

Election Manifesto
of the
Communist Party
of India

FOR THE FINAL STRUGGLE FOR INDIAN FREEDOM!

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 AID 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% 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 Rut 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 people, 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 cooperation 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.

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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 EPT reserve fund of the profiteer capitalists.*

* In addition to the 80 per cent of the net profits that the Government took as Excess Profits Tax (EPT) 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

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 Peopled 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

be returned after the war (with an interest of 2 per cent plus a Government contribution of 6 23 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.

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 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 to-day 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 to-day 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-USURY 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 cooperative movement; this must be done by the People's State by:

(i) subsidising sales-purchase cooperatives 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 Bahas 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*