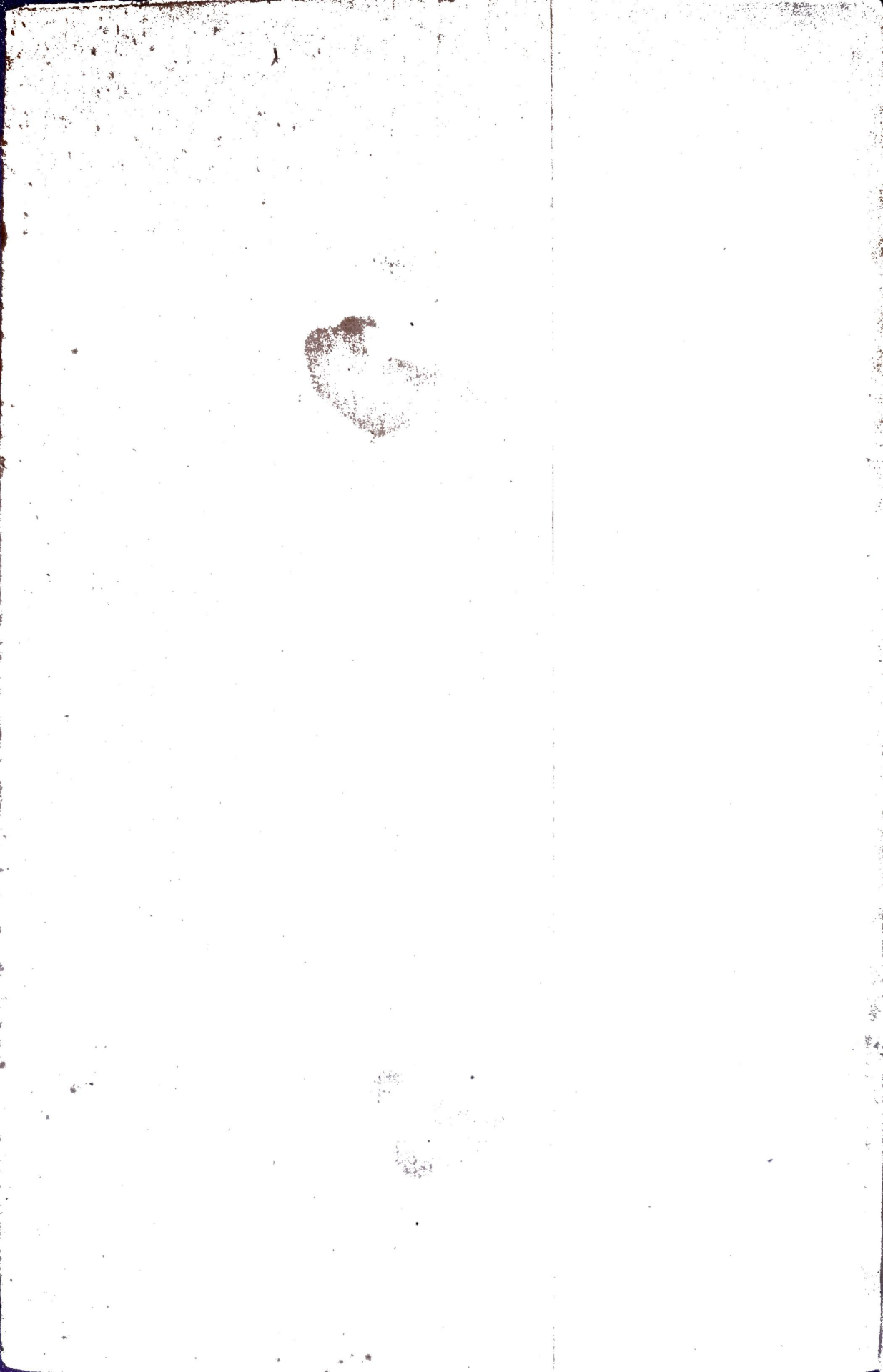


against
the
stream

VOLUME II

an anthology of writings of
Saumyendranath Tagore



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Saumyendranath Tagore

VOLUME II

Edited, with an introduction, by

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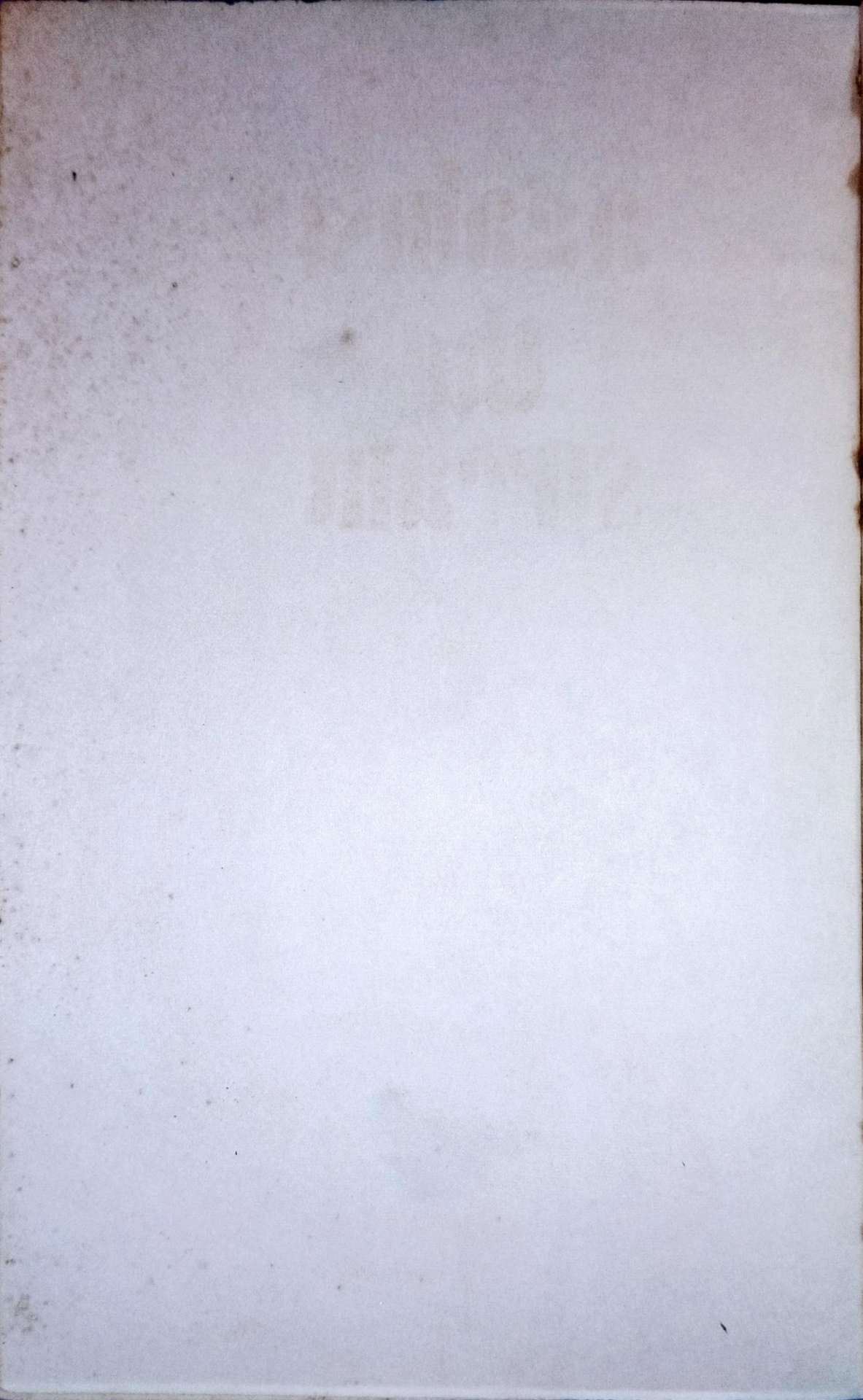
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Saunayudranath Tagore



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INTRODUCTION

THE present volume contains Saumyendranath's articles and pamphlets, dealing with one of the most crucial, historical periods of India's national revolution : September 1939 to August 1947. Indeed, in these eight years, the political face of India underwent fundamental changes. It was the period when vital events took place, such as the Second World War, the 1942 rebellion, the Bengal famine, Subhash Chandra's I.N.A., the R.I.N. mutiny, mass movements for the release of I.N.A. prisoners, the general strikes, the Great Calcutta Killings and finally the compromise between British Imperialism and different sections of the Indian bourgeoisie by first destroying the unity of the masses by gruesome communal conflicts, and finally, the partition of India. Editing these materials involved especial difficulties, the first of which is that most of the articles were written by Saumyendranath in different jails and were illegally published in the theoretical organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party of India—the Red Front. Such materials are generally badly printed or reproduced. So they needed considerable editing. In this connection let us note that out of these eight years, Saumyendranath was in prison for almost six years.

Another difficulty is that I am not able to treat these writings with the desirable detached discipline of a historian, as I had the privilege of being close to Saumyendranath in his political activities of this period. Hence, in describing the controversies and the political struggles mentioned in this book, I am writing about events and issues in which I myself took an active part, so that I appear in the invidious role of a judge in my own cause.

The writings gathered here deal comprehensively and critically with the policies pursued by those parties who claimed themselves to be Marxists. Even though these were written about forty years ago, yet their interest is far from merely historical. Time has shown that in the perspective of the Indian revolution and its line of development during the August mass rebellion,

Saumyendranath's criticism of the Congress leadership and Leftist parties were fully justified and policies expounded by him hold clues towards a better understanding of the present crisis engulfing the country.

Only those who wilfully refuse to see the realities of life can deny that all is not well with the Marxist movement. For, even after sixty years of its birth, the movement, as represented by various parties and groupings, has proved itself incapable of making an effective and significant intervention in the political life of the masses. To anyone who knows the ABC of Marxism, and who is free from party fetishism and politics of illusion, the reasons of the crisis is self-evident. It is this : most of the Indian Marxists have found it well beyond them to apply independently the methodology of Marx to Indian conditions ; as a result, they have followed such policies as have hampered the growth and development of an alternate leadership in the national revolution as opposed to the bourgeoisie.

The truth of the statement is clear to those who are acquainted with even the barest facts about the history of Marxist thought in this country. The rejection of the critical Marxian method is revealed with exceptional clarity in the treatment of the basic questions of the Indian revolution. The crucial test of an Indian Marxist lies in his attitude to the bourgeoisie, its role in the national revolution, to the nature of the Indian National Congress, and the attitude of the Leftist parties towards the policy dictates of Soviet Russia. It is on these fundamental questions and in the background of the mass rebellion of 1942 and the events that followed it, an attempt will be made here to assess the merits of the policies enunciated by various Leftist parties.

It is in the thirties, after the defeat of the Civil Disobedience Movement, that Marxism began to spread its roots among the young middle-class intellectuals who had become disillusioned with the Gandhian leadership. Naturally, the questions that occupied their attention were the nature of the national revolution against imperialism, its future course of development and the attitude the Marxists should adopt towards the Congress. From the disputes and differences, criticisms and controversies that developed among the intellectuals on those fundamental questions, three distinct tendencies took shape. They were : the Royists, the followers of Manabendra Nath Roy ; the Stalinist C.P.I.-C.S.P. combination ; and Saumyendranath, representing the Communist League of India.

According to Manabendra Nath Roy, as capitalism was a belated development in India, the bourgeoisie who made a late appearance in history could not perform the bourgeois-democratic revolution in its classical form. Because of its delayed birth the bourgeoisie had forfeited the right to lead. There must, consequently, be a new type of leadership—a multi-class leadership under the hegemony of the urban petty-bourgeoisie, who will play a role similar to that of the Jacobins in the great French Revolution. The Indian National Congress, to Roy, was a multi-class platform for national struggle and not a political party of the bourgeoisie. The Congress was, no doubt, dominated by the reactionary bourgeoisie, but the tasks of the Marxists should be to enter the Congress and create a democratic alternate leadership which would ultimately replace the reactionary Gandhian leadership. With the victory of the democratic leadership—in other words, of Roy—the Congress would be converted into a platform of the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses. M. N. Roy visualised a two-stage revolution, which was the standard formulation of Stalin for colonial countries. According to Roy, the accomplishment of the tasks of the bourgeois revolution was necessary for the creation of political, economic and cultural conditions conducive to the social emancipation of the proletariat.

The official Communist Party, under the guidance of the Communist International, which was then controlled by Stalin and his men, and which was pursuing the policy of the People's Front, took the stand that as India stood before a national revolution, and as national revolutions were always bourgeois democratic in content, the leaders of the national struggle would have to be the bourgeoisie. Moreover, they also visualised, like M. N. Roy, an historical pattern of a two-stage revolution. The first stage, or the democratic stage, would be completed by the bourgeoisie by establishing a democratic regime. Only after such a regime had been established could the second stage, the stage of proletarian struggle for socialism, be thought of. Furthermore, on the basis of this perspective, the Stalinist Communists characterised the National Congress as the anti-imperialist national front, obliged their party members to enter it, and subordinate themselves to its discipline. They also declared that their main task inside the Congress was to wage a struggle to push the bourgeoisie to the left, to the road of struggle against imperialism.

The Congress-Socialist Party, who at the time considered itself Marxists functioning within the Congress, readily accepted this

theory propounded by Stalinist Communists as it provided the Socialists with a justification for their party to remain within the Congress and subordinate itself to the leadership of Gandhiji. It does not need much emphasis to show that the contribution of the C.S.P. leaders in the realm of independent Marxist thought, even in those early days, was strictly limited.

Thus both these tendencies—the Royists and C.P.I.-C.S.P. combination—basically developed a set of tactics which meant submerging the Marxist movement in the Congress and preventing the creation of class organisations of workers and peasants outside it. These tactics hampered the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses. Insofar as revolutionary consciousness was not prevalent among the masses, their consciousness was determined by the ideology of the bourgeoisie. So, in spite of the introduction of Marxian ideas in India, the bourgeoisie continued to dominate the minds of the masses.

In contrast to these two formulations, Saumyendranath's perspective of the national revolution was a direct antithesis of the tactics of a coalition with the bourgeoisie. In the epoch of imperialism, of sharpening of capitalist contradictions, the bourgeoisie in a backward country facing a belated democratic revolution, could not play a revolutionary role. Because of their historically belated appearance, the bourgeoisie in a backward country was inseparably connected with the landlord and the village money-lender, so it was incapable of leading the peasantry against the rural oppressor, thus fulfilling the major task of the democratic revolution—the transformation of the agrarian relations in favour of the peasantry. Moreover, its growing dependence for its existence and growth on British capitalism, the bourgeoisie could not lead the working class against imperialist exploitation. Consequently, this congenitally weak bourgeoisie was incapable of rallying the masses on the basis of a revolutionary programme. In fact, it had become counter-revolutionary.

The task of the democratic revolution, in reality, could be accomplished only by the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry as well as other exploited classes and in the teeth of opposition of the bourgeoisie.

But it would be a great and damaging mistake, if it is forgotten that the bourgeoisie would always seek to utilise the masses, not for a revolutionary confrontation with imperialism, but to win profitable concessions from it. The bourgeoisie must necessarily betray the struggle for national liberation and enter into

a treacherous compromise with imperialism at the cost of the masses. The more belatedly the bourgeoisie appears on the scene of history, the more treacherous it is.

Because of this reactionary nature of the national bourgeoisie, the revolution in a backward colonial country like India acquires a combined character and becomes simultaneously democratic and socialist. The democratic revolution grows into a socialist revolution, which, in passing, solves the tasks of the democratic revolution, and the gains of the democratic revolution are consolidated by rule of the toiling masses led by the proletariat. This growing over of the democratic revolution into a socialist revolution had been described by Karl Marx as the process of permanent revolution. Basing himself on this Marxist perspective, Saumyendranath emphasised repeatedly that the fundamental task of a Marxist was to set up a Communist Party totally independent of the bourgeoisie and entirely free from its political influence, and also to organise independent class organisations of the toiling masses on the basis of class struggle.

Saumyendranath also repeatedly underscored the point that only by developing the Communist Party completely independent of all bourgeois influence would it act as the axis around which the workers, the peasants, and the impoverished lower middle classes could rally in order to intensify the anti-imperialist struggle.

This perspective and policy was not acceptable to the Stalinist Communists who introduced the policy which they called the policy of the National Front by interpreting Indian conditions according to the Comintern's world policy of the People's Front. Saumyendranath repeatedly warned against the danger of this policy by pointing out that the People's Front was, in content, a policy of coalition between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. History shows that, in every such coalition or alliance, the leadership invariably turned out to be in the hands of the propertied classes. Such a leadership invariably paralyses the proletariat. There was no doubt that such would be the consequences in India. As the Indian bourgeoisie wanted peaceful horse-trading and not revolutionary overthrow of imperialism, any coalition with the bourgeoisie would lead the proletariat to abdicate the revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The policy of People's Front, as Saumyendranath explained in his book "The People's Front or the Front Against the People", implied marking time, temporising, cherishing illusions and false hopes. As a result of this policy, disillusionment inevitably sets

in among the proletariat and the peasantry. The peasantry then turns its back on the proletariat. The Chinese revolution of 1927 and the Spanish revolution had all perished as a result of this treacherous policy. The same danger menaces the Indian revolution because of the Stalinist C.P.I.'s People's Front policy of subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. Saumyendranath also opposed the childish ultra-leftism of the Stalinist Communists in India, who boycotted the mass movements initiated by the Congress, and said that even if the Indian National Congress, which was undoubtedly a party of the bourgeoisie, found itself compelled to take even the tiniest step on the road of struggle against imperialism, the Marxists would naturally support such a step. But they would do so with their own methods : mass meetings, militant demonstrations, bold slogans, more decisive strikes and combat actions depending on the relationship of forces and the prevailing circumstances. It is obvious that, to do this effectively, the Communists must have their hands totally free, must have their own organisation totally free from bourgeois influence and control.

While these perspectives, strategies and tactics were being debated among the various sections of the Leftists, the Second World War which broke out in September 1939, when Hitler attacked Poland, put a stop to this debate and compelled the Leftists to prove the validity of their policies in actual practice.

On August 23, 1939, the Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed giving the signal for the Second World War. The pact actually had two sections—the one which was publicly announced and the other which was kept secret. That portion of the pact which was made public, stated that the Hitlerite government and the Stalinist government, “desirous of strengthening peace between Germany and the U.S.S.R.”, would remain neutral in any conflict in which either of the party might be involved in future. In the secret pact the partition of Poland was agreed upon. Moreover, Hitler agreed to leave the Baltic States—Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia—in the sphere of influence of Stalin. It was further agreed that Russia would supply oil to Hitler, and Hitler would supply manufactured goods to Soviet Union. Stalin also agreed that the Comintern would use such influence as it had in favour of Germany. In fact, the winter of 1939-40 saw the honeymoon of Nazi-Soviet friendship. Stalin continued to send huge quantities of raw materials to Germany, and also allowed supplies from

Japan and, other Asian countries to cross her territories, thus defeating British efforts to blockade Germany.

In India, the Congress Party clearly demonstrated that it was a party of compromise. It wanted to make full use of the war situation to get the maximum political concession. Although this was the common aim, the Congress Working Committee was divided into two groups : Gandhiji and his group who wanted to wait and watch, in order to get the best of deals, while Jawaharlal, Maulana Azad and Asaf Ali were in favour of an immediate compromise with the British so that the Congress leaders could join the government.

On September 14, Congress Working Committee, basing itself on a compromise with these two groups, issued a statement asking the British government to declare its war aims before the Congress could offer any co-operation to war efforts. Reading between the lines of the Working Committee's resolution it was clear that what the Congress wanted was a war-time Indian government under Viceroy composed mainly of Congress leaders and enjoying the confidence of Central Legislative Assembly. This resolution was prepared by Gandhiji to nullify Jawaharlal's effort to join hands with the British. Even this modest demand was rejected. In protest, the Congress ministers in the provinces resigned, and the Congress decided to follow a policy of neutrality—neither opposing nor supporting the British war efforts.

Now, turning to the Leftist parties, let us study M.N. Roy's policy as he was still then in the Congress. Roy supported the war as he considered it to be an anti-Fascist war. So, "all freedom loving people" should support the war efforts of the Allies in order to save freedom of many European countries. Then, dealing with the question of the Congress policy of bargaining concessions, he stated : "Our offer to co-operate in the fight against Fascism having been voluntarily given, the immediate objective is to capture the largest possible measure of political power, which will enable us to conquer freedom and establish democracy irrespective of what others may desire". Roy who used to take great pride as a rationalist, came out with a most illogical argument to support Stalin's pact with Hitler. Roy was of the view that Russia was compelled to enter into a pact with Hitler because of the perverse attitude of Anglo-French imperialism. One need not argue today to show how false this assumption was as devised by M.N. Roy to support Stalin, because he had always dreamt

that his old friend from Georgia would one day take him back as one of his advisers.

Naturally, because of his policy of unconditional support to the British, Roy could not remain within the Congress any longer. After resigning from it, he set up a party called the Radical Democratic Party. The objective of this party was to become an auxiliary of British administration. It is now known that Roy used to get Rs. 14,000/- per month for his services. With the starting of this party, Roy's decline began.

Unlike Roy, who became a supporter of the British from the very beginning, the Stalinist Communists underwent a series of political somersaults in their attitude towards war. When the war broke out in September, Stalinist Communists all over the world were busy preaching about the People's Front to preserve peace ; hence the leaders of the French and the British Communist Parties, Jacques Duclos and Harry Politt issued statements in favour of the so called democratic powers, France and Britain. This they did without knowing the terms of the secret pact.

In India, the Stalinist Communists were in two minds. A trend of opinion was that the advocacy of the policy of People's Front meant support of war against Fascism. The other tendency declared the war as an imperialist war. As we have stated earlier, Stalin was committed to use the Comintern to rally the Communist forces in favour of Germany. So Moscow intervened. Harry Politt, the General Secretary of the British Communist Party, had to resign. Duclos was put to disgrace. The Indian Stalinist Communist Party adopted the slogan of imperialist war and talked about opposing the British. They wanted to show that they were the most revolutionary elements in the country. They prepared a plan for organising strikes in cities and "No Rent, No Tax" campaigns in villages. These were to culminate in an insurrection and take actual offensive against the armed forces of the government. This policy was published in a magazine of the C.P.I. called the 'Proletarian Path' which was distributed at the Ramgarh Congress in March 1940.

However, one should know that the key paragraph stated that the Party visualised such struggles all over the country were possible only under the leadership of Gandhiji. They were convinced that neither the C.P.I. nor the Forward Bloc nor the Congress-Socialist Party nor any other left party could do it either jointly or separately. Thus, the main function of the Communist Party was to persuade Gandhiji to launch a nationwide movement.

So far as Saumyendranath was concerned, immediately on the declaration of the war he on behalf of his Party issued a policy statement which was published as a pamphlet entitled 'Imperialist War and India'. In it Saumyendranath pointed out that there was no difference in content between the British and the French imperialism on the one hand, and Fascism on the other. It was therefore the duty of the Communists to mobilise the masses under the slogan 'War against War' and utilise the present crisis of the imperialists to push forward the struggle for Indian independence. As soon as the pamphlet was issued it was banned and Saumyendranath was arrested and sentenced to one year's imprisonment under the "Defence of India Rules". In fact, he was the first victim of these repressive measures.

By the middle of September the Nazi forces obliterated the Polish army. And according to the terms of the secret pact Stalin occupied the eastern portion of Poland. It was expected that Hitler would immediately launch his offensive on France but he did not. Thus began what was then known as the "Phony War", While the fighting had ceased between Hitler and the Allies, Stalin suddenly attacked Finland after occupying other Baltic States. Obviously the Russian generals had miscalculated the military strength of Finland. To the surprise of the whole world the so called Russian steam-roller failed to roll. The Red Army proved quite unsuited for the war on which it had so optimistically embarked. By the beginning of March 1940 the Russians made an offer of a peace treaty. Even though the Finish army was not defeated the Finish government accepted the terms very much in favour of the Russians, because it thought that however bravely their army might fight, in the long run they would be defeated by the Russian colossus. Although the Russians gained some territories, their army suffered humiliation and the Russian government lost moral standing in the outside world. It was indeed a very high price to pay for a few miles of land. Saumyendranath was in the Alipore jail in Calcutta at that time. A few days after Stalin's adventurism in Finland he wrote the booklet called "On the Self Determination of Nations", in which he pointed out that the Russian attack was an aggressive expansionism and such actions tend to weaken the revolutionary forces all over the world.

In India, the Congress stalemate continued all through the Summer of 1940. Following the Nazi victory in Europe, the Congress made a fresh attempt by offering co-operation conditioned

on the recognition of Indian independence after the war and the establishment of a provisional government at the Centre commanding the confidence of all the elected members in the Central Legislature.

But this offer too was rejected by the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. The British government stated "that it could not contemplate transfer of their present responsibilities to any system of government whose authorities were directly denied by large and powerful elements in Indian national life." This indeed was a pointer to the Muslim League who had by then passed the Lahore resolution on Pakistan envisaging the partition of India.

By this time India became a main supply base of the Allied troops in the middle eastern theatres of war. Therefore indeed about sixty percent of the war materials were taken from India. Thus the war brought mounting impact upon the economy of the country towards inflationary conditions. Prices rose faster than manual wages and much faster than "white collar" salaries. This naturally led to widespread dissatisfaction and discontent.

Gandhiji was faced with a difficult problem. On the one hand the Muslim League was trying to lead the Muslim masses away from the national struggle and on the other the economic hardship of the people were forcing the common man to move away from the Congress in order to fight the British. The Congress had no positive policy to guide the people. In this delicate situation Gandhiji talked about a "Satyagraha". It turned out to be the individual "Satyagraha" which was limited to one person only. It did not have any effect on the British government nor did it satisfy the common people. So far as the Congress was concerned it continued with its "Wait and Watch" policy, hiding it under the smokescreen of individual Satyagraha movement.

At this critical juncture, the Communist League had its party conference while Saumyendranath was still in prison. In order to give an effective burial to the idea that the present war was a war between democracy and Fascism, a thesis entitled "The People's Front or the Front Against the People" was adopted. Furthermore it was then known that Stalin had promised to Hitler the services of the Third International which was wholly an anti-revolutionary action. This was exposed in another thesis entitled, "Soviet Foreign Policy and the Third International". Both were prepared by Saumyendranath. At this conference a very important resolution was passed which provided the various organisations of the party with a detailed plan of action for the coming struggle.

The main guidelines were : (1) The mobilisation of masses of the country on the idea of the Soviet or the Panchayet as an organ of struggle and ultimately as an organ of power. (2) Organisation of Peoples Revolutionary Committees to oppose and conduct movements against such government war policies as casting heavy burdens on the people (3) Utilising the crisis in which British imperialism finds itself and striking at it when the opportune moment arises (4) Conducting the struggle till the establishment of a free Socialist India.

By this time the government had introduced a dangerous policy which can best be described as the "scorched earth" or "denial" policy. This policy was enforced mostly in Bengal, Assam and other eastern regions. It was the decision of the Party to organise and lead the masses against this policy. In fact the Party led a series of agitations in 24 Parganas against the ejection of peasants from their lands. In Dinajpur and other districts there were a series of conflicts between the peasants led by the Party and the military forces.

After his release in 1941, it was decided to send Saumyendranath to Lucknow to expand party activities in the United Provinces. He went to Lucknow and set up his home near the University campus and contacted a large number of students.

It was on June 22, 1941 Hitler marched his army into Russia. This indeed created further changes in the policies of the Leftist parties. M. N. Roy now could safely call the war an anti-Fascist war, because the Fascist power then grouped together against the so called non-Fascist powers. So far as the Stalinist Communist Party was concerned it found itself in a grip of confusion. In the beginning they said that Hitler's invasion of Soviet Union was a conspiracy of the international finance capital. Hitler had marched his armies at the instance of American and British imperialism. So, the best way to fulfil the international obligation of defending Soviet Russia was to wage a relentless war against the British imperialist conspirators. At this juncture, a group of leaders who were then detained in the Deoli detention camp suggested a change in the policy and advised the party to rush to the aid of Russia. In their note, these leaders pointed out that Stalin himself had called the war an anti-Fascist People's War and he had asked all Communists to support the Allies as liberators. The British Communist Party also disapproved of the C.P.I. policy. Ultimately the Stalinist Communists in India were made to support British imperialism. After the shift in the policy

of the Party they could negotiate an agreement with the British government. All the Stalinist Communist leaders were released and they joined the various propoganda activities of the government. For such activities considerable funds were given to them by the government.

So far as Communist League was concerned it immediately declared that the imperialist character of the World War had not undergone any change even after Soviet Russia had been engulfed in it. The Party in a statement declared that the imperialist war could be changed into a people's war if only Soviet Russia had still then a "genuinely people's government". The Communist League emphasised that in their opinion though the government of Soviet Russia still retained the Soviet form, in content it was no longer a genuinely people's government. Hence the entry of such a government in the war would not change the character of the war necessitaing change in the Party's policy. (Imperialist War or People's War ?—Red Front, March 1940).

While the Communist League was busy developing their own party and pursuing the policies adopted in the 3rd Conference, the war underwent another change. Japan in a surprise raid in December 1941 on Pearl Harbour, the major American war base in the Pacific, entered the war herself and forced the United States to give up her neutrality.

With the commencement of the war with Japan which led to the rapid loss of Malaya, Singapore and Burma came a dramatic change in the attitude of the British. After the fall of Rangoon to the Japanese in March 1942 and with the possibility of an immediate attack on India, the British cabinet minister, Sir Stafford Cripps was sent out by Prime Minister Churchill to negotiate with the Congress. Cripps' proposals which were highly damaging to the unity of India and which gave no indication as to what was the British government's attitude towards India's demand for independence were surprisingly accepted by Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad but were rejected by Gandhiji by describing the proposals as "a post dated cheque drawn on a collapsing bank." This episode made Indian people fully convinced that they could not hope to win independence by negotiations with the British. They realised also that they can achieve their end only by a direct confrontation with the ruling power. While Sir Stafford Cripps was in Delhi negotiating with the Congress leaders, Saumyendranath was invited to preside over the United Provinces Students' Conference. In his presidential address

he warned the Indian people particularly the youth and the students of the false promises of the British government. According to him, Sir Stafford had no authority to come to a negotiated settlement. Churchill had sent him to please President Roosevelt. So the proposals he brought could not be accepted by any self-respecting Indian. Saumyendranath called upon the students to take advantage of the war crisis to launch a struggle to break the chain of colonial slavery. When after a few days the Cripps mission failed, Saumyendranath was arrested in April, 1942. He was detained as a security prisoner in Lucknow central prison. His wife Shrimati Tagore was also arrested as some cyclostyled materials were recovered from the house.

