

MOUNTBATTEN AWARD AND AFTER

**POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
JUNE 1947**

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[Political Resolution of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of India, June 1947

The Mountbatten Award does not give India real independence but is the culmination of a double-faced imperial policy which, while making concessions to the national demand to transfer power, sets in motion disruptive and reactionary forces to disrupt the popular upsurge, obstruct the realisation of real independence, throttle the growth of democracy and destroy the unity and integrity of India.

BRITISH IMPERIAL AIMS

The growing upsurge of the various sections of the Indian people, the States' people's struggles in State after State, the gigantic wave of working-class strikes and peasant actions, the brave anti-imperialist demonstrations of students and the militant mood of the armed forces brought the imperialists face to face with the unprecedented strength of the national liberation movement.

In addition, British imperialism emerged greatly weakened politically and economically out of World War XI. Its main imperialist rival, the United States, vastly strengthened in the war, threatened to sweep it out of its traditional imperial bases.

At home, the British Labour movement would not back the reconquest of India. All over the world, democratic opinion, immensely strengthened with the defeat of Fascism, demanded Indian independence.

Hemmed in from all sides the imperialist rulers have been forced to enter into negotiations with Indian leadership, talk of agreeing to Indian independence while they seek new forms of indirect rule.

Disruption – Sole Purpose

This has been the central aim of British policy ever since the Cabinet Mission Plan and the Mountbatten Plan is its latest variant despite obvious differences. The sole purpose is to disrupt the people, strengthen reaction, get into alliance with it and thus make Indian independence formal.

(a) **Control through partition.** The British policy of divide and rule, exploiting Hindu-Muslim differences, produced an unprecedented civil war. It has now culminated in the final act of partition of the country into two hostile States which they plan to control by entering into new alliances with reactionary forces in the different partitioned areas.

The British imperialist aim is to influence the reactionary leadership of the League to keep Pakistan a British Dominion, to allow British capital to have almost undisputed sway over the undeveloped Muslim majority areas, to utilise the North-west as a strategic base and as a

base for the domination of India as a whole.

British Big Business by entering into partnership with Indian Big Business aims to continue to dominate the economy of India.

- By its agreements with Indian capital it expects to preserve intact its capital and retain and extend its control over vital industries in India.
- It hopes to use its Indian partner as its tool to influence the military and foreign policy of the Indian Union despite its republican form.
- It expects to achieve this aim through reliance on the great influence of Indian Big Business over the extreme Right-wing of the Congress leadership.

The Communist Party warns the Indian people that these are the new methods of control over India that British imperialism aims to employ in order to preserve its domination of India.

(b) **Utilisation of Princely puppets.** In the imperial plan for controlling the India of the future their traditional puppets the Indian Princes occupy a position of supreme importance.

The Plan by granting the Princes the option to stay away from the Indian Union gives them a weapon to drive a hard bargain with the forces of Indian nationalism, retain their feudal privileges as far as possible and act as a brake on the democratic movement of the entire people.

British Fifth Column

Thus imperialist strategy is one of putting checks and balances in the new State against the national leadership and attempting to circumscribe freedom and democracy to the utmost possible extent.

It is the selfish British imperial effort to place their fifth column inside all the organs of the Indian States of the future so that they can influence their foreign and internal policy in the interests of their British masters.

But at the same time British imperialism encourages in a subtle manner some of the big Princes to remain “independent”, in case they cannot get favourable terms from the Congress and the League, so that such “independent” States can be used as its outposts on Indian soil.

Part Of Same Struggle

The Communist Party is firmly of the opinion that the struggle against Princely autocracy is at once the struggle against British manoeuvres to limit and control Indian independence and democracy and for the full realisation of this independence and democracy.

(c) **Perpetuation of colonial social order.** In the background of its constitutional manoeuvres imperialism is carrying forward the struggle to save the colonial social order for the existing vested interests so that in alliance with them it may retain control not only over Indian economy but also the Indian States.

