

# FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

Price As. 4

Fortnightly organ of the Information Bureau set up by the Nine Communist Parties' Conference held in Warsaw in Sept., 1947. Nos. 1 and 2 of this paper contain the following documents:

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 190B, Khatwadi Main Road, Bombay 4.  
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## Communist Statement Of Policy

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# FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR FULL INDEPENDENCE AND PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

Annas Two



*First Published Dec. 1947*

RESOLUTION ON THE PRESENT POLITICAL  
SITUATION PASSED BY THE CENTRAL  
COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF INDIA AT ITS MEETING IN BOMBAY  
FROM 7th TO 16th DECEMBER, 1947.

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Printed by D. T. Naik at the Famous Printers, Bombay 4, and  
published by the People's Publishing House, Ltd., 195-B, Khet-  
wadi Main Road, Bombay 4.



including a section of the leaderships of the Congress and the League, has also played a leading part in the communal riots, though certain sections of the Congress and the League leaderships have taken a stand against them.

The workers, peasants and progressive intelligentsia are the most determined forces that resist all riots, just because the riots smash all democratic movements. In fighting the riots, they must make use of all opportunities including the Government measures to combat them. They will unhesitatingly support every move of the Government and of the national leadership and press upon them to adopt serious measures.

But until the bourgeois policy of collaboration with imperialism and its hostility to the principle of self-determination is successfully defeated, the riots will take place again and again.

Not only the communal riots, but other kinds of riots between one nationality and another, between the advanced castes and backward castes, between tribal people and others, will also take place on a larger and larger scale until full democracy and self-determination of the people are achieved and the imperialist hold over the organs of the State is completely smashed.

A determined fight against the reactionary policy of the Congress and the League leaderships is therefore essential to end the possibility of all riots. The bourgeoisie is itself intoxicated with the idea of communal domination and therefore the Congress and League leaderships also rely to a great extent on the communal elements to bargain for power against each other. Though they become surprised and even sometimes overwhelmed by the magnitude of the riots led by the pro-imperialist feudal elements, they fail to take effective measures to check them. An end to these riots can only be brought about by complete democratic progress.

#### *SINCE AUGUST 15*

To sum up, since August 15, the leadership of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, strongly entrenched in the Governments of India and Pakistan respectively, have started making political, economic and military alliances with

Anglo-American imperialism. They are strengthening the camp of reaction all along the line.

The political policies of the Pakistan and India Governments reveal their fear of real democracy, reflected in the restriction and suppression of the democratic rights of the common people in the interests of reactionary vested interests. Their economic policies lead not to the welfare of the people and a democratic economy but to increasing profits for the parasites and the retention of the existing colonial economic order.

The Government of India and under it the Provincial Governments are pursuing a policy of fleeing the labour to feed the Big Business. Alarmed at the growing strength of the Trade Union movement, the Congress leadership has organised the Government-sponsored INTUC to break the working-class solidarity reflected in the AITUC. The company Unions have been given national names to deceive the workers. Tribunals and Adjudication Courts are set up when the demands for a living wage become irresistible; but these bodies are so composed as to cut down as many essential demands of the workers as possible.

In order to assure enormous profits to the capitalists, the Government has never enforced effective measures against the blackmarket; in this respect also they have only carried forward the old imperialist policy; and now in order to legalise the blackmarket prices, they have adopted the policy of de-control.

When the old policy of control was found to be ineffective in checking prices and extending production, and nationalisation of all important industries was being popularly recognised as an immediate necessity, the All-India Congress leadership stepped in at this stage and instructed the Government to lift controls instead of effecting nationalisation.

The agrarian crisis has reached a stage when the immediate abolition of landlordism and redistribution of land to the tillers of the soil have become an immediate necessity; the various Congress Governments have introduced measures to abolish the statutory zamindari system, but they do not give land to the tillers of the soil, and do not take over the private land of the landlords in the majority of the cases.



Moreover, the acceptance of the Mountbatten Award by the Congress and the League shows that the leadership of these two organisations, who represent the interests of the capitalists and the landlords, have reconciled themselves to the position of collaboration with Anglo-American imperialism.

On the one hand, the Indian bourgeoisie is afraid of the masses whom they are determined to suppress, and on the other hand, it wants to expand its economic power at the expense of the weaker nations of the Middle East and South-East Asia. In both respects the Indian bourgeoisie seeks the assistance of Anglo-American imperialism, and to get this assistance it sacrifices all national interests, namely sterling balances and unfettered scope for the industrialisation of India. It is therefore servile and anti-national.

#### *REAL FACE OF THE MOUNTBATTEN AWARD*

What the Mountbatten Award has given to the people of our country is not real but fake independence. Through this award British imperialism partitioned India on communal lines and gave to the bourgeoisie an important share of State power, subservient to itself.