With the failure of the Cripps mission, Gandhiji realised that further pressure had to be applied to the British ; because even though they had suffered grievous losses out of Japanese actions in the eastern theatre, they were still unwilling to concede to India's demands. Hence Gandhiji began his propaganda campaign for a mass struggle.

While Gandhiji's campaign was going on Saumyendranath sent out two manuscripts of booklets from the jail. The first booklet was on the attempt by the Stalinist Communists and their supporters to make use of Kornilov incident of the Russian Revolution as justification of their support to British imperialism. The canard was started by Swami Sahajanand, a Kisan leader of Bihar, who suddenly found himself fallen in love with the obnoxious Stalinist theory of People's War. He tried to plead that Lenin and the Bolshevik Party supported Kerensky when Kornilov, a leader of the totalitarian forces, revolted against the Kerensky government. This most astounding example of un-historical use of analogy was exposed by Saumyendranath in the pamphlet entitled "Sahajanand, Kornilov and People's War".

The second manuscript was an article on the impending struggle for power which was published in July 1942 issue of the Red Front, entitled "For A Revolutionary Struggle against all Imperialists". In this article Saumyendranath stated that the reality in India was that the masses were becoming progressively radical by the impact of various forces unleashed by the war. The anti-imperialist mood of the masses had reached a new high. Against this background strikes were taking place in munition factories, in the jute mills, in the cotton mills, in the gold mines, the coal mines and the public transport industry. Masses of peasants were coming to grips with the mercenaries of the landlords who

were backed by the police. Instances of conflicts with British tommies were also multiplying. Indeed large units of Indian soldiers were disobeying higher commands at the front. A revolutionary situation was developing. The task of the Revolutionary Communists was to link up and unite the struggles of the toiling masses and convert them into mass actions. The article ended with the slogan : "Forward to a Revolutionary Struggle". In fact a few days after the issue was distributed among Party organisations and members, the "Quit India" resolution was passed at the A.I.C.C. meeting in Bombay on August 8, 1942. After the resolution was passed in the early morning of August 9, the Congress leaders were arrested and taken to various places of detention.

This led to a most widespread and the bitterest fight against British imperialism ever waged in India. The unique fact of this movement is that it had no leadership. Gandhiji, whose main contribution was two very attractive slogans, "Quit India" and "Do or Die", disappeared behind the walls of Aga Khan Palace leaving it to the masses to 'do' or 'die'. It is a historical fact which is today denied by the so-called leaders, and the so-called official historians that the masses in 1942 did develop a movement which surpassed all the earlier movements including the great revolt of 1857 in dimensions and intensity. The observations of the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow are quite significant. "I am engaged here", wrote the Viceroy on August 31, 1942 to Prime Minister Winston Churchill, "in meeting by far the most serious rebellion since that of 1857, the gravity and the extent of which we have so far concealed from the world for reasons of military security." The 42 rebellion did spread over almost all the provinces from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin. Grim determination and willingness to sacrifice warned the British in unmistakable terms that they were not wanted in India and must quit. In spite of the masses the bourgeois leadership managed to utilise it for a negotiable settlement by not providing leadership and by maintaining its spontaneous, atomised and not centralised character. Gandhiji's objective in spite of the admirable slogans was to achieve transference of power by pressure on the British and at the same time betray the masses. While the movement was gaining ground Saumyendranath exposed this bourgeois conspiracy to sabotage the 42 rebellion. He also pointed out the weakness shown by the Leftists namely the Congress-Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party—this was the new name adopted

by the Communist League of India during the August movement.

So far as the Congress-Socialists were concerned they forgot that in a movement of this nature the Marxists not only must make the masses march separately from the bourgeoisie but must strike together and followed the policy of identifying with the Congress. Thus they failed to establish a parallel central leadership which could fill the vacancy left by the Congress. For example, when Gandhiji was released after his hunger strike in 1944 and openly disassociated himself from the August movement and condemned the masses for their violent activities and asked them to stop all agitations and movements, there was not a single C.S.P. leader who owned the responsibility of the movement leaving aside having the courage to guide the masses to continue it. In fact the role of the C.S.P. in the movement was mainly to cover up the intentional sabotage of Gandhiji and other leaders.

The Revolutionary Communist Party was determined not to let down the masses. Hundreds of them were imprisoned all over India. Many were killed by the imperialist bullets. Helped by the Stalinist Communists, who acted as informers and spies of the British, savage police repression was let loose against them but they continued to stand by the masses. Saumyendranath who was then in Lucknow jail exposed the treachery of the Congress leadership in a pamphlet entitled "Revolution and Quit India", which appeared in the 'Red Front', October 1942. The secret report on the August movement by the I.S.G. of Police Intelligence Branch, Bengal, covering three weeks, ending 19 December 1942 said that the members of the Communist League of India organised strikes in certain mills and a student member of the Party was in touch with National Students Unions in Bombay, Andhra, Ahmedabad and Delhi to carry on the movement. This youth had with him a leaflet proclaiming the advent of revolution and called for guerilla units for organising armed insurrection. In this connection inter-provincial contacts were disclosed by investigation of a conspiracy of the Party with members of the All India Youth League and the Forward Bloc to obtain arms from soldiers. It was reported in September that the members of the Forward Bloc and the Communist League of India were planning the resumption of the movement in a big way. The Intelligence Branch of Calcutta found out that even though Saumyendranath was detained in Lucknow, he had established a method of sending his letters and manuscripts of articles and

pamphlets outside. On the request of the Bengal Government in April 1943 Saumyendranath was transferred to the special security jail at Fategarh. Even that did not prevent him from sending vital articles for publication in the Red Front. As his Party was active in reorganising the movement he sent an article entitled 'Onward from '42' in which he gave the details as to how the organisational weakness of the movement could be overcome. In this article Saumyendranath recommended four organisational steps : (1) Strengthening the R.C.P. (2) Setting up revolutionary committees of party members and representatives of local people (3) Building up Panchayets which were defined as 'Soviets' and were expected to play the role which the Soviets had played in the Russian revolution (4) Setting up 'People's Militia' or 'Ganavahini' to establish the authority of the Panchayets. Saumyendranath had suggested this type of action for the inter-revolutionary period. According to him these organisational steps, particularly the setting up of the Panchayets would create a situation of dual power and would lead the mass movement on a higher level. It should be remembered that the stage at which this article was published there were many liberated areas in different parts of the country, from where British administration had been wiped off. Unfortunately the persons who were then controlling the leadership of the Party, which included the Party Secretary, proved to be incapable of implementing this programme, because they did not have the capacity required for such revolutionary work among the masses. Thus the leadership was forced to select the policy of terroristic sabotage. Accordingly the Party went deep underground, started collecting arms, good, bad or indifferent, and converted the major part of the Party members remaining outside the prison into a 'secret detachment'. Even the Red Front ceased publication. Contact with masses were completely cut off.

It was at this stage Bengal entered the most tragic period of its history. The famine of 1943 engulfed the province as a result of the "denial" and "scorched earth" policies pursued by the government most vigorously in Bengal. The man-made famine was a deliberate political and war strategy. The British were afraid that the Azad Hind Foj led by Subhash Bose might cross into Bengal. Thus it was necessary for the government to make Bengal totally inert and emasculated, bereft of all food, livestock and other resources. Hundreds of thousands were affected and pushed along the road of starvation to slow death.

It is a sad commentary on the Leftist parties including the R.C.P. that while men were dying on the streets of Calcutta, there was no attempt to snatch food from the shop counters or attack on stocks of grain in godowns, in the houses of the rich or in factories.

It was estimated that due to famine in Bengal more than fifty lakhs of people had died. In fact the entire social structure of Bengal underwent complete transformation, after-effects of which are still haunting us.

The year 1944 was the year of the wretched horse-trading and not of struggle for freedom. General Wavell became the Viceroy in October 1943, replacing Lord Linlithgow. Gandhiji was released in May 1944. It was said that he was released because of his health, but the fact is, he was released to act as a mediator to bring about a settlement. Gandhiji's effort was of not much use. The only word that was then heard in India was of Mohammed Ali Jinnah who counterposed the slogan of 'Quit India' with his own slogan 'Divide and Quit'. From recent record it is seen that Jinnah believed that British would leave India in the near future. Why then should he compromise when all he had to do was to wait ? So Gandhiji's attempt to come to a compromise with the Muslim League failed.

At this stage, in London, it was felt that efforts now should be made to release people who were detained without trial. As a first step, detenues who were outside their home provinces were sent back. So Saumyendranath found himself in the Dum Dum Central Jail in 1944. He then sent out the manuscript of a book called 'The Historical Development of the Communist Movement in India' which was published illegally. This is the first attempt made by one of those who had initiated the Communist movement in Bengal in 1920s to write its history. In spite of many deficiencies it still has a value, as it was a pioneering effort. The second booklet which he wrote in June 1944 was on the theory of permanent revolution. In it Saumyendranath showed that the theory of permanent revolution was originally framed by Karl Marx himself. Lenin also made it a central concept of his theory of a bourgeois democratic revolution growing into a socialist revolution. It was not something which Leon Trotsky invented on his own but he subscribed to it, as a Marxist. This pamphlet was later legally published in 1948.

The year 1945 saw the end of Second World War. The Congress Working Committee members were released and a series of conferences and private negotiations began among the three : the

British imperialists, the bourgeois Congress, and the feudal leaders of the petty-bourgeois Muslim League.

While these negotiations began, masses who were inert so far moved into action. It was Subhash Bose—it was then not known whether he was dead or alive—who provided the inspiration and leadership. November 1945 saw the opening of the trials of the three I.N.A. officers who served under Subhas Chandra. Protest movements spread throughout in the country. Hindus and Muslims joined the mass demonstrations in vast numbers. When harsh sentences were pronounced, in Calcutta mass demonstrations developed into clashes with the police, street fighting and setting up of road barricades. Both American and British army lorries were burnt. Europeans found it difficult to move along the streets, even Indians wearing neckties were made to remove them. It was only an appeal from Sarat Chandra Bose which brought an end to this movement. Clashes also took place in Bombay, Madurai and many other towns. It was a few weeks before the I.N.A. demonstrations, Saumyendranath was released from Dum Dum jail in October 1945. Hence he could not take a very effective part in the November demonstrations. But he could see that the mass movement was gathering momentum. He threw himself heart and soul in the strike movement which followed the I.N.A. demonstrations. And he emerged as an unquestioned leader of the working class of Calcutta and its suburbs and he provided leadership to the famous general strike which paralysed the whole of Calcutta on July 29, 1946.

In February 1946 Capt. Abdul Rasheed Ali of I.N.A. received a harsh sentence. Fresh mass demonstrations and campaigns took place in Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, Peshawar, Meerat and other places. In spite of the attempts and efforts of the British agents, the Stalinists who tried to spread communalism among the people, the unity of the masses particularly among the students were well preserved. To the students Saumyendranath emerged as the most popular speaker. For the next six months hardly a day was spent when he did not speak at meetings organised by the students. Because of his dynamic leadership the R.C.P. also actively participated in all these mass movements and found its feet on the ground as an effective revolutionary organisation.

In August 1946 Saumyendranath was elected as the President of the Imperial Bank Indian Staff Association and launched the first historic strike which provided the necessary impetus to the introduction of trade unionism to the mercantile employees.

The I.N.A. demonstrations had a very adverse effect on the British Indian Army. If Subhas Chandra and his I.N.A. had been on the right side—and all Indians now confirmed that they were—then the Indians in the service of the British must have been on the wrong side ? The result of it was the strike of the Royal Indian Air Force, and then the open rebellion of R.I.N. sailors, which the British had to suppress with the help of the Congress leaders. The British government was now convinced that the backbone of British rule, the Indian Army, could no longer be depended upon to suppress their brethren. A large and long shadow of Subhash Bose was cast on the Red Fort of Delhi.

The Congress leaders, Jawaharlal, Azad, Rajagopalachari, Vallabhbhai Patel were all afraid. So was Jinnah. The Viceroy Lord Wavell's fear was that the British would be forced to leave India before he could enter into an agreement with the Congress and the Muslim League to preserve the financial, commercial, business and trade interests of the British imperialists. So a counter offensive against the masses of Calcutta was planned and launched. Jinnah declared that the direct struggle for realisation of Pakistan would begin on August 16, 1946. In Calcutta Jinnah's direct action exploded into bloody madness and then three days of killing of Hindus and Muslims. More than four thousand people were killed and ten thousand injured. No leaders either of the Congress or of the Muslim League cared to visit Calcutta—Calcutta was left to die bleeding. But it is also true that the entire picture was not dyed with blood. There had been attempts by Hindus and Muslims working together to bring peace. Hindus had sheltered Muslims and Muslims Hindus, and many had died in attempts to protect those whom their leaders called their enemies. Decency and human emotion had not been completely abolished among the Bengalis. It must be put on record that the Great Calcutta Killing was organised by Suhrawardy, by hired non-Bengali goondas who were brought to the city from different parts of India. They cared little for Hindus or Muslims. They killed only to make money. This was the greatest setback of the mass movement which was pushing imperialism and its bourgeois hirelings to the wall. In one of his brilliant booklets entitled "Resurgence of Tribal Savagery in Calcutta" Saumyendranath analysed the root causes of this brutal experience. Although most of the left parties repeated parrot-like the slogan of Hindu-Muslim Unity, it did not work, because the hired hooligans of Suhrawardy had no need for such advice. Saumyendranath who was always

a believer of judicial use of physical force against injustice, made his Revolutionary Communist comrades to use violence against these hooligans. So to R.C.P. the traditional slogan of 'Hindu-Muslim Unity' was put together with the slogan "Down with Hired Hooligans".

It is a pity that this policy which evolved out of practical experience was neither properly developed nor formulated at the Party conference of 1946. It left the Party unarmed ideologically to face the coming communal civil war ; that the importance of communal trouble was not fully realised can be seen from Saumyendranath's thesis "Post-War World and India". It had very little to say on the communal problem. Only the Party did expose the false communal policy of Stalinist Communists but it did not provide a positive line to be followed by its own members.

Now the question arises why Calcutta was selected as the battle ground. In fact, outside Calcutta, even in East Bengal with about 75% of Muslim population, there was then no riot worth mentioning. We now find in the Volume IV of 'Transfer of Power' published by the British Government, that the American Government had asked the British Government in 1945 that, while transferring power the United Kingdom should keep herself or get under the U.K.'s indirect control the two existing bases—one at Karachi and another outside Calcutta. The Secretary of State for India, Pethick Lawrence informed the Viceroy, Lord Wavell of this by pointing out that the Americans considered these two bases strategically important and contemplate completing arrangements in advance, so that these bases would be available after the war. It would not be a mistake to presume that the U.K. in a way yielded to act accordingly. For these reasons Calcutta was selected as the battleground and Suhrawardy's hooligans had a free play.

In the midst of these continuous conflicts between the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary forces, the R.C.P. had its fourth party conference in December 1946. In the main political thesis, "Post-War World and India", the reasons why Britain will have to withdraw from India was mentioned and the strategy of formation of 'Soviets' was emphasised. When we study this thesis today it surprises us by its mechanical approach. Saumyendranath's analysis of "de-colonisation" was almost a repetition of what M.N. Roy had written in his book "Our Differences". Only economic reasons were mentioned, the political reasons were not. In his thesis Saumyendranath seemed to have

made the same mistake. There is no doubt that Britain had suffered greatly financially and economically. But it was not for these reasons only that they were withdrawing from India. It is, as I have said, the ghost of Subhash Bose that had demoralised and destroyed the British Indian Army. Furthermore the professional English Army which could kill unhesitatingly the people of the colonies were destroyed completely in the plains of Flanders. This is now clear from the report of the Parliamentary delegation which visited India in January 1946. They made it plain that the armed forces could not be depended upon. So to save the economic position of Britain in India, a compromise was necessary not only with the Congress but also with the Muslim League on the basis of partition. Such a division will weaken India and make it dependent on Britain. It is now clear that the so called Mountbatten plan was based on these recommendations. Considering these facts, in the Indian section of the thesis, how the role of I.N.A. and Subhash Bose were not mentioned, leaves us in a feeling of confusion and dissatisfaction.

The formation of an Interim Government on August 24, with Jawaharlal Nehru as the leader was described as a 'National Government' which was the germinal beginning of de-colonisation. What will surprise a reader today is that there was no mention of the Great Calcutta Killing and the threat of Jinnah of a Hindu-Muslim civil war unless the demand for Pakistan was conceded. However on October 15, to prevent a predominantly Congress government to remain in power Jinnah submitted five names, who were to join the Interim Government. Taking this as an excuse Jawaharlal dropped Sarat Chandra Bose from the cabinet. The objective of Jinnah's decision to join the Interim Government was made clear by him when he said that the Muslim League was joining the Interim Government to prevent Nehru to function as the head of the government, and that the power will be entirely in the hands of the Viceroy. To call such a government a National Government with whose policies the imperialists could no longer interfere, does not seem to be correct today. So when Saumyendranath said—"In our criticism and propaganda against the Interim Government we should not say it was no better than the previous naked British imperialist government" he exaggerated the importance of the so called national leaders who had surrendered themselves to the British by accepting the proposal of Interim Government. It was also very unfortunate that the Party conference was held in an

atmosphere of euphoria instead of a severe self-criticism. Let us put on record that by failing to establish the Panchayets in 1943, the leaders of R.C.P. had disorganised the fighting masses of 1946. If in 1943 the Panchayets could be formed, the masses would have learnt the utility of such organisations even if they were destroyed. The lessons they would have learnt would have helped them to intensify the revolutionary struggle in 1946. When we look back today we wonder how did we allow the Party Secretary to submit a schoolboyish report in which the only worthwhile information was given is the increase in the number of members. Why was he not asked to submit a complete report in writing reviewing the party-experience from 1942 to 1945? It only showed to what dismal level the standard of the then Central Committee had fallen.

It is under the rule of the Interim Government which stood paralysed for ten months, the country was involved in a communal civil war which destroyed the unity of the masses and with it the revolutionary mass movement.

When in January 1947 the Party started its legal English organ 'Toilers' Front', Tagore wrote a series of articles, where he clearly enunciated the task before the Revolutionary Communists, namely the "preparation for socialist revolution" without allowing itself to be the prey of either panic, political fatalism, sterile constitutionalism or ultra-left adventurism. These articles show that to him it was not inevitable that the bourgeoisie would inherit the power from British imperialism through a compromise. If all the left parties could join hands on the basis of an agreed programme and organised the masses in their weapons for struggle for power—the 'Panchayets'—the revolutionary masses could still challenge the bourgeoisie and attempt to seize power to bring about a socialist revolution. These articles have been reproduced in this book. They will show that Saumyendranath was calculating on the basis of Atlee's announcement that the transfer of power would take place in June 1948, which gave the Leftist forces almost a year to organise themselves. But this was not to be. Congress Socialist Party who by then had been thrown out of the Congress continued to seek opportunities to lick the boots of the bourgeoisie. The Stalinist Communists quickly changed their master and became supporters of Nehru. Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, Jinnah and Mountbatten realised that if the masses recover from the shocks of communal civil war, they might still prevent the bourgeoisie from receiving power from the British. So the

date was advanced to August 15, 1947 the day on which "betrayal all along the line" began. The country was divided into two. Jinnah sat on the throne in Karachi and Jawaharlal mounted the steps to the chair of the Prime Minister with the whole country wet with blood and tears of the masses. Even then he was considered by the people to be the liberator. In its long history of thousands of years India had never faced such a tragedy.

And thus it was what Saumyendranath had predicted at the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International in 1927 that the Indian bourgeoisie led by its party, the Indian National Congress, would enter into a compromise and negotiate a deal with British imperialism for political power and at the same time safeguard imperialist interests in India. When a national revolution comes to such an end, the society then becomes petrified in which politics is no longer a matter of sacrifice and commitment, but becomes a money-making career like any other. Politics then becomes a trade or an industry in which men are purchased, repacked and sold. Politics then becomes worthless as its end is to achieve personal gains by means of illegitimate means.

What we see in India today is the development of the last thirty years in which the politics of money power and corruption has steadily established itself. So it is the correctness of Saumyendranath's prediction that made him politically useless and ineffective. His political integrity, his moral and physical courage, his total disregard for material gains and finally his uncompromising attachment to human values made him totally unfit for the modern-day politics of money-making, opportunism and corruption.

This introduction I will conclude by thanking two persons : my wife Ratna, who with the dimming of my vision, has acted as my eyes, and my old friend Samir Mitra, who inspite of his inconceivable personal tragedy has unhesitatingly performed the most serious task of actually printing the book.

SUDARSHAN CHATTOPADHYAYA

IMPERIALIST WAR AND INDIA

The inevitable has happened. World imperialism and national capitalist states—these two opposite tendencies within imperialism have once more come to grip. The development of world-economic forces points out with an unerring finger to the necessity of a world-wide co-operative economic system. But the economic forces, controlled by the capitalist classes and regulated by them for their own class-interests are being constantly frustrated by the limitations imposed on them by the economic and political nationalism of the bourgeoisie of different capitalist countries.

The Imperialist Preference and autarchy, that is to say, the monopolistic preservation of the hunting ground of profit so far as the imperialist bourgeoisie's home country and the colonies are concerned and rapacious grabbing of other lands and other markets—this is the economic policy of the world bourgeoisie today. The result of such a policy is not far to seek. The clash amongst the bourgeoisie of imperialist countries for the re-division of market and the re-partition of the world is the obvious result of the rapacious policy of these freebooters and racketeers of world capitalism.

We would not have had much cause for lament if the clash was limited only amongst the freebooters themselves, of only the bourgeoisie and if only cut-throat bourgeoisie had indulged in cutting its own throat and of none else. But things are quite different.

The masses are dragged into an infernal butchery by unscrupulous and lying propaganda and are made to fight a battle which is not their own.

The masses are duped with the propaganda of rabid chauvinism, irrational hatred against the people of other countries, and on fratricidal violence.

The bourgeoisie starts the war, but does not fight, only reaps colossal profits. The bourgeoisie cleverly uses the masses to

fight its battles and to butcher the masses of other lands. Therein lies the irony and tragedy of the imperialist war.

In 1914, we had witnessed this tragedy : the betrayal of the working class by the Socialists, turned into obsequious agents of their "own" bourgeoisie.

In 1939, the same tale is being repeated. The Labour Party of Great Britain have intentionally swallowed the Chamberlainian bait of "Democratic front versus Fascist front", and have turned as good national-chauvinists as the Tories, Liberals and the munition-manufacturers. In France, Fascist Daladier's "democratic front" dustbin contains Socialists, Popular Front "Communists", militarists, royalists—in a word, social garbage of all types.

The world is being flooded with the sly propaganda of "Democracy versus Fascism."

Is this war really a war between the forces of democracy and the forces of Fascism ? No, it is not. Those who say that tell a lie. Is it really protection of Poland that has forced the British and the French imperialism to fight ? Since when have these imperialist powers become champions of freedom ? Since when, may we ask, have Daladier and our Chamberlain become votaries of democracy ? What about Austria ? What about Abyssinia ? What about Czechoslovakia and what was that "non-intervention" game that was played in Spain ? Was it not an effective intervention practised by the British and the French imperialism, by Chamberlain and Daladier, against democracy ? Is it not Chamberlain and Daladier who assisted Hitler to dismember Czechoslovakia ? Have they not helped Franco's Fascist counter-revolution in Spain ? Have they not complacently looked on Mussolini's Fascist gangsterism in Abyssinia and Albania, and have not moved a little finger to help democracy or freedom?

Then, why today is this sudden clamour for the cause of democracy and freedom ? Why ? Because the British and the French imperialism thought of satisfying German Fascism's greed for expansion and market by allowing it to swallow Czechoslovakia. That far they could allow German imperialism to proceed but no further.

If Poland is annexed by Germany then the market of the British and the French imperialism in Eastern Europe shrinks considerably, and moreover German imperialism becomes immensely powerful with all the raw materials of Poland at its command.

Then German imperialism might change its' "drang nach osten" to its "drang nach Westen" and may moreover stretch its paws towards the colonial empires of Great Britain and France.

That is why this sudden exhibition of love for democracy and freedom on the part of the British and the French imperialism.

This exhibition is a grotesque commentary on the role played by British imperialism in relation to Czechoslovakia.

We are all for the freedom of Poland. We are enslaved people ourselves, so we know what it is to be under foreign domination. Our solidarity is with Poland, the victim of barbarous Fascist aggression. There is no question about it. We are also sworn enemies of Fascism, which is the negation of all that is human. It is barbarous par excellence.

As early as 1934, soon after Hitler's counter-revolution in Germany, we exposed Hitlerism in our book "Hitlerism or the Aryan Rule in Germany". We had fought against the Fascist propaganda carried on by a certain professor of the Calcutta University. And from hundreds of platforms, we have denounced Fascism. Only because we love freedom and democracy, and loathe Fascism, we warn our countrymen to ponder over the subtle propaganda that the British imperialism are carrying on at present, and not to be swept off the feet by this slimy tide of falsehood.

And only because we love freedom and democracy and loathe Fascism, we should univocally declare that Chamberlainism and Daladierism are just as bad as Hitlerism, if not worse, because of the hypocritical garb of democracy they wear.

Chamberlain talks of democracy ! Let us for a moment pause and look at this matchless democracy at work in India. Press Acts, Ordinances, Regulations, Ogilvie Act—surely these are exquisite jewels in the crown of British imperialist democracy ! Chamberlain sheds tears for those who sit in Nazi concentration camps. If he manages to forget about the not-long-ago concentration camps of Bengal, we at least should not.

The supreme test of British imperialism's democracy is here in India. Here it has not only miserably failed, but also proved the unmitigated hypocrisy and utter hollowness of its pretention to democracy. Once more let us repeat—there is no fundamental difference between Chamberlainism and Hitlerism.

In India, where we should have known better the real worth of British imperialist democracy, it seems we have not known it or we are allowing ourselves to be fooled by some of the leaders.

Only Saprus, Aga Khans, Jinnahs, the native princes and the zaminders consider British imperialism a champion of democracy. It is but natural. But it is a bit surprising though one acquainted with his past record during the last World War has not much reason for surprise—when Mahatma Gandhi declares his sympathies with England and France—in his own words—‘from the purely humanitarian standpoint’. Humanitarian standpoint indeed ! Does Mahatma Gandhi really believe that England and France are fighting for the cause of freedom and democracy ? Mahatma Gandhi is too shrewd a politician to believe that. Here, consistent with his truth and non-violence, he uses the ruse of humanitarian standpoint to support British imperialism in this war.

He, the apostle of non-violence had done what he did during the Boer War and the last World War, and now he is prepared to do same, once again.

With a sickening sentimentalism smeared with hypocrisy, Mahatma Gandhi says in his statement to the Press after his interview with the Viceroy,—“And as I was picturing before him the Houses of Parliament and the Westminster Abbey and their possible destruction, I broke down. I became disconsolate.”

So, the possible destruction of the Houses of Parliament and the Westminster Abbey, and not of German towns or churches broke Mahatma Gandhi’s heart and his sympathies went out to British imperialists. This is the true essence of the pure humanism of Mahatma Gandhi.

Now that Mahatma Gandhi has shown once again his love for British imperialism, there is not the shadow of a doubt that the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, a packed body of Mahatma’s own men, shall sing the same tune. Already Moulana Abul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who though theoretically is not in the Working Committee, yet for all practical purposes he is, have issued statements in support of “democracy”. In an interview with the Associated Press at Rangoon on September 8, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have said : “It is perfectly true that in a conflict between democracy and freedom on the one side and Fascism and aggression on the other, our sympathies must inevitably be on the side of democracy and we cannot tolerate with pleasure ideas of victory for the Fascists and imperialist aggressors. I should like India to play her full part and throw all her resources into the struggle for new order”.

So, this is the analysis of the imperialist war and its causes by the great "socialist", Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This imperialist war is not the war caused by the rivalries for market and colonial expansion between the imperialist powers! Pandit Nehru, in true Chamberlainian fashion, has told us that it is a "conflict between democracy and freedom on the one side and Fascism and aggression on the other" and, moreover, we are asked to play our part in this war and throw all our resources into it, which, according to Pandit Nehru, is "the struggle for new order".

An imperialist war is then a "struggle for new order" ! Chamberlain has assuredly triumphed. The betrayal is complete.

The decision of the Working Committee is thus a foregone conclusion. Of the "leftists", it is useless to waste one's breath on the Congress "socialists" and the Congress "communists". Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, to show his gratitude to the Working Committee for the privilege of his being summoned by Sardar Patel, had wired back placing the Congress "Socialist" Party entirely at the disposal of the Congress. Thus the Congress-"socialist" dictator has once more mortgaged his party to the Indian bourgeoisie. As to the Congress-"communists", since the Tripuri session of the Congress, they want "the revolution under the leadership of Gandhi" and thus are all virtually in the Gandhian camp.

But what about the redoubtable Mr. M. N. Roy ?

Mr. M. N. Roy in a statement to the press, says : "All freedom loving people will congratulate the British Government on the decision to put an end to Hitlerism".

One wonders if Mr. M. N. Roy speaks or Mr. Chamberlain ? Chamberlain has scored an all triumph. British imperialism wants to end Fascism ! Superb, indeed, is Mr. M. N. Roy's faith in British imperialism !

Youths of India !

Fight for freedom and fight against Fascism. Remember the noble words of Karl Liebknecht, uttered in the German Parliament, on the eve of the first Great War—"Your enemy is not on the other side of the Rhine, Seine and Thames. Your enemy is in your own land".

