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MANIFESTO ON INDIA

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On August 8, 1942, the British Government tore off its "democratic" swathing and revealed itself in its real nature as simply an instrument for the continuation of the three hundred year old plunder and oppression of the Indian people. Forced by the pressure from below of the Indian masses, the Indian National Congress called for a program of civil disobedience. The response of the paladins of democracy and civilization was not only the jailing of Gandhi, Nehru, Azad, and hundreds of rank and file Congressites, but the unleashing of the most vicious terror against the aroused masses of Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta and Ahmedabad.

WHY THE INDIAN MASSES FIGHT

Why did the Indian masses come out into the city streets? Why did they display such marvels of heroism? How was it that in the course of a few days they not only broke from under the influence of the apostles of "non-violence" but also began to recognize the Indian bourgeoisie as their enemies? For three hundred years misery and oppression has been the lot of the Indian workers and peasants. The cap-

italist apologist, Kellerman, has been forced to admit that in India there are 40 million people at all times who have never known what it is not to be hungry. The chawls (tenements) of Bombay and Calcutta, "housing" the thousands of textile workers, beggar description. According to the government reports, the food of the average worker is on a level with that given during times of famine and less than the standard required by the jail authorities! One of the four freedoms permitted to the workers until very recently was the freedom to work thirteen and fourteen hours a day. This freedom was limited in the case of children to only eleven and a half! The artisan class once the pride of Indian song and story, has been smashed and driven into an already hard-pressed countryside. There they may enjoy, along with others of the 200 million peasants, another of the four freedoms, the democratic right to pay interest to the moneylenders at 120% per year.

WAR ECONOMY — THE LAST STRAW

This was the constant state of the Indian masses for generations. Then came the war of 1939. Indian economy was feverishly transformed from a "peace" to a war economy. Speed-up and stretch-out were intensified. To

the usual poverty was added a special "democratic" poverty, the shortage of commodities. Most glaring was the contrast between the honeyed words of Churchill, Cripps and all the "schibs" on the one hand, and the realities of Indian life on the other. The worker of Ahmedabad, the peasant of Bengal, were introduced to another of the four freedoms in the form of press gangs ranging the Indian slums and countryside to conscript Indians to fight for the democracy of the British Raj! The contradictions were too great and too palpable. They had to explode. They did explode.

For months the Indian masses and the British and American masses as well, have been deluged with cries to the effect that the English army is all that stands between the Indian people and "Japanese barbarism". The only element of truth in this mendacious statement is that India is literally a grab bag for all the imperialist powers. The English imperialist is in the house, the Japanese highwayman stands at the threshold, the American capitalist is trying to bamboozle the slaves in the house into admitting him, and the Nazi gangster is not far away waiting his chance to seize the swag all for himself. To differentiate between the "ethical concepts" of the four is an impossible task for the "naive" Indians. They see that already in the East Indies there is a conflict between the Japanese and German imperialists. They know that between the United States and England, a covert but no less fierce conflict rages for the spoils of this rich sub-continent. And more and more they have been forced to the inescapable conclusion that only by breaking completely through the web of all imperialisms can there be an end to domination and an end to making India the cockpit of the world.

GANDHI-NEHRU BETRAY STRUGGLE

What has been the attitude of the Indian National Congress during this period? For the masses of India, literally nothing was demanded by these gentlemen. Before August 8 the conflict between Gandhi and Nehru was a conflict over the best method of shedding the blood of the Indian people in the service of the British Raj. Behind Gandhi stands such people as Shanyamassi Birla, one of the richest of the Indian textile kings. Gandhi's whole history is one of stifling of the movement for Indian

independence on every occasion, the most monstrous example being the perfidious betrayal at New Delhi in 1930. Nehru's history is very similar. Constant phrasemongering with regard to Indian independence. Constant capitulation to Gandhi. It was only the boiling of the masses underneath both of these leaders of different sections of the Indian bourgeoisie, that compelled them to take action. When they did they attempted to hold the mass movement within the bounds of "non-violence". But the Indian masses burst through these bonds. Not only did they manifest great militancy, but they also turned against the wealthy Indians as well. We of the Revolutionary Workers' League call upon the workers of all countries to demand the release of Gandhi and Nehru, and all other political prisoners of the British Raj. But we warn the masses of India that the Gandhis and Nehrus can lead them to nothing but defeat.

Already Manabendra Nath Roy has found his proper place in the ranks of the British exploiters. Sapru runs from Calcutta to New Delhi and back trying to find some formula that will get the masses off the streets and save the faces of both the Viceroy and the Gandhists.

STALINISM IS NOT COMMUNISM

Most contemptible is the role of the so-called "Communist" Party of India and the so-called "Communist" International. Daily, hourly, they have called for an imperialist second front. In the Indian Revolution they have a real "second front" of revolution, that they dare not handle, because it would cut the ground from under their bureaucratic position. We appeal to the workers in the Soviet Union to give every aid to the revolution in India, and, in the process to push out the Stalinist or any other stooges of imperialism that stand in the way.

To the millions upon millions of Indian peasants we say: Seize the land now. Do not wait until after the war. Cancel the mortgages and debts. Support your natural leader, the Indian working class. Split into 650,000 villages you can not achieve your emancipation except by following the lead of the proletariat, that class whose conditions of life compel it to pursue the most decisive measures against the same classes that suck your blood.

FOR SOCIAL REVOLUTION

To the Workers of India, we say: Yours is one of the greatest tasks of all history. Lead the social revolution, the Indian proletarian revolution to victory. Once and for all you can free all toiling India from hunger, misery, and imperialist war. But to do this you must not only drive the British imperialists into the sea, you must seize from them, from the Indian princes, the Birlas, the banks, the factories, the mines, the railroads. And to do this you need your own government, a Workers' Council government. You need your own Workers' Army that will smash all exploiters Indian, British, Japanese, etc.

But to do this you need, above all, your own Marxian party. Without that you are without a brain and a will. With it you are invincible, when such a party is linked up with the party

of revolution throughout the world, the International Contact Commission for a New Communist (4th) International. In this task we pledge you our material and political aid.

To the Workers of the United States we say: The fight of the Indian masses is your fight, not in any vague, but in the most real sense. Your class brothers across the sea are striking a most vital blow at world imperialism with its attendant misery. Demand that all armed forces be immediately recalled from India. No shipments of munitions to help British imperialism shoot down the workers and peasants of India! Turn all material aid over to the revolutionary Indian workers! Come out into the streets and demonstrate against imperialist intervention and for a Soviet India!

**13th PLENUM of the REVOLUTIONARY
WORKERS LEAGUE, USA.**