

INDIAN POLITICS

1941-44

POLITBUREAU

BOLSHEVIK PARTY OF INDIA

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1941—44

*(Being the draft Political Report of the Politbureau,
of the Bolshevik Party of India, to be placed
before the 2nd Party Congress
to be held on 15th June '44
at Calcutta)*

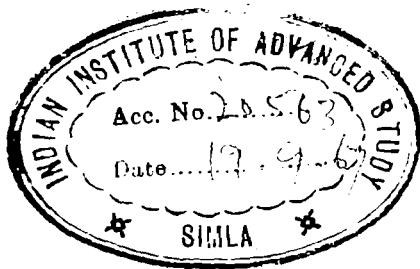
BOLSHEVIK PARTY OF INDIA

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PREFACE

The Bolshevik Party of India came into being in 1939. Necessity of a working class Party firmly rooted in the masses and loyal to the principles of Marx-Leninism was felt very much at that time. Neither the so-called "Communist" Party of India nor the Party of M. N. Roy could provide the basis for such a Party in India.

The "Communist" Party would "agree" to all the principles of Marx-Leninism but would not carry them into practice, because *Leninism*, as P. C. Joshi put it, was "out of date"! Dimitrov's, thesis on *United Front* was reduced to the base theory of class collaboration, with the reactionary Gandhian bourgeois leadership of the Congress. These gentlemen would call themselves the "Party of the working class" but would invite the Landlords, capitalists and upper middleclass elements, in fact all, *except the workers*, into their ranks.

The policy of this Party has been to function as the propagandists of the Congress view, to protect the bourgeois leadership from the fury of the masses, and to fight against those who would advocate a *militant, independent policy* of the working class.

M. N. Roy was of the opinion that working class in India was yet undeveloped and therefore there was no basis for a working class Party in India. He chose to work for the revolution with the radical bourgeoisie whom he later named the Radical Democrats.

The Bolshevik Party is the Party of the Indian working class. 88% of its membership is composed of *factory workers*, 7% is composed of poor peasants and the remaining 5% is composed of poor middle class elements who have proved

their loyalty through a long period of hard work. We are for a militant, independent working class policy. We do not look up to other parties to furnish us with hints for formulating out Policy in a complex situation. With extreme caution we apply the principles of Marx-Leninism to the situation which we try our very best to know in all its details.

This book will demonstrate how Indian Bolsheviks look at India and the rest of the world.

We, Bolsheviks, welcome scientific criticism. We know that we are liable to commit mistakes.

We are therefore eager to recognise our mistakes and to correct them immediately. Any body who will help us in this matter will be a true friend of ours. None will be more glad than ourselves to listen to his scientific criticism of our policy, even if that be extremely bitter. But to those who attack us out of prejudices we have only the following of Karl Marx to refer :

“Every opinion based on scientific criticism I welcome. As to the prejudices of so called public opinion, to which I have never made concessions, now as aforesaid the maxim of the great Florentine is mine : ‘Segui il tuo corso, e lascia dir le genti.’”—(*Capital*, Vol. I, Kerr Ed, pp. 16.)

64, Chittaranjan Avenue
Bowbazar, Calcutta,
1st June 1944.

POLITBUREAU,
BOLSHEVIK PARTY OF INDIA.

* ‘Follow your own bent, no matter what the people say.’

Introduction

“The character of the war changed on the moment Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. The war was no longer a war between two groups of imperialist states. It was a war between Fascism and the rest. Strengthening of the Soviet Power after the defeat of Fascism, destruction of the worst imperialist bandit group of the world, emergence of a revolutionary China as a real Great Power, development of workers and peasants governments in European Countries, weakening of the reactionary imperialist cliques of England and America on an immense scale and simultaneous growth of popular forces throughout the world—these are the factors favourable for the independence of subject nations, which shall result from the annihilation of the Fascist bandits. It is therefore a People’s war.” (Our Policy, People’s Front, Vol. I, No. 1, PP. 1-2).

This war is destroying the Fascist Powers. It is not only destroying the military might of Fascism, but also the rule of trusts and monopolies in Europe thereby creating conditions for a social revolution. This war is not only defending the Soviet Union but also *strengthening* it by winning more “Companions”, to use Stalin’s language, for her march towards human progress.

This war is not only destroying Fascism, it is not only strengthening the Soviets. It is not only popularising

Communism among the toilers of the world it is at the same time weakening the imperialist cliques in England and America, strengthening the popular forces of these countries and creating conditions for independence of all subject nations of the world. This perspective of the war was expressed in the following popular terms by Comrade Molotov in 1943:

“The govt. of the USSR declares with unshakable confidence that the liberation struggle of the Soviet Union is a struggle for the rights and liberties of *all freedom-loving peoples of the world*, and that this war can finish only with the complete destruction of the Hitlerite troops and the complete victory over Hitlerite tyranny.” (The Molotov Notes on German Atrocities, Moscow, Jan., 6th. 1942).

The opinion which we expressed in ‘Our Policy’ in August ’42 about the possibilities of weakening of Imperialism “on an immense scale” was more pointedly expressed by Com. Earl Browder of the Communist Party of America in following terms:

It is the war, and the consequence of war, which has shattered the *system* of colonial Empire, the foundation of the old regime in Great Britain.” (Victory and After, P. 112).

Moreover when Fascism will be destroyed with it will be destroyed its back-bone, the big monopolists and owners of trusts and combines in Europe. The war has already roused millions in Europe for liberation. Under the hegemony of the proletariat the People’s Front Governments which are coming into existence will function at the head of a new economic relation, a relation which will come into being on the ruins of big capitalist magnates. Such Governments will include in it representatives of small

capitalists and middle classes. But they will *essentially* be the apex of an "economy of transition" to socialism.

Thus, destruction of Fascism, its root and branch, emergence of People's Front Governments under the hegemony of proletariat, shattering of the system of Colonial Empire of Britain as a result of this war, these are the forces which are bound to play decisive role in the struggle of liberation of Indian people.

The vast scope of this People's War was not realised by us for a long time after the Soviet-German war had broken out. Thanks to bourgeois-nationalist prejudices we failed to see that the character of the war had changed. We failed to see that the best way to advance towards freedom was to fully participate in this war of liberation lead by Soviet Union in alliance with the progressive forces of the world.

INDIAN POLITICS

1941—44

CHAPTER I

The Soviet armies have crossed their state frontier and a wide military movement can be expected in the Balkans in the near future. Hungarian partisan troops are functioning in the Carpathians and in Yugoslavia. The *Greek* guerilla bands have united. Italian partisans are also functioning in the German occupied territory. Yugoslav Patriotic movement has become the focus of Balkan resistance against the enemy. Feverish preparations are going on for a Second Front which, said Tehran declaration, would be opened from North, West and South of Europe. Mr. Churchill's recent reference to the Yugoslav patriots and his promise of sending as much aid as possible to this patriotic army foreshadow a big drive in the Balkans to join the Red Army for an enveloping movement against Germany. Meanwhile the Red Army is crossing the frontier of Czechoslovakia and partisan troops have become active on the Austrian and Czech soil. Attack on Germany itself from Balkans and central Europe is imminent.

That a big battle is approaching also on the French soil both in the West and in the South is discernable from the preparation undertaken by the French Committee of National liberation. 14% of France's population are in the armed forces. "Thanks also to the armaments, ships and aircraft sent by the United States, Britain and Russia, our military forces are able to play a great role in the coming battle of France. The forces from outside and inside metropolitan France will be engaged together on the French

territory combining their efforts"—said General De Gaulle. (Amritabazar Patrika, 20. 3. '44).

As this big battle is approaching the forces of Social liberation are also coming to the forefront.

France was promised her Sovereignty by the Atlantic Charter. But that did not satisfy the French people. In the middle of February '44 Com. Thorez the general secretary of the French Communist Party expressed the desire of the French people by demanding a policy from French Committee of National Liberation for the exclusion of Vichites from future Government and the abolition of trusts, cartels and monopoly which were the foundation of French Imperialism. The French Colonial power had already shattered and it was left to the French people to destroy the monopoly at Home. The French Committee of National Liberation has adopted this programme of French Communists as a part of their programme. Thus De Gaulle said:

"In France no public authority would be tolerated which does not derive its power from the Republic. *Not a bit of Vichy will be allowed to carry on. The Provisional Government would not allow industrial coalitions or trusts which would be a burden in the nation's economy nor would it allow "Riches gained in the profit of the enemy." The new France did not want to permit a concentration of business which would rule the country. the authority of the French Committee of National Liberation would cease automatically on the day on which national Sovereignty can be expressed.*" (Amritabazar Patrika 20. 3. '44).

The French workers are at the forefront of French Resistance. After the destruction of Fascism, it can safely be said, the New France will be the France not of Industrialists and owner of trusts and combines but of

French People. Second Front promises to France a Social Liberation.

Similar is the situation in *Italy*. Italian workers and peasants have been in the forefront of Italy's resistence against Fascism. The sweeping victory of the Allied Armie in North Africa, allied offensive against Italy itself, and th rising of Italian people against fascism caused the downfall of Mussolini and ultimately compelled Badaglio to surrender to the Allies.

After the surrender of Badaglio the Italian people demanded the abdication of the King and establishment of a democratic state in Italy. Sweeping movement of the people for demanding King's abdication attracted support from the British Government. And on the 28th March, 1944, the King was compelled to promise Britain and America

“not to withstand (*i.e.*, oppose) any constitutional changes demanded by the freely elected Parliament, representing the Italian people. (1) The present ministry (of Badaglio) will remain in the office until Italian Government run into Rome. (2) Immediately Rome is freed from the Germans, the formation of a broad based government, comprising leader of all parties and excluding any person in any way compromised by fascism will be undertaken. (3) Within 4 months of the declaration of peace, elections will be held for the Chamber of Deputies. (4) Parliament will be allowed to discuss the institutions of the state and transform them. (5) The country, thus freely consulted, will be master of its own destinies. (6) The Crown will faithfully carryout the will of the country by the freely elected representatives of the nation.”
—(*Amritabazar Patrika*, 29th March, 1944.)

This followed the recognition of the Badoglio Government by Moscow and as a result it was announced later on that advised by Com. Ercoli the Communists of Italy would not demand the abdication of king any further, since the King had already surrendered to the demands of the people. For the interim period the king has been asked to delegate his power to some others and the King has, it is reported, agreed to do so. Thus in Italy the People are proceeding towards Social liberation sweeping away the bourgeois-Monarchist system in their way.

The *Yugoslav* Government of Tito has been recognised by all the allies as the real government of the people of Yugoslavia. The run-away government is still sitting in Cairo cared by none. What the Yugoslav people want after the War is not unknown to us. They want their own Government and not a Government of the Capitalists and Landlords. *And a revolutionary People's Government in Yugoslavia will be the pivot of peoples revolution in the Balkans.*

Look at *Poland*. The Polish patriots in Moscow have organised a Committee of National Liberation including the representatives of the Polish Peasant Party, Polish Socialists, Polish Workers' Party and other democratic groups excluding those big capitalists and landlords who are represented by the Polish emigre Government whose agents in Poland, says Pravda, are functioning as German spies. (*Statesman*, 14th and 15th February, 1944). The liberated Poland will be a Poland of Polish People and not of capitalists and landlords.

And *Germany*? We have not heard anything about the British or American plans in Germany. That is because the key to post-war Germany lies neither in London nor in Washington but in Moscow. Nearly 5 million German

prisoners of war are now being trained by 9 thousand German teachers in Russia. They are trained in what? In the art of re-establishing capitalism in Germany? They have also formed a free German Committee in Russia. When Fascism is finally finished those prisoners will go back to Germany which is already fed up with Hitler's War—this time as a consciously trained army of social liberation. Thus as the war in Europe approaches its final phase social revolution is also maturing in Germany itself.

We have already described the situation inside *Britain* in the previous chapter. The British People are rallying increasingly under the banner of freedom for all Peoples and liberation of the working class. Recent elections show that they are supporting precisely those unknown persons who, in opposition to the conservatives, are placing India's independence and nationalisation of key enterprises, in the forefront of their programme. The recent defeat of Mr. Churchill's Government on the question of equal salaries for men and women teachers is also a pointer to show the direction in which the wind is blowing in England. Earlier, in the month of February the Churchill Government escaped a narrow defeat on the question of raising soldiers' pay. This time Mr. Churchill has raised the question of confidence and has threatened the "constitutional consequences" if for the second time a defeat is inflicted on the Government. The British people do not want to disturb the present constitutional position in view of the impending battles. To them Churchill is a good wartime leader but bad for peace-time. Their mood is best expressed in the editorial columns of *The Statesman* who wrote:

"In being denied the opportunity of general election they (the British people) have lost the means of asserting up-to-date opinion on non-military matters

and it seems questionable whether Mr. Churchill's leadership, so magnificently acceptable in war, will be appropriate or welcome throughout the difficult transition to peace." (8th February, 1944.)

Under the circumstances although the British people has consciously tolerated much of Churchill's reactionary measures on the Home front in order to hasten the downfall of Hitler they will not hesitate to take their affairs in their own hand after the defeat of Hitler. Consider for instance the following review from *Statesman's* London office of the mood of British people after the vote of confidence was passed:

"Their relations may now be linked to that of a married couple jogging along without much affection for each other but sticking together for lack of any better alternative, for example the disgrace of divorce (general election) or for the sake of children (getting on with war)."—(*Statesman*, 3rd April, 1944—words in brackets are theirs).

And consider the impact of big revolutions, which Germany, France, Italy, Poland and Bolkan countries will produce, on this British people. Can their be any doubt then that this war promises a Social liberation also for England? Can their be any doubt that the post-war Britain will be ruled not by the Conservatives but by progressive representatives of the British people?

And what is the situation in the *Far East*?

In the Far East the allied froces have practically surrounded the big Japanese Naval base of *Rabaul* and the American forces have occupied the *Marshall Islands* thereby bringing *Truk*, the biggest Japanese naval base in the central Pacific, within the easy reach of American bombers. In the North the Aleutians have been under American forces and

Paramushiro, the northern naval gate to Japan is under constant bombardment from the Sea and Air. Thus the naval ring round Japan is closing steadily.

Although due to lack of materials no large scale offensive has yet been possible to be undertaken by the *Chinese* yet recent battles on the Central Chinese front demonstrate the superior morale and fighting power of the Chinese army. Two of Japan's biggest offensive for capturing Chungking has been repulsed inflicting heavy losses on the enemy.

Supply to China has become a crying necessity. And in order to ensure this supply the *Ledo road* has been opened through North Burma. Security of the *Ledo road* demanded occupation of a substantial portions of North Burma. The offensive began in last December. And to-day the Chinese and American forces have entered nearly 200 miles in North Burma. Allied forces are now pushing towards *Mytkiyana*. In order to slow down this offensive from the north the Japanese have attacked in the Central Burma front and they have penetrated a few miles inside *Manipur* threatening *Imphal* the gate way to one of the rail lines which are used to supply the northern front forces of the allies. Our troops are stubbornly defending the Central sector and there is no doubt that having air superiority and the superiority of men and materials the appropriate moment will be utilised to rout these enemy forces who have penetrated into the Indian soil.

China is the key to far eastern politics. Although China has been presenting an United National Front against the Japanese, yet the quarrel between the Communist and Komintang has been presenting one of the major problems of War and Peace. People of China, Workers and Peasants, both in the free and the occupied parts of China has been looking upto the Chinese Communists for lead. Chinese

Communists have given the weapon of Indusco, Guerrilla war and boarder region Governments to the pople. With these weapons the Chinese people have been defending themselves.

Chinese Communists demand recognition of those border-region governments, and the acceptance of principle of democracy in Chinese society.

