without new allies. So, Britain had to turn towards the Indian capitalists grown proverbially rich out of this war, for alliance, (2) The British imperialists considered it certain that after the war it would not be possible for them to govern India merely with the help of the iron rod, because of the growth of the popular forces throughout the world which had immensely influenced the Indian people. Moreover, that would make the position of British 'democrats' untenable before world opinion. Britain knew it for certain that they will have to make some constitutional changes after the war and the basis for it was laid down in the Cripps' offer which was drawn up by the War Cabinet headed by Churchill. So, it was profitable for Britain to shake hands with the Indian capitalists who were prepared to come to a compromise with them on their (British) terms, (3) The last problem which also concerned America was the emergence of the Soviet Union in alliance with the new democracies and progressive forces of the world as the most powerful factor in world politics. This growth of the Soviet Union was a common danger for the capitalist classes of all the countries. In the case of a future war against the Soviet Union, towards which all these imperialist machinations are directed, India with its huge war potentials and being a Soviet border state must serve as a major imperialist base. So, with the advent of Lord Wavell as the Viceroy of India, new fields began to be explored.

On the 29th of January '44, Sir Chimanlal Setalbad, one of the leading industrialists made an impassioned appeal to the British Govt. saying: "It is

neither the interest of the Indian people, nor of the British Govt. that present deadlock should be allowed to continue any longer." (Amrita Bazar Patrika). This speech of Sir Setalvad was followed by a speech by the Viceroy on Feb. 17, 1944 in which he sought the co-operation of the Indian leaders either on the basis of war-time or post-war plans without which mere demand of their leaders was barren.

On Feb. 24, 15 leading industrialists including Tata, Birla and others published their post-war industrialisation plan, popularly known as the Tata-Birla plan, in course of which they asserted that "Soon after the war a national Govt. would be established with full economic powers to put plan into full operation." (15 years plan of Industrial Development for India).

On March 4, the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce while welcoming the "15 year Plan" expressed serious concern over the detention of the national leaders and urges their immediate release. On April 8, the non-Party leaders Conference which was composed of J. R. D. Tata, G. D. Birla, N. R. Sircar and many other prominent industrialists of India, assembled to discuss the sole agenda of continued detention of the Congress leaders and urged upon the Government for their immediate and unconditional release.

On April 15, the Govt. of India invited the leading industrialists of the country for visiting the United Kingdom and and the U. S. A. and on May 6, Gandhiji was released. All these incidents put together would show how the concerted demand of the big industrialists of the country and the co-operative attitude of the Viceroy secured the release of Gandhiji.

With Gandhiji's release, the stage was again set for negotiations bargaining and eventual compromise. The non-party leaders, meaning the leading industrialists of India, who finance the Congress and mould its policy as it suits them best, had secured the release

of Gandhiji for effecting a compromise between Congress and Govt. because it was now necessary for the Indian industrialists to have their trusted representatives in the seats of the Govt. with whatever powers that may be offered them by the Govt. As subsequent events would prove, Gandhiji himself was also prepared to pursue such a course of action. But things had to move slowly because the prestige of the Congress which was now coming down from its "Quit India" stand has to be maintained before the public eye and yet the compromise has to be effected. For this the psychology of people had to be moulded in order that they loyally accept the new-orientation of the Congress from a fight to the finish to that of an abject surrender.

Pyarelal, Gandhiji's Secretary, was the first to issue a statement after Gandhiji's release in course of which he said : "Gandhiji had no legal authority to withdraw the August Resolution !" After watching the reactions on this statement, and as it did not evoke any response from the British side, Gandhiji issued two statements on July 12, 1944 in course of an interview with Stuart Gelder, a British journalist. These statements may be summed up as follows : That he would tell the Viceroy that he wants to help and not hinder Allied war efforts, he would not launch any civil disobedience movement at present because 1944 was not 1942, he would accept a national Govt. with full control of civil administration but that he had no constitutional authority and things can only be finalised in consultation with the Congress Working Committee. Gandhiji sought an interview with the Viceroy which Lord Wavell refused because Britain was not prepared to make a bad bargain, for Britain was definitely winning the war and was sure that the Congress would compromise on British terms. In a few days time Gandhiji came out with a statement condemning underground movements (July 28) and on August 2, Gandhiji

directed that the "August Resolution should be read without the sanction clause."

EFFORTS FOR CONGRESS LEAGUE ENTANTE

In the latter part of 1944, the Congress leaders again contacted the Muslim League in order to explore the possibility of a settlement with that organisation. Now that a compromise with the British Govt. was in sight, the Congress leaders thought it advisable to settle accounts with the League because a settlement with the League will place them in a better bargaining position. Rajaji with Gandhiji's blessings started the move. He had meetings and discussions with Mr. Jinnah but C. R.-Jinnah talks ended in a failure (July 8, 1944). Now after the rebuff from the Viceroy, Gandhiji himself offered to meet Jinnah for a settlement. The talks between Gandhiji and Jinnah serimoniously started on Sept. 9, 1944. It continued for a period of nearly 20 days in course of which the C. R. formula was discussed thread bare. According to the formula, the League was offered the chance to set up their Govt. only in those districts of the country which had a definite Muslim majority. Things would be decided by plebiscite by the whole of the adult population of those areas. Moreover, Gandhiji was not prepared to grant any sovereign rights to such states even if they were formed, because according to Gandhiji the Hindu-Muslim tangle was like a difference between two brothers of the same household and for such petty difference the splitting up of the country in a number of sovereign states was impossible for him to concede. Jinnah was not prepared to settle accounts at such a small price and so these talks also ended in failure. This Hindu-Muslim tangle when analysed from a Marxist standpoint, would be found to contain nothing else than an inner class contradiction between Hindu and Muslim capitalists. Among the Indian capitalists, the Muslims are very small in number and from the standpoint of financial strength and stability, stand no

comparison with the 'Congress capitalists. So when under the patronage of Govt., the two-nation theory of the League was raised, along with it came the slogan of separate independent national areas for the Muslim nation. What was actually wanted was a 'free' territory where the Muslim capitalists can carry on their exploitation over the people without any competition or interference from the Congress capitalists against which they had no chance to survive without tariff walls and other restrictions. As the Rajaji formula or Gandhiji's offer could not guarantee any such protection to Muslim vested interests, the Gandhi-Jinnah talks ended in a fiasco.