Hence, through the links of Indian vested interests with the popular Ministries and the steel-frame of the Indian bureaucracy, it seeks to

influence the economic and administrative policy of the Provincial Ministries and the Central Governments so that these Governments resist radical economic measures.

The results of these efforts, if successful, will lead to intensification of the economic crisis and further deterioration in the conditions of the people.

With the same end in view, the bureaucracy seeks desperately to drive a wedge between the national movement, whose leaders are at the head of the Government, and the rising working-class and peasant movements.

Mass Terror

This they strive to do through the use of unprecedented mass terror against workers and peasants—who constitute the main social force among our people in the vanguard of the fight against the British-created social order and for a rapid transition to a new, democratic social order.

The strategy of British imperialism is to prevent a united national revolt by exploiting all the weaknesses in our national and social life and disrupting the unity of the national forces. It is a strategy to forge a new alliance with the Princes, landlords and Indian Big Business to be able to control through them the Indian States of the future as also Indian economy, and thus manoeuvre the transition from direct to indirect rule.

DISRUPTIVE PROCEDURE

The procedure outlined by the Mountbatten Plan is as disruptive as the Plan itself and calculated to ensure its fulfilment through a series of British awards.

The Boundaries Commission and other Commissions dealing with financial and other aspects of division are only intended to worsen Hindu-Muslim-Sikh relations so that the British arbiters can give their awards intensifying the communal conflict still further.

NATIONAL STRENGTH

The very fact that British imperialism does not hope any longer to rule India directly is a recognition of the undisputed strength of the Indian freedom movement. Its desperate manoeuvres reveal not its strength but its utter weakness which has forced it to make important concessions to the urgent demands of the national liberation movement, such as, for example:

(a) Transfer of power to Congress and League Governments on Dominion Status basis by August 15.

(b) Assurance, though equivocal, that Britain shall not seek to establish independent relationship with the Princes.

(c) The Constituent Assemblies, despite their limitations, are free to declare for independence and make their own constitutions.

New Opportunities

The Communist Party is of the opinion that new opportunities for national advance have been won. The two popular Governments and Constituent Assemblies are the strategic weapons in the hands of the national leadership. It is the task of the national movement to ensure that they are used for the rapid realisation of national aims.

The concessions have not been voluntarily given by the British but extracted through the continuous pressure of the Congress leadership for transfer of power and the rising tide of popular struggles of the workers, peasants, students and States' people, which grew despite British provoked civil war, despite all efforts to check and suppress them and which showed the new spirit of the people.

Last Desperate Step

The British Government agreed to these concessions because there was no way out for it and hence its desperate last step of partition.

The path forward is beset with difficulties. Sharp alternatives face the national movement and our entire people.

- Either imperialist manoeuvres succeed, exploiting all the fissures in our national movement, thus making Indian independence formal—

Or the national forces unitedly ensure that the Constituent Assemblies draft constitutions on the basis of independence of the country and the popular Governments firmly resist imperialist pressure to extort economic and military concessions.

- Either the Princes are appeased and the British fifth column is retained inside our country.—

Or with the support of the entire country and the popular Governments, the States' people are actively aided to win their own liberation and bring one-third of our land under the banner of independent India.

In Whose Interests

- Either the anti-national and anti-democratic activities of the vested interests are checked and the task of nation-building is begun to ensure food, cloth, jobs, and a living wage, prospect of a new life to workers, peasants and the common people, by the joint efforts of the popular Governments and popular organisations—

Or Indian economy gets mortgaged to British Big Business and the Indian people pass through bitter suffering.

- Either partitioned India grows into two hostile States with reaction strengthened within each—

Or the progressives intervene and carry forward the struggle for reunion by demanding a complete break with British imperialism by their own States and friendly relations between them in mutual interest.

- The Communist Party has consistently warned against the dangers of imperialist manoeuvres if the national movement fails to forge a united front.

- It warned against partition. It suggested recognition of the right of national self-determination and the immediate implementation of fundamental democratic

measures to undermine communal separatism and to preserve and strengthen Indian unity on the basis of the unity and equality of every nationality.