Recently it has been announced in the press that the demand of democracy has been accepted by the Komintang and the quarrel between the Communists and Komintang has ended. The Fourth Route Army which was disbanded in 1941 has again been incorporated as a part of the Chinese National Army. *This ensures China's peaceful progress towards a peoples government, unless this agreement is blown up by any clique machination within the Komintang.*

Tendency of *Australia* and *Newzealand* to go out of British Empire is manifest in the Anzac declaration. And the growth of popular forces which is bound to occur in *Burma* and *Malaya* together with the growth of popular forces in England promises freedom for these countries after the defeat of fascism. Our demand for immediate independence for *Burma* and *Malaya* of course remains. *Indo-China's* independence has already been promised by the French Committee of National Liberation. And the strong revolutionary party in the *Dutch East India* will certainly be able to establish their own power after their liberation from Japan, in alliance with the peoples of *Holland* and the rest of the world.

This is the position, military and political, in the Far East. Destruction of Japan therefore opens up the prospect of independence to a large number of colonies and of a democratic people's state in China.

And what will be the effect of these revolutionary deve-

lopments on India? The gigantic growth of the Soviet Union, establishment of People's government all over Europe (England included) emergence of a free Democratic China, and the growth of popular forces in India ensures the freedom of our motherland in the post war world.

The Indian bourgeoisie has not missed this point. Almost all the bourgeois newspapers have been expressing this view. Typical among them is the view of the *Amritabazar Patrika* of Calcutta who wrote editorially:

“The process of disintegration of the Empire has begun. Mr. Churchill, who would hold what he has, cannot resist the operation of the historical forces.”
(6th February, 1944.)

So sure are the bourgeoisie about this fact that they have already drawn up a 15 years Plan involving 10,000 crores of rupees for the development of capitalist enterprises in India after the war is over.

“Underlying our whole scheme”, say the planners, “is the assumption that on the termination of the war or shortly thereafter, a national Government will come into existence at the Centre which will be vested with full freedom in economic matters.” (A plan of Economic Development in India, p. 2.)

CHAPTER II

In the background of the international situation described above we will attempt to analyse how the anti-fascist united front is emerging out of the conflict of different social forces in India.

The position taken up by our bourgeoisie can be divided into two main parts: (1) The period of formal opposition but material support to the war (September, 1939 to June, 1941) and (2) The period of formal support to the war and material opposition and sabotage of war efforts (August, 1942 to uptill now.)

The position taken up by the Indian working class can also be divided into two main parts: (1) The period of ruthless opposition to the war efforts (September, 1939 to June, 1941) and (2) The period of unconditional support to the war efforts (December, 1942 to uptill now).

The gap between the two set of periods represents the period of transition from one position to the other.

It will be noticed that during this war it has never been possible to get the bourgeoisie in any phase, in the camp of progressive forces. When the left parties were carrying on the anti-war movement, when they were leading mass action against the war efforts, during the phase of Imperialist war, the bourgeoisie were supporting the war with money and materials. When the mass movement against war effort grew by leaps and bounds and when, thanks to their betrayal the bourgeois leadership were looked upon by the masses simply as a set of careerists, they adopted a form of opposition which was meant to bifurcate the forces of the left, to sow confusion in the mind of the people, and to regain their lost prestige over the masses,—we mean their individual

Satyagraha Campaign. While Gandhiji asked the Satyagrahis to shout anti-war slogans (later on behind the back of the people) he was advising the All-India Spinner's Association to accept order for supplies to the troops on humanitarian Considerations.' Textile mills production which fell to 4,012 million yds. in 1939-40* showed an increase, inspite of opposition from the working class, to 4,269 million yds. in 1940-41 and to 4,493 million yds. in 1941-42, the highest ever recorded in the life of our textile industries. Production of Steel ingots was only 113 in 1938-39. But it rose to 124 in 1939-40, to 139 in 1940-41 and to 157 in 1941-42. Pig Iron production increased from 108.6 in 1938-39 to 127 in 1939-40, 136.5 in 40-41 and 141.6 in 1941-42. The general index rose from 111 in 1938-39 to 114 in 1939-40, 117 in 1940-41 and 122 in 1941-42. It will be shown later on that production began to fall after 1941-42.

Besides this Gandhiji advised all Satyagrahis to pay up fines, if they were fined. In this way Congressmen were compelled to contribute to war funds nearly one million rupees as fines during this period of individual satyagraha.

Thus while the bourgeoisie were actually co-operating with war-efforts they were compelled to adopt the individual Satyagraha as a formal attitude of opposition to war-efforts primarily to regain their hold on the masses and to side track the revolutionary movement which was growing inspite of imperialist oppression.

Germany attacked Soviet Union on the 22nd June, 1941. Peoples throughout the world at once rallied on the side of the Soviets. They had to reverse their policy of opposition to war. The war was no longer an Imperialist war. It was a people's war. Although in India Communist and Bolsheviks

* The year is financial year which is from 1st April to 31st March. All years referred to here are financial years.

were late in accepting the slogan of people's war thanks to the bourgeois nationalist sentiments prevailing in their ranks still a thorough heart searching began. Sweeping was the support for the Soviets among the workers and peasants. Petty bourgeoisie said: "Sorry, a good state had to be attacked by Germany. But can't help, she must perish if Britain has to be crushed."

The first reaction of our bourgeoisie was very interesting. Gandhiji had nothing to say. Similarly Dr. Rajendraprosad, when his view was sought at Calcutta, said that it was not possible for him to express any view. He asked his countrymen to *see* what was happening. But the second grade leaders who were running the Congress office at Allahabad began a vicious campaign against the Soviets. They said that it was a war between two blood-thirsty dictators—Hitler and Stalin, and therefore they had nothing to do with it.

People become disgusted with the individual Satyagraha. A world revolutionary prospect opened up with the entry of the soviets into the war. That section of the bourgeoisie like Rajaji who thought that Britain would capitulate after the fall of France calculated that the scale had turned against the axis. The Communist and Bolsheviks though slowly were adopting the policy of support to war-efforts were liberating themselves from the bourgeois national influence. A growing feeling for supporting the war-efforts was visible. Situation in India was in a melting pot. Left to itself the people would adopt the position of unconditional support to the war-efforts.

Japan's treacherous attack against Britain and America added fuel to fire. Necessity of supporting the war was felt by the people in an increasing manner.

Government of India began to release the Congress leaders from the month of October, 1941. Already Satya-

murthi had started a campaign for reversal of the Congress position. Rajaji advocated a reversal of Congress strategy. He advocated support to war. Rajaji proclaimed his differences with Gandhiji in his famous address in the Lucknow University Convocation (December, 1941.)

During the winter session of the Central Assembly Rajaji had prolonged talks with Congress members and with the high Government officials. Unconditional release of Moulana Azad, Pt. Nehru and all other Congress prisoners were ordered by the Government. Azad, Nehru, Rajagopalachariar—all these leaders of the Congress began a whirlwind campaign in support to the Soviets and the United Nations. People who were feeling the necessity of supporting the war, anti-fascists who proclaimed their unconditional support to the War, found in these leaders champions of their cause. It should be noted here that Gandhiji was silent all these months.

Meanwhile Japanese advance towards Malaya and Singapore roused dissatisfaction of the British people against the War Cabinet. Sir Stafford Cripps returned from Moscow and advocated a settlement with India. The tension became so high in England that the downfall of Churchill Cabinet seemed imminent. Appeals went from America to the British people to retain Churchill in the Cabinet. The Cabinet had to be resuffed. Beverbrook had to go. Cripps entered the Cabinet. The British War Cabinet had to adopt a definite policy towards India. That policy was embodied in the Cripps Proposals which were released to press on the 30th March, 1942.

The *object* of the proposals is laid down in the following terms:—

“The object is the creation of a new Indian

Union which shall constitute a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, but equal to them in every respect, *in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic and external affairs.*" (*India, Lord Privy Seal's Mission*, p. 4.)

On the said object "the following answers," says Rajaji, "were publicly elicited" at the Press Conference which Sir Stafford Cripps held during the negotiation:

Question: Will the Indian Union be entitled to disown its allegiance to the Crown?

Sir Stafford Cripps: Yes....(it) will be completely free either to remain within or go without the Commonwealth of Nations.

Question: Will the Indian Union have the right to enter into a treaty with any other nation in the world?

Sir Stafford Cripps: Yes.

Question: What about the Governor-General?

Sir Stafford Cripps: The Constitution making body will be free to deal with the question as it chooses.

Question:...Exactly at what stage does the British Government propose to leave the country?

Sir Stafford Cripps: As soon as the Constitution making body has framed a new constitution to take the place of the old one, the British Government undertake to accept and implement the new one; and the moment the new constitution comes into operation, the change over takes place.

Question: Will India be represented at the Peace Conference?

Sir Stafford Cripps: Certainly." (*The Way Out*, Pp. 16-17.)

On this Rajaji has the following comment to make:

“It may of course be possible to improve the language and minor particulars of the Cripps proposals. But the British Government could not offer a Scheme going further than that embodied in those proposals on the point of national independence. It is indeed not easy to conceive what else we could have asked to which constitutional lawyers could possibly agree.” (*Ibid.* p. 17.)

We Bolsheviks wished all success to Sir Stafford Cripps' mission. We found in this scheme some defects for which we could not regard it as a Charter of Freedom. For example, the constitution-making body is proposed to be composed of members elected by provincial legislatures (one-tenth their total number) and “appointed” by the Ruler of the Indian States.

This is undemocratic. It is proposed to hold elections of the Provincial Legislatures after the cessation of hostilities and the members thus elected are to elect delegates to the Constitution-making body. But who will elect the members of the Provincial Legislatures? No mention having been made of this issue either in the Proposals or in any other statements made by the so-called leaders of the Indian People, we can presume that the extent of suffrage granted by the 1935 Act was agreed upon by all the negotiators. And we all know that only 15% of the Indian Population were enfranchised by the Act of 1935. And these 15% consisted of the whole of the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie and only a small fraction of the working class and rich peasants. The bulk of the majority of Indian Peoples, the Workers and poor peasants, the unemployed and poor women were left out of the franchise. To vest the power of making a constitution for the whole of India consisting of 400 million people

(and for generations to come) to an insignificant minority of only 60 million persons is undemocratic to its very core.

Worse is the case with the delegates from the Indian States. Indian States were asked not even to enfranchise the 15% of their population. They were simply asked to "appoint" their nominees to the constitution-making body. Thus the danger of a rule of the capitalists in alliance with feudalism was inherent in this proposal. It was only a show of democracy.

Still we were in favour of the acceptance of this proposal. Why?

(1) Because we thought that the War had to be supported by all possible means, for in the Victory lay the hope of democracy. We were sure that full participation of the Indian People would strengthen both politically, morally and organisationally the Indian People to such an extent that a simple blow would be sufficient to get the Universal Suffrage after the War.

(2) Because we were sure that the British Government would not be able to withdraw these Proposals or to make them ineffective after the War. We were sure of that not because we had belief in the "sincerity" of the Capitalist class of Britain or of any other country but because we believed in the development of our allies, the British People and the People of all other countries, as the ruling factor in the post-war period.

This also strengthened our conviction that the issue of Universal suffrage could be won without much trouble after the War if the Indian People could be fully mobilised during the war under the banner of the working class. We said in July, 1942:

"The Cripps proposals. . . . gave the bourgeoisie

the Power to organise the moral and material resources in the country for the war effort. Any party which had interest in winning the war against fascism would have accepted that" (P.F. Vol. I, No. 1, p. 5.)

We are not cynic like those petty-bourgeoisie who succumb to bourgeois propaganda on the insincerity of the British Capitalist Class and fail to see the growth of popular forces in Britain and the rest of the world.

Much of fuss is made by the bourgeoisie about the inadequacy of the interim arrangements.

The interim period was to be ruled by the Viceroy's Executive Council to be renewed with representatives of all the parties excepting those of the workers and peasants, vested with full powers to deal with all the questions excepting the functions of the Commander-in-Chief which was stated to be,

"full control over all the war activities of the armed forces in India subject to the control of His Majesty's Government and the War Cabinet *upon which body a representative Indian should sit with equal powers in all matters relating to the defence of India. Membership of the Pacific Council could likewise be offered to a representative Indian.*" (India, Lord Privy Seal's Mission, p. 7.)

"I have pointed out," said Sir Stafford Cripps. "that all those main aspects of the defence of India which at present fall under the care of other members of the Executive (*i.e.*, civil defence, supply, home affairs, communications, etc., etc.,) will, if the scheme is accepted, be administered by representative members in the new National Government." (*Ibid.*, p. 7.)

An analysis of the "Interim arrangement" will show that

those who believed that it was really a People's War, that is, those who could see in this war a process of emergence of the People in opposition to imperialist forces as the dominating force in the world and those who were not afraid of this, could find ample grounds to start with. If any serious difference would arise on the policy of defence with the commander-in-chief we would be able to fight that out inside the War Cabinet and the Pacific Council backed by the British, Chinese and American people. If bourgeoisie were serious about arming the people, as Pt. Nehru feigned to be, than such questions could find ample support in the British and Chinese people which could be made to bear on the War Cabinet and the Pacific Council. Pt. Nehru's plea for rejection of the Cripps offer is therefore a lame excuse.

It is also argued that acceptance of the Cripps offer would not satisfy the "hunger of industrialisation" of our bourgeoisie. It is a false argument. None of the bourgeois leaders has yet raised that question *against the Cripps proposals*. And we all know that Louis Johnson was sent at that time to India by President Roosevelt to make arrangements with Indian leaders about the possibilities of industrial developments after the acceptance of the Cripps offer. Could it be possible for the British Government to oppose the development of industries in India, after the acceptance of Cripps proposals, if President Roosevelt's personal envoy promised to find out the shipping space and machine tools for India?

That it is impossible to obstruct the growth of Indian industries by the British Government is proved by the fact that during the first six months of Capital Issues Control Scheme 498 out of 564 applications were granted. These applications sought to start industries involving a total capital of 20 crores of rupees.

The 64 applications rejected were on grounds of strain

on transport or on grounds of technical difficulties. These 64 applications involved a capital of 5 crores only consisting of 5 cases under "Textile" with a capital of Rs. 42 lakhs (against 68 proposals granted with Rs. 4 crores); 10 cases under "Iron, Steel and Engineering" with a capital of Re. 1 crore (against 57 proposals granted with Rs. 1.7 crores); 9 cases under "Chemical" with Rs. 59 lakhs (against 53 proposals granted with Rs. 1½ crores); 21 cases under "film" with Rs. 122 lakhs (against 15 proposals granted with Rs. 12 lakhs); and 21 cases under "Miscellaneous" with Re. 1 crores.

447 out 507 applications were permitted to open new Banking, insurance, financial, commercial, plantation and other concerns. (*Statesman*, 24-1-44.)

About the rejection of the 10 applications under Iron, etc., group the Indian Textile Journal, a monthly journal of the Textile group of capitalists writes the following:

"Of the 10 applications refused in the Iron, Steel and Engineering groups, 5 were proposals to set up concerns in places offering no geographical advantage from the industrial point of view, such as vicinity of raw materials, power or skilled labor." (Feb. 1944, p. 206.)

We do not hereby suggest that the present Government has already taken up a liberal policy of industrialisation although under force of circumstances they are allowing certain capitalist enterprises to grow. What we want to suggest is that these instances show the great possibilities that would arise had our bourgeoisie accepted the Cripps proposals and pursued the true patriotic People's War policy in alliance with the People of India, Britain, China, Russia and America. On this question we were very much emphatic in 1942. The meeting of the Central Committee which

was held in July, 1942 passed a resolution containing the following opinion on this point:

“Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told a group of people in an interview that the talks broke down finally on the question of the Viceroy’s power of Veto. Is it not safe to assume that Veto would have been very sparingly exercised if Congress used all its Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary power to fight this war to a finish? And even if the Viceroy thought fit, in the case of a sharp conflict between the British and Indian Capitalist interests to exercise the Veto, the right way of tackling it should have been not to escape the responsibility of directing war-efforts and to run away, but to face the obstacle with a combined force of all its Parliamentary power and the organised will of the People for an all-out effort to destroy fascism.” (P. F., Vol. I, No. 1, p. 5.)