INDUSTRIALISTS TAKE THE LEAD

In the meanwhile the Indian industrialists decided of their own to send a mission for a tour of America and Britain without previous consultation with the Congress leaders. This was resented by Gandhiji who warned the industrialists not to make any shameful deal with Britain which may be degrading to the country. Mr. J. R. D. Tata, the foremost Indian industrialist, took the serious objection to this and openly declared that they were not prepared to wait any longer and unless the Congress leaders started negotiations for settlement immediately, they, the industrialists, would have no other option than to set up a separate political organisation of their own. At the same time Mr. G. D. Birla, another leading light in the Indian industrial world, assured Gandhiji that they would make no such shameful deals with Britain. This mere assurance from Mr. Birla changed Gandhiji's attitude and he offered his blessings to Mr. Birla, one of the leaders of the industrialists' mission, who happens to be a close associate and financier of the Congress. While on tour these Industrial leaders concluded financial and business deals with the powerful British and American monopolists most important of which were the Nuffield-Birla Motor Deal, Imperial Chemicals-Tatas Dyestuffs

Deals, Sirsilk-Lansils Rayon Deal, Textile Machinery Manufacturing Deal in Britain and Walchand-Chrysler and Studebaker-Birla Deal in U. S. A. Most of these Deals were on a 50:50 capital sharing basis. The sharing of profit money ranges from 50:50 to in most the cases 75:25. But for present the products of all these business firms was mainly manufactured in the foreign countries and sold in India with Indian labels, such as "Hindusthan" Motor Cars, a product of Nuffield-Birla Deal. Mr. Birla was so much jubilant over these deals that he could not suppress the imperialistic intensions of the Indian capitalists in a speech delivered in New York on July 18, 1945:

"India must expand her markets, not only domestically, but throughout the world. We aim to capture the Japanese markets after the war."

(*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, July 20, 1945)

The business deals between the Indo-British Industrial magnets having been completed, there was only one policy for the Congress to follow and that was a compromise. So, fresh efforts of a compromise started between Bhulabhai Desai and Liaquat Ali Khan for entering the Viceroy's Executive Council on 40% Congress, 40% League and 20% other minorities basis. Both the leaders agreed to the term and it received Gandhiji's blessings in due course. Bhulabhai Desai met Sardar Patel in jail for his assent to the plan. But now when the British armies were actually marching over European soil, Churchill's Govt. became naturally slow in moving in these matters.

THE WAVELL PLAN

On June 15, 1945 Lord Wavell enunciated his plan of expansion of his Executive Council, convened a Conference of Congress, League, Sikh and Scheduled castes leaders in Simla and ordered the release of the detained members of the Congress Working Committee. Although the Wavell offer contained nothing more than the Linlithgow offer of 1940,

which was straightaway rejected by the Congress at that time, the released leaders went straight to Simla after their release and decided to go the whole hog for accepting the offer. Maulana Azad, the then Congress President who led the Congress delegation to the Conference expressed in so many words that he accepted the leadership of Lord Wavell and was prepared to support the War against Japan. There was no difficulty for the working committee in taking such a decision as Gandhiji had already allowed Dr. Khan Sahib to form the Frontier Ministry "with the full intention of running the administration for the benefit of Indian in general and the people of this province in particular, and at present this practice involves participation, in general war efforts." (Khan Sahib's statement, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, May 10, 1945). But the Simla conference could not succeed as the details of the complete panel of the proposed Executive Council was not acceptable to Mr. Jinnah. All these things occurred just on the eve of the British General Elections, which led people to suspect that this whole drama played at Simla was staged merely for catching votes for the British Conservative Party which had already incurred considerable displeasure of the British people for its anti-Indian policy. But this time all these could not perturb the Congress leaders. Mahatma Gandhi discovered "sincerity in the new offer," and according to Maulana Azad "Simla did some ground work for the future."

CONGRESS ADVOCATES OPPORTUNIST POLICY.

Soon after the failure of the Simla talks, the All-India Congress Committee held its first meeting since 1942 in Bombay. Speaker after speaker showered their praises for the martyrs of the August movement and the meeting was turned into a mere platform for throwing abuses at the supporters of the Peoples' War. Their sentiments against the

supporters of the Peoples' War swayed the A. I. C. C. members so much that not a single speaker remembered the necessity of charging the Congress High Command for their readiness to accept the Wavell Plan. While showering their praises on the martyrs of the August movement, the Congress leaders shifted away from the "Quit India" policy of the August Resolution and committed the Congress to an opportunist policy, which is their want, of "negotiation and settlement when possible and non-cooperation and direct action when necessary." In this sentence has been epitomised the Congress policy for the coming years which will be opposed to all sorts of struggles against imperialism and will centre round bargaining, haggling and finally a settlement with the British imperialists.

On the Parliamentary Front the next step after the Wavell Plan was the Assembly elections which was ordered to be held. One other item came into the lime-light at that time. That was the Indian National Army and the Provisional Govt organised by Subhas Chandra Bose in Malaya and Burma. People came to know more about these organisations from the records of the trial of some prominent I. N. A. Generals which was held within the four walls of the Red Fort in Delhi. Immediately, voices were raised from all the corners of India for the release of all the I. N. A. men arrested by the India Government.

The Calcutta students were the first to take up the gauntlet. They organised a demonstration on November 21, with the demand for release of the I. N. A. soldiers. The Police interfered and the Calcutta streets overflowed with blood of the martyrs. Calcutta was proud in being able to organise the first bout against imperialism after the world war II. The Congress leaders who were opposed to all sorts of movements immediately reacted in their own way. Sarat Bose condemned the movement as an

act of agent provocateurs and demanded of the students to disperse without proceeding any further with the demonstration. Moulana Azad rebuked the students for their indiscipline and implored them to be peaceful and so did the Muslim League. But the students with whom the city workers and the general public had now made common cause refused to obey the commands of the leaders seeking compromise with the British rulers and remained firm with their demand to march in a demonstration towards whatever direction they wanted. The deadlock continued for nearly 3 days. Indiscriminate firings were resorted to by the Police, and the people faced the bullets abreast. Ultimately the imperialist police had to give way and the demonstration triumphantly marched through the routes it had decided upon previously.

On the wake of Calcutta the whole country became surcharged with a desire of launching of the final offensive against the imperialist rulers. One after another Bombay, Madras, Karachi, Lahore, Delhi and Calcutta turned into centres where anti-imperialist outbursts were becoming matters of almost every day occurrence. This onslaught against imperialism was not confined to the large cities alone, but it spread into the far off villages not only within the bounds of British India but also into the non-regulated areas and the native states. The heroic exploits of the people of Indochina and Indonesia in their struggle for freedom emboldened the Indian fighters. Ultimately the I. N. A. leaders were acquitted by the Court Martial and stand of those who had died for the cause was vindicated.

The post-war upsurge of the Indian people in spite of the active opposition of the Congress High Commands, however, did not subside with the end of the November movement. Sardar Patel explaining the Congress attitude towards these movements said the following in a mass meeting at Ahmedabad

on January 14, 1946. "Some say Pandit Nehru was making fiery speeches and stirring up a revolution and suggest that he should be arrested. They do not understand why there was no revolution in the country long ago. Mahatma Gandhi is responsible for it. He has done the work of the police. Congress will again form Ministries in the Provinces. We should meet the Parliamentary Delegation. We should not scorn it."

The movement which was suppressed by the Government and was condemned by the Congress leaders again enveloped the whole country in Feb. 1946. On the demand for the release of Abdur Rashid, an I. N. A. officer, Calcutta students again came out on the streets. The revolutionary urban intelligensia also joined the movement while the working class of Calcutta jumped into it and surged ahead as the leader of the struggle. The police adopted ruthless measures and the blood of Indians of all communities, flowed together. In spite of Congress leaders' peace appeals, the movement went on its course and was ruthlessly suppressed with the help of the police and military.