- The Communist Party warned against the intrigues of vested interests with the popular Ministries. It demanded that the Ministries break the resistance of vested interests and meet the needs of the people.

- It warned against our political parties getting entangled in the imperialist plan and demanded a sharp break with it.

People's Vigilance

National unification behind the popular Governments for the realisation of complete independence demands that people's vigilance be roused against the compromisers in the national leadership, people's indignation against the vested interests, and national conscience against communal provocateurs.

In the present transitional period the unification of the national forces against reaction in each State is the only guarantee against imperialist manoeuvres.

The Communist Party is fully confident that imperialist intrigues can be decisively defeated. The allies of imperialism have a very narrow social basis. They are the enemies of our people who place profit and self-interest above patriotism and national interest. The very economic crisis that they are intensifying will move the common people against them. The national movement will not tolerate any compromise of real independence if it is kept informed and mobilised.

INSIDE INDIAN UNION

Immediate developments, as also the shape of new India, will depend upon the policies the Congress and the League pursue through the Governments and the Constituent Assemblies headed by their leaders.

The Congress is the main national democratic organisation. The decisions of its leadership will not only build the structure of the Indian Union but greatly influence developments inside Pakistan also.

Democratic Programme

The Communist Party desires that the Congress leadership implement rapidly and consistently the declared anti-imperialist democratic programme of the Congress.

The Communist Party will fully cooperate with the national leadership in the proud task of building the Indian Republic on democratic foundations, thus paving the way to Indian unity.

The Communist Party puts forward the following programme:

(a) Real Independence

- Withdrawal of all British troops
- No military alliance with Britain, the imperialist enslaver.
- Independent democratic foreign policy. Establishment of friendly relations with all democratic countries; support to UNO to maintain world peace and to help dependent countries to attain full independence.
- Government control over all Indo-British Big Business deals and over foreign trade.
- Prompt repayment of Sterling Balances in order to secure capital goods for the rapid industrialisation of India.
- Nationalisation of all British industrial concerns.
- Mutually beneficial trade relations with Britain on the basis of equality.

British efforts to seek economic and military control over the Indian Republic have to be foiled. All those elements in the national leadership who are ready to com-' promise and seek “a half-way house” between Independence and Dominion Status have to be defeated.

(b) The Princes

Full support to the States' people's movement, to bring their States inside the Constituent Assembly, to win responsible government and democratic constitution on the basis of their own Constituent Assemblies elected by adult franchise and to help their struggle forward to assert people's sovereignty and realise self-determination.

(c) Democratic Constitution

—Joint electorates on the basis of adult franchise and proportional representation.[^]

—National self-determination on the basis of linguistically- demarcated Provinces to lay the basis for the future unity of India.

—Regional or local autonomy with full democratic rights for the Hill, Frontier and other compact tribal areas.

(d) Democratic Economy

A planned economy on the basis of abolition of landlordism and nationalisation of key industries to ensure a new life for the people.

(e) Against Communalism

The Congress must save the immediate communal situation from worsening and shape it in the right direction by taking a firm and fraternal stand on the following issues:

(i) BOUNDARIES COMMISSION

—Take its stand on the basis of justice and oppose all unjust and exaggerated demands. Press for the inclusion only of contiguous areas with a non-Muslim majority inside the Indian Union.

—Make boundary adjustments in mutual interest by agreement and without

British, intervention.

(ii) MUSLIM MINORITY RIGHTS

- Full protection to the religious and cultural rights of Muslims.
- No discrimination against Muslims in services or in any other sphere of life.
- Open repudiation of elements who preach that Muslims are aliens inside the Indian Union.

(f) Mutual Relations

- Closest possible economic relations, exchange of goods and all aid for the industrialisation and modernisation of backward Pakistan areas.
- Offers of co-operation to Pakistan for the defence of India.

