



CHAPTER - III

THE DABHADI THESIS OF THE PWP.

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C H A P T E R - III

THE DABHADI THESIS OF THE P.W.P.

The famous Dabhadi thesis of the P.W.P. was passed in the form of resolution in the second conference of the PWP organised at Dabhadi in Nasik district of the state. This thesis is important because we can trace development of radical political ideology in peasant communities of Maharashtra. The Satyashodhak ideology was converted into some sort of socialist ideology by Dinkarrao Javalkar in his famous book. ' क्रान्ती रक्षा ' published in way back 1931-32. (1) The socialist ideas articulated by Javalkar in the thirties found expression in the Dabhadi thesis of the P.W.P.

Before the establishment of the P.W.P. the P.W.P. leaders established the Congress Shetkari Kamgar Sangh and the sangh stood for establishment of the state of peasants and workers.

THE CONGRESS SHETKARI KAMGAR SANGH AND ITS IDEOLOGY :

The congress Shetkari kamgar sangh was established in 1946-47 and it passed resolution on 3/3/1947 declaring that it stood for the establishment of state of workers and peasants in India. Its resolution is as follows " The congress has made it clear that ; it wants to establish the

state of workers and peasants. On 15.3.1947 our country will become independent. The country owes its independence to innumerable sacrifices and sufferings undergone by the workers and peasants of this country. It is necessary that political power should be initially used to advance the cause of workers and peasants and it will be used ultimately to establish the state of peasants and workers, we completely believe in the above declaration of the Congress. The resolution further points out.<sup>(2)</sup>

" We fear that political power after independence will go in the hands of such exploiting classes like capitalists and money lenders and they will continue to exploit the workers and peasant. We feel that it is necessary to establish an organisation of the socialist congress men within the Congress to realise the dream of establishment of state of peasants and workers by vigilantly and strongly safeguarding the interests of workers and peasants. For that purpose we have decided establish the Congress Shetkari Kamgar Sangh." (3)

The sangh believed in radical socialist ideology and was of the view that it would strive to establish the state of peasants and workers in India as the sangh feels that democracy means state of peasants and workers. To establish such a state following principles should be implemented.

- 1) The power of the state should be in the hands of workers and it should be used for the benefits of the workers.
- 2) The means of productions should be collectively owned.
- 3) The education will be compulsory for all children in the country and through this education an attempt should be made to develop the physical psychological and intellectual faculties of children.
- 4) All the means of transport will be nationalised.
- 5) The millitary education will be compulosary and all men and women in the country will be given military education to safeguard the nations as well as for self protection.
- 6) The government should provide food, cloths and the houses to the citizens.
- 7) All the goods produced in the country or imported from outside will not be allowed to be distributed by private agencies but they will be distributed by the co-operative societies.
- 8) The principle of social equality be strictly followed irrespective of caste creed sex and religion. (4)

But the congress party did not allow the internal groups to function within its fold hence the members of Shetkari Kamgar Sangh came out and established the Peasants and Workers party. The party was leftist in its ideology but in the process it became Marxist-Leninist and in its Dabhadi thesis which was approved in the form of resolution tried to understand the Indian reality through the Marxist perspective.

The Dabhadi thesis is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter international situation is discussed. In the second chapter national situation is discussed in detail. In the third and fourth chapters the party points out mistakes of the C.P.I. and puts forward a case for the establishment of the independent Marxist party. In the fifth chapter limitations of socialist party are discussed and in the last chapter future activities and programs of the party are enunciated.

We shall serially deal with all these issues.

### 3:1. INTERNATIONAL SITUATION :

It is the opinion of the PWP in the Dabhadi thesis that as a result of second world war there was basic change in the international situation. There rose two groups on the horizon of international politics one in favour of the imperialist system and other against the system. The two groups adopted exactly opposite policies in the world politics. The

democratic group constituted of Russia, the democratic nations of **Eastern Europe**, China and the revolutionary people in all the countries of the world and the leadership of this group was in the hands of Soviet Russia. The main aim of this group was to fight against imperialist group for the world peace and democracy. (5)

On the other hand the group of imperialist constituted of **America, England, France, Italy** and all exploiting power groups in other countries. The leadership of this group was in the hands of **America** and the main aim of this group was to perpetuate its slavery over other people by destroying their democratic governments and by waging new wars. **America** started to expand her power all over the world taking possession of raw material and other commodities necessary for their development. The imperialist group of **America** became the center and pillar of world imperialist block. The much exfolled Marshal plan was nothing else but the economic, political and military weapon of the **American imperialists** and with its help., they sought to establish their domination over western Europe by taking over the economic system of Western Europe. The U.N.O. Sought to stop the use of atomic weapons in war. But **America** was not ready to accept this plan, because the **American imperialists** wanted that there should be no peace and no co-operation among

the democratic nations and Soviet Russia. Hence the Anglo-American group strongly opposed the U.N.O.'s plan. Then the Anglo-American group initiated cold war. For that purpose, they used Radio, Newspapers, movies and created the atmosphere of international conflicts and the fear of the war in peoples' mind. (6) In this way the Anglo-American group was heading towards war by resorting to use of military power, political pressure, economic blackmail to enslave other nations.