But the highest glory of the Indian struggle for freedom was yet to follow. On Feb 19, 1946, 70,000 R. I. N. Ratings revolted in Bombay which spread in the other places of India like wild fire and the Ratings of those places also joined the strike. On being asked to surrender, the Ratings refused and regular armed conflict ensued between the British troops and the Ratings. On the next day an unique thing occurred in the annals of India's struggle for freedom. The Ratings in revolt captured 20 Warships in Bombay and 7 in Karachi, and they opened gunfire from board of the ships on the British troops engaged in suppressing the revolt. The British Premier immediately ordered the Royal Navy to proceed to Bombay to suppress the revolt.

The Congress and League leaders united to condemn the whole action of these resurgent Ratings. Sardar Patel in course of a statement to the Press openly declared, "it is the advice of the Congress to R. I. N. Ratings to lay down arms and go through the formalities of surrender which has been asked for. Every effort should be made to prevent panic and control unruly elements which always are on the look out to take advantage of such a situation. There should be no attempt to call for a hartal or stoppage of mills or closing of schools and colleges." Mr. Jinnha repeated the same thing in the following words: "I appeal to R. I. N. men not to play into the hands of those who want to create trouble and exploit those on strike for their own ends. I urge upon them to restore normal condition and let us handle the situation." (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Feb 22).

Pandit Nehru also arrived and as a result of the combined pressure of the leaders the glorious revolt of the R. I. N. Ratings was stabbed in the back. The prospects of a wide-spread struggle all over India in support of the R. I. N. Revolt which would develop into a first rate fight against the imperialist rulers was nipped in the bud. The Congress leaders thought of nothing else now other than compromise with British to follow up the business deals that had already taken place.

The Congress and League leaders then concentrated their whole energy for victory in the elections. This was made an occasion not only to preach slander against those who supported the peoples' War but also to counteract the Soviet influence over the Indian people by painting it as a prototype of the Czars Govt. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya in course of a statement said: "To send away the British out of India may be common object, but into the vacuum thus created, India would not allow Russia to step inknowing as we do, Russia's foreign policy as recently developed, is

perilously near Czarist line, we would again fill the vacuum ourselves and develop an Indian nationalism that owes its allegiance to mother India, not to Father Russia." The Congress also used to its advantage the popularity of the I. N. A. and the name of Netaji Bose.

Congress and League swept the polls in the election in which only 130/0 of the population had a right to vote. The Congress and the League candidates resorted to all the nefarious means including hooliganisms to secure their victory and yet it was termed as a fair and free election!

Soon after the results of the elections were out, the Congress and the League formed their Ministries respectively in the Provinces where they had secured their own majority. It now became customary for the Congress leaders to repeat by rotation that India was soon going to be free. The implication was that people should be prepared to accept as freedom whatever settlement would be negotiated by the Congress with the British Govt. The leaders in their speeches and the daily newspapers, most of which are either directly owned or influenced by the big industrial magnets through their columns, were ceaselessly trying to mould the public opinion in such way as to accept as independence whatever the Congress leaders would say to be so.

While the elections were not yet over, the British Labour Govt sent a Parliamentary Delegation to India which contacted the different bourgeois and reactionary political parties and gathered relevant information and opinions about political future of India. This delegation was soon followed by the famous Cabinet Mission to India which reached Delhi sometime in April, 1946.

After about a month's consultation with the leaders of different political parties of the vested interests and their supporters, the Cabinet Mission offered a scheme which was roughly as follows. (1) There will be a Union Centre with Control regarding Defence, External affairs and communication; (2) The

Provinces will be autonomous and shall be divided into 3 groups, one for the Muslim majority Provinces of North West India, the other for Bengal and Assam and the third comprising rest of India. (3) The constitution making body shall be elected by the Provincial members of the Assemblies on the basis of one member for every one million of population. (4) The members of the constitution making body shall sit in each group constituent Assembly and this body shall have the right to frame the constitution for the provinces within its jurisdiction and have legislatures for the whole group if so decided.

This long term scheme of the Cabinet Mission was further followed by a short term scheme which proposed a list of names who shall form the Interim Govt. at the Centre. At first the scheme was accepted in toto by the League but then the Congress was prepared only to accept the long-term scheme but not the short term scheme. Explanations and clarifications on the terms of the scheme were issued and reissued and ultimately the whole position was reversed, the Congress accepting both the long term and short term schemes and the League rejecting both. The relation between the Congress and the Govt. was apparently getting closer.

In the meanwhile an unique solidarity of the working class was demonstrated all over India in sympathy with the Post and Telegraph workers' strike inspite of the machinations of the Congress and League to frustrate its. Powerful forces basically against compromise were surging ahead to smash the reactionary machinations of imperialism and Indian capitalism. The 29th of July in Calcutta was a Red Letter Day for the Indian Working class and the revolutionary intelligensia. The vested interests took the clue and hatched their plans for breaking this solidarity.

The Muslim League under the direct guidance of British imperialism started its direct action against the Indian masses on the 16th August under the

bogey of Pakistan. Calcutta became the scene of the worst of communal riots ever experienced in India. The hooligans of both communities were allowed to carry on their killing and looting business to their hearts' content. While the masses were butchered and the Ministers were executing their dark Designs under the very nose of the Governor the Congress leaders were not ready to leave their cosy corners and thereby permitted the situation to deteriorate. It seemed that there was no police or military force in Calcutta to check these hooligans. The life of Calcutta, the hub of political and revolutionary activity in India, was paralysed. Noakhali! Bihar!! The N. W. F. P and then the U. P.!!! The chain appeared to be endless. The hooligans ruled the day. The hooligans' knives decided everything.

As the communal riot was still raging in Calcutta, Pandit Jawarlal Nehru at the invitation of the Viceroy formed the Interim Government at the Centre with all Congress nominees as the League leadership was at that time not prepared to get into the Government. Possibly they thought that their refusal to join the Govt. will sidetrack the whole issue. Probably they did not know that an understanding between the Congress and the British Government was a settled fact and there was pressure from both the Indian and British big business to see the Congress within the Government without any delay. Jawaharlal served as the Vice-President of the Interim Government with the British Viceroy as its President. It was an Interim Government in name but a Viceroy's Executive Council in reality. The Viceroy retained his veto and there was no legal change of constitutional status. Congress alone functioning in the Central Government was too much for the League leaders to swallow and now they joined the Central Government at Congress terms.

The Congress having accepted the Cabinet Mission Plan, the Congress members in the Central Government convened a meeting of the Central

Constituent Assembly, the members of which had been elected in the meanwhile. The League members of the Constituent Assembly boycotted the Assembly and again a deadlock was created. Any number of clarifications could not resolve the deadlock.