Hitler would never have come to power and score the triumph he has scored, if instead of making an united front with the bourgeoisie, the working classes of England and France had smashed Chamberlainism and Daladierism in their own countries and had prepared the soil for the blossoming forth of real democracy.

In India, in this hour of greatest travail, when the nationalist leaders are betraying the cause of humanity and are proving themselves to be supporters of British imperialism, it is our task, the sacred task of the youth, to raise our voice of protest against this betrayal and to declare—We stand for national independence of every country in the world and, therefore, our solidarity is with Poland in her hour of trial.

We are out to destroy Fascism.

We fight for real democracy.

And because we serve the great cause of freedom and democracy we refuse to swallow the Chamberlainian bait and sing pacans in support of British imperialism, the enemy of democracy and freedom everywhere. Down with British imperialism !

September 1939.

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT OR THE FRONT AGAINST THE PEOPLE

The expectation was not fulfilled.

In Russia, the October revolution had swept away the dykes built by world imperialism to safeguard itself against the tide of the proletarian revolution. Revolutionary waves rushed with all-conquering power and swept away czarism, the accursed feudal-capitalist imperialism, from one-sixth of the world. The flood spread all over Europe. The waves of the proletarian revolution were heard splashing angrily against the capitalist dykes. Germany, Hungary, Austria and Italy were threatened. The dykes betrayed all the signs of giving way, and the victory of the revolutionary upsurge was almost certain. But the leaders of the world revolution had not, it seems, fully measured the depth of perfidy, treachery and villainy that the leaders of the Socialist parties in the principal countries of Europe were capable of. Lenin had mercilessly exposed the opportunist, reformist and class-collaborationist policy which the Socialist lackeys of the world bourgeoisie, the leaders of the Second International had been systematically pursuing long before the World War and which they openly advocated during the war and after it as well.

At the beginning and during the war, the Socialist leaders of the Second International proved themselves to be worse nationalists than the bourgeois nationalists themselves. The chauvinism of Plekhanov, Kautsky, Thomas and other Socialist leaders transcended in its rabidness and vulgarity the national chauvinism of the munition-manufacturers and the war-profiteers. None knew these gentlemen of the Socialist International better than Lenin, and none had exposed the reformist, class-collaborationist, anti-revolutionary chicanery of these men with such superb dexterity and with such unceasing zeal of Lenin.

But, it seems, even far-sighted leaders of the world-revolution had not properly fathomed the depth of the treachery of these

Socialist leaders. That they would thwart the revolution when it actually broke out, that they would do all the dirty work for the bourgeoisie even to the extent of taking initiative in murdering Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxembourg and the leaders of the Bavarian uprising, and that they would openly join the forces of counter-revolution to crush the revolution, and hand over the power to the bourgeoisie, who were paralysed with the fear of the revolution, surpassed the comprehension of even Lenin.

That is why the expectation of the world revolution following in the wake of the October revolution was not fulfilled. The revolutions in Germany, Hungary, Poland and Italy were suppressed with savage ferocity by the bourgeoisie emboldened by the unstinted and most energetic assistance given to them by the leaders of the Socialist International. From the reformist, class-collaborationist, anti-revolutionary attitude, the Socialist leaders had logically passed on to the next stage—the open counter-revolutionary opposition to and savage terrorism against the proletarian revolution. The tide of world revolution ebbed for the time being. The bourgeoisie breathed with relief, and thanked the holy ghost for giving them such an ally as the Socialist International, against the proletarian revolution.

But the problem of the world revolution did not end with temporary defeat of the revolutions in the various countries of Western Europe. It was only the beginning. Two major tasks faced the leaders of the world-revolution. First, a new revolutionary International—the general staff of the world revolution—was absolutely necessary, so that it could mobilise and give a revolutionary leadership to the world proletariat, and win the masses over from the counter-revolutionary leadership of the Socialist International which had exhausted all its possibility as a revolutionary organisation.

Secondly, the hold of the Socialist parties over the working classes in various European countries, had to be weakened and smashed.

The creation of the Third International in 1919 was intended to fulfil the first task, and the tactics of the united front, advocated by Lenin in 1922, was devised to achieve the second task.

The revolutionary outbreaks in various European countries had proved with tragic clarity the enormous hold the reactionary Socialist parties had over the working classes of Europe. The Socialist parties controlled the overwhelming majority of the workers and did everything in their power to keep the workers

away from the revolution. The Communist parties had no doubt counted in their ranks the most class-conscious elements amongst the workers, but at the same time the fact could not be overlooked that only a very small minority of the working class owed their allegiance to the Communist parties. So long as this fact was not altered and the Communist parties had not established their political influence over the majority of the European working class, the victory of the world revolution was bound to remain a political mirage.

It was more than clear to Lenin that the political immaturity and the corresponding ultra-leftism of the Communist parties in different countries of Europe were to a very considerable extent responsible for the unfortunate continuation of the hold of counter-revolutionary Socialist parties on the working classes.

With a holy wrath worthy of religious fanatics but ill-becoming in a Marxist, the Communists had kept themselves aloof from the trade unions controlled by the Socialists, because to them it appeared to be morally unbearable to be in the same organisation with those who had betrayed the revolution and had helped the bourgeoisie to murder revolutionaries.

This "purity complex" of the Communists had proved to be a boon to the Socialist leaders. It had achieved only one thing : it helped the reactionary Socialist leaders to maintain their hold on millions of workers without the slightest effort on the part of the Communists to undo it. For over two decades, millions of workers organised in different trade unions, were controlled by the Socialists. In order to influence these workers with revolutionary communist ideology, and in order to open their eyes to the treachery of the Socialist leaders, the only course open to the Communists was to enter these trade unions, to educate the workers politically through constant contact, and to conduct united struggles against the capitalists. But the youthful and immature Communists kept themselves away from the trade unions—the mass organisations of the working class and lived in the vacuum of abstract revolution, and were stewing themselves in the sauce of "pure" communism of their own make. In his book, "Left-wing Communism : an Infantile Disorder", Lenin castigated the Communists for their robbing communism of all its revolutionary content, and reducing it to an abstract theory of ethereal purity. He advised them to enter the Socialist-controlled trade unions and submit the united front proposals to the Socialist Parties. This was the only correct tactics for exposing the Socialist

leaders to the hundreds of thousands of rank and file workers of the Socialist Parties.

The United Front tactics as conceived by Lenin had, therefore, the all-important task of effectively and systematically sapping and undermining the hold of the reformist and opportunist leadership of the Socialist Parties over millions of workers, then to draw them by the irresistible force of this tactics towards the Communist workers and finally to bring them under the ideological influence and leadership of the Communist Parties.

It is clear then, that the united front policy was conceived by Lenin as a revolutionary tactics to unmask the Socialist leaders and to bring about the unity of the Socialist and Communist workers by helping the Socialist workers to kick the leaders into the dustbin, and finally to establish the united revolutionary front of the working class in order to smash capitalism.

Under the guidance of Lenin, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, held in November-December, 1922, adopted the following resolution on the united front policy: "The most important thing with tactics of the united front is and remains the agitational and organisational unification of the working masses themselves. The real success of the united front tactics is to come from below, from the depth of the working masses themselves. At the same time, the Communists should not decline, under given circumstances, to negotiate with the leaders of the worker's parties in opposition to us. But the masses must be constantly and completely kept informed of the course of these negotiations".

The resolution draws our attention to the four fundamental aspects of the united front tactics.

First, the agitational and organisational unification of the working masses. The workers must not remain split in rival and parallel trade unions. They must be unified organisationally in the same unions.

Secondly, the motive force of the united front tactics is to come from the depth of the masses themselves. In other words, through constant struggle against the capitalists, and from the political experience that the masses derive from such struggles the necessity of bringing about unity in their own ranks against the enemies will be increasingly felt by the workers themselves and the urge for the united front will well-up from the depth of the working masses themselves. This unification from below is not conceived as a spontaneous phenomenon, but as a result of a conscious

process, an energetic propaganda campaign carried on by the most class-conscious Communists amongst the Socialist workers explaining to them on the basis of concrete political struggles the necessity of an united proletarian front against the enemies of the working class.

Thirdly, though the united front tactics is most effective when it grows from below, from the depth of the working class masses themselves, yet the Communists must understand that in certain given circumstances, they must negotiate from above with the leaders of rival working class parties.

Here we should do well to pay special attention to the phrase in certain "given circumstances". The resolution clearly points out that under given circumstances, the united front tactics has got to be adopted from above, that is to say the Communists must approach the rival working class organisations organisationally by approaching the leaders of the organisations for united action. The given circumstances emphasised in the resolution signifies a stage in the development of the political consciousness of the workers when they have learnt to work and fight organisationally and have developed a sense of loyalty to their organisations. In the countries where trade unions are recognised and well-established institutions and have by the traditions of their militancy for the cause of the proletariat struck deep roots in the hearts of the workers, it is necessary to approach the organisation with concrete proposals for joint action. Approaching the individual members of such an organisation will only be resented by the workers as an attempt to split and weaken the organisation. We shall have occasion to see how the Communist Party of Germany committed this fatal mistake with its slogan "United Front from Below".

Fourthly, the Communists are enjoined by the resolution to negotiate with leaders of the worker's parties in opposition to them for united front. In other words, united front as a tactics has its sphere of applicability limited only amongst the parties with the identical class basis.

This is the Leninist conception of the united front tactics, grown out of the experience gathered from the defeat of revolutions in various countries of Western Europe, evolved out of a deep study of the causes of the defeats, and intended as a corrective to the sincere but immature, genuine but dogmatic and schematic, ultra-leftist Communists, who were much too concerned with the "purity" of the movement than the movement itself.

Lenin's "Left-wing Communism : an Infantile Disorder" contains invaluable suggestions and directions about the theory and practice of the united front.

Unfortunately, his death deprived the world proletariat of the greatest subjective factor of the world revolution. The directions that Lenin had given us in his writings and had embodied in the resolution on the united front adopted by the fourth congress of the Communist International in 1922, were scarcely followed after Lenin's death. Ultra-leftism was allowed by the Third International to run its course without let or hindrance in Europe, and ultra-rightism was adopted in the name of the united front in the semi-colonial China, during the revolution in 1925-27.

China is predominantly an agrarian country. Eightyfive per cent of the population are peasants, but of these only five per cent were rich peasants. Together with the landlords, they owned thirty per cent of the total cultivated land. The middle peasant owned twenty-six per cent and sixty per cent of the entire peasantry possessed only twenty-five per cent, which did not come to more than two hectares per head.

The agrarian problem thus was the central issue of the Chinese revolution.

There was also a comparatively speedy growth of a Chinese capitalist class. In 1925 fifty per cent of the capital invested in the railroad, twenty-six per cent in water transport, twenty-five per cent in the sugar industry, twenty per cent in the iron industry, sixty-seven per cent in the coal industry were controlled by the Chinese industrialists themselves.

Moreover, in 1925, twenty-seven Chinese banks owned a capital of approximately 300 million Chinese dollars. At this period, the foreign investments in China amounted to roughly speaking at 1.5 billion dollars.

Side by side with the growth of the Chinese industrialist class, the steady and inevitable growth of the Chinese proletariat went forward. Approximately three million industrial workers were engaged in textile factories, railways, mines and in other industries.

The Chinese workers slaved away under most appalling condition. They were the lowest paid workers in the world. Poverty in the countryside and in the cities was so widespread that it was no longer possible to measure it by human standards.

In 1925, a mighty revolutionary flood swept over this vast land, threatening to destroy by its mighty currents all the relics of feudal tyranny, the recently grown Chinese capitalist oppres-

sion and the ruthless foreign imperialist exploitation.

The revolution which could fulfil these tasks was bound to be a proletarian revolution in character, and in 1925, considering the economic and political background of the world, the leadership of a revolution which had for one of its main tasks the destruction of feudalism could not be in the hands of any other class but the proletariat.

But the Communist Party of China, under the guidance of its adviser, Borodin, the representative of the Communist International, decided that the revolution was to come through the Kuomintang, the party of the Chinese bourgeoisie, and that the Kuomintang was to lead the fight against feudalism and imperialism. Thus it wrongly estimated the character of the Chinese revolution and equally disastrously made the fatal mistake of considering the Chinese bourgeoisie to be the leader of the revolution in the epoch of declining capitalism, simply because this revolution had for one of its principal objectives the accomplishment of the bourgeois-democratic task of destroying feudal relics in the national economy of China.

So the united front of the worker's parties gave place to the united front of the Communist Party of China with the Kuomintang, the party of the Chinese bourgeoisie, and the theory of class-collaboration was adopted and practised with vengeance. The Communist Party of China became only a subservient part of the Kuomintang. This united front of the Communist Party of China with the Kuomintang helped Chiang-kai-Shek to extend his popularity amongst the working class and the peasantry. Once Chiang-kai-Shek had spread his influence amongst the workers and the peasants with the help of the Chinese Communist Party, he and the other leaders of the Chinese bourgeoisie had no more use of the Communist Party. It was evident during the election of the Kuomintang in Canton in July, 1925. In Canton the left-wing of the Kuomintang won an absolute majority over the right-wing in the election. The right-wingers then held a separate conference, formulated these demands and pressed for their acceptance. The demands were :

(1) All Communists must be expelled from the Kuomintang.

(2) The polit-bureau of the Party must be dissolved and the power must be concentrated in the hands of the military staff.

(3) Borodin and other Russian advisers of the Kuomintang must be dismissed.

This was a clear indication as to which way the wind was

blowing ; but the Communists were either politically blind or they intentionally took no notice of it.

But Chiang-kai-Shek was not sleeping. The leftists were not long to enjoy their victory of the election of July in Canton. Chiang-kai-Shek with his army swept down on Canton in March, 1926 to weed out the leftists from the Kuomintang. Scores of workers were shot, prominent leaders of the left-wing were arrested and charged with communist activities.

Even this was not considered sufficient reason for the Chinese Communists to break with the Kuomintang. Like our Congress-“communists”, who also did not consider it necessary to end their subservience to the Congress even after the Congress Ministry of Bombay had shot workers and the Congress Ministry of Behar had put hundreds of peasants to prison, the Chinese Communists did not think it necessary to break with Chiang-kai-Shek even after the Canton massacre.

To return to our narrative, in May 1926, at a special plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, the following rules were framed for the guidance of the Communist Party of China.

First, the Communists must not criticise the principles laid down by Sun-yat-Sen. They must implicitly follow those principles.

Secondly, the Communist Party of China is to hand over a complete list of its members to the Kuomintang.

Thirdly, not more than one-third members of the higher executive committees of the Kuomintang could be Communists.

Fourthly, no Communist could be the head of any central department of the Kuomintang.

Fifthly, if the Communist Party desired to send instructions to its members in the Kuomintang, such instructions must at first be approved by a joint committee composed of members of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party before they could be transmitted to the members.

Thus, did the Kuomintang, the party of the Chinese bourgeoisie, hedge the Communist Party of China from all sides and made it wholly ineffective and politically impotent. The Chinese bourgeoisie tied the Communist Party to their apron-strings and dragged it about as they pleased.

But while on one side the Kuomintang was deliberately and systematically pushing the Communist Party to the wall, it also did all in its power to fool the masses with a few social reforms.

On October 15, 1926, the second plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang accepted certain measures of economic and social reforms and the Communists were ready to fight for the Kuomintang government. This was exactly the reason why the reforms were proposed as they were intended to serve as the bait for the masses. After thus preparing the masses in favour of the Kuomintang, Chiang-kai-Shek began his northern expedition. Backed by the enthusiastic support of the masses, the forces of the nationalist government scored victory after victory. Wuchang and Hankow were captured by the Kuomintang troops. The new nationalist government which was then set up included two Communists as ministers.

Shrewd and clever as Chiang-kai-Shek was, he now decided to march with his army to Shanghai. The move was an extremely clever one. The apparent reason which Chiang-kai-Shek could easily give and fool the people was that by attacking Shanghai, he was attacking foreign imperialism in China at its most vital spot. But, in reality, Chiang was preparing his attack on Shanghai, not aiming at the heart of imperialism, but at the heart of the revolutionary proletariat.

The enthusiasm of the masses, completely deceived by this clever ruse of Chiang, was unbounded. Their hearts caught fire with the thought that at last the fight against foreign imperialism will begin in right earnest and the warlords of North China would at last be smashed. The proletariat of Shanghai prepared to welcome Chiang-kai-Shek by declaring a general strike at Shanghai. The strikers took over the control of the city into their hands, formed the Shanghai Soviet and ruled Shanghai for three weeks.

In the meantime, while the workers were fighting grimly against the Shantughese army, Chiang-kai-Shek came and halted with his army outside Shanghai. Not only he did not come to the help of the Shanghai proletariat, he stood at the gate of Shanghai, waiting to see the workers bleed to death and get weak, and then entered with his troops.

One Commander, Say-o of the First Division of the Canton Army, informed the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China all about the plans of Chiang-kai-Shek and warned it in time; but he was informed by the Communist leaders that they were not prepared to bring about a rupture with Chiang-kai-Shek at that moment. The Communist Party of China followed the tactics of the united front with the Chinese bourgeoisie with

the fanatical faith of the new converts. Chiang-kai-Shek entered Shanghai with his army, occupied the city with the help of the second division of Bai-Sung-Ghee regiment and after a couple of days started the most frightful campaign of murder of the Shanghai workers. Thousands of the militant vanguards of the Shanghai proletariat were murdered with revolting bestiality by Chiang-Kai-Shek.

But even then the faith of the Communist Party of China in the Kuomintang was not shaken. The Central Committee of the Communist Party ordered the workers to obey the directions of the Kuomintang and forbade the working class organisations to arrest any one.

After Chiang-kai-Shek's murder campaign at Shanghai, the Communists concentrated their forces at Wuhan. But here also the formation of the workers' Soviets was not permitted, as according to them "the Kuomintang phase of the Chinese revolution" was not yet over. Kuomintang generals, Feng and Tang marched with their armies against the workers of Wuhan.

In Hunan, the peasants were confiscating the lands of the landlords. The countryside was ringing with the slogans, "Down with the Landlords". "Land to the Cultivators". The seizure of landlords' lands proceeded rapidly. Kuomintang leaders were alarmed. Wang questioned Borodin if he was responsible for this movement. Borodin flatly denied his responsibility in the matter and said the movement should be modified. This was exactly the answer the leaders of the Kuomintang were waiting for. They now went merrily forward with their task of modifying the peasant's movement in Hunan.

On the 21st and 22nd May, 1927, the Kuomintang soldiers defeated a peasant army of approximately 20,000 men at Changsa, the capital of Hunan and massacred all the peasants who were active in the revolutionary peasant organisations. The Communist Party of China still looked on complacently at these massacres without moving its little finger and faith in the Chinese bourgeoisie and the Kuomintang remained undiminished.

But the masses were stirred to their depths by the news of the wholesale massacre at Changsa and wanted to act in a revolutionary way. The peasants wanted to march on Changsa and to recapture it. When the peasant battalions were about to march on Changsa, a message arrived from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, giving definite instruc-

tions to the peasants not to march on Changsa. So the peasants were held back by the Communist Party. Two detachments of peasants which started for Changsa before the message arrived ~~from~~ the Central Committee marched on Wuhan but being isolated from the rest, were massacred by the Kuomintang soldiers.

After this fatal class-collaborationist united front policy of the Communist Party had helped the bourgeoisie to crush the revolutionary class-organisations of the workers and peasants and to massacre the revolutionary leaders of the proletariat and the peasantry due to the cowardly passivity of the Communist Party, and after the masses were forced to a general retreat by the very actions of the Communist Party, it suddenly decided for a mass insurrection in August, 1927.

This decision for the insurrection was taken when the revolutionary tide was at its lowest and the reaction had reached its highest point. Directions were given to organise Soviets and they were organised not on an elective basis but were organised from the top. The Soviets had no mass basis.

On December 11, 1927, a quite unprepared uprising took place at Canton. It was a sheer adventure engineered by Hans Naumann, the German Communist leader, sent to China by the Communist International. On December 14, only after two days' fighting, Chiang-kai-Shek put down this uprising in Canton with a brutality worthy of Chengis Khan. This adventure cost the lives of thousands of Canton workers.

At Canton, the revolution received its final blow and was crushed. The Chinese Communist Party successfully beheaded it.

The tactics of the united front with the national bourgeoisie against imperialism had its first historical test in semi-colonial China and the history of its inevitable failure is written not with ink but with the blood of thousands and thousands of the most heroics amongst the millions of China's masses.

Yet it seems that the lessons of the Chinese revolution had been lost. As we shall see, years after, the same mistakes were repeated in Spain with the necessary Spanish variations.

Some Communists, comfortable in their ignorance and orthodoxy, say, "We admit that Communist Party of China committed great blunders, but surely the Communist International cannot be blamed for it."

These gentlemen in their bigotry forget the simple fact that

the Communist Party of China was affiliated to the Communist International, that the representatives of the Communist International were present in China throughout the years of revolution and that the ideological line and the strategy and tactics were determined and directed by the Communist International.

Even if we for argument's sake accept the most untenable position that the Communist Party of China did exactly the opposite of what it was asked to do by the Comintern, one is quite at a loss to understand why the Communist Party of China was allowed to commit one blunder after another, one more preposterous than the other, for a period of two years without the intervention of the Communist International.

Anyone with the least knowledge of the relation between a Communist Party and the Third International will realise the absurdity of this stand taken up and maintained by the petty-bourgeois idolators of the Communist International.

However much we may like to accommodate these gentlemen, facts and history which admit of no idolatory are against them. The Communist International shares with the Communist Party of China the responsibility of the mistakes committed during the Chinese revolution.

We had so far dealt with the Chinese revolution as an illustration of the ultra-rightist class-collaborationist tactics of united front with the bourgeoisie adopted in a semi-colonial country. Now we shall make a survey of the ultra-leftist tactics adopted by the Communist Party of Germany which led to the debacle it suffered in the hands of Hitler's counter-revolution. Moreover, ultra-leftism once more gave birth to the ultra-rightist united front tactics but this time not on a Chinese scale but on a world scale.

As has been pointed out earlier, Lenin castigated German Communists for their infantile ultra-leftism and enjoined them to apply the tactics of the united front in their earlier dealings with other working class parties. Soon after that Lenin died and the Communist Party of Germany did not mend its ultra-leftism but continued in the same old way as before.

The Communist Party of Germany gave out the slogan of "United Front From Below" and did not complement it with the other half of the tactics, "United Front From Above," which they were enjoined to do by the Leninist resolution on the united front passed in the Fourth Congress of the Communist International.

They failed to understand that in a country like Germany where the proletariat were under the influence of the Socialists for nearly fifty years had received enough political education to know the value of their class-organisations, and had moreover developed a sense of deep loyalty to their organisations, it was impossible to undermine their loyalty towards the Socialist leaders only by propoganda against their treacherous activity unless at the same time proposals for joint actions were submitted to these organisations officially by the Communists.

The actions of the Communists working from below and trying to influence Socialist workers from within were deeply resented and taken exception to by the Socialist workers who considered these actions as tactically directed to disrupt their organisations. The result was that instead of weakening the hold of the reactionary Socialist leaders over the workers, this tactics of united front from below in fact strengthened it.

What the Communists should have done was to send official invitations for joint actions against the Fascists to the Socialist organisations repeatedly, no matter how many times such proposals were turned down by the Socialist leaders. Each such refusal for joint action by the Socialist leaders could have then been used profitably amongst the workers against the Socialist leaders. That would have exposed them to the rank and file Socialists as nothing else could have done.

This 'united front from below' tactics of the German Communists not only failed to expose the counter-revolutionary Socialist leaders to the rank and file and to win them over, it indeed alienated the Socialist workers to a very great extent. This was the first fundamental mistake of the Communist Party.

The second mistake was embodied in their slogan "Social Democrats are Social-Fascists." This slogan betrayed the inability of the Communist Party of Germany to analyse the political differences existing between the Social-Democrats and the Fascists, and to utilise them for the furtherance of the proletarian cause. The Social-Democrats had surely turned anti-revolutionary reformist parliamentarians, yet one could not lump the Social-Democrats together with the Fascists in the same political category. There were fundamental political differences between the National-Socialists and the Social-Democrats. The Social-Democrats believed in parliamentarianism ; the Fascists believed in destruction of parliamentarianism. The Social-Democrats believed in democracy, not, of course, in proletarian

democracy, but in the democratic form of capitalism. The Fascists believed in the ruthless dictatorship of finance-capital. The application of the nomenclature "Social-Fascists" to the Social-Democrats proved that the Communists had overlooked or ignored these fundamental differences between the Social-Democrats and the Fascists, and because of this wrong political estimation of the Social-Democrats, the Communists failed to utilise politically the antagonism between the Socialists and the Fascists. Moreover, one cannot overlook the fact that there were hundreds of thousands of Socialist workers who were genuinely anti-Fascist and revolutionary. To call the Social-Democrats Social-Fascists was to estrange these workers, embitter them against the Communists and, finally to push them away from an united proletarian front.

The third great mistake was the creation of the Red Trade Union Opposition (RGO) in opposition to the General Trade Union Organisation, which had within its fold millions of German workers and which was controlled by the Socialists. The German Communists did not pay heed to the warning that Lenin had given them in "Left-wing Communism : an Infantile Disorder", not to keep themselves separated from the great mass of workers but to enter their organisations and to work amongst them. The mass of German workers resented deeply this move of the Communists to establish a rival trade union organisation. They felt that this move would split up their ranks, weaken their position and strengthen their enemies.

The Red Trade Union Opposition, like its wretched copy, the Red Trade Union Congress of our Congress-'communists' in their ultra-leftist phase, was a still-born thing, a paper organisation. After more than ten years of its existence, the Red Trade Union Opposition did not claim as its members more than five per cent of the organised industrial labour of Germany. Its membership consisted mostly of the unemployed workers, and one need hardly point out that for the purpose of a general strike, the unemployed workers are as good as if they did not exist at all. Historical development in Germany was not slow to show with grim irony the tragic feebleness of the Red Trade Union Opposition. Just before Hitler came to power, the Communist Party made a last-minute attempt to call a general strike. The Social-Democratic Party opposed and the general strike fizzled out before it had really started. One cannot call a strike of the industrial workers and make it successful with the help

of the unemployed workers ! That was the last show-down of the Red Trade Union Opposition before Hitler's coup.

Another grave error of the Communist Party of Germany consisted in the scanty attention that it paid to the German middle-class. The problem of the middle strata is an important problem of the proletarian revolution. The revolutionary party of the proletariat must draw a section of the middle-class to its side and must politically neutralise the rest, so that if the majority section of the middle-class does not join the proletariat, it will at least not help the enemies of the proletariat actively.

Secure in its ultra-leftism, the Communist Party of Germany snobbishly ignored the German middle-class and practically handed them over, first, to the reformist Social-Democracy and, then to the Fascists.

The ultra-leftism of the Communist Party of Germany and the betrayal of proletarian cause by the Social Democratic Party combined to paralyse the German working class from taking any effective revolutionary action against Hitler's counter-revolution. It led to the victory of Fascism in a country where the working class was most organised and was most capable not only of smashing Fascist counter-revolution but also of bringing the proletarian revolution to a victorious end. But as pointed out earlier, due to the colossal political blunders committed by the Communist Party of Germany and the conscious betrayal of the revolution by the German Social-Democratic Party, the world-proletariat got itself defeated in that particular national front where it was the strongest politically and the mightiest organisationally.

The victory of Fascism in Germany opened the floodgate of Fascist offensive in whole of Europe. The revolutionary proletariat of Austria went down fighting against the Austrian Facists led by the Catholic Dolfuss. Fascism made huge strides in France. Spanish Fascism received all the inspiration—ideological and material—for its counter-revolutionary preparations from the victorious German Fascism.

In this period of Fascist offensive and the defensive retreat of the European proletariat all along the line, the cry for an united proletarian front rose with ever greater insistence from the working masses themselves. The victory of Fascism in Germany and the rising tide of Fascist aggression in the rest of Europe made the working classes of Europe most poignantly conscious of the split in their ranks. The cry for proletarian unity arose spontaneously from their hearts. As a matter of fact the Socia-

list and Communist workers started united front actions over the heads of their leaders. Urged by the rank and file from below, on July 27, 1934, the People's Front pact for joint action against Fascism and for the protection of democratic rights was signed by the Communist and Socialist Parties in France.

This is the historical background of Dimitrov's thesis on the united front which he presented on August 2 morning session of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow from July 25 to August 20, 1935.

It would not be unprofitable for us to touch once more on the political landmarks in the historical development of the united front tactics once again revived by Dimitrov in 1935. The failure of the revolutions in Poland, Germany, Hungary and Italy, the ultra-leftism of the German Communists, Lenin's resolution on united front accepted by the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International in 1922, the distortion and vulgarisation of the united front tactics in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 when the united front was opportunistically expanded to include the Chinese bourgeoisie, the debacle of the Chinese revolution because of this ultra-rightist front with the Chinese bourgeoisie, the continuation of ultra-leftism by the Communist Party of Germany after Lenin's death with the approval of the Communist International resulting in the victory of Fascism in Germany and Austria and the onslaught of Fascism in all European countries—these are the historical backgrounds which one must bear in mind if one is to understand the significance of Dimitrov's rightist formulation of the united front tactics. We are in agreement with Dimitrov when in his thesis on the united front he says: "The ruling bourgeoisie is more and more seeking salvation in Fascism, with the object of instituting exceptional predatory measures against the toilers, preparing for an imperialist war of plunder, attacking the Soviet Union, enslaving and partitioning China, and by all these means preventing revolution."

But then soon after we come across this astounding passage. Trying to explain to us what Fascism is, Dimitrov says: "Fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic elements (mark the word 'elements') of finance capital."

Is Fascism then the dictatorship of certain elements of the bourgeoisie, of a certain section of the bourgeois class, owning finance capital, or is Fascism the dictatorship of the entire capitalist class, of the entire bourgeois class owning finance capital ?

