

## Resolution No. 3.

## ON POLITICAL SITUATION

During the five years of the anti-fascist war various changes have taken place in the national and international spheres. In the beginning Axis Fascist forces seemed to be overwhelming. The important ruling classes of different democracies, who had abetted Hitler and sabotaged anti-axis military preparedness, surrendered. France was sold out to Hitler by the corrupt capitalist clique, the myth of invincibility of Hitler's army was established. The leadership of the people's parties in different democracies failed the masses at the critical moment and the people were bewildered. Great Britain exploded Chamberlain, the appeaser, organised the existing resources and stood the test magnificently. Hitler in his frenzy attacked Soviet Union, the most well-organised enemy of capitalism and fascism and the vanguard of anti-fascist struggle. The popular forces in Great Britain who had kept the war going against Hitler and the U. S. S. R., forged an unbreakable unity against the axis, which, it has been pledged by both sides; will work against war and slavery for the next twenty years. The Asiatic partner, dreamer of the "co-prosperity sphere" which is but another name for Japanese dominion in Asia, saw the chance and attacked Anglo-American possessions from the east to effect a junction with the European partners in the Near East. Japan had already been at war with China—a war which had been regarded by Great Britain and America with cynical neutrality and often with indirect help for Japan. America joined the allied camp; Anglo-American authorities had to drop neutrality and make alliance with China against Japan.

U. S. S. R. bore the brunt of the Axis military

might for two years and more, and at last stayed its advance, frustrated the military strategy of the Asiatic and European fascism at the foot-hills of the Caucasus and at Stalingrad, hurled the Axis back. The British operations in the middle East, up North Africa and southern Europe, showed signs of growing organisation which made possible the Anglo-American expedition from the west. The victorious Red Army in the east initiated the period of allied success and Axis defeat, and the Anglo-American forces have sped it up.

Along with the military victory arose the question of the political organisation of the reconquered territories. Differences of opinion on this point in the allied camp became manifest. Reactionary forces of Great Britain and America tried to restore status-quo and concluded peace with crypto-fascists in reconquered territories. Darlan and Badoglio became their friends. But the short sighted reactionaries did not reckon with the host. During Axis-occupation effective resistance movement was built up by the people in different occupied countries. In France De'Gaulle established liaison with the French resistance movement, condemned the beryal of the Third Republic, formed the French Liberation Committee, gradually purged out pro-axis forces, sponsored the idea of the Fourth Republic to be formed by the people on the French soil. Among the three principal allies themselves, U. S. S. R. encouraged the popular forces in France, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Jugoslavia. The emigre governments, who have been isolated from the peoples or have been definitely acting against people's interests, are some of them still intriguing, but the popular forces who have suffered the miseries of occupation and have heroically resisted are refusing to have the deserters back. But the emigre governments have their friends inside the allied camp to hold them up and promote their intrigue. This will lead to the clarification of relation of forces in the allied camp.

Simply military victory by itself will not achieve all-round triumph of progress against Fascism. It can only help the assertion of native forces in an organised manner to manage their economic and political affairs in the real democratic way progressively. The reactionaries have been frustrated in Italy, France and Jugoslavia temporarily. The future peace and progress will be secure if the military victory be a political victory over reactionary social forces. The political organisation of the people will have to behave in a revolutionary way in the chaos in the realm of production so that reaction may not take advantage of that chaos.

With the collapse of the Nazi war-machinery, the people of Germany will have to face a tremendous task. Crisis in production will generate a movement of the people which will throw up a new leadership inspired by the hard-tested ideal of Sovietism, the victorious Red Army, and co-ordinated by the Free German Committee. Such a revolutionary leadership will have to confront enemies inside and outside, and success, though hazardous, of the German revolution can be ensured, if serious blunders are not committed by the leadership.

The fight between the forces of progress and reaction in England will begin in a new way after the war. Reaction may not be completely defeated during war and may sue friendship of America. The Anglo-Soviet Treaty of 20 years' friendship is an embarrassment. But the forces of progress will have some strength built up in the process of the war. Post-war sufferings of the masses will accentuate the problem, and progressive masses will have to shift for themselves, fight the battle of freedom against conservative status-quoers in league with American Super-Imperialism, with inspiration and support from the Soviet Union and other progressive forces outside. The conservative forces will be weakened by the break-up of the Empire because, colonies will feel no

attachment to debt-ridden England; some may even come closer to America.

America after the war will be the stronghold of capitalism thriving at the cost of other dying capitalist countries. Of course, Post-war crises will affect her and revolution may make some headway during the crises, but world-revolution will encounter the greatest opposition from America trying to resuscitate capitalism.

Japan's defeat after the fall of Hitler will be quickened. Post war sufferings of Japan will revive the revolutionary movement already in being. America may try to save capitalism there. Internal conflict between the forces of progress and reaction in China is already acute and will be more so after the war. The Chinese people have built up their strength and organisation during the war. American Imperialism may there also seek to re-inforce reaction. But the chances of their defeat are greater if proper leadership be there.

In our country the leaders of the major political parties have, in this war, failed the masses lamentably. Prejudice and class-interest and opportunism have prevented them from aligning themselves with the Allies who represent the forces of progress. Some of the so-called leaders, when the allies were in straits due to their unpreparedness and other reasons moved definitely to go over to the Axis camp but were frustrated. The leaders have so manipulated things afterwards that the frustration has affected the misguided masses. This came on top of their previous propaganda against participation in the war on the side of the allies. Conscious participation in the war would have meant India's democratic liberation and her sharing the victory. Now that the allies are victorious, these leaders are trying to come to power and frustrate Indian Revolution by means of tactical change. This manoeuvring is happening at a time when the country is in the grips of a terrible famine of food-stuffs

and other necessities, when their foreign spiritual brethren are being wiped out, when people are thinking of post-war conditions. They want to forestall people's revolutionary efforts for the solution of their problems by having a National Government composed of the capitalists, land owners, traders and monied men. They have been able to buy off persons and parties who pose themselves as champions of people's interests. But the existing State machinery, even if it is controlled by them, cannot meet the economic and social problems. Their control will only aggravate them and worsen the conditions of the masses. Nothing can save the people if they do not have political power in their own hands, if they do not make some effective arrangement to live, to arrest the progressive starvation. No National Government, whatever promise it may make now, can arrest the progressive starvation and improve the lot of the people for a long time, because of the interests of the people who will constitute it. People can save themselves only through their Panchayet organisations. The panchayets organised by the people for their existence, not for election or other secondary purposes mainly, will unite people to save themselves inspite of the failures and betrayals of the present rulers or the native rich, to tackle the crisis in the realm of production which will be highly dislocated after the war. The leadership will evolve out of the movements in different spheres of activity and make the Democratic Panchayets the Government of the country. The People's Government will come not by manipulating elections, not even by forming sectarian councils or Panchayets with an eye to Post-war elections. The non-sectarian, non-communal Democratic panchayets now formed by the people for their existence will provide an alternative democratic structure of Govt. in place of the exploiting capitalist bureaucracy.

The future Democratic India must be a federal union of autonomous states based on cultural and

linguistic unity of the people. Pakistan taking its stand on a similar fact has been made into a live issue. The persistence in its opposition cannot be supported. But self-determination by itself makes no difference to the people if it is to serve the purpose of some ambitious rich men. Self determination thus abused strengthens the hands of different ruling classes to be locked in endless conflict to the detriment of people's interest in every state. Self-determination may mean greater understanding and unity instead of separation for conflict if people have the determining voice in their affairs.