Why then the Cripps proposals were rejected? *It was rejected because the Indian Bourgeoisie was not interested in fighting against fascism.* This we said in our C. C. resolution of July, 1942. In criticising the first para. of the July Resolution of the Congress Working Committee we said the following:

“We would ask our readers to note that the talk of fighting fascism is only a chatter, only a repetition of an incantation—there is no life in the business. The Cripps proposals.gave the bourgeoisie the power to organise moral and material resources in the country for the war-effort. Any Party which had interest in winning the war against fascism would have accepted that.”(People’s Front Vol. 1, No. 1, P. 5)

Why there was no life in the business of fighting fascism?

It was because of their fear of a revolution on the wake of victory of the United Nations. We said the following in our statement on the August disturbances, issued on the 20th August '42. :—

“The Congress leadership—the representatives of Indian industrialists, financiers, speculators and commercialists. are blinded by their narrow class interest ; and threatened at the prospect of a World Revolution on the victory of the Antifascist forces which they themselves are not strong enough to check, they may seek an opportunity to live and thrive under Japan’s ‘Co-prosperity’ sphere under a Fascist hegemony.”—(Quoted in *The Sabotage Movement and Indian Bolsheviks*, P. 10)

Moreover the bourgeoisie, seeing the advance of the Nazis in Russia and the Japanese in the Far East were sure of an Axis victory in the war. They thought that the mightiest counter-revolutionary force to emerge after the war was Fascism. “It is Gandhiji’s feeling,” said Pt. Nehru, “that Japan and Germany will win.” (*Amritabazar Patrika*, 5th August, 1942)

It was therefore necessary for the bourgeoisie to prepare themselves to live under Fascism. These are not the after thoughts of the Bolshevik Party. This was recognised by the Party in 1942. Consider the following :

“According to the bourgeoisie the war has changed decisively against the Allies so far as India is concerned. A fascist rule in India is inevitable. To save itself, the Indian bourgeoisie must decisively *re-orientate itself to be able to exist under a fascist regime*. Thus the bourgeoisie, in this most serious crisis in India’s history, resorts to a course which *objectively* helps fascism. *This is possible* (our emphasis) because ~~to save its moneybags~~, it has

prepared itself *subjectively* to live in a Fascist regime.”
(*People's Front*, Vol. I, No. 4 P. 6.)

The period between the rejection of Cripps offer and the beginning of August disturbances (April 1942 to August '42) was a period of intense preparation by the Congress leaders for their “final battle.”

The anti-Fascist morale which was built up during the previous months had to be disrupted and the moral basis for an anti-war sabotage campaign had to be created. This was a period of Moral sabotage as a precondition to the material sabotage which followed the passing of the August Resolution.

The method in which this moral sabotage was carried on is an extremely interesting study.

Jawaharlal who played so important a part in building up the Anti-fascist morale of the people prior to Cripps Mission, again, under instructions from bourgeoisie, came to the fore in undoing the work he had done. His work was analysed in our C. C. meeting of December 1942 in the following terms:

“Pandit Nehru declared his unequivocal preference for the United Nations. The result of this was that the growing popularity of anti-fascism found a champion, a leader, in one of the most popular figures in the Indian National Congress. In the eye of the world Jawaharlal became the spearhead of Indian anti-fascism, India's anti-fascist No. 1.

“After this (Cripps Mission—Authors) one discerned a peculiar ambiguity creeping in Panditji's speeches. One heard with increasing frequency that Fascism was bad, but Imperialism was bad as well. The most essential pre-requisites for the building up of an anti-Fascist front: *the undivided, unequivocal and pointed hatred of fascism, the feeling that fascism is the main*

enemy, and that everything else must be subordinated to the main purpose of destruction of fascism was lost in a confused two-front chatter. The sharp point of anti-Fascism was blunted, bifurcated. It dis-organised the forces of anti-Fascism gathered under Jawharlal's leadership and the stage was now set for a return to where we were (The "Moral Sabotage" scored a success—Authors). The firm-as-rock Gandhian bourgeois leadership came to the fore."—(*Sabotage Movement and Indian Bolsheviks*, pp. 5-6).

Anti-Fascist morale was negated and a situation of frustration and exasperation was set in. In this situation bourgeoisie issued the slogan of Civil Disobediance. A new anti-war moral was created: Negation of negation. And the war against People's war was declared: August Resolution. This was expressed in following terms by the C. C. which met in December, 1942:

"Then in the general atmosphere of frustration and exasperation following the rejection of (Cripps) offer the threat to Civil Disobediance was raised. The question of power was pushed one step higher, the question of compelling an unwilling Government to part with Power came to the fore. Anti-Fascist chatter was kept up by Pandit Jawaharlal but nothing at all was *done* to help the war against Fascism. On the contrary, the identity of Fascism and Imperialism was proclaimed with such frequency that all distinctions between the two disappeared in the eyes of the masses. Rarely if ever was it stressed that the British Government was now in the same camp as the U. S. S. R. and China and fighting their enemy.

"So, war now threatened on two fronts: against Fascism and Imperialism. In actual practice, war against

Fascism was impossible except in alliance with Imperialism. So the only practical war which could be fought was with the bird in hand: Imperialism.

“To fight Imperialism, why? To compel it to part with power. How? By mass signatures? Strong as the faith of some camp followers of the Indian Bourgeoisie in the potency of a battle for mass signatures, the working Committee knew the limitations of such methods of warfare. The Working Committee recommended Civil Disobedience. A general strike was in Gandhiji’s contemplation. It would bring ‘swift results’—

(*Sabotage Movement and Indian Bolsheviks*. P. 20).

Working Committee planned a *total sabotage*. It was advertised that something was being planned for paralysing the Government. To those who were spreading confusion by raising the questions, “Have you concrete proof that the Working Committee majority planned the campaign of sabotage?” our C. C. answered the following:

“If by proof is meant a piece of paper or an authentic testimony of a sworn witness, all we have to say is that the tracing of such proof is the job of a public prosecutor. We neither have, nor are interested in such proofs. We are not out to unearth a ‘Majority plot.’ What we want to know is whether there is Political continuity between the behaviour of the bourgeois leadership and the acts of *Planned sabotage*.....The plain truth is that the reign of sabotage is the continuation or consistent policy of the majority of the Working Committee. Politically, the movement of sabotage is their movement and only they can stop it from within.”—(*Sabotage Movement and Indian Bolsheviks*, Pp. 19 and 21-22.).

And *what* did they plan? What was their *plan* of Total Sabotage? Again we have to declare that it is not our job to find out pieces of papers or sworn witnesses to prove that such and such things were planned by the bourgeoisie.

We are Marxists. We are interested in finding out the relation between the apparent situation and the moving forces, the forces of class antagonism which never ceases in a class society. Our method of analysis is dialectical. We stick to Lenin's formulation on the dialectical method of analysis. Lenin says:

"The dialectic method demands a many-sided investigation of a given social phenomenon in its development: it demands that we proceed from the exterior, from the apparent, to the fundamental moving forces, to the development of productive forces and to the class struggle." (*War and the Second International*, P. 16-17).

When applied to our problem, to moral sabotage, to the sabotage activities on lines of communications, to the engineered strikes of 1942, to the sudden flaring up of food crisis in Bombay (1942, Oct.) and its subsequent spreading out to other parts of our country, and to the struggle of the proletariat for production in 1943, this Leninist method of dialectic demands of us "a many sided investigation of a given social phenomenon" which means to start not with preconceived notions but with *apparent events* taken in their development, and proceed to find out the "fundamental moving forces" behind the apparent phenomenon which is expressed in the development of forces of production and class struggle.

Let us meet the first demand of dialectic.

Start with apparent: Cripps mission fails due to "an exaggerated importance attached to Veto." Stafford Cripps, on behalf of the British Government, asks Indian leaders to place a solution of their own to the British Government.

Indian leaders decline to do so, Congress leaders begin a whirl wind Campaign (nature of which has been examined earlier). Anti-Fascist morale created previously is disrupted. Anti-war morale is created. Anti-Fascist parties try their level best to maintain the morale, but fail. Slogan of "Quit India" plus "Civil Disobedience" is issued.

Gandhiji, raised officially to the status of a dictator, announced on July 14, at Wardah: "There is no room left in the proposal for withdrawal or for negotiation. There is no question of one more chance. After all it is an open rebellion." Gandhiji declared that he was planning something which would produce "swift results." August Resolution was passed expressing wholesome loyalty to the United Nations, demanding "Quit India," sanctioning a mass Civil Disobedience and announcing that the "Country might utilise all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle."

Sardar Patel announced in the A. I. C. C. :

"There were some people in India who still thought that there would be some compromise between the Govt. and the Congress. He (Patel) wanted to disabuse them of any such delusion. There was no hope of any settlement with Britain." (Amritabazar Patrika 8th August, 1942).

After the August Resolution was passed Gandhiji announced his intention to meet the Viceroy and on the same breath assured the A. I. C. C. that he would meet the viceroy not for any compromise but for persuading him to abide by the Congress decision *i.e.*, to pack up and leave the administration to the Indian bourgeoisie.

The Government arrested Congress leaders on the 9th August, '42. Then followed "Hartals" and strikes in factories.

Workers were asked by mill-owners and their agents to leave their place of work and come back after three months. In many mills three months' wages were paid to workers as bonus. Rumours were circulated that very soon Japanese would bomb the towns and that it was safe for the workers to go to their villages. Some left the town but many remained. Big industrial concerns like Tata and many mills of Bombay and Ahmedabad openly said that for the strike they had nothing to say against the workers who were provoked by political events!

Shops were kept closed. Demand for all goods grew by leaps and bounds. Shop keepers' dalals began to sell from backdoor at high, very high prices. Bombay Cotton and Grain seed Exchange kept their establishment open but did not transact business.

Congressmen led mass attacks on lines of communications. They engineered strikes. Post offices and thanas were looted. A Chinese shop in Delhi destroyed. Canadian soldiers in Chimur and even those British soldiers and pilots who fraternised with the mob were brutally murdered.

Most virulent form of sabotage in communication was organised in Eastern U. P. and Northern Bihar. Pro-Japanese, pro-Subash, anti-Russian, anti-Chinese, anti-communist and racial propaganda were let loose.

Loot, incendiarism, murder, tampering of communications, pro-Fascist and reactionary propaganda—all went on in the name of "Patriotism."

Anti-Fascist Parties did their level best to stop the sabotage. They persuaded the workers to go back to work.

The Government threatened requisitioning of Tatas if strike continued. Tata strike ended after 13 days. Bombay took three weeks to restore her production; Ahmedabad, where

Gandhi's Labour Union was very strong, took 105 days; and in all other centres work began in a week or two. There was practically no workers' strike in Calcutta and her suburbs.

Government took very strong measures to quell the open rebellion. Arrests, Lathi Charges, shooting, prosecutions, detention without trial, collective fines—all these were employed to quell the rebellion. In the beginning Government measures produced retaliation from the masses. Very soon the situation was brought under control. But Government attacks, specially their policy of collective fines, antagonised the people, peasantry particularly, thereby providing a base for saboteurs to carry on still for some time.

Hartals and strikes had already raised prices of commodities never to come down in the near future. Open rebellion having been quelled and thanks to the propaganda and organisation of the anti-Fascists among workers, masses of workers dissociated very soon from the sabotage movement. Another reason for this dissociation of the working class was the fact that very soon they found that the movement was decreasing production, disorganising the normal trade as a result of which prices were increasing by leaps and bounds. Those who promised them a flood of honey and milk after the establishment of the National Government; were now refusing to increase their wages or their Dearness allowance due to the increase in prices.

Rice which was 173 in May '42 rose to 218 in August, '42; wheat which was 206 in May rose to 222 in August; and cloth which was 199 in May rose to 300 in October 1942. (*Gregory Committee Report*, P. 90).

The General index of production was 116.2 in July '42 and it came down to 107.2 in August, '42, 101.9 in September and 97.0 in October, '42. The July '42 level of production

has never been reached except once in June '43. (*Capital* December 2, 1943).

Those who have the idea that the political movement has no connection with the economic situation could not co-relate this worsening in the economic situation to the sabotage movement whose predominant form has so far been Hartals, strikes, clashes with police, burning of post offices and police stations, cutting of telegraph and telephone wires and derailment of trains. In all these activities masses took an active part and actively supported those who took part in these activities.

But when this was stopped thanks to government repression, when workers were drawn away from this movement due partly to anti-Fascist efforts and partly to reaction of the movement itself, common people thought that the movement had collapsed. This broke their morale—the morale built up for carrying on the sabotage. But their anti-war ideas remained. And a constant anti-Government and pro-fascist propaganda carried on openly and covertly by various agents of the bourgeoisie maintained their hatred against the Government. These agents of the bourgeoisie were facilitated by the working of the Government policy of repression which continued for a fairly long time. Their policy of collective fines has been a fatal one. Much of the pro-fascist propaganda could be rendered ineffective if this policy was not adopted at all. Times without number we protested against this policy but the bureaucracy prevailed.

Then news came in October, '42 that Bombay was facing a food famine. But food situation continued to show signs of still more serious deterioration throughout India. This uncertain condition continued upto February, '43 when Govt. released Gandhi-Linlithgow correspondence and the news of

Gandhiji's fast was circulated by the Press. The Gandhi-Linlithgow correspondence shows the following:

(1) In his letter, date August 14, 1942, Gandhiji emphasised his "Quit India" demand. To the suggestion that after the cessation of hostilities an all-party Government be set up with full freedom Gandhiji expressed the following:

"Parties grow up like mushrooms, for without proving their representative character, the Government will welcome them as they have done in the past and if they, the parties, oppose the Congress and its activities, though they may do lip homage to independence, frustration is inherent in the Government offer. Hence the logical cry of withdrawal first."

It is obvious that the "parties" referred to in the above sentence are those of the anti-fascists who "oppose the Congress and its activities." Because as regards the parties like Mahasabha, the Liberals, and the Muslim League the Congress had already committed itself. No, unless compelled by the people bourgeoisie could not share power with all the parties nor could they allow these parties to grow during the war. Therefore, "Quit India" first was the logical cry. For if "Quit India" could be materialised then the power would pass to the strongest party, that is the bourgeoisie, and then the "Mushroom" parties could be easily weeded out. The Working Committee did not make any secret of this intention. They said in July 1942:

"The present political parties, formed chiefly with a view to attract and influence the British Power will then (when National Government will come) probably cease to function." (*Working Committee's Resolution*, July, 1942).

(2) In his letter dated 23rd September, 1942 Gandhiji

put the blame for the disturbances on the shoulder of the Government, abused the people for lack of self control and demanded the release of Congress leaders:

“The wholesale arrest of the Congress leaders seems to have made the people wild with rage to the point of losing self-control. I feel that the Government, not the Congress, are responsible for the destruction that has taken place. The only right course for the Government seems to me to be to release the Congress leaders, withdraw all repressive measures and explore ways and means of conciliation.”

The demand for conciliation by Gandhiji who wrote on 14th August, 1942 that “the living burial of the author of (Quit India) demand has not resolved the deadlock, it has aggravated it,” could have only one meaning: unconditional surrender of the Government to the demand of Quit India.

(3) Then there was a pause for three months. He wrote a letter on the 31st December, 1942. This letter shows that Gandhiji became impatient due to the fact that people began to desert the camp of the bourgeoisie.

Under the circumstances he thought it necessary to draw his last moral reserves to whip up people's enthusiasm for a fresh campaign of sabotage. Gandhiji knew that he was loved and respected by all. If they could be confronted with the problem of saving Gandhiji's life then something might come out. Gandhiji therefore decided to fast. He wrote in his letter to the Viceroy:

“I have given myself 6 months. *The period is drawing to a close, so is my patience.* The law of Satyagraha, as I know it, prescribes a remedy in such moments of trial. In a sentence it is ‘crusify the flesh by fasting.’”

In order to find an excuse for this fast and to place its responsibility on the Government, Gandhiji challenged the Government to convince him of his error! There was no other demand in this letter excepting this one. He wrote:

“That same law (of Satyagraha) forbids its (the remedy of fast) use except as a last resort. I do not want to use it if I can avoid it. This is the way to avoid it. Convince me of my error or errors and I shall make ample amends.”