No, Fascism is most definitely not the dictatorship of certain elements of the imperialistic bourgeoisie ; it is the dictatorship of the imperialist bourgeoisie as a whole. In this epoch of the profound crisis of capitalism and of the proletarian revolution, the conception of the democratic bourgeoisie is a myth. It is a mechanical and undialectical reading of the changing class-lines in the palm of history. It is the tragic admission of the inability to understand that in the epoch of titanic historical changes, a historical form before its final dissolution may have quite a different political content than what it previously had.

Let us take, for example, the democratic imperialist bourgeoisie of England and France still maintaining on the whole their democratic forms; but do we not see before our very eyes how fast these democratic forms are being emptied of their democratic content and are being filled with Fascist content ? Political forms crystallise in the process of the historical developments of the class in power. But when this class falls in the historical ebb tide, it does not immediately create new forms ; it carries on with the old forms as long as possible, smuggling in new contents within the old forms till the old forms can no longer accommodate the new content without destroying themselves. Only then the dying class in power totally rejects the old form and creates a new one. New wine can be put in old bottles, and those who go by the label and form of the bottle may be deceived by the form till they taste the content of the bottle.

The "elements" theory of Dimitrov is nothing but the preparation of the ground for introducing with all solemnity the democratic bourgeoisie on the stage of proletarian revolution and of finally arranging the inter-class liaison between the proletariat and the so-called democratic bourgeoisie under the holy cover of the People's Front. Says Dimitrov : "But today the millions of toilers living under capitalism are faced with the necessity of taking a definite stand on *those forms* (Dimitrov's italics) in which the rule of the bourgeoisie is clad in the various countries. We are not anarchists and it is not at all a matter of indifference to us what kind of political regime exists in any given country; whether a bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy, even with democratic rights and liberties greatly curtailed or a bourgeois dictatorship in its open Fascist form. Being upholders of Soviet democracy, we shall defend every inch of the democratic gains which the working class has wrested

in the course of years of stubborn struggle, and shall resolutely fight to extend these gains”.

Thus the workers are asked to take a definite stand on the various forms “in which the rule of the bourgeoisie is clad in the various countries”.

Now the question is, whether the proletariat is to take its stand on a mechanical and static understanding of forms or on a dialectical understanding of socio-political forms? True, we cannot ignore the difference in forms of the class-rule of the bourgeoisie. Concretely speaking, it can never be a matter of indifference to us whether the class-rule of the bourgeoisie assumes bourgeois-democratic form or the Fascist form. But at the same time, we must not over-emphasise the importance of forms which apparently may be still maintaining the continuity in bare outlines, but have already incorporated many elements which are fundamentally opposite to its original components.

Let us analyse the concept of bourgeois democracy. As I have already said, on the whole this form is maintained in imperialist England and imperialist France. But as the imperialist bourgeoisie of England and France cannot very well maintain its class-rule in this epoch without negating the very democracy which was its battle-cry against feudalism, and which served as the corner-stone of the edifice of rising capitalism, bourgeois democracy itself has undergone profound modifications in form.

Changes in the content are sooner or later bound to affect and change the form as well, though to the untrained eyes the subtle changes in the form may not be so easily perceptible, if the old outlines persist. Dimitrov has given undue emphasis on the form and has dealt with “these forms” as frozen and static categories unaffected by the change in content. His attitude towards socio-political forms is mechanical and abstract. He asks the workers to take “definite stand on the forms in which the rule of the bourgeoisie is clad”, but at the same time, fails to point out to the workers that the classical bourgeois democracy has vanished round the historical corner and that bourgeois democracy today contains and is bound to contain fifty per cent of Fascist ingredients and stinks strongly of Fascism. He has failed to point out to the proletariat this changing character of bourgeois democracy in this period of declining capitalism and proletarian revolution. He has only very casually touched this point, and the casual and soft touch is intentional and has a deep motive behind it as we shall see later on. Dimitrov remarks :

“We are not anarchists and it is not at all a matter of indifference to us what kind of political regime exists in any given country ; whether a bourgeois dictatorship in the form of bourgeois democracy, even with democratic rights and liberties greatly curtailed or a bourgeois dictatorship in its open Fascist form”.

We agree that the anarchists are in the wrong when they slur over the differences existing between various forms, because difference in forms denotes difference in content also. But if the anarchists commit the mistake in slurring over the difference in contents in the same form under different historical conditions, Dimitrov has committed a similar mistake when he has emphasised on the importance of the difference in forms between bourgeois democracy and Fascism, but did not consider it necessary to dwell upon the great differences in the content of bourgeois democracy in the periods of ascending and declining capitalism. Dimitrov has, moreover, emphasised the difference in form existing between Fascism and bourgeois democracy, “even with democratic rights and liberties greatly curtailed”. The rapid Fascistic development of bourgeois democracy seems to be a thing of not much importance to Dimitrov.

But Dimitrov himself makes the reason of his such soft and sweet treatment of present-day bourgeois democracy clear. When dealing with the question of democratic rights, he defines his attitude towards bourgeois-democracy, in the following fashion : “Our attitude towards bourgeois democracy is not the same under all conditions. For instance, at the time of the October Revolution, the Russian Bolsheviks were engaged in a life-and-death struggle against all political parties which used the slogan of defence of bourgeois democracy to oppose the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. The Bolsheviks fought these parties because the banner of bourgeois democracy had at that time become the standard around which all counter-revolutionary forces mobilised to challenge the victory of the proletariat. The situation is quite different in the capitalist countries at present. Now the Fascist counter-revolution is attacking bourgeois democracy in an effort to establish a most barbaric regime of exploitation and suppression of the toiling masses. **NOW THE TOILING MASSES IN A NUMBER OF CAPITALIST COUNTRIES ARE FACED WITH THE NECESSITY OF MAKING A DEFINITE CHOICE, AND OF MAKING IT TODAY, NOT BETWEEN PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND BOURGEOIS**

DEMOCRACY BUT BETWEEN BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM" (Our emphasis)

Let us critically and minutely examine Dimitrov's statement. "Our attitude towards bourgeois democracy is not the same under all conditions" he says. Perfectly correct, we are in full agreement with this contention. Our attitude towards and our estimation of the bourgeois democracy in the period of bourgeois democratic revolution and after it, surely does not tally with our attitude towards and our estimation of the bourgeois democracy in the period of profound crisis of capitalism. Bourgeois democracy in the period of bourgeois revolution has surely been a progressive force. It reflected the necessity of unfettered expansion of capitalism for the bourgeoisie, then a revolutionary class, but bourgeois democracy in the epoch of proletarian revolution puts fetters on the marching feet of the revolutionary proletariat. It is an instrument used by bourgeoisie to smother all the attempts made by the proletariat to replace this formal democracy of the bourgeois with the real concrete democracy of the proletariat.

Now the question is this : Is there any reason for us to change our attitude towards and to modify our estimation of the role of bourgeois democracy in the epoch of proletarian revolution ? According to us, 'No'. There is no ground whatsoever for changing our attitude of opposition to bourgeois democracy. According to Dimitrov, Fascism is attacking bourgeois democracy ; according to us, it is bourgeois democracy which has helped Fascism to come to power. The bourgeoisie has given all the privileges of bourgeois democracy to Fascism, has suppressed the proletariat by dint of bourgeois democracy and has ultimately replaced the bourgeois democratic form of its state by the Fascist form of state. What the Fascist are attacking is not bourgeois democracy, but those rights which the proletariat has won from the bourgeois democracy and which can thus be considered the democratic pre-requisites of the proletarian revolution. Rights earned by the proletariat by fighting against the bourgeoisie, by pouring out its heart's blood, by no means form a part of the bourgeois democratic rights because democracy in this epoch has already outgrown its bourgeois character. The bourgeoisie can no longer be democratic and democracy can no longer be bourgeois. Democracy can exist and blossom only in its proletarian form.

But now comes the last portion of Dimitrov's argument and

the sting is as usual in the tail. Dimitrov says : "Now the toiling masses in a number of capitalist countries are faced with the necessity of making a definite choice, and of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy but between bourgeois democracy and Fascism."

Manuilsky also repeated the very same tune when in the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, he said : "Today, the proletariat in most capitalist countries are not confronted with the alternative of bourgeois democracy or proletarian democracy ; they are confronted with the alternative of bourgeois democracy or Fascism."

So in the opinion of Dimitrov and Manuilsky the goal of the world proletariat today is not proletarian revolution or proletarian dictatorship or proletarian democracy, the goal is bourgeois democracy !

According to Dimitrov, the proletariat is moreover confronted not with the alternative of bourgeois dictatorship or the proletarian dictatorship, or with the alternative of Fascism or proletarian revolution, it is confronted with "the definite choice between bourgeois democracy and Fascism."

Therefore we can safely deduce from what Dimitrov and Manuilsky have said that according to them against Fascism the slogan of the hour is bourgeois democracy.

Thus, as la Dimitrov, in countries where bourgeois democracy reigns, the task of the working class is not to attack it or to work for its destruction but to strengthen it. The workers must not fight for their class-claims against bourgeois democracy, because, in that case, they may weaken it ! They must lie low, shelve proletarian revolution, and strengthen their class enemy—the bourgeoisie and its bourgeois democratic state against Fascism of the same bourgeoisie. To obviate this difficulty, Dimitrov has very kindly made Fascism the ideology of certain "elements" of the bourgeoisie, not of the whole of the bourgeoisie. Thus has Dimitrov ideologically paved the way for class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie, because if Fascism is the ideology of only some "elements" of the bourgeoisie then the possibility, practicability and desirability of forming united front with those other elements of the bourgeoisie against the Fascist bourgeoisie follows logically.

How furiously had Dimitrov fumed and frothed against the class-collaborationist policy of Social-Democracy and how silently he has introduced the same class-collaborationist tactics

in his extension of the united proletarian front to the People's Front.

Fascism is not the ideology of some elements of the bourgeoisie as Dimitrov makes it out to be. It is the ideology of the entire bourgeois class in the period of insoluble contradictions of capitalism. These contradictions cannot be solved by any other way but by the destruction of capitalism by proletarian revolution. Fascism is the last state-form that the bourgeoisie as a class gives to its class-dictatorship. It is an admission of the ever-increasing decomposition of the capitalist society and the growing strength of the proletarian revolution.

In Spain, the People's Front has left invaluable historical records for the political education of the world-proletariat. That class-collaboration with the so-called democratic bourgeoisie in this imperialist epoch can never check Fascism has been proved by the history of the People's Front in Spain. It is a history which every Communist must read and ponder over critically. Here we can only touch the barest outline of the People's Front in Spain.

This important fact must be noted at the very beginning that feudalism continued its existence and occupied an important niche in the economic structure of Spain even in the period of Spanish imperialism. Spanish feudalism exerted a tremendous influence on Spanish capitalism. Spanish capitalism, unlike English or French capitalism could not extricate itself from the coils of feudalism. This factor has played a great role in determining the character of Spanish capitalism.

In the period of imperialism, the bourgeoisie is in the need of an ally against the revolutionary proletariat. It could not, therefore, antagonise the feudal class though the interest of the feudal class clashed with its own class-interest. This is the cobweb of contradictions in which the newly sprung bourgeoisie of the colonies found itself entangled. The Spanish bourgeoisie found itself in this none too enviable condition.

But as always in countries developing industrially in the imperialist epoch the feudal aristocrats became industrial magnates, likewise in Spain also great landowners became industrialists. For example, Count de Romanones, a big landowner was also a prominent industrial magnate.

The power and wealth of the feudal lords can be best understood if we note that out of a population of 24 millions, the landlords were barely thirty thousand. Yet they owned 51 per

cent of the land. The wealthy peasants numbering about seven hundred thousand owned 35 per cent of the land. The middle peasants numbering about one million possessed 11 per cent of the land and the poor peasants numbering about a million and a half owned only 2 per cent of the land. Nearly two million landless agricultural labourers worked as farm-hands for 14 to 16 hours a day for almost nothing. This feudal servitude of the peasantry and its extreme poverty had reduced the purchasing power of the peasantry to almost nil. Spanish industry suffered greatly under these handicaps.

The world war of 1914 gave the much-needed fillip to the Spanish industry. The textile industry of Catalonia and the chemical industry got a good start due to Spain's neutrality and the large order she received for war materials.

But almost all the big industries of Spain were in the hands of the foreign capitalists.

Rio Tinto, Zarza and Tharsis, the largest copper mines of Spain were in British hands. Belgian capitalists owned the Royal Asturian Company which controlled the zinc and lead mines. CHADE, the Spanish-American Electricity Distribution Company, was in the hands of Belgian, American, German and French capitalists. The Barcelona State Railways was in the Belgian hands. The Felix Electro-chemical Concern controlling acids and fertilisers were in German hands. The German I.G. Farben Industries controlled the Spanish dye industry. Andalusian mines were controlled by French companies. The Catalan Electric Trust was controlled by the Bank of Canada and French Compagnie General d' Electricite.

Primo de Rivera, who was the representative of big industry tried his utmost to help the Spanish industrialists. He raised high tariff walls and transformed a number of foreign-owned monopolies into Spanish industries. But all his efforts failed because of the basic handicap under which the Spanish industry was suffering—the extreme poverty of the peasantry—could not be removed by him. Only the agrarian revolution could remove this handicap and solve the problem. But that was beyond the power of Primo de Rivera, the representative of big industry.

In a country where the bourgeoisie has recently sprung up and has come to its own's estate in the epoch of imperialism, the agrarian revolution can only be an item of the proletarian revolution. Is it not now more than clear why Primo de Rivera failed to solve the agrarian problem?

This was the economic condition of Spain, when in April, 1931, the Republicans won a thumping majority in the municipal election. Alfonso fled on April 14, 1931. Spain declared itself a republic. A provisional republican cabinet was formed, composed of Republicans and Socialists with Niceto Alcalá Zamora, the monarchist Republican, as President. After functioning for three months, the Provisional Government was replaced by the Cortes on June 29, 1931. A new constitution was adopted by the Cortes on December 10, 1931. This constitution declared Spain to be "a democratic republic of the workers of all classes." The constitution separated the state from the Church, promised socialist legislations and protection of the workers and directed that the Cortes was to be elected for four years by direct, equal and universal suffrage by secret ballot.

Though the authors of the constitution pompously declared their republic to be a democratic republic of workers, and promised socialist legislation and protection to the workers, it provided no benefit to the peasantry, as the President of the Republic, the monarchist Alcalá Zamora, himself a big landlord, opposed all land-reforms vehemently.

The new constitution declared the freedom of speech. The reactionary forces were given more freedom of expression than the workers. Monarchists, grandees and the landlords carried on the most wicked propaganda against the republic. Only where the masses were concerned, the right of their parties to express their views freely was often curtailed.

The republic left the old officers' corps intact. The republican government was only a top dressing, underneath everything remained as of old.

Though the Socialist-Republican coalition government was cowardly and extremely reactionary, the masses were all the time pressing forward. In 1931 there were 710 strikes, in 1932 about 830 and in 1933 there were 1499 strikes involving two million workers. The workers got nothing from the hands of the republic. In the agrarian front also, the republic did next to nothing up to the end of 1933. Only 80,800 acres of the big estates had been taken over and distributed amongst five thousand peasants. A million and a half poor peasants, and two million landless agricultural labourers got nothing. But the Church got all the support it wanted from the republic. In 1931 the Church received from the government, 65 million pesetas, in 1932, 42 million pesetas, and in 1933, 24 million pesetas. Landlords,

officers' juntas, industrialists and the Church united to oppose the people. General Sanjuro led an uprising in August 1932 in Seville. The workers of Seville smashed him. He was arrested and was sentenced to death but the republic pardoned him after he had served a short term of imprisonment. Discontent against the timidity of the Socialist-Republican coalition government was widespread amongst the masses. The rightists carried on a vicious propaganda against the government. In September, 1933 Azana resigned the premiership and the coalition government fell. The rightists won overwhelming majority in the election of November 19 and December 3, 1933. Lerroux formed the cabinet, amnestied all royalist exiles and launched fierce attack against the working class parties and against the autonomy of Catalonia. Catalonia resisted and the Lerroux cabinet resigned in April 1934 and the Samper cabinet was formed on April 28, 1934. Two million agricultural workers went on strike in June 1934. The Samper government having failed to check the left-ward swing of the masses, the rightist parties dispensed with Samper's services and again brought back Lerroux to form his second cabinet. This time Gil Robles, the Fascist leader and the real power controlling the rightist government, put two of his men of the CEDA in the cabinet. The Spanish workers took up this challenge of Spanish Fascism.

The workers strove for proletarian unity. The organisation known as the Workers' Alliance which had received the support of the Communist Party of Spain summoned a general strike throughout Spain on 4 and 5 October, 1934. The strike paralysed the industrial centres of the country and quickly developed into an armed insurrection against Fascism. The fighting was the bitterest at Asturias, Biscay, Leon, Madrid and Catalonia. Due to the sporadic nature of the uprising and the lack of centralised leadership, the uprising was defeated.

In October, 1934 Oviedo was for two weeks in the hands of the Asturian workers. Some sort of a workers' and peasants' government was formed. Munition factories were occupied, workers' militia was formed and orders were issued in the name of the workers' and peasants' government of Asturia. The uprising was crushed by the military force of Lerroux-Gil Robles government. Oviedo was subjected to savage aerial bombardment and artillery fire. Men, women and children were mowed down by machine gun and the Asturian miners were crushed.

The workers of Barcelona went down fighting on October 7,

1934 against the army of General Batel numbering more than ten thousand. In Madrid the workers attacked the Cortes, the police headquarters and the Bank of Spain. The sporadic uprising of Madrid workers was also crushed. Unbridled Fascist terror followed in the wake of the crushed insurrection which cost the lives of five thousand workers. Ten thousand workers were wounded.

Martial law was declared. Some 60,000 people were sent to prisons. Agrarian reforms were scrapped and the workers' organisations suppressed. The autonomy of Catalonia was also curbed.

It is interesting to note here the estimation of the October insurrection by Largo Caballero. He said : "October was not to establish proletarian rule in Spain but to frighten the bourgeoisie away from Fascism."

Largo Caballero is surely in good company. Like Dimitrov, he does not want a proletarian rule in Spain. He wants first to scare away the bourgeoisie from Fascism and then to go on merrily with the bourgeois democracy.

In the meantime, the bourgeois-democratic government of which Gil Robles, the Fascist, was the Minister of War and the monarchist Alcala Zamora, the President, voted millions to the army, police, civil guards and the Church, but cut down the wages of the workers from 10 to 12 pesetas to 4 and 5 pesetas and the wages of the agricultural labourers from 8 and 9 pesetas to one and a half pesetas for men and a little over half a peseta for women. From 536000 unemployed in 1933, the number increased to 780242 in 1935. The bourgeois-democratic republic provided ample compensation to the landlords for the land taken from them. The landlords were to be paid out of a sinking fund, with the assurance of 40 per cent interest until final settlements were made. Gil Robles, the War Minister was in the meantime organising the Fascist offensive. He decided that the time to go over from bourgeois-democracy to Fascist dictatorship had come. With this object the Cortes was dissolved in January, 1936 and fresh elections were fixed for February 16 and March 1, 1936.

We had seen how the democratic republic smothered all the democratic rights of the working class parties and at the same time had allowed all freedom and privilege to the reactionaries to aid the Fascists to attack the masses and to prepare for open counter-revolutionary offensive.

We had also seen how under the constant fire directed by the

Fascists against them, the workers also were forging the weapon of proletarian unity. The insurrection of October, 1934, its failure and the savage Fascist terror that the bourgeois-democracy unleashed on the heads of the workers, made the workers realise the imperative necessity of achieving complete unity amongst the different working class parties—the Communists, the Socialists and the Anarchists for an united front against Spanish Fascism.

But the united front amongst the working class parties was soon expanded to include non-proletarian parties and class-collaboration raised its ugly head under the guise of the People's Front. Inspired by the French People's Front which included the Communists, Socialists and bourgeois parties and which by the very nature of such alliance was dominated by the bourgeois partners of the alliance, on January 16, 1936 one united front pact was signed by the Communist Party of Spain, the Socialist Party, Azana's Left Republican Party, Martinez Barrios's Republican Union, Company's Catalonian Left Party and the POUM.

The pact consisted of eight sections :

First Section

Amnesty for all prisoners.

Second Section

Reforms of the courts, reform of the Cortes, reform of the police, prison and the army.

Third Section

Reduction of taxes and rents for the peasants, farm-credits and a new tenancy law.

Fourth Section

Protection of small industry and trading.

Fifth Section

Solution of the unemployment problem by programme of public work.

Sixth Section

Reform of currency and finance, reform of the credit through the Bank of Spain, regulation for private banking.

Seventh Section

Labour legislation, fixation of minimum wages.

Eighth Section

Better arrangement for education of the masses.

If we now analyse the pact we find that its contents are quite inoffensive to the bourgeoisie. It is only a very mild and reformist pact, stinking with reactionary liberalism.

The first section of the pact by amnestying all prisoners, amnestied even the royalists and the Fascists who had openly preached and worked against the republic. This stupid and sentimental liberalism of the People's Front helped Fascist counter-revolution.

The second section talked of reform of the army and the police. It did not suggest any radical change in the army organisation, nor the disbanding of the old officers' corps. It followed meekly in the footsteps of the monarchist Alcala Zamora, leaving the old military organisation fundamentally the same as it was under monarchy and under the monarchist Alcala Zamora. Thus it left the nest of Fascist counter-revolution in tact.

The third section was for reduction of taxes and rent for the peasantry and of a new tenancy law. This was in keeping with the line followed by the republic of Zamora. No confiscation of the land of the feudal lords and parcelling that out amongst the peasants. Only reforms. The section dealing with unemployment was happy with its fantastic scheme of solving the problem of unemployment by inaugurating a programme of extensive public work. But socialisation of industry as a means to solve the unemployment—the People's Front would not dream of such a horror!

Section Six wanted to reform credit through the Bank of Spain without, of course, vitally affecting the interest of the owners of the Bank, and talked of reforming currency and of forming regulations for private banking which evidently were intended for the efficient working of the private banks.

Then, there were the sections dealing with the extension of educational facilities to the masses and labour reforms—quite harmless intentions which get the backing of the bourgeois philanthropists everywhere.

Such was the programme of the People's Front in Spain. It was an out-and-out concession to the bourgeois partners of the People's Front and was a slap on the face of the workers and the peasants.

The election gave the People's Front a clear and formidable majority in the Cortes. Out of the total 473 seats in the Cortes, the People's Front won 268 seats. Alcala Zamora was removed and Azana, the leader of the Left Republican Party, became President. The People's Front government started with the republican bourgeois party at its head.

In order to paralyse the People's Front government, the Spanish bourgeoisie launched a thoroughgoing economic sabotage.

Hundreds of millions of gold were sent out of Spain to foreign countries. Land-owners refused to cultivate large tracts of land. But the People's Front government took no measure against them. Emboldened by the apathy of the People's Front government, the Fascists started gangster terrorism against the workers. Attempts were made to assassinate Asua, a Socialist Deputy and Manuel Pedregal was murdered by the Fascists.

Fascist provocation continued and increased. Yet the People's Front government took no energetic action against it. On the contrary, Fascist army officers who had been dismissed from service in Spain, were sent to serve in the army at Morocco. The People's Front government gave all the facilities to the Fascist army officers to make Morocco the base of the Fascist counter-revolution.

Two months before the outbreak of counter-revolution, on May 18, 1936, officers of the two regiments stationed at Alcalade Henares barracks outside Madrid mutinied against the government's orders to remove the two regiments to Valencia and Salamanca. The mutiny was suppressed but yet the People's Front government did not enquire into the causes of the mutiny, nor tackle the problem at all seriously. The government discovered that arms and ammunition were being smuggled into different towns of Spain by the Spanish Military League, a Fascist organisation, and Fascist military officers were being sent to strategic centres. Yet the Government did not disband the officers' corps, arrest the Fascist officers en masse and suppress ruthlessly the Spanish Military League.

Franco, who was notorious for his brutality against the workers of Asturia in 1934, and was deservedly nicknamed the "butcher" by the Asturian proletariat, was sent by the People's Front government to the Canary Islands. Such was the soft and tender methods employed towards the Fascists by the People's Front.

But when the workers exasperated by the criminal inaction of the People's Front government went on strike, the united frontists—the Socialists and the Communists, discouraged the workers lest it would provoke a civil war! Thus did the People's Front government subject the masses to ruthless terror of the Fascists and tie their hands and feet when the masses wanted to go forward to take reprisal against the Fascists.

With such help and magnanimous tolerance received from the People's Front, the actual outbreak of Fascist counter-revolution

was only a question of hour. And it did break out soon after, on July 17, 1936.

Even then, it was possible to correct the mistakes of the past, to throw the reformist programmes into the dustbin and to usher in the programmes of agrarian revolution and socialisation of industries. But tied to the tail of the bourgeoisie, the working class adherents of the People's Front wriggled helplessly and followed their bourgeois comrades-in-arm meekly. They held the masses back lest their bourgeois fellow-travellers desert them !

The ultimate fate of the Spanish People's Front has already become history. This un-Leninist variety of the People's Front sponsored by Stalin is a betrayal of the working class cause and of the revolution.

August 1940.

SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY AND THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The historic question, "Who shall prevail?" remains unanswered. The world proletariat or the world bourgeoisie, international proletarian revolution smashing the power of world imperialism or international Fascist offensive crushing the forces of world revolution—which prospect looms large before humanity? Despite heroic sacrifices, grim struggles and resolute actions of the revolutionary proletariat, the tragic fact stares us in the face that the Chinese revolution was lost, revolutions in Hungary and Germany were defeated and the Spanish Civil War has ended in the defeat of the proletariat. The last and decaying stage of world capitalism with the most intense development of its inherent contradictions and crises, has not been sufficiently utilised for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat and for the victory of Socialist Revolution by the forcible overthrow of bourgeois social order. The world bourgeoisie has launched counter-offensive against the revolutionary struggles of the world proletariat and is at loggerheads with the Soviet Union which has renounced capitalism. The Soviet Union remains isolated with its socialist construction ; and the imperialist states, Fascist and democratic alike, with their highly developed technique of repression and organised might, are straining every nerve to annihilate the forces of proletarian revolution and to destroy the Soviet Union. So, the great international problem of the revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union and the destruction of the system of the world imperialism remains unsolved. It cannot be decided within national frontiers ; and the successive internal failures prepared less and less favourable conditions for its decision on the world arena.

Lenin observed : "International imperialism with all the might of its capital and its highly organised military technique which represents a real force, a real fortress of international capital, could, under no circumstances, under no possible conditions,

live side by side with Soviet Republic, both because of the economic interests of the capitalist class which was incorporated in it, it could not do this because of commercial-ties and of international financial relationship. A conflict is inevitable. This is the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, its greatest historical problem: the necessity to solve international problems, the necessity to call forth the world revolution.” (Lenin : Collected works). Exactly, the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, the greatest historical problem—the necessity to call forth the world revolution has been minimised, neglected, and relegated to the background not only from the standpoint of practical policy but also logically.

Ideological Deviation

The ideological deviation began with the characterisation of the function and scope of the Soviet state. Lenin said : “We shall see the progressive withering away of the state, and the Soviet State will not be a state like the others but a vast workers’ commune”. But Stalin proclaimed : “We advance towards the abolition of the state by way of the strengthening of the state.” The entire proposition of the abolition of the state by way of the strengthening of the state which renounced capitalism and suppressed the bourgeoisie decades ago and is under socialist construction, militates against the fundamental conception of Marxism on the question of the state. Lenin, in “State and Revolution” emphasised the point of immediacy with reference to the withering away of the state—“According to Marx, the proletariat needs only a state which is withering away, i.e., a state so constituted that it begins to wither away immediately and cannot but wither away”. Marx observed ; “The working class in the course of its development will substitute for the old civil society an association which will abolish classes and their antagonism and there will be no more political power properly so-called, since political power is precisely the official expression of antagonism in civil society” (Marx : The Poverty of Philosophy). The immediacy of the withering away of the state after the victory of the proletarian revolution referred by Marx and Lenin is the most important point which must be taken in view for the understanding of the character and function of the Soviet State.

The Marxian conception of the withering away of the state does not imply that the state will wither away immediately,

abruptly, within twentyfour hours, so to say, after the victory of the revolution. It means that the state after the victory of the proletarian revolution will qualitatively differ from the bourgeois state and in this qualitative difference of the proletarian dictatorship form of state from its previous bourgeois dictatorship state-form, that the withering away of the state has its first beginning.

The concept of state implies the following characteristics :

1. The state is the organised class-power of the oppressors, against the oppressed.
2. The state is a power "above" society.
3. The state organises a mercenary army to suppress the discontented oppressed.

The Soviet State by its very nature loses these characteristics as

1. The Soviet State is not separated from the people and is not a power "above" society.
2. The Soviet State is the organised class-power of the oppressed against the oppressors.
3. The Soviet State does not arm a section of the people into a mercenary army to oppress the discontented masses, but it creates an army of workers and peasants to suppress capitalist counter-revolution and imperialist intervention.

For these reasons, the Soviet State is already not a state in the strict sense of the word State and can be said to be in the process of withering away. But so far as the state is the admission of the irreconcilable class antagonism the Soviet State is a state in relation to its inner contradictions and in relation to its imperialist environment.

This aspect of the Soviet state-function will continue till the world revolution is achieved. Lenin has rightly pointed out that dictatorship of the proletariat may prolong for an entire epoch. In other words the withering away of the state though begins with the victory of the proletarian revolution in one country, it can never entirely wither away till the world-revolution is completed.

The intensification of the functions of the state-apparatus, in this sense, is a justifiable phenomenon during this period of the most intense antagonism between the imperialist states and the Soviet state, between the forces of revolution and Fascist counter-revolution. But what is not justifiable is the intensification of the state apparatus on the one hand and the pompous declaration of the "complete victory of socialism in Russia", as announced by Stalin.

