

インド・パキスタン分離独立の  
史的研究  
資料集

昭和50年度科学研究費補助金総合研究(A)

— 中間報告 —

中村平治編

東京外国語大学  
アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所

インド・パキスタン分離独立の  
史的研究  
資料集

昭和50年度科学研究費補助金総合研究(A)  
— 中間報告 —

中村平治編

東京外国語大学  
アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所



## まえがき

この資料集は、昭和50年度の東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所の共同研究プロジェクトと、同じく、昭和50年度科学研究費補助金（総合研究A）『インド・パキスタン分離独立の史的的研究』に基づき研究成果の中間報告である。

印パ分離独立（1947年）は印パ双方のその後の歴史発展に対して重要な意義と内容を与えている。しかるに、従来、わが国の学界では、この研究課題に十分な関心が払われてきたとは云い難く、多くの究明されるべき問題が残されたままである。

ここでは初歩的、かつ基礎的な作業として、第二次大戦期から、印パ分離独立を挟んで、ほぼ1950年までの重要だと思われる決議、法令、演説、声明などを時系列的に集約してみた。こうした形で整理してみれば、この資料集も、それなりに有用であると考えられる。

この作製にあたっては、参加メンバーの全員、すなわち伊藤正二（アジア経済研究所）、加賀谷 寛（大阪外大）、桑島 昭（同）、古賀正則（大阪市大経済研究所）、近藤 治（追手門学院大）、田中敏雄（東京外大）、内藤雅雄（東京外大アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所）、浜口恒夫（大阪外大）、森 利一（琉球大）、山崎利男（東大東洋文化研究所）の諸氏と、研究協力者の河内研一（東京外大AA研研究生）、佐藤 宏（アジア経済研究所）、吉田光義（一橋大院生）の諸氏の全面的な協力を得た。

なお、この資料集の具体的な準備作業は河内、吉田、内藤の三氏と私によって進められた。

関係当局、ならびに関係各位の本研究プロジェクトに対する御理解と御協力に対して、プロジェクトと資料集刊行の責任者として、私は心からの感謝の意を表明しておきたい。

昭和51年3月

東京外国語大学  
アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所  
中村平治





## CONTENTS

	Page
1. Pakistan Resolution (Mar. 23, 1940) . . . . .	1
2. Cripps Proposals (March, 1942) . . . . .	3
3. Quit India Resolution (Aug. 8, 1942) . . . . .	5
4. On Pakistan & National Unity (Sep. 19, 1942) . . . . .	9
5. Wavell Plan (Jun. 14, 1945) . . . . .	11
6. CPI Election Manifesto (1945) . . . . .	14
7. Congress Election Manifesto (Dec. 11, 1945) . . . . .	29
8. Resolution of the Muslim Members (Apr. 8–9, 1946) . . . . .	36
9. Cabinet Mission on Indian Princes (May 12, 1946) . . . . .	39
10. Cabinet Mission's Statement (May 16, 1946) . . . . .	41
11. Mountbatten Plan (Jun. 3, 1947) . . . . .	50
12. Mountbatten's Broadcast (Jun. 3, 1947) . . . . .	55
13. J. Nehru's Broadcast (Jun. 3, 1947) . . . . .	58
14. M. A. Jinnah's Broadcast (Jun. 3, 1947) . . . . .	61
15. Mountbatten Award and After (June, 1947) . . . . .	63
16. The Indian Independence Act (Jul. 4, 1947) . . . . .	76
17. S. V. Patel's Assurance to Indian Princes (Jul. 5, 1947) . . . . .	91
18. Form of Standstill Agreement (Jul. 25, 1947) . . . . .	93
19. Form of Instrument of Accession (Jul. 25, 1947) . . . . .	95
20. Jinnah's Address (Aug. 11, 1947) . . . . .	98
21. Commission of M. A. Jinnah (Aug. 14, 1947) . . . . .	102
22. Jinnah's Address (Aug. 14, 1947) . . . . .	104
23. Resolution on Congress Objectives (Nov. 16, 1947) . . . . .	105
24. The light has gone out (Jan. 30, 1948) . . . . .	107
25. General Thesis of CPI (Feb. 28 – Mar. 6, 1948) . . . . .	110

26.	Statement of Policy of CPI (March, 1948) . . . . .	145
27.	Report on Pakistan (March, 1948) . . . . .	147
28.	Industrial Policy (Apr. 6, 1948) . . . . .	149
29.	B. R. Ambedkar's Speech (Nov. 4, 1948) . . . . .	155
30.	Kumarappa Committee Report (Jul. 9, 1949) . . . . .	175
31.	Patel's Speech on Indian States (Oct. 12, 1949) . . . . .	182
32.	R. Prasad's Speech (Nov. 26, 1949) . . . . .	193
33.	Patel and Nehru on China (Nov. 7, 1950) . . . . .	208
34.	The Preventive Detention Act (Feb. 25, 1950) . . . . .	221
35.	Statement of Policy of CPI (November, 1951) . . . . .	229

109. Resolution adopted by the All-India Muslim League at Lahore in its twenty-seventh annual session on 23rd March, 1940, commonly known as the 'Pakistan Resolution'.

While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions dated the 27th of August, 17th and 18th of September and 22nd of October, 1939, and 3rd of February, 1940, on the the constitutional issue, this session of the All-India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to, and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

If further records its emphatic view that while the declaration dated the 18th of October, 1939, made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1939, is based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered 'de novo' and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-western and eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs, and such other matters as may be necessary.

Proposed by—The Hon'ble Moulvi A. K. Fazlul Haque,  
Premier of Bengal.

Seconded by—Choudhari Khaliqzaman Saheb,  
M.L.A. (U.P.)

Supported by—Maulana Zafar Ali Khan Saheb, M.L.A.  
(Central)

” Sardar Aurangzeb Khan Saheb, M.L.A.  
(N.W.F. Province)

” Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, M.L.A.  
(Central).

” K. B. Nawab Ismail Khan Saheb, M.L.C.  
(Bihar).

