

TRANSFER OF POWER—WHY ?



SÚDHIR MUKHUTY.

THREE ANNAS.

Second Edition.

Things are taking shape in conformity with visualisations made in this book.

This shows correctness of analysis, of currents and cross-currents active in a tremendously growing ferment throughout the world including our own country, upon which calculations of possible developments were based.

Hence the necessity of a second edition with the expectation that it may prove to be helpful to those who mean to remain on the van.

Publisher.

December, 1947.

Transfer of Power — Why ?

Being the Memorandum of the
Democratic Vanguard.

TO
THE BRITISH CABINET MISSION

Dear friends,

To you, the Members of the British Cabinet Mission, we extend our hearty welcome and greetings, as you land on the unhappy soil of our country. Unlike others now jubilant over the expectation of getting freedom of a sort from your hands, we do not suffer from any illusion of real freedom coming as a gift. Still, we extend our greetings because your people to-day send you to India in pursuance of their stand by the principle of self-determination and you carry the message of a great people expressed through Mr. Greenwood, while winding up the debate in the House of Commons in the following terms: "You cannot confer freedom. It is a precious prize you have to win and earn".

Yet you have come to arrange for the transfer of power! You have, as the instrument of power, an administrative machinery devised and developed by

the British Imperialism to suit its own purpose ; you have been running it from White Hall so long, under the authority of the British Parliament and now you propose to hand over this machinery, to some Indian hands who will run it under the authority of a similar institution to be created in India. Instrument of power in the hands of the imperialist rulers cannot be transferred but to this class of people, and those who will inherit the instrument cannot but use it for any purpose other than for what it is designed. And it is also conceded that if India so chooses, she may go outside the Empire and British people will never try to hold her down by force. In the midst of a gigantic gale of confusion raging in our land, where this picture is being painted as the picture of freedom, we are really grateful when our people are reminded, perhaps unwittingly, that our freedom will have to be built up by ourselves.

'Unwittingly' is being said advisedly; for, when you suggest winning and earning of the precious prize, you mean differently; to 'win and earn' freedom you want us to agree to an immediate solution of a Two-Nation-Theory problem by the top leaders, yet on the basis of a unified central authority capable of handling united foreign policy and unified armed might; to come to an agreement with the Native Princes; to accommodate some foreign vested interest, particularly British, in business and in employment; to agree to a military arrangement to be named a Treaty of Alliance with Great Britain, based on a

pledge of mutual assistance ; to agree to a plan of 'Constitution Making Body'; and to have that body frame a constitution ; and all these embodied in a document will have to be mutually agreed upon by Great Britain and 'India' and named a Treaty. All these will have to be worked out under the present dispensation, the continuity of which in all essentials will have to be maintained without any break, and this changeover can be effective only with the sanction and seal of approval of the rulers functioning through the British Parliament. Let us declare once again that under the given situation you could not behave otherwise and we do not for our own unpreparedness blame you, your Government or the nation you have come to represent.

We, however, believe that the process envisaged nullifies the principle of self-determination; that it is but a method of transference of power with the essential features of the politico-economic structure still in tact; that it will be, if things may take shape as desired, freedom of the few to exploit the rest ; that the people's freedom to live as human beings along with all other liberated peoples of the world will have to be built up by the people themselves without any reference to the existing system that has hoplessly failed and cannot but fail to serve the needs and wishes of the people; and that that system is, admittedly out and out corrupt to-day. Freedom, to be thus built up, will, through its process, straighten up the Pakistan issue. and the

problem of the Native Princes with none of their legacies left behind. Transfer of power or inheritance of it can form no part of this freedom, nor will it depend upon any sanction from outside. Its recognition will flow from all freedom loving people and from all over the world.

The plan you have set up to work out suffers from self-contradiction. For instance, the principle of Self-determination, as it is proposed to be applied in India, stops short in so far as the vast majority of the people, having no voice in it, is denied the right of Self-determination; of the lucky few who will have any voice, overwhelming majority being helpless economic slaves in a society where all wealth, all means of production and, hence, all the means of existence, as also the entire educative system including the press, the cinema, radio etc., happen to be owned and used by a few and used mostly for their interest, can have no independent voice; again any previous agreement, open or secret of the top leaders, be it between themselves or with others is bound to set some limitations to the scope of determination of our future; and the people of the Native States will have none or very little scope of exercising the right of Self-determination, for, their princes representing an anachronic and wasteful system enjoy protection of the British Imperialism through the instrumentality of a number of treaties and their voice is bound to predominate. No doubt the plan is not yet formulated and is capable of further improvement

upon its speculated form; but in no case can it be turned into an arrangement of making a constitution on the basis of Self-determination the essential conditions for which are, all must share the right of determination, and all exercising the right must be able to form and give free expression of their views, the ability having been earned through political and economic emancipation of the people. With these contradictions, self-determination has become a myth and can only serve to satisfy the vanity of some and to hoodwink the rest.