Britain's domination has not ended, but the form of domination has changed. The bourgeoisie was so long kept out of the State power and in opposition to it; now it is granted a share of the State power in order to disrupt and drown the national democratic revolution in blood. The supreme organs of the State, the army, navy, air force and the bureaucracy are still controlled by the servitors of imperialism. At the same time, the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the traditional leaders of the national movements, are handed over the reins of Government, while being dominated by imperialism through trade pacts and a military alliance.

The Mountbatten Award does not really signify a retreat of imperialism but its cunning counter-offensive against the rising forces of the Indian people. This is demonstrated by the communal carnage and the setbacks to the democratic and anti-imperialist struggles after August 15.

so that its democratic provisions like universal suffrage may not be used in the interests of the common people.

Similar and worse developments are taking place in Pakistan. The landlord-bourgeois leadership of the League is also taking all precautions against any popular efforts to make Pakistan free, democratic and friendly to her democratic neighbours.

#### *THE PERSPECTIVE*

Anglo-American imperialism, in collaboration with the leadership both of the Congress and the League, is carrying out its plan of world domination. Under the leadership of the upper classes India, including Pakistan, is sinking more and more into colonial slavery. Famines, rising prices, increasing scarcity of all goods, mass retrenchment of workers, reign of terror and more communal riots are in store for the toiling people.

The Anglo-American imperialist plan is being heroically resisted by the democratic States of Eastern Europe, backed by the mighty Soviet Union. It is being fought by the French and Italian peoples. It is getting blow after blow on Chinese soil from the Chinese people led by the Communist Party of China. It is being fought by the heroic people of Indonesia and Viet Nam.

On the Indian soil, the upsurge of States people's struggles, the peasant unrest in South India, Bihar, Orissa and Bengal, the strike struggles of the workers, the mass demonstrations against the Special Emergency Powers in Calcutta, the struggles of middle-class employees and students—these are the forces that will grow and defeat Anglo-American imperialism and its reactionary allies.

A Democratic Front composed of all left parties, progressive people inside the Congress and the League, sections of the Congress and the League, mass organisations of workers and peasants, and progressive intellectuals can and must be built up for complete independence and real democracy.

The place of the Congress and the League in the Democratic Front must be clearly understood. The Congress and the League command the loyalty of lakhs of people. The Communist Party attaches great importance to the work of consistent anti-impe-



devised by Anglo-American reactionaries to weaken the democratic and peace-loving forces inside the UNO. They have voted against the demand for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea.

The Government of India, together with the Government of Pakistan, is trailing behind the imperialist warmongers on the most serious issues of key importance, though under popular pressure they have taken the side of the progressive forces on certain international and national issues. But the future of India's freedom and democracy is so vitally linked up with the Anti-Imperialist Camp that India, including Pakistan, must abandon the policy of so-called neutrality.

The Government of India has already signed trade agreements with a number of foreign States, mainly belonging to the Anglo-American bloc. According to these treaties Indian industries, producing goods contained in the import schedule, cannot be given any State assistance, i.e., these industries can neither be nationalised nor subsidised for expansion, either for lowering prices or for improving the workers' standard of life.

According to these treaties India will get an export market in order to pay for the imports; consequently, an export drive will be specially organised by the State. It follows that, firstly, there will be no nationalisation of key industries and, secondly, industry will be geared mainly to production for export. An export drive to get foreign exchange will reduce production for internal consumption and raise the prices of essential goods.

This demonstrates that the Indian Big Business, in order to secure an export market, has come to an understanding with Anglo-American imperialism, and the Government of India has agreed to back up its reactionary expansionist foreign policy. Such an agreement with the foreign imperialist powers has been made because the Government of India has refused to fight to secure Sterling Balances from Britain and has rejected a policy of alliance with the democratic powers, which are resolutely fighting Anglo-American imperialism.

The Pakistan Government is more openly following a similar subservient policy. Instead of seeking agreements with the demo-

1) Complete severance from the British Empire and full independence; alliance with democratic States fighting against the Anglo-American imperialist bloc.

2) A democratic Constitution based upon the self-determination of all nationalities including the right of secession, a voluntary Indian Union, autonomous linguistic Provinces, universal suffrage and proportional representation; repeal of all repressive laws.

3) Autonomous regions for tribal people and Adibasis wherever they live in compact areas.

4) Abolition of Princedom in native States; struggle for immediate responsible governments in the States to be strengthened and carried forward till Princely autocracy is liquidated.

The question of the accession of a State to India or Pakistan should be determined by plebiscite, the justification of accession to be based upon three considerations, namely: a) nationality of the States' peoples concerned, b) economic ties of the States and, c) guarantee to the success of the democratic movement.

5) Minority rights, equality of protection to the language, culture and employment of minorities, crusade against communal discrimination and communal riots; co-operation and mutual aid between India and Pakistan.