So, the British overlords made another attempt and offered a different scheme on Feb. 20, 1947, for solution of the deadlock. The scheme envisaged a shifting of policy from the Cabinet Mission's Plan as it stated that 'His Majesty's Government will have to consider to whom the powers of the Central Government in British India should be handed over, on the due date (June, 1948) whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments or in such other way as may seem most reasonable and in the best interest of the Indian people.' Although the Cabinet Mission's Plan was most suited for Britain from the point of view of future contingencies of the war as it proposed to retain the Defence, Communications and External Affairs in the Central control, and as it only partly satisfied the League and was tolerably acceptable for the Congress both of which organisations were necessary associated of the British Government in times of future war, it had to be abandoned due to its total official rejection by the League. Both the Congress and the British leaders now became impatient for some tripartite settlement for the development of trade and industry and for preparing the country for war eventualities. The scheme further helped Britain in another respect, it allowed various fissiparous tendencies to grow. Immediately the slogan for the partitioning of India and the Provinces was raised. Along with this shifting of policy, the British Government also decided to replace Lord Wavell by Lord Mountbatten as the Viceroy of India, as the former had lost face before the Indian public on account of serious bungling during the progress of negotiations.

Fresh parleys between the Viceroy and the Congress and League leaders again ensued which produced the Mountbatten Award of June 3, 1947. It envisaged in broad outlines the partitioning of Bengal and Punjab into Hindu and Muslim majority areas, separate constitution making bodies for Pakistan and Hindusthan areas and immediate grant of Dominion Status for both the areas. The seal of approval to the partitioning of India and of Bengal and the Punjab and acceptance of Dominion Status instead of complete independence was agreed upon by all the three Parties concerned in a most arbitrary and undemocratic manner. The fate of tens of millions of people was decided without their getting any chance of recording their choice. The Congress leaders who had asserted times without number that they would not allow any division of India, overnight turned into a more ardent partitionist than even a veteran Pakistanist. Their plank was peaceful solution of the communal problem. How hypocritical it was to state like that when crores of people belonging to the minority community were left in the Hindu and Muslim majority zones. It was merely a skin-saving device for the Congress securing as much portion of India as possible within its orbit. Thus the Congress suffered a serious political set back at the hands of the League backed by British imperialism. But the economic loss of the Congress bourgeoisie was more formal than material as their capital is operating jointly with the Muslim bourgeoisie through the Big Banks such as the United Commercial Bank, Hind Bank etc, of which both Birla and Ispahani happen to be Directors. It is likely that their capital will flow in both the areas without much restriction. This surrender of the Congress, however, has encouraged the Muslim League to demand autonomous Muslim territories in the Hindu majority areas as pockets for their future advancement (as sponsored by Chowdhury Rahamat Ali, the Founder-President

of the Pakistan National Movement and the advocate of the Reciprocal Territorial Re-adjustment.)

Britain has offered Dominion Status for the present and the Congress and the League have accepted it. This, we presume, will be the last word in the post-war constitutional changes following the Govt. of India Act 1935. The Congress leaders will try to pose this sham transference of power as 'independence' in order to lull and confuse the resurgent Indian people who have fought heroically against imperialist tyranny side by side with their fellow fighters in other colonies. The League leaders never boasted so much of their anti-British professions. But the pity of the whole thing is that the boastful protagonists of "Quit India" and complete Independence, have now settled down to accept Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth. They rejected the Cripps offer in 1942, but they have accepted a worst imperialist gift to-day with folded hands after so much loss of life, energy, time and prestige of the nation as a whole. The Congress could not do otherwise as Birla's "Eastern Economist" wants that a pro-British policy must be pursued by the Interim Govt. in the following terms :

"Our independence is not only not a legal reality but it is also in practice constrained by a number of real limitations..... The final and absolute release from British control is yet to be secured.

"And Britain, far from being an enemy, may well be a friend and an ally in these times of perpetual trouble.

"Even in the peaceful pursuits of culture and commerce, Britain with her long and fruitful tradition and experience, will be an incalculable help to a country just starting out on a modern career of its own.

"An anti-British policy, for this and many other important reasons.....may at least in the short

period ahead of us be ruled out of court as being inimical to the interests of this country."

This leads us to the conclusion that Congress-Govt. rapprochement is complete and now the League cannot act as it pleases. This is not a progressive alliance, but a reactionary one which fits into the warlike grand strategy of the Anglo-American powers. This augurs ill for the Indian people and the progressive humanity at large. The people are already being hit and hit hard. It is time for them to rise up and resist. While India was being partitioned, we the leftist Parties went on protesting but remained helpless spectators to the actual acts of partition. This helplessness has got to go. We have got to stand up and resist. That requires organisation. We have to undertake that responsibility.

In the above thesis we have discussed in details the roll of the Indian capitalist class. We have seen how it has objectly surrendered to and compromised with imperialism.

We have now to analyse the role of the other classes of India in the changed political situation.

The economic distress of the people which was enhanced as a result of the war has affected the middle classes in India no less than the working class. This economic distress of the middle class along with phenomenal growth of the labour movement in the country forced the middle classes to join hands with the working class. Large sections of the middle classes have now come to realise that their interest lay not in remaining subservient to the bourgeoisie, the common exploiters of all, but in fighting for the vindication of their demands in alliance with the working class. This attitude was particularly manifest among those sections of the middle class who work as clerks in commercial establishments and as supervisors and technicians in factories and workshops. We all know of the vacillating character of the petty-bourgeoisie or the middle class. So we find

that major sections of this class who fight jointly with the working class on economic issues, still retain their faith and confidence on the Congress and League leaders regarding political matters. But this intellectual slavery of the middle class towards their capitalist exploiters has also started tottering as a result of the systematic attacks by the Congress and League Governments on the economic demands and the elementary political rights of the people.

Moreover, the present compromising policy of the Congress leaders and their acquiescences to the partitioning of India on religious basis has brought about and is still bringing widespread dissolution among the Congress ranks and its supporters in general.

The other section of the middle class which still pins its faith in the Congress or the League are the small traders, shop keepers, owners of small establishments, job-seekers etc. who hope that the Congress or League Raj will give them better scope to expand their business and offer them lucrative posts. They do not realise that their scope for development will be definitely thwarted by the Indian monopolists who can only allow these small traders to serve according to their whims. The Muslim middle class sections will be equally duped by the Muslim bourgeoisie in the Pakistan zones where like the rest of India their demands and aspirations will not receive any sympathetic consideration from high authorities. This will explode their sweet dreams about Pakistan and will gradually make them incline towards the side of the working class.

The peasantry all over India which also constitute a section of the middle class are progressively coming out of the orbit of the influence of the bourgeoisie on account of the practices of indiscriminate black marketing and hoarding carried on by the latter which is hitting peasants hardly. But on account of the absence of any effective organisation among

them, the working class is not being able to take any advantage of this discontent, and forge the long-needed revolutionary alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS

Now, lastly, let us take the case of the Indian working class, the class that is best suited to take the leadership in the coming revolutionary struggle against the compromise and the surrender, for the establishment of democracy and socialism in the country.