These contradictions land you into a number of absurdities out of which rise a good many complications almost incapable of solution. The Pakistan issue is one such. The problem of the Native States is another. There was a time when the British rulers would have congratulated themselves and be jubilant if they could manipulate into being such obstacles, complications and confusions. But to-day in a rapidly changing world their position is different. Rulers for their own interest, nay for the very existence of their system, rush forth to transfer power and want to see the recipients strongly entrenched therein. The shift in the position has been effected for the following among other reasons:—

(1) The defeat of the Fascist Powers as also its process has released tremendous amount of liberating forces in the entire human society. It is being immensely

strengthened by the post-war crisis touching every aspect of human existence. Struggle ensues for the life, and in the process every thing that obstructs is being hit hard. Unrest goes on increasing in volume and intensity in an unprecedented scale. The ruling class all over the world find it increasingly difficult to maintain their power and the old structure, under assault from all quarters. Rulers of some countries who contributed towards the defeat of Fascist Powers seem to be more embarrassed by the victory in the fermented world of to-day. It is being increasingly felt that the forces they defeated could have alone come to their rescue. Hence the planning for their resurrection and reorganisation of the dark forces, they themselves destroyed, perhaps in other names and other forms. To this end diplomatic manoeuvring, economic warfare and politico-military actions are being feverishly tried. A crusade against progressive forces all over the world is being vigorously carried on; the tactics pursued being hitting them in small isolated groups, at different times and with different methods to cover the ugliness of their indecent game from the public gaze and to get them divided and isolated and hence weak. In countries liberated, overrun and seemingly neutral, in colonies and dependencies and in respect of the weak nations the same game is being differently played, diplomay, bluff, intimidation, ill use of finances, cajoling, persuasion, promise, small scale military actions and all other conceivable methods are being resorted to. Yet the pulsation of life continues to the utter embarrassment of the ruling cliques.

In the Indian sector mighty upsurge of the popular forces is feared. March of events during the recent months has proved that the fear is justified. It reveals a trend dreadful to the foreign rulers with hardly any friend left in India as well as to the native vested interest, who, however, has anyhow been able to get the ears of the people and to mislead them. Can the foreign rulers cope with the situation unaided? The native vested interest, however much they may like and find it to their interest, cannot help the foreign rulers, for that will make their ruin sure; exposed and isolated they will then be bracketed together with the foreign rulers and go down with them. The rulers will have to rely on their administrative machinery, the only instrument in their possession, But the machinery now corrupt and confused, with its discipline badly corroded, confidence in its own strength rudely shaken, with its personnel antagonistic to itself, has been drifting fast towards the inevitable crash. They cannot either depend on their army with its doubtful allegiance and with so much of manifestation of discontent in different centres and different forms.

Hence, a dilligent search to find out the men who can do it. The proposal of transference of power is a concrete expression of that desire, and is calculated to find out the proper men for the proper place. (Those who doubted the correctness of this estimation, and contested the elections with high hopes, had their disillusionment at bitter cost and, perhaps, learnt

the lesson that logic and not magic prevails.) Ever growing ferment in the sub-continent of India indicates the imperative need of transference of power.

(2) Again, for the diplomatic preparation for the coming war the same abiding need of transfer of power is indicated.

It is now apparent to all that a war against Soviet Russia is being planned for, and its preparation is being made in all seriousness, zeal and haste. Our resolution on the subject in June, 1945 (a copy of which is being attached herewith for your information, as it has some bearing with this communication) was not given any serious consideration, and very few cared for counter-measures suggested, as they could not then believe that the allied powers will fall out so soon. Now that it is as clear as day-light, it is not necessary to go into details of events and arguments to prove our contention; it will suffice to state briefly, how this fear-complex arose, how it affects our rulers and why the question of transfer of power has assumed so much importance in relation thereto.

