

THROUGH
THE CRISIS OF VICTORY

Manifesto
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The Cease-Fire In Europe

The Nazi war machine, unable to bear the brunt of superior allied military might accompanied by the unshakable determination to fight the enemy to a finish, disintegrated to the very core by fall of puppet regimes composing Hitler's 'European fortress' in quick succession on the one hand, and by varieties of internal dissensions which reduced it to utter ineffectiveness on the other, has at last succumbed to its logical end. Fascist Germany's unconditional surrender has resulted in the cessation of armed hostilities in Europe. The Third Reich has become a thing of the past.

The war with Japan still continues. Whatever may be her vauntings, Japan has already begun showing signs of progressive deterioration. The Burma campaign amply testifies to that. The battle of Okinawa is now lost to her, this cannot be gain-said. In spite of the reserves of armaments and other resources believed to be of formidable size, it would be impossible for her to hold out for too long a period when the vast forces released from the European theatre would be put into operation against her. There can be no iota of doubt in this that she would suffer the lot of a fallen enemy in the hands of that very combination of leading allied powers now at war with her. Japan's defeat, though may be delayed somewhat and may not be as quick as we want it to be, is a certainty against everything.

Hour of Victory—Hour of Reckoning

Complete victory of the allies and corresponding defeat of the Axis Powers, then become actual position in brief. Termination of the war does not mean end of all conflicts and contradictions which precipitated this clash of arms. It closes only one chapter of the historic struggle between the forces of democracy and fascism, the chapter of military operations. The remaining part of the task is no less arduous, rather in many respects more so, than the one that is nearing completion, namely, military hostilities. The stage now reached will find accentuation of the basic issues which were held in abeyance pending attainment of military victory, the first essential condition for an all-round triumph over the forces of reaction everywhere. The fundamental issues involved in the war are life-issues of the toiling masses groaning under discontent born of oppression and exploitation. This fact made it the People's War. This victory will not be worth the name unless aspirations of the toiling peoples, who by their unparalleled sacrifice of life and blood won it, are realised to the fullest extent. That end, namely freedom from bondage, has yet to be attained. Nothing short of complete destruction of Fascism—decaying capitalism on its last legs, can bring people's real salvation. A simple military victory over the fascist powers does not exterminate fascism—the international force of reaction, to its very roots; it only exercises a check on its armed might, breaks its form

as organised in the state and creates advantages to stamp it out altogether. With the cessation of hostilities, therefore, the fight against reaction does not cease, it continues, it gives it a new turn for being carried on to the decisive point ending in assumption of power by the people.

Hence, winning of power happens to be the bone of contention in the post-war period. In order that people should win it, they must plan for it, build it up. None excepting the people themselves will or can work for them. Political organisation of the countries liberated from fascist yoke then becomes the uppermost question to be settled. But the situation which has arisen in this connection can very appropriately be characterised as the "Crisis of Victory." Such a crisis could not but be. The war has shaken the order of society, so-long existing based on capitalistic system of economy, deep into its foundations.

Assertion of the progressive forces, though not up to the mark yet, are taking place in the different European countries. These are but a challenge to the ramshackle system which is incapable of delivering any further goods to the society in view of its own limitations. The objective conditions being quite mature for a mighty upheaval conducive to freedom of the toiling masses, it can be expected that the forces of revolution will develop to the requisite standard and thus break asunder whatever remnants of the old degenerate machinery of oppression still being maintained. Afraid of such an eventuality in the creation of

which their own contribution, may be unconscious, has been of considerable importance, it is quite natural that vested interest will make a desperate bid to keep itself saddled to power. This presupposes planned efforts on their part to consolidate capitalist interest as against toilers' in an international scale by all possible means on the one hand, and disrupt the mighty upsurge of the democratic forces now in progress on the other.

Rift & Re-alignment—its Logic

The Anglo-American Governments who made common cause with Soviet Russia to fight the fascist powers are not prepared to go to the same length with the latter in exterminating fascism, if that means farewell to the instruments and institutions of exploitation, and coming into vogue of people's regimes whose business can but be to promote socialistic system of production and distribution, instead. Wedded as they are to a system of private ownership of the means of production which operates through Parliamentary democratic form of state, and which is their guiding philosophy, the Anglo-American allies will not and cannot hold identical views with Soviet Russia, where toilers own the means of production collectively, nay, they will fundamentally differ with her in shaping the new world order to come. In the body of United Nations there was this crack as between the U.S.S.R. and the rest from its very inception. Since the defeat of Germany, it has only been widening remarkably.

