

APPENDICES

I. AN OPEN LETTER TO THE WORKING COMMITTEE FROM THE INDIAN COMMUNISTS

DEAR COMRADES,

IT IS THE GRAVEST HOUR IN THE LIFE OF OUR ANCIENT NATION. AN alien imperialist bureaucracy keeps our great people chained and goes as the Government of the land. Our country is threatened with foreign invasion, both from the East and the West. To-day the heroic resistance of the Chinese people in the East, the epic resistance of the Soviet people in the West is holding the Fascist invaders at bay. This is how when these two peoples are fighting to defend their own homelands they are saving our land too. Tomorrow, any day, and in the very near future, we too will have to perform our own patriotic duty.

You are the respected leadership of our proud national movement, represented by the great Congress, which has been built up with the blood of our martyrs, which is supported by countless millions of our people. Yours is the serious responsibility to guide our 50 years' old movement for freedom. We Communists are 15 years old, born in the womb of the same broad national movement and we have endeavoured our very best to strengthen it. All of us proudly carry our Congress membership card, as a treasured possession of our national heritage, as a living inspiration to fight the battle of India's freedom, shoulder to shoulder with our fellow patriots.

In the present national emergency you have given a lead to the country. We consider it our duty to speak our mind to you. We think we have a right to be heard by you and all our fellow fighters for freedom.

Before you gave the nation your present lead, the national leadership among themselves were sharply divided, which is no more a secret to any patriot. The most revered leader, Gandhiji, himself, suffered from the illusion that the Japs may not come to India, that an honourable peace with the Japs may be possible. His faithful lieutenants damned all talk of national resistance as moonshine and argued that it was too late to talk of defending the country and fighting for National Government.

We are glad, as all thinking patriots are, that this suicidal policy has been rejected on the persuasion of Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad and others.

We rejoice that the defeatists inside the national leadership have been defeated and you have unanimously come to the conclusion that :

India Must Defend Herself.

India Must Resist Fascist Aggression.

India Must Line Up With The United Nations.

India Must Have Power To Organise Her Defence.

India Must Be Free to Fight For Freedom.

We, however, deplore the practical lead you have given. We are fanatically convinced that it does not lead the patriots towards the fulfilment of the tasks you have yourselves set the nation ; but will produce the opposite results.

You rightly point the accuser's finger at the imperialist bureaucracy which keeps our people down, which is itself unfit and incompetent to halt the Fascist invaders and which won't let us defend our motherland. You say before we fight the Fascists let us fight these gentlemen. Let us work this out.

You are right when you say the imperialist bureaucrats must go, they can't defend our country, they will hand us over, bound hand and foot, to the Fascist enslavers, as they did in Malaya, as they did in Burma. How to kick them out of the seats of power, how to ensure that they cease being the Government of our country ? There is no other way to achieve this except the total and rapid mobilisation of the strength of our nation, which in our enslaved condition, means nothing else than to achieve our *National Unity*. The struggle against the imperialist bureaucracy is the struggle for national unity. Let us have Congress-League unity, backed by all the patriotic organisations of our people. The day we succeed in achieving this all-in national unity, the bureaucrats go and National Government comes. *Unity For Freedom !* You yourselves made this the key slogan of the national movement and to-day you say freedom first, then unity will follow ! Will freedom come as a gift ? Surely that is an illusion. It has to be fought for now as always. To-day fighting for freedom means being busy day and night forging our national unity. This you give up as an impossible task. This, however, is the only way to get rid of the bureaucrats and get ready to face the Japs. This is the only way to utilise the valu-

able time given by the Chinese and Soviet Armies. You have turned your back towards this course.

You have called upon the British bureaucrats to go home and leave our country to us. We won't insult your intelligence by suggesting that you expect them to act like obliging gentlemen and not the enslavers of our people. How else then do you expect them to leave India for the Indians ? You obviously expect the peoples of the United Nations to intervene. Does it not hurt your national self-respect, as it hurts ours, that we should leave it to the other nations to do our job for us ?