Supported by—Qazi Mohammad Isa Khan Saheb,  
President of Baluchistan Provincial  
Muslim League.

” Abdul Hameed Khan, Saheb.. M. L. A.  
(Madras).

” I. I. Chundrigar Saheb, M. L. A.  
(Bombay).

” Syed Abdur Rauf Shah Saheb, M.L.A.  
(C.P.)

” Dr. Mohammed Alum, M.L.A. (Punjab)

” Syed Zakir Ali Saheb, (U.P.)

” Begum Sahiba Maulana Mohammad Ali  
Maulana Abdul Hamid Saheb Qadri,  
(U.P.)

## The Cripps Proposals\*

The terms of the proposals made by Sir Stafford Cripps in March 1942 were as follows :

- (a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, steps shall be taken to set up in India, in the manner described hereafter, an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.
- (b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of the Indian States in the Constitution-making body.
- (c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to :
  - (1) The right of any Province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new Constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides. With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union, and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that herein here laid down.
  - (2) The signing of a treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands; it will make provision, in accordance with the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities; but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in the future its relationship to the other member States of the British Commonwealth.
  - (3) Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution, it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its treaty arrangements, so far as this may be required in the new situation.
- (d) The Constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities :

Immediately upon the result being known of the provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of Provincial Legislatures shall, as a single electoral college, proceed to the election of the Constitution-making body by the system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one-tenth of the number of the electoral college.

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of the representatives of British India as a whole, and with the same powers as the British Indian members.

- (e) During the critical period which now faces India until the new Constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral, material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the people of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India.

## ‘Quit India’ Resolution of 8th August, 1942\*

Resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, Bombay,  
8th August, 1942.

The All-India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated 14th July, 1942 and to subsequent events, including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The committee approves of and endorses that resolution and is of the opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom:

The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to the Russian and Chinese people its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathize with the victims of aggression to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and colonial countries and the continuation of the imperialist tradition and method. The possession of empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become a burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern imperialism, has become the crux of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the peoples of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm:

The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depend the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assure this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of



British Imperialism and the taint of that imperialism will affect the fortunes of all the United Nations.

The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the War.

The All-India Congress Committee, therefore, repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British Power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a provisional Government will be formed and free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The provisional Government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite Government representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary function must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with its allied Powers, and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially all power and authority must belong. The Provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly which will prepare a Constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all the sections of the people. This Constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units. The future relations between India and the Allied Nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage for their co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

The freedom of India must be a symbol of and prelude to the freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any colonial power.

While the All-India Congress Committee must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a world federation would ensure freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggres-

sion and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries; national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a World Federal Defence Force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other nations in the solution of international problems.

Such a federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

The Committee regretfully realizes, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the Governments of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards world federation. The reaction of the British Government and the misguided criticism of the foreign Press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has been made essentially to meet the present peril and to enable India to defend herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China and Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardize the defence capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and inaction and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but is no answer to the growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response, and the criticisms made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

The All-India Congress Committee would yet again, at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian Government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity.

The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilize all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last twenty-two years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji, and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committees can function. When this happens, every man and woman who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to independence and deliverance of India.

Lastly, while the All-India Congress Committee has stated its own view of the future governance under free India, the All-India Congress Committee wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on a mass struggle it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole of India.

## ON PAKISTAN & NATIONAL UNITY

*(Resolution passed by the Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India on the 19th September 1942, and confirmed by the First Congress of the Communist Party of India in May, 1943.)*

All-in national unity based on communal harmony and Congress-League joint front is today an urgent and pressing necessity to solve the present national crisis, to win National Government from the hands of the British imperialist bureaucracy and to defend our Motherland against the fascist aggressor. This has brought the controversy of Pakistan versus the unity of India sharply to the forefront. The Communist Party, therefore, lays down the main principles of the Communist policy on this issue.

1. The Communist Party draws together the toilers of all castes, communities and nationalities in common class-organisations (Trade Unions, Kisan Sabhas, etc.). It unites them politically as the vanguard of the United national front for achieving the freedom of our country and democracy. This is the cornerstone of the policy of achieving communal unity.

2. To build the united national front of the peoples of the various communities and nationalities that inhabit India, for the defence and freedom of our country, it is however necessary to dispel the mutual distrust and suspicion that exists among them. This is a remnant of memories of past historical oppression and of present social inequalities arising out of the feudal imperialist exploitation. For this purpose, the basic rights of the communities and nationalities must be made an essential part of the programme of the united national front.

3. The programme of the U.N.F. must declare that in Free India, there will be perfect equality between nationalities and communities that live together in India. There will be no oppression of one nationality by another. There will be no inequalities or disabilities based on caste or community. To ensure this the national movement must recognise the following rights as part of its programme for national unity.

(a) Every section of the Indian people which has a contiguous territory as its homeland, common historical tradition, common language, culture, psychological make-up and common economic life would be recognised as a distinct nationality with the right to exist as an autonomous state within the free Indian union or federation and will have the right to secede from it if it may so desire. This means that the territories which are homelands of such nationalities and which today are split up by the artificial boundaries of the present British provinces and of the so-called "Indian States" would be re-united and restored to them in free India. Thus free India of tomorrow would be a federation or union of autonomous states of the various nationalities such as the Pathans, Western Punjabis (dominantly Muslims), Sikhs, Sindhis, Hindustanis, Rajasthanis, Gujeratis, Bengalis, Assamese, Beharis, Oriyas, Andhras, Tamils, Karnatakis, Maharashtrians, Keralas, etc.

(b) If there are interspersed minorities in the new states thus formed their rights regarding their culture, language, education, etc., would be guaranteed by Statute and their infringement would be punishable by law.

(c) All disabilities, privileges and discriminations based on caste, race or community (such as untouchability and allied wrongs) would be abolished by Statute and their infringement would be punishable by law.