On the other hand Russian group was in favour of peaceful policies. Hence, the Russian group wanted to fight America for its preparation of Atombomb, and it wanted to destroy the American monopoly in Atombomb to live peaceful life. Hence the Soviet Union also made nuclear bomb. But it moved a resolution before the general council of U.N.O. that the use of Nuclear bomb be stopped, preparation of war be halted and committee of 5 nations be formed to strengthen the world peace. In this way Russia tried to block the road of war fare and extended support to world peace.

Chang-Kai Shaik in China had become the devotee follower of America and the Chinese communists did not want to live under his rule. In his place they formed a people's democracy by overthrowing Chang which was not liked by USA as they feared that with the induction of China the democratic forces had become stronger as new democratic China would participate in the movement against the imperialism.

The P.W.P. in its Dabhadhi thesis feels that capitalist system is increasingly threatened by its own internal weaknesses by and by new democratic revolution in different countries. The capitalist economy is suffering from the democratic movements of the working class, in their own country and in the colonial countries, anti-imperialist freedom struggles are getting intense.

The P.W.P. is of the view that national self determination movements in colonies and dependent countries are waging wars against imperialism.<sup>(7)</sup> The Chinese revolution has broken some new grounds and in countries like Vietnam, Burma, Indochina, Corea and Philipines the armed masses are locked in fierree battles against imperialism. Liberation movement are gaining ground all over the world and democratic struggle of the Indian masses is a part of that broader movement.<sup>(8)</sup>

### 3:2. THE NATIONAL SITUATION :

During the period after the first world war there was a wave of revolt against the imperialist in all the colonial and partly colonial countries. The PWP is of the view that the reflection of that wave was also seen in India during this period. Indian peasants, workers, and middle classes waged relentless fight against the British rule, though the leadership of the movement was in the hands of the capitalists. There was no political party of a working class to fight their cause.<sup>(9)</sup>



After the first World War, there was an increase in the number of workers due to the increase of industries in India. In the year 1918 the number of factories were 2436 and the number of workers were 11.23 Lakh. But in 1926 it increased to 7271 and 15.18 Lakh respectively. As well there was a great increase in the capital invested in different industries. In 1918, the total capital of Joint stock company was <sup>Rs</sup> 99.11 crore Rs. which increased in 1925 up to Rs. 276.96 crore. In the Railway department the capital in 1921 was Rs. 566.38 Lakh but it became Rs. 733.37 Lakh in 1925. In this way there was a considerable increase in the number of industrial workers. The working class became a major class in India. With the increase in industries the capitalists also increased their tendency of exploiting the working class and kept themselves up by creating unemployment and making less payment.<sup>(10)</sup>

In 1929 when India was in economic difficulties, the working class was getting awakened and united. As well as the Communist party had come in to existence. There was ample scope for the Communist party to lead the movement of Indian revolutionaries. At the same time the peasant class struggles were growing and their intensity was also growing. Their effects could clearly be seen on the political movement. In 1928 under the leadership of working class in Bombay the people boycotted the Simon commission and staged a huge demonstration against the government.<sup>(11)</sup>

On first January 1930 it was declared in the national Congress session at Lahore that it was the aim of the Congress to get complete freedom and for that purpose, there must be a struggle but the idea of the struggle and its nature and the aim was not the same for Congress leaders and the common people. The nature of this struggle changed because on a large scale people took part in it. Due to the revolutionary nature of the struggle great congress leaders and British imperialist both got afraid and compromised between themselves and made an agreement called Gandhi - Irwin pact. In this way the pro capitalistic leadership of the Congress weakened the resolve of the masses. In elections of 1937, the congress men were elected with huge majority but they used the political power mainly to safeguard the interests of the capitalists. During that period there started a great conflict between the Rightists and Leftists in the Congress. In 1934 there rose the socialist party within the congress as a party wedded to socialism. At last in September 1939 the Second World War broke out. Regarding the war whether Indians should take part in war along with British or not, the decision was not taken clearly by the Congress leaders who were stuck to political power and were afraid of people's struggle because since 1940 Congress did not lead any mass movement, on the other hand it tried to weaken every mass movement. (12)

Due to the imperialist policy in the India there was great increase in the poverty of farmers. The percentage of land under the agriculture was 15.86 crores acers which became 15.65 crore acers in 1941-42. The production of wheat which was 5.45 crore tons in 1921-22 was reduced to 4.57 crore tons in 1941-42. In the same period, there was tremendous increase in the load of debt on the farmers. In 1931 the debt on farmers was Rs. 900 crore which got doubled in 1937 as Rs. 1800 crore. The fields in villages were fragmented into pieces hence the fragmentation caused great increase in the number of farm labourers. The number of farm labourers in 1944-45 was 6.5 crores. Also the cost of the grain produced by farmers did not increase but it was fixed less than its cost of production. In this way, the farmers class in India remained in dire poverty.<sup>(13)</sup>