That, restoration of the old anachronic order which has exhausted its possibilities is barred by the realities of the situation, and that, a new order has to be voted for willy nilly, the western allies are unanimous on this point ; at least, it has come to prevail upon them. While recognising this position, they will strive for introducing parliamentary democratic forms of state which will ensure retention of Laissez-faire agreeing to certain moderate re-adjustments here and there so as to keep down extremisms to a level favourable to them.

Europe going socialist, it will exercise tremendous influence upon the rest of the world, progressive forces elsewhere will gather inspiration and strength by leaps and bounds, and consequently world capitalism will have to face extinction. To combat such a catastrophe of capitalism, vested interest will leave no stone unturned to strengthen them, consolidate them by seeking to organise alliance with their brothers-in-faith in every land. Differences of opinion in the Allied Camp on Post-War settlement are already in the process of sharpening. These have assumed a definite shape by now. Some recent events are glaring examples. The Polish question is a test case. Anglo-American backing of the reactionary emigre Government in London as against the Warsaw Provisional Government evoked protracted controversies to an uncompromising point as it were, over the interpretation of Yalta decisions. The hitch over the joint Allied control of Germany is another manifestation of disagreement. The capture and surrender of

Nazi-stalwarts by and to Anglo-American military authorities to the exclusion of Soviet authorities cannot be treated as accidental in all cases. Hitler's successor Doenitz was tolerated to function at Flensburg for about a fortnight after the German surrender. Pravda's repeated accusations of meting soft treatment to the leading lieutenants of Hitler, are not yet being answered. Quarrel over the division of Control-zones in Germany, encroachment upon the portion allocated to Soviet control, serve as pointers to the same direction. Besides, there are instances of deliberate bungling in the affairs of Italy, Yugoslavia, Trieste, Greece and Belgium. The Austrian affair is still a mystery. Soon after its reconquest from Nazi domination a Provisional Government was organised with Russian initiative with its seat at Vienna, but subsequently Field Marshall Alexander proclaimed another Government to be functioning there. The straightway expulsion of British and American military officers from Bulgaria by the Soviet authorities was not certainly caused without very weighty reasons. The San Francisco Conference, which is only the preliminary session to the Peace Conference to follow the laying down of arms by Japan, has amply demonstrated the contradictions in the Allied Camp in a more consolidated form than anywhere. Opposition to the Russian proposal on the election of the President, extension of invitation to Argentina, the Trusteeship of colonial countries, governance of mandated territories, and the Veto-power of the Big

Five, rose to such proportions as would clearly indicate vehemence to maintain *status quo*. From a close perusal of the proceedings, it can be said with sufficient justification that this is not the last war. Terms of reference within the limits of which veto-power should be exercised forecast another war. This will, of course, break up not immediately, but at a distant date extending over years perhaps when a realignment of forces on the basis of conflicts of interests which would continue to persist in the New World Order of the type the capitalist democracies would maintain (if in power), will be complete to the point of explosion. Post-war capitalism will follow the course of re-adjustments only to keep it in power anyhow, but will not liquidate itself except by throwing the outstanding issues to the mercies of another war for decision. It is too conscious to give way to what may be called a peaceful revolution. Forces of reaction are already at work with an end to multiply strength. As a first step, their business would be to win the peace. Therefore, the coming Peace Conference will be their battle-ground to offer stiffest resistance to the genuine democratic forces headed by the U.S.S.R. Voting results at San Francisco Conference, however, make them hopeful. Other methods to undermine the influence of Soviet Russia are being tried. A systematic campaign of anti-Soviet propaganda is going on through agencies of British conservative and the American Presses. A number of individuals have lined up with them. Mrs. Luce's press statement, which has been

served with an unanswerable rejoinder by the Soviet Press the other day, is an instance in point.

Possibilities & Probabilities

Every crisis brings in its wake some chaotic conditions; the more so does one of the magnitude which has been prevailing in Europe since the collapse of Nazi-military machine. Interests in jeopardy fight tooth and nail to reap maximum advantage of the situation. In Europe, then, there are chances both for revolution and counter-revolution. If vested interest triumphs, the coming order will but tend again towards fascism which is the last resort of capitalism in decay. But will it succeed? Perhaps not. The possibilities for revolution being victorious, far outweigh those of its enemies. The old state machinery has crumbled down. Military requirements having been over, crisis in the realm of production has been running rampant. Besides, there are conflicts in the capitalist camp itself. The objective conditions are thus quite mature. The other necessary condition, namely, the subjective factor is in the process of growth. The conscious urge for freedom has been displayed through the resistance movements, still a-going, organised by the peoples of the fascist-ridden countries now reconquered. The victorious Red Army and the ideals of Sovietism will enormously provide inspiration to the growth of that revolutionary leadership which will forge its own instrument, capable of building up and retaining power. Thus developing, forces of revolution may have the determining voice in

the peace conference against any array of the camp opposite.