(4) Viceroy's response to this was the following:—

“If I am right in reading your letter to mean that in the light of what has happened you wish to retrace your steps and dissociate yourself from the policy of last summer, you have *only to let me know* and I will at once consider the matter further, and if I have failed to understand your object you must not hesitate to let me know without delay in what respect I have done so and tell me what positive suggestion you wish to put to me.” (*Viceroy's letter*, dated 13th January, 1943).

(5) To this Gandhiji's reply was prompt. He reiterated his demand for a “reconsideration of Government of India's *whole* policy” and wrote:—

“The inference you draw from my letter is, I am afraid, not correct. . . . I wanted to fast and should still want to, if nothing comes out of our correspondence and I have to be a helpless witness to what is going on in the country, including the privations of the millions owing to the universal scarcity stacking the land. . . . *This time the retracing as I have submitted lies with the Government* . . . I do plead with you

to make up your mind to end the impasse." (Letter dated 19-1-43) .

Gandhiji will not retrace, *i.e.*, he will not give up his demand "Quit India". He will not condemn the act of violence, for he says: "I have no data for such condemnation save the heavily censored reports of newspapers." Be it noted, when Gandhiji blamed the Government "for the destruction that has taken place" Gandhiji relied on the same reports of newspapers which he says he can not believe when called upon to condemn the violence. Gandhiji demands of the Government to retrace their steps and "Quit India." Is it the attitude of compromise? Is it not a demand for surrender on the eve of a master offensive which Gandhiji had planned? That *Gandhiji planned the fast as a part of the whole sabotage campaign* is proved from the following, circulated from Bombay by the API, on 7th August, 1942:

"It is understood that at this morning's meeting of the Congress Working Committee Mahatma Gandhi consulted the members as to what they thought of a 'Fast unto death' by him if it became necessary. It is gathered, *most of the members advised him against such a course in his present state of health but eventually left the matter to be finally decided by him.*" (Amritabazar, 8th August, 1942).

It should also be noted that the question of "privation of millions" comes for the first time in this letter. As the attitude of the Viceroy grows stiffer instead of softening Gandhiji expresses more concern over the food problem! The issue of "privation of millions" is raised as a weapon of propaganda.

(6) The next four letters contains no new points. Viceroy charged the Congress leaders with responsibility for

disturbances and asked of Gandhiji if he was willing to repudiate the policy and to give appropriate assurances for future. Gandhiji charged the Government with the responsibility for disturbances, challenged them to convince him of his errors and declared that he was going to fast from 9th February, 1943.

It should also be noted that at first Gandhiji wrote only of his contemplation of a fast. He did not mention whether he was going to fast unto death or not. When he found Lord Linlithgow unbending he announced a 'capacity fast'.

Gandhiji was also asked by the Government, to undertake his fast as a freeman, for the Government was ready to release him for the duration of his fast. If Gandhiji was serious about the "purification of his soul" or about studying the situation *de novo* and not about instigating a fresh offensive then he could certainly accept the offer of the Government to undertake his fast as a freeman for which the Government was prepared to let him out of the jail. And was not 21 days sufficient for Gandhiji to study the situation *de novo*?

But Gandhiji said that if he was released for the duration of the fast he would not fast during that period at all and would undertake it when he would come back to prison. He could abandon the fast only if he was released unconditionally. Thus, Gandhiji's soul which became impatient could be purified either by a capacity fast *inside the prison* or by an unconditional release. Since he was not prepared to repudiate the August policy the question of his unconditional release could not arise. Therefore the fast—the very thing which Gandhiji wanted.

Gandhiji started his fast on the 10th February, 1943. Why did Gandhiji fast? This was the question. The

"Communist" Party of India began to say that he undertook the fast in order to express his disapproval of the sabotage movement. But although in his letter Gandhiji, as usual, expressed his adherence to non-violence, deplored the happenings which had occurred since 9th August, 1943, he at the same time said: "But have I not laid the whole blame for them at the door of the Government?" (*Gandhiji's letter*, dated 19th January, 1943). When asked to repudiate the tactic of sabotage Gandhiji said:

".....I could not express any opinion on events which I cannot influence or control and of which I have but an one-sided account." (*Ibid*).

And what did the "Do-Or-Die" brotherhood, including Mr. Gandhi's own Khadi Group, conclude from the fast? On this our C. C. reported in its last, December, 1943, Session as follows:

"The "Do-Or-Die" brotherhood began to noise it abroad that the fast was a call to the people for a fresh campaign of sabotage. That even circles closest to Gandhiji also interpreted it as such is clearly indicated by the following extract from a document entitled 'What Next' of the Khadi Group produced in the middle of August, 1943:

"That Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders do not dissociate from the August Resolution and come out of detention to be able to tackle the food problem or carry on the constructive programme is a sure indication to us to carry on the fight as best we can. How can we at this stage capitulate and thus let down our leaders and the country? Let us on the other hand mark the beginning of the Second Phase!" (*Economic Sabotage and Indian Bolsheviks*, p. 8.)

“The Second Phase” began to work from the month of March, 1943. Acts of Terrorism and individual Civil Disobedience, small demonstration and Prabhat Pheries and incitement to strikes were reported. This time masses did not respond as before and mass sabotage could not be revived.

But suddenly the food situation worsened to an undreamt of degree. Price of *Rice* which remained stationery at 218 between August, 1942 to February 1943 suddenly made a jump to 496 in March, 634 in April, 780 in May, 951 in June and 1035 in August, 1943. *Wheat* which was at 252 in January, 1943 rose to 332 in February. Although due to prompt actions taken by the Government with regard to wheat which was a staple food of the armed forces the prices showed some decline in March (312) and April (308) it began to rise, torpedoing government measures, from the month of May. The price of wheat rose to 323 in May, 330 in June, and 346 in July. Prices of *cotton consumption goods* which was 415 in January, 1943, rose to 427 in February, 1943, 437 in April, 505 in May and 513 in June. (*Gregory Committee Report*, p. 90.)

Figures of prices of food grains show a jump quantitatively. But this expressed a qualitative change in the economic condition of our people. Already in the month of March, 1943 British newspapers began to shout about a famine in India. It is interesting to note that when famine was in its height in August, 1943 the Khadi Group was advocating that the “revolutionaries” should organise the starving masses and raid government and semi-government *gollas* of food grains openly in the “Satyagrah spirit”! (*What Next?*)

It is known to us that other groups in the “Do-or-Die” brotherhood also advocated such a policy.

The general monthly index of production which was 110·2 in February, 1943 declined to 108·2 in March, 105·7 in May, 105·3 in July, 98·5 in August and 96·3 in September. (*Capital*, 2nd December, 1943, p. 768 and *Capital*, Anniversary Number, 1944).

The year 1943 has been a year of intense struggle of the organised working class for increasing production. There has been no major strikes in India this year. Moreover on practically every occasion, organised workers have resisted every suggestion of slowing down or stopping production. Various Trade Unions openly advocated a policy of increasing production—a policy which the Bolshevik Party was the first to advocated in India. In July, 1942 we said:

“The worker must play his full part in production. It must be understood that his part is not just a passive one of fulfilling a plan set before him, but an active one of exceeding the plan conceived, in its execution.” (*C. C. Resolution*, July 20, 1942; vide *People's Front*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 6.)

Even the representative of Indian industrialists in America said on 10th March, 1944 that “There had been no major strikes in Indian War Industries.” (Mr. Hari Govind Misra's speech in New York reported in *Statesman*, 11th March, 1944.)

The story of Textile workers struggle for production in 1943 is an epic in itself and we need not burden this report with a description of this struggle which is known to all.

It is also a fact known to all trade unionists that the employers, particularly the Indian employers, as a class, have been doing their best to incite strikes in their mills during this year but the workers have generally been able to keep themselves immune from such provocations. Attacks on dearness

allowances, refusal to increase the dearness allowances with the rising cost of living, deliberate irregularities in the supply of ration to workers, subsidising of those labour leaders who are engaged in fomenting strikes, panic-mongering during bombing, rough behaviour, sudden dismissal of popular workers—these are the methods which the employers generally adopted to provoke workers to strike.

Encouragement of slow work, supply of bad quality materials, sealing of looms, etc., sabotage in power houses, neglect in repairing defects in machineries, wastage of raw materials and coal, victimisation of those workers who show keenness to increase production, harbouring of saboteurs inside the factories, torpedoing of government control measures (specially in Coal and Cloth control) by raising "difficulties", these are the methods which the millowners adopt for decreasing the production.

Following the German route at Stalingrad in November, 1942 the Axis powers who have been on the winning side upto 1942 have been fighting on the defensive. Heavy blows were dealt to the Axis in North Africa, Russia and the South West Pacific. Complete air superiority of the Allies was perceptible to all. Italy surrendered.

The year 1943 has seen a great food famine in Bengal, Orissa and Malabar. Dr. Syamaprosad said 5 million died in Bengal; Amery said that the figure should be one million. The famine conditions prevailed also in Bihar, U.P., and Deccan, although in a lesser degree. Cloth, Sugar and Coal famine has been general.

In June, 1943, a small section of congressmen headed by S. J. Srivastava advocated the policy of suspension of August Resolution. But he was readily suppressed by the high-bourgeoisie.

The *prestige* of the Congress leadership which sank down to the lowest in December, 1942 increased as a result of the famine. People outside India, who shut their mouth after the happenings of August, 1942 became vocal and began to demand the release of Congress leaders and a National government.

Profit of the Indian Capitalist class increased by leaps and bound. It is easily understood that the merchants who bought rice at Rs. 20/- and sold at 45 to 110 rupees per md. made gold out of nothing thereby surpassing the alchemists.

Not only the merchants but also the industrialists made large profits, although production decreased. Half-backed intellectuals theorise that the bourgeoisie under all circumstances increases its profit by increasing production. They fail to explain the following reality:

*Incidence Prices of variable-yield
of production industrial securities*

July, 1942	..	116.2	126.8
August, 1942	..	107.2	127.4
September, 1942	..	101.9	136.3
October, 1942	..	97.0	140.0
November	..	112.0	149.2
December	..	112.7	143.7
January, 1943	..	105.7	152.7
February	..	110.2	158.3
March	..	108.2	162.8
May	..	105.7	170.7

Prices of variable-yield industrial securities rise with the rise in profits. Above figures demonstrate that bourgeoisie are amassing fortunes by increased profits with decreased production.

To sum up: (1) Gandhiji's Fast; (2) worsening of economic situation—jump in prices of rice, wheat and cotton manufactures and decline in production; (3) workers' struggle for production; (4) Food, cloth, sugar and coal famine; (5) continued defeat of fascist forces; (6) S. S. Srinivasaiah's campaign of withdrawal of August resolution; (7) rise of prestige of Congress leaders which dwindled down in December, 1942; and (8) enormous profit of the Capitalist Class both trading and industrial bourgeoisie—these are the events of 1943.

CHAPTER III

Let us now meet the next demand of dialectics to analyse the situation during the period between March, 1942 to the end of 1943; let us proceed "to the fundamental moving forces, to the development of productive forces and to the Class Struggle."

Following the breaking out of the Soviet-German war whole world was divided into two opposite camps: (1) The Camp of Fascists and (2) The camp of anti-Fascists.

The camp of Fascism is lead by the most reactionary section of German bourgeoisie and the camp of anti-Fascists is lead by the working class at the head of which stands the Communist Party of Soviet Union which guides the Soviet State and the Red forces.

A section of the world big bourgeoisie are in the camp of Fascism. They are the big industrialists of occupied Europe, the big bourgeoisie and the landlords represented by Wang-Cheng-Wei, Bipul Sangrama, Ba-Maw, etc., in the Far-Eastern Countries.

In the camp of anti-Fascism there are the peoples of the world and a section of big-bourgeoisie of England and America.

There are certain so-called neutral "Countries" whose neutrality has been, with a few exception, helping the Axis powers. For example Irish and Bulgarian neutrality had so far been helping the Axis. Turkish neutrality had so far been helping the Allies but recently her neutrality is helping the Axis by delaying an Allied offensive in the Balkan. Neutrality

in this war has no meaning because it *generally* means helping the enemy.

Can we say that the neutrality professed of our bourgeoisie has not been helping the Axis? Our bourgeoisie are apparently neutral to the war. But in reality they have been doing and encouraging activities which are exceedingly hostile to Allied war efforts. Look at their activities: they encouraged removal of rail lines, cutting of wires, opposition to recruitment and preaching discontent in the Army. If they have not succeeded that is not their fault but the virtue of the people who very soon realised the anti-people nature of their campaign and dissociated themselves from it. Look at their economic policy: Hoarding, profiteering, slowing down of production, calculated indifference and opposition to price control, rationing, war taxation, etc., after paying lip-homage to them.

The division on the world front has been reflected in every country. In India working class has been the most consistent champion of fight against Fascism. Ever since the advent of Fascism in Germany Indian working class has been the most vocal and determined enemy of this barbourous foe. Upto a certain period the Government looked upon this anti-Fascist movement as its dangerous foe. But working class got its allies in the petty-bourgeoisie and even a section of Capitalists. The rise of student movement between 1936 and 1939 under the leadership of Indian Communists, *whose one of the major* planks was help to China, Spain and other nations attacked by Hitler expressed this alliance. Left-wing forces inside the Congress drew their strength from the working class, peasantry and the town intelligentsia. It is *this section* of the Congress who popularised the Congress resolutions on China, Spain, etc. The representatives of big-bourgeoisie looked upon this movement as none of their

business. Jawaharlal's promise to Spain to send a shipload of food did not materialise due to lack of enthusiasm in the high bourgeois circles.

The alliance of the working class with the overwhelming section of the petty-bourgeoisie continued upto the end of the period in which their struggle against imperialism formed a constituent part of the world struggle against Fascism. In that period it was the Chamberlainite Imperialists who were strengthening Fascism internationally, oppressing the Colonial peoples and striving to form an alliance with the big-bourgeoisie of India who, but for the rising tide of mass movement against the Federal Plan, were too willing to come to terms.

But the situation changed with the change of relations in the international arena. The war had started. Chamberlainite had gone. British people suffered very heavy blows at the hands of Fascism. Mr. Churchill came to power. He said during the Polish-Soviet negotiation on June, 1939:

“I have from the beginning preferred the Russian proposals to either the British or French alternatives. They are simple, they are logical and they conform to the main grouping of common interests.”
(*Quoted in Victory and After*, p. 68.)

And when Germany attacked Soviet Union England became an ally of the Soviets.

With the breaking out of Soviet-German war there was a fundamental change in the situation. British Government who was so long functioning as the arch-conspirator against the Soviets now became her ally; so also the Government of India. Alliance between the British and Soviet Governments began to grow day by day and ultimately in May, 1942 they

signed a treaty of 20 years of collaboration. Stalin evaluated this treaty in the following terms:

“On May 26, 1942, during comrade Molotov’s visit to Great Britain the latter concluded with us a ‘Treaty of Alliance in the war against Hitlerite Germany and Her Associates in Europe and on collaboration and Mutual Aid Thereafter.’ This treaty was concluded for a period of twenty year. It marks a *historic turning point* in the relations between our country and great Britain.” (*Stalin on the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Moscow publication, p. 39.)

Thus a “Historic turning point” was marked in the relation between the Soviets and Great Britain. The significance of this is being missed by many of our intellectuals. It has to be realised that the possibility of a clash between the Soviets and Great Britain has been precluded. Such a situation can continue to grow favourably only under *one* condition: weakening of the power of monopoly capitalists in Great Britain. It was obvious to Soviet leaders and Com. Stalin that Britain was passing through such a period, that during this war and as a consequence of this war British people will assert themselves, and bring about such a situation in which Britain and Soviet Union will become members of the same “Family of Democratic nations”—to use the term of Tehran declaration.

Such being the development in the international relations its repercussions on India should now be analysed.

In India the Government of India who are prosecuting the war against Fascism as a part of the British Government, deserves an *unconditional support* in its war-efforts from the

Indian people. Indian working class, though late, offered this unconditional support.