6) Nationalisation of important industries and principal economic resources; drive against blackmarket and for total rationing and effective price control until production is expanded sufficiently.

Such measures can be made effective only by nationalisation, the workers' participation in management and the people's participation in distribution. Economic reconstruction through mutual-aid agreements with the anti-imperialist democratic nations of the world.

7) Abolition of all forms of landlordism without compensation and distribution of land to the tillers, in accordance with the resolution of the All-India Kisan Sabha.

8) An 8-hour day, a living wage for the workers and an all-round improvement in their standard of living; full employment for all people and resistance to retrenchment; Trade Union unity.



The rich landlords, with thousands of acres of private land, are allowed to exist while the share-croppers, tenants-at-will and landless peasants are left at the mercy of the absentee landlords. These Government measures are replacing the zamindari system by ryotwari system, with a heavy load of compensation.

Even the small agrarian reforms are being introduced with great hesitancy and delaying tactics and frequently with amendments in favour of the landlords. The proposed agrarian measures of the National Government are intentionally so framed as to bring about a division among the peasantry.

The top leadership of the Congress is making reactionary agreements with the Princes in the native States. The feudal autocracy is being kept intact, and their authoritarian regimes have been constitutionally guaranteed.

The old bureaucratic State apparatus, its armed forces and bureaucracy are kept intact and manned by top-ranking foreign officers trained by the British enslavers, and buttressed by British advisers.

The Constitution that is being drawn up by the Constituent Assembly under the guidance of Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru is essentially authoritarian, though certain reforms like universal suffrage and ministries responsible to the legislatures have been introduced. The Constitution gives sweeping extraordinary powers to the executive heads of the Government, guarantees adequate compensation to foreign and native capital as a fundamental right and sanctions rule by ordinances. The self-determination of nationalities has no place in the Constitution; the provincial autonomy is also curtailed; the proportional representation has been rejected.

While such a Constitution is being framed, new emergency laws are being passed. The popular protest movements against such measures are being suppressed by shooting down the people in the traditional imperialist way. The Emergency Powers are being used very little against the communalists and principally against the workers', peasants' and students' movements.

Full use is being made of the old statutes and ordinances to crush the democratic movement before the Constitution is passed.

British imperialism was forced to change the forms of its domination as a result of the growing popular upsurge for freedom and democracy during the war and postwar days. Faced with the alternative of quitting India, it has given a share of power to the capitalists and landlords in order to be able to remain. To parade this new status as national freedom is to shield the imperialist designs and the subservience of the national bourgeoisie.

It is no accident that the popular hopes have turned into illusions. The anti-national policy of allying with imperialism is producing a whole tree of poisoned fruits.

#### COMMUNAL RIOTS

The Mountbatten Plan is unfolding itself through the vicious communal riots that have taken place since the negotiations with the Cabinet Mission began, and are still continuing.

The communal riots are the direct result of the imperialist conspiracy and bourgeois compromise. Imperialism has strengthened the basis of the communal riots in four ways: i) partition which made one community hostile to another; ii) fixation of frontiers in a manner that roused communal bitterness to its height; iii) independent position for native States who could manoeuvre with India and Pakistan and play one against another in the most vicious manner; iv) communal poisoning of most of the army chiefs and bureaucrats, which has resulted in the use of the State machinery for spreading the riots.

Imperialism is instigating the communal riots in order to create conditions in which the national bourgeois leadership will be increasingly forced to submit to the imperialist domination and the common toiling people will be forced to submit to the leadership of the upper classes, namely the national leadership. It also aims at smashing the people's unity and crushing all democratic movements.

Fascist elements like the Hindu Mahasabha, RSS, Muslim communalists and bureaucratic administrators left behind by imperialism are the chief agents for provoking the riots. Princes and landlords are at the head of them. But the bourgeoisie,



nalist democrats inside the Congress and the League, and to their fight inside the Congress and the League for democratic policies.

The Communist Party appeals to the Left who are inside the Congress and the League not to give up this fight easily but press it on and fight for the programme of democratic revolution, for joining hands with other forces in the Democratic Front against reaction and the bourgeoisie. The winning over of the Congress and League masses to participate in the activities of the Democratic Front will mean a decisive blow to the compromisers and will lead them to their final isolation from the democratic masses.

That is why the Left should direct its agitation in a way which will help the Congress and League masses to release themselves from the influence of the bourgeois leaders. A major role in this release will be played by the independent actions of the Left, and of the growing Democratic Front.

Such a Democratic Front has to be built up through joint campaigns and actions against the communal riots, against the propaganda for war between India and Pakistan, against the repressive measures, for the democratic reforms in the native States and for the rights of the workers, peasants and other toiling people. Such a front has to be built up through a systematic exposure of the Anglo-American imperialist plan and the policy of the reactionary leadership in India, including Pakistan.