INSIDE PAKISTAN

In the new Pakistan State, consisting of the Muslim majority areas of Northwest India and North and East. Bengal, the Muslim League would be the major political party. Here the freedom-loving anti-imperialist masses would be face to face with a very difficult and dangerous situation.

Only through the utmost vigilance against reaction and a steadfast adherence to democratic policies can the exploited Muslim masses of Pakistan areas achieve their real objectives of freedom, democracy and prosperity.

Owing to the fact that British imperialism has kept the Muslim majority areas socially, culturally and economically backward, it is the big Nawabs, Khans, tumandars, zamindars and jagirdars who exploit the mass of the Muslim peasantry and through their great influence over the leadership of the Muslim League divert the anti-imperialist freedom urge of the Muslim masses into communal channels.

In this way they not only save their own ill-gotten gains but by disrupting the unity of the Muslim masses with their non-Muslim brethren play the game of British imperialism.

If the Muslim masses do not defeat this selfish and reactionary policy of their upper classes they will continue to suffer the miseries of the most brutal feudal exploitation and the humiliation of foreign imperialist domination.

Now that a separate Pakistan State is coming into existence and the masses of those areas are being cut away from the popular forces of the rest of India; the efforts of the reactionaries would be directed to keep the new State tied to the chariot wheels of British imperialism in order to preserve their feudal privileges.

Already insidious propaganda is being made by sections of the League leaders that Pakistan should remain a part of the British Empire.

Reaction Plotting

Flouting the declared aims of the Muslim League itself which as early as 1937 adopted the aim of “full independence” as the goal of the

League and which, in the well-known Lahore Resolution of 1940, declared for a “Sovereign State”, these reactionaries are plotting to make Pakistan subservient to British imperialism.

They want to hide this pro-imperialist manoeuvre by diverting the intense hatred of common Muslims against imperialism into anti-Hindu communal channels.

At the same time, the fact that Pakistan areas are economically backward is being used as an argument by these reactionaries to seek financial and military aid from Anglo-American imperialists.

In the name of industrial development of Pakistan and of defence of the new State, full scope for ruthless # exploitation and political and military domination of the people of Pakistan might be given to the Anglo-American imperialists.

In this case also the bogey of Hindu domination would be used by the Muslim vested^ interests to hide their real selfish objectives of preserving their own privileges and continuing the exploitation of the common people, in alliance with foreign imperialists.

However, the Communist Party believes that such a reactionary development can be stopped.

Masses Will Not Have It

The Muslim masses, who for the last 200 years of British rule have consistently battled against foreign domination, who are conscious of the fact that British imperialism is the traditional enemy of the freedom of the Muslim peoples .of the Middle East, who have valiantly participated in the common workers' and peasants' movements of the last two years—the I.N.A. demonstrations, the R.I.N. mutiny, the great strike battles and peasants' struggles and States' people's movements—shall resist the slavish policies of their upper classes.

The Communist Party appeals to all anti-imperialist progressive Muslim Leaguers and the masses following the Muslim League to fight and defeat these policies of their own reactionary vested interests.

Democracy in Pakistan can be won through unity with the non-Muslim masses and friendly relations with the Indian Republic. Real economic reconstruction can be achieved only through democracy, by curbing and eliminating the big vested interests and through cooperation with the Indian Republic as equals and in mutual interest.

Only then can foreign aid be got dh favourable terms which ; cannot lead to foreign domination.

This alone will end the old conflicts, imperialist , domination, extreme poverty and backwardness of the people. This alone will open the era of voluntary Indian unity, full democracy and new life.

With this objective in view the Communist Party will campaign in Pakistan for the following programme:

(a) Pakistan Republic

The Pakistan State must be a Republic and not a British Dominion, free from all economic and military control of British imperialism, with a democratic foreign policy and close friendly relations with the Indian Republic.

(b) The Princes

—Pakistan to support the States' people's movement for democracy and self-determination.

—Total repudiation of the League leadership's present policy of support to Princely autocracy.

(c) Democratic Constitution

—Constitution based on adult franchise, joint electorates and proportional representation.

