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**TOWARDS THE  
DEMOCRATIC FRONT  
to win  
REAL INDEPENDENCE  
and  
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY**

**Statement of Policy  
Central Committee, Communist Party of India**

1948

**Annas Two**

### THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

**T**HE Anglo-American imperialists are making desperate efforts to save the capitalist social order from its impending doom.

They are offering American credits to the war-torn European countries to bolster up reactionary regimes, forcing these countries to sell their economic and political independence to American imperialism.

They are giving economic and military aid to the reactionary Governments of China and Greece to suppress the democratic forces.

They are maintaining their domination over their colonies and dependencies by forming an alliance with "national" leaders who have political influence over the masses, by cheating the colonial people with fake independence, by giving big concessions to the national bourgeoisie.

They are frantically making political and military preparations to unleash a new world war against the Soviet Union and other democratic States.

The world is thus divided into two camps—the Imperialist Camp led by American imperialism and the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Camp led by the Soviet Union.

The peoples' forces all over the world constitute the Democratic Camp and are stronger today than the forces of imperialism. The Right-wing Social Democrats in every country in conformity with the needs of their capitalist masters are disrupting the peoples' camp. Under the dictates from American imperialism the Right-wing Socialists are coming out as a hypocritical "third force" directing their fire against the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the Communist Parties in defence of the capitalist order.

Despite the machination of American imperialism, the world Democratic Camp has been marching ahead since the defeat of the Fascist Powers in the Second World War.

The strength and prestige of the Soviet Union, the land of Socialism and working-class rule, has tremendously grown. People's republics in Eastern Europe, where power

belongs to the toiling people led by the working class, constitute another big blow to world capitalism. The rise of the Communist Parties in European countries epitomises the strength of the working class, instability of the present regimes and the maturity of the revolutionary movement. The successful struggle waged by the Communist Party of China for the liberation of the Chinese people strikes another powerful blow at the world imperialist order. The post-war revolutionary epoch has brought the colonies to the path of armed struggle for achieving complete independence and democratic States.

While American imperialism is attacking the sovereignty of independent States, tightening its hold over subjugated nations and taking the world towards another devastating war, the working class all over the world is leading the toiling masses for sovereignty of nations, people's democracy and lasting peace.

#### BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN INDIA

AS soon as the war was over, an unprecedented wave of mass struggles had overtaken the imperialist rulers in India. The working class which had hardly secured any compensation against the rising cost of living began to fight back. In 1946 the all-embracing strike wave reached unprecedented levels affecting two million workers and involving 12 million man-days lost.

Inflation, high prices, mass pauperisation of the peasantry, famine and landlords' offensive goaded the peasantry to desperation. The agrarian areas of India became a huge volcano which started erupting every now and then. The desperation of the peasant was seen in the great Tebhaga struggle in Bengal, the Telengana struggle in the Nizam's dominion, the struggle of the aboriginal agricultural workers (Warlis) in Bombay, the great struggle of the peasants of Bihar for **Bakasht** land.

Out of these struggles was coming forth the single demand—land to the tiller.

The oppressed people of the Indian States began to rise in revolt against feudal autocracy. Their struggles reached new levels, as in Kashmir and Travancore.

The popular struggles began to take a revolutionary turn resulting in political general strikes, armed clashes between the police and the people and barricade fights. The revolutionary spirit of the people affected the armed forces of the State, and the mutiny of the Royal Indian Navy struck terror into the hearts of the imperialist rulers and of the bourgeois national leaders.

Imperialism realised that it could no longer maintain its rule in the old way with the national bourgeoisie kept out of State power, that the support of the feudal classes alone was not enough to prop its tottering rule.

British imperialism, therefore, changed its strategy and adopted new methods to perpetuate its rule. This new strategy is embodied in the Mountbatten Award.

The acceptance of the Mountbatten Award is the culmination of the betrayal of the revolutionary struggle by the National Congress and the League leaderships.

Though the bourgeois leadership parades that independence has been won, the fact is that the freedom struggle of the common man has been betrayed and the national leadership has struck a treacherous deal behind the backs of the starving people, betraying every slogan of the democratic revolution.

Every feature of the Mountbatten Award shows that it does not really signify a retreat of imperialism but its cunning counter-offensive against the rising forces of the Indian people.