The big-bourgeoisie in India whose influence among the masses dwindled down before the Soviet-German war had started, passed through different stages to regain its hold and ultimately adopted a very hostile attitude towards the war-efforts and the anti-Fascist parties. Such a hostile attitude is unknown in the history of Indian bourgeois-politics. And the reactionary bourgeois class nature of this hostility towards the Government can be easily understood if we can see it in its perspective, in proper setting, *i.e.*, in its relation to the development of Anglo-Soviet relation. We have not yet forgotten the news item circulated from Wardah immediately after the conclusion of the 20 years treaty between the Soviet and Great Britain. This news item said: "Mahatma Gandhi is now of the opinion that after the conclusion of the treaty it can not be hoped that the Soviets will be of any use to our struggle for freedom." (*Ananda Bazar*, 30th May, 1942.)

Subash Bose had already walked over to the camp of Fascism. It is opined, in abstract terms, that Subhas Bose is the leader of Indian "Fifth column."

But the most Important question is evaded. What is the *class basis* of this Fifth Column? Who are its dupes?

The class basis of Fifth Column is the biggest and the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie in every country without exception. These are the men of 'high position and wealth' who function as the unseen sap root of the tree, i.e., Fifth Column movement, whose branches and leaves, i.e., Fifth Column organisations and individuals, are fed, i.e., financed from underground by the biggest and most

reactionary section of the bourgeoisie. To deny this is to deny the reality.

In England the source of Fifth Column has been the "Cliveden Set," in America they are Hoover, Dies, etc., in China they were Wang-Cheng-Wei and the industrial bourgeoisie of coastal China and in India they are the biggest Capitalists who finance the C.S.P., the Forward Block, and the Congress leadership.

Subash Bose quarrelled with Gandhiji. He went to Berlin. Just on the eve of Cripps mission it was circulated from the Vichy Radio that Subash Bose had died in an air-crash. At once Mahatma Gandhi sent a condolence to Subash Bose's mother. And simultaneously it was, of all other P.C.'s the Provincial Congress Committee of *Bombay* who initiated a *Hartal* for paying homage to Subash Bose. All this innocent looking demonstrations were not accident. *They expressed sympathy of the high bourgeoisie for Subash Babu's 'Sacred' mission.*

After a few days it was announced in the Berlin Radio that Subash Babu was still alive and that he would deliver a speech on such and such a date. People whose attention was diverted to Subash Babu by the 'death propaganda' of the Axis, tried to listen to his message. Subash asked his "Countrymen" to reject Cripps offer. The offer was rejected inspite of opposition from Rajaji and others and at the insistence of Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel and such other leaders who are directly connected with the Birla-Tata Group. This group after rejecting the Cripp offer proceeded to plan the whole sabotage movement for which they recruited a crop of propagandists and pen men "by appealing to their prejudice and to their greed." Those who could keep themselves away from this parted their company, for instance

Rajaji; those who could not, surrendered to the bourgeoisie, for instance Jawaharlal Nehru.

These propagandists then toured the countryside appealed to the prejudices of the people and recruited them for their sabotage campaign which the big bourgeoisie was planning for total paralysis of the Government, and that in a period when Japan was expected to attack India, when the two big German Groups were advancing towards the Western front of India, one in North Africa and the other in Southern Russia.

The "fundamental moving forces" behind the apparent events in India described earlier can now be summarised as follows: (1) The class conscious working class and the Government who were committed to an all out struggle against Fascism even under worse conditions, and (2) The biggest and the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie who recruited a large support from the people through their dupes like Jawaharlal and others and who were ready to disrupt India's war-efforts even if the worst came to India, even if the Fascists attacked India.

The struggle between these two "fundamental moving forces" was the expression of the class struggle in modern India. It was the reflection of the highest form of class struggle now being waged throughout the world against Fascism and its allies, by the working class and its allies.

In this struggle the programme of those who are opposed to Fascism is, (1) liquidation of the sabotage movement and the enhancement of the anti-Fascist Front by drawing in the larger and larger section of Indian people, from the anti-war influence of the big-bourgeoisie; and (2) simultaneously to continue with the preparation for defence of India and

ultimately to wage an offensive war against the Fascist powers in the East and in the West.

It should be noted that in the camp of those who want to fight against Fascism differences in ideology and in the method have been in existence which are still hindering the materialisation of this programme.

The government has not yet been able to emancipate itself from old bureaucratic tradition of functioning above the people. It is afraid of the development of the working class as a strong force in the country. Being the representative of private property it is still entrenched in the old conception of defending the sacred right of private property. This explains their repressive method operated at a flat rate over the whole country during the sabotage movement which has contributed a very great share in driving prejudices home to the masses instead of liquidating such prejudices by adopting popular measures. This explains the coldness, and in many cases hostility, of the government circles towards the anti-Fascist parties in their propaganda and organisation. This explains the refusal of the government in requisitioning stocks, and encouraging people's co-operatives as substitutes of "normal trade channels," the channel of black-market and sabotage. This explains the refusal of the government to nationalise the Coal industry demanded by the A.I.T.U.C. thereby ensuing power to our industries and fuel to our households. This explains the appeasement policy of the government towards the big-bourgeoisie against the wishes of the people.

The Central Committee of our Party said the following on this question in its session held in December, 1943:

"What lay at the root of government's inefficiency? The principal reason *lies manifestly in its*

character. The government machinery whose principle role in the past was to suppress the masses cannot suddenly changeover so as to be able to conduct a People's War In the matter of food there was a further cause for inefficiency and that was rooted in the government's profound respect for the 'normal trade channels'." (*Economic Sabotage etc.*, P. 9.)

Emphasis is laid on the fact that there is corruption in the government offices. It is true that corruption has been rampant in government offices. Not that the government machinery was ever free from corruption. Corruption in a lesser degree has been in existence since long. But this corruption has assumed a widespread character during this war.

Corruption has its *roots* not in the greed of individuals. It is an un-Marxist conception. *The root of corruption lies in the existence of influence of opposite factors inside the government.* In normal times corruption inside the government administration did not affect the policy of the government to any appreciable degree. But now it is affecting the policy of the government. In normal times corruption had not become a issue of our serious consideration, now it has become an issue of our serious consideration. Our C.C. in its last session laid bare the root of this wide spread corruption inside the government in the following terms:

"The second cause of 'inefficiency' was the presence inside administrative machinery of *anti-war bourgeois elements* who spread defeatism and produced obstruction, confusion and neglect in the carrying out of a policy". (*ibid.*, P. 9).

These are the elements who have added their weight to the already existent corps of corrupt officials producing

one result: obstruction to the pro-war policy of the government of India.

It cannot be denied that we have so far failed to pursue a systematic campaign for the liquidation of sources of inefficiency in the government. We have been carrying on some criticism against the government, against their repressive policy towards the masses, and their appeasement policy towards the big-bourgeoisie. But such criticism proved insufficient in view of the overwhelming character of the governmental inefficiency.

We must carry on a mass campaign for Nationalisation of Coal and other big industries affecting the life of the people. We must carry on a mass campaign for liquidating government respect for trade channels and for adopting a programme of initiating and encouraging peoples co-operatives in trade and production. We must carry on a campaign for removing the corrupt officials, for abandoning the coercive policy in raising defence loans, for full civil liberties for the mobilisation of peoples against hoarders, against industrial saboteurs and for the war.

CHAPTER IV

But the inefficiency of the government should not disparage us. Nor should our own inefficiency, yet a small party as we are, lead us to a wrong conclusion that the programme before the anti-Fascists are beyond materialisation.

A close study of history of last one and a half years, in its proper perspective shows that, although inefficient in many respects, the camp of anti-Fascists in India has scored enormous successes.

War Efforts : During the last 18 months India's power of defence and attack has increased sufficiently at present not only to defend her soil against Jap aggression but also to wage an offensive war against Japan in Burma. There has been a notable increase of strength in our Army, Navy and Air Forces. India's allies have brought a huge quantity of war machines, and a large number of troops and technicians who are now guarding India's frontier. The marines of our country has increased and with the co-operation of the Royal Navy, India's shore defence has also been strengthened. Production in armament factories have increased and supplies to armed forces have also been maintained. All these were achieved, be it noted, inspite of the sabotage activities of the Indian capitalists.

Morale : In 1942 there were very few persons in India who believed that Axis Powers would be defeated and crushed. Few believed that Japan would not be able to attack India, that eventually India would function as the base of a major land offensive against Japan. This situation has turned now. Thanks to the splendid victory of the Red Army in Russia, to the blows dealt to Germans in North

Africa, and to the Japanese in the Pacific, China and the Arakan front, the people in India is now believing that the fate of the Axis is doomed; that sooner or later the Fascist Powers will be crushed. Those who doubted the ability of the Soviets, even if she won, to strengthen the forces of revolution after the war have now begun to realise that the Post-War Europe will be free from the rule of Imperialism. "Communism will pervade the world"—now this is the crude expression of the intelligentsia.

Formerly, people thought that the victory of the United Nations would mean strengthening of British and American Imperialism and weakening of the Soviet, Chinese and popular forces. This conception is changing now. There are now many people in India who believe that after the war British Empire will end; that the Americans will rule the East while the Soviets will rule the West.

It will require still more efforts on our part to shape events and forge our propaganda weapon in such a way that it will show the way towards the liberation of Indian people even from the fear of an American rule over India. This we can do by circulating news about American politics and by showing the various tendencies in American politics. It will be necessary for us to make the people realise that the danger of an American rule in India will become real if the Republicans win the Presidential election; that in the event of a Republican victory in the coming election it will be the task of the Indian people to fight against the "Pro-American" economic policy of our bourgeoisie, to ally with the people of other countries in order to fight the Imperialist policy of the Republicans.

People in India have become cynic about the effectiveness of all policies on the Home Front. They do not believe that Congress can do anything for them. They do not

believe that the government can give them food; many of them who believed that the government has taken away the food and cloth has now began to realise that the main responsibility for food crisis lies with the hoarders. They do not believe that it is possible to suppress the hoarder by their own efforts.

This frustration must be combated. In order to combat this frustration we will have to adopt a policy which can bring food, cloth, kerosene, sugar, soap, salt and coal to the people. *Battle for all these essential commodities of the people is the battle for peoples morale.* It is in course of our struggle for these commodities that we will be able to develop the political consciousness of the masses, that we will be able to develop the co-operatives and mass organisations, that we will be able to isolate the influence of the bourgeoisie, that we will be able to combat the inefficiency of the Government, that we will be able to develop the anti-Fascist front, that we will be able to develop our party.

We hate Economism. Ours is the Bolshevik Policy. Therefore in our struggle for ameliorating the economic conditions of the masses we must avail of every opportunity to develop the political consciousness of the masses.

Fight Sabotage: In spite of the fact that the bourgeoisie adopted a policy of "Total Sabotage" and in spite of the fact that the majority of Indian people were swayed by bourgeois propaganda based on prejudices, *Indian anti-Fascists have been able to score a considerable success against this "Total Sabotage".* That we have not been able to enjoy the major share of this success is due to our lack of resources. But the cumulative result of the efforts of all the anti-Fascists have produced a considerable amount of positive results.

Bourgeoisie planned a "Total Sabotage": Sabotage of morale; sabotage in government administrations and com-

munications—attacks on government offices, thanas, railways, telegraph lines, post offices etc.; and sabotage in trade and industries.

For the sake of convenience we call the separate parts of this Total Sabotage plan as (1) Moral Sabotage; (2) Political Sabotage; and (3) Economic Sabotage.

The whole campaign of sabotage was meant for advancing the political and economic interests of the bourgeoisie. Therefore the term "Political Sabotage" to denote a particular part of the plan should not mislead us. We have been using this term since March '43 and until better terms are coined we will use these terms to denote the specific nature they are meant to convey.

About this Total Sabotage plan our C.C., after analysing the August Resolution, said the following:

"It was said in that (August) resolution that the 'country might utilise all the non-violent strength that it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle'. It is common knowledge that in all countries the bourgeoisie always pose itself as the representative of the 'People', the 'Country', the 'Nation'; that they always speak in the name of the 'Country'.

"Now let us think for a moment what are these 'all the non-violent strength it has gathered' during the last two decades of 'Peaceful' struggle. (1) They have built up a mass following on the basis of religious superstition, racial hatred and on false pretences of 'national struggle'; (2) They have completely captured the Congress machinery; (3) They have built up a series of auxiliary organisations like Spinners' Associations, Gandhi Seva

Sangha, various chambers of commerce and industries, Congress Socialist party etc. and (4) Lastly, which is of paramount importance, they have built up a fairly well developed industry and internal trade channel controlling the life line of the people. These are the 'all the non-violent strength' referred to in the above passage of the August Resolution. These are the 'all strengths' which they planned to 'utilise' in their 'final battle' from the very beginning of the movement." (*Economic Sabotage and Indian Bolsheviks*, pp. 5-6).

We have already noted the events in a previous chapter which happened following the adoption of the August Resolution by the A.I.C.C. under the leadership of Gandhiji. An analysis of those events shows that the bourgeoisie employed all the weapons in their armoury from the very beginning of the movement.

Campaign of "Moral Sabotage" started following the failure of Cripps proposals. This campaign is still going on although due to change in circumstances the bourgeoisie have changed their tone and tactic. Formally it was a campaign for putting Imperialism at a par with Fascism. Then it was a campaign of posing Fascism as a lesser evil and Imperialism as the greater evil. Then it was said that Fascism is a remote enemy; but for the present it is helping "us" in destroying Imperialism!

When "Political Sabotage" ended in a failure and "Economic Sabotage" assumed a greater proportion it was said that this government was incapable of solving the economic problem of our country. Now-a-days when the government is doing something, it is being freely circulated that what they are doing is bad—"Quality of rice which

they supply as ration is unfit for human consumption"; "Government is destroying the trade channel" etc. etc.

It is a plain fact that the Japanese advance inside India is a defensive attack. But this does not suit the purpose of Abdul Quaiym, the deputy leader of the Congress Assembly Party. He raises panic:

"By some in very high quarters, this (Japan's attack) has been described as a token invasion. Let us hope that it is so." (*Anritabazar Patrika*, 8-4-44)

Mr. Quaiym evaluated this invasion as "the first invasion of the soil of our motherland from the East—a direction from which it had hitherto been considered immune, right through these centuries." (*ibid*).

Whatever may be the effort of the bourgeoisie, thanks to the mounting power of United Nations it will be impossible for them to raise panic as before. Power of moral sabotage of the bourgeoisie is declining with the advance of the armies of liberation in all theatres of war, and with the increasing number of measures that the government is taking for rationing, price control, and for combating the inflationary tendency.

During the August disturbances, facts prove that the bourgeoisie adopted all those methods to ensure "Swift results." They intensified their anti-war propaganda, they organised the political sabotage and resorted also to economic sabotage.

But the government took measures against the saboteurs so drastically that the political sabotage ended in a few months. Very soon the people realised that the movement was hitting them, and they dissociated. Reaction of the movement itself on the people, efforts of anti-Fascists to persuade them to dissociate from the movement and the

drastic measures of the government against saboteurs—these were the factors responsible for the liquidation of the political sabotage, which could not be revived in its previous form during and after Gandhiji's fast, in spite of strenuous efforts made by the bourgeoisie.

But it was not possible for the government to combat the economic sabotage as quickly as they did the political sabotage. The reasons for this were two-fold: (1) the general economic situation of the country; and (2) a defective policy and absence of any plan on the part of the government *plus* its administrative defects.

About the nature of the general economic situation during the period Central Committee's analysis was penetrating. The C. C. said:

"The Far Eastern war brought India's foreign trade to a standstill. The Government were compelled to rely more and more on India's internal economy for India's war efforts and for consumption goods. This put the bourgeoisie in a very advantageous position." (*Economic Sabotage*, P. 4).

The internal trade line of the country and some vital industries like steel, textiles, sugar, a considerable portion of coal, and electricity was owned by Indian capitalists. The Government had to depend on Indian capitalists for a considerable part of their supplies. Thanks to their respect for private property and their isolation from the people the Government could not requisition all these industries and trade lines, and therefore they had to rely on these capitalists for their supply. It was therefore the bourgeoisie who shaped the economic situation according to their convenience and to the detriment of the war efforts and the people. Forcing would worsen the situation, so thought the

Government. Therefore a policy of appeasement of the bourgeoisie was adopted. The C. C. says:—

“They (the bourgeoisie) became temporarily, the ruling factor in the market. The Black Market based on the hoards of the bourgeoisie, became the real market from which even some Government Departments had to get their supplies. Here, on the economic front, the bourgeoisie were the real master of the show. Here was a front, where a government without popular backing was particularly at a disadvantage.” (*ibid*, P. 4).