4. Such a declaration of rights inasmuch as it concedes to every nationality as defined above, and therefore, to nationalities having Muslim faith, the right of autonomous state existence and of secession, can form the basis for unity between the National Congress and the League. For this would give to the Muslims wherever they are in an overwhelming majority in a contiguous territory which is their homeland, the right to form their autonomous states and even to separate if they so desire. In the case of the Bengali Muslims of the Eastern and Northern Districts of Bengal where they form an overwhelming majority, they may form themselves into an autonomous region—the state of Bengal or may form a separate state. Such a declaration therefore concedes the just essence of the Pakistan demand and has nothing in common with the separatist theory of dividing India into two nations on the basis of religion.

5. But the recognition of the right of separation in this form need not necessarily lead to actual separation. On the other hand, by dispelling the mutual suspicions, it brings about unity of action today and lays the basis for a greater unity in the free India of tomorrow. National unity forged on the basis of such a declaration and strengthened in the course of joint struggle in the defence of our motherland is bound to convince the peoples of all Indian nationalities of the urgent need to stick together and to form a free Indian Union or Federation in which each National State would be a free and equal member with right to secede. They will thus see this as the only path of protecting the freedom and democracy achieved and building, on that secure basis a greater and grander unity of India than our country has ever seen.

In spite of the apparent conflict and seemingly insurmountable difficulties, the burning desire for unity is taking firmer hold of the people who today follow the Congress or the League. Under the stress of the growing menace of fascist invasion and of the present national crisis, the leadership of the two organisations also have moved closer together and in the direction of the very solution given in this resolution. There is no room whatsoever for defeatism on the question of unity. The Communist Party calls upon all patriots to join hands with it in popularising the principles laid down herein and thus speed up the realisation of Congress-League Unity, which is today the only path of national salvation for our Motherland in the hour of her gravest peril.

BROADCAST SPEECH OF  
THE VICEROY, LORD WAVELL,  
14 JUNE 1945

I have been authorised by His Majesty's Government to place before Indian political leaders proposals designed to ease the present political situation and to advance India towards her goal of full self-government. These proposals are at the present moment being explained to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India. My intention in this broadcast is to explain to you the proposals, the ideas underlying them, and the method by which I hope to put them into effect.

This is not an attempt to obtain or impose a constitutional settlement. His Majesty's Government had hoped that the leaders of the Indian parties would agree amongst themselves on a settlement of the communal issue, which is the main stumbling-block; but this hope has not been fulfilled.

In the meantime, India has great opportunities to be taken and great problems to be solved, which require a common effort by the leading men of all parties. I therefore propose, with the full support of His Majesty's Government, to invite Indian leaders both of central and provincial politics to take counsel with me with a view to the formation of a new Executive Council more representative of organised political opinion. The proposed new Council would represent the main communities and would include equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Moslems. It would work, if formed, under the existing constitution. But it would be an entirely Indian Council, except for the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, who would retain his position as War Member. It is also proposed that the portfolio of External Affairs, which has hitherto been held by the Viceroy, should be placed in charge of an Indian Member of Council, so far as the interests of British India are concerned.

A further step proposed by His Majesty's Government is the appointment of a British High Commissioner in India, as in the Dominions, to represent Great Britain's commercial and other such interests in India.

Such a new Executive Council will, you realise, represent a definite advance on the road to self-government. It will be almost entirely Indian, and the Finance and Home Members will for the first time be Indians, while an Indian will also be charged with the management of India's Foreign Affairs. Moreover Members will now be selected by the Governor-General after consultation with political leaders; though their appointment will of course be subject to the approval of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

The Council will work within the framework of the present constitution; and there can be no question of the Governor-General agreeing not to exercise his constitutional power of control; but it will of course not be exercised unreasonably.

I should make it clear that the formation of this interim Government will in no way prejudice the final constitutional settlement.

The main tasks for this new Executive Council would be :

First, to prosecute the war against Japan with the utmost energy till Japan is utterly defeated.

Secondly, to carry on the Government of British India, with all the manifold tasks of post-war development in front of it, until a new permanent constitution can be agreed upon and come into force.

Thirdly, to consider, when the Members of the Government think it possible, the means by which such agreement can be achieved. The third task is most important. I want to make it quite clear that neither I nor His Majesty's Government have lost sight of the need for a long-term solution, and that the present proposals are intended to make a long-term solution easier.

I have considered the best means of forming such a Council ; and have decided to invite the following to Viceregal Lodge to advise me :

Those now holding office as Premier in a provincial Government ; or, for Provinces now under Section 93 Government, those who last held the office of Premier.

The Leader of the Congress Party and the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League in the Central Assembly ; the leader of the Congress Party and the Muslim League in the Council of State ; also the leaders of the Nationalist Party and the European Group in the Assembly.

Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah as the recognised leaders of the two main political parties.

Rao Bahadur N. Siva Raj to represent the Scheduled Classes.

Master Tara Singh to represent the Sikhs.

Invitations to these gentlemen are being handed to them today and it is proposed to assemble the Conference on 25 June at Simla, where we shall be cooler than at Delhi.

I trust that all those invited will attend the Conference and give me their help. On me and on them will lie a heavy responsibility in this fresh attempt to make progress towards a final settlement of India's future.

If the meeting is successful, I hope that we shall be able to agree on the formation of the new Executive Council at the

Centre. I also hope that it will be possible for Ministries to re-assume office and again undertake the tasks of government in the provinces now administered under Section 93 of the Constitution Act and that these Ministries will be coalitions.

If the meeting should unfortunately fail, we must carry on as at present until the parties are ready to come together. The existing Executive Council, which has done such valuable work for India, will continue it if other arrangements cannot be agreed.

But I have every hope that the meeting will succeed, if the party leaders will approach the problem with the sincere intention of working with me and with each other. I can assure them that there is behind this proposal a most genuine desire on the part of all responsible leaders in the United Kingdom and of the British people as a whole to help India towards her goal. I believe that this is more than a step towards that goal, it is a considerable stride forward, and a stride on the right path.



I should make it clear that these proposals affect British India only and do not make any alteration in the relations of the Princes with the Crown Representative.