First, it has partitioned India on the basis of religion. Partition has enabled imperialism to create permanent hostility between Hindus and Muslims and work up war fever between the two Dominions when required in imperialist interests. Partition is a ready-made weapon to organise riots and sidetrack the revolutionary movement by war appeals. It is one of the biggest attacks on the unity and integrity of the democratic movement.

Secondly, the plan keeps the Princes, the age-old friends of the imperial order, intact and enhances their bargaining power.

Thirdly, the leading economic strings are still in the hands of the imperialists, who successfully use them to make the bourgeoisie move against the masses, crush the

democratic revolution and consolidate the new line-up of imperialism, Princes, landlords and bourgeoisie.

Fourthly, the supreme organs of State are controlled by servitors of imperialism. The final imperialist control will be maintained through military alliances.

What the Mountbatten Plan has in common to the people is not real but fake independence. Britain's domination has not ended but the form of domination has changed. The bourgeoisie was so long kept out of State power and in opposition to it, now it is granted a share of State power in order to disrupt and drown the national democratic revolution in blood.

### ROLE OF THE "NATIONAL GOVERNMENT"

THE deeds and actions of the "National Government" since August 15 fully prove the above understanding of the purpose behind the Mountbatten Plan. They conclusively reveal the leadership of the National Congress as being a bourgeois leadership collaborating with imperialism.

The Constituent Assembly manned by the same leaders as lead the "National Government" has prepared an authoritarian constitution. The toiling people will not get anything except the right to vote at long intervals. It provides for arrest without warrant and detention without trial. It authorises the Provincial Governors to act in their discretion, legislate by ordinance and rule by proclamation. It makes the reactionary provision for Second Chamber in the Provinces, allows for nomination of members to the Second Chamber by Governors, thus ensuring that the vested interests and their spokesmen will get a dominant voice in the Chamber.

The model constitution for the Provinces does not accept the basic right of nationalities to self-determination, it does not provide for proportional representation without which the progressive political parties and the various minority groups cannot get fair representation. It does not provide for regrouping of tribal and other backward areas and formation of autonomous regions or Provinces without which these backward people cannot economically and culturally protect and develop themselves.

Under the constitution the basic and fundamental rights

of the toiling people, such as right to work, right to living wage, equal pay for equal work, right to old age, sickness and unemployment aid, do not find a place as fundamental rights constitutionally guaranteed by the State.

But the property and privileges of the vested interests are granted legal and constitutional protection by a clause in the fundamental rights that no property of a person or corporation shall be taken over for public use except by payment of adequate compensation, thus preventing through a constitutional guarantee all plans of nationalisation of industries including foreign concerns.

Since August 15 the so-called National Government has been carrying out the plan of the Indian bourgeoisie to oppose nationalisation, suppress the workers, intensify their labour and freeze wages in the name of stopping the wage-price spiral.

It is ruthlessly suppressing all peasant movements to the complete satisfaction of the landlords. Even its halting agrarian reform proposals are saddled with compensation to the landlords and with no provision for land to the tillers. They retain landlordism under a different form. The proposed agrarian legislation is an attempt to split the peasant movement and to broaden the basis of the present bourgeois Government.

The Provincial Governments under the guidance of the Central Government have passed Public Safety Acts which are freely used against the democratic movements of the workers, peasants and students.

The so-called National Government is crushing the States peoples' struggles against the Princely order and suppressing agrarian struggles in the native States. It is saving Princedom and sidetracking people's attention from democratic struggles by parading accession as a big popular triumph.

In the matter of minorities it is following a communal policy. Oppression of minorities has become a deliberate policy, as is evidenced from Patel's praise of the RSS and alliance with the Hindu Mahasabha. So firmly is communalism entrenched in the so-called National Government that even after Gandhiji's assassination by an RSS man, no more than a mere show has been made of arrests and prohibition measures, in spite of angry anti-communal

outbursts of the common people. The "National Government" instead of really suppressing communal bodies has taken the opportunity to suppress the Communists.

According to Nehru's own statement these communal and other reactionary policies of the "National Government" do not lead to any differences inside the Cabinet, there are no political differences but only "temperamental" differences, as Nehru himself calls them.

### **COLLABORATION WITH IMPERIALISM**

THE policy pursued by the Nehru Government is one of collaboration with British and American imperialism. The British and American imperialists are securing strategic positions in India by "agreement" with the "National Government" who has agreed to no discrimination against foreign capital but encouragement to it, no nationalisation, no tariffs which are not agreed to, and joint concerns for the exploitation of the Indian people. This policy logically means no full-scale industrialisation of India but the growth of only such industries as suit the interests of American and British capitalists.