In the midst of a dangerously fermented world, groaning under scarcity, privations, sufferings, pestilence, starvation, death, and seething discontent, Russia has been enjoying comparative peace and happiness and is confident of her growing prosperity. She has emerged out of the war, victorious and strong; to her, the victory has not been an embarrassment, for, her mortal enemy, and not her ally of a future

crisis, is defeated and crushed. She had earned admiration and prestige that stand her in good stead. She has through trials and tribulations built up an army with excellent morale which any nation may be proud of. Her war-time industries have been, with lightening speed and with little difficulty, switched on to normal civil industries and yet she could plan for more happiness and more enjoyment of her people. Russia's loss of men and materials has been tremendous; yet, but for this loss, the post-war crisis has not affected her to any appreciable extent. Above all, the interest of the people and that of the state being one and the same, no antagonism exists between them. The credit for all these goes to the Soviet System which is run and manned by the toiling masses.

The other system in vogue in the rest of the world, rent with its own internal contradictions was declining even before the outbreak of the war. Democratic dictatorship of the capitalist, otherwise known as Parliamentary Democracy, was found to be unsuitable for the decaying system. So in some countries open dictatorship of the Fascist type was established. This proved to be the only hope of capitalism in decay. Even so, the internal contradictions in the camp brought about a dangerous armed conflict between the capitalist democratic countries and the Fascist Powers. Alignment of the Capitalist Democracies and Socialism into a single camp, otherwise incompatible, was determined by the requirement of

a life and death struggle against the Fascist Powers whose huge military might, with its totalitarian method, could not have been resisted by either group separately. Victory is achieved, but at the cost of destruction of forces which could have served as the saviour of capitalism in crisis and as implacable enemy of socialism in progress. So, victory is real to Socialism and to capitalist democracy it is illusory. Again, total war could be successfully combated by an all-out war effort ; it is possible only if the people willingly and enthusiastically participate. 'Freedom and Democracy in danger', 'for the defence of Democracy', 'for a New Order', and similar other slogans had their appeal calculated to rouse the people to action. But these were not forgotten or lost ; people do cherish these noble sentiments dearly ; and now that the war has been won, they hope that these should be brought to reality. In the enemy controlled territories also, for the same reason, these slogans had to be popularised ; liberation movements, and revolt against the authority, tyranny and old order had to be encouraged. Cumulative effect of all these developed into a wonderful liberating influence awaiting release by the achievement of victory. People drunk with the ideal of freedom and democracy refused to meekly submit to conditions of restraint persisting even after victory. On the other hand, the ruling class of the old world in their dread of things that may come, have started all their games to thwart the attempts at real liberation, and a generalised conflict has been the result.

To add to all these, human sufferings which increased several-fold during the war, touching the limit of human endurance, have suddenly mounted up as soon as war economy is sought to be liquidated in the capitalist world, on the termination of the war. War industries could not be smoothly switched on to normal civil industries and the chaos of the capitalist economy reappears with all its nakedness worsening further the miserable existence of man. The volume of discontent goes on increasing. The problem of existence remains unsolved and is found insoluble within the extant order. The success of the Soviet Socialism, on the other hand, offers the only alternative course that can yet make a serious attempt to save humanity from disaster. This comparative knowledge of the conditions of life of the two systems co-existing in a world where human existence is threatened under the one and brightest of promise is held by the other, helps in the growth of the influence of, and swing towards socialism.

Vested interest terribly in dread of this swing and influence and with its unwillingness and inability to remove the root cause, thinks in terms of a life and death struggle against Soviet Russia and what it stands for. The struggle has already been started ; it is now mainly being conducted in the realm of misleading propaganda and diplomatic manoeuvring. 'Paint her as black as can be ; isolate her friends and win them away or failing, crush them separately on various pretexts', is the tactics generally followed by the

enemies of Soviet Russia. Possible allies of Soviet Russia are being threatened, while prospective enemies are being helped, sometimes with indecent zeal. In our own land a careful scrutiny of the policy of release of political prisoners, even, may reveal the trend of anti-Soviet discrimination. In the international arena, military actions in small scales are being taken recourse to, while race for armaments, particularly in respect of newer and more effective types of arms, is being conducted most vigorously. Politico-military actions of many Governments are mainly conducted with this end in view.