Earlier, we have described how in the phase of the Imperialist war production has risen inspite of opposition from the working class, inspite of a huge number of working days lost due to strikes.

We have also seen how production decreased not only in 1942 but also in 1943. We know that in 1943 the number of strikes was insignificant and in this year workers actively fought for enhancing production inspite of provocation from the capitalists.

Is it therefore not ridiculous to say that today the bourgeoisie are *enhancing* production? Bourgeoisie enhanced production during the period when working class tried to oppose it. They are decreasing the production in the period when working class is trying to enhance it. This is the picture we get on a closer study of the production situation of our country.

Battle for production has not yet been won decisively. But we have won one important victory. Stalin said that the *People* constitute the most important part of society's productive forces. Bourgeoisie rallied this people in 1942 for their total sabotage. In 1943 we could win the workers to

our side for fighting to enhance the production. This fight will continue.

In the sphere of "Grow More Food" campaign more than 50 millions more acreage have been cultivated. Undoubtedly it is an advance. But this advance is very small, for there are $10\frac{1}{2}$ crores of acres under the heading "cultivable waste". Every one of us knows that the Kisans are *ready* to grow more food provided they are given the land to till, seeds to sow and sickle to reap. Herein comes obstruction from the Government arising out of their appeasement policy towards the greedy landlords and their negligence in rendering effective help to the peasants. We are also no less responsible for the slow advance: We did not start any mass campaign for fighting these obstructions in a business like fashion. In the coming year we will have to put special emphasis on this point.

In the sphere of food, the situation does not look as gloomy as last year although powerful forces are at play, throughout India, to repeat last year's happening. People's hatred towards the hoarders has increased by leaps and bound. Demand for rationing, which our party was the first to advance in 1942, has also grown. Already, it is reported 131 towns of India affecting $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores of people have been rationed. These 131 towns include Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, Delhi, and other big towns which are the headquarters of the food bandits.

Still more number of towns should be brought under rationing. Rationing of coal, salt, kerosene and soap has become a crying necessity.

Also in the sphere of fighting inflationary tendency some advance has been made. Principal among the measures which have been taken, selling of gold, is playing a decisive

role. In October, 1939, 199.2 crores of rupees worth of note were in circulation. In the October of 1943 this figure was raised to 850 crores. Out of this 850 crores Rs. 515 crores are locked up in the Banks which means that only 335 crores of rupees are practically in circulation.

Money in circulation is 30 to 40% more than the commodities in circulation. But how can this explain the increase in prices by 300% and for some commodities by 800%? Obviously besides hoarding and sabotage, the dead money (Rs. 515 crores) is also exerting its weight by providing an argument to the hoarders for the increases in prices.

So in order to stop this inflationary tendency it is necessary to bury the dead i.e., to draw back a substantial portion of the dead money back to the Government. In order to achieve this the Government has allowed the sale of American and British Gold. In the Middle Eastern countries 2 months and 21 days were required to liquidate the inflation by selling gold. Let us see how much time is needed to achieve such results in India. Already it is reported that in Bombay alone one lakh tollas of gold are being sold every day. We do not know figures of Calcutta. But it is known that rush for buying gold in Calcutta has been as great as it is in Bombay. In order to increase this rush for gold Sir Jeremy Raisman has hinted the possibility of a capital levy which of course will hit the dead money, if introduced. The capitalists have therefore no other way but to convert this dead money to gold.

But this only buries the dead. What about the small monster, i.e., the gap of 40% between the commodities and the money in circulation? In order to fill up this gap Government of India has announced their policy of bringing in

more consumer's goods from outside. Let us see when this scheme materialises! But it will be our duty to press for more consumer's goods, for more facilities to increase production at home and to bring consumer's goods from outside.

To sum up: Although significant advances have been made in our battle for morale and although the political sabotage has been completely stopped we are advancing only at a snail speed in our struggle against the economic sabotage and in solving the economic problems of our people.

It has been asked: Why it is not possible for the Government to combat this economic sabotage—the Government who have so easily suppressed the political sabotage?

The reason lies in its being. This Government as we have noted earlier, was functioning here as an instrument of oppression. This Government was confronted by history with a programme of carrying on a People's war which meant the carrying out of the policy of a war time People's Front Government. This programme includes amelioration of the economic condition of the people and curbing the economic interests of the rich. The Commerce, Land and Industries Departments of the Government were so long functioning only in name. This war confronted these departments with gigantic responsibilities. They failed to cope with the situation. This war has also necessitated a policy of taxation of the rich. The Finance Member frankly admitted during the last budget session that it was impossible for him to deal with so vast a number of problems with the existing inadequate departmental organisation. He said:

"I would like to tell this House what I would have done if I were in a position to deal with inflation as I think I should have been. In the first place, if the jurisdiction of the Central Government had applied

to the Indian States as well as to British India, there would have been a very different story. In the second place, if the income tax jurisdiction of the Central Government had applied to agricultural incomes as well as to non-agricultural incomes, there would have been a very different picture. My third condition would have been that I should have had an income tax Department three times the present in size. My fourth condition would have been that *I should have had a price control staff 50 times the present staff, a staff of efficiency and integrity.* In so far as I failed to secure those conditions, I plead guilty to have caused inflation."

This war confronted this government with the biggest disturbances ever happening in India since the Sepoy Mutiny. Well, the Home department has come out victoriously! This Home department has details of information about the political workers. But now new persons have entered the economic field to make money and to contribute their mite to the worsening of economic situation. It required a vigorous drive from the Government to enlist the support of the masses and to make them vigilant about the hoarders to cope with the situation. They failed to enlist that support. This explains why economic sabotage is continuing even now.

CHAPTER V

A question is asked: "If you call the bourgeoisie pro-Fascists or if you say that they are in the camp of Fascism then why do you not directly call them Fascists as Mr. M. N. Roy does?"

We call our bourgeoisie pro-Fascists because whatever they have been doing since Cripps Mission have been helpful only to the Fascist powers and to none else. This is also the reason for saying that they are working in the camp of fascism. We call them pro-Fascists because the triumph of Fascism in Germany infected them with *Fascist tendencies* although the base of Fascism, high finance capital, is yet absent in India.

"In the Colonial and Semi-colonial countries," says Dimitrov, "there can be no question of the *kind of Fascism* that we are accustomed to see in Germany, Italy and other capitalist countries. Here we must take into account the quite different economic, political and historical conditions, in accordance with which Fascism is assuming, and will continue to assume, peculiar forms of its own." (Two Speeches P. 6).

Growth of Fascism in Germany, and its success in temporarily suppressing the revolutionary proletariat, has raised hopes in a section of the high bourgeois circles in every country.

In a period of crisis—"chaos" as they prefer to call it—this section of the big-bourgeois try to resort to Fascist methods in order to confuse, divide, behead and destroy the revolutionary movement. (Demagoguery, fanning up of racial

sentiments, obscurantism, nationalist phrase-mongering, revival of old reactionary ideas, scornful references to democracy, preaching of the cult of "one leader, one party, one principle" and ultimately terrorist methods against the people. These are the Fascist methods referred above.)

Where they have an economic basis for this "one leader one party" principle, that is where centralisation of key economy in the hands of a few has taken place these Fascist tendencies begin to *grow* as a material force and a section of the capitalist class becomes full-fledged Fascists beyond the possibility of ever getting them in the camp of democracy. That section of the bourgeoisie then becomes our enemy for all times and we prescribed for them only one method of dealing, annihilation. Annihilation of this section of the bourgeoisie may of course cause a deflection in their political representatives, for example Darlan, and Badoglio, but that has hitherto proved to be more an exception than a rule.

But in the case of those countries where the economic basis for Fascism has not yet fully developed those who are infected with Fascist ideology and therefore, move like Fascists in relation to the progressive forces, can be beaten back to the camp of Democracy after their Fascist tendencies are *liquidated* by the people, after their Pro-Fascist activities are exposed and utterly defeated in their purpose.

Example of Chiang-Kai-Shek is a point in the case. During the period of civil war waged by the Kuomintang against the Chinese people represented by the Chinese Soviets, Chiang-Kai-Shek adopted every method against Red villages and Chinese Communists as the Germans and Japanese are adopting to-day against the occupied countries. Strong *Fascist tendencies* were patent in the leading section of the

Kuomintang. Varga, the eminent Soviet economist condemned the Chiang-Kai-Shek Government as follows:

“The masses realise that the Kuomintang Govt. is a tool of the imperialists, a government of perpetual terror and civil war against the working masses.....Neither ‘left’ manouvers and phrases nor the founding of the ‘Re-organisation’ Party was of any avail. •At preasent the Kuomintang resorts more and more to a reactionary, religious, Fascist ideology. Chiang-Kai-Shek’s New Life propaganda aims at the rehabilitation of the Feudal ideology of passive submission to fate.” (The Great crisis and its Political consequences, by E. Varga, p. 120-21.)

But China’s economy did not provide a suitable base for a durable Fascist movement. Decentralisation of China’s economy, *low form* of Chinese capitalism, presence of various, sharply divided, mutually hostile and powerful groups among capitalists, and the growth of a powerful mass movement under the leadership of the Communists, demanding unity of Chinese *peoples*, inflicting heavy blows on the Fascist-infatuated forces of the Kumintang, disrupting the mass basis of the Kumintang and its armies, precluded the possibility of the growth of a full fledged Fascist party in China. That is the reason why Mao Tse Tung observed that the nature of China is such that any body who would try to creat Fascism in China would break his neck. (Refer Soarched Earth.)

In India there is no finance capital; centralisation of key industries in the hands of a few has not yet been achieved. Moreover powerful sections among capitalists themselves are yet hostile to one another. One of these groups represented by congress leadership—dizzy with success in their use of demagogy for rallying the masses and in the temporary

successes of Fascism tried to capture and monopolise power by "one Party, one leader." They have not yet attained their objective. Had they attained that objective they would use that for centralisation of economic power in their hands. That this section of capitalists are infected with Fascist *tendencies* is proved from their own admission made in their 15 year's plan. They say :

"During this period, in order to prevent the inequitable distribution of the burdern between different classes which this method of financing will involve, practically every aspect of economic life *will have to be so rigourously controlled by Government that individual liberty and freedom of enterprise will suffer a temporary eclipse.*" (P. 48.)

This shows the existence of a strong Fascist tendency in this section of capitalists. An analysis of this 15 year plan will afford further confirmation of the fact.

But existence of other groups of capitalists, Moslem, domiciled Europeans, possible annihilation of Fascism in Europe and Asia plus a steadily rising tide of the anti-Fascist movement can be taken as factors working against this tendency.

If however this Fascist tendency, this pro-Fascist role is not recognised, then it will be very difficult to turn them to the camp of democracy. Their pro-Fascist activities must be liquidated, their pro-Fascist role must be exposed. That will help unity not only of the *People* but also of the whole nation. That is the way in which China achieved her unity. That is the way in which Polish patriots are fighting for uniting their people. *Pravda's* attack on the "Pro-Fascist Polish emerge government" is an expression of this policy. With the full-fledged Fascists we have only one method to deal: We

must never hope for getting them in the camp of democracy, we must fight them until their annihilation is achieved.

With Pro-Fascists we will fight, for beating them into the right camp from the wrong one.

We do not think that, if we can rouse the people against the pro-Fascist section of the bourgeoisie and defeat their game utterly it will be impossible for us get these people into the camp of democracy.

M. N. Roy takes them as Fascists. That is the reason why he demands their annihilation.

P. C. Joshi takes them as anti-Fascists. That is the reason why he demands an unconditional surrender to the demands of the bourgeoisie.

We, Bolsheviks, estimate their role as pro-Fascists, that is why we call upon the people to fight against their sabotage, lately their economic sabotage, that is why we expose their reactionary role to the people; that is why we call upon the people not to surrender to their demand but to compel them to withdraw the August Resolution and to accept the demand of the United Front. That is the reason why after the withdrawal of the August Resolution, *i.e.*, after the abandonment by the bourgeoisie of their anti-war, pro-Fascist policy we demand their release and an All-Parties Government. This explains the Paradox in our *policy* of exposing the bourgeoisie, of fighting their reactionary activities and at the same time of our slogans for an All-Parties Government, which "confuses" the petty-bourgeois progressives.

Congress bourgeoisie are neither Fascists (M. N. Roy's theory) nor Anti-Fascists (P. C. Joshi's theory). Historical tendencies, now in operation, show that the Bolsheviks are right in calling them Pro-Fascists at present.

(2) A question of another nature is raised. It is said that the bourgeoisie, "due to inherent contradictions in their camp cannot plan" anything, then how can they plan an economic sabotage?

This is pedantic. And in order to shorten our reply to this question we quote from Prof. Varga the Soviet Economist who showed how French bourgeoisie organised an economic sabotage against the French Popular Front Government ultimately causing its downfall. Varga writes:

"The figures (of production) which are available for the first four months of 1937 show that the increase in production has been maintained but that the rate of advance is very slow, whilst in May a minor reverse occurred...."

"There is no special feature in the economic structure of France which would account for such a deviation from the cyclical development being taken by the other capitalist countries. The real cause of the situation is of a political nature: Sabotage of economic development by the most reactionary section of the bourgeoisie, and fear on the part of another section of the bourgeoisie which has been intimidated by the agitation of the reactionaries and is afraid of entering into any transactions which would tie up its capital." (International Press Correspondence, or Inprecorr: Weekly organ of the Communist International, Vol. 17, No. 39; P. 879|80)

Prof. Varga mentions the methods, besides industrial sabotage which the French bourgeoisie adopted in their campaign of economic sabotage against the French People's Front Government:

“The reactionery wing of the French bourgeoisie is conducting a furious campaign against the Government of the People’s Front with a view to overthrowing it or subjecting it completely to the will of the bourgeoisie. The most important weapon used in this campaign is the *attack on the stability of the Franc (French money) by means of capital flight and tax sabotage*. . . . The second line of attack was the *undermining of confidence in the stability of the Franc* by repeating again and again the assertion that the Franc was ‘over-valued’, and that a new devaluation was inevitable. The third line of attack was the *Sabotaging of state loans*. The fourth line of attack was ‘the systematic *Sabotage of taxation payments*. There is no country in the world where the bourgeoisie wails so much over high taxes and at the same time pays so little in reality.” (Ibid. P. 880.)

If it was possible for the French bourgeoisie to resort to economic Sabotage for overthrowing the French Anti-Fascist Government why should it be impossible for the Indian bourgeoisie to resort to such Sabotage against the Government which they wanted to “paralyse?” And can there be any Sabotage without planning?

We ask our readers to note how closely resembles the economic activities of our bourgeoisie in 1942-43 with those of the French bourgeoisie in 1937.

Government of India, in its composition, is not a People’s Front Government. But the task with which it is confronted and a major portion of which it is trying to carry out, namely the war, price control, food grains and cloth control etc. are the tasks of a People’s Front Government. Although at the

present moment it is not possible to transform its composition, yet that could be improved in various ways. For this our struggle with the Government will continue. But that is another question.

We estimate the role of this Government by the historically progressive tasks it is compelled to fulfil and not merely by its inner composition. Therefore, we must say that inspite of its numerous blunders, inspite of the existence of a strong bureaucratic trend, this Government is, objectively, carrying out the tasks of a People's Front Government in India under the present condition.

And note that the Indian bourgeoisie are adopting the same methods as the French bourgeoisie adopted in 1937 against the People's Front.

In every country coal, steel, and textile productions have increased from 200 to 300%. In our country production of such things as textile, Jute, Iron, Steel, Paper, Coal taken together recorded a figure which is only 8 point above the level of 1935 production and 15 points below the level of 1941-42! (Capital, 6th April 1944)

The general index of production shows a tendency of decrease when in other countries it has been increasing by leaps and bounds during 1942-44. Thus:

Year	General Index of Production (Base 1935=100)
1941-42	122.7
1942-43	108.8
1943-44	105.0 (Appx.)