The foreign policy of the Nehru Government illustrates the same collaboration.

From the very beginning Pandit Nehru adopted a line of forming a so-called third bloc—a line which represented the interests of Big Business inasmuch as it kept India away from the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Camp. At a time when the Anti-Imperialist Democratic Camp is engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the Imperialist Camp led by American imperialism Nehru refuses to take the side of the former camp and poses neutrality. This so-called neutrality between the aggressor and the non-aggressor, between the war-monger and the peace-loving and between the expansionist and the freedom-loving camps is only a mask to cover collaboration with the Anglo-American imperialists.

Recent months have torn the mask of "neutrality" from the Nehru Government's foreign policy. On all crucial issues the Indian delegation in UNO has taken an anti-democratic and pro-imperialist stand. It voted for "Little Assembly" devised to paralyse the democratic forces inside

UNO, it voted against immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea, and on the question of representation of Ukraine in the Security Council it allowed itself to be exploited by American imperialism.

On the questions crucial for the peoples of Asia in particular, on the American-directed Kuomintang war against the Chinese people and the French colonial war in Viet Nam, it has remained silent and refused to act. On the question of the Japanese Peace Treaty, it has virtually lined up with Anglo-American imperialism. Over the American-backed Dutch war against the Indonesian people, it has approved of the betrayal of the Indonesian freedom struggle, achieved through by the U.S.-sponsored and dominated Good Offices Committee and welcomed by President Truman.

The British imperialists are giving open hints about an anti-Soviet bloc including their overseas Empire. Along with this come reports about an alliance of South East Asian countries embracing India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon in agreement with Britain. There are also reports about Military Missions from Britain coming to India to keep her defence properly organised.

This shows how the "National Government" representing the Indian bourgeoisie is dragging India into an anti-Soviet and anti-democratic bloc, in a scheme of defence of American and British Empires in the East.

### **ESSENCE OF POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT**

THE big change that has taken place in India's post-war politics is the salient truth that the Indian bourgeoisie, or in other words the Congress leadership which represents it, has given up its oppositional role and has become collaborationist and therefore reactionary.

Two big facts have determined this course.

First, the growing revolutionary upsurge has made the Indian bourgeoisie afraid of the masses. It can no longer gamble with mass movements to secure concessions from imperialism.

Secondly, the Indian bourgeoisie itself is in need of foreign markets, in view of the shrinking Indian market due to economic crisis. But this dependence on foreign

markets is nothing but dependence on the colonies and semi-colonies of Britain and America. This enables Britain and America to force down any condition before access to these markets is given.

The economic basis for this collaboration was firmly laid down in the war period itself.

First, during the war period the Indian bourgeoisie became enriched by earning fabulous profits. The growing accumulation of liquid capital has made the Indian bourgeoisie look in all directions for investment.

Secondly, in the capitalist world the British and American imperialists possess the monopoly of capital goods which the Indian bourgeoisie so urgently needs. In order to secure them the Indian bourgeoisie is prepared to please the Anglo-American imperialists in any way and accept any terms.

The economic basis of this collaboration has been further strengthened by the post-war crisis of capitalism, a crisis born out of over-accumulation of capital, loss of capitalist markets in the New Democracies, production crisis and over-accumulation of unsold stocks going side by side, and, finally, the new threat of a world-wide crisis of "over-production" with collapse of prices. The determination of the toiling people all over the world to solve the crisis in a revolutionary way is throwing all reactionary forces into one camp, despite their mutual conflicts of interests in the course of the crisis.

### **PERSPECTIVE OF INDIAN SITUATION**

THE policy pursued by the "National Government" in collaboration with American and British imperialism is not solving but intensifying the crisis. The purchasing power of the people is deteriorating rapidly, inflation and high prices are rising unabated.

The working class is faced with constant lowering of real wages and mass retrenchment. The agrarian crisis has enveloped the entire country. Famine has become chronic and the mass of peasants are being pauperised on an ever-ascending scale. Commodities are accumulating in the hands of monopoly capitalists and traders, land is being concentrated in the hands of landlords. Impoverishment is

growing on a mass scale amongst the middle-class toilers due to inflation, high prices, black market and retrenchment.

With existing price levels and profit motive of the capitalists, a saturation point is being rapidly reached in the market when the illusion of too few goods will be shattered and the crisis will really reveal itself as a crisis of over-production because the impoverished toiling people cannot even buy the goods that are there.