—Full protection of religious and cultural rights of the minorities. No discrimination against any community and equal opportunities for all in administrative and other services.

—National self-determination inside Pakistan Union to ensure equality of Sindhis, Baluchis, Pathans, Punjabis and Bengalis. This will also lead to the future unification, of Bengal and the Punjab and ultimately to the voluntary unity of the seceded Muslim majority parts with the Indian Union.

—Regional or local autonomy with full democratic rights for the Hill, Frontier and other compact tribal areas.

(d) Democratic Economy

A Planned Economy on the basis of abolition of landlordism, nationalisation of key industries to overcome backwardness of Pakistan, develop its resources for the common prosperity of the entire people.

(e) Mutual Cooperation

—Military alliance against any external aggression and for mutual security through a Joint Defence Council, independent of all British control.

—Economic alliance to coordinate Planning in both States in mutual interest.

FOR BROADEST JOINT FRONT

A grim future awaits our people if the fatal consequences of imperial manoeuvres, if the strong influence of compromising elements in our national political life are not realised.

- Partition will not solve our problems. It will multiply them leading to conflicts on boundaries, border hostilities, oppression of minorities in each State, perpetuate all conflicts, strengthen reaction all round and thus create avenues for imperialist penetration.

- Appeasement of the Princes will only mean creating new centres of British political, economic and military influence inside our own country.

- Yielding to the pressure of vested interests will mean not only perpetuation but further strengthening of the imperialist stranglehold through new alliances and

open our economy to the full impact of the fast-approaching world capitalist crisis.

We Pledge Anew

The Communist Party pledges itself anew to play its full part in carrying forward the battle for independence, democracy and unity to final victory in the new conditions.

All the mass campaigns of the Communist Party will be concentrated upon the following issues:

(a) **Independence.** Full support to the Constituent Assemblies to frame constitutions on the basis of complete independence and mass pressure against any compromise.

(b) **Democracy.** Full support to progressive elements to draft democratic constitutions. Mass mobilisation against any conservative pressure inside the Constituent Assemblies.

(c) **Indian Unity.** Carry forward the battle for ultimate unity through the immediate establishment of friendly relations between Pakistan and the Indian Union:

(d) Full support to States' people's struggles.

(e) **A purge of all incompetent, corrupt and oppressive officials.**

(f) **A rapid policy of Indianisation and democratisation of the armed forces.**

(g) **Restoration of communal peace** on the basis of unity of all popular organisations and firm action by the Ministries against provocateurs.

Full protection of the rights of minorities.

(h) **The ending of Ordinance Raj.** Restoration of full civil liberties.

Release of all political, Trade Union and Kisan prisoners;

(i) **Abolition of Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas.** The immediate introduction of full civil liberties and local self-government.

(j) **Abolition of Untouchability in all shapes and forms.** State aid to Untouchables to improve their cultural and social status. All discrimination against Untouchables to be made a punishable offence.

(k) **Nation-building.** Immediate steps be taken to formulate a Five-Year Plan on the basis of abolition of landlordism and nationalisation of key industries, with the full co-operation' between the Government, experts and all popular organisations, for a new happy life for the people and the creation of a firm and stable social basis for Indian independence.

—Immediate relief to the working-class through enforcement of a minimum living wage, security of service, recognition or trade unions, withdrawal of all anti-strike legislation and improvement in the machinery for the settlement of disputes.

—Immediate relief to the peasantry to grow more food through grant of fallow land, tenancy rights, reduction of rent and land revenue, relief from indebtedness and speeding up of legislation for abolition of landlordism.

—Adequate wages, housing, education, and fallow land for agricultural labourers.

—Special aid to Tribal Areas for the development of their economic resources. Increase in the educational and medical facilities for the people.

—A just plan for the procurement of food-grains based on popular cooperation.

—Country-wide anti-hoarding drive to save the people from an intensifying food crisis.

—Fight against the black-market by price control and equitable distribution of all essential commodities through popular co-operation.