The aim of this Democratic Front shall be such a fundamental reorganisation of the Government, both in India and Pakistan, as will assure complete independence and progressive democracy as a transition to Socialism. Such a Front will be built up from below by the solidarity of the toiling people, backed by the joint efforts of all left parties and progressive sections.

In order to pave the way for building up such a Front, all the left parties must immediately make up their differences and move together. In India, including Pakistan, as in the world as a whole, the progressive forces are much stronger than reaction if they stand together.

The Democratic Front will be built up on the basis of the following programme:

cratic States, it is begging for an American loan and British capital to develop ports and industrial plants.

The Big Business in India, including Pakistan, is trying desperately—angling for the extension of the Marshall Plan to Asia. Such an extension of the Marshall Plan will not help us to develop our national economic life, but will lead to greater economic ruin and to the perpetuation of colonial slavery. Treaties and Pacts for mutual aid with the democratic powers that do not seek imperialist expansion are the only means to secure foreign aid on the basis of equality and reciprocity in order to effect more speedily the reconstruction of the national economy of India and Pakistan. But the Governments of India and Pakistan are pursuing an opposite course, i.e., collaboration with Anglo-American imperialism in order to satisfy the selfish greed of the national Big Business.

#### ROLE OF THE BOURGEOISIE

This reveals the basic change that has taken place in our country. The Indian bourgeoisie has given up the path of opposition to imperialist domination and has become collaborationist. During the war, the process of merger between Indian and foreign capital has gone forward. The Indian capitalists have become far richer than ever before, more self-confident thereby and more accommodating to imperialism as a result thereof. They want to extend their economic position in the countries of the Middle East and Asia and, therefore, they are in need of the assistance of Anglo-American imperialism that at present dominates these countries.

Alarmed by the growing strength of the Indian working class, the Indian capitalists are surrendering to British imperialism and compromising with feudal elements like the native Princes and landlords. To stem the advancing tide of the democratic forces, they need anti-national agreements with British imperialism in economic, political and military spheres. As a result of these factors, the Indian Big Business has become a reactionary force opposed to the anti-imperialist national front.



- 9) State aid to cottage industries and agriculture.  
 10) Radical change of the bureaucracy, purging it of all reactionary elements.  
 11) Democratisation of the army, navy and air force by purging them of reactionary commanders.

The above programme is the substance of a democratic reorientation of the national movement and constitutes the solution of the grave crisis through which our country is passing. It constitutes the minimum and immediate needs of the toiling people and is no longer a distant ideal. Upon the fulfilment of the above programme depends the unity, freedom and prosperity of the people of all India, including Pakistan.

In order to realise the objectives contained in the above programme, the Communist Party will mobilise the people for every democratic reform and against every reactionary offensive. The Communist Party, in so doing, will do its best to help and unify the progressive forces wherever they are and to whichever organisation they belong.

To underestimate the need for building a united Democratic Front under the illusion that it is possible to change the policy of the Congress leadership by means of mass pressure, or to shirk the responsibility of building a Democratic Front by nursing the illusion that a reshuffling of the Ministry here and there will change the political set-up, is opportunism.

A Democratic Front, leading the mass of the toiling people, alone can change the situation and take India and Pakistan forward to freedom, democracy and prosperity.

THE WORLD TODAY is sharply divided into two camps—the Imperialist and the Democratic.

The Imperialist Camp is led by Anglo-American imperialism which is seeking world domination. Its basic aim is to strengthen imperialism all over the world, to prepare for a new imperialist war and to support reactionary pro-fascist regimes and movements in every country in their struggle against socialism and democracy.

The Democratic Camp consists of the mighty Soviet Union, the new democratic States of Eastern Europe, the powerful Chinese liberation movement, the colonial and dependent countries like Indonesia and Viet Nam fighting for national liberation and democracy, and the democratic forces all over the world. The basic aim of the Democratic Camp is the struggle against the threat of a new war and imperialist domination, for national independence and for the growth and consolidation of democracy, and the liquidation of the remnants of fascism.

#### INDIA'S PLACE IN WORLD POLITICS

In terms of our own national ideals of independence, democracy and international cooperation for world peace, the proper place for India, including Pakistan, is in the Democratic Camp which is not simply a bloc of States, but a combination of all democratic forces of the world, joining together in their common struggle against imperialist domination.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has defined India's position as of "neutrality," as belonging to neither of the two camps. This so-called neutrality is only leading to subservience to the Anglo-American Imperialist Camp. This subservience is already demonstrated by the fact that recently, on the most crucial issues, India's delegation in the UNO has voted against the democratic powers and taken the side of the imperialist bloc. They have voted for the setting up of the "Little Assembly"—an instrument



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***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

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