Reacting on this development and with her past experience to help, Soviet Russia too has come down to the field. No more of Anti-Soviet Ring round Russia, formation of a friendly ring instead, vigorous search for allies, extension of sphere of influence, struggle for safe outlet and oil, effective propaganda to rouse sympathy for the system in other lands, race of armaments, and vigorous diplomacy are the things Russia has been feverishly working for. And the world in dismay has been waiting for a catastrophe greater than what was experienced during the last great war.

But it is one thing to wish, and it is another thing to be able to give effect to it. Soviet might, determination and possibilities are known to a certain extent; friends of Sovietism are, so to say, numberless; Soviet system is growing and is more

or less consistent with the pulsation of life; the system opposed to it is in decay and as such destructive of life; all-out war effort is almost an impossibility, —toilers of all description, even those in the army will not tolerate prolonged armed struggle against Soviet Russia. Hence to wish to crush her is not easy of realisation; on the other hand, there is the danger of its reaction overtaking the venturers. Naturally, therefore, the vested interest though anxious to crush Soviet Russia, and making feverish preparation to that end is also anxious to avoid an immediate clash.

Russia, on her part, gains more by peace; war involves tremendous loss of human lives, besides the huge loss of materials and energy. Man is not cannon fodder under Soviet System. Hence, Russia, though her fighting capacity is unquestionable and though she has been making preparations, wants to avoid war. Thus while both sides have been preparing for the war, both are anxious to put off the evil day.

But the danger of the situation is undeniable. The bitter propaganda, much of it misleading and ill-conceived, diplomatic warfare over every inch of the ground on the surface of the earth, race of armaments madly pursued, clash of arms indulged in here and there, have turned the globe into a huge dump of explosives involving the danger of ignition at any place and at any time. Hence the anxiety to postpone the evil day is almost an illusion; and both

sides have to keep themselves in readiness to meet any emergency. With this fear-complex both sides have got to take actions and to react on each other's action, thus completing the vicious circle. There seems to be no way out.

The British Government have, naturally, to carry out its own part. They have been trying all methods to enhance their preparations. They find that anti-Soviet mobilisation is far more a difficult task than the mobilisation against the Fascists. A war-weary nation will dislike an immediate war, and particularly, a war against their saviour, — the Red Army and Soviet Russia. The working-class in Great Britain will not take kindly to any proposal of armed conflict against Soviet Russia; production and transport including shipping may be seriously hampered; all progressive forces will withdraw their support to such a war. Army and Navy mostly composed of men from the toiling classes will generally share the feeling of the classes they do come from and cannot be relied upon for a long-drawn war against the Red Army and Soviet Russia. All allies of Great Britain including British Colonies enjoying Dominion Status, will fare no better in respect of this war.

India has enough of men and material and her industrial possibilities have been proved to be great; her geographical position is strategically advantageous in respect of a war with Soviet Russia. But these will not be of any avail in a dependent India, for none.

no party nor any group can agree to fight the battle of their masters against Soveit Russia. India already stirred up cannot provide even a mercenary army dependable enough to fight that war. Industrial output as well as means of communications may not then be utilised for the purpose of war with any sense of security.

It does not however mean that all Indians are pro-Soviet. There are men in India, as well as in other parts of the world, whose interest lies against Sovietism. There are groups and parties supported by a very powerful press, which have already started a crusade against Soviet Russia, Stalin and even Sovietism. The Communist Party of India is also sharing the same fate, though it should be noted, the party itself is to a certain extent responsible for its own misfortune. We do not suggest that Soviet Russia and Stalin can do no wrong; but the crusade against them is not based on any sound criticism of their action but senseless opposition to any thing regarding them is the order of the day. But even these parties and groups will not and cannot support an anti-Soveit war, if it is a war of foreign rulers, while the foreign domination still persists. But if such a war is declared after transfer of power, Indian recipients of power may declare war on 'Soviet Imperialism', 'for the interest of India' and in the name of the 'nation'. So, 'transfer of power' in India, happens to be a part of the diplomatic warfare conducted by British Imperialism

for its own interest. This is why the British Government is not only anxious but seems to be determined to remove all obstacles in the way to transference of power; moreover, they are to-day much in favour of a united India, for, then India will be militarily more powerful, than if she is divided. Even if division becomes unavoidable, transfer of power may not be postponed; rulers will then demand identical military alliance with all the separate states coming into being.