In almost every industry, for example in Jute, Steel, Pig Iron, Paper, Coal, production has *fallen* by 4,13,11,39 and 2 points respectively. Thanks to the struggle of the working class, production in Cotton Textile industry maintained an

advance of only 4 points in 1942-43 compared with 1941-42, against an advance of 22 points in 1941-42, compared with 1940-41.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Index</i>
1940-1	128.2
1941-2	150.3
1942-3	154.4

These are figures of production of Indian Cotton consumption goods. Due to workers' struggle production of Cotton consumption increased up to 181.8 in June '43! Lest it is argued that the mills had no capacity to produce more than 154.4% we beg of our readers to note that.

And all these in a world where production has increased nearly 200% in this branch of industry!

Petty-bourgeois socialists do not realise the importance of struggle of organised workers in maintaining the advance of production. But Varga quoted the organ of the French bourgeoisie "The Banker" and the "Economists" of the British bourgeoisie to prove that even when workers were intensifying production in France the reactionery French bourgeoisie were causing the French industry to slow down its production.

Struggle of Bombay workers for staggering holidays, and for keeping the mills open since Gandhiji's fast; the struggle of Indore workers for keeping the mills open during the whole period between 1942 and uptill now; the struggle which workers of every industry are waging from day to day to keep their enterprises open, these patriotic movement of workers are described in the pages of all the anti-Fascist news papers of our country. It is due to these struggles of the Textile workers, one of the most organised section of the Indian Trade Union movement, and due to the special vigilance of

the Government that the production in Textile industry has been able to show a small advance.

Why this is so? Why inspite of a tremendous impetus which war has given to the country, why inspite of great efforts on the part of working class to enhance production, production is falling in every branch of private industry excepting in the textiles where a small advance of only 4 points is maintained?

Obviously it is due to the economic Sabotage of the bourgeoisie who like the French reactionary bourgeoisie of 1937 are fighting against this Government who are carrying on the war against Fascism, not only by means of moral Sabotage, not only by means of political Sabotage, not only by means of industrial and trade Sabotage, not only by means of tax (for example E. P. T.) and loan Sabotage (Defence loan) not only by means of a fierce Press campaign but also by striving to strengthen the Fascist movement (F.B. and C.S.P.) by giving it increased financial support.

At this stage it is necessary to note the *trends of development* of bourgeois economic Sabotage bearing in mind that in certain respects Indian bourgeoisie are more handicapped than the French bourgeoisie.

We have noted earlier how in the beginning of the movement workers of all private industrial enterprises, excepting those of Bengal were infected with a strike fever.

In India the ownership of industries is not wholly in the hands of Indian capitalism. But the workers *who work these industries* are all Indian and a majority of these worked were connected with bourgeois politics in various ways. So when the strike fever came in August '42 we found that practically all the private industries, particularly Textiles,

Iron & Steel and Coal industries were closed for a certain period of time irrespective of their origin—native or foreign.

But this strike fever was liquidate by so many factors working against it, as noted earlier. Then we found that the food and cloth situation suddenly worsened in an unprecedented degree. This upset the economic life of the workers as it upset the economic life of the Peasants. It was hoped by the bourgeoisie that thereby they would not only amass huge profits but also would succeed in driving the workers to exasperation and strikes.

Food and cloth scarcity affected workers of all the industries (mines included) and this resulted in a slowing down of production due to some spontaneous strikes in the earlier phase of the situation. The Government took prompt measures to ensure food to industrial workers and no long-drawn and large-scale strikes could be brought into being. This was coupled with intensified campaign by the anti-Fascists for preventing strikes and enhancing production.

Bourgeoisie having failed, even by this method, to provoke strikes now fell entirely on the technical staff and on the method of technical Sabotage, for which it was not necessary to rally the masses of workers: for which it was necessary only to bribe a handful of technicians. Bourgeoisie, practically in all factories, have maintained a whole gang of hirelings who function imperceptibly and cease every opportunity to raise panic, encourage workers to slow down and provoke strikes. It is reported that even inside the engineering plants workers are advised by these gangs to work slowly because of the "improbability of receiving fresh order!" (Ref. Don't allow Sabotage in production, a Bengali publication of C.P.I., p. 10.)

Hoarding of essential commodities of life brought an enormous sum of money to the capitalists. This induced a large number of capitalists to enter the trade line and add their mite.

It is argued, "why Muslim and European Capitalists have joined this gang of hoarders? Do you mean to say that they are also siding with Indian Capitalists?"

To this we answer: One of the *basic laws of capitalism is that capital migrates from a less profitable field to a more profitable one*. When they saw that Black-marketing was more profitable than "honest business," when they saw that a section of capitalists was accumulating huge amount of money and becoming their dangerous rivals, those Muslim and even European Capitalists also joined the competition.

We have established that the big-bourgeoisie of India carried on a campaign of Total Sabotage which affected also the trade and industry of our country. In the present day world different trades and industries are so related that a disturbance at a *nodal point* of the economic system disturbs the whole economy.

This nodal point is the working class, the toiling peasants and working intellectuals who work the machines, man the transport and till the soil.

The attack was at first in the form of an incitement to strikes. When this incitement could no longer be used with advantage the bourgeoisie attacked on the food and cloth front in the most virulent form, which instead of *inducing* the working masses, as before, now *compelled* them to abandon the places of work, or to strike, or to slow down. The offensive on the people, by Sabotaging their food and cloth supplies was therefore an attack on the nodal point of

our economy. Therefore, this offensive disturbed all the branches of our economy.

Bourgeoisie as we have seen attacked this point on political grounds (sabotaging war-efforts and discrediting the government). But it was also a profitable game, and the bourgeoisie were amassing huge wealth. This attracted other capitalists, for example the Muslim League and European Capitalists, true to the Marxist law of flowing of capital from less to more profitable fields.

(3) It is said that to speak of Economic Sabotage is Royism! That it is only M. N. Roy who said about the Economic Sabotage of the bourgeoisie!

This is a slander. We are not at all ashamed to say that we share a common view with Roy, Joshi, and others who believe that this is a People's War, because it is a People's War. Nor are we ashamed of calling H₂O water because Roy, Joshi, and even Gandhi and Wavel call it water.

Every anti-Fascist Party of our country has agreed with us, some earlier and some later, that the bourgeoisie are persuing a campaign of Economic Sabotage.

We warned the country against the Economic Sabotage as late as 18th. Feb. 1942. We Said:

“Although the bourgeoisie have definitely lost in their political calculation they have been able to hold their own in the economic sphere.” (*People's Front*, Vol. II, No. 1, 18th Feb., 1943.).

“It is plain therefore that the Indian Capitalists meant to use *economic Sabotage* as an auxilliary to political Sabotage, to dislocate the whole life of the country, causing bread riots and up-risings and in general making the people easy tools for anti-war activities.” (*Ibid*, 30th. March 1943, Vol. II No. 3.)

It was in May 1943 that the "Communist" Party realised that the industrial situation was a part and parcel of the national crisis which began in August '42. Thus:

"The situation on the industrial front is then as explosive as the situation of the national front was on the 9th. August. If it has not burst into a conflagration it is because of us, our Party, which has built the trade union movement during the last fifteen years. The patriots of the National Congress did their best to disorganise production after 9th. August—in fact *paralysation of production was their main instrument to win freedom* immediately after 9th. August. The National Congress leadership never developed a positive and patriotic outlook towards production as a weapon of national defence and therefore, as the common concern of all people."—(C.P.I. Congress Report on Production, Pp. 5 and 6.)

P. C. Joshi was more emphatic on this point:

"The situation becomes worse after August 9. The *Nationalist* trader and industrialist thinks it patriotism to raise prices and hide stocks. He thinks he is hitting the Government. In reality he is hitting the people, creating starvation and food riots. He is disrupting the rear and opening the door to the fifth Column to play havoc on the food front." (People's War, 13th. June '43, P. 4.)

Com. Dange observed:

"From the beginning, the Millowners have been opposed to cheap cloth and increased production since these would bring down their fabulous profits.

"They resisted the institution of cloth control with all their might. *They agreed to it only when*

the Government threatened to take possession of the mills.

“They agreed only to sabotage. They decided to capture the entire machinery of control and kill every plan from within.” (*People's War*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 1.)

It is naively argued that if the bourgeoisie had really sabotaged then why the government do not accuse them?

To these naive intellectuals who do not care to remember events it should be pointed out that the government did accuse the bourgeoisie of economic sabotage. Sir Jerny Raisman, the Finance Member to the Government of India said the following on the floor of the Central Assembly on the 18th March, 1943:

“If the speculator and the profiteer indulge in this type of action the government will mobilise the whole of its resources in order to defeat and crush them. They have not only made it difficult to provide cheap cloth for the poor man; they have introduced a serious obstacles in our programme of crop planning in order to secure a good production which we need to solve the food problem. They have acted in a most anti-social way they possibly could. *It is nothing less than economic sabotage* and I assure the House that the Government is surely not going to take that kind of thing lying down, and are going to take the most drastic steps to prevent it.” (*Anurita Bazar Patrika*, 19th, March, 1943.)

Again during the last Budget debate (March, 1944) he said:

“I would however like to say on this point that not all the sacrifices that India has been called on

to make during the War have been due to the diversion of goods to military use. It is not merely the diversion of those goods that has resulted in hardship, but the scarcity occasioned by that diversion unfortunately created an opportunity for such exploitation, such merciless exploitation as has never been seen in any other country, and *a greater part of the hardship which was inflicted on the poor of this country was, I regret to say, inflicted by the trading and the commercial classes of this country.*"

It is therefore wrong to suggest that the Government have not accused the bourgeoisie of economic sabotage.

Thus the Bosheviks, the Radical Democrats, the Government and the "Communists"—all those who are interested in the persecution of the war have accused the Indian bourgeoisie of economic sabotage.

Those who did not forget the teachings of the Communist International about the behaviour of the hostile reactionary section of the bourgeoisie towards the People's Front Government in France, those Bolsheviks, have carried forward the tradition of the Communist International by adopting the policy of exposing the economic sabotage of the bourgeoisie. Varga accused the Blum (People's Front) Government of not appealing to the masses for facing the economic attacks of the French bourgeoisie in the following terms:

"By its offensive along all these lines the bourgeoisie in France has succeeded in placing public finances in such a parlous condition that when the Blum Government resigned there was only 20 million francs in cash in the Public Treasury, and even the payment of the salaries of the State officials

was not secured. This gave the reactionary section of the French bourgeoisie, with the assistance of the Senate, the possibility of overthrowing the Blum Government which retreated instead of facing the attack with determination, and appealing to the masses of the People against the Senate." (*Inprecor*, Vol. 17, No. 39, p. 880.)

We must "appeal to the masses" against those who are carrying on the economic sabotage endangering the life of millions and the defence of the country—this is the teaching of the Communist International. By adopting the *policy* of exposing the bourgeoisie we Bolsheviki are keeping high the banner of the C.I. in India.

CHAPTER VI

Comrades, our policy is the policy which was laid down by the Communist International. At the time of its dissolution the Comintern had only one appeal to make to the Communists of different countries:

“Concentrate all strength for the full support of and active participation in the war of liberation waged by the *peoples and states* of the anti-Hitleric coalition for the speediest route of the most cruel enemy of workers—German fascism, its allies and vassals.”

Our policy have been this policy of “full support of and active participation” in the war waged not only by the peoples but also by the states of the anti-Hitlerite coalition to crush the Axis Powers and their satellites. No amount of provocation either from the so called nationalists or from bureaucracy will deflect us from this path.

One of our main problems is the problem of uniting all the progressive forces of our country to strengthen the camp of liberation both nationally and internationally in order to strengthen the fight against fascism which is being waged for the liberation of all peoples. Stalin's observations on the significance of the dissolution of Comintern bearing on this point must be understood by all communists. The dissolution of the Comintern, says STALIN,

“...facilitates the work of patriots in freedom-loving countries for *uniting the progressive forces* of their respective countries, regardless of party or

religious faith, into a single camp of national liberation—for unfolding the struggle against Fascism; it facilitates the work of patriots of all countries for uniting all freedom-loving peoples into a *single international camp* for the fight against the menace of the world domination by Hitlerism, thus clearing the way to the future organisation of a companionship of nations based upon their equality.” (Patriotic War, by Stalin, Moscow Publication, p. 130.)

Stalin's observations puts the question of *Unity* in the forefront; he says, this unity must be of all “Progressive forces” in every country “in a single camp of national liberation”; he proceeds to remind us that this unity of progressive forces in every country must be developed as a constituent part of unity of all “freedom-loving peoples” of the world “into a single international camp.”

But why all these? What for this unity? In unambiguous terms Stalin formulates the programme of this united camp. This unity, says STALIN, is

“*For unfolding the struggle against fascism; for the fight against the menace of the world domination by Hitlerism, thus clearing the way to the future organisation of a companionship of nations based upon their equality.*”

Thus Unity is not an end in itself; it is not posed as something like the fulfilment of a divine mission of preaching the cult of brotherhood to all men tormented by sin; it is not a unity of “all”; it is a unity of *progressive forces* in every country, as a part of the single international camp, to fight against fascism, which will “clear the way to the future organisation of a companionship of nations based upon their equality” (or to use the terms of Tehran Conference “A family of

Democratic nations"). Those who deliberately *oppose* this war of liberation against fascism have no place in this camp of "progressive forces". The camp of "progressive peoples" who place fight against fascism, at the forefront of its practical programme is here conceived by Stalin as the "single camp" which can achieve national liberation by fighting, or in the process fighting, fascism, as a constituent part of the "single international camp" which alone can clear the way to the future—a future of equality of nations and companionship among these nations. This is the Stalinist conception of unity—the *unity of progressive forces in every country into a single camp to constitute a part of the "single international camp", against Fascism, for freedom, national liberation and companionship among nations.*

The question which now arises is *how* we should develop this unity of progressive forces inside our country. A large number of our people is still under the anti-war influence of the bourgeoisie. These peoples can be brought into this single camp only when they are emancipated from the anti-war bourgeois influence. *Otherwise there is no hope.* This is the reason why we still insist on the policy of isolating the bourgeoisie from the masses.

Not only that. Our policy of isolating the bourgeoisie is aimed not only at enhancing the anti-Fascist front by drawing in larger and larger section of workers, peasants and intellectuals into the camp but also at compelling this bourgeoisie to abandon their old policy and join the camp of war against Fascism. Ours is the policy of building up the anti-Fascist National Front.

Experiences of China is our guide. Pro-Fascist Chiang-Kai-shek could not be brought into the camp of China's national liberation before his influence was shattered, his

armies sent to fight the Reds were disintegrated and routed and his own camp was caused to disintegrate. This was not a policy of civil war, this was the policy of ending the civil war which the bourgeoisie initiated regardless of dangers from outside.

Our C. C. in its last session (Dec. 1943) said that in order to enhance the anti-Fascist front we must (1) break the Economic front of the bourgeoisie and (2) destroy the influence of the bourgeoisie over the masses. That policy must continue as long as we are not able to compel the bourgeoisie to abandon its *anti-war policy* i.e., to withdraw the August Resolution.

As a result of activities of the anti-Fascists our bourgeoisie have by now begun to feel that they are losing their hold on the masses.

The policy of unbridled loot, the policy of economic sabotage has upset the erstwhile economic stability of the masses which was existing on the lowest level. So devastating has been the ruin caused by the bourgeois economic sabotage that it is impossible at this stage to give any accurate picture of it. Large number of landowning small peasants have been deprived of their land, large number of landless peasants have joined the labour forces connected particularly with military construction, many have turned paupers and still more have died. A definite section of rich peasants, in opposition to vast number of poor and landless peasants, have grown up in the countryside thus accentuating the modern class struggle in the villages. The middle class people have sunk to the level of the poor peasants and the poorest section of the petty bourgeoisie have joined the forces of the working class.