The working class also suffered like the peasant class as a result of second world war. In this period there was a great increase in the number of workers. In 1943 the total number of workers in factories was 24,36,672. In addition, the number of workers in mines was 3,49,361, as well as the number of workers in Railway 8,89,056 and the number of farm labour was 10,79,348. In this way though there was an increase in the number of workers, their daily life was of very low level. For example, a worker in Bombay purchased 1.54 pounds of foodgrain, but much more food grain was given to a person in Jail undergoing

both types of sentences. In this way the working class was living a degrading life. Thus, up to 1947, the poverty of workers and peasants was increasing but the wealth and profits of the capitalists were increasing.<sup>(14)</sup>

In the year 1946-47, workers peasant, middle classes, naval staff of Bombay and people from all other classes started a great strike to get them economic demands granted. The strike included 1323253 workers. Seeing this great strength and the pressure of workers, Indian capitalists joined hands with the British imperialists and became their camp followers in domestic and international issues. Therefore, the relations between the Indian Congress leaders and the British imperialists were very cordial at the time of transfer of power in 1947.<sup>(15)</sup>

On 15th August 1947 India was divided between India and Pakistan and became freedom. Due to this division, the different economic relations connecting different parts of country were cut and the economic conditions of both countries became worse. India and Pakistan were divided but they had to depend on each other because the factories of Jute and cloth were in India but the production of jute and cotton was done in Pakistan. Due to this, there began conflicts and quarrels between the two countries and that added fire to communalism. The British imperialists very cleverly took advantage of this situation and made a permanent enmity between the two.

After independence, in the constitution of free India the right of private property was included as a fundamental right which was made justiciable, and it was explained that private property of an individual cannot be taken over without paying adequate compensation. Thus a protection was given to interests of National and Foreign capitalists and imperialists. As well as bureaucracy in political managements was kept alive. The British legacy in all the matters was allowed to exist. It is argued by the P.W.P. that the Indian political freedom was the result of an alliance between the British imperialism and Indian capitalist. Hence in the economic relations between India and Britain, the Indian economic system did not break out of its colonial mould. Nehru did not bring about any basic change in the pro-capitalist leanings of the Congress. Nehru governed according to wishes of Anglo-American imperialists and gave facilities to American capitalists for investing their capital in India. According to these facilities, guarantee of profit, safety of capital, the transfer of profit in dollars and not to nationalise the American industries were the conditions accepted by the government. Thus Nehru government became a camp follower of Anglo-American imperialism and it became the enemy of India's national independence.<sup>(16)</sup>

As a camp follower of imperialist group, Nehru government did not think about the conditions of common people. Hence day by day the economic problems became serious. The conditions of mainly workers, farm labours, the poor and middle class

peasants and workers in cities became worse. In general, living standards came down. In June 1947 the Index Number was 294.2 but it became 382.2 in June 1948. The Index number of foodgrain in 1947-48-49 was 287,377,381 respectively. So the rate of price spiral was very high and the factories were locked out and the number of unemployed increased. The number of unemployed in 1947 was 5.7 lakhas which increased to 8.71 lakhas in 1948. In 1950 in Bombay 10 cotton mills were closed, some were shifted to the other areas and 13 mills were locked out resulting in unemployment of 27136 workers.<sup>(17)</sup>

Thus, while the number of unemployed was growing and the production was decreasing, the profits of capitalists were growing. The conditions of peasants were quite bad. The number of peasants in 1931 was crores 50 lakhs which increased to 6 croers 80 lakhas in 1944. There was no limit for the working hours of farm labours and the farm labours worked by taking his wages in the form of food grains or money. As well as the prices of inputs needed in agriculture went on increasing but the prices of foodgrains went on decreasing. Due to these things, peasants continued remain in porverty.<sup>(18)</sup> The government policies completely drove the poor people to the brink of misery and poverty as rising prices created many problems for poor people.

The PWP thinks that the people were troubled by the economic difficulties and Nehru government was following pro-capitalist policies. It tried to keep interest of capitalists

safe and shifted economic burden on the masses by increasing taxes and by passing the budget in which heavy expenditure for military purposes was provided for and by fixing the prices of foodgrains less than the cost of production. Along with this the government used political power to break the popular agitations. To destroy workers' unions completely, the government founded the pro-congress union INTUC which behaved according to the government instructions. Thus working class was divided and the INTUC was given preferential treatment. The government passed bills like Trade Union Bill, labour dispute act, compulsory detention act to deprive the people of their rights. Thus, the masses got completely disillusioned. In such situation it was expected that the Communist party would organise the masses oppose anti-people policies of the government but the leadership of the communist party did not pay adequate attention. Instead of organising the leftist forces, the socialist party followed the divisive policy and helped the government to destroy popular movements of the people.<sup>(19)</sup>