There are some minor factors operative, which do indicate the need of transfer of power to Indian hands; but for all practical purposes they are minor ones only. These could have been neglected, as such other factors were neglected before this Still, as they have some bearing, some of these are mentioned below :

(a) War-time promises are being redeemed. Atlantic Charter is being given effect to. In respect of a number of countries this Charter seems to have been completely forgotten and that also for the very same reasons which are forcing the hitherto' unwilling hands to transfer power in India.

(b) In a fermented world a vast country like India cannot be ruled from so far and by foreigners. This is covered by our first point.

(c) In the sphere of international diplomacy, British rulers are being accused of violation of

their pledge to India. Transfer of power is calculated to liquidate the possibility of recurrence of this charge and the rulers will hereafter be more effective in their diplomacy.

(d) Indian market is lost to Great Britain and cannot be recovered without satisfying the Indian demand for freedom. Great Britain will have the undoubted advantage if India is satisfied on this score. But this is only incidental, more abiding reasons have already been discussed.

(e) Indian ferment to-day precludes the possibility of retaining India under subjection for long. It is more profitable and graceful to leave India rather than to be driven away.

(f) Democratic assertion of the people of Great Britain has done the trick. It is, no doubt, a contributing factor, but not to the extent some people will like us to believe. Had the people's voice been so much effective, some other countries would have been free by now, repression in some others by British rulers would not have been possible and there could not have been any Russian problem to embarrass the British rulers.

(g) Some believe that the British Imperialism has been liquidated and, it is now formally liquidating colonies and dependencies. It is an absurd suggestion calculated to mislead. The war did force the contraction of the strength of Imperialism, but re-expansion has been the logical trend. It is not dead.

(h) In Great Britain, some people want us to believe, a socialist revolution has taken place and this revolution is doing its duty by us. No doubt, a swing towards the Left in post-war period has brought the Labour Party to power; but it is the power within the structure of Parliamentary Democracy. Labour Party may be thrown out of office through the Parliamentary procedure in this Parliament or in another through another General Election. Sometime back a proposal was mooted to form a National Government. When even a revolutionary party comes to power, security of its continuity is not guaranteed, the expectation of revolution is reduced to a farce. The plan and programme of the Labour Party, though progressive, were not very seriously resisted by those who are admittedly anti-revolutionary. We would have been happy had there been a revolution in England, but we believe that the time for it has not yet come. Our liberation must precede before England can seriously plan for a revolution. The party in power, namely the Labour Party, however well-intentioned it may be, can function only through an Imperialist structure designed for purposes other than of revolution, and hence, through this instrument the purpose of revolution cannot be served. It should also be noted that the party in power for its foreign and colonial policies generally seeks complete agreement from the opposition parties. We, therefore, refuse to accept transfer of power as a revolutionary act by a Revolutionary Government as they say.

We, however, want to make it clear that as we never expected the Labour Party to function as a revolutionary body, we have no complaint to make, nor any alternative, revolutionary in character, to suggest. Ours is only an attempt at clarification of the situation with particular reference to confusion deliberately created, and understanding the motive underlying the move. We believe that the Labour Party functioning through the Imperialist structure has been serving its motive, perhaps in more agreeable an approach, and we shall be happy if in fact we are found to be incorrect.

But we shall fail in our duty if we do not express our misgivings regarding your approach. Your Party's name is associated with the working class movement, a movement that has for its ultimate goal liquidation of all forms of exploitation and establishment of a classless society. Over and above that, your Party is believed to be friendly towards Indian aspiration. Hence, your words will be implicitly believed by a section of the people. Any hope you may raise will be further reinforced by the future recipients of power, for their own reasons. Now, when your voice and theirs jointly tell the people that India herself, under your plan, is going to determine her future, people will accept it as true unhesitatingly; but the reality is, through some manoeuvring to serve as cover, only the Indian vested interests will have that right of determination. This illusion will, however, break very

soon under the impact of what we call the crisis of existence incapable of any helpful solution by the vested interest, and within the extant politico-economic structure. Disillusioned people will then know that the proposed so-called freedom is the freedom of the few to exploit, and their own freedom to live as human beings can be built up by themselves, with their own strength mobilised to get all resources for production of human needs, for the distribution of these to save men who must live as human beings, and, while doing so, the people will evolve their politico-economic power. History will never excuse those who create illusions or those who pretend.