Liquidation of the Ideology of World Revolution

The theoretical assertion of "socialism in a single country" led to the liquidation of the ideology of world revolution and the virtual rejection of the appropriate strategy and tactics to "call for the world revolution". From the theory of "socialism in a single country" the present leadership suffered a natural transition to that of "revolution in a single country." "We never had any plans or intentions in regard to world revolution. This is the result of a misunderstanding. The idea of exporting revolution is nonsense. . . ." (Stalin in an interview with Roy-Howard). It is quite correct that revolution is not a thing to be exported or imposed from outside. It matures from the internal conditions of a given country. But revolutionary movements can be instituted, engineered and brought to a victorious culmination by material and ideological aid from outside. The Russian revolutionaries imported the ideology of Marxism from other countries, made use of foreign revolutionary experiences, and received moral and material aid from the workers' organisations of Europe and America. Originated and set to work with this scope and perspective the Third International was regarded as general staff of the army of world revolution and it was expected that the mighty resources of the land of the victorious proletarian movement would come to the aid of the revolutionary forces in other countries to ensure their victory. The present leadership of the Soviet Union, in the capacity of leader and guide of the Third International, did not rise equal to the occasion and could not inspire revolutionary daring on an international scale. The consequence of successive defeats of the proletariat discredited the leadership before the working masses of the world and endangered the integrity and safety of the Soviet state. And these facts determined the position of the Soviet Union in world politics in a far greater degree than the successes of its idolated socialist construction. Driven to general retreats consequent on the large scale mistakes, the present leadership of the Soviet Union set itself the task of ensuring the inviolability of Soviet territory by entering into the system of imperialist status quo. With the advent of Fascism in Germany as a potential aggressive force, situation worsened for the Soviet government and the leaders of the Soviet state considered the state being seriously menaced and felt that their adherence to the ideology of world revolution was a serious impediment to the defence of the Soviet

Union. To a state where proletariat wields power it is not important merely to defend the frontiers of its own state. It is not necessary for the proletarian state to call upon the proletariat of other countries to protect the frontiers of their capitalist governments. The working classes of the world cannot be interested in the maintenance of even the existing capitalist governments. To the revolutionary proletariat throughout the world it is a problem of world struggle between two irreconcilable social systems—Socialism and Capitalism, and not a scramble for territories. The real defence of the Soviet Union consists in weakening the stability of world imperialism and strengthening the revolutionary potentiality of the world proletariat and the colonial masses. The struggle for favourable change in the co-relation of the world forces make it incumbent on the First Workers' State of the World to come to the aid of the revolutionary movements in other countries. But this original and fundamental task conflicts absolutely with the conservative policy of preserving the status quo.

The Policy of the Status Quo

The policy of the status quo led to the entanglement of the Soviet Union into the system of bourgeois diplomacy, to capitalist institutions and to all kinds of pacifist illusions, the League of Nations, collective security and disarmament. But the League is not an instrument of defence of the Soviet territory and maintenance of peace but an organisation of imperialist brigandage on the masses. By the very logic of the conflict inherent in imperialism, diplomatic support of the status quo by a particular state or a group of states must always turn out to be temporary, conditional and limited in character. It cannot subserve the interests of the world bourgeoisie as a whole and neutralise inter-imperialist conflicts. The task of the advocates of status quo is essentially to ensure through the League the most favourable combination of powers suited to their respective economy and the most subtle imperialistic designs. That is why the principle of collective security was substituted by regional security pacts in the interest of maintaining spheres of influence of individual powers and was finally abandoned in pursuit of the appeasement policy. As to disarmament we knew that no programme of effective disarmament or limitation of armaments is possible so long as inter-imperialist rivalries and contradictions in the imperialist system

exist. The imperialist powers seek solution to their problems through war and the question of armament or disarmament depends on the technique and organisation of militarism developed by the capitalist class. But the capitalist institutions such as international commissions, conferences, courts for arbitrations, mandates etc., forged by the international union of brigands—the League of Nations and the pacifist sophism like collective security, disarmament and peace were designed only to blunt the edge of revolutionary struggles of the exploited and oppressed masses and to strangulate the class struggle of the proletariat. If the Soviet Union had joined the League with the avowed intention of exposing the utter futility and hollowness of the League of Nations and the reactionary utopias of collective security, peace and disarmament and brought home to the people of the imperialist countries their implications to the revolutionary movements in general, mere entry into the League of the Soviet Union, “to sing its own song” (as Litvinoff first put it) would have been quite in keeping with its profession and practice. But Stalin considered the League of Nations as “an instrument of peace” and the Soviet Union pinned its faith firmly on the League as a practicable and necessary instrument for the preservation of peace and prevention of aggression. By advocating and popularising these slogans of pacifism under cover of revolutionary phraseology, the present leaders of the Soviet Union and the Third International strengthened the resistance of exploiters and disarmed the proletarian ideology and distracted it from the task of disarming the bourgeoisie by revolutionary means. As far back as 1919 Lenin observed, “The developing pressure of the proletariat and specially its victories in individual countries are strengthening the resistance of the exploiters and impelling them to new forms of international consolidation of the capitalists (League of Nations etc.), which organising on a world scale the systematic exploitation of all the peoples of the earth, are directing their first efforts toward the immediate suppression of the revolutionary movements of the proletariat of all countries. All these inevitably lead to a combination of civil wars within the separate states with revolutionary wars, both of the proletariat countries defending themselves and of the oppressed peoples against the yoke of imperialist powers. In these conditions the slogans of pacifism, international disarmament under capitalism, courts of arbitrations, etc., are not only reactionary utopias but downright deceptions of the toilers

designed to disarm the proletariat and distract it from the task of disarming the exploiters" (From the programme of the Party adopted at the Congress of 1919 as drafted by Lenin). The international consolidation of the capitalist class by this time has not only strengthened resistance to the revolutionary forces of the world-proletariat and organised on a world scale the systematic exploitation of the peoples of the earth but launched its vigorous offensive against the international proletariat. And the leaders of the proletariat, the present guides of the Soviet foreign policy and of the Third International have, like the bourgeoisie, duped the masses with the reactionary utopias of capitalist pacifism and misled the toilers of the world.

The Peace Front Ideology

The Peace Front ideology of the Soviet foreign policy and of the Third International and the strategy of developing a democratic bloc of imperialist powers against Fascism led to the conclusion of non-aggression pacts with bourgeois-democratic governments of France, Czechoslovakia and United States and the idealisation of these bourgeois allies. To the bourgeoisie these pacts were acceptable not as a result of pressure of world proletariat as was evidenced in the British General Strike on the issue of intervention, but as a result of extreme weakening of the revolutionary danger. No serious revolutionary would deny the right and necessity of the Soviet state to seek supplementary support over and above the revolutionary support of the world proletariat. But the masses must be acquainted with the exact conditions and terms of the pact and be convinced of its necessity and efficacy in the general scheme of the revolutionary movement. The Soviet foreign policy must be determined by the criteria whether or not any diplomatic, military or commercial bargain of the Soviet government with the capitalist governments restricts or weakens the struggle of the proletariat of the corresponding capitalist countries. For, in final analysis, not capitalist alliances but world-wide alliance of the working class will smash Fascism and ensure the inviolability of the Soviet Union. But invariably the terms of the non-aggression pacts restricted the scope of revolutionary struggles of the exploited and oppressed masses, and prevented the organisation of revolutionary party and revolutionary action for the overthrow of bourgeois social order. This will be evident from the terms

of Russo-American alliance concluded in 1933. Point 4 of the document stated, "Russia was not to permit the formation or residence in its territory of any organisation or group or of the representatives of officials of any organisation or group which has as its aim the overthrow or preparation for the overthrow or bringing about by force a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its territories or possessions." So, when revolution broke in Cuba against the military dictatorship of Machado who was backed by American bankers, the Communist Party of Cuba found it difficult to attack Yankee imperialism, entered into negotiations with the government of U.S.A. and the revolution fizzled out. The same happened elsewhere. The Czechoslovakia-Soviet non-aggression pact tied the workers to the ruling national bourgeoisie and disrupted the working class movement on national and racial lines and prevented the working class of Czechoslovakia from effecting a firm bond of unity and solidarity with the German workers in the struggle against their common enemy, Fascism. The non-aggression pact with Poland forced the dissolution of its Communist Party and the consequent weakening of the communist movement. So, the successive non-aggression pacts with bourgeois governments corresponded in reality to a prolonged non-aggression pact with capitalism.

The Popular Front Betrayal

The series of profound ideological and tactical mistakes spread over a number of years causing large-scale defeat of the proletariat and terrible catastrophe in the revolutionary movement throughout the world and the threatening menace of Fascist aggression on the Soviet Union forced the opportunist tactics of class-collaborationist United Front on the Third International and paved the way for capitulation to the democratic bourgeoisie. In his thesis on United Front presented at the seventh congress of the Communist International in 1935, Dimitrov said, "Now the toiling masses in a number of capitalist countries are faced with the necessity of making a definite choice, and of making it today, not between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois democracy but between bourgeois democracy and Fascism." Manuisky repeated the same point when in the same congress he said, "Today the proletariat in most capitalist countries are not confronted with the alternative of bourgeois democracy or

proletarian democracy, they are confronted with the alternative of bourgeois democracy and Fascism." Dimitrov and Manuilsky set the objective of the world proletariat to protect bourgeois democracy and not to strive for proletarian dictatorship by the forcible overthrow of the bourgeois social order. The proletariat must not strive for the destruction of the bourgeois-democratic state but strengthen it, so that the democratic bourgeois may not be frightened into Fascism. Thus they pitted the bourgeois democracy against Fascism, the former as a force against the latter in furtherance of the cause of the proletariat. But Fascism is the ideology of the entire bourgeois class in the period of the most intense and insoluble contradictions of capitalism and the final and extreme form of bourgeois class rule. Bourgeois democracy has already lost all the democratic content which was there in the period of ascendant capitalism, which the proletariat won by fighting but which the proletariat can no longer defend unless it seizes power by violent revolution and establishes proletarian democracy. After the victory of socialist revolution in Russia, Lenin, in his outstanding pamphlet "State and Revolution" observed, "From the capitalist democracy—inevitably narrow, tacitly repelling the poor and therefore hypocritical and false to the core—development does not proceed simply, smoothly and directly to greater and greater democracy, as the liberal professors and the petty-bourgeois opportunists would have us believe. No, the development towards communism proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, it cannot do otherwise, for the resistance of the capitalist exploiters cannot be broken by anyone else or in any other way." But now at the period of the most inhuman, ruthless and barbarous dictatorship of the capitalist class, veiled and open, capitalist democracy has exhausted all possibilities for the capitalist class itself to maintain its class rule and the world bourgeoisie has definitely taken to Fascism. At this stage, to speak of the proletariat defending its rights and breaking the resistance of the capitalist exploiters through bourgeois democracy is worse than betrayal. By their mechanical and opportunist posing of the question, Dimitrov and Manuilsky ideologically paved the ground for class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie and subtly introduced the class-collaborationist tactics in the extension of United Front to People's Front. People's Frontism visualised bourgeois democracy as an intrinsic force against the counter-revolutionary offensive of capital-Fascism.

The history of People's Front movements in France and Spain and the tactics of United National Front in China and India proved to the hilt the absolute incorrectness of the entire line pursued. The programme of purely military defence of the Spanish bourgeois democracy in alliance with the bourgeoisie without any brave social programme for the masses aspiring to the conquest of real democracy not only crippled the initiative of the toiling and exploited masses in Spain but prevented the victory of the Spanish people over their oppressive rulers by not leading the civil way on the seizure of power. The ultimate question of political power could only be decided on the class trenches within Spanish frontiers only. The dissolution of the International Brigade at the instance of Soviet Union not only effected a complete liquidation of the organisational form and spirit of revolutionary internationalism but utterly exposed the reactionary class-collaborationist character of the non-intervention and democratic front tactics of the present Soviet policy. The Popular Front programme of national defence and support of bourgeois-democracy led to the weakening of the revolutionary front of the French proletariat. In its support of French rearmament and drastic militarisation of the Marsailles Dock workers, the People's Front government reached the logical culmination of the whole people's betrayal. If the French workers were won to the policy of stubborn resistance to the war plans of the French ruling class all along, and prepared for a revolutionary overthrow of its own bourgeois government, the threat of imperialist war on the eve of the Munich Deal would have given way to the sharpening lines of international proletarian revolution that would put an end to the Fascist dictators and their 'democratic' counterparts in Western Europe. The Popular Front government in France and the Popular Front movements in the colonies, by the virtual suspension of militant class struggle and inherently opportunist drive for national unity, betrayed the cause all along. The same tactics of United National Front in China are spelling disaster to the Chinese Communist movement and the war of defence of the Chinese people. "The experience of all revolutions and of all movements of the oppressed classes", observed Lenin, "the experience of the world socialist movement teaches us that only the proletariat is able to unite the scattered backward strata of the toiling and exploited population and to lead them". (Lenin: Collected works). But precisely, the proletariat was deprived of

the role of the unifier and leader of the forces of people's revolution and the whole movement of the colonial people was restricted to the narrowest limits of struggle for civil liberties and democratic rights.

The swing to the right implied liquidation of the basic notion of the tasks of the Communist parties, merging with bourgeois-democrats, denial of all revolutionary aspirations and opposition to all genuine tendencies in the proletarian movement for bold revolutionary action. Leaders of the Soviet Union, in their desire to remain allied with France and Britain and United States could not work for any deep upheaval in those countries and destroy the political stability of their allies. The aim and perspective of the present leadership of the Soviet Union were to unite with the democratic and Socialist elements all over the world, to permeate the whole proletarian movement with democratic front ideology linked together closely in the Popular Front and to create a favourable international left-wing current effectively to control the policy of all non-Fascist countries for the benefit of Russia. That putrid, obsolete bourgeois social order which the Communist movement so long was sworn to destroy, found in the present Soviet leadership its most vociferous spokesmen and advocates, solely in the interest of preserving the status quo of the Soviet Union. The indecent masquerade of "Soviet patriotism" (Stalin), the shameful pretences to Americanism, Britishism, Frenchism, studied imitation of all bourgeois decorum and conventions and protestations of faith in capitalist institutions, frenzied appeal to the capitalist class to recognise the utter respectability of the Communist parties, the devotion of the Communist parties to the status quo and their reliability as allies of the bourgeoisie, denunciation of militant class struggle as the acme of treason or by any epithet from the stock vocabulary of invectives—all these phenomena presented themselves conspicuously in all Communist Parties of the International. But to the petty-bourgeois idolators of the Third International, their wishful thinking and wilful distortions care more substantive than the facts of history. But the Communist Party of United States must have disappointed them when it officially upheld institutions of capitalist democracy and abjured violent methods of struggle. The C.P. of America at its tenth National Convention, held in June 1938, decided that "party membership shall be allowed only to those loyal Americans who are citizens of the Republic or have solemnly declared their intentions of becoming citizens", and pro-

vided for the expulsion and public exposure of all advocates of terrorism and violence as a method of party procedure and resolved to oppose with all its power "any clique, group, circle, faction or party which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy." This unbounded loyalty to democratic capitalism, denunciation of militant class struggle and violent revolution were not isolated phenomena. This chauvinistic sweep was the logical culmination of the People's Front.

The Munich Deal

For the present Soviet foreign policy, the Munich Deal represented its complete collapse. It exploded the mythical idea that the working class of Russia and of all countries could depend on the democratic governments to fight Fascism. It showed that the democratic governments acting in perfect accord with their fundamental capitalist interests were ready and willing to strike a bargain with Fascist governments rather than risk social upheavals which would mean the end of capitalism in both its democratic and Fascist forms. The imperialists—Fascists and democratic—recognised the essential unity of their aim in spite of the differences tacitly existing between them. The authentic spokesmen of capitalist democracies stripped away the veil of illusion and deceit and showed their class-face at Munich. The Franco-Soviet pact and Czecho-Soviet pact were blotted out of existence. The Munich Deal exposed the utter futility of the present Soviet foreign policy, the policy of supporting bourgeois governments, the policy of People's Front pacts with the bourgeoisie and the abandonment of the efforts to guide and lead the working class along the path of independent class actions, the policy that led to the stifling of Spanish revolution and the participation by the Soviet government in the criminal Non-intervention Committee. The leaders of the Soviet Union shouted that bourgeois democracy had betrayed the people. What a puerile explanation of the collapse of their own policy! They must realise that they cannot go on zig-zagging crazily indefinitely and not plunge into the abyss into which these zig-zags lead. They must understand that it is necessary to unite the workers of every land with the firm bonds of working class solidarity instead of continuing to separate them by pandering to the hypocritical slogan of "National Unity" and "Defence of Demo-

cracy". They must reject the false and preposterous notion that they serve the ultimate interests of the working class by playing lackeys to the bourgeoisie now. Only the working class completely independent of its capitalist governments and in struggle against those governments can defend the Soviet Union. Only the proletariat themselves can create a real durable pact of assistance to the Soviet Union, real collective security of the toiling masses of the world by uniting their forces across races and national frontiers.

Third International and War

The Third International was born of an indignant protest against social-patriotism and social-pacifism of the Second International. Dedicated to the programme of militant revolutionary activities, the Third International stood as firmest resistance to imperialist war. But the Communist International stood under the banner of peace. Stalin reported to the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U., "The Soviet Union stands for peaceable, close neighbourly relations with all neighbouring countries which have a common frontier with the U.S.S.R.". And this peace policy was followed by all Communist parties with slavish thoroughness. The bourgeoisie seized the slogans of the peace-front Communists and made full use of them against the revolutionary proletariat. The capitalist classes in France, Britain and United States whipped up the war fervour for "defence of democracy" and "collective security", as shouted by the peace-front Communists, just as quickly they utilised the idea of Popular Front sacrifice for peace (Daladier's repeal of the 40-hour work). Quite quickly and cynically the bourgeoisie juggled these two slogans to suit the exigencies of the swiftly changing situation and the Communist Parties danced to the tunes of their respective governments. The peace-front ideology of the Soviet foreign policy and the Third International conflicted with the basic tasks of the Communist Parties and led to the rejection of all revolutionary strategies in the struggles against the inevitable imperialist war. War is inevitable so long as imperialism survives and the proletariat must be prepared to turn the imperialist war into civil war for the overthrow of its own national bourgeoisie. But this fundamental task was neglected.

Soviet Aggression on Finland

The Soviet aggression on Finland was the most shameful episode in the history of Soviet foreign policy. The attack on

“Finland was annexed by Russian Czars through a deal with Napoleon, the stiffer of the French revolution. If we are really against annexation, we must come out openly for Finland’s freedom. After we have said it and practised it, then and only then will agreement with Finland become really voluntary, free and true agreement and not a deception. The Czars used to carry out their annexationist policies somewhat harshly, exchanging one people for another by agreement with monarchs, like serf owners exchanging their serfs. The bourgeoisie on becoming republican, are carrying out the same annexationist policy more cunningly, more secretly.

“Comrades, workers and peasants, do not be carried away by the annexationist policy of the Russian capitalists concerning Finland, Courland and the Ukraine. Do not fear to recognise these people’s right to independence.”

Lenin’s comrades, workers and peasants were not carried away by the annexationist policy of the Russian capitalists in 1917. But the epigones of the present day have fallen back to the annexationist policy.

The Soviet government has neither entered into a programme of revolutionary military intervention, as the internal objective conditions prevalent in Finland offered no immediate prospect for a mass uprising to warrant such intervention, nor has the Soviet Union seriously engaged itself to engineer a revolution there through subjective and material aids. On the contrary, the Soviet government has been definitely launched on a policy of annexation by aggression and diplomatic threats and in agreement with capitalist governments has been exchanging one people for another in terms of race and nationality. It has practically abandoned the principle of really voluntary, free and true agreement between peoples. —

Our Task

Therefore we must recognise that the activities of the present leadership of the Soviet Union and of the Third International are now keyed to a temporary or episodic campaign in favour of a particular policy rather than to a sustained, deliberate and enduring preparations and campaign for struggle against war.

We know that the stupid generalisation of slogans on an international scale, the mechanical practice of extending the same policy to all Communist Parties of the world, temporising in all

matters of principles, mere adoration of the accomplished revolution in Russia, "Soviet patriotism"—all these deplorable phenomena have resulted in the defeat of revolutionary fervour on a world scale. We must at the same time recognise that the absolute organisational and ideological reliance of the Third International on the Soviet Union and the interference of the Soviet government with the programme and activities of the Communist Parties in the effort to square its interests with the interests of the revolutions in these countries have proved to be a great hindrance to the revolutionary movement. As Marxists professing revolutionary internationalism and world socialist order, we regard the present line of the Third International and the Soviet foreign policy as wrong and consequently dangerous for the permanent safety of the state itself. And therefore, our Party, sworn to world revolution and the revolutionary protection of the Soviet Union cannot subscribe to the present line of the Third International and must exert itself for the abandonment of the suicidal line and for the adoption of the correct line in the revolutionary proletarian movement of the world. As serious and determined revolutionaries we must root-out all traces of a defeatist and passive attitude towards World Revolution, by a conscious, deliberate and sustained process. We must stir up the boundless revolutionary vitality of the resurgent Bolshevism and surge forward to the successful **WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**.

RED FRONT—AUGUST 1940.

COMMUNISM AND FETISHISM

Our world is still governed by the elemental laws of automatic results. It is a world where though the individuals function with a conscious purpose of their own yet the clash of millions of contending individuals will give rise to results which are in most cases unexpected by and even antagonistic to the individual wills. Engels says : "And so out of the conflicts of innumerable individual wills and acts there arises in the social world a situation which is quite analogous to that in the unconscious, natural one. The ends of actions are willed, but the results which really flow from these actions, are not willed, or in so far as the results seem to agree with the willed ends, ultimately they turn out to be quite other than the desired consequence" (F. Engels—Feurbach). There is no all-embracing, all-pervading collective social consciousness to guide the social activities of men, there are only the units of individual wills, conscious of their own individual interests but not of the interest of all, which having no relation amongst themselves, knock against each other with the fury of the beasts of the jungles and on their part helplessly succumb to the unconscious elemental law of nature. Generally speaking, the law of nature holds good also in the human world but specifically speaking it does not. Consciousness, as an unit, that is conscious human activity (not consciousness as an idea or as a metaphysical abstraction) in the dialectic process of evolution, appears in human society for the first time. Does the appearance of consciousness as a new factor in the world, make the human society independent of laws of nature ? No, it does not, the human world is fully subject to the fundamental laws of nature, but the knowledge of the inner working of the laws of nature, the consciousness about them, helps man to adjust himself to the laws of nature, to harness the laws of nature, for the benefit of the human world. This conscious direction, adjustment and manipulation has put the human world specifically in contradistinction to the animal or plant worlds, so to say, beyond the

operation of the unconscious laws of nature. This conscious necessity, and the conscious adjustment of life to necessity, are the true and only meaning of freedom. In this the human world differs qualitatively from the plant and the animal worlds which enjoy no freedom of conscious adjustment to the laws of nature but drift helplessly like a rudderless storm-beaten boat at the mercy of merciless waves of the laws of nature.

“The freedom in this field cannot consist of anything else but the fact that socialised man, the associated producers, regulate their interchange with nature rationally, bringing it under their common control, instead of being ruled by it as by some blind power ; that they accomplish their task with the least expenditure of energy and under conditions most adequate to their human nature and most worthy of it. But it always remains a realm of necessity. Beyond it begins that development of human power, which is its *own end*, (my emphasis—S. T.) the true realm of freedom, which however, can flourish only upon that realm of necessity as its basis.” (Marx—Capital, Vol. III).

Unfortunately, determinism has led to a fundamentally wrong conception which is prevalent not only amongst the intellectual ignoramus unacquainted with Marxism, but also amongst many a half-baked “Marxists” whose knowledge of Marxism consists in memorising slogans and in idiotic phrase-mongering. I consider it to be worthwhile to examine this view-point thoroughly.

They explain determinism in the following fashion. If the human society is a part of nature, then it has no specific existence beyond nature. It is governed entirely by the laws of nature ; it has no other specific laws of its own. They reduce determinism to naturalism ; naturalism dissolves human society into nature. Human society becomes, according to naturalism, a part of nature in the same way as animal and plant worlds are parts of nature, and social laws are considered to be nothing else but laws of nature. Naturalism is both undialectical and unhistorical. It is undialectical because it ignores the specific character of human society and mechanically merges it into the general. It is, therefore, unable to explain the evolution of human society and of changing nature as it misses to take cognisance of the existence of opposites—necessity and freedom—and their dialectical unity in human society. Marxism signifies a total rejection of naturalism. Marxism does not deny nature in the least as the objective reality independent of man, nor does it declare that the human world

is a unit beyond the jurisdiction of nature on which laws of nature do not operate at all. The absolute is not ignored, but the relative is taken into account; the general is not rejected, but the specific is recognised.

Nature is there, as it was before the appearance of man, but nature is viewed historically. Nature before the advent of Man and after it, is not the same nature. Nature also undergoes changes and transformations through the activity of man. It should be noted that human industry applied to modify nature modifies man more than nature. Activity of man appears as a new factor in changing nature and in changing human society.

Though a part of nature, man is in eternal rebellion against tyranny of the laws of nature. He has given his best thoughts for the conquest of nature, for differentiating more and more the human world from the world of nature and for liberating the human world from the shackles that the blind laws of nature have put around it.

That is why human society, though it is a part of nature, is still specifically not a part of nature. Though it is undoubtedly governed by the laws of nature, is still "independent" of the laws of nature and is governed by its own laws—the laws of human society, the laws of conscious human activity applied to nature and society.

Unless we realise this thoroughly we will fall an easy prey to a crude undialectical, unhistorical, naturalistic determinism which has absolutely nothing to do with dialectical and historical determinism of Marxism. Ignorance of the real meaning of Marxian determination will also spell disaster in various ways. It will lead us in the blind alley of a naturalistic monism, will rob determinism of its revolutionary anti-theological content and thus will reduce it to a mechanical fatalism.

Why do I introduce determinism while discussing fetishism ? Because to my mind naturalism and this variety of naturalistic determinism is one of the chief philosophical causes of fetishism. The reduction of human society to an absolutely subservient part of nature is the meaning of naturalism. In this naturalistic determinism, and exactly in the ignorance, purposeful or otherwise, of the specific freedom of human conscious activity and the specific freedom of social laws, that the germs of fetishism is hidden. The unqualified extension of the realm of nature and the laws of nature into the realm of humanity has given rise to fetishism.

The more intensely the specific laws of conscious human activity replace the elemental laws of nature prevailing in human society, the more certainly and quickly fetishism will disappear.

This is the reason why I have introduced the topic of determinism in my discussion on fetishism.

“The whole sphere of the conditions of life which environ man and which have hitherto ruled man, now comes under the dominion and control of Man, who *for the first time becomes the real, conscious lord of nature*, (My emphasis—S. T.) because he has now become master of his own social organisation. *The laws of his own social action, hitherto standing face to face with Man as laws of Nature foreign to, and dominating him, will then be used with full understanding, and so mastered by him. Man’s own social organisation, hitherto confronting him as a necessity imposed by Nature and history, now becomes the result of his own free action.* (My emphasis—S. T.) The extraneous objective forces that have hitherto governed history, pass under the control of man himself. Only from that time will man himself more and more *consciously*, (My emphasis—S. T.) make his own history—only from that time will social causes set in movement by him have, in the main and in constantly growing measure, the result intended by him”. (Engels—Socialism : Utopian and Scientific.)

In his book “Feuerbach”, Engels has written these significant lines on the laws of Nature and its relation to the world of man : “The history of social development is essentially different in one respect from that of Nature. In nature—in so far as we disregard the reaction of man upon it—there exist only unconscious, blind agents which influence one another and through whose reciprocal interplay general laws assert themselves. Whatever occurs...does not occur as a consciously willed end. On the other hand, in social history the active agents are always endowed with consciousness, are always men working towards definite ends with thought and passion. Nothing occurs without conscious intent, without willed end. But this difference, important as it may be for historical investigation does not alter the fact that the course of history obeys general laws.”

A conscious grasp of the laws of nature does not therefore mean independence of them, it only makes possible the control of these laws of nature. Consciousness or the conscious will does not by any means land us on the metaphysical world of indeterminism as it is generally but quite wrongly believed to do by mechanical determinists who distort determinism into vulgar naturalism.

But the questions which pertinently arise in our mind are these : why is it that inspite of the conscious individual wills desiring certain definite ends, we find that the actual ends are quite different from the desired ends ? Why is it that inspite of the undoubted existence of conscious individual wills through ages and ages in human history, the collective conscious will has not dawned as yet ? What is it that obstructs the growth and development, in a word, the evolution of this collective social consciousness out of the millions of scattered individual units of conscious wills ?

These questions, in my opinion, touch some of the most vital problems of the present-day world, and the answers to these questions will certainly help us to understand the mechanics of the modern world.

Why is it that ends actually achieved are so different from the ends desired by the conscious individual wills ? The one homogeneous human society has been broken up into parts since the time when primitive communism gave place to other forms of social orders. Since then human society has been fragmented, atomised and split into antagonistic classes. The homogeneous collective consciousness of the primitive communist societies, however primitive that consciousness might have been, broke up and was atomised into the class-consciousness of the warring classes in which human society has been split up.

It was undoubtedly a step forward in the dialectical advancement of human society, but the concrete result was that the transparent social unity of human being in the primitive communist society got lost in the shrouds of atomised class-interest and self-interests of the class-divided individuals. The collective-owned productive and distributive life of human society became divided amongst millions of individuals on the individual property basis. Thousands of individual producers produce without any consideration for the need of the human society, but only with an eye on their personal gains.

The individual producer has not the slightest idea as to the quality and quantity of goods the other producers were producing till all the producers meet in the market to sell their goods. In the production process, these producers are severely isolated from each other. The fact that their labour is social labour like all labour in all forms of human society is realised in this commodity-producing society through the unconscious and elemental mechanism of the market. In the commodity-producing society

it is only in the market that the social character of production becomes evident. The relation between individuals assumes the character of relation between commodities. An "independent" but mute and unconscious world of commodities seems to rule the human world, to regulate the activities of human beings and to establish relations amongst them.