This transformation in the life of the people, this painful

transformation, has reflected in the morale of Congress rank-and-file, majority of whom are peasants and middle class people. Congress rank-and-filers are experiencing the daily worsening of their economic condition: they find that their own countrymen, the hoarders, are killing them bit by bit. They are seeing that instead of "swift results" they are going to miss even the opportunity of the post-war settlement. On the other hand their age old prejudices against the Government, the blind faith with which they are infused by the bourgeois leaders are preventing them to find out the right course. This is the basis of the *frustration* which we are seeing in a large number of Congress *rank-and-file* today.

Those who are more conscious are openly advocating the withdrawal of the August Resolution. In October 1942 we were alone in this country to demand the withdrawal of the movement as a precondition to any settlement. We were joined by a microscopic section of disillusioned Congressmen in June 1943 in our campaign for the withdrawal of the August Resolution. The famine passed over the country and shook the confidence of a large number of Congress ranks in the prudence of their leadership in continuing this deadlock. The camp of those who were for an initiative from the leadership, who were for a retracing of steps, who were for a compromise began to grow. Many being disgusted with the bourgeois policy joined one or the other of the anti-Fascist parties.

This infuriated the Congress leaders. They tried to suppress S. J. Gopinath Srivastava. They succeeded in that because Srivastava's was yet a small fraction. But now the Congress leaders are intimidating those of their ranks who are for the withdrawal of August Resolution by bullying them as follows:

"Those who are for the withdrawal of August

Resolution", said Dr. Khan Sahib, "are agents of British Imperialism."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in her statement issued on 24th January 1944 gave out the news of a progressive disintegration in Congress ranks. Mrs. Naidu admitted:

"There may be *many* in our ranks with high record of undoubted patriotism who do not find themselves to-day in complete accord with the present Congress decision." (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 24.1.44.)

Mrs. Naidu divided those "Many" into two categories: (1) Those who still prefer a policy of political sabotage; and (2) Those who "genuinely advocate a policy of compromise as more effective and advisable in the best interests of India." Her advice to both of these sections was to leave the Congress! Thus:

"For both the right course on such occasion will be to absolve themselves of their commitments to the Congress and follow and assume responsibility for the schemes more congenial to themselves."

Mrs. Naidu advised those who wanted to remain inside the Congress not to indulge "in any *futile* attempt" to revert the Congress policy.

But more powerful factors than Mrs. Naidu were at work. The havoc created as a result of the sabotage policy in the life of the people has broken the faith of many in the ability of the leadership to defend their interests. Those "Many" did not leave the Congress thus leaving the leaders in peace. They continued their work of "infecting" others with their ideas.

The phase of economic sabotage is, slowly but steadily coming to an end. The offensive of gold to immobilise the

“Dead money”, strict and stricter control of prices, the cotton control scheme, coal scheme, policy of rationing, the hatred of the masses towards the hoarders which helps the carrying out of these schemes, the Government policy of importing foodgrains and other consumers’ articles the prospect of whose materialisation has grown with the cleaning up of the Mediterranean—these are the measures which signalise the possibility of an end of this last weapon, the economic sabotage, of the bourgeoisie. These are the measures which threaten an utter failure of the “last bite” of the bourgeoisie.

We the Bolsheviks must intensify our campaign for all-round rationing, for strict price-control, for heavy punishments for hoarders and industrial saboteurs, for enhancement of production, for nationalisation of coal industry, for building up co-operatives, in order to accelerate the process of liquidation of the sabotage activities of the bourgeoisie on the Economic Front.

But the bourgeoisie is still hoping against hope. Japanese attacks on Manipur have raised a faint hope in their mind. One of our Comrades who interviewed a leading member of the Congress Assembly Party writes the following on this point:

“They are relying still on the reverse of Britishers on the Eastern Front, which they calculate most probable.”

Meanwhile as they are getting signs of isolation from their own following, as they are being confronted with stiffer measures against Economic Sabotage, bourgeoisie are trying to come closer among themselves, thus justifying the views passed by our C. C. in December 1942. Our C. C. said at that time:

“If the Congress leadership saw it was going to

lose something vital (i.e. its influence) unless it came to terms with the leadership of the League, a prospect of settlement would loom in the horizon.”—
(*Sabotage Movement and Indian Bolsheviks*, P. 33.)

Truth of this C. C.'s view is reflected in the Congress-League joint action inside the Central Assembly.

But the 15-Year Plan has already roused hostility and suspicion among the domiciled Europeans and Muslim League capitalists. This plan endangers “freedom of enterprises” as well as the “individual liberty” of the people. Therefore it is doubtful how far the joint action inside the Assembly against the Government will develop into a unity for some *positive programme*.

It is, however, quite possible that with the Japanese reverses on the Eastern Front, with their last faint hopes being shattered, with a still more tightening up of measures against Economic Sabotage and with a still more disintegration in their ranks, bourgeoisie may materially alter their 15-year plan, come to terms among themselves and agree to work with other Parties including the anti-Fascist Parties, in an all-Parties Government.

Our task shall be to develop this possibility.

We must intensify our war-efforts. (1) We must rouse the people to help our armies to drive out the Japs from India, to prepare for all eventualities. We must organise centres of resistance and a strong Red Volunteer Corps to organise this Guerilla resistance against the enemy, to organise every village into a centre of people's resistance against the Japs. We are still of the opinion that it is not possible for the Japs to undertake a major offensive against India. We are still of the opinion that the latest Jap movement in Manipur is a purely defensive attack of the

Japanese. But these are the days of surprise. We must not be taken by surprise by the enemy. That is the reason of our advocacy of organising centres of resistance *side by side with our efforts for enhancing production*. Slogan: "Brothers and sisters unite to drive out the Japs."

(2) We must call upon the people to intensify the campaign for the withdrawal of August Resolution because that is the only way to get the Congress leaders released. We must tell them that the movement for release of Congress leaders is dying because there is no chance of getting their release before they withdraw their anti-war policy embodied in the August Resolution. We must tell the masses that the Congress leaders are causing incalculable harm to the cause of the country by not withdrawing the August Resolution, that they are not only perpetuating the present deadlock in the life of the masses, that they are not only facilitating the Jap attack by perpetuating the present state of frustration, but also spoiling the prospects of the post-war period. Slogan: "Withdraw August Resolution."

(3) We must tell the masses that the acceptance of Cripps offer is the only possible way out of this darkness; that will increase the strength of India, enable Indian peoples' representatives to join the coming Peace Conference where they can, in alliance with the representatives of Soviet Union, China and other countries, liberate India and other subject nations and proceed towards human progress. Slogan: "Accept Cripps Offer."

(4) We must tell the masses that the only way to real progress, the only way to freedom, lies in the unity of *all* the parties in India for the prosecution of war against Fascism, that such a unity of *all* the parties will be possible *only* after the withdrawal of August Resolution and the subsequent

release of Congress leaders, that such a unity will exert such a tremendous pressure on the British Government that it will be compelled to recognise an all-Parties Government reflecting that unity of all the Parties in India; that such an all-Parties Government will be able to declare India free after the war. Slogan: "For Freedom all-Parties Unity and all-Parties Government."

(5) We must tell the masses that the present famine in food, cloth, coal is the creation of the bourgeoisie who are still carrying on the economic sabotage. We must tell the masses that this economic sabotage is a part of the bourgeois policy embodied in the August Resolution.

(6) We must rouse the masses to fight for food, cloth, coal and other necessities of life, to fight for opportunities for *growing more food*, to fight for *more production*, to fight for *all-round rationing* and *price control*, to build up *co-operatives*, and to fight for *civil liberties* for the mobilisation of the people for war.

We must realise that there must be the *organisational guarantee* to ensure that the decisions taken by this Congress and by the Central Committee, in future, will be carried out in practice, will be expressed in the movement of the masses and that all obstacles in our way will be resolutely overcome. This means that we must try to increase membership of different mass organisations and also of our Party.

Before the next Party Congress we must enroll at least 1 lakh more members of different Trade Unions which are under the leadership of our Party or which will be formed under our initiative. We must develop big unions in Iron & Steel, Textile, Dockyards, Coal and other industries.

Before the next Party Congress we must enroll at least

1 lakh members of the Kisan Sabha and 10 thousand members of different co-operatives.

A series of united front agreements and activities with other parties, organisations or sections of rank-and-file of other organisations, should be initiated and developed on the basis of one or more points of our programme. Such United Front activities can be developed on one or the other point of our programme with almost every section of our *People*. We must remove the last traces of sectarianism from our mind which *prevents* the development of this series of United Front activities which constitute the foundation of a durable United Front organisation against Fascism. We must realise that we can present a United Front *against the Hoarders* with the C.P.I., the Royists, a large section of Congress and League rank-and-filers and with the Government; we can present a United Front *for the withdrawal of August Resolution* with the Liberals, the Muslim League, with the forces behind Rajaji and Srivastava. This will of course need a great effort. But that must be undertaken. And so on.

Decisions taken cannot be put to practice without Party members who function as cadets for mass organisations, who guarantee continuation of the mass movement and who translate the decisions into practice. And we know that recruitment of Party members requires development of mass organisations and simultaneously the training up of individual advanced workers, peasants or intellectuals for attaining the minimum standard of membership. Our comrades have shown a singular lack of care in this aspect of drive for membership. Workers who have been working along with us for the last few *years* and who have been working well, were not recruited as Party members until the top, though very lately, interfered. Workers who for all practical purposes

have been working for the Party were left uncared for without training to enable them to know and express the party policy. Workers who have been working as Red Volunteers for a long time proving their devotion, energy, and loyalty to the cause and to the Party were still "considered" unfit for Party membership.

A special and constant attention is required to develop advanced workers, peasants and intellectuals as members of the Party. We must enroll 10,000 Party members before the next Congress.

One of the items of our organisational tasks is to join the ranks of the Congress, Muslim League and other mass organisation and parties with middle class, peasant or worker membership. This is meant to convince the rank-and-file of those organisations about the correctness of our line and the incorrectness of the line of the bourgeoisie.

We must consolidate the genuine anti-Fascist membership of these organisations for war and democracy. We must strengthen the Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas, Student Federations as anti-Fascist organisations, for war and democracy.

This is how our Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin will forge ahead and unite the people in this war against Fascism, in this war for liberation of Mankind.

LONG LIVE THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY!
15th March, 1944.

POSTSCRIPT.

The Government has released Gandhiji unconditionally, on medical grounds. The real reason of Gandhiji's release is however *political*.

The whole of August movement of the bourgeoisie was based on the defeatist anti-war morale of the people which the bourgeoisie had created in 1942. People were made to believe in an enevitable Fascist victory and an inevitable collapse of Allied arms before the Fascist Powers. But ever since the German route at Stalingard the forces of United Nations have been on the victorious offensive inflicting heavy blows on the Fascist forces. It has become a commonly accepted truth that the fate of Fascism is sealed. The moral basis of the Sabotage movement has been knocked down due to the efforts of the world Proletariat who have produced a vast amount of munition for the armies who have inflicted one after another defeat on the Fascist forces, and to the consolidation of popular forces in Europe and other parts of the world.

Thanks to the anti-people nature of the sabotage campaign, and to the efforts of all anti-fascists in the country, masses of our people, have dissociated themselves from the sabotage movement of the bourgeoisie.

Having failed in their political sabotage bourgeoisie intensified their campaign of the Economic Sabotage causing unprecedented misery to our people. The overwhelming masses of our people have now turned their hatred against hoarders and industrial saboteurs and also against the Government *for its failure* to deal with those cannibals.

All these three factors have reflected in the ranks of the Congress and these ranks have been increasingly expressing their disapproval of the policy of the Congress leadership.

The Congress leaders tried to suppress this revolt of the rank and file. They tried to suppress S. J. Srivastava. They succeeded in doing so for a certain period. But this suppressed force did not subside. After a few months it came out with increasing strength and began to demand a reversal of the policy of the Congress leadership. So effective has been this force of opposition that Dr. Khan Sahib and Mrs. Naidu had to threaten it with expulsion and a campaign of columny. Meanwhile another section of the Congress ranks had begun to leave the camps of the bourgeoisie and join the camp of anti-Fascists, while the overwhelming section of the Congress ranks became demoralised.

The Government policy, after the arrival of Lord Wavel, should also be taken into account in order to estimate the situation under review. The policy of Lord Wavel has been on the one hand to liquidate the economic sabotage of the bourgeoisie by accelerating the process of rationing, by increased control over cloth, coal, stationery, etc., by an offensive of gold to liquidate the inflationary tendency, and on the other hand to offer a chance of compromise to the bourgeoisie. (*Vide*, His Calcutta Speech). Lord Wavel has pursued that policy with considerable amount of success.

Under the circumstances in order to raise the morale of their fastly demoralising ranks, in order to regain their hold on the forces of opposition inside the Congress which is developing rapidly, in order to prevent the disintegration of their ranks and with a view to safeguarding the bourgeois economic interests now threatened by Government measures which are supported by the people, it is quite conceivable

that the bourgeoisie has thought it wise to change its policy and to come to a compromise. Whether they have decided to compromise will however be evident in a few weeks, if not days.

We also draw the attention of our readers to the fact that now the Government has also thought it useful to explore ways and means for a compromise with the bourgeoisie. They have given up their old insistence on the demand for an unconditional surrender on the part of the bourgeoisie.

Victory of the Allied Armies against Fascism is not only destroying Fascism bit by bit but also unleashing the forces of disintegration of the system of colonial Empire of British Imperialism. *Canada* has already expressed her inclination to go out of the British Empire. *Eire* has gone. *Australia* and *New Zealand* has also expressed their policy of Independence from the British Empire. A strong pro-American tendency has been in progress not only in these Dominions but also in the ranks of the Indian Bourgeoisie who are looked upon by the British bourgeoisie as the post-war rulers of India. Mr. Churchill's refusal to be the first minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire expressed the policy of consolidating this disintegrating Empire. Since then the British Government has been trying to come to term with the bourgeoisie of these Dominions and the would-be Dominion. On the first day of the Dominion Conference Mr. Churchill frankly declared his expectation of getting the Prime Minister of Indian Dominion in future Dominion Conferences.

This policy of appeasement of the bourgeoisie of India and other Dominions is intended to save the British Empire by keeping it away from the onslaught of American capital and to stave off the tide of popular revolt by reintroducing

the Labour aristocracy in the post-war Britain with the spoils of these Dominions.

Gandhiji's release is the resultant of these changes in situation in India and the world.

The old condition of open, fatal clash between the bourgeoisie and the Government, has changed with the progressive disintegration of the British Empire thanks to the advance of popular forces in this war and with the defeat of the bourgeoisie in its campaign of total sabotage resulting in the disintegration in its own camps.

The new period of negotiation between the Congress and the Government, a period of haggling, ambiguity and eventual compromise has begun. How soon a new All-Parties government will come into being liquidating this period of transition from deadlock to an All National Anti-Fascist Front will depend on various factors among which the ability of the organised Proletariat to accelerate the process is the fundamental one.

(1) The country should wish the speedy recovery of Gandhiji from his illness.

(2) Gandhiji, on his recovery should not lose time in calling upon all Congressmen still bent upon carrying on a policy of sabotage, to stop all preparation for Satyagraha and other forms of activities calculated to hamper war-efforts. We expect of him to give a stirring call to our people to mobilise their support to war-efforts against the Japanese who have invaded our motherland. Gandhiji should denounce hoarding, industrial sabotage, rumour-mongering and anti-war propaganda as anti-national activities. This would mean

the burial of the remnants of the August policy and would speed up the solution of the deadlock.

(3) Following this the government should open the prison gates for all members of the working committee, A.I.C.C. and others who will be ready to line up behind the above declaration of Gandhiji.

(4) A conference of all the parties of India including the B.P.I., C.P.I., and R.D.P. should be convened, a programme for carrying on the war and for the establishment of a truly democratic government after the war should be formulated and an All-Parties panel should be agreed upon, to be placed in power at once on the basis of the acceptance of Cripps proposals with slight modifications, if necessary. The present Central Assembly being the representative of 3 per cent. of privileged minority of our country a People's Political Council should be brought into being with representatives from All Parties to function as the adviser of the All-Parties Government on the lines of the Chinese People's Political Council. *8th May, 1944.*

THE END



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