This brings us to the need of sounding a note of warning : Your purpose of securing Indian resources for the anti-Soviet struggle is bound to fail. The class that receives power from you have so much influence over the people to-day, precisely for the reason that so long as foreign rule exists, the slogan 'To struggle against Imperialism first' serves to cover the real character of the vested interests. With the transfer of power this cover breaks and the ugly face of exploitation is exposed; a sudden swing against the recipients of transferred power will overtake the field. With the crisis further maturing, antagonism against native exploitation is bound to be more extensive and intensive. Indian rulers in India then will lose all capacity to mislead the masses against their own interest and to send them to a war against Soviet Russia. Indian ruling class will then have to face as much

difficulty, if not more, in going through a war against Soviet Russia as the ruling class in other countries will have to face. The solution of the problem is to take courage in both hands and reverse the process. Soviet interest lies in peace and if they prepare for the war and carry on diplomatic struggle towards that end, they do so because they are forced to do so, to save themselves from destruction which is being planned with determination by a powerful combination of the ruling class all the world over. Your Government and your Party are eminently suited to take initiative in this regard, for the Imperialist policy of Anti-Sovietism need not necessarily be pursued by the Labour Government. A reversal of the policy means saving humanity from disaster, and progressive forces will veer round such a policy.

In conclusion, let us assure you that what has been said herein, has been said without any reservation and no ill-will is meant. Our views, for whatever they are worth, are meant mainly for your people and ours and we with grateful heart convey our greetings once again to you—the members of the British Cabinet Mission, for our being able to have this opportunity of telling them our views through your medium.

Yours fraternally,
Sudhir Chandra Mukhuty,
Secretary,
All India Committee,
Democratic Vanguard.

Dated : 20-3-46

Resolution

On Anti-Soviet Propaganda as passed by the
Mazdoor-O-Gana-Panchayet Sammelan
held on the 23rd & 24th June, 1945.

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But it is alarming to note that open and covert, crude and subtle anti-Soviet propaganda, many with suggestions of an early armed conflict, is being carried on by powerful interests all over the world under the spiritual leadership of the reactionary vested interests. It is extremely disquieting to find that such propaganda is not only not discountenanced but is also being fomented by many governments in the Allied Camp. It is a dangerous game; for, past experience shews that such ill-conceived propaganda leads to armed clash. In this particular case, the game is being played in fear of the hope inspired amongst the toiling masses in their struggle against exploitation by the Soviet system with its ever-increasing possibilities, of the growing strength of Soviet Russia and of the wrong appreciation of the possibility of Soviet Russia exporting revolution in other lands by force.

Irrespective of motive, such a clash at this stage, be it in the realm of propaganda, diplomacy or of

armed conflict implies (1) prolongation of human sufferings, (2) advantage to the Jap fascists, (3) extreme difficulty in mobilisation of resources, human and material, of all war-weary nations, (4) danger of setting the armies of the democratic countries against their saviours—the Red Army, (5) opposition in the realm of production in respect of a war against Soviet Russia and (6) opposition of all progressive forces to a war against progress, liberty and social and political democracy.

This Conference, as an Anti-Fascist mobilisation, must protest against such dangerous game that is sure to prove ruinous to human society and suicidal even to those who are now indulging in it, and warn all concerned not to continue it. Governments in the parliamentary democratic countries should effectively check such propaganda as is calculated to provoke a conflict with Soviet Russia and they should themselves desist from what may be described as inspiring such offensive propaganda.

It is deplorable to note that in our own land anti-Soviet propaganda is gaining ground in a section of the middle class 'bhadrals' who could be easily misled against anti-fascism because of their anti-ruler attitude, so natural in a dependent country, and thence against Soviet Russia supported by all genuine anti-fascists. They are now in the same camp with the imperialists of all lands including those of Great Britain. This conference appeals to these potential

revolutionary forces to take serious note of it and not to allow themselves to be used by their enemies.

This Conference appeals to anti-fascist parties, organisations, groups and individuals, and also to the Trade Unions, Panchayets, Defence Committees, Cultural Organisations, Journalists and all other institutions including teachers and students of all educational institutions to pass similar resolutions in meetings, and otherwise mobilise opinion on this behalf. It is further suggested that news regarding meetings and resolutions passed therein may be given widest publicity.

Publisher

Santosh Batabyal

DEMOCRATIC VANGUARD

18, Mirzapore Street,

CALCUTTA

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Democratic Vanguard
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