As is usually the case with all capitalist crises, and the wars are the highest forms of such crises, the Indian working class has been hit the hardest as a result of the last war. Even the 'Eastern Economist' owned by no less an industrialist firm than the Birla Brothers had to admit the appalling condition of the Indian working class in its issue of January, 1947, in the following terms :

"The war brought in its wake longer hours of work, overtime, overcrowding in the cities and dislocation of daily life. With food scarcity and rationing orders, scarcity of living accommodation and hardships all-round, life in the urban areas has become highly disturbed and miserable."

While the cost of living advanced from 124 to 200 per cent. during the course of the war, the wages increased only slightly more than 100 per cent. in most of the industries.

That the working class did not take it all lying down but fought tooth and nail against this encroachment on their standards, as well as the widespread dissatisfaction among them against such a state of affairs, is proved by the fact that strike struggles of Indian workers rose from 399 in 1938 to 820 in 1945.

The potentiality of the Indian working class to emerge as the leader of the Indian revolution is amply demonstrated by this strength and courage of the working class to systematically carry on the

struggle of resistance against the offensives of the vested interests and by the fact that it happens to be the most exploited and oppressed class in the contemporary Indian Society. The agricultural labourers and the poor peasants who are also exploited and oppressed as the working class shall be the main bulwark of the proletariat in the rural areas, if only the party of the working class can successfully lead them on to the path of militant organisation and uncompromising class struggle. Although the Indian working class is already asserting itself in the Indian political arena, thanks to the opportunist and disruptive policy of the C. P. I., which poses itself as the only party of the Indian working class, the proletariat has not yet been able to act effectively as the builder of the revolutionary Left Front of all democratic, freedom-loving, progressive and anti-compromising forces in the country and as a result failed to establish itself yet as the leader of the coming revolution. We as the real Marxist and working class party of India, must set ourselves to this historic task with unflinching zeal and devotion for there is no other way to crown the Indian revolution with success and to establish real democracy and socialism in the country.

THE STRUGGLE FOR LEFTIST UNITY

Thus as a party of the working class, it will be the task of our Party to forge an alliance between the progressive sections of the middle class, the peasantry and the working class for effectively fighting this sinister alliance between the Congress, the British imperialists and the League bourgeoisie. Unless the working class can demonstrate its strength effectively, it cannot draw in the disillusioned middle class as its dependable ally. In order to do this our party should organise the working class most effectively and carry on persuasive propaganda among the middle class sections in order to clarify

their outlook and to draw them away from bourgeois influence. We should also take an active part in building mass organisations for the middle class elements and the peasantry for fighting their immediate political and economic demands in order to bring them directly into open opposition against the bourgeoisie. For the middle classes clubs, cultural institutions etc. shall also be organised to draw in wider sections of such elements inside those bodies.

We have been repeatedly struggling for the achievement of Leftist Unity since the fall of Berlin. While observing the Victory of the Red Army in Berlin on behalf of our Party, in a Calcutta Rally, Comrade Abdur Rahaman Khan declared on the 5th May, 1945 :

"To-day Fascism is almost finished and our differences must now be a thing of the past. To-day we must consolidate our ranks and prepare ourselves to end imperialism in India and secure the freedom of our motherland for we should never conceive that freedom will come to us as a gift."

This task of the consolidation of our ranks—the ranks of the leftists, in the country has now become all the more urgent. By the term leftists, we mean those forces in the country to-day who stand totally opposed to the Anglo-American machinations and the resultant compromise between imperialism and the big business in India. There are a number of parties in the country who claim themselves as leftist, such as the C. P. I., S. P. I., R. D. P., R. S. P., R. C. P. I., F. B. etc. But we must shift the grain from the chaff. Let us take up the case of one leftist party after another and analyse how far it will be possible for us to get each of them on the side of leftist unity :

LEFT PARTIES AND THEIR POLITICS

Let us start with the Communist Party in India. It is a party which often claims itself to be the only

left Party in India, but as in 1938, so to-day, it is consistently pursuing the same old policy of imposing the leadership of the bourgeoisie over the working class behind their cheap leftist jargons. Summing up our inner struggles within the C. P. I. in 1939, we had stated :

"It was a struggle for isolating the C. S. P. opportunism from the proletariat, for isolating the influence of the bourgeoisie exercised through the leadership of the N. F. (C. P.) from the ranks of the proletariat, for rescuing and vindicating Marxism-Leninism from vulgar revisionism of the N. F. (C. P.) leadership." — (*"Proletariat and the Indian Struggle"*—page 14)

Years rolled by, yet there was no change in the political line of the C. P. I. as will be seen from the following talk in London by S. A. Dange, one of the prominent leaders of the C. P. I. which was reported from the London office of the "*Amrita Bazar Patrika*" and was reported in the columns of the Paper on November 17, 1944 :

"In talks with the progressive leaders in Britain, Mr. Dange said he had learned that the idea of the Indian National Congress being a semi-fascist or authoritarian or capitalist organisation was being instilled by a sinister agency. It produced the sinister argument to confuse the British working class.

"The progressive left came to the conclusion of the most reactionary right. The problem was not whether India was becoming socialist. The problem was democratic free India for the people as a whole. This was represented in a nutshell by Congress which did not stand for this or that class. It was a United Front. Its resolution regarding fundamental rights showed that it was a hundred per cent. democratic organisation. Nehru's presence was also a guarantee to progressive thought.

"Mr Dange said that a glance at the life of Nehru would show how unreal was the argument that settlement with the Congress would simply hand over the Indian people to the exploitation by the Indian

capitalists. Nehru next to Gandhi was the exponent of the interests of the peasantry and the working class. He was against landlordism and wanted international unity of the exploited peoples"

No one knows if there was a better ambassador abroad to espouse the cause of the Congress than Dange and there would seldom be found a greater betrayal of the cause of the Indian working class than this. Dange of course, does not speak out about the necessity of retaining the Communist Party in India when "Nehru next to Gandhi was the exponent of the interests of the peasantry and the working class." Either he is a hypocrite or a conscious agent of the Indian bourgeoisie.

While Dange spoke in such a vein, the Central Committee resolution of the Communist Party of India which appeared in the C. P. I. organ 'People's Age' of August 18, 1946, characterized the Congress leadership as "the national bourgeois leadership" and described it as "a big obstacle to the growth of revolutionary forces." But the same C. P. I. in the Editorial of the May Day Number (1947) of 'People's Age' wrote :

"With India on the threshold of freedom, the working class makes an earnest appeal to the leadership of the Congress and the League to unite and take power"

This is not all. While characterising "the national bourgeois leadership" of the Congress as "a big obstacle to the growth of revolutionary forces," the same C. P. I. in their same thesis of the Central Committee appearing in an issue of the "People's Age" of August 18, 1946, was still harping that the entire Congress and the entire Muslim League would combine in the long run and launch the final national struggle for emancipation.