The human world seems to be swallowed up once more by the unconscious world of nature. This is the world of fetishism. In this world, things appear to be what they are not in reality. Illusions are created, social realities are hidden under false and apparent realities and the laws of nature seem to negate fully the conscious social laws of man and to rule with elemental brutality the social life of Man.

"There it is a definite social relation between men that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things. In order, therefore, to find an analogy, we must have recourse to the mist-enveloped regions of the religious world. In that world the productions of the human brain appear as independent beings endowed with life, and entering into relation both with one another and the human race. So it is in the world of commodities, with the products of men's hands. This I call the fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour, so soon as they are produced as commodities and which is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities." (Marx—Capital, Vol. 1, Ch. I.)

The commodity-producing capitalist world is a fetish world. Here relation between human beings appear as relations between objects, real human values (social values) get squashed under the unconscious, automatic, tyrannical pressure of the anarchical laws governing the market.

The individual producers can never be certain that the prices of their products will be the same as the values of their products. The market—this demon of natural law in human society—brings about this adjustment of price of the commodities to their values through a technique which is beyond the control of conscious individual producers of commodities ; that is to say, it is beyond the control of conscious individual wills. That is why, inspite of the ends consciously willed by the individuals, the results are different.

In a society based on the principle of private ownership of the means of production and divided into antagonistic classes, fetishism is bound to prevail and the consciously willed ends of

the individuals will be over and over frustrated by the operation of market (the elemental law of nature) in human society.

Only when the means of production of human society are collectively owned by all the members of the society, when classes are abolished and the social production is consciously carried on, can fetishism disappear and with it the disharmony between the consciously willed ends of the individuals and the actual results will disappear.

“The life-process of society, which is based on the process of material production, does not strip off its mystical veil until it is treated as production by freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordance with a settled plan.” (Marx—Capital, Vol. 1, Ch. 1.)

This fetishism, once making its appearance in the productive life of society, did not fail to appear in the cultural superstructure of our social life. The existence of fetishism in the productive and distributive life of human society has found its natural reflection in the religious sphere. Religion contains a lot of fetish elements within itself. Being unable to explain away the natural phenomena and the anarchy and chaos prevailing in the productive and the distributive sphere and, as a matter of fact, in the entire social life of humanity, in a pessimistic morbidity, men created religion in which the human (class) motives of social actions were ignored and denied and a supernatural “reality” was manufactured in order to explain social actions. God, the metaphysical fetish, was created and the relations between individuals were established only through their relationship to God.

It could not be otherwise as “the religious world is but the reflex of the real world” (Marx—Capital, Vol. 1, Ch. 1) and “the religious reflex of the real world can, in any case, only then finally vanish, when the practical relations of everyday life offer to man none but perfectly intelligible and reasonable relations with regard to his fellowmen and to nature.” (Marx—Capital, Vol. 1, Ch. 1.)

With Man’s increasing knowledge of the laws of nature and through his complete control of the social machinery of production and distribution this fetishism of religion born out of ignorance and fear is bound to disappear.

The evolution of matter has proceeded from the inorganic to the organic, from the matter without life to matter with life, from organisms with the minimum possible consciousness to organisms with maximum consciousness, such as the human

beings. In human society also we notice from its very beginning till now a gradual and consistent growth of consciousness. Man has continuously carried on his indefatigable assault on nature and has conquered bit by bit nature's domain and turned it into man's domain. Forces of production have also increased incessantly and this fight against Nature and the necessity of increasing social production and of organising its distribution has extended the boundaries of human consciousness and also has deepened it through successive ages.

Human history can thus be described as an unceasing and relentless movement of the human beings from lesser to higher social consciousness.

The existence of classes in society, the absence of conscious social control of all departments of social life from economic to cultural, the tragic fact of social wealth being usurped by a few due to the recognition of private property as a social code, the elemental way of establishing the social character of material and cultural production through the mechanism of the market—all these factors till now have put serious obstacles in the way of the growth of social consciousness as opposed to individual egoism which is considered to be "consciousness" in bourgeois society, of Rationalism as opposed to the domination of feeling, of science as opposed to religion.

In fetishism, distorted values and utterly false values, have been attached to objects, and man has become a slave of his own creation.

This mirage of the world of objects dominating over man must vanish for ever if humanity is to survive and man is to live as a human being. In order to achieve that, to break the magic spell of fetishism, the conception of life has to be organised round a new centre, that is on the basis of dialectical materialistic conception of the natural and social evolution. The apparent antagonism between different spheres of life will then give place to a completely clear interrelation, consciously planned productive life of society will give us a knowledge of totality, not the metaphysical totality starting from the spirit, but the material and social totality starting from the productive life of society and of embracing all the different spheres of the creative life of man.

Without this conscious regulation and plan at the very foundation of social life namely of the productive life of society, the fetish character of the bourgeois society will not disappear.

“The life-process of society, which is based upon the process of material production, does not strip off its mystical veil until it is treated as a production by freely associated men, and is consciously regulated by them in accordances with a settled plan.” (Marx—Capital, Vol 1, Ch. 1).

It will, perhaps, be not out of place here to notice briefly the revival of all sorts of fetishism by the bourgeois thinkers in this period of the decadence of bourgeois culture.

Reason and rationalism are being severely attacked as being insufficient to explain the essence of things. Reason is being persecuted as the bond of the unity of humanity, as the hallmark of a free community instead of domination. Haiser, the Nazi ideologue, says : “Our task is to smother the forces of critical intellectualism which are actively undermining common racial understanding. Racial instinct must prevail.”

Reason cannot explain a thing, can only explain appearances. It is only feeling that can fathom the depth of a thing. Feeling, fate, destiny, these are the powers which govern and should govern human existence, not reason. This is almost the revival of Rousseau’s eighteenth century tirade against rationalism in favour of “back to nature” and to destiny, against the eighteenth century rationalism of Voltaire. Feeling untrammelled and unbridled by reason should govern. “Soul” must replace reason; faith, the irrational, must assert itself in human thought. Spengler, De Mann, Clages, Bergson and scores of bourgeois thinkers are busy doing this thing. The sense of the mysterious is invoked to take its place as the presiding deity of the human world.

“The fairest thing we can experience is the mysterious...a knowledge of the existence of something we cannot penetrate, of the manifestations of the profoundest reason and the most radiant beauty, which are only accessible to our reason in their most elementary forms, it is this knowledge and this emotion that constitute the truly religious altitude ; in this sense and in this alone, I am a deeply religious man.” (Einstein—“The World As I See It”).

This proves that how the great Einstein, so great in science, is so helpless in philosophy. Under the cover of mystery, Einstein has introduced God—the metaphysical fetishism.

Spengler and other bourgeois ideologues are determined to unseat reason and rationalism and in their stead to enthrone feeling, fate, destiny, “soul” and faith as the rulers of human destinies.

Savage campaign against objectivity is being waged by bourgeois thinkers both of the liberal as well as of the Fascist brands. A scientifically absurd and puerile theory of race mysticism, a subjective theory of race is being propounded. The conception of the mystic quality of blood, a conception which we have learnt to associate with the thoughts of the primitive has been revived by the modern blood-mystic primitive, I mean the Fascists. According to the Fascists, race is identical with blood and blood is here considered not physiologically but subjectively, metaphysically. Science and culture are the products of the mystic blood. Right, Truth and Knowledge are its projection. Truth and Knowledge have no objective reality. Nation being identical with the race is also a subjective concept. Empire is also the subjective fulfilment of the "demonically active" nation according to the Fascist ideologue, Wilhelm Stapler. This neo-subjectivism, this denial of the objective reality, can have only one end in view. Objectivity points out with unerring finger the destruction of the present social order. Neo-subjectivism is a grotesque and clownish attempt to deny the objectivity in order to justify and maintain the capitalist and imperialist exploitation and oppression, the sanctified violence of the ruling classes. It is an attempt to preserve the status quo by unscientific and mystic quackery.

Conscious human activity and consistent rationalism are being severely condemned and attacked, as these apologists of bourgeois rule rightly realise that conscious human activity which in this case is nothing but the class-activity of the proletariat, is bound to destroy the world of "soul", of faith, of divine destiny, of fate, of feeling, in a word, the entire bourgeois world.

Therefore, they not only strive to maintain the fetish world of the bourgeoisie, but moreover they spare no pains to strengthen its foundation by their purposeful manufacture of more and more fetish doctrines.

The historical and social aspects of the relations of man to nature and of man to his society when rationally explained suggest and inevitably lead to a revolutionary change.

That is why the dark, elemental and anarchic gods of feeling, destiny, fate, "soul" and faith are created to hinder this transformation ; at this particular historical epoch, the transformation from bourgeois social order to the communist social order. Spengler's "fate", Einstein's "mystery", Bergson's "elan vital", Rabindranath Tagore's "king of the dark chamber", the personal

god and the anthropomorphic god of his lyrics, Aurobindo's "supra-consciousness", Gandhi's "inner light"—all are attempts to enfold the world within the misty veil of metaphysical fetish of religion and god.

Objectively their thought-activities hamper the establishment of the conscious and enlightened relationship between individuals and, thus, they must be recognised as reactionary factors helping the preservation of this fetish-ridden bourgeois world.

Communism by establishing the collective ownership of the means of production, by abolishing the classes and the system of private property, by introducing planned production and distribution of social products, thereby eliminating market—the elemental technique of social adjustment of production and distribution in capitalist society and in each commodity-producing society—will also abolish the historical categories of class social order.

The epoch of consciousness, in other words, of conscious social activity, will usher in the death of fetishism and of all varieties of metaphysical mystery-mongering. Communism will show man the way out of the prison-house of necessity, of the kingdom of nature to the illumined conscious world of human freedom. This freedom will have its corresponding struggle and sufferings but they will be of a higher plane, no longer of the low and pitiful animal suffering which man suffers today. "Under Communism man ceases to suffer as an animal and suffers as human", says Marx.

From the disgusting and ghostly world of fetishism, from the world of the blind play of the forces of nature to the world of conscious activity and conscious suffering—that is one of the fundamental aspects of Communism.

SEPTEMBER 1940.

TROTSKY IS DEAD

Leon Trotsky is no more. The man who with Lenin led the November Revolution dies at the hand of the assassin. After Lenin, the greatest leader of the world proletariat, the greatest revolutionary orator and writer of our times, the most brilliant ideological guide of the international revolutionary movement, Trotsky is removed from the world by the enemies of revolution at a moment when he would have been the most dynamic guide for the revolutionary movement of the world. The world is certainly poorer today by the tragic end of perhaps the profoundest revolutionary genius of history.

This dastardly crime has shocked the entire world. Coming almost immediately after the Soviet-German Pact, itself the logical conclusion of the treacherous policy of betrayal of revolutionary movement, this criminal murder of Trotsky is the climax of the cruel methods of G.P.U. terror. It is not an accident that this cruel murder is perpetrated with the background of the sinister Soviet-German Pact. The series of judicial murders of old and tried Bolshevik revolutionaries, accused of pro-Hitler conspiracy against the Soviet State have inevitably ended in this shockingly brutal murder of Leon Trotsky, the best and the most capable world revolutionary leader, opposing, fighting, and successfully counteracting the utterly degenerated and defunct leadership of the Soviet State and the Comintern.

The present leadership of the Communist Party of U.S.S.R., and consequently of the Comintern have been, with ruthless violence, throttling all democratic opposition within the Party and the International. In the name of purging, old and tried revolutionaries have been murdered. In the name of discipline the Red Army has been decapitated. The trend is remarkably uniform throughout the world.

Ideological retreats and betrayals of revolution have weakened the Party and International. The purges produced a serious crisis in the revolutionary leadership, and discontent and distrust among

the proletarian masses have emerged. Desertion from the path of revolutionary internationalism prepared grounds for Soviet patriotism to flourish. Cultural retrogression, economic disasters and political blunders led the Soviet leadership to bankruptcy. Overwhelmed by its own mistakes and betrayals, the present Soviet leadership staked the defence and integrity of the Soviet Union only on the diplomatic and military pacts with Fascist imperialism. The pacifist masquerade of Soviet leadership through its foreign policy and that of the Third International through the policy of collective security and Democratic Peace Front and the Popular Front were transformed into the neutrality for German Fascism.

The Soviet leadership stands unmasked in its supply of raw materials for the colossal German war machine. The effect is overwhelming. The revolutionary world proletarian movement is thrown into utter confusion. The crisis of revolutionary leadership has baffled the world proletariat. The demoralisation of the entire working class movement throughout the world is complete. The Soviet-German Pact is the historical expression of the blackest treachery to the cause of the revolutionary proletarian movement in the world.

Trotsky indicated and fought this dangerous drift of the Soviet and the Comintern leadership and prophesied the Soviet-German Pact as far back as 1933. Trotsky was, as a result, becoming, in spite of his wrong steps in the past, the hope and a centre of the world revolutionary forces. And he was murdered with inhuman brutality. The GPU-Gestapo pact is producing results.

It is not an insignificant matter that the Congress-communists in India, as the paid sub-agents of the Comintern, have not failed in the routine duty of praising the Soviet-German Pact and in justifying the murder of Trotsky. In that they have only justified their place amongst the international chorus-singers, singing to the Soviet-German tune.

On our side, we record our strongest condemnation of the criminal murder of Leon Trotsky and express our deep sorrow at his shocking death and sympathy for the unfortunate widow, Natalia Trotsky.

We solemnly proclaim our deep solidarity with international proletarian revolutionaries throughout the world who have fallen under the cruel axe of the assassin and with all those who have suffered and are still suffering the pains and horrors of dungeons and deaths in their struggle for the cause of the world socialist

revolution. We doubt not that the red banner of revolution has assumed a richer hue and has become still more glorious by their suffering and death. The international proletariat will vindicate the sufferings of those countless revolutionaries throughout the world in its final victory in the struggle for the World Revolution.

RED FRONT—SEPTEMBER 1940.

M. N. ROY COMES TO AID OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

By issuing a long thesis on the nature and circumstances of the war, M. N. Roy sought to prove that the present war is not an imperialist war but a war between democracy and Fascism. In order to strike down Fascism, we must help Britain in her efficient prosecution of the war. Roy has gone so far as to table a resolution at the last Poona session of the A.I.C.C. suggesting that the support of the people of India to Britain in the present war should not be conditional upon Britain's acceptance of the principle of declaring India an independent country. Roy and his followers observed 1st September as an anti-Fascist day and shouted hoarse for the support of democratic Britain in its war efforts. Later, Roy came out with an open statement to justify his viewpoint and put forth his arguments afresh.

Is not Roy quite logical ? Unlike Congress-communists who begin to fumble for a new line at every turn of events until they get orders from Moscow, Roy follows the Democratic Front ideology quite logically. The petty-bourgeois opportunist in Roy seizes upon the most opportunist line of the Comintern, sponsored in the interest of Soviet foreign policy but since then abandoned in the interest of the same policy under altered circumstances.

The Soviet-German Pact has itself killed the Democratic Front ideology. It is a fashion with Roy always to start with a fundamentally wrong premise. Roy's proposition is entirely wrong in spite of its apparent logic. It will be abject folly to suppose that imperialist Britain fights for democracy against Fascism. Has the British government in its love for democracy helped the German masses to rise in revolution and overthrow the Fascist government in Germany ? Instead, it helped Hitler consolidate his power over the German masses but now tries to stop his expansionist drive. As for imperialistic designs and interests, bourgeois-democracy of Britain and Fascism of Germany and

Italy are one and the same thing. There is nothing to choose between one form of imperialism and another. Has not the struggle between the rival imperialisms assumed world proportions ? What are the fights over African colonies and the Middle East for ? Is it for extending democracy to the colonies of Africa that the British have been resisting Italian and German forces ? Is the handing over of strategic bases to America, instances of extending democracy to British overseas possessions ? Are the inhuman tortures, arrests, imprisonments and robbing civil liberties of thousands of democratic fighters in India in the name of India's national defence, democratic intentions of the British government at war ? Roy is not a fool. Roy knows the art of jugglery and camouflage. Roy harps on the most insincere Democratic Front which is simply the British imperialist front against the colonial peoples and its British working masses. Roy asks for unconditional support to British imperialism to stabilise the British Empire at a moment when imperialism is shaken to its very foundation. He formulates and acts as the most erudite and outspoken champion of the special interests of the Indian bourgeoisie and identifies himself with the cause of the British government. In his eagerness to forestall the Congress High Command he discards even the need of drawing the masses, by a manouvre of a struggle, into the active support for imperialist war.

In this rarely opportune moment for winning the freedom of the Indian people, when the masses of India has to be organised and led into a decisive struggle against British imperialism, when the chances of victory are more bright than ever, the petty bourgeois opportunist, M. N. Roy goes over to British imperialism and betrays the best interest of the Indian masses. Will not the masses spit on such a leader who fiddles with words most dangerously and treacherously, and damage the cause of India's freedom ? For us, the Revolutionary Communists, the issue is quite simple. We must prepare the masses to strike down our cruel rulers who sucked our body and spirit and bled us white, when their position is the weakest. The strength of the British government lies in its empire. When it is engaged in a deadly warfare with its imperiarist rivals, we in India and the British working masses in their home country must join hands to overthrow the imperialism and achieve for the exploited and oppressed throughout the empire complete freedom.

RED FRONT—SEPTEMBER 1940.

THE CONGRESS MARKS TIME

Since the outbreak of the imperialist war, the Congress attitude to the war and struggle for India's freedom has more than justified our estimate of the Congress position. We had written that the Party of the Indian bourgeoisie cannot rouse the masses to a decisive struggle against British imperialism at war for fear of a mighty upsurge of the masses which would wipe away the vested interests together with British imperialism. We asserted that the Congress as a party of the Indian bourgeoisie will seek to strike a huckster's bargain with British imperialism by extending its hands of friendship at the most perilous moment for the British government. We indicated that the Congress will work for a peaceful transfer of power to be enjoyed and used by the Indian bourgeoisie against the masses.

The leftist mystifiers of the Congress standpoint and the political class role of the party of the Indian bourgeoisie are thoroughly overwhelmed by the stalemate in Indian politics. The Congress Socialists are painfully restive at the conduct of the Congress leadership. The Congress-communists are extremely sorry for the prolongation of the stalemate and are expecting to hustle the Congress into a mass movement. The rest of the Congress masses, stupified by the Congress leadership, awaits for a lead anyway. The whole Congress rank-and-file, leftist and non-leftist, are a mass of confused, submissive laggards of the bourgeoisie, completely under their hold and control.

What is this much-advertised and much-affected stalemate? The Congress party suspended attending sessions of the Central Legislature and the British government had a smooth sailing in the passage of the Defence of India Act. The Congress withdrew constitutional opposition to the benefit of the bureaucracy. The Congress resigned from the provincial ministries to refuse co-operation in the government's war efforts. It did not resist, it did not circumscribe the bureaucratic apparatus with conditions as guarantees against police excesses on the people as regards

war exactions which Congress in office was compelled to do. By withdrawing from office, the Congress only avoided the hazards and risks to popularity and allowed unfettered licenses of molestation and intimidation to the bureaucracy. This is the Congress stalemate, this is not even passive resistance but only non-cooperation, i.e. non-interference with the police and the bureaucracy. The stalemate is a conscious trick of the Indian bourgeoisie to gain the confidence of British imperialism.

But why ? Because the stalemate would lead to the desired goal. Gandhi has invented a new technique of satyagraha, the technique of inaction. The technique of inaction does not constitute action for preparation for the movement. Absence of struggle must be complete. The class struggle of the workers and peasants must cease. The struggle of the State must cease. Meanwhile the British government must be allowed time to understand the "moral" strength of the Congress, to realise the powerful class position of the Indian bourgeoisie standing between the masses and British imperialism. The aim of non-cooperation is responsive co-operation. The Indian bourgeoisie demands a share of political power and responsibility, opportunities to develop industry, commerce and trade, to enjoy greater share of exploitation of India's resources in man-power in cooperation with British finance capital. And in its turn, the Indian bourgeoisie is prepared to rob the Indian people of their hard-earned money and to force them to shed their blood to serve as cannon-fodder of the British. The decisions of the Congress leadership and their implications are absolutely clear and unmistakable.

"The Delhi resolution of the Congress was most reasonable, honourable to both parties and mutually advantageous. If only that position was accepted by the British government, today they would have been straining their nerves in pooling the resources of India—both men and material—for the prosecution of the war," declared Rajagopalachari on September 8, at a political conference at Madras. So, that is the Congress standpoint. To get Indian masses butchered by the horrible war machine and to allow the Indian resources exploited in the war of imperialist robber-gangs in order to perpetuate economic and political slavery of the Indian and other colonial masses are certainly mutually advantageous to both British and Indian bourgeoisie ! Further explaining the Congress position, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaiya said on August 30, at Masulipattam, "What

the Congress Working Committee demanded was representative government at the Centre and not responsible government and the government had no reason to turn down even this moderate demand."

The Congress leadership is unhappy on the refusal of the British government to accede to the moderate demands of the Congress. The Congress "cannot embarrass the British government at war", it appeals to the conscience of the British imperialists ; it "sincerely desires to aid Britain in this war." (Rajagopalachari) The interests of British imperialism and Indian capitalism coalesce, only the understanding is not complete, only the terms of the mutual pact of assistance in putting down mass uprising are not finally agreed upon. Both parties are in right earnest for both parties are in deadly fear of a mass upsurge whose flood-gates none can afford to open. The historic conditions of the Indian bourgeoisie demand, under the constant fire of threatening social revolution, to transfer power peacefully to its own hands. The Indian bourgeoisie must solve the problem of power by a peaceful evolutionary process. At the last Poona session of the A.I.C.C., in referring to the proposal of the Congress to British government Rajagopalachari said "our fundamental proposal was that there should be evolution in this country". The ablest constitutional leader of the Congress prescribes a peaceful evolution of power for the Indian bourgeoisie. The war can only hasten that process if the pressure of the bourgeoisie is too strong for the British imperialism to ignore.

But has the possibility of a manoeuvre by the Indian bourgeoisie to wrest the desired political concessions at this moment completely lost ? The Congress is now holding protest meetings against the refusal of the British government to accept its moderate demand. From the recent public speeches of Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel threats of an "immediate decision on the line of the Congress" are issued. They indicate a manoeuvre but reservedly and cautiously pronounced. It is possible that a very limited individual satyagraha is thought of to force the British government to a compromise "honourable to both parties and mutually advantageous." For the Congress must maintain its oppositional pretensions and political prestige before the masses. But we must know that the historic content of the Congress manoeuvre is betrayal of the mass movement and conscious sabotage of the revolutionary struggle.

While the Congress marks time, the revolutionary crisis is

approaching with everincreasing speed. It begins to manifest itself in every walk of life. Discontent and desperation are growing in every section of population. Agriculture, industry, trade and commerce—everything is affected adversely. It will develop into a nation-wide crisis affecting both the exploiter and the exploited and the hour of revolutionary mass action will strike. We, the Revolutionary Communists, as consistent fighters for freedom must be prepared for the coming events. We must prepare the masses for the impending measure of strength. We must make the masses conscious of the Congress manoeuvre, and the betrayal of the revolution by the selfish and the cowardly bourgeoisie. We must strengthen the organisations of mass struggle, overcome the forces of bureaucracy and the police and lead the masses to a decisive struggle against imperialism and counter-revolution.

RED FRONT, SEPTEMBER 1940.

ON THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF NATIONS

Long before the first imperialist world war had broken out in 1914, there were sharp differences between the opportunist wing and the revolutionary wing of the Second International. Kautsky, Bauer, Adler and others virtually supported the imperialist bourgeoisie in their colonial policy by propounding the theory of cultural autonomy which conceded cultural autonomy to the oppressed people but not political autonomy. Lenin exposed the treachery of those Socialist lackeys of the bourgeoisie against the national revolutionary movements of the oppressed masses in the colonial countries and threw at their faces his magnificent slogan—"the self-determination of nations."

The world war of 1914 proved that from the support of the colonial policy of the bourgeoisie to the support of the bourgeoisie against the working class at home, there is but one short step. The revolutionary class-struggles of the proletariat in the imperialist countries and the national struggles for independence of the colonial people—these are the two inseparable and closely related components of the proletarian revolution in this imperialist epoch. Years before the world war of 1914, Kautsky, Adler, Thomas, Bauer, Macdonald and their ilk wholly supported the colonial policy of their respective bourgeoisie, thus proving themselves as the enemies of the millions of the oppressed masses of the colonies, and, in 1914, finally unmasked themselves as the worst enemies of their own proletariat. The war had stripped them naked of their socialist cloak and had counted them out completely as Socialists. Their collapse was complete.

But not only did these chauvinist lackeys of the bourgeoisie dashed against the rock of the principle of self-determination of nations and went to the bottom, but also many a genuine protagonist of world revolution showed an astounding lack of comprehension of the revolutionary implication of this principle due to their extreme leftism. Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Radek and scores of other international revolutionists opposed the principle

of the self-determination of nations on the ground that as protagonists of international Socialist revolution, they could not support the reactionary movement of national separatism. Lenin carried on an energetic struggle against this ultra-leftism.

Is the struggle for independence, that is for the political self-determination of the people of a colonial country crushed and subjugated by an imperialist power, a reactionary move ? Is it also wholly unrelated to the struggle for socialism carried on by the proletariat of the imperialist country ? This question demands a thorough analysis and a clear answer.

The proletarian character of the colonial revolution in this epoch, makes it incumbent on the proletariat of the imperialist country to support it. But even in an epoch when the colonial revolution could not have been anything else but a bourgeois revolution, the proletariat of the imperialist country was duty bound, in a revolutionary sense, to support it against its "own" bourgeoisie. And why ? Because the proletariat cannot succeed in its revolutionary task unless it is consistent in its demand of all democratic rights. The right of the self-determination of nations, that is, the right of the colonial people to political independence is a democratic demand which the proletariat of the imperialist country must support if it is consistent in its struggle for democracy and its championship of internationalism.

Moreover, the proletariat of the imperialist country cannot overthrow imperialism and carry to completion the socialist revolution unless it helps the colonial masses in their revolt against the self-same imperialist power. The colonies furnish the imperialist bourgeoisie with unlimited resources for throttling the proletarian movement of its own country with bribery and corruption. The principle of the self-determination of nations, therefore, neither contradicts the concept of socialism nor that of democracy. On the contrary, it forms an integral part of socialist revolution.

Says Lenin : "In the name of the socialist revolution, Comrade Parabellum (Karl Radek's pseudonym—S.T.) scornfully rejects consistently revolutionary programme in the sphere of democracy. This is wrong. The proletariat cannot be victorious except through democracy, that is, by introducing complete democracy and by combining every step of its struggle with democratic demands formulated in the most determined manner. It is absurd to contrast socialist revolution and the revolutionary

struggle against capitalism with *one* of the questions of democracy, in this case, the national question. We must *combine* the revolutionary struggle against capitalism with a revolutionary programme and revolutionary tactics relative to *all* democratic demands : a republic, a militia, election of officials by the people, equal rights for women, self-determination of nations, etc.

“. . . The socialist revolution is not a single battle, but represents a whole epoch of numerous battles, around all the problem of economic and democratic reforms, which can be consummated only by the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. It is for sake of this final aim that we must formulate *everyone* of our democratic demands in a consistently revolutionary manner. It is quite conceivable that the workers of a certain country may overthrow the bourgeoisie *before* even one fundamental democratic reform has been accomplished in full.

“It is entirely inconceivable, however, that the proletariat, as a historic class, will be able to defeat the bourgeoisie if it is not prepared for the task by being educated in the spirit of the most consistent and determinedly revolutionary democracy.

“. . . From this distinction (the distinction between oppressing and oppressed nations—Lenin) must logically follow our consistently democratic and revolutionary definition of the right of nations to self-determination, which is in accord with the general task of the immediate struggle for socialism. (Lenin—the Revolutionary Proletariat and the right of nations to Self-Determination. All Italics by Lenin).

The essential points stressed by Lenin in the above-quoted passages are the following :

1. No Socialist can reject a consistently revolutionary programme in the sphere of democracy.
2. The self-determination of nations is such an item of the revolutionary and democratic programme.
3. The proletariat can never be victorious unless it combines “every step of its struggle with democratic demands formulated in the most determined manner.” (Lenin)
4. It is absurd to contrast socialist revolution with one of its democratic demands, namely, the self-determination of nations.
5. It is “for the sake of this final aim” (Lenin), (that is to say socialist revolution—S.T.), that we must formulate every one of our democratic demands in a consistently revolutionary manner.
6. “It is entirely inconceivable that the proletariat as a

historical class will be able to defeat the bourgeoisie if it is not prepared for the task by being educated in the spirit of the most consistent and determinedly revolutionary democracy." (Lenin)

7. The democratic and revolutionary demand for the right of nations to self-determination is "in accord with the general task of the **Immediate Struggle For Socialism**" (Lenin)—(My emphasis—S.T.)

Thus, the self-determination of nations is a democratic and revolutionary principle when viewed from the angle of our "final aim" as well as from the stand-point of the "immediate struggle for socialism".

But the critics and opponents of the principle of self-determination raise the objection—why should Socialists help the separatist move for national sectarianism when socialism stands for the principle of democratic centralism and for centralised world social order? Is it not going away from socialism and working against the very principle of socialism?

No, not at all. The principle of self-determination is not a reactionary separatist move, nor is it a negation of the principle of centralism and a concession to federalism. Centralism to be democratic must be voluntary. The enslavement of a people is certainly not the pre-requisite for the socialist centralism. The national liberation of the colonial people from the yoke of imperialism is the inevitable and unavoidable first step for the democratic socialist centralism of the free people of the world. It is impossible to skip over the historic stage of national liberation of the colonial people and reach democratic centralism. It is equally preposterous to consider the forcible retention of a country by the imperialist bayonet as a progressive step towards centralism. The heroes of the Second International have in this way prostituted the idea of centralism in order to serve the interest of their imperialist masters.

In March, 1916, Lenin wrote: "Just as mankind can achieve the abolition of classes only by passing through the transition period of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, so mankind can achieve the inevitable merging of nations only by passing through the transition period of complete liberation of all the oppressed nations, that is, their freedom to secede." (The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-determination).