During this period Indian working class was willing to be united but the middle class leadership of the CPI could not utilise the opportunity and sabotaged people's movement in 1930. The farmers and middle classes were taking part in the movement on a large scale to fight for the denial of landlords' share in the produce to deny payment of taxes to government. The communist party was leading the movement but it did not

succeed. It allowed the leadership of the congress to remain in the hands of the capitalists. There was no influence of communist ideology on the common people. The people could not develop a proper revolutionary point of view because their political understanding was not adequately developed. The leadership of the Communist party accepted a policy, that kept itself away from people's movement against imperialism. Wang Ming criticised the communist party for having helped the Gandhism and reformists to over power them. The 7th International conference of congress held in 1935 is an important step in the world struggle of the working class. At that time the Fascism succeeded in capturing power in Germany, Italy and Japan and it was argued that Fascism should be fought and defeated.<sup>(20)</sup>

### 3.3. MISTAKES MADE BY THE C.P.I.

The communist movement in Indian was slowly developing as it did not take into consideration the problems of peasantry. The communists joined the congress but failed to adopt correct revolutionery approach, hence the strange hold of the congress over country continued.

During 1937 to 41 the policy of Indian communist party to say the least was opportuniti. Though the Indian communist leaders were in the congress they never tried to free the people from the influence of the capitalistic leadership of the congress. On the other hand the working class under the



leadership of communist party in Solapur was deliberately kept away from the congress. The communist leadership compromised with the pro-capitalistic leadership of the Congress and decided not to fight the elections in Maharashtra. The communist accepted the policy of co-operation with the British imperialism and indirectly supported such policies as advocated by the people like Max well in 1942.<sup>(21)</sup>

These mistakes of the Indian communist party resulted in the consolidation of common people under the pro-capitalistic leadership of the congress. It drove away the working class to the congress, middle classes to the socialist party and the peasants remained under the influence of the congress. The people were influenced by capitalistic concept of nationalism. Thus the revolutionary potentialities of the masses could not be exploited by the C.P.I.<sup>(22)</sup>

The communists were of the view that India was a colony of England hence Indian revolution would be some sort of democratic revolution and it would be different from Russian revolution. India was a colonial country with weak capitalism hence class formation was also weak. Therefore peasants and middle classes were considered the allies of working class to bring about democratic revolution. But the Indian communists did not make proper historical assessment and argued that Mao-Tse-Tung, who was leading peoples' democratic revolution in China was not correctly following Marxist principles. It must be made clear that the Indian communists were not in a



position to follow revolutionary principles of Lenin and Stalin and could not unite people on their economic and political demands.<sup>(23)</sup> Thus they failed to revolutionise masses and unnecessarily made tall declarations that had no basis in reality.

It was felt that the communists could not follow the revolutionary teachings of Lenin and Stalin and drove away peasants and workers to the Congress. It ~~got alienated from~~ <sup>became a party of</sup> middle class opportunism or middle class adventurism.<sup>(24)</sup>

The P.W.P. sums up the mistakes of the C.P.I. as follow :

- 1) The C.P.I. did not correctly understand the stage of India's development and unnecessarily equated Indian conditions in 1930 with that of Soviet Union before 1917. It did not realise that India is a colonial country and the Indian capitalist has become an instrument in the hands of imperialists, Indian economic frame work is colonial hence the freedom struggle waged under the leadership of the congress party is bound to be anti-revolutionary and reformist. Thus the party failed to correctly understand the nature of Indian freedom struggle.
- 2) The party did not take into consideration the role of different classes in Indian revolution as it wrongly termed middle peasants as an " Vascillating ally " Lenin and Stalin clearly stated that the middle peasant is the friend of

proletariat but middle class leadership of the CPI did not understand it.

3) The CPI was wrong in its political strategy as well as in political tactics in 1948 it followed the policy of left-adventurism that allowed the government to suppress all the leftist parties.

4) The CPI did not correctly understand the readiness of the Indian masses to launch revolutionary warfare as its attempts proved to be adventurist.

5) The CPI unnecessarily mouthed revolutionary Slogans by imposing revolutionary qualities on the masses, but instead of mouthing radical slogans. It is high time that the CPI should wage the political and economic struggles of the people and gradually inculcate the principles of revolutionism in it.

Due to these mistakes of the communist party, it got alienated from the people and wrong policies caused great losses to revolutionary movement. Now under the instruction of the Cominform, the party is learning lessons from its past mistakes and in the process it may adhere to principles of leninism and stalinism. (25)

It is the opinion of the PWP that there is need of revising political understanding and tactics of the party. It is necessary that the leadership of the party should be changed to make it a party of working class. Considering these

, the PWP acknowledges the importance of the CPI in the development of revolutionary democratic front in the country and wants it to follow the policies that would enhance the cause of revolution. (26)

#### 3:4. THE LIMITATIONS OF SOCIALIST PARTY :

It is the opinion of the PWP that the responsibility of destroying Indian democratic revolution was not on the communist party alone but it can be placed on the socialist party also. The socialist party was not wedded to the ideas of Marx hence its actions were bound to be suspect. For example the socialist party considered the Soviet Union as a representative of red imperialism and did not enhance the cause of democratic revolution. Thus the socialist party was willing to help Anglo-American imperialism. The socialist party believed in principle of democratic socialism that stood for maintenance of capitalism. As such the socialists are not the enemies of the capitalist economic system., the party was more interested in decentralisation of capital than in the revolutionary path, therefore, it ultimately helped the cause of capitalism. (27)