The opportunism of the C. P. I. did not end there. It is common knowledge and a fact that the August, 1942 movement was conceived, organised and inspired

by the Congress High Command. This movement was opposed by the conscious and most advanced section of the Indian people—the working class. The C. P. I. also was opposed to this movement, but in their slavish subservience to the bourgeoisie, they absolved to Congress High Command from any responsibility in the movement and laid the whole burden on the leftist sections of the Congress. Thus according to the documents of the C. P. I., the Congress had nothing to do with the movement, the movement was the creation of Fifth-columnists, the Congress Socialists and the Forward Blocists, whereas the Congress leaders were anti fascists in every sense of the term and were opposed to the August struggle (vide P. C. Joshi's wire to the 'News Chronicle' after the arrest of the Congress leaders). It is, of course, the duty of the working class to trenchantly criticise and stubbornly oppose the anti-working class activities of different organisations at such critical periods, after properly evaluating their respective roles and responsibilities in such activities. But through their actions and propaganda, the C. P. I. had saved the face of the Congress leaders and branded the left forces within the Congress as bands of hooligans and what not, thereby making them increasingly hostile towards the working class and throwing them more and more into the arms of the bourgeoisie. Such a behaviour on the part of the C. P. I. leadership was possible only because they were still dreaming of having an alliance with the reformist and opportunist bourgeoisie but never considered the possibility of securing alliances with different left forces within the Congress in the future struggles against imperialism and the bourgeoisie.

But no sooner their Congress masters were clapped behind the prison bars, the C. P. I. leaders searched out another set of masters, this time in the leadership of the Muslim League, who happened to be the representatives of the Muslim section of the Indian bourgeo-

isie. In the same slavish way in which they continued their allegiance to the Congress bourgeoisie, they became loyal to the League High Command and zealously accepted their preposterous two nation (Hindu and Muslim) theory on the basis of religion and began supporting with full vigour their communal and British-sponsored demand of 'Pakistan' as the demand for self-determination of the Muslim nationalities (!) in glaring contrast to the Marxist-Leninist definitions of nationalities and by renouncing the Marxist contention that India is a multi-national state. As has already been stated in this thesis, there was a split in the ranks of the Indian bourgeoisie over this demand of Pakistan, but the C. P. I., unlike the Communist Parties in other countries, failed to use this split among the bourgeoisie to the best advantage of the working class and took up the role of the match-maker for uniting the Congress and the League for establishing the "Congress-League National Government" which, they declared, would usher in an era of democracy, peace and plenty.

C. P. I DISRUPTS WORKERS' RANKS

Since August, 1942, the C. P. I. began droning into the ears of the workers such un-Marxist slogans as "Congress-League Ek Ho (Unite)," "Pakistan is self-determination for the Muslims," "Muslim League represents the Muslim masses" and so on and so forth without any respite. In their madness to fulfil their sacred mission of uniting the Congress and the League, they instilled the idea among the workers that Gandhiji is the father of the nation, while Jinnah is the national uncle. They did not even stop at that. They asked Muslim workers to denounce nationalist, non-communal Muslims as traitors, recruited the Muslim workers under their influence into the League fold and themselves organised branches of the League in many places where the League had never existed before. At the same time they asked the Hindu workers to join the Congress in

order to strengthen that 'national' organisation. During the whole of the People's War period and even after that, they carried on this opportunist policy among the working class and in a word functioned in the working class as an agent of the Congress and the League, dividing the workers community-wise and goading them into the fold of the Congress and the League—the Hindu workers into the Congress and the Muslims into the League. Thus it did everything in its power to smash the backbone of the Indian working class and to thwart its development as an independent political force in the Indian political arena.

Again, when the Muslim League High Command issued its call for observance of a Direct Action Day on August 16, 1946, it was hailed by the C. P. I. leadership as the harbinger of a great anti-imperialist struggle, although any intelligent observer of cross-currents of Indian politics could foresee that it was nothing of the sort but a call to widespread communal riots, mass massacres, rape, looting and arson. The C. P. I. leaders directed all their party committees to participate in the direct action rallies and to help observance of the day in all possible ways. But when on the 16th of August it was actually found that the Direct Action of the Muslim League was directed not against British imperialism but against the Hindu community, resulting in unprecedented communal riots in different parts of the country, the C. P. I. leadership ordered their ranks to stage retreat but could hardly wash off their hands clean out of this devilish affair before much damage was already done. The great theoreticians of the C. P. I., those Phillistines who have the chick to claim themselves as the only Marxist theoreticians in the country, could not even gauge the real intentions of the League leaders behind the Direct Action which could be visualised even by non-Marxist political elements.

And yet after this the C. P. I. did not change its policy of appeasing the Congress and the League.

In a maze of Marxist verbiage and at times even after sternly censuring the policies of those organisations, the C. P. I. harped on the Congress-League Unity and Congress-League National Government. Even in August 46, the main aim of the C P I. was to unite, not the anti-imperialist parties and groups but the entire Congress and the entire League along with the C. P. I. in a Joint Freedom Front (Vide C.C. Thesis, Aug. '46) They were living in a fool's paradise and were still hoping that the whole Congress and the whole League including the Congress and League leaders would join the people's struggle against imperialism. But during the course of the war and with the end of it, the conception of struggle of the C. P. I. had also undergone a fundamental change. They no longer thought in terms of class struggle and revolutionary Marxism but were carried away by the opportunist theories of class collaboration of Earl Browder. So they were talking only of mobilization and diplomatic manoeuvres for peaceful march towards the goal of socialism.

When the June 3 Plan of Lord Mountbatten proposing the division of India was announced, it was characterised by P. C. Joshi, the General Secretary of the C. P. I., in a statement as the final imperialist offensive against India's freedom battle, but at the time of voting on the proposed June 3 Plan, Members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly belonging to the C. P. I. actually voted in favour of partitioning the country into Pakistan and Hindustan.

WHY THIS OPPORTUNISM?

This opportunism of the C. P. I. and those efforts on its part to reduce the revolutionary policy of United Front into a practice of base class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie, had its roots essentially in the class composition of the C. P. I. which is overwhelmingly petty bourgeois and its helpless dependence on the leaders of the Communist Party of Great Britain for day to day guidance although the

C.P. G.B. has more often than not misinterpreted the Indian situation and misled the Indian working class in its struggle for freedom and socialism. The latest act of such political bungling and bad leadership by the C.P. G.B. leaders was performed in the Empire Communist Conference held in February-March, 1947, when Comrade Harry Pollitt, the General Secretary of the C.P. G.B., placed the following suggestion before the Conference :

"Reactionary imperialist ruling circles in the Dominions were strengthening the economic tie-up between the Dominions and America thus enabling American imperialism to draw the economy of the Dominions in the orbit of its reactionary aggressive politics. As against this, the labour movements of Britain and the Dominions must stand for the economic co-operation between Britain and the Dominions in the interest of their peoples and to strengthen the progressive alliance of democratic countries of the world for peace against American aggressive policy. (—From an article styled "Empire Communist Conference" by G. Adhikary in "Communist", the monthly theoretical organ of C. P. I. April, 1947.)