Further, he says: "The recognition of self-determination is not the same as making federation a principle. One may be a determined opponent of this principle and a partisan of demo-

cratic centralism and yet prefer federation to national inequality as the only path towards complete democratic centralism. It was precisely from this point of view that Marx, although a centralist, preferred even the federation of Ireland with England to the forcible subjection of Ireland to the English." (Lenin—Ibid.)

On the question of the relation between socialism and the self-determination of nations, that is the right of a nation to secede politically from the oppressing nation, Lenin has made the following observation in the same article : "Victorious socialism must achieve complete democracy and, consequently, not only bring about the complete equality of nations, but also give effect to the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination, that is, the right to free political secession. Socialist parties which fail to prove by all their activities **now, as well as during the revolution and after its victory**, that they will free the enslaved nations, establish relations with them on the basis of a free union—and a free union is a lying phrase without the right of secession—**Such parties are committing treachery to Socialism**", (Lenin—Ibid. My emphasis —S.T.).

Because, those who deny the principle of the self-determination of nations like the Socialist leaders of the Second International, distort and mutilate socialism by robbing socialism of its revolutionary internationalism. Socialism is unthinkable and unrealisable without internationalism. It can never be victorious over international capitalism without its most energetic, thorough-going championship of internationalism, and internationalism is an empty jargon if the proletariat of the oppressing nation does not help the oppressed nation against its "own" bourgeoisie. Proletarian democracy is a mirage without internationalism and internationalism is just a lying phrase without the recognition of the right of nations to self-determination.

Lenin says : "The proletariat cannot but fight against the forcible retention of the oppressed nations within the boundaries of a given state, and this is exactly what the struggle for the right of self-determination means. The proletariat must demand the right of political secession for the colonies and for the nations that "its own" nation oppresses. Unless it does this, proletarian internationalism will remain a meaningless phrase ; mutual confidence and class solidarity between the workers of the oppressing and oppressed nations will be impossible ; the hypocrisy of the reformist and Kautskyan advocates of self-determination, who maintain silence about the nations which are oppressed by

“their” nation and forcibly retained within “their” state, will remain unexposed.” (Lenin—Ibid.)

Lenin further adds : “It was precisely from the standpoint of the interests of the revolutionary movement of the German workers that Marx in 1848 demanded that victorious democracy in Germany should proclaim and grant freedom to the nations that the Germans were oppressing. It was precisely from the standpoint of the revolutionary struggle of the English workers that Marx in 1869 demanded the separation of Ireland from England and added : ‘Although after the separation there may come federation’. Only by putting forward this demand did Marx really educate the English workers in the spirit of internationalism.” (Lenin—Ibid.)

Thus, both from the point of view of the final aim of socialism as well as its immediate task, self-determination of nations is inviolable and indispensable as a principle. Proletarian democracy is a bluff and solicalist internationalism a mockery without the recognition of this principle. A Socialist who forgets this, exposes himself as a bourgeois nationalist, as a supporter of his “own” bourgeoisie and as a traitor to proletarian revolution and socialism.

In October, 1939, Soviet Russia attacked Finland as Finland refused to accede to the demands made by the Soviet Government to hand over certain territories which were alleged to be of vital importance to Soviet Russia for self-protection. As was anticipated, after a few months struggle, Finland succumbed to the immeasurably stronger military strength of Soviet Russia. But the war raised certain fundamental issues and led to sharp controversies. Those who upheld the Soviet invasion of Finland justified it on two grounds. First, Finland was a Fascist country. Therefore, it was perfectly justified on the part of Soviet Russia to smash up the Fascist rule. Secondly, for frustrating the machinations of all imperialist powers which were constantly trying to make Finland their base of attack on the Soviet Union, it was absolutely necessary for Soviet Russia to acquire certain territories in Finland for self-protection.

Let us examine these arguments, and then proceed to the examination of more serious questions about the Soviet invasion of Finland which have now come to the forefront.

Finland is ruled by a Fascist government, cry the leaders of the Soviet aggression on Finland. Strictly speaking, the Finnish government was a bourgeois-democratic government which,

like all bourgeois governments in this epoch, was anti-people and pro-capitalist. It was certainly pro-Fascist like all the other democratic governments of Europe, but still it was not a Fascist dictatorship. Therefore, to dub the Finnish government a Fascist government, is a political distortion to suit a political motive.

But if on the score of its government being Fascist that Finland invited Soviet aggression, would not Italy, Germany, Hungary and Poland supply infinitely more powerful argument and justification to Soviet Russia for attacking them ? The non-aggression pact was signed by Soviet Russia with Nazi Germany ; Molotov waxed eloquent on the "golden chain friendship" that bound Soviet Russia with Nazi Germany which had murdered thousands of Communists. The Pravda, the organ of the Communist Party of Russia, started sermonising on the necessity of democratic tolerance of Nazism and other kindred ideologies. That is how Fascism was being combated. And suddenly it was discovered that it was Finland, not Germany or Italy, that was the arch-Fascist country and at once the chorus boys started singing the tune set by their masters. And that was all because Finland refused to surrender some of its territories to Soviet Russia. This method smacked too much of the imperialist and Fascist technique of letting loose tendentious propaganda before grabbing a country.

The first argument in justification of the Soviet aggression on Finland is, therefore, worse than useless. It is impossible to consider it as a serious argument at all. The second argument dwells on the necessity of the Soviet Union's occupying certain strategic places in Finland for self-protection. This argument, at least, makes a sensible reading, but it is not sensible reasoning. And those petty bourgeois sentimentalists masquerading as Communists, I mean our Indiaⁿ chorus boys who are bringing communism to shame and disgrace, failing to advance any cogent argument in support of the Soviet intervention in Finland, suddenly became tearful and cry : do you want the Soviet Union to perish ? Do you want the imperialists and Fascists would smash the Soviets from their base in Finland ? What wrong is there if the Soviets for self-protection has demanded Finnish territories ?

Let me tell you Messrs chorus boys that we love the Soviets ever so much more than you with your sentimentalism and agency interest could ever do. And because we love the Soviets, we consider it our revolutionary duty to criticise their mistakes

in order to put our own house in order. Those who justify every action of the Soviet government good, bad or indifferent, are not communists, but just petty-bourgeois idol-worshippers, enemies of communism and the Soviets. By their irrational bigotry and stupid flattery of men in power, they prove that they as yet have not conquered the instinctive knee-bending before power, so characteristic of the primitives. We, who champion the cause of the Soviets, cannot but take the task of the protection of the Soviet Union seriously and reject all the sentimental rignma-roles of the primitives.

Soviet Russia cannot be protected by the extension of its territories by a few dozen miles. The mechanisation and the technique of modern warfare are making such rapid progress that the idea of the strategic base is ever undergoing a change. It is absurd to think that by extending its territories by a few odd miles and by having a naval base on the mouth of the Gulf of Finland, Soviet Russia would be able to protect itself from imperialist aggression. The real issue is not merely the military protection of the Soviet Union but the defense of the November Revolution from possible aggression. The November Revolution and the First Workers' State cannot be defended without revolutionary methods.

Lenin has taught us the revolutionary methods of protecting the Soviets from imperialist aggression. It is the method of helping the growth and development of the revolutionary proletarian movements in the principal imperialist countries. The revolutionary proletarian movements are to act as brakes on the aggressive intentions of the imperialist powers against Soviet Russia. In short, ideological and material help to the revolutionary movements in the imperialist countries and the colonies were considered by Lenin, the protagonist and the architect of world revolution, as the most effective means to check all interventionist intentions of the imperialist powers on Soviet Russia.

But since the idea of the world revolution has been kept in the cold storage by Stalin, and the Democratic Front with democratic (!) imperialism had become the divine order of the day, till it was replaced by the equally divine "golden chain of friendship" with Nazi Germany, the Communist parties had been ordered to carry on courtship with the democratic (!) bourgeoisie and to make the protection of bourgeois democracy, not socialist revolution, their ideal.

In the course of an interview he gave to an American journalist,

Stalin spoke about the impossibility of exporting revolution to other countries from the U.S.S.R., and this commonplace remark was taken up and hugged by the petty-bourgeois idolators in a spirit of ecstatic worshipfulness and was repeated *ad nauseum*.

What Stalin actually wanted to bring home to the world bourgeoisie through the American journalist was his abandonment of the ideology of world revolution. He wanted to convey his assurances to the world bourgeoisie that the world proletariat would receive no support from him in their struggle against the world bourgeoisie. This was the period of Stalin's Democratic Front with the imperialist bourgeoisie.

May we ask Stalin if revolution is not an exportable commodity, is the Soviet form of government then a commodity of export ?

It is quite an elementary information that revolution can never take place in a country if the objective conditions are not ripe. But at the same time it must be clearly understood that the ideology—the conscious revolutionary incentive which is to impregnate the objective conditions with revolutionary potency, can very well be imported. It has often been so in the revolutionary history of various countries and it may continue to be so in the future. In this sense, revolution is an exportable commodity. But the Soviet form of government imposed on a country by the point of bayonet by an invading army and not achieved as the result of a successful revolution, can never be a commodity for export.

History has furnished us with a striking proof of the extreme harm that military aggression from outside can inflict on the revolutionary movement of a country. Soon after the October Revolution, Lenin had sent the Red Army to Poland with the intention of helping the Polish masses to get rid of their capitalist rulers and to establish a Soviet regime. The result was a calamity from the military point of view and a disaster from the revolutionary point of view. The Polish masses fell in the trap of nationalist propaganda of the Polish bourgeoisie and fought against the very Red Army which came to deliver them from the yoke of the feudal-military-capitalist tyranny.

Lenin admitted the mistake of the Polish expedition and drew valuable political conclusions from it. An expeditionary force is never the means of sovietising a country. On the contrary, it helps the bourgeoisie to mislead the masses and to win their support for a cause which is solely the cause of the bourgeoisie. Aggression helps only the bourgeoisie and does colossal harm

to the revolutionary cause. The essential task of the revolution is to intensify the cleavage between the masses and the bourgeoisie, to widen the social chasm deeper and deeper and to make it unbridgable. Unless that is achieved, no revolution is possible, not to talk of its being successful. Aggression builds the bridge of class-collaboration over this chasm. It impedes the revolution, thwarts it.

That is exactly what has happened in Finland. If the Finnish masses had started a revolution and the Red Army pledged to support revolution in every part of the world, had come to their help, it would have been a glorious act redeeming all the mistakes of the People's Front tactics. But since the idea of world revolution had been abandoned and the fatal policy of united front with the bourgeoisie had been adopted by Stalin, the proletarian cause has received no support from the centre of international revolution. While the people of Spain were attacked and slaughtered by international Fascism, Stalin was happily playing the "non-intervention" game with his democratic imperialist allies. The Red Army does not go to China to help her against Japanese aggression.

The Soviet invasion of Finland was an act of pure and simple aggression. It has no connection whatsoever with the revolutionary proletarian movement in Finland. Of course, the myth of the Finnish people's government was incubated three weeks after the Soviet army had invaded Finland in order to give aggression the honourable appearance of revolutionary help to a people in revolt. The fact remains that there was no popular uprising in Finland to justify the intervention of the Red Army. The subsequent action of the Soviet government signing peace treaty with the Finnish government denounced by them as Fascist, dealt the last blow in demolishing the myth of the Finnish people's government.

It may be argued that the principle of the self-determination of nations is valid in relation to the imperialist countries, but not in relation to a proletarian state. The proletarian state cannot be fettered by this principle, as that will amount to playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie who will utilise this principle in fighting socialism in the capitalist countries. Thus, it is maintained that the proletarian state is perfectly justified in violating the principle of the self-determination of nations, for furthering the cause of socialism.

But can the socialist cause be furthered in this way by forcibly

sovietising only the small capitalist states ? No. It is only the small capitalist states which count little as a factor either in perpetuating capitalism or in the struggle for world socialism, can be sovietised in this fashion.

Then again, does the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country of the world, alter the technique of establishing world socialist order to such an extent as to lead to the rejection of the principle of the self-determination of nations and the introduction of aggression as a method of establishing socialism ?

No. It has not changed the democratic standpoint of revolutionary socialism by an iota. Self-determination of nations remains and shall remain a vital socialist principle, till socialist world order has been established.

The utilisation by the bourgeoisie of the principle of the self-determination of nations for its own interest, can never be considered as an argument in support of the rejection of this principle. In that case, most of the revolutionary principles will have to be discarded, as the bourgeoisie has, at one time or other, made use of all revolutionary slogans for its own end. And, moreover, one can lay bare the deception practised by the bourgeoisie, not by rejecting a revolutionary principle, which exactly what the bourgeoisie wants, but by upholding the principle most energetically and most consistently. This alone can prove to the masses the utter dishonesty of the pretension of the bourgeoisie's acceptance of the principle.

Let us be quite clear on this. If by military intervention it would have been possible to overthrow capitalism and imperialism, we would have welcomed it unhesitatingly. If it had meant the quickening of the world revolution, and the seizure of power by the working class, we would have welcomed it as by this alone can the Soviet Union justify its existence as the citadel of revolutionary internationalism. The working masses and the oppressed peoples of the world demand bold revolutionary interventions by the Soviet union on the world arena, but not the type of military aggression as on Finland. We strongly object to such military aggression, because we are convinced that military interventions when not in the nature of a help to a revolutionary uprising started by the people of a country, causes the greatest set back to the revolutionary movement. It actually helps the bourgeoisie to fool the people and to temporarily utilise the masses for its own capitalist-nationalist interests.

In Finland, the Finnish workers and peasants had fought for the independence of their country against the Red Army. The Red Army did not appear to the Finnish masses as their saviour but as the enemies of their country's freedom. The Soviet government did not come to them as champion of social justice and national integrity, but as the destroyer of their national integrity. It did not represent to them the cause of revolution but the extension of Soviet territory. That is a historical tragedy of the first magnitude.

It has injured the cause of communism and has lowered its moral prestige as nothing else has done. Yes, the moral prestige has received deadly blow by this Soviet aggression on Finland. The chorus-boys may lift their petty-bourgeois snub-noses as high as they can, their conception of morality is in the process of decomposition as they themselves are. Morality to them consists in functioning as agents not as revolutionaries and in confusing slavish obedience with conscious revolutionary solidarity.

The Soviet aggression on Finland has hit communism under the belt, and no amount of special pleading can alter this fact.

Mannerheim and the Finnish bourgeoisie has been helped by this aggression and the proletarian revolution has been submerged by the nationalist flood let loose by Stalin's action.

The great teaching of Lenin about the self-determination of nations as the necessary step towards socialism, had been completely ignored by Stalin who it seems has failed to realise the profound revolutionary implication of this principle.

What Stalin himself had condemned as the "great Russian chauvinism" in one of his speeches, has found its best illustration in the Soviet aggression of Finland.

We have to bring back the faith of the oppressed people of the world in the Soviet government by condemning Stalin's aggression on Finland, and by asserting our wholehearted support to the principle of self-determination of nations, a principle which in the words of Lenin, is "in accord with the general task of the immediate struggle for socialism" and is moreover "absolutely necessary for the sake of the final aim."

October 1940.

IMPERIALIST WAR OR PEOPLE'S WAR ?

The imperialist nature of the war has not undergone any change even after Soviet Russia has been invaded by Nazi Germany. And why so ?

First, as a whole, the character of the war remains imperialist as one cannot and must not judge the nature and character of a world phenomenon in an isolated and piecemeal fashion. One cannot say that this part of the war is imperialist in character and that part of it is people's war. The absurdity of such a formulation is more than obvious. One must analyse and evaluate such a world phenomenon in its total aspect, and judging by its totality, it is clear that prime movers in the war continue to be the imperialists, and the objects for which the war continues to be fought is entirely imperialist in nature.

Secondly, even if we accept the contentions, for the sake of argument, that Soviet Russia's involvement has changed the imperialist character of the war, and has transformed it into a people's war, we shall have to ascertain whether the government of the Soviet Union is still genuinely a people's government. That question has to be first decided before the transformation of the character of the present war can be properly understood and evaluated.

We are of the opinion that though the government of the Soviet Union still remains Soviet in form, in content, it is no longer a genuinely people's government. Under Stalin, the Soviet government has gradually been transformed into a government of a bureaucratic caucus, which now rules over the people of the Soviet Union by the use of ruthless terror. The proletarian democracy that surged in mighty flow right from the masses inundating from the lowest to the highest rung of the Soviet state structure during the time of Lenin, has now been checked, impeded, smothered and finally crushed by the fast-growing bureaucracy, whose leader is Stalin. The tried and trusted servants of the people, the proven revolutionaries and the old

comrades of Lenin have all been exterminated by Stalin and his bureaucratic gang on the basis of the most patent lies and falsehood manufactured by the secret police. The proletarian democratic rights of the people of Soviet Russia, and the inner-party democracy of the old Bolshevik Party of Lenin have been destroyed and demolished by the slimy bureaucratic tide of Stalinism. Opinion that differs even the slightest from Stalin is dubbed as counter-revolution and whoever dares to utter any such opinion is branded as a spy of some imaginary imperialist power and shot. Indeed political Jesuitism of Stalin has even surpassed in savagery the inquisitory fury of the infamous Spanish Inquisition. Stalinism has not only freed bourgeois democracy from its class limitations and developed it to a higher plane of proletarian democracy, but also crushed those rights which the proletariat enjoyed in a bourgeois democratic state. In fact Stalin has reverted to and has resurrected the worst features of bureaucratic autocracy. Thus, we are relentlessly driven to the conclusion that the present Stalinist government has lost the character of a proletarian government which it once had under Lenin.

Thirdly, the foreign policy pursued by Stalin during the last nine years, reflects this transformation in the character of the Soviet government. If the revolutionary working class of Soviet Russia, who had carried out successfully the November Revolution, thus ushering in the era of the world revolution, had control over the Soviet government, then they would not have permitted Stalin to pursue such an un-Leninist policy as collaboration with the bourgeoisie under the guise of the policy of the People's Front, which, in reality, was a front against the people. They would also never have allowed the Soviet government to launch an aggression against Finland, knowing well that such an aggression will cut at the very roots of the Leninist principle of self-determination of nations, which forms an integral part of the programme of revolutionary socialism. In addition, it should never be forgotten that such aggressions only help the bourgeoisie to alienate the mass from Soviet Russia by playing upon their nationalistic sentiments, thus causing irreparable damage to the cause of the world revolution.

Furthermore, if the Soviet government is truly a people's government, it would not have allowed Stalin to enter into a secret pact (not the non-aggression pact which was openly announced) with Hitler for the division of Poland. All these facts go to prove

that the revolutionary working class of Soviet Russia no longer controls and guides the Soviet government. In fact, it is the bureaucracy led by Stalin which really controls the Soviet government. Therefore, even from the standpoint of Soviet Russia, the present war is not a people's war.

A people's war presupposes that the people of a country which is involved in a war has seized the political power from the hands of the bourgeoisie and have become the masters of their country. Undeniably, a people's war presupposes the existence of a people's government. Only when a people's government fights to protect itself or when it goes to the aid of a revolutionary uprising in response to an invitation of the masses of another country, can such a war be called a people's war.

The mere fact that the people have been drawn into a war and are compelled to fight their masters' battles does not make a war a people's war. For in that case, every imperialist war can be called a people's war. In any war, it is the people of every imperialist country, who are forced to fight by ideological terror and physical terror—in one word, by the organised terror of the bourgeois state—to fight against the people—their own class brothers—of another country.

Our attitude towards Soviet Russia is clear from our slogan, "All aid to the Soviet Union." But this slogan should be understood in the revolutionary sense. Our aid to Soviet Russia does not mean what the petty-bourgeois "friends" of the Soviet Union understands by it. It does not mean sending a few rupees or a couple of nurses or a few bottles of iodine to the Soviet Union. This petty-bourgeois, non-revolutionary and romantic method has been adopted by the "legal" communists. We know very well that placed as we are, we cannot send substantial and direct help to Soviet Russia. Whatever help we may send today will have to go through the hands of British imperialism, which is most likely to usurp and utilise for its own war purposes what is meant for Soviet Russia. Thus, for us, the real help can be rendered to the Soviet people by mobilising the masses for the Soviet idea, organising the broad masses of the people in anti-Fascist organisations and utilising the present quandary in which British imperialism finds itself to strike at it when the opportune moment arrives, thus establishing a free, Soviet India. Only in striving to accomplish these tasks, can we render effective aid to Soviet Russia.

M. N. Roy and the Stalinist "legal" communists have declared

the present war as a people's war. M. N. Roy did so from the very beginning of the imperialist war. But the "legal" communists have done so since the invasion of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany. At present both the groups consider the imperialist war as a people's war, and have declared their unstinted support for it.

Now this support necessarily must include support to British imperialism which is a party to this war. But both M. N. Roy and the "legal" communists have declared their readiness to help British imperialism. They have volunteered themselves as recruiting agents and are doing their best to help raise the government-sponsored War Fund. This means that these preachers of people's war will go about among the masses, asking them to help and assist British imperialism. The result will be that there will be great confusion in the minds of the people. They will wonder why those who had so long opposed British imperialism and had talked about revolutionary struggles against it, should now talk about helping and supporting the oppressor of the Indian people. Moreover, by this perfidious propaganda, the Royists and the "legal" communists, if by any chance, succeed in deluding the Indian masses to side with the British imperialism, then it would mean that they would be able to bring about a change in the attitude of the masses towards British imperialism. It will mean that the attitude of the masses would change from that of opposition to British imperialism to that of co-operation with it. This will mean in actual fact the total ideological disarming of the people. If such a development takes place, then it is clear that no revolutionary struggle against British imperialism will be possible for decades to come. These vile vendors of people's war ideology are thus really working to disarm the people ideologically, to bring about a psychological change in the minds of the people in favour of British imperialism. What this really means is that they are weakening, disintegrating and disrupting the revolutionary mass front for India's struggle for independence, which really tantamounts to an unforgivable treachery to the Indian revolution.

The Royists and the "legal" communists have now taken the final steps in pursuance of their anti-people policy of the People's Front with the Indian bourgeoisie to an anti-Fascist front with British imperialism against the Indian people. In order to cover this shameful surrender to imperialism the handy myth of people's war has been created.

When Stalin found himself bound with "the golden chain of friendship" with Hitler these Stalinist chorus-boys discovered democratic virtues in Hitlerism, and today when Stalin again finds himself bound by another golden chain of friendship to Churchill, the "legal" communists in India have no other alternative but to serve British imperialism. It is indeed a pity that these time-servers have reduced the great principle of revolutionary internationalism to wage slavery of the Stalin clique. The policy of the "legal" communists now entirely depends on the orders issued from the Kremlin. In fact, the "legal" communists have now deserted their old ally, the Indian bourgeoisie, and have become the hand-maiden of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

RED FRONT, MARCH 1942.

SAHAJANAND, KORNILOV AND PEOPLE'S WAR

(To forget the old accounts would have meant to open new Credits for the candidates in bankruptcy : Lenin)

INTRODUCTION

In times of great political upheavals, panic and confusion characterise the utterances of petty-bourgeois politicals. True to their intermediary class position, they strut about on the political stage with the pompous unreality of their phantom existence, socially speaking. Faced with a political cataclysm, they invariably line up meekly with the bourgeoisie with whom they are tied up with the social umbilical cord.

This is the period when petty-bourgeois politicals indulge in false political analogies in order to cover up their panicky surrender to reaction.

The same phenomenon is noticeable amongst the petty-bourgeois politicals in India at the present time. One of them, in order to justify his stand regarding the present war and to soothe his own troubled soul, Swami Sahajanand, has tried hard to invent a historical parallelism. In a letter to Mr Indulal Yagnik, Swami Sahajanand has made an effort to justify his present conversion to People's War theory on the plea that Lenin and the Bolshevik Party had supported Kerensky and joined hands with him when Kornilov raised the standard of revolt against the Kerensky government.

This amazing travesty of historical data, this most astounding example of the mechanical and unhistorical use of false analogies, had gained currency amongst the Stalinist National Frontists who hang on to Swami Shajanand's Kornilov fiction with the desperate tenacity of a drowning man clutching at a straw.

Let us take away this last straw from their frantic clutches and and minimise the agony of their prolonged struggle with political death. This is the only apologia that we offer for playing the

role of humanists to a group of people condemned by history to play the part of saboteurs of revolution in the name of revolution.

POWER FALLS IN THEIR LAPS

The Russian bourgeoisie came to power without any special effort on their part. Power came to them as a pleasant surprise and for which they were obliged to the shortcomings of the revolutionary parties of the masses, but not to their own intelligence. The revolutionary masses smashed Czarism but their parties handed over the power to their class enemy, the bourgeoisie, owing to the lack of their own initiative and strength. The leadership had bungled till Lenin appeared on the scene.

The provisional government of the Russian bourgeoisie headed by the Social Revolutionary, Kerensky, was not a historical inevitability. In spite of some Marxist victims of mechanical determinism falling prey to historical fatalism, it was historical accident caused by the faint-hearted attitude of a compromise-craving and back-sliding leadership.

But though the masses thus made to surrender the state power to the bourgeoisie, they nevertheless wielded a great deal of power through their Soviets.

The February revolution gave birth to twins, not Siamese twins but antagonistic twins : the provisional government of the Russian bourgeoisie and the Soviets of the workers, peasants and soldiers. The provisional government was, of course, the *de jure* government, but in reality the power of the state was split up between the two contending classes—the two organs of state class power—the provisional government and Soviets.

This was a clear instance of the phenomenon of dual power. Dual power is not a juridical conception, it is of a revolutionary conception. Dual power does not mean the juridical sharing of power by two antagonistic classes. Dual power signifies the temporary inability of the revolutionary class to push revolutionary democracy to its logical conclusion and the impossibility of the historically played-out class to bring the revolutionary democracy entirely under its domination. This state of things cannot last indefinitely. Tension between the classes must reach its climax and lead to the victory of either this or that class.

The February phenomenon of dual power was ultimately liquidated by the seizure of power by the proletariat in November. Kerensky, the agent of the Russian bourgeoisie, was frightened and jealous of the power of the Soviets and did his utmost to neutralise them. But at the same time he realised that the Russian bourgeoisie would gladly dispense with his services and form a military directorate.

Kerensky was a necessity to the Russian bourgeoisie when the services of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries were required for making the masses hand over the power they had won to the bourgeoisie. But once the power had been won through the loyal services rendered to them by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, the bourgeoisie wanted to get rid of these agents of theirs and detested the unsavoury presence of those whom they had used for their dirty job in the provisional government. These Menshevik and Social Revolutionary compromisers clung to the bourgeoisie because they were afraid of the masses, and Kerensky, though he hated the masses, kept up contact with them because he was frightened of the possessing classes throwing him overboard.

The Cossak general, Kornilov was the man that the Russian bourgeoisie had selected for getting rid of Kerensky, the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries. Kerensky in his turn encouraged the revolt of Kornilov and the generals in order to gain dictatorial power for himself.

On August 18, 1917, the Petrograd Soviet, controlled by the Bolsheviks, passed a resolution demanding the abolition of death sentence at the front. On the other hand General Kornilov demanded its introduction in the rear and declared in the State Conference at Moscow that the moment for taking the decisive step could not be postponed any longer.

Izvestia wrote : "The Headquarters with its communique is playing a definite political game against the provisional government and the revolutionary government." While the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries kept mum, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party sounded the warning : "The Conference will inevitably turn into an instrument of a counter-revolutionary conspiracy." The Moscow workers went on a strike as a protest against the State Conference.

Kerensky supported Kornilov against the Soviets and on August 22, he tried to get from General Kornilov a cavalry corps for the actual promulgation of martial law in Petrograd in order,

first, to suppress the military conspirators who were backed by the bourgeoisie and then to carry out the programme of Kornilov.

Kornilov was egged on by the bankers, the industrialists and by the agents of foreign powers, especially by Buchanan, the British Ambassador, to start a counter-revolutionary insurrection aimed at the destruction of the Soviets. These bankers, generals and industrialists had decided on the immediate transfer of power by the provisional government into the hands of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief. The Headquarters believed that the government would capitulate without a struggle.

But Kerensky, though a Kornilovist, never dreamt of removing his own self from the position of the supreme agent of the Russian bourgeoisie, and to hand over the reins of the state to Kornilov.

Kerensky removed Kornilov from the post of the supreme command of the army and announced his intention to quell the revolt of Kornilov. On the August 29, a battle began in the outskirts of Petrograd between the troops of the government and of Kornilov.

Miliukov, the leader of the Kadets (Kadet was the party of the constitutional democrats—a liberal bourgeois party) tried to convince Kerensky that support and power were on the side of Kornilov and Kornilov would have no objection if Kerensky chose General Alexiev as his successor as the head of the government. The ministers of the provisional government fell in line with Miliukov's suggestion and were on the point of deciding a directory with General Alexiev as the head, when historical development played a trick on these gentlemen and pricked the pretensions of the preachers of teleological development in history by the pointed thrust of a historical accident.

Just at the moment when the liberal bourgeois Miliukov's plan for a counter-revolutionary military directory was on the verge of being realised, a deputation from the Committee of Struggle against Counter-Revolution made its sudden appearance in the Winter Palace. The Committee of Struggle against Counter-Revolution was formed with the representatives of the three political parties—the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries on August 27. The deputation informed the government of the decision of the Committee to oppose Kornilov with all the forces at the disposal of the Soviets. Kerensky played his trump card and demanded unconditional support to his

government from the Committee and, through it, from the Soviets. Only on that condition did he agree to employ all the power of the state against the counter-revolution.

SECRET NEGOTIATIONS

The compromisers, the panicky Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries who were still in the majority in the Soviets, surrendered abjectly to Kerensky. Because of the pressure of the Soviets, Kerensky refused to negotiate with Kornilov. But he carried on secret negotiations with Miliukov all the time. Rightly did Lenin remark : "Kerensky is a Kornilovist who has accidentally quarrelled with Kornilov and continue in intimate union with the Kornilovists."

To the Bolsheviks, Kornilov's uprising was not an unexpected happening. At a joint session of the Executive Committee on August 27, 1917, Sokolnikov announced that the Bolshevik Party had taken all possible measures to inform the people of the danger of counter-revolution and to prepare them for the defence of revolutionary democracy against the onslaught of counter-revolution.