This is due to the fact that the leaders of the Socialist party did not accept the basic class approach of Marxism. Hence their policy towards the unity of working class

was unfavourable to revolution and consequently they divided the working class. The policy of the socialist party was to improve the lot of the workers but it was not in favour of establishment of leadership of them over the democratic movement. It meant that the leadership of the party was of the middle class and not that of working class. As a result the socialist party extended support to the international workers union formed by the Anglo-American group. Its exhortion to the workers that they should be prepared to accept reduced wages in the difficult period but should not go unemployed; did not help the cause of working class. By establishing seperate unions, the socialist party had spilit the unity of workers and had kept the peasantry away from the path of revolution. (28)

The PWP thinks that the socialist party is making these mistakes because its leadership grew under the influence of Gandhiji. The party has kept workers, peasents, middle classes away from the radical movement. But increasingly it will realise that these every classes are suppressed and exploited by the capitalists and it is essential for them to come out on the street. The party realises importance of the socialist party in the cause of democratic revolution and thinks that the poor peasants, workers and middle classes should force the leaders of the socialist party to adopt more progressive and radical policies. (29)

COPY. THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
SERIALS ACQUISITION DIVISION  
COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND

3:5 THE P.W.P. AND ITS POLITICAL GOALS :

The PWP felt that the tendency of Indian communist leaders was that of hasitating nature and that of the socialist was that of decieving nature. Due to these reasons the common people, peasnat class, working class and middle class in India were in dire straits. Their lot had become miserable due to the fact that both the parties did not fight for the welfare of these people and in a way they were indirectly helping the capitalist group. The declaration of the congress that it would establish the state of workers and the peasants had remained a dream only, but on the contrary, the congress governed in the interests of landlords and capitalists. Therefore, Bahujan Samaj in the congress was dissatisfied. The Bahujan Samaj remained with the congress but the congress did not carryut the economic, political and social programes infavour of them.

Keeping these things in view, the congress men who established Shetkari Kamgar Sangh within the congress got disillusioned as the Congress disallowed the formation of internal groups and Dev-Devagirikar group succeeded in driving Jedhe group out of the party. Thus in the provincial conference held in April 1948, a resolution to that effect was passed. A meeting was called at the house of Mr. Bhausahab Raut when the senior leaders from majortiy community met to decide their

own political future it was decided in that meeting that the congress was following the pro-capitalist and anti-farmers policies hence it should be opposed and a new party wedded to the ideal of improving the lot of farmers and workers should be established. It was decided that the main philosophical basis of the new party-Indian peasants and workers party, should be Marxism-Leninism. (30)

It was felt by the party that Indian conditions were ripe for revolution but the leftist parties were not in a position to lead Indian masses as they were following the wrong policies. Therefore, to solve the problems of the Indian people the peasants and workers party was established.

It was claimed by the PWP that it carried away Marxist-Leninist philosophy to the rural part by wiping out the wrong impressions created by the enemies of progress and by wrong strategies adopted by the C.P.I. The PWP claimed that it was ~~the~~ true proletarian party that believed in proletarian internationalism. It tried to improve the image of the Soviet Union in the minds of the common people. In its Solapur conference, the party gave a call for unity of all the revolutionary parties. On that basis the help of late Shardchandra Bose the president of socialist Republican Party was sought for founding, All India United socialist conference but the attempt failed. (31)

The prominent leaders who joined the PWP were Keshavrao Jedhe, Shankarrao More, Tushidas Jadhav, R.K. Khadilkar,

Uddhavrao Patil, Bhausahab Raut, Datta Deshmukh, Nana Patil and several others. They established the offices of the party in many rural areas. The party contested two by election held in Kulaba and Nagar and in both the by elections party's <sup>Candidates</sup> won handsome victories boosting its moral.<sup>(32)</sup> It was spreading its influence in Khandesh, Nagar and Satara districts of the state.

Immediately, after its establishment, the Peasants Workers Party formed the unions of workers. The party also made successful effort to establish unity between Hind Mazdoor - Sabha and INTUC at Ogalewadi in Satara district; Where they were dissuited. In Solapur the party tried establish unity among the different unions of workers but it was not successful. Hence the party had to struggle against lock-up of mills in Solapur. The party fought for the increase in payment for the workers at Radhanageri. As well as the party took part in the strike of Bombay municipal workers.<sup>(33)</sup>

The PWP had started to work in the workers in Bombay. It thought that a different kind of form can be given to the movement of working class in India, if the workers in Bombay were united under its platform. As it realised its important role in the successful implementation of democratic revolution. In 1948 at Kowad in district Belgam, the party organised farmers conference to fight against all kinds of oppression against of peasants. In different places in Maharashtra, the party organised peasant conferences to solve problems of peasants.