This proposal of Comrade Pollitt in effect means nothing else than the strengthening of the economic bonds of the British Commonwealth, a super-structure deliberately created by the British imperialists in order to dupe the peoples of the British Dominions and for fostering their own imperialistic interests. Such a course, if followed, far from strengthening the progressive forces within the British Empire would actually strengthen the hands of the big business of the U. K. and the British Dominions and as such would consolidate the Anglo-American camp. The British Communist leaders could make such an erroneous proposal obviously because they still hoped that they could bring about "a complete change in the Labour Government's foreign, colonial and empire policy." The leaders of the C. P. G. B. in spite of

their hostility towards the Anglo-American Bloc, were not prepared even at that late hour to accept the hard truth that the Labour Government was already wedded to America in its foreign policy and was dependant on her for Britain's financial stability. Without considering all these aspects of the suggestion made by Comrade Pollitt, G. Adhikary, the most prominent theoretician of the C. P. I., acclaimed it as a 'fruitful suggestion' although in his article referred above, he accepted that real power in Britain rests in the hands of monopoly capital. This reduced all the grandiose plans of the C. P. I. to fight the Anglo-American imperialist Bloc into mere useless talk. This is not Marxism, but a negation of it, this is opportunism. Such parrot-like imitation of misleading theories not only proves the political immaturity of the C. P. I. to function as an independent Party of the working class, but has also led the C. P. I. to commit a series of political blunders which has proved tantamount to the systematic betrayal to the cause of Indian revolution.

C. P. I. DISRUPTS MASS FRONT

In the mass fronts, the sectarianism of the C. P. I. knows no bounds. Due to its narrow partisan policies, the Kisan Sabha (Peasant Organisation) and the Students' Federation have been deserted by all other sincere, progressive and Marxist groups and those bodies have now turned into mere Peasant and Student Bureaus of the C. P. I. In the Trade Union sector also, the partisanship spirit of the C. P. I. and its sudden and inconsistent changes of fronts, have become sources of constant irritation to all other parties and groups within the All-India Trade Union Congress including those who sincerely stand by Marxism-Leninism in all its aspects. This sectarianism of the C. P. I. unless checked in time is likely to cause further disruption in the ranks of the A. I. T. U. C.

The most outstanding instance of sectarianism of the C. P. I. in the mass front was the foisting of their faulty Party slogan of "Support to Pakistan" and "Congress-League Unity" within the Kisan Sabha organisation inspite of vehement protests from all other progressive elements and forces within it. As a result of this the Kisan Sabha had to lose Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, the foremost kisan leader of the country, along with his own powerful kisan group and all other progressive political groups working among the kisans, thereby rendering it into a mere appendage of the C. P. I.

OTHER C P. S AND THE C P. I.

Whereas in all other countries of Europe and Asia, particularly in China and the East European countries, the Communist and Workers Parties, the real parties of the working class, have spared no pains for consolidating all the progressive forces in their respective countries, the Communist Party in India in its attempts to appease the bourgeoisie, has played an unique role in disrupting the progressive forces of this wretched country. Under the leadership and through the strenuous efforts of those Communist Parties mighty alliances of all progressive parties and groups have been built up in those countries for furthering the cause of freedom, peace, democracy and socialism. But in India, the picture is entirely different. Here, the C. P. I., which poses as the only working class party of India, has been the greatest stumbling block in the formation of a progressive leftist alliance in the country for according to the same C. C., C. P. I. thesis referred above "Left unity will be a hindrance in the path of rallying the entire Congress for the Joint Front." But still at the same time, the C. P. I. has agreed to join and has advanced a programme for Left Unity. This clearly demonstrates the utter insincerity of the leadership of the C. P. I. Thus in pursuance of its policy of appeasement towards

the reformist bourgeoisie, the C. P. I. has always opposed in practice the formation and growth of Left Unity in the country and has thus betrayed the cause of the working class and other revolutionary forces of India. Moreover, the C. P. I. considers leftism as its sole monopoly and, therefore, always maintains an air of superiority towards all the other left parties in the country. Under the circumstances it is hardly likely that the C. P. I. will sincerely join any Left Front for the present and accordingly we will have to move towards that objective even without and inspite of them. Joint actions with the C. P. I. on specific issues are within the range of possibility and we should not fail to initiate or assist such actions.

WHY THIS GROWTH OF C. P. I. ?

After going through all these pages of criticism of the C. P. I. one pertinent question might intrigue the minds of the readers. They may quite will ask asto how the C. P. I. could grow into such a big organisation if its policies were all wrong and if it always pursued an anti-working class policy. In reply to this we would simply say that the quantitative growth of an organisation does not always depend on the correctness of a political line, or else we cannot account for the huge numerical strength of the big socialist parties of Europe including the British Labour Party or even the Fascist parties of Germany or Italy or the Indian National Congress. The main secret of the organisational growth of the C. P. I. lies in the name "Communist Party" itself, which has an unsurpassed goodwill among the revolutionary peoples of all lands. Moreover, the name itself signifies its association with the greatest of the revolutionary teachers of the world, namely, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and further the name "Communist Party" has internationally become an epitome of generalised experience and leadership of the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed and

freedom-loving peoples of the whole world. So, the name 'Communist Party' itself has drawn a large number of progressive intellectuals within the ranks of the C. P. I. Its posture as the most sincere and honest exponent of the Congress and the League views has also allured some sections of liberal bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements into its fold either as members or sympathisers. It must be noted that the sudden numerical growth of the C. P. I. occurred during the People's War period, when the Congress was banned and the C. P. I. became the best defender of the Congress High Command and their policies. Naturally, therefore, the pro-Congress people who were not prepared to take all the risk of acting as Congressmen at that time, veered round the C. P. I. which in its turn swelled its ranks considerably. It would not be out of place to mention here how Lenin reacted under such circumstances. When on the eve of the famous April Conference of the Bolshevik Party, interested parties were propagating that the Bolsheviks were in a minority, that they have isolated themselves from the people, Lenin was not unnerved at all, rather he retorted his critics by saying: "Well, what of it? To be a socialist while chauvinism is raging all around means to be in the minority. To be in the majority means to be a chauvinist" (*The April Conference*—Lenin, Pp. 27). But the C. P. I. did not hesitate to defend the Indian chauvinists even in those days and thereby to inflate its organisation. Moreover, the C. P. I. leaders, unlike our Party, were never particular in developing cadres from the ranks of the working class, which is undoubtedly a difficult job in a backward country like ours, and drew the majority of their recruits from the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie which made it easier for them to expand their size at a shorter period, although it made the structure of their Party basically weak and unsound. This composition of the C. P. I. is tending it more and

more towards bourgeois reformism and has turned the whole Party organisation into a bureaucratic machine devoid of the Leninist principle of Democratic Centralism. So, the organisational growth of the C. P. I. in itself should not lead us to the conclusion that its politics was correct. So much about the C. P. I.

FORWARD BLOC & LEFT UNITY

Let us now take up the case of the Forward Bloc. The Bloc is still functioning mainly as a platform of predominantly revolutionary middle class elements having different shades of political ideologies but unified under the common bond of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose's leadership. Although the movements of the major sections of the Forward Blocists were so long centred round the activities among the middle class, they are now taking keen interest in organising the working class and the peasantry and there is already a distinct and powerful move within the Forward Bloc to turn it into a Marxist Party. Only the future will prove the success or otherwise of these efforts. But the F. B. is definitely opposed to the Bloc of Anglo-American imperialists and in matters relating to present day Indian political problems, it takes, in most cases, a realistic approach and is keenly desirous of building up an alliance of all Left forces in the country. As such we should move closer to the F. B. and must consider it as our near ally.