The trend in France seems to be towards the better. De Gaulle's declaration of the French Imperial Policy soon after his accession to power and feats performed by him in the recent Syria-Lebanon crisis, extremely disappointing as these are, have evoked strong indignation of the progressive forces. The discontents on this count are likely to be reflected in the coming French General Elections, resulting in a weakening of the forces of reaction and reciprocal gaining of strength by the forces of revolution, which are in the making.

In Britain, the disorganisation in production, though not as complete as may bring about conditions mature for revolution, has gone a long way to bring the class conflicts to the fore. The war has shattered her economically. She is overburdened with debts. Capital assets have disappeared. The Empire has disintegrated to the point of liquidation. The world-market is lost to her. Moreover, there is the all-absorbing problem of post-war rehabilitation. Her ruling class is confronted with an impossible situation. Crystallisation of forces are taking place remarkably. Progressive masses who have built up some solid strength through the process of war, are challenging the exponents of *status quo*. Best expressions are expected to be found in the forthcoming general elections in Britain. The election battle being fought at present, have canalised the tendencies to a considerable degree. In spite of his tirade against socialism,

refusal to "preside over the liquidation of the Empire" and all that, Mr. Churchill along with his party will have to adjust with the dynamics of the situation out of the very same considerations which made him conduct the war vigorously. Even if the genuine democratic forces would not be able to win the elections, they would make their weight of opinion and organisation very over-whelmingly felt by the reactionary conservatives who may manage to get hold of the reins of government. Mr. Churchill's declaration on foreign, colonial and home policies, embodied in the election manifesto, strengthens the argument.

America's Role—

In post-war world, America will be the highest citadel of capitalism. Vested interest elsewhere will find in her the natural saviour in the hour of decay; also it would be the interest of American capitalism to reinforce its junior partners in other countries through the instrumentality of the Lease-Lend and such other things as may be devised. Post-war crisis will affect her undoubtedly, and consequently, forces of revolution will make some strides; but a full-stature growth, both subjective and objective, will take time. It is a foregone conclusion that America's will be the leadership to offer stiffest resistance to the world revolution to come.

Japan's defeat which is in sight will release democratic forces from hiding to make further headway. Enthusiastic support of the toiling masses who are

suffering extreme miseries will issue out to strengthen people's movements. Anglo-American allies may rush to the rescue of capitalism there, but it would not be possible for them to ignore altogether the pressure of the voice of people seething under discontent. Sense of expediency will force American Imperialism to yield some ground. In China, prospects of revolution seem to be greater. Acute strife between the internal forces of progress and reaction came to prevail long before this war to the former's advantage, and the impact of this war has led them further ahead. The Communist-Koumintang agreement attempted a few months ago is a measure. American imperialism may try to forestall the march of revolution there, but it would be very hard to arrest the tide, fed with Soviet influence, if the leadership does not commit any serious blunder. Indo-China, Thailand, Malaya and such other small countries, will also not escape the repercussions of post-war crisis. Though very little is known of them, it may be assumed that progressive forces will assert in these countries to a certain level which may not be as high as in other countries because of industrial backwardness. Native reaction reinforced from outside may come to hold sway over the peoples for some more time to come, but it is a certainty that their pegged position will no longer remain unassailable. Freedom movement will generate in these countries and gather momentum with the march of world events culminating in the triumph of revolution in many a land.

The Indian Sector—

The Indian struggle for freedom is closely linked up with the world liberation movements, because, in these days of inter-dependence, fostered by industrial civilisation which is the logic of human progress, it is hardly possible to keep in isolation. The experiences of this war made it realise more clearly than ever. Production relations know no territorial bounds; any change anywhere casts its reflections everywhere, affecting materially. Fate of revolution elsewhere, will decide the fate of Indian revolution. Isolated national freedom is a senseless talk. In order to be scientific, the Indian situation has to be judged, of necessity, in the perspective of international situation. In the foregoing paragraphs the international situation with special reference to Europe has been discussed at some length. This global war by virtue of its being an international civil war, did not, nor could it, leave any country—belligerent or not, unaffected. Upon the participant countries came the hardest hit. Though India escaped the lot of an actual operational theatre and of being under fascist military occupation that befell other countries, by her involvement in the war, Indian people have had to suffer all other attendant acute miseries with other peoples side by side. Maximum pressure was brought to bear upon her man-power and material resources. As in every such other country, her entire normal production also was diverted to war production, and it worked to capacity.