At a night session of the military organisation of the Bolsheviks, participated by the delegates of various military detachments, it was decided to demand the arrest of all conspirators, and to arm the workers in order to ensure the defence of Petrograd and, at the same time, to make preparations for the creation of a revolutionary government of workers and soldiers. Under direct pressure from the organisations controlled and directed by the Bolsheviks, the governmental Committee of Defence recognised the desirability of arming groups of workers for the defence of working class quarters, and the factories. The masses flocked in large numbers in the ranks of the Red Guards.

The Bolsheviks not only entered the Committee of Defence, in spite of their being a negligible minority in that committee, they moreover announced that in the struggle against Kornilov they are ready to form a "military technical union" even with the directory. Lenin wrote : "It would be the profoundest mistake to imagine that the revolutionary proletariat is capable, so to speak, out of 'vengeance' upon the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks for the support that they have given to anti-Bolshevik raids, to shootings at the front and the disarming of workers, of refusing to 'support' them against counter-revolution."

Support the provisional government in a "technical military" sense but not *politically*, that is what Lenin advised the Bolshevik Party to do. Time and again Lenin warned the Bolshevik Party not to lend political support to Kerensky and the provisional government. In one of his letters to the Central Committee, Lenin wrote, "We ought not even now to support the government of Kerensky. That would be unprincipled. You ask : but mustn't we fight Kornilov ? Of course, yes. But that is not the same thing. There is a limit here. Some of the Bolsheviks are crossing it, slipping into 'compromisism', getting carried away by the flood of events."

On August 29, 1917, Piatakov, a Bolshevik leader, declared at a session of the Kiev city Duma, "In this dangerous moment we must forget all the old accounts and unite with all revolutionary parties which stand for a decisive struggle against counter-revolution. I summon you to unity." This was that false political tone against which Lenin wrote these memorable words : "To forget the old accounts would have meant to open new credits for the candidates in bankruptcy."

Further wrote Lenin, "We will fight. We are fighting against Kornilov. But we are not supporting Kerensky, but exposing his weakness. This is a different thing. ... We must struggle ruthlessly against phrases about supporting the provisional government precisely as mere phrases." Thus, in fighting Kornilov, the Russian proletariat was not supporting Kerensky, it was only pursuing its own special aims.

From the above-quoted utterances of Lenin, we can draw the following conclusions :

First, only a "technical military union" with the provisional government ; this was all that Lenin could recommend to the Russian proletariat and to the Bolshevik Party.

Secondly, Lenin warned the Bolsheviks not to support the government of Kerensky in any case. "That would be unprincipled." Here Lenin wanted to point out that only technical support can be given to Kerensky, but no political support.

Thirdly, Lenin pointed out that fight against Kornilov by no means implied support to Kerensky. "That is not the same thing. There is a limit here. Some of the Bolsheviks are crossing it, slipping into compromisism, or getting carried away by the flood of events." Here Lenin hinted at the attitude of compromisism of Piatakov and such other Bolsheviks.

Has not Swami Sahajanand taken up exactly the same attitude as that of Piatakov ? Has he not in a panic got himself "carried away by the flood of events" ? The slogans, 'People's War', and the 'Democratic Front', to which Swami Sahajanand find himself so deeply attached, do they not lend political support to British imperialism ? Is it not "slipping into compromisism" with British imperialism ? Does not the acceptance of these slogans amount to ideological concession to British imperialism which must lead to political concessions ?

Moreover I wonder if it is historically correct after all that Lenin has written about Kornilov incident, to say that Lenin and the Bolshevik Party supported Kerensky against Kornilov.

We are the sworn enemies of Fascism. Against it we must carry on a ruthless struggle. But it is one thing to fight against Fascism and quite another thing to misrepresent the character of the present war and to propagate such false slogans as the "People's War" and the "Democratic Front." This is thoroughly unprincipled. The Bolsheviks opposed Kornilov, and it is because of them that Kornilov was smashed, but without supporting the government of Kerensky. They brought pressure on Kerensky and forced the provisional government to accede to the demands of the workers of Petrograd to arm themselves. They could do so, first, because there was a revolution which had overthrown autocracy, and secondly, because there were the Soviets, the mighty organs of the revolutionary masses of Russia. Even then the Bolshevik Party did not support the provisional government and Lenin pulled up those Bolsheviks who like Piatakov got panicky and craved for unity with the government of the Russian bourgeoisie.

Lenin castigated those who like Piatakov took up a defencist position. Lenin wrote, "We will become defencist only after the transfer of power to the proletariat. Neither the capture of Riga nor the capture of Petersburg will make us defencist. Upto that moment we are for proletarian revolution. We are against war. We are not defencists."

And Trotsky wrote : "The fall of Riga is a cruel blow. The fall of Petersburg will be a misfortune. But the fall of the international policy of the Russian proletariat would be ruinous." And moreover is there even the slightest justification for using the Kornilov incident as a plausible analogy to present situation in India ?

The historical background of the Kornilov incident has the following characteristics :

First, the masses had already destroyed autocracy.

Secondly, though the masses had to surrender the state power to the bourgeoisie in February due to the weakness of their political parties, yet the masses had kept sufficient power in their own hands through their Soviets.

Thirdly, though the bourgeoisie usurped the state power, it was powerless to exert it fully on the masses. The phenomenon of dual power had made its appearance in February.

Fourthly, by lending only 'technical military' help to the provisional government, on no account political help, the workers of Petrograd got the chance of arming themselves.

Does the political situation in India fulfil even a single one of these conditions ?

Are analogies, meant to be used as claptrap for the masses, for the ill-informed and for the justification of one's panicky state of mind and one's consequent surrender to reaction ?

And moreover are analogies justified when there is a similarity only in most superficial non-essentials between the events compared and when there exist profound differences between the subjects of analogy in their fundamental aspects ?

I hope this will be enough for Swami Sahajanand and I trust that this will cure him (or is it a vain hope ?) of the malady of false analogy, panic, compromisism and defencism. As for the so called "National Frontists", no reasoning can do them any good. Saboteurs of revolution have their own logic, propounded and codified in the school of treachery and opportunism.

Let us mobilise the masses of India against Fascism and rouse them to oppose Fascist aggression. But that task can only be fulfilled when we explain to the masses the imperialistic character of the present war and rouse them to action against both imperialism and Fascism.

We must follow a distinct course with a definite aim in view just as the Bolsheviks did in their fight against Kornilov.

And that, Swami Sahajanand, cannot be accomplished by covering imperialism with one's own unprincipled opportunism and by making it appear thereby democratic and respectable.

June 1942.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL IMPERIALISTS

The petty-bourgeois democrats, muddlers and mystifiers are again feverishly active to confound the masses, to confuse real issues of the revolutionary movement, and misinterpret the events and aims of the imperialist war. The hue and cry raised for the support of "democratic imperialism" has now taken a new turn. The imperialist war is being characterised as a people's war, and using that false slogan, the petty-bourgeois lovers of imperialist democracy are calling upon the masses to extend unconditional support to British imperialism, the implacable enemy of the people. The "congress" Communists and the Royists argue that the anti-Fascist people's war in the Soviet Union and China has changed the character of the war waged by the so-called democratic imperialist powers into a people's war against Fascism. And it follows from this that in the interest of the revolutionary cause of the people, the masses must participate in strengthening the war efforts of the British government.

What queer logic! What a flimsy cover to justify petty-bourgeois impotence and spinelessness with big phrases and high-sounding slogans! The whole conception of a qualitative difference between bourgeois-democracy and Fascism is fundamentally wrong, and the characterisation of the war of the Soviet Union as people's war is a complete travesty of facts.

Those who have the eyes to see can easily discern that the present war is no ideological war, nor a war between two antagonistic political systems—Fascism and imperialism. For, Fascism is simply a matter of formal, technical arrangement of the state apparatus by the capitalist class, imperilled by historic economic conditions, for the very existence of the capitalist class of a particular country. Both Fascism and democratic imperialism are, in reality, brutal and ruthless dictatorship of the capitalist class, the enemy of the people and executioner of the revolutionary proletariat. In the new scheme of imperialist forces, the

fascist powers are aggressive simply because they must grab territories in order to enjoy a larger share of the spoils of exploitation of the world resources at the expense of the older and satisfied imperialist powers, like Great Britain and France, who, today, control and exploit the greater portion of the colonial world. But the extent and nature of the redivision of the colonial world among the imperialist freebooters cannot be decided except by armed struggles, by wars. The dominant and satisfied imperialist powers cannot surrender their dominant position regarding raw materials and markets without measuring strength with their rivals. So, the imperialist and Fascist powers are at war. And being deadly in earnest to obtain a favourable decision for one's own state, each of them has set a regime of infinite ruthlessness and terror for the effective organisation and prosecution of the war.

But this obvious and incontestable fact has been thoroughly muddled by the "congress" Communists, because the bourgeoisie in some countries have been compelled to change the form of their state power and the technique of their class rule, while in some others, the bourgeoisie could maintain their political power retaining their traditional form of bourgeois-democracy. The revolutionary proletariat and the subject peoples of the colonial world cannot undertake the defence of bourgeois-democracy which the world bourgeoisie have already begun to shed. It matters little to the oppressed and exploited masses of the world whether the British-American or German-Japanese bandits get the better of the present struggle, and have a larger share of the world market.

It is now an undoubted fact that the Soviet Union has become a party to the imperialist war. It has committed itself to a partisan policy by its benevolent neutrality to Nazi Germany, by its aggression on Finland and by its annexation of the Baltic countries. After the German invasion, it concluded military alliance with Anglo-American imperialism. The military technical alliance was a strategic necessity for both the imperialist powers and the Soviet Union. But this was followed by the political identification of the Soviet Union with the war and peace aims of the predatory bourgeoisie of Britain and the United States. This meant that on the world-scale the Soviet Union has broken away from the international front of the toiling masses against imperialism. Thus, the nature and character of the defence of the Soviet Union against the aggression launched by the German Fascists have been

made out by Soviet leaders to be a war of national defence, just as the struggle of China against the Japanese aggression is a war of national defence.

In his war appeals, Stalin never addressed the international proletariat for revolutionary support, but instead called upon the peoples of Europe and Asia to support the army of Britain and the United States. Stalin said : "All honest people must support the army of Great Britain and the United States as champion of liberation not only in Europe but also in Asia." But inspite of Stalin's assertion, the subject peoples all over the world, groaning under the yoke of Anglo-American imperialism, know from their bitter experience that the British and the American army of occupation is in reality an instrument of mass butchery. And in every appeal to the Soviet people, Stalin has roused the patriotic loyalty to Soviet Russia and has called upon them to make the highest sacrifice for defeating the German onslaught. So, far from creating conditions for emergence of the Soviet masses as the leader of the world revolutionary upsurge through the gigantic struggle against German Fascism, the Stalinist leadership limited the struggle within the frontiers of the Soviet Union. The Soviet government, which is responsible for the present conflict, thus failed to reflect the will of working people and could not advance the fundamental task of the epoch—the struggle for the conquest of world socialism. Against this anti-revolutionary stand of the Soviet government there is not yet a people's revolution pledged to turn the imperialist war into a war for socialism, which alone can guarantee the popular and proletarian character of the war. But inspite of the conservative leadership, the mighty resistance of the Soviet people and the unparalleled heroism and sacrifice of the Soviet masses must evoke the sympathy and solidarity of the international proletariat. Again, inspite of the dictatorship of the Chinese bourgeoisie under the leadership of Chiang-kai-Sheik, the infamous hangman of the Chinese revolution and an agent of British imperialism, the inhuman suffering and gallant sacrifices of the Chinese people must also draw the sympathy and solidarity of the working masses of the world. But in showing its solidarity, the revolutionary proletariat of India cannot renounce its international policy of struggle against imperialist war and destruction of imperialism.

The international policy of the revolutionary proletariat remains the same as that of Zimmerwald Left, the precursor of

the Communist International under the leadership of Lenin a quarter of a century ago—the revolutionary war against the imperialist war, the destruction of the world bourgeoisie and the conquest of Socialism.

It is impossible just for sake of the Soviet system and for the gain of the Russian revolution to backtrack on the question of imperialist war, chauvinism and surrender to the bourgeoisie. To do so would be both illogical and self-contradictory. For, the conquests of the November revolution cannot be defended without a world socialist revolution. It is only by the inexorable march of events that the Soviet masses will be awakened to the need of overthrowing their conservative leadership and take up the fundamental task of achieving the world revolution in defence of the conquests of 1917.

Of all the pro-war parties, the “congress” Communists are the most ardent supporters of the British government. They have earned so much confidence of the British bureaucracy that those of them that were detained have been released to serve the British government faithfully, just as in Malaya, the Communists were set free to quell ‘civil disturbances’. It is an irony of history that their preposterous slogan of “National Front” has now been taken over by the British government and is extended, because of the exigencies of war, to “National War Front” to the great jubilation of the “congress” Communists. They are now most devoutly on the side of the so-called “democratic imperialist” block. The sole consideration of their pro-war policy is the defence of the Soviet Union from Fascist aggression, which alone, according to them, is the guarantee for the success of the international revolution. Therefore, any weakening of the Anglo-American imperialist front will lead to the weakening of the front of the people. The masses of the world must look to democratic imperialism as the saviour of the Soviet Union, and consequently of their own. Thanks to the “special” situation, which exists only in the literature of the “congress” Communists, the “democratic” bourgeoisie has now become an ally not only of the Soviet Union but also of the revolutionary proletariat as well. The political absurdity of their position is unequalled in the history of the revolutionary movement.

This craze for blind support to the conservative Soviet leadership which has gone bankrupt in so far as the world revolutionary movement is concerned, and which has become a party to the predatory war of the bourgeoisie, is a dangerous pheno-

menon. Patriotism for another country, instead of one's own, is not only illegitimate internationalism but also worse than patriotism, since it cuts at the very roots of all genuinely revolutionary struggles. While the Indian masses suffer untold hardship under the stresses and strains of war, while the masses look for guidance to determine their course of action, the "congress" Communists are busy organising fashionable societies for the aid to the Soviet Union to demonstrate their internationalism. For their information, we shall present to them a similar case, although much more serious, from the pages of the history of the Bolshevik Party. During the preparation for the November insurrection, some of the Bolsheviks could not make a correct appraisal of the situation and did not understand their international duty in relation to the immediate task of the Russian revolution. Lenin lashed at them with bitter sarcasm. "Let us", he said "adopt a resolution of sympathy for the German insurrectionists, and reject the insurrection in Russia. That will be a genuinely reasonable internationalism" : The Bolsheviks, however corrected themselves. But "congress" Communists are incapable of any independent thinking, and are, therefore, incapable of correcting themselves.

Another one who has recently joined the ranks of the friends of British imperialism is Swami Sahajanand who has agrued in his defence : "Just as the Bolsheviks supported the provisional government of Kerensky, so we must support the British government against Fascism."

Apart from the self-evident inaccuracy of such an analogy, it is obvious that the Bolsheviks did not render political support to the provisional government. Their support was purely military and technical in nature. They, in fact, used Kerensky as a gun-rest to shoot down Kornilov in order to settle accounts with Kerensky afterwards. Lenin gave a clear warning against political support in one of his letters to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. He said, "We ought not even now support the government of Kerensky. That will be unprincipled. We will fight. We are fighting against Kornilov, but we are not supporting Kerensky but exposing his weakness." It is now quite clear that what Sahajanand writes and what Lenin wrote on the subject are two very distinct things. According to Lenin, in fighting Kornilov's coup d'etat, which was the spearhead of the bourgeois counter-revolution, the Russian proletariat fought not for saving the dictatorship of Kerensky but for saving and defending all the gains and conquests of the revolution. But

Sahajanand lends political support to British imperialism in fighting Japanese Fascism, thus strengthening the hold of the British on the Indian people.

It is clear that the problem before the toiling masses of India is not the defence of the conquests or the gains of the revolution, but the organisation of the revolution itself. In this task, the only correct line of action is an uncompromising opposition to the imperialist war. Upon the success for our struggle against the war will depend how soon Indian masses would be able to free themselves from the clutches of British imperialism.

Sahajanand is perturbed that an invasion by the Japanese is imminent, who will reduce us to greater slavery. So he has become a defender of British imperialism. For the sake of national defence he is prepared to compromise with British imperialism. Again reverting to Lenin's stand in regard to the Kerensky government, when Riga fell to the German army and Petrograd itself was threatened, Lenin wrote "We will become defencists only after the transfer of power to the proletariat. Neither the fall of Riga nor the capture of Petersburg will make us defencists. Upto that moment we are for the proletarian revolution. We are against war. We are not defencists." And Trotsky wrote from prison that "the fall of Riga was a cruel blow. The fall of Petersburg will be a misfortune. But the fall of the international policy of the Russian proletariat would be ruinous."

Even upto the capture of the revolutionary capital by the Germans, the Bolsheviki were determined to stand for the proletarian revolution and against the imperialist war and were unwilling to sacrifice the international policy of the Russian proletariat. But you, Swami Sahajanand, choose to behave differently. You are carried away by the imperialist propaganda and have allowed yourself to be used as an agent by the British government. You seem to think as though British imperialism has evaporated, and the Indian masses have only to defend the gains of the hard-earned freedom against the threatening armies of Japanese Fascists. But the emergency ordinances, detention without trial, concentration camps, compulsory labour for war work, confiscation of the means of livelihood of the people and heavier and heavier taxation imposed on a starving people—all these go to reveal the devastating fact that the British regime of terror and ruthless exploitation continues unabated. So, the question of national defence is wholly pointless. So long as we are under the iron heel of British imperialism, joining hands

with the imperialists in support of the imperialist war will mean perpetration of the British Empire, and, consequently, our own slavery.

The Indian proletariat, who have no revolutionary conquests to defend, cannot abandon their international policy of opposition to the imperialist war, and cannot be defenders of British imperialism just because the Japanese Fascists are likely to invade the country. The central question before the Party of the revolutionary proletariat is the organisation of the revolution and not "national defence". We must not fall prey to imperialist trickery designed to divert the revolutionary potential of the masses to mass butchery of the imperialist war. Is it beyond you to understand, Swami Sahajanand, that in the name of national defence, the British army of occupation has been reinforced tenfold by the American expeditionary force in order to ensure against a possible uprising of the masses ? Do you not also realise that you have been made use of to win over the masses in support of the imperialist war ? Would not your special pleadings in support of the British government create illusions among the masses who are bitterly anti-imperialist ?

Again it has been argued by some of the protagonists of the war on the side of the British government that masses could be mobilised for any action if only unconditional support is rendered to British war efforts. Once the mobilisation is achieved, and the Japanese are expelled from the country with the help of British arms, the masses will then turn the arms of the British for their own freedom. Their support to the imperialist war is merely a matter of expediency. M. N. Roy goes even further. According to him, there is no question of a military-technical preparation of the masses. They must be prepared psychologically to resist aggression. In other words, prepare the masses psychologically to maintain British rule when the British Empire is threatened with extermination ; defeat the Japanese fascists with blood and toil, but do not ask for arms, then and then only freedom will come automatically ! How simple and how naive ! Now see how political expediency has passed into unprincipled expediency, amounting to the final betrayal of the cause of the freedom of the Indian masses !

Let us repeat : you cannot rouse the masses to revolutionary struggles by cheap slogans in the name of expediency. One has to go through the painful process of organisation and practical education of the masses in order to mobilise them for revolu-

tionary action. To deny this is to deny the very elementary task of the Indian revolution.

The Indian bourgeoisie, on the other hand, as represented by their party—the Indian National Congress—are unnerved and confused over the question of national defence—defence of their vested interests in a constantly changing war situation on the one hand, and the possible threat of inroads into those interests by the masses on the other. There is the natural hankering for a larger share of political power in return to their economic contribution to war efforts. That is the reason why they are waiting for a better opportunity that is likely to come up as a result of the greater needs of the British government for larger contributions by India to the war efforts. This explains their “mark-time” policy. On the other hand, there is an insistent demand from a section of the bourgeoisie for an immediate compromise with the British imperialism for the protection and furtherance of their class interests at the expense of the masses. This is the dilemma before the Indian bourgeoisie, as reflected in the inner contradictions in the leadership of the Congress.

The history of the political behaviour of the Indian bourgeoisie since the beginning of the war has been of political inaction on the one hand, suppression of the mass movements on the other. At this moment, the politics of the bourgeoisie as represented by the Congress is their total unwillingness to mobilise the masses for even exerting pressure on British imperialism. The fear of the masses has paralysed them. This politics of inaction has been executed by Nehru with considerable “brilliance” by indulging in vague talks about “larger causes” which call for a victory of the “democracies”. However, the spokesman of the other tendency is Rajagopalachari, who with his customary sharpness has posed the problem of compromise clearly and has taken the initiative for an agreement with the party of the Muslim bourgeoisie—the Muslim League, in order to bring about an immediate compromise with the British imperialism. These tendencies foreshadow a split in the Congress. But will Gandhi act? That will depend on the way the international wind will blow in the next few months.

Now the question is, which course the revolutionary masses of India must take? World imperialism is in death agony. The war has engulfed all the continents—Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia and the United States. Battles rage on land, on sea and in the air. The colossal productive forces, built up during centuries, are tied to the wheels of the war machine. Every ounce

of resources at the command of the capitalist class is being hurled into the monstrous machinery of destruction. The entire society is in the grip of an insoluble crisis. It seems that the solution can only be found by the intervention of the masses in a revolution. Popular resistance is rearing its head in the Nazi-occupied countries as well as in the British colonies. Indeed, the toiling masses are in a ferment.

In India, the basic reality is that the masses are aggressively radicalised by the impact of powerful forces and great events that the war has unleashed. The anti-imperialist mood of the masses was never so high and intense as at present. By the inexorable laws of capitalism and the dynamics of the war, the masses are being pushed towards resolute actions. Against this background, sporadic strikes are taking place in the munition factories, and workshops manufacturing war materials, in the jute and cotton mills, in the coal mines and in the different transport systems. Clashes between the British troops and the people are also becoming common. Large units of the Indian Army are disobeying commands at the front. Although the so-called national leaders are inactive, the masses are on the move. A great revolutionary situation is fast maturing.

In this critical situation, the fundamental and immediate task of the Revolutionary Communists is to link up and unite these scattered struggles of the toiling masses and to organise revolutionary actions – general strikes by the workers and mass revolts by the peasants. Disaffection and discontent among the soldiers can be developed into organised revolts only by economic upheaval and dislocation of the economic system. The organised might of the revolution, asserting the will of the people for bread and freedom, will, at the psychological moment, bring about fraternisation between the soldiers on the one hand and the broad masses on the other. In that great upsurge of the toiling masses, the accounts will be finally settled with both imperialist and Fascist monsters.

Comrades ! workers, peasants and soldiers ! Prepare yourselves for the final and relentless struggle that lies ahead. Build up cadres for the revolutionary army, organise the people's guards through trade unions and kisan sabhas, turn the Home Guards into auxiliaries of the forces of revolution ! The time for determined action has arrived !

RED FRONT, JULY 1942.

REVOLUTION AND QUIT INDIA

With the defeat of the German proletariat in 1933 began the triumphant march of Fascism in the continent of Europe. The strongest front of the European proletariat was smashed by Hitler and his gang, due to the treachery of the Socialists and the profound political mistakes committed by the Stalinists of Germany. The waves of counter-revolutionary reaction welled-up from the depth of the decaying bourgeois order and swept over the continent of Europe. The French bourgeoisie covered with democratic rouge and lip-stick, paraded the footpaths of France like prostitutes, and sold its decadent political wares to the French people. The decadent French bourgeoisie vitiated the entire French people to such an extent as to make the resistance of the French masses to either the French or the international Fascism an impossibility.

Daladier had no difficulty in smashing the so-called Front Populaire and French Fascism had just a walk-over on its class-enemies. With the help of French Fascism Hitler made French democracy turn turtle, a feat which appeared as a miracle to those who were uninformed about the rotten condition of the French democracy.

In Spain, due to the suicidal policy of the united front, Fascism triumphed. Austrian democracy succumbed to the double assault perpetrated by Austrian and international Fascism. In England, the national government of Baldwin and Chamberlain, democratic in form but Fascist in content helped Mussolini to conquer Abyssinia, gave all its support to Hitler in enslaving Czechoslovakia and offered repeatedly the sacred body of British imperialist democracy to Hitler for rape at any price he liked to offer. British imperialist democracy did not mind it so long as its formal democratic structure so suitable for its imperialistic existence was allowed to remain intact, and so long as British imperialism was not forced to disgorge its own democratic robbery of the world.

But Hitler refused to enjoy the stale flesh of the haggard, old, and flabby dame—the British imperialist democracy. Young Fascist imperialism stands for the destruction of the old and decadent imperialism. The ruthless and virile Fascist imperialism did not like to catch the reflection of its own inevitable future state in the mirror of decadent British imperialism. With the change in the balance of power in the Continent, the Central European powers turned their helpless faces like weathercocks to the Fascist wind.

Poland courted German Fascism in order to have its help against Soviet Russia and also for securing its neutrality during Poland's aggression against Hungary. The Baltic states, whatever might have been their importance geographically, were of next to nothing in importance politically. They were in constant terror of all their neighbours and begged to be considered as phantom-states by the great powers of the world. But being bourgeois state, they certainly leaned more towards their western neighbour than the eastern one. The growing might of German Fascism left them no alternative but to allow themselves to be used as its footstool.

And in the land of the victorious proletarian revolution, the great principles of world revolution and of Socialist internationalism were tortured to extinction by Stalin and his clique. Not only was the physical part of Lenin mummified in the mausoleum, Leninism—the great principle of dynamic world transformation—was also entombed there. Since 1924 the Soviet government under the rule of Stalin and his clique swung violently between left-opportunism and right-opportunism. Its policy in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27, was one of extreme rightism, its policy in Germany till Hitler came to power was that of extreme leftism, and since Hitler came to power it swung violently towards rightism. From class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie under the treacherous slogan of the Democratic Front and the Popular Front, it passed over to the united front with Hitler for the occupation of the Baltic states and the division of Poland. The World proletariat was advised by Stalin to behave decently towards the world bourgeoisie, in other words, to surrender to it. National revolutions in colonial countries were ordered by Stalin to put themselves in the cold storage and to tie themselves with the golden chain of friendship with the oppressing imperialism. All this to suit Stalin's national socialism—socialism in one country—and for giving him a chance to escape

from the noose that his narrow unprincipled opportunism and disastrous foreign policy had slipped round his neck and that of the Soviet Union. But not only the Soviet Union, also the international working class front, was compelled by Stalin to stew in the juice of opportunism and negation of revolutionary Marxism, in one word, in the unsavoury juice of Stalinism. The masses of Spain and China and the working classes of Germany and Austria were betrayed by Stalinism. No help came to them from the world arsenal of revolution. World revolution itself had been since long shelved in cold-storage by Stalin.

Thus abandoned and betrayed by Stalin, the working class of Europe fell an easy prey to Fascism. The fate of Soviet Russia was sealed by Stalin's National Socialism. Only the revolutionary strength of the world proletariat could protect Soviet Russia from the onslaught of world-imperialism. International revolutionary movement was the only guarantee for the existence of Soviet Union in an imperialist milieu. Said Lenin : "We are in a besieged fortress until other armies of the international socialist revolution come to our aid." By stabbing international revolution in the back, Stalin also stabbed Soviet Russia in the back. Since 1933, international counter-revolution is dealing blow after blow to international proletarian revolution and Stalin's contribution to the international counter-revolution is momentous.

Against this background of triumphant Fascism did the second imperialist world-war break out in 1939. It brought out to the surface the irreconcilable antagonism existing between the imperialist freebooters themselves for the re-division of the world market and the colonies. It also proved that a proletarian state and imperialism cannot live side by side indefinitely. Sooner or later, a conflict is inevitable. "International imperialism. . . . which represents a gigantic actual power. . . . could in no case and under no conditions live side by side with the Soviet Republic. Here a conflict would be inevitable." (Lenin). Here also the fatal opportunism of Stalin helped Hitler to wage an one-front war, to consolidate his position in the west, to get immeasurably stronger thereby and then to attack the Soviet Union once more in an one-front war. German Fascism bought off the neutrality of Stalin at an insignificant price, namely by agreeing to the partition of Poland between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia and by allowing the annexation of the Baltic states by Stalin. This price which was unworthy of acceptance by the Soviet State was accepted

by Stalin, and Hitler scored a singular political and strategic victory over Stalin.

In whichever way the world may be redivided amongst the imperialist gangsters as a result of this war, the following political changes are inevitable :

First, the dismemberment of the British Empire.

Secondly, the virtual extinction of the Soviet Russia as an international revolutionary force. Ideologically, it has since the beginning of the Stalin regime ceased to function as a revolutionary centre. Now after the war, for years to come it will not be in a position to lend material and technical help to the revolutionary movements of other lands. For all practical purposes the flame of world-revolution has been for the time being extinguished by Fascism--thanks to Stalinism.

Thirdly, the beginning of a period of national revolution in Europe. The Fascist colonization of Europe has ushered in a period of national revolution in Europe. The proletarian revolution in Europe will be forced to wear the worn-out rags of national revolution again.

Fourthly, the formation of an international revolutionary centre after the war. The national revolutionary movements in the colonial countries, national in form, proletarian in content will have to form an international revolutionary centre in co-operation with the European revolutionary movements. This task cannot be relegated in the background for an indefinite period after the war. It must be immediately and effectively tackled.

After this brief survey of international politics and the forecast of the political perspectives arising out of this second imperialist world war, let us now turn our gaze to the political scene in India.

Two phenomena of first class importance face us in Indian politics.

The first phenomenon is the predominantly feudal structure of Indian socio-political life till the beginning of the twentieth century, that is to say practically till the beginning of the imperialist era. The British occupation of India not only did not fulfil the task of bourgeois democratic revolution in India as Marx suggested, it hampered and obstructed the democratic revolution. The colonial policy of British imperialism obstructed the industrialisation of India. By political violence it prolonged the existence of the feudal structure of Indian society, and