The Indian bourgeoisie and their representatives; the leadership of the National Congress controlling the so-called National Government, are trying desperately to retain their profits and position by shifting the burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the toiling people.

They are trying to retain the existing land relations and feudal exploitation, attacking wage standards, forcing prolongation of working hours, demanding higher prices of goods or decontrol, opposing nationalisation for securing uncontrolled profits, effecting mass retrenchment and intensification of labour by rationalisation, attacking trade unions, kisan organisations and democratic liberties and ruthlessly suppressing workers and peasants.

To save their profits from the rapidly growing crisis and collapse of the Indian market they are seeking for crumbs of export trade from the colonial market dominated by Anglo-U.S. imperialism and selling the country to the imperialists by making capital deals with them for joint exploitation of India, integrating imperialist commonwealth relations, collaborating with imperialist war preparation for the extension of markets, and guaranteeing the suppression of labour and democratic struggles in India.

But this policy in its turn, leading to further impoverishment and fall in the purchasing power of the masses, only still further accentuates the crisis and hastens the doom of all reactionaries.

That is why, despite the communal offensive launched by reaction, the disruption and ruthless suppression practised by the Government and national leaders, and the great illusion that the masses still have about the national leadership, the post-war upsurge of the masses goes on unabated. The strike wave of the workers reached unprecedented heights last year, the battles in kisan areas have

forged ahead, the Government servants and middle-class employees are a mass of seething discontent, the student masses have moved forward to heroic struggles.

Despite the treachery of the national leadership and the Right-wing leaders of the States peoples' movements in bartering away the freedom of the States peoples for an ignoble compromise with the Princes, in the profit making interests of the bourgeoisie, the peoples of the States have been fighting heroically for ending feudal autocracy.

In Hyderabad, the people have started resisting with captured arms the armed might of the Nizam, distributing the landlords' lands to the tillers, assuring increased wages to agricultural labour and practically making the Nizam's rule non-existent in thousands of villages.

The people's disillusionment and upsurge are rapidly advancing. They are more and more demanding the establishment of real democracy, people's democracy, and a State embodying people's democracy.

The working class in alliance with toiling peasants and other sections of the petty-bourgeoisie can alone fight for such a democracy and for solving the crisis in the people's way. Confiscation of foreign capital, nationalisation of all key and basic industries, radical improvement of workers' standard of living, abolition without compensation of all forms of landlordism and land to the tillers—such are the basic aims of the people's democratic revolution.

The primary condition of such a democratic solution of the crisis is the establishment of a People's Republic based upon the hegemony of the working class and direct rule of the toiling people.

A clean sweep must be made of all reformist illusions about the "National Government" and Congress leadership and a new Democratic Front must be built up under the hegemony of the working class to fight for a People's Republic and solve the crisis in the people's way.

### **DEMOCRATIC FRONT**

THE Democratic Front must be built up through the struggles of the common people against exploitation and oppression. It must be based upon the alliance of workers, toiling peasants and other exploited middle classes. It will

be built up as a mass organisation directed towards a disciplined and firmly united mass political organisation of the entire toiling people.

Unity of the Left forces has to be secured through common struggles for the success of the Democratic Front. In order to achieve Left unity, not only the dominant bourgeois leadership but also the bourgeois leaderships of the Left parties must be exposed and their true colours revealed to the masses.

The leadership of the Socialist Party, for example, is pursuing a policy of supporting the bourgeois national leadership, cheating the masses by means of Socialist demagogy and anti-Communist, anti-Soviet slander. This leadership and similar other leaderships of Left parties advocate Leftism in name but actually play the role of a Parliamentary bourgeois opposition and divert the consciousness of militant masses along anti-Communist and disruptive channels. They disrupt the unity of the toiling people and thereby save the position of the reactionary forces.

### **DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME**

THE programme of the Democratic Front should contain the following.

(1) Complete severance from the British Empire and full and real independence.

(2) A democratic government representing the workers, peasants and other sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, opposed to collaboration with Anglo-American imperialism, allied to the democratic States working for peace and freedom of all nations.

(3) A constitution based on adult suffrage and proportional representation, guaranteeing full freedom and democracy to the common man and fundamental economic rights.

(4) Self-determination to nationalities including the right of secession. A voluntary Indian Union, autonomous linguistic Provinces.