Exploits Of Exploiters

The post-war crisis, therefore, is bound to be hers as much, and the problems—political and economic, will be alike as compared to those of other peoples. Like every other country, India is divided into two camps, of reaction and progress, of vested-interest and democracy. Backing of organisation and resources have made Indian capitalism, which thrived immensely through supply of war materials and other facilities of the abnormal market conditions, more powerful to-day than at any time. Apprehensive of the dangers of overthrow to be caused by exhaustion of its possibilities of development, European lesson being the guide, vis-a-vis the progressive growth of democratic forces, vested interest en-bloc has gone on the offensive with a view to tightening its grip on the economic and political organisation of the country. Their double-edged efforts are going on full-scale simultaneously. This they are doing misleading the people to believe that they are the real friends of the people, whose worst enemies in the real sense they are. Their very class-character makes it imperative upon them to solidify the camp of native reaction in league with foreign vested interests, British and American in particular. Big Business created artificial famine to satisfy their greed for unlimited profit. Taking advantage of the corrupt administrative machinery which is a device not to serve peoples' interests, but to maintain the regime of exploitation and oppression, and therefore unsuitable to cope effectively with an

all-pervading crisis of the magnitude that overtook the people and is yet running rampant, they fattened themselves thousand times more by hoarding and black-marketing. The last food famine which robbed millions of human lives, left into utter destitution the survivors, and the present cloth muddle have thoroughly exposed them in their true reactionary anti-social colours. They distributed in the name of relief, morsels of food and few pieces of cloth, drops of medicines etc. when people were reduced to a helpless army of beggars, with the obvious purpose of getting, enthroned to power. The Indian industrial magnates' post-war economic plan, called the Bombay Plan, couched with platitudinous terms and pious wishes, is a living example of the conspiracy to deprive people of the fruits of their hard-earned victory in this war. The Agarwalla plan, also called the Gandhian Plan, seeks the same end essentially. For the materialisation of the plans, the Indian capitalists have gone on to the bargaining counter with their Anglo-American blood-brothers. Sir Ardeshir Dalal, one of the authors of the Bombay Plan, has managed to be included in the Viceroy's Executive Council as member-in-charge of the Post-war Reconstruction Department. Industrial missions, composed of Hindus and Muslims, are now, for the 2nd time in course of the last few months, abroad in Britain and America to settle accounts. The Indian bourgeoisie for the attainment of the objective, namely retention of ownership of the means of production and monopoly-control of the home-market should then be as much determined

to win political power, i.e., the state machinery, for themselves immediately. The movement for Indian democratic freedom which has developed considerably is being made use of. The Congress-leadership which is but the leadership of the native bourgeoisie in another name is at their disposal. The Indian National Congress, by its refusal to participate in the war against fascism, laid the country bare to be overrun by the Jap-fascist hordes in their triumphal march, betrayed the masses at the hour of grave peril, thoroughly exposed its real class-character, identified itself with forces of reaction, forfeited its right to represent Indian democracy, and thus completely ceased to be the revolutionary organisation of the people. The Congress demand for Self-determination concretised in the demand for National Government, which is a reactionary slogan, is a misnomer. The Indian Capitalist class are obstinate advocates of this National Government to the extent of making it the condition-precedent for working out the Bombay Plan. The idea of introducing trusteeship of the land-lords and mill-owners over the tillers and labourers sponsored by Gandhiji is another scheme to vouchsafe security of interest to the exploiters. That means strengthening counter-revolution. Some other peculiar conditions obtaining in the country are favouring vested interest. The swing of what is called public-opinion, expression of ultra-nationalistic sentiments born of anti-British and Congress-can-do-no-wrong feelings, support the case for National Government without understanding the dangerous implications; the entire vociferous

nationalist press, owned and managed by the vested interest, has been carrying on a regular warfare for National Govt. with unabated fury.

“Left”—From Revolution To Counter Revolution.