The government was oppressing the peasants giving them unremunerative prices for their produce. The party started a struggle against the government at Igatpuri Taluka. Its result was that 87 village police Patils submitted their resignations, 466 farmers were Jailed, of which 87 were women. In Igatpuri, as well as in Kulaba district the farmers' conference successfully launched its struggle. The party tried to unite the people by organising the conferences and it successfully waged struggle against Levy in Barshi Taluka and in Marathwada region of Hyderabad state. In Barshi Taluka, 50 to 60 leaders of peasants were jailed by the government in this struggle. (34)

IN DABHADI THESIS THE PARTY SETS BEFORE ITSELF

FOLLOWING AIMS :-

- 1) Under the guidance of the Comin forin, the party wants to carry forward the struggle for democratic revolution and believes that this can be done by unifying under the leadership of the CPI, peasants workers trade unions and all progressive and democratic sections of the society.
- 2) To expose the pro-capitalist and dictatorial nature of the Congress government.
- 3) To wage struggles to solve the problems of the people.
- 4) To fight for the establishment of Samyukta Maharashtra with Bombay as its capital.

5) Some times co-operation of rich peasants and small capitalists who are on the brink of disaster can be sought as it may serve the limited purpose.

6) The party wants to organise the struggles of peasants, workers farm labourers, middle classes and other toiling masses of the society to forge a revolutionary alliance of the forces of change.<sup>(35)</sup>

The party is of the view that by organising such a militant revolutionary front only, we can complete our democratic struggle for national independence and hoist the victorious flag of peoples' democratic revolution over this country.<sup>(36)</sup>

### 3:6. FUTURE ACTIVITIES OF THE P.W.P. :

After the founding of PWP, the party needed a separate programme of its own as no party can exist without having its own policy and program. During the two years 1948, 49 the party recieved a good response from the people for its work. Therefore, the party needed to develop its own ideology and programs. In 1950, at village Dabhadi a political conference of the party was organised. In that conference the Dabhadi thesis of the party was accepted which enunciated the basic policies and programs of the party.

On the 15th August 1947 India became independent but there was no change in the economic system. The PWP was of the opinion that the origin of the revolutionary movement for the

national freedom against imperialism could be found in the following things. The imperialistic country had opposed free industrial development of colonial countries. The capitalist class started taking part in the first stage of independence movement due to the contradiction between colonial capitalists and imperialistic capitalists. During this period the workers were united and got ready to take part in national freedom movement irrespective of the fact that they were exploited by the colonial capitalists. In the economic system of colonial countries, there existed native industries and working class and the peasant community got divided in to different classes. Also, the pressure of Bank capital, and the dominance of imperialism in economic, political and military fields created a great possibility for the revolutionary upsurge of the masses.

Thus PWP had pointed out 3 main kinds of revolution in the thesis of Dabhadi.

- 1) The revolution in the developed capitalist countries  
( America , Britan , Russia )
- 2) The revolution in semi developed capitalist countries.  
( Poland , Portugal )
- 3) The revolution in developing colonial or semi-colonial countries.  
( India , China ) etc.(37)

According to Dabhadi thesis, in this revolution the part played by capitalists was doubtful because as revolution marched a head successfully capitalists would get considerably weakened and would follow compromising policy with the imperialists. The PWP gave important place to the fact that the peasant revolution in all the colonial countries and it could be done by studying the colonial state of affairs in the field of agriculture and the increasing intensity of the discontent of the peasants in the rural areas. The party wanted to utilise the dissatisfaction of the peasants and sought to give it a revolutionary content that was essentially against imperialism, feudalism and capitalism. (38)

In the revolutionary struggle in colonial countries, every class carried out a definite programme, according to its economic interests and the PWP had thought over the policies of different classes in India. In its Dabhadi Thesis the party holds that as far as colonial revolution is concerned, it has to perform double function ; opposition to feudalism and exploitative capitalism to bring about systematic development of peasant revolution and opposition to imperialism and struggle against it to win national freedom. The nature of this revolution is democratic and its main purpose is to establish the state of workers and peasants. (39)

While discussing the nature of colonial revolution, the PWP makes it clear that it is linked with anti-imperialist national freedom movement and the revolutionary activities

are influenced by nationalist considerations. In this process, the imperialist oppression ~~makes~~ revolutionaries experienced and mature and due to growing discontent of workers and peasants the popular revolt is supported by the people. But at the same time, the nationalist considerations influence the thinking of workers and peasants and due to it the capitalist easily establishes his hegemony over other classes also. The main characteristic of this revolution is that in this revolution the capitalists adopt vacillating position and the moment forces of revolution become strong, this class swings infavour of statusquo. The second important feature of this revolution is that the peasant is backbone of democratic revolution in the colonial countries.<sup>(40)</sup>

While discussing the revolutionary role of peasantry, the PWP is of the view that during the colonial period the agriculture gets completely disorganised. Due to its backwardness exploitation of peasantry by money lendinegrs and commission agent the agricultural sector is not in a position to support the development of productive forces in rural area. It is the opinion of the party that ~~considering~~ emergency situation in the field of agriculture, we can successfully direct the dissatisfaction of the peasants against feudalism, capitalism and imperialism. It is the opinion of the party that in all revolutionary struggle of the colonial countries, every class plays a role according to its own class interests.<sup>(41)</sup>