(5) Just and democratic rights of minorities to be embodied in the constitution; equality and protection to the language and culture of minorities; all liabilities, privi-

leges and discriminations based on caste, race and community to be abolished by law and their infringement to be punishable by law.

(6) Abolition of Princedom and feudal rule in the Indian States and the establishment of full democracy. On the question of accession, exposure of the policies of the Governments of both India and Pakistan, of parading accession to the Indian Union or Pakistan as a big triumph, and explanation to the common people that the urgent and primary task inside the States is abolition of Princedom and feudal rule and establishment of a people's democratic State.

Accession before that is only slavery of the States peoples both to Princely autocracy and to the bourgeois rulers of the Indian Union. It is only after the people of the States become completely free that they can have real liberty to decide the question of their relation with the rest of India. At that stage the question will be decided by the wishes of the people.

(7) Freedom of the tribal and such other backward peoples from economic, cultural and political oppression, extension of full democratic rights to them, prompt and adequate State aid for their development, so that they may rapidly catch up with the advanced nationalities.

The people of all contiguous, compact, predominantly tribal areas shall have regional autonomous areas within the Provinces, enjoying full powers regarding general administration within the areas and specially regarding the economic and cultural matters of directly area importance. The people of such areas in suitable areas may also form a separate Province or Provinces. The people of such areas or Provinces shall have the right to secede from the State by democratic verdict.

(8) Cooperation between the Indian Union and Pakistan for economic help, military and political alliance for defence, to pursue a democratic foreign policy in cooperation with the democratic States against the Anglo-American bloc.

(9) Abolition of all forms of landlordism without compensation and distribution of land to the tillers of the soil. Abolition of landlordism must mean confiscation of **khas** lands of the non-cultivating land-owners and ensure

land to the sub-tenants and share-croppers. Liquidation of rural indebtedness and abolition of usury; living wage for the agricultural labourer.

(10) Confiscation by the State of interests of foreign capital in banks, industrial and transport concerns, plantations, mines, etc., and nationalisation of these concerns.

(11) Nationalisation of big industries, big banks and insurance companies, guarantee of workers' control, minimum living wage, eight hours' day, etc.

(12) Economic plan to develop India's resources and removal of Big Business from strategic economic points. Control of profits in the industries in private hands.

(13) Repeal of all repressive legislation.

(14) Elimination of the bureaucratic administrative State apparatus and the establishment of a democratic administration with elected officials guided by people's committees.

(15) General arming of the people and the establishment of a democratic army.

(16) The right to free education and compulsory primary education.

(17) Equal democratic rights to women.

Amongst the workers, peasants and other oppressed sections of the Indian people never was there so much response and so much understanding of the main slogans of the democratic movement: abolition of landlordism and land to the tiller; abolition of Princely autocracy; nationalisation of key industries and living wage; democratic liberties, etc.

The economic crisis is setting in motion colossal forces. The workers are fighting battle after battle with supreme courage and reckless abandon and the situation is moving towards a general offensive on the part of the working class. On the agrarian front too the kisans are coming up in elemental upsurge, defeating repression, coming back again and again to the attack.

It is the task of the Party to lead all working-class struggles, unify and direct them for the achievement of the basic demands of the working class, and as a part of the struggle for the programme of the Democratic Front.

It is the task of the Party to lead the growing struggles of the peasantry, centring them round the demand, "Land



to the Tiller", as well as the struggles of the other oppressed sections, and unite them for achieving the programme of the Democratic Front.

The Communist Party by leading and directing the struggles towards this end and by coming out as the boldest opponent of imperialism, of the reactionary bourgeois national leadership and their henchmen, will accelerate the process of disillusionment of the people and firmly establish the hegemony of the proletariat which is the only guarantee of a successful fight for people's democracy.

In the present period of world crisis the task of pushing the democratic movement ahead is the responsibility of the working class and its party, the Communist Party. It is therefore incumbent upon the toiling people and their true friends to strengthen and broaden the Communist Party. A mass party with a conscious membership fully trained in Marxism-Leninism and deeply rooted amongst the toiling people—such must be our watchword.

#### —OTHER DOCUMENTS—

##### *Of the 2nd Congress of the Communist Party of India*

1. REVIEW OF THE SECOND CONGRESS  
Issued by the Political Bureau of the Central  
Committee of the Communist Party

2. POLITICAL THESIS

3. CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF INDIA

*These documents will be shortly available for sale  
at People's Publishing House, Ltd., Bombay, and  
its provincial branches*