With the approval of His Majesty's Government, and after consultation with my Council, orders have been given for the immediate release of the members of the Working Committee of Congress who are still in detention. I propose to leave the final decision about the others still under detention as the result of the 1942 disturbances to the new central Government, if formed, and to the provincial Governments.

The appropriate time for fresh elections for the central and provincial legislatures will be discussed at the Conference.

Finally, I would ask you all to help in creating the atmosphere of goodwill and mutual confidence that is essential if we are to make progress. The destiny of this great country and of the many millions who live in it depends on the wisdom and good understanding of the leaders, both of action and of thought, British and Indian, at this critical moment of India's history.

India's military reputation never stood higher in the world than it does at present, thanks to the exploits of her sons drawn from all parts of the country. Her representatives at international conferences have won high regard for their statesmanlike attitude. Sympathy for India's aspirations and progress towards prosperity was never greater or more widespread. We have thus great assets if we can use them wisely. But it will not be easy, it will not be quick; there is very much to do, there are many pitfalls and dangers. There is on all sides something to forgive and forget.

I believe in the future of India, and, as far as in me lies, will further her greatness. I ask you all for your co-operation and goodwill.



## ELECTION MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

The Communist Party seeks your hearty co-operation and active support for its programme of:

1) *Immediate freedom from British Imperialist domination.*

2) *A united struggle of all freedom-loving Indians bound together in a joint front of all popular patriotic organisations.*

3) *People's welfare based on the real equality and sovereign freedom of all our peoples.*

### I. INDIAN MUST NOT FIGHT INDIAN

The Communist Party is the only party that does not malign or raise its arm against other patriotic organisations. It patiently works for brotherly understanding with and between India's main political organisations, the great National Congress and the influential Muslim League, despite the present serious differences, despite the heat of the electoral battle.

The main endeavour of the Communist Party is to help to liquidate differences among freedom-loving Indians and build a United Freedom Front to begin the final battle of Indian freedom, fulfil the mission of our countless martyrs, realise the dream of our elders, for our youth to fight like warriors and our children to grow to manhood and womanhood in free and prosperous homelands of glory, greatness and true happiness.

#### *'Divide and Rule'—Always British Game*

The Communist Party concentrates all its fire against the Imperialist rulers of our common motherland and considers it a crime to waste one word or lose one comrade in internal factional warfare.

*The only call of our Party is: Indian must not fight Indian but all Indians together must fight the British enslavers!*

The Communist Party reminds all Indians that through the policy of *divide and rule* the British conquered our ancient native lands, through *divide and rule* they have ruled over us all for 200 years and through *divide and rule* again, they plan to stay longer.

The Communist Party seeks to rouse all against the new Imperialist plan of dividing up India and keeping it jointly and severally under their own control.

Against the rising hatred of the growing mass of the

Indian peoples, against the awakening conscience of the freedom-loving peoples of the world, the British Imperialists have come to realise that they can no longer keep India enslaved or Indians divided in the same old way.

### *New Diabolical Plan of Slavery*

Their sovereignty over India, their old order within India, are doomed. Before all Indians rise like one man to make them 'quit our country and refashion with our own hands the social order they have imposed over our peoples, our rulers are planning to change their old regime in their own way and to suit their own interests.

Their plan is to divide India into a Hindu-majority Dominion and a Muslim-majority Dominion, whose constitutions are drafted separately in co-operation with the British Government; simultaneously they plan to keep Princely India in independent treaty relations with the British Crown.

They thus hope to canalise and split the great popular awakening represented by the movements led by the Congress and the League and keep their own hold intact, indirectly through their traditional stooges—the Princes.

*It is a cunning plan for the permanent dismemberment and a new form of enslavement of our motherland.*

The basic principles of their plan and the broad outlines of their strategy are contained in the Cripps' Proposals (1942), the Wavell Offer (1945) and the subsequent announcements of the British Labour Government which only paraphrase the earlier Tory declaration.

Their tactical line is based upon the blind belief that Indians can never agree among themselves and that our two major political organisations, the Congress and the League, will never come together. It is this belief that gives them confidence that the initiative to frame the new constitution for India will necessarily pass into their own hands.

The first step has already been taken by the ordering of the coming elections as they wanted, viz:

(i) On the present franchise which denies the vote to 70 per cent of our adult population;

(ii) On the basis of the existing provinces with the artificial boundaries created by themselves.

The next step, already declared, will be to call upon the new legislatures to elect delegates to a constitution-making body of their own choice. They know that the vast majority of the delegates will be from the Congress and the League.

Relying upon the inability of the leaderships of the Congress and the League to come to any agreed settlement, they hope to stage a longer and bigger Simla show, parade Indian differences to the whole world, and finally take upon themselves the responsibility to give the final award.

The full blue-print of this diabolical award is contained in the book, "The Constitutional Problem of India"

by Prof. Reginald Coupland who is considered to be their greatest expert on colonial constitutions and is the respected adviser of the India Office and came to India as the Secretary of Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942.

Such are their manoeuvres, calculations and plans to damn Indian patriotism as bankrupt throughout the world and win for themselves the moral right and opportunity to impose a British-made constitution and create one or more puppet states in India.

*It will bring new slavery under British domination and not Indian freedom—this is the aim of the British Imperialists to-day.*

#### *Not Salvation But Shame*

Against the Imperialist plan of new slavery and permanent partition of our country, the Communist Party pits its entire strength.

The Imperialist plan will succeed if the leaderships of the Congress and the League continue to cling to the illusion that the British Government will settle with them over the heads of the other.

The British Imperialists will settle with none, only use one against the other and impose their own solution, denying real self-determination to all. It is in this way that they hope to escape having to quit India and instead to continue as India's real rulers—behind a new cover and in new robes.

It will be the shame of all Indians, salvation for none; it will result in the realisation of the fundamental aim of neither the Congress nor the League but only in the victory of the British Imperialists.

#### *Checkmating Imperialist Plan*

The Communist Party offers just principles as the basis for a United Indian Plan against the British Imperialist Plan.