—Immediate measures for provision of houses for workers and middle-class families at reasonable rent, through planned housing schemes, together with control of the prices of house-sites.

—Provision for free and compulsory primary education and increased facilities for secondary, collegiate and technical education at reasonable fees and with adequate pay for teachers.

Support To Struggles

(1) While making every effort, to settle industrial and agrarian disputes amicably, the Communist Party will give full support to workers' strikes and peasant actions for their just democratic demands against the growing offensive of the owners and landlords.

The Communist Party shall mobilise popular and Ministerial support behind these democratic struggles of the toiling people and compel the capitalists and landlords to meet their demands.

The Communist Party is fully conscious that the task of nation-building and the grim reality of economic crisis demands the continuity of production. This necessitates a radical change in the present policies of popular Ministries themselves.

Instead of appeasing the vested interests, they must firmly and speedily implement their electoral promises. Instead of relying upon the bureaucracy and attacking trade unions and Kisan Sabhas they must evolve a policy of fraternal co-operation with them.

The Communist Party reciprocates whole-heartedly the recent appeals of the national leaders for mutual co-operation on the great task of nation-building.

The Communist Party realises that the new situation demands the broadest Joint Front based on the principle of fullest co-operation between the popular Governments and all popular organisations for the noble task of national liberation and reconstruction and final unification. This will bring new strength to the popular Governments as also to the people.

The Communist Party is fully aware that such a broad Joint Front though it echoes general popular sentiment, will not come of itself.

Firm Initiative Needed

Only the firm initiative of all progressives—the Communists, Left elements in the Congress and the League—can bring it about. It is their

responsibility to defeat communal, reactionary and compromising elements within the Congress and the League and help to bring the two organisations together.

The alternative is rise of reaction, stabilisation of vested interests and ultimately compromise with imperialism.

The Communist Party appeals to all Left organisations and elements to forget the partisanship and differences of the past and come together to fight the dangers and realise the possibilities of the present.

The organised working-class and peasantry have been in the vanguard of the fight for independence and democracy in the post-war period.

Lead In Upsurge

- They have played a foreword part in the national upsurge against imperialism in solidarity with the R.I.N. mutiny, in the I.N.A. demonstrations, and against every imperialist offensive against our people.

- They have played a proud role in the popular struggle against Princely autocracy in Travancore, Hyderabad, Kashmir, etc.

- Despite misrepresentation by vested interests their own struggles for a better life have won the respect of the common people and inspired the growth of mass trade unions and Kisan Sabhas.

Symbols Of New Spirit

The hundreds of sons of the Indian kisans killed by police and military bullets, and over twenty thousand jailed, symbolised the new fighting spirit of our common people and expressed the urge that the British-created social order must be changed here and now.

- They have not. been torn apart by British-provoked Hindu-Muslim riots. Wherever the Red Flag flew Hindu-Muslim unity prevailed.

In the new situation, the trade union and kisan movements will have to shoulder greater responsibilities than ever before.

The communalists will seek to split their magnificent Hindu-Muslim unity. But their own unity will inspire them' to fight for democracy within the Indian Republic and. Pakistan and to work for Indian unity by demanding mutual co-operation for economic planning and defence of India as a whole.

The vested interests will seek to slander them while the common people under the impact of deepening crisis will look to the Red Flag to initiate the battle for food, cloth, jobs and a living wage.

Constructive Effort

Their constructive and fighting effort will lay the basis for a broad united people's movement against the food thieves and capitalist profiteers. This will ensure that nation-building no longer remains a phrase but becomes a reality.

The bureaucracy will seek to suppress them, to isolate this revolutionary

vanguard from the national movement and to drive a wedge between the popular Ministries and the toiling masses. They will have to fight back this offensive in the name of Indian independence and for the urgent task of national reconstruction.

In the coming critical transitional phase it will be the task of the Indian working- class and peasant movements to see that the fight for real independence, full democracy and Indian unity goes forward to final victory and they play their full part in forging the unity of the National Front shoulder to shoulder with all progressive and Left elements in our country.