THE OPPORTUNISM OF C. S. P.

The Congress Socialist Party stands as before as the main organisation for disseminating bourgeois Socialism among the working class of India. Recently the leaders of the C. S. P. have eulogised Gandhiji as a great Socialist and have accepted the principles of Gandhism as the most suitable socialist principles for India. Its present trends are towards developing it as the Social Democratic Party in India with its attendant properties of opportunism and class-

collaboration. It is mainly upper middle class in composition and is equally sectarian and arrogant as the C. P. I. in its attitude and behaviour to other Left parties and likewise considers itself as the only Left party in India. Like the C. P. I., it has also played its part in disrupting the peasants' and students' mass organisations in the country. It still views the Congress as the anti-imperialist United Front organisation and as such it is hardly possible that it will even now agree to come to some working alliance with other left parties against the surrender of the Congress leadership and for furthering the struggle for India's real emancipation.

R. D. P. & ITS POLITICS

About the Radical Democratic Party of M. N. Roy, the less said the better. It is composed of bourgeois and upper middle class intellectuals and has renounced Marxism and struggles in any form, including the class struggle. It believes only in the peaceful transformation of human society and although it characterises the present Congress Government as a Fascist Government, it is not prepared to change it by any course other than peaceful peroration. Moreover in its view there is no longer any existence of British imperialism and so the question of its participation in any Left Front does not arise. It may, however, be possible for us to have limited and temporary alliances with the R. D. P. on the Trade Union Front, and we should avail ourselves of such chances.

OTHER LEFT PARTIES

The other left parties worth mentioning, in this evaluation of left parties, vis-a-vis, the Left Front, are the Revolutionary Socialist Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Bolshevik Leninist Party. All these three parties take more or less a Trotskyite stand regarding the Soviet Government and its home and foreign policy. They sneer at the

theory of the United Front and the theory of New Democracy as they consider both of these as theories of class collaboration. So, they maintain a critical attitude towards the popular democracies of Eastern Europe. They are, however, openly hostile towards the machinations of U. S.-British imperialist Bloc and consider it as the main enemy of peace-loving and progressive mankind. All these parties are overwhelmingly middle class in their class composition. The B. L. P. and the R. C. P. I. are also opposed to the compromising policy of the Congress and its reactionary rule. The R. S. P. which comprises a slice of an old terrorist party, known as the Anushilan Party, has only recently accepted a Socialist programme and is moving with the Congress Socialists in the Students' Front and also in the Trade Union Front as against other left parties which makes their attitude towards the Congress Governments vague and confusing. While maintaining their hostility towards the theory of United Front as envisaged by Communist International, the B. L. P. and the R. C. P. I. are willing in practice to build up a United Front of all left forces in India. The views of the R. S. P., however, is not clear on this point. Thus we should move ahead along with the F. B., R. C. P. I. and B. L. P. towards the formation of a United Left Front so that it may serve as an inspiration and a guide to other left parties.

Before we finish the evaluation of all the left parties and groups in the country, we must mention the solid peasant force under the leadership of Swami Sahajananda Saraswati which is likely to help our move for a United Left Front. The other groups that may follow suit are the Democratic Vanguard and the Socialist Unity Centre. Both these groups are composed of middle class intellectuals, the former an offshoot of the R. D. P. while the latter mainly a digression of the R. S. P., which

claim to have taken up the mission of forming a real working class party in the country. Both of them talk of unifying the left forces in the country and they are likely to join in any alliance of the left forces. As such we should try to secure closer relations with them.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAY OUT

The acceptance of the June 3 Plan by the Congress and League leaders and the way they have compromised with British imperialism will definitely mean the consolidation of the forces of Indian reaction and of the British imperialism in the country. To meet this reactionary consolidation, a consolidation of the left forces in the land is an essential and immediate necessity. On the success of it greatly depends the progress and success of our revolution. The true bourgeois character of the Congress and the League is being unfolded and exposed before the toiling people and their confidence on such organisations is being shaken. The toiling masses will be disheartened and demoralised unless we can show and demonstrate before them an alternative organ of struggle for their emancipation. Some way out of this impasse must be found out. The only way out, under the present Indian circumstances, can be the United Left Bloc, advancing and concretizing a mass revolutionary programme through class-struggles and mass struggles, always unifying and consolidating them on an anti-imperialistic and democratic plane. Such an emergence of the United Left will accentuate the process of disillusionment of the masses against the leadership of the bourgeoisie and will help the consolidation of the masses in a revolutionary camp, away from the influence of the reformist compromising bourgeoisie. We call upon all the freedom loving, democratic and anti-compromising organisations and forces in the country to come forward to fulfil this historic task for the

progress of the Indian revolution. A special responsibility lies on our party for initiating and achieving this great task, and we must not fail. We, on behalf of our Party, put forward the following programme for the proposed Left Front, which will be subject to modification here and there by the organisations joining the Front and we have every confidence that it will serve as a basis for discussion and will prove helpful in attaining our immediate objective:

THE MAIN SLOGAN:

The replacement of the rule of imperialism and its allies and the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Government.

IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME

1. Immediate and complete withdrawal of British troops including Army officers and other officials.
2. Confiscation of all British financial interests including banks, mines, factories and plantations.
3. Cancellation of all foreign debts.
4. Removal of all officials that loyally served the British Crown and public trial of those notorious for their anti-national activities.
5. Dissolution of the existing Constituent Assemblies and the setting up of popularly elected Constituent Assemblies on the basis of universal adult franchise for drafting the final constitution for a Free India.
6. Release of all classes of political prisoners.
7. Right to carry arms.
8. Arming of the people and building up of a people's militia.
9. Complete freedom of speech, press and association and guarantee of full civil liberties for the people.
10. Democratisation of the army.
11. Right of full self-determination to all nationalities on the basis of language and culture with right to secede coupled with right of simultaneous propaganda for unification amongst the exploited millions belonging to different

nationalities. 12. Abolition of landlordism without compensation and equitable distribution of land amongst the tillers of the soil. 13. Nationalisation of all key and basic industries without compensation. 14. Liquidation of all native states and formation of peoples' democratic governments in those areas. 15. Provisions for suitable shelters and sufficient food and cloth for all. 16. Drastic punitive measures against black-marketing and corruption. 17. Jobs for all and security of service. 18. Provisions for old age pensions for all. 19. Basic minimum wage of Rs 40/- for every worker. 20. Fixation of working hours for 7 hours a day with a total of 40 hours a week. 21. Right to strike. 22. Cancellation of all debts of the peasants and granting of state loans for them without interests. 23. Provision for universal free education. 24. Provisions for the fullest industrialisation of the country with collectivisation and mechanisation of agriculture.

**ON TO AN UNITED FRONT OF THE LEFT !
LONG LIVE REVOLUTION.**

THE END.