The appeal of the Communist Party is to the undying urge for freedom of all Indians; the immediate aim of the Communist Party is the achievement of the freedom of India.

The Communist Party puts forward two strategic slogans to foil the Imperialist plan, based on true freedom-principles, which should be acceptable to every freedom-loving Indian.

Firstly, turn your back on the British rulers. Stretch out your hand towards your Indian brother.

*No freedom-loving party should seek unilateral settlement with the British Government, for this will lead either to the humiliation of the leaders of that party or to the surrender of its aims.*

Secondly, for the successful assertion of the Indian right of self-determination against Britain, make a simultaneous and unequivocal declaration that you will apply

the very same principle among Indians themselves.

It is in this way that the Communist Party seeks to make the aim of freedom of India mean the freedom of all Indian peoples and thus eliminate the fear of domination among the minority peoples and the suspicion of treachery among the majority peoples.

Fear of Hindu domination can keep back the Muslim brothers from joining the battle of Indian freedom and suspicion of Muslim disloyalty to the cause of Indian freedom can keep the Hindu brothers away from unity with the Muslims; and this will continue as long as the freedom of one does not mean the freedom of all, to the common satisfaction of each.

## II. THE INDIAN FREEDOM PLAN

The Communist Party translates the above principles of freedom into the following concrete proposals, for which it seeks universal support.

1) Immediate declaration of Indian independence by the British Government.

Transfer of power to a real All-India Constituent Assembly which will draft the terms of the Quit India Treaty and ask the British Government to accept the treaty or to face the united struggle of all the Indian peoples.

2) The delegates of the All-India Constituent Assembly shall be elected by 17 sovereign National Constituent Assemblies based on the natural homelands of various Indian peoples, viz., Baluchistan, Pathanland, Sind, Western Punjab, Central Punjab, Hindustan, Rajasthan, Gujerat, Maharashtra, Karnatak, Andhra, Kerala, Tamilnad, Orissa, Bengal, Assam and Bihar, and carved out of the existing artificially-made British provinces.

These seventeen National Constituent Assemblies shall be elected by universal adult franchise.

3) The right of full self-determination shall also extend to the peoples of Indian States not only as their inalienable right, but as an essential part of the plan of real Indian freedom for the final liquidation of British rule and its Princely agents.

Exercise of this right will enable the people of every State to decide their destiny and to rejoin their own brother people of British India in their own free homelands.

The delegates of the All-India Constituent Assembly shall have no more authority than that of plenipotentiaries.

*Full and real sovereignty shall reside in the National Constituent Assemblies which will enjoy the unfettered right to negotiate, formulate and finally to decide their mutual relations within an Independent India, on the basis of complete equality.*

Theirs shall be the final responsibility to raise and construct the constitutional structure of a Free India through their own free will, in the atmosphere of their own creation and as they desire to realise their own and

the common interest best.

The Communist Party guarantees to the Sikh people that in regard to the territory in which their own historic homelands lie, they would be able to exercise their right of self-determination together with the rest of the population of that territory.

The Communist Party stands for a United and Free Bengal in a free India. Bengal as the common homeland of the Bengali Muslims and Hindus should be free to exercise its right of self-determination through a Sovereign Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise and to define its relation with the rest of India.

### *People Will Decide*

In the way out that our Party suggests all solutions are possible of fulfilment.

The League is free to plead for and get a separate sovereign Federation of Muslim-majority areas living in friendly alliance with a sovereign Federation of Hindu-majority areas, but not inside a common Indian Union.

The Congress is free to plead for and to get a Federal Indian Union based on autonomous but not sovereign units.

Our party is free to plead for and get support for a voluntary Union of sovereign national States, on the basis of complete democracy within each and the utmost help to each other, the more advanced helping the less advanced through a common Federal Centre.

The only condition for acceptance is that the people must support the solution that each party puts forward. And when Indian parties, based on solid support among the peoples, differ, the only way out consists of serious negotiations among them, with the will and determination to come to a lasting agreement among ourselves and start the final battle of our common liberation against our common enslaver.

### *Dangerous Illusions*

The Communist Party warns one and all that instead of the above just way out the leaderships of our two great parties are denying the claims of each other, slandering each other and nursing the illusion that it is easier to settle with the British Government than with each other.

Each of our two great parties hopes that the British Government will listen to it because of its own strength; each lacks faith in its own brother and each does not see its own lack of reason; and in this way both parties not only play into the hands of the British but also fail to realise their own aims.

This will happen again in the constitution-making body just as it happened at Simla and has been happening *always*, every time the problem of an Indian Constitution has been discussed for the last twenty-five years, viz:

Indian leaders cannot solve Indian differences and the initiative passes to the British rulers to give an award.

They give the award that suits them best and an award that keeps us at each other's throats, more than ever before.

The Communist Party by its concrete proposals is not only suggesting a practical way out of a difficult situation, created by the rival claims of the Congress and the League, it is also simultaneously putting forward a *basic* and *final* solution based on the principles of democracy, which are also true to our Indian tradition.

### *Restore Sovereignty*

The Communist Party says:

*Restore sovereignty to the people as the people were in their own natural ancestral homelands, before the British conquerors disrupted and divided us.*

The people are neither an idea nor a collection of individuals. They live in their homelands where their language has grown, where they seek to make and change their lives for the better, develop their own culture, live their own life and carve their own destiny.

The Communist Party with its slogan of free homelands within a free India offers the most natural solution whose implementation will lead to the free development of all our peoples in the way they themselves desire.

The Communist Party's solution does this because it restores to the peoples what belonged and must belong to them—their right to sovereignty in their own homelands.

The conscious aim of our Party is to build Indian democracy and freedom out of our own soil, from within our national homelands and through the hands of the very people that inhabit them. This way alone in brotherly co-operation can we all raise and build up India as a great family of free nations.

No aim can be nobler or greater. It is a battle to win back the lost heritage of our ancestors and to enrich and pass on the great heritage to our descendants.

### *Bare Justice—Vital Need*

No solution can be more just because it is based on the Indian people as they are. The judgment lies in the hands of every single adult who will decide the future of his own homeland and the place of his homeland within a free India.