The role of different classes in the colonial revolution:

1) National Capitalists : The national capitalists normally support the national liberation movements but at a times the class is willing to surrender before imperialism. But they do not surrender when there is no possibility of working class revolution. The class keeps on compromising. Therefore, it is always ready to compromise on vital national issues. But by using radical language this class tries to influence middle classes, workers and peasants. But the moment these classes turn revolutionary, this class attempts to compromise with imperialism. Even if the state dominated by national capitalists is independent, but in reality it is dependent on imperialism for industrial, economic and military support. Hence it will not extend its support to peasant revolution and will attempt to have compromises with landlords and other feudal elements of the society.<sup>(42)</sup> Therefore, the party is of the view that these classes go against peasant revolution and oppose every important reform in the agricultural field. Thus the national capitalists make a show of anti-imperialism but are willing to compromise with imperialism when time comes.

WORKING CLASS : In the latest meeting of the Cominform held in Nov. 1949. It is pointed out that it is the duty of all the Communist and Leftist parties to unite the working class

to fight against imperialism, to improve living standards of working class and to bring about social reforms. But it is the opinion of the party that by fighting struggles on day to day issues of the people, unity of working class can be brought about and for that purpose we should establish united factory committees and village committees. The purpose of the struggle is to fight against all sorts of opportunism and dogmatic sectarianism. The party agrees that on the unity of the working class, success of democratic revolution is based: (43)

Following are some of the basic demands of working class:

- 1) Every worker should get minimum salary of Rs. 80 per month and every clerk and skilled worker should receive Rs. 125 per month.
- 2) Dearness allowance should be paid.
- 3) Security of job and right to work.
- 4) Earned leave for one month, 20 days casual leave and a old age pension should be given.
- 5) Confirmation of temporary staff.
- 6) 7 hours day and principle of 40 hours week should be accepted.
- 7) Employment guarantee.
- 8) For 1948-49 giving bonus for 4 and half months.
- 9) Permission to work for trade unions.

- 10) Release of all the prisoners, workers, peasants, students, women, and others belonging to the PWP, socialist and the CPI.
- 11) Repeal of all the acts that disallow the right to strike or formation of trade unions.<sup>(44)</sup>

FARMERS : According to the PWP the farmers are not a homogeneous community as they are divided into different groups. When they are fighting against feudalism and Jaminadari, it is possible for a working class to carry along the entire peasantry but with the development of democratic struggle, It is possible that upper crust of peasantry may join the forces of counter revolution. The farm labourer, poor peasants and middle peasants can be involved in anti-imperialist struggle by waging struggles for their day to day problems. In this way, the working class can establish its leadership over large sections of peasantry and can dissuade it from joining some times reactionary and pro-capitalist nationalism.<sup>(45)</sup>

MIDDLE CLASSES : The middle intellectuals try to represent middle class interests in different movements. The colonial societies normally this class comes from Jamindari class, therefore, they do not support the interests of peasantry and tend to support capitalist nationalism. Some<sup>of</sup> them may join working class movement also.

The party is of the view that India is a country where capitalism is comparatively more developed hence its strength should be properly understood by the working class.<sup>(46)</sup>



Hence the PWP had planned a programme of democratic revolution. For bringing about democratic revolution, the PWP had planned the 18 point programme of action.

Following is the 18 point program of democratic revolution of the P.W.P. :-

- 1) The party will snap all our relations with British imperialists and establish complete independence.
- 2) It will establish democratic government of workers, peasants and exploited middle classes that would support the cause of world peace and oppose Anglo-American imperialism.
- 3) Framing of new constitution that will give complete freedom and democracy to the people and safeguard their basic economic rights.
- 4) Accepting of principle of national self determination and reorganisation of the states on the linguistic basis.
- 5) Providing constitutional safeguards to languages and distinct cultures of minority communities.
- 6) Destruction of all feudal and princely vestiges in the society.
- 7) Removal of economic, political and cultural oppression of the people.
- 8) In order to help toiling masses of India and Pakistan, attempts will be made to help each other.

- 9) Abolition of landlordism without paying any compensation, redistribution of surplus land among the peasants, abolition of rural indebtedness and money lending and ensuring such payment to landless labourer so that they can live better life.
- 10) All the foreign capital invested in banks, industries, tea gardens, mines and in other business concerns will be seized.
- 11) Nationalisation of major banks, insurance companies and such arrangements will be created in which worker will manage the companies. He will work for only 7 hours a day, and he will get proper salary pension and medical allowance.
- 12) Ensuring right to work.
- 13) Control over profits made by private concerns.
- 14) Abolition of all oppressive laws.
- 15) Abolition of old bureaucracy and replacement of it by popularly elected officers who can be recalled.
- 16) Every body should be allowed to use weapons and creation of peoples' army.
- 17) Primary and secondary education will be made free and compulsory. Higher education will not be made to shed some burden.
- 18) All women will be granted equal rights and equal wages for equal work.<sup>(47)</sup>

The party is of the view that keeping this program in view, we have to determine policies and programs on different fronts of the party.