If the peoples of Britain, the U.S.A., China and other freedom-loving nations are unable to make the British Government see sense you plan to launch the traditional type of struggle. Such a "struggle" to-day will not liquidate but strengthen the bureaucracy. Most of you know from the experience of the Cripps negotiations and some of you have said it openly that the British imperialist rulers don't want the Indian *People* to fight the Fascist invaders, for they know that that leads India to freedom and the end of their domination.

Is it not plain enough that to start your "struggle" is just to play the game of the imperialists and the bureaucrats ? What will happen if and when you start the struggle ?

They will quietly put you and thousands of active Congress workers inside jails and sanctimoniously declare that it is their unfortunate duty to be able to save India from the Fascist invaders. They would have divorced you from contact with the people who need you and every patriot in their own midst more than ever before. It is your historic responsibility to organise our people for national resistance. And here you would leave them leaderless and at the mercy of the mad bureaucrats. You would leave the defence of our nation in the hands of a mercenary army and a foreign Government. Can't you imagine what our fate will be, would it not be the same as that of the Malayans and the Burmese peoples ? Does this not make you shudder and shoulder instead the responsibility for forging Congress-League unity here and now.

The bureaucrats would damn the Indian national movement before the freedom loving nations as Fifth Columnist. No amount of passionate declamations against Fascism, no amount of our friendly declarations for the United Nations could hide the naked truth that "struggle" of the type you visualise to throw the British bureaucrats out objectively would help to let the Jap

Fascists in. In your mind, of course, you want to fight the Fascists when they come and, therefore, want to clean-up the British bureaucrats now. The British imperialist rulers will call upon the people of the world to listen in to the Tokio and Berlin Radios to convince themselves that your struggle suits the Fascists fine. Instead of getting for India's national demand the intervention of the United Nations your "struggle" would lead to its postponement. The ignorant will say India's patriots are unreliable, our friends will call us confused. Is this the way you want world democracy to react to Indian democracy? The very thought makes us hang our heads in shame.

We beseech you to see how by *your proposed struggle you will not be really hitting at the alien bureaucrats but hitting our own cause.*

The battle for India's freedom has to be fought, and fought by us; and more, it has to be fought today within a broader, a worldwide framework, alongside the peoples of the world. The old enslaver holds us down, a new and a worse enslaver is blasting his way towards us. British imperialist rule over us is doomed. The only issue is: will the Japs "destroy" the British Imperialist hold over us, i.e., replace it by Jap Fascism or will we be able to rescue our country from the hands of the bureaucrats in time to establish a National Government, organise successful National Resistance and march to our own national liberation in a liberated world? From the sources of our rich heritage the only weapon that counts to-day is our national unity, for, it is our national existence that is at stake, then let us rely upon it and rally for it. In our enslaved position the only strength that we have is our national unity. That is our shield and our sword. You are the leadership of the nation. You can't afford to take a single false step which will spell disaster for our people and lead to the death and destruction of our nation under Fascism. You have to take the initiative to forge national unity for National Government. This is the course that at once liquidates the British hold over us and enables us to put up an effective resistance to the Fascist invaders.

Against the Imperialist Bureaucracy, National Unity for National Government.

Against the Fascist Invaders, National Unity for National Resistance.

Such alone is the path of the real national struggle of the Indian people.

The sort of struggle Gandhiji is visualising and in which the rest of you have acquiesced is not a plan of struggle but a gamble, it is not fighting for freedom but escape into jails, it is not leading the people but forsaking them, it does not liquidate the imperialist bureaucracy but makes us live under it now to be passed on as chattel to their successors, the Jap Fascists. Such a "struggle" will not get us freedom but Fascism.

Prepare the country to fight the Fascist invaders to the death. That will be fighting for freedom, because such is the only path to our freedom.

Go out to unite the nation. The day you forge Congress-League unity, National Government comes and the bureaucrats go.

You properly lead and we will loyally follow.
India will emerge free in a free world.
INQUILAB ZINDABAD !

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