The Communist Party's solution is based on undiluted justice and the most scientific principle of self-determination. Our solution is inspired by an undying faith in Indian brotherhood, with the single aim to make the freedom of India the freedom of all Indian peoples.

The Communist Party hopes that every Indian will see that this is the only way of being just to one another and thus the only way of building a united front of all freedom-loving Indians for the final battle against the British enslavers and for Indian freedom.

The Communist Party places before every Indian the image of free homelands within a free India.

The Communist Party appeals to every Indian heart that stirs at the call for justice among ourselves and at the call for battle against the British with the slogan:

One for all, all for one.

The Communist Party works its hardest to solve our own differences and escape the shame of the new form of slavery now being planned by our British rulers.

*The Communist Party's biggest single aim today is to get all freedom-loving Indians together for the final battle for Indian liberation.*

### III. FOR FREE TOWNS IN FREE INDIA

The British rulers have kept our country industrially backward, as their exclusive market.

The Indian capitalists, both manufacturers and traders, became profiteers and black-marketeers and betrayed their own people in the worst days of our country's crisis during the last six years of war.

Only love of profit moved them.

Their own people they only exploited of their labour and cheated them of their daily needs.

It will be a crime against our country's future to leave India's economy in the hands of Indian capitalists, not only in a free India, but even for one single day longer.

An unprecedented post-war industrial crisis looms ahead. Fifty lakhs of our people are threatened with unemployment, five times the number that died in the Bengal famine, according to Government's own figures. Every working-class and middle-class home will be shaken to its very foundation.

The Communist Party turns the attention of all honest Indians, industrial workers and the employees in the towns to the criminal deeds and secret manoeuvres of the Indian capitalist-profiteers.

(1) As the political leaders of India are looking to the British rulers and not towards each other, similarly the leaders of industry are carrying on deals and have become tied up with the biggest concerns of British Big Business; for example the Birla-Nuffield deal has already been settled; Nuffield is among Britain's biggest motor magnates; the deal between Tatas and Imperial Chemicals has also been fixed; Imperial Chemicals is Britain's Empire-wide chemical monopoly.

Many more such arrangements are being secretly negotiated but are not yet public knowledge.

(2) These same lovers of their own riches and blood-suckers of their own people are getting inside India's main political organisations, the Congress and the League, to ensure that their interests would be safe when Popular Ministries come to power.

Thus, on the one hand, they are selling the country's economic future to their own bigger brothers of British Big Business. On the other, they are seeking to guarantee the safety of their ill-gotten profits by becoming



patrons and even members of our patriotic organisations.

It is only the Communist Party that is wide awake to these dangers. It is only the Communist Party that is out to expose and fight them.

*Basic Principles of Industrial Reconstruction*

*The Communist Party advocates the most rapid planned industrialisation of India to proceed under the direct guidance of the People's State on the basis of the following basic principles:*

- (1) Nationalisation of all key industries, like chemicals, iron and steel and coal mines.
- (2) Control of all major industries.
- (3) Planned and even development of industrial resources in all Indian homelands.
- (4) Planned co-ordination between the development of large-scale industry and cottage industries, for the maximum growth of both within each homeland.
- (5) Control of all capital resources for the rapid development of the country according to plans made for the people's welfare and the country's development by the People's State.

(6) The long-term and the short-term plans made by the People's State to be implemented through free and equal co-operation between the representatives of the State, Management and Labour.

*The Communist Party shall campaign ceaselessly and fight tirelessly for the following immediate proposals to be implemented by Popular Ministries through administrative and executive orders.*

The Communist Legislators shall advocate free use of People's Ordinances by the new Ministries to break down profiteers' resistance and carry through the following measures:

- (1) No retrenchment but jobs for all.
- (2) No wage-cuts but a decent living wage for the workers.
- (3) 8 hours' day and 44 hours' week.
- (4) Immediate recognition of Trade Unions.
- (5) Recognition of the right to strike.
- (6) One month's holiday with pay.
- (7) Old-age pensions.
- (8) Maternity benefit for women workers.
- (9) Free primary education for all children.
- (10) Good trade schools for all youth.
- (11) Cheap and decent houses for all families.
- (12) Free hospitals for all the sick.

Before nationalised industries and control of capital resources give the requisite resources to the People's State to finance new plans of development, the Communist Party shall press on the new Popular Governments, immediately to carry out the following measures:

- (1) Reconvert war-time industries to peace-time needs through workers' co-operation.
- (2) Seize all British capital, plantations, industrial concerns, mercantile firms in view of the British Government's refusal to part with India's Sterling Balances.



(3) No return of the E.P.T reserve fund of the profiteer capitalists. (See footnote).\*

(4) Illegal riches of the war profiteers to be confiscated and mobilised for people's needs after prompt investigation and summary trial through open and impartial tribunals.

In pressing for the implementation of these measures the Communist Party shall work unceasingly to see that all legal obstacles and all reactionary resistance are overcome by the prompt and drastic use of People's Ordinances against the enemies of our country and of our people.

### *Strategy And Aim*

The Party of the Red Flag shall rouse the entire working-class behind its programme of:

ridding our towns of profiteers and hoarders;  
building up our economy for people's needs;

struggling to change the shape of our towns so that they become free and prosperous towns in a free and prosperous India.

The Communist Party shall seek the whole-hearted co-operation and close alliance of the middle-class and shall struggle to build its alliance with the working-class.

Only through such an alliance can both these sections of the toiling people of the towns fight for their common good against the common enemy, the capitalist profiteers who are mortgaging our economic future to British monopolists and seek to lull and divide the people by getting inside people's organisations.

Workers and middle-class intelligentsia!,

*Together to break the British Imperialist stranglehold on Indian industry!*

*Together to foil the conspiracy of the British monopolists and the Indian profiteers!*

*Together to bridle capitalist profiteers!*

*Together to battle for free towns, in a free India!*

This is the only road to build new and flourishing towns in our great land, towns inside which new life will pulsate, all will have jobs useful to society, all will have the means to live a civilised life.