The PWP was of the view that the working class had important role to play against imperialism. The influence on the working class could only be fought by forming the unions of workers. It constantly strove to improve the lot of workers. The demands mainly consisted of guarantee of work, the right to work, and giving the workers dearness allowances.

As far as peasants were concerned the P.W.P. was of the view that this class was not a homogeneous class. As there were four sections in it the farm labour, the poor peasant, the middle class peasant and the rich peasants. The PWP considered the farm labour section as the most revolutionary, as it earned its living by working on wages in others' farms. The poor peasants' section is considered an important section, as this section worked on his own farm for a short period of a year and in the remaining period, it worked as a labourer. The farm labour and poor peasants should lead successful peasant revolution which was a backbone of people's revolution. The middle class peasant section should be the friend of workers and this section may go against the workers but it can be convinced that it is in its interest to support working class. The last section that of rich peasant and its leadership was dangerous to the peasant movement. Hence the leadership of this

section must be fought.<sup>(48)</sup> The party concedes that it is not possible to carry the struggle on the basis of same policies every where as problems of peasantry in different regions differ. The PWP declared that one who worked on land should get its ownership. Thus, the PWP was of the view that there should be struggle to demand abolition of landlordism giving remunerative prices to the agricultural produce, implementation of land reform act and extending all necessary help to peasants in the form of seeds tools, abolition of rural indebtedness. On the social plane, the party promised to wage a struggle against such social evils as caste system and untouchability.<sup>(49)</sup>

The student unions were kept away from politics by the congress government but the PWP gave an important place to the student union and allowed them to take part in politics. The party wanted the student to participate in the struggle of workers, peasants and other working class people, and for that purpose, the party wanted to make the students aware of political situation. As well as the primary teachers union should be established because the union was the helpful to the peasants and the middle classes.<sup>(50)</sup>

The PWP is of the view that the successful consummation of democratic revolution involved wider participation of different sections of the people under the leadership of working class. The success of the revolution depended upon the defeat

of such institutes like caste system, religion and birth based hierarchy.

The party is of the view that social evils should be fought by forging class alliances of all the exploited sections of society. The depressed classes are militant and revolutionary hence their joining of the revolutionary movement is very essential. They should be convinced of utility of revolutionary movement.<sup>(51)</sup>

The party firmly believes in liberation of women as half of our work force in the rural areas comprises of women. It is necessary to involve them in all the militant movements. It is a special test of every PWP members to free their own women from subjection.<sup>(52)</sup>

It is the duty of a Marxist party like the PWP to build party organisation based on the principles enunciated by both Lenin and Stalin, because the party organisation is necessary to perform the responsibility that history has devolved upon us.<sup>(53)</sup>

### 3:7. STUDY OF BASIC BOOKS IN MARXISM :

It is the opinion of the party that there can not be a revolutionary party without having revolutionary philosophy and such philosophy is a Marxist philosophy which should be properly imbibed by the party workers. Therefore, it is essential that great leaders of working class like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have written many books for the benefit of workers

and they should be extensively studied. The third international and now the Cominform also time to time tries to advice the workers all over the world and their resolutions and these should be studied and imbibed by the workers in order to understand the changing political situation. It is necessary that the basic Marxist works are translated in Marathi and other local languages so that this revolutionary philosophy is studied by the workers. Apart from this, Marxism has to <sup>be</sup> taken <sub>^</sub> (54) to the people through movements, seminars and orientation courses.

The basic **requirement** of any revolutionary party is that it should have party workers who are well-versed in Marxist studies and who are willing to apply the revolutionary philosophy in practice by leading struggles of peasants and workers. Hence workers should be recruited from these classes as well as from of women. (55)

The party believes in the concept of democratic centralism. The concept of democratic centralism is based on principles of internal democracy, elections, of office bearers and every member possesses equal rights and right to criticism and self criticism when Democratic centralism ceases to exist in the party, the dictators~~hip~~ of party burequency emerges and vital aspects of democracy are not developed. Hence democratic centralism should be strictly followed. (56)

The first important principle of Marxist party is that it should plan all its actions after studying the situation .

There is necessity of establishing some sort of coordination in idifferent committees of the party so that the party functions properly. The party workers should work among peasants, women and other important sections of the society.<sup>(57)</sup> Criticism and self criticism is important for a Marxist party as through this method only, one can uderstand one's mistakes and avoids them subsequently. It needs to be stressed that it is necessary to establish leadership of the party, party's philosophy and united leadership of the party workers instead of allowing the conceontration of power in the hands of few individuals.<sup>(58)</sup>

The party in its Dabhadi thesis exhorts the party worker to fight for the establishment of revolutionary regime in India in the face of opposition and at times repression at the hands of different government agencies. Hence, the party should recurit millitant workers ; start its own newspaper and work among the people so that they can also support the party.<sup>(59)</sup>

Thus Dabhadi thesis of the P.W.P. is an important ~~document~~ document in the sense that in that thesis the P.W.P. completely adopts Marxist philosophy and tries to advance the cause of workers and peasants through Marxist policies and programs.

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