The deplorable division persisting in the ranks of progressive forces has been permitting the situation drift to the worst. The uncompromising controversies existing between and amongst the various sections have rendered Indian democratic forces organisationally too weak, won for the camp of reaction a very big section of them who are championing the cause of the bourgeoisie as embodied in the demand for National Government with no less fervour and zeal than the bourgeoisie themselves, and driven at the same time yet another section to work for the same ideals essentially, but with a different slogan equally deceptive. According to the political stand of these sections, each in its turn claiming to represent Indian Democracy, it follows by implication, that, if the native bourgeoisie run the Govt. of India in place of the British authorities, the National Government so formed would be as good as the People's Government, which are but opposites to one another. The respective leaderships, who tutor their inadequately conscious rank and file to believe in everything what they characterise as “revolutionary programme” as gospel truth, are to be held mainly responsible for this dangerous departure from the road of revolution to the camp of counter-revolution. If any Govt. irrespective of class composition can be

trumpeted as people's Govt., then they should not find any fault with the totalitarian regimes of Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo, Koiso, Franco, Petain etc., who used the peoples to serve counter-revolutionary designs like goods and chattles, and did everything possible to rape the masses of the countries concerned.

Power Through Gift—Power To Exploit—

The changed world situation cum their own commitments made mainly out of the necessity to guard against loss of hold on Indian market will force the British authorities to transfer power to Indian hands. Transference of political power means making over of the authority of control of the state apparatus, which was improvised to carry on exploitation and oppression and which can serve no other purpose except that of exploitation and oppression, to some other hands. However honest intentions and pious wishes there may be, the recipients of this authority can use this instrument, which cannot fail to be corrupt, for furtherance of capitalist interests alone to the negation of the toiling people's. To the masses then it is a change of masters pure and simple. The Indian bourgeoisie and their henchmen who are better organised in every sense with support of the renegade leadership backed by misguided petty bourgeois patriotism, will then be the only party to be recipients of the power that is going to be transferred, and the British ruling class consistent with their class interest out of half-the-loaf is-better-than-no-bread policy can agree to abdicate power in favour of this section alone, specially when American capitalism, whose supremacy is unassailable,

seems to be nurturing its adolescent Indian brother with lure of supplying production goods at the cheapest competitive rate. The Congress rejection of the Cripps Proposals with an answer by August 1942 resolution was nothing other than a pressure to exact better terms from the Britishers. Here now is the Wavell-Offer before them. Many believe it, not without reason, to be cardinally based on the Dessai-Liaquat formula. A bargain may, of course, ensue to last for a certain period for forcing more concessions with a view to stabilising the vested interest beyond challenge, on the one hand, and perhaps, owing to prevalence of the advisability of not unmasking themselves so early when they are yet posing as fighters for "people's freedom" on the other. But, today or to-morrow they will accept it, if modified, better or as such. Behaving otherwise, they are not so fool as to suffer under disadvantages similar to those which befell them after rejection of the Cripps Offer, after resignation from ministerial office, due to wrong calculations, of course. If by any freak of circumstances a Congress-League agreement does not become an actuality, at most they may be deprived of a National Government at the centre, but nothing will prevent them from fighting the elections of provincial legislatures. They may also rest assured of victory if revolutionary consciousness of the anti-fascist forces do not outgrow the present stalemate conditions.

To People's Power—The Process—

People's freedom can never come as a gift from any quarter however genuinely sympathetic it may

be. Even Soviet Russia, the highest citadel of revolution, cannot bestow it upon any people. It can only add inspiration to the movements of liberation. In order that it should be attained, it has to be built up by the people themselves. The transfer of power which is going to take place cannot therefore be treated as power to the people; it will bring the Indian bourgeoisie the freedom to exploit. So the toiling masses cannot, nay must not, entertain any illusion of the National Government which will seek to enchain them in perpetual bondage. Achievement of democratic freedom being the immediate objective of Indian masses, it becomes incumbent upon them to forge their own organ of power country-wide so as to serve their needs and wishes, immediate and remote, and thus render the National Govt. ineffective and superfluous if it comes into being at all in spite of us. Democratic Panchayets being the only such instruments, all genuine freedom loving people, be they antifascist individuals or organisations, should make it their imperative duty to initiate, on the basis of people's immediate grievances, a gigantic movement to be called the Panchayct Movement, which, while arousing revolutionary consciousness in mass mind, will find concrete expression in the emergence of Panchayct Units in every village and town. These Panchayets evolving through conscious mass participation will constitute units of the future Indian government, government of the people and for the people. The war has opened up vast possibilities for the progressive forces to measure up to the mark both organisationally

and otherwise. Dislocation in production will be attended by huge unemployment and extreme discontent against the existing order, which, unable to cope with the crisis, will prove its utter worthlessness creating conditions for the rise of a new State, the State of the people. The maturing revolutionary conditions abroad cum the ideals of Socialism will enthuse people to action and thus help the growth of the subjective factor which is wanting. Hence,

Conscious Vanguard to Action,

INQILAB ZINDABAD

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