### IV. FREE VILLAGES IN A FREE INDIA

The British conquerors imposed on our villages the Zemindari system and introduced on top of it their own capitalist system.

To be able to suck India they created in every Indian village the three leeches; the idle zemindar who became the symbol of utter uselessness to the village, corruptor of its life and toady of the British; the Indian usurer, symbol of greed for peasants' land, the new controller of the future; the tricky trader who specialises in buying

\* In addition to the 80 per cent of the net profits that the Government took as Excess Profits Tax (E.P.T) and Income and Super tax, the Government as an anti-inflation measure passed an ordinance directing that 19/64th of the remaining profits should be seized as a Reserve to be returned after the war (with an interest of 2 per cent plus a Government contribution of 6 2/3 per cent) to the Company or manufacturing concern. This is the Reserve Fund of the E.P.T. which we demand should not be returned to the capitalists but be used for India's industrial development.

his produce at the cheapest price that he has to give and in selling the villager the goods from the town at the highest price he can force out of him.

These three leeches over the village, supported and protected by the British administration with its own law, police and courts, have devastated our villages; they have made one-third to one-half of our rural population landless and have brought about a position where food production has grown less and less and the land of plenty, of which our ancestors sang, has become the land of famine where we all suffer.

The Bengal famine was no sudden outburst, it arose directly from the gradual evolution of the way our daily village life is going under British rule aided by these three village leeches.

For it is these three who keep the village down; they link the village with the foreign market in the interests of their British masters and profiteers of British Big Business; they do it to further their own selfish interests, to continue to live their life of corruption, greed and wanton luxury.

Through unprecedented hoarding and land-grabbing during the war years, these three leeches have become fatter and stronger than ever before. Through bribery, the officials of the British Government are literally in their pockets and therefore the whole village lies at their mercy.

### *Serf Village of Today*

No peasant land is safe.

No peasant elder knows what price he will get for his crop and how he will carry on the next season.

No peasant Ma knows how long the honour of her own daughter is safe at the hands of the goondas of these parasites and brutes.

No peasant youth has any chance of good education and of a life of creative endeavour for himself.

Inside India's villages today only devastation and darkness reign. And with no regular and growing supply of food for all, the prospect of chronic famine faces the townsmen.

The Communist Party pleads with all its strength that the longer these three leeches are allowed to stay in our villages, the sooner will our villages become burning ghats, the sooner will more and more and worse and worse famines face the people in the towns.

### *Warning And Call*

The Communist Party warns all honest men in towns and villages that these leeches who have so far acted as the agents of the British, both against our freedom movement and for the exploitation of our villages are today getting inside the two main patriotic parties of our people; this is how they hope to be able to exist longer and

to carry on their life of greed, lust and luxury undisturbed by the people's anger and the people's strength.

The Communist Party is convinced that the very existence of our people both in the towns and the villages demands that an immediate reconstruction of our rural economy be undertaken without further delay.

### *Three New Laws*

*The Communist Party pledges to the people that it shall not rest till the new Popular Ministries pass within the very first year of coming into power three new democratic laws; only the enactment of these laws and their rigorous application will end the domination of the feudal parasites, black-marketeers and usurers, over the economy of the village and ensure the entire people their daily food, thus preventing the calamity of new famines.*

A Land Act, ensuring,  
abolition of landlordism;  
nationalisation of land so as not to leave any individual holding of above 100 acres;  
redistribution of land through elected democratic Committees;

these Committees working in co-operation with agents of the People's State, will aim to transform uneconomic holdings of the poor peasants into consolidated economic holdings and to make large-scale co-operative farming possible.

An Anti-Usuary Act, ensuring,  
abolition of usurious money-lending to the agriculturists and the artisans;

guaranteed credit to the peasants and artisans through co-operatives; such co-operatives shall be democratically controlled and shall mobilise the credit resources of the peasant money-lenders at a suitable rate of interest.

An Anti-Profiteer Act, ensuring,  
elimination of the profiteer from trading in people's food;

abolition of the monopoly grip of rural wholesalers over people's food and peasants' needs;

introduction of large-scale Sales-Purchase Co-operatives, run on democratic lines and not ruled over by the bureaucracy; these Co-operatives shall guarantee the peasant a fair price for his surplus produce and make available to him his daily necessities at cheap rates.

### *Immediate Measures*

*The Communist Party shall demand that the Popular Ministries use all steps, administrative and executive and pass People's Ordinances for the immediate introduction of the following measures so that the vested interests get no time to rally their forces and the toiling people of the villages get their urgently needed relief.*

(1) All available fallow land whether of the landlord or of the Government to be given to the landless labourers and poor peasants for producing food grains;

(2) Guaranteed minimum wage to agricultural labourers;

(3) A substantial reduction of rent for all tenants with uneconomic holdings in order to stabilise their own family economy and to encourage and intensify food production;

(4) Immediate strengthening and democratisation of the co-operative movement; this must be done by the People's State by:

(i) subsidising sales-purchase co-operatives to fight the village black-marketeer;

(ii) declaring and guaranteeing a fair price for agricultural produce;

(iii) supplying industrial goods to villages at non-blackmarket fair rates;

(5) New and more schools and hospitals in the rural areas and immediate prospect of new jobs for the educated village youth;

(6) Immediate arrangement for training peasant youth in new methods of agriculture and for running rural co-operatives and new cattle-breeding farms;

(7) Big statutory landlords to pay over and above land revenue, a steeply-graded agricultural income tax; this must be levied on all agricultural incomes, leaving them not more than Rs. 6,000 of the rental received by them per year.

The above measures are only the beginning towards fundamental village reconstruction. They do no more than give badly needed and prompt relief to the poor peasant and the landless labourer; they get from the parasitical landlord a portion of his ill-gotten gains; it is with this that all honest villagers will begin the battle for village rehabilitation and for production of more food for the people.

#### *Against The Three Leeches*

The Communist Party shall rouse, as an integral part of the battle for India's freedom, the entire village against its worst and traditional enemies, creations of British rule.

The Communist Party puts forward its agrarian programme as guaranteeing the safety, security and prosperity of all sections of the village who toil and labour and who agree to work their hardest for the common good of their own village.

The Communist Party shall not touch the small zemindar or the rich peasant but shall open before them the prospect of becoming the best of the farmers and cattle-breeders, reputed members in their own village. It shall not allow them to go the way of the traditional leeches but shall appeal to them to use their leading position in the village to start a new life of useful labour and co-operative effort.

The Communist Party shall unite every section of the toiling peasantry whose true interests our programme will reflect.

The Communist Party shall appeal to the peasantry to support the demands of landless labourers, to build and preserve the unity of the village, to gather unconquerable strength against the enemies of the village.

The Communist Party shall appeal to the landless labourers to seek unity with the peasantry in the common interest of the battle against the three leeches, their own worst oppressors.

The Communist Party shall seek the support and alliance of every decent element in the village, teachers, doctors etc., in rebuilding a new village.

The Communist Party shall rouse and unite the entire village:

*Against the three leeches!*

*For new life in every village!*

*For new struggles of united villagers against the enemies of the entire village!*

*For free villages in a free India!*

## V. COMMUNIST PARTY APPEALS:

### *To Worker-Peasant Brothers*

The Communist Party appeals to all workers for support as the organiser of their own Trade Unions, in the name of the unity of their own class, for the coming mighty battles and in the honour of their own Red Flag.

The Communist Party appeals to all peasants and agricultural labourers for support, as organisers of their own Kisan Sabhas, in the name of their own Red Flag, for an unending round of new and great battles against the enemies of their own village and for building up a new and happy life in the very village of their forefathers.

Workers and peasant elders! Only your Party is putting forward the best sons of your own class as its candidates and they are the majority among Communist candidates; among them are Hindu and Muslim, Touchable and Untouchable, Sikh, Gurkha, Garhwali, Manipuri, Bengali, Malayali, Andhra, Tamil, Kannadiga and Maratha.

### *To Untouchable Humanity!*

The Communist Party appeals to millions of Untouchables wherever they live that through the battle of our Party for new villages and new towns, they will gain the most as the most oppressed section of our people.

The Communist Party assures them that it shall always fight against every form of social oppression, from which they suffer and for securing equal economic and political status for them in the government of the country.

In implementing the programme for settling landless labourers on fallow land, the Communist Party shall insist that Untouchables, who form the large bulk of landless labourers, be given first and special attention.

*To Mothers And Sisters!*

The Communist Party appeals to all women with the confidence that they will see in the programme of our Party the prospect of new and happy homes for themselves here and now and a life of purposeful endeavour for their sons, brothers, husbands and for which they must actively work in every way open to them.

The Communist Party is pledged to fight for complete equality for women in the laws, economy and political life of our country.

*To The Youth!*

The Communist Party as the youngest Party of the land makes a special appeal to the youth with the confidence that they will see in the programme of our Party the hope of a new life, better than their own fathers visualised; with the confidence that their fresh minds will respond to true freedom principles and their hearts will echo the urgent call for the final freedom struggle.

The Communist Party is pledged to fight the spectre of unemployment; it is pledged to fight for growing opportunities of creative labour for the youth of our country in rebuilding our national life on new democratic foundations.

The Communist Party shall pay special attention to the needs of the youth; it shall fight for more and better education, more scholarships, more democracy within educational institutions and more facilities in every way for youth of all classes to live the life of their dreams in the service of our people.

*To The Freedom-Loving Intelligentsia!*

The Communist Party appeals to the revolutionary middle-class to see in our Party the unifier of the middle-class with the working-class in the towns and the peasantry in the villages, in the common interests of both and for the cause of the people and against the enemies of the people.

It appeals to them to see in our Party the propounder of the true democratic principles in our own national life, the unifier of all patriotic forces in our country; the party which has only the single object of saving our people at all costs and despite all differences; the party which is unceasingly working to one end—that of bringing together all to fight shoulder to shoulder the final battle for the liberation of our motherland.

*To All!*

The Communist Party alone does not abuse any other party but puts forward the basis for uniting all freedom-loving Indians.

The Communist Party alone does not look towards Lord Wavell but faces its own brother parties.

The Communist Party alone makes no exclusive claims to patriotism and wisdom.

The Communist Party alone offers a programme and makes concrete proposals that should unite here and now all freedom-loving Indians and their parties. It readily admits the just aims of all and firmly denies all unjust claims. It appeals to all to apply the principles of freedom all round, on the basis of justice to all for the cause of all, freedom against the British and freedom among ourselves, and the establishment of People's Raj all over our vast country.

The Communist Party has the one single aim of uniting all freedom-loving Indians inside one Freedom Front for the final battle for Indian freedom and for the emergence of India as a great family of free nations; an India that shall play a liberating role in Asia and a progressive role in world politics, in alliance with all freedom-loving democratic forces and against World Imperialist Reaction.

**VOTE COMMUNIST!**

*Against the British Imperialist plan.  
For a truly Indian plan.*

**VOTE COMMUNIST!**

*Against war among freedom-loving Indians.  
For unity of all freedom-loving Indians.*

**VOTE COMMUNIST!**

*Against the illusion of unilateral settlement with the British Government.*

*For united struggle against British domination.*

**VOTE COMMUNIST!**

*For Congress-League-Communist united front for the final battle of Indian liberation.*

**VOTE COMMUNIST!**

*For free villages, free towns, free homelands in a free India.*

**VOTE COMMUNIST!**

*With the image of Indian martyrs in your heart, remember that the earliest living Indian revolutionaries, the Ghadar Babas of the Punjab, the comrades of Bhagat Singh, the Chittagong Armoury Raiders and all the young leaders of the terrorist upsurge of the thirties in Bengal, are within the ranks of the Communist Party.*

**FOR THE CAUSE OF INDIAN REVOLUTION, IN THE BATTLE FOR INDIAN LIBERATION!**

*—Central Committee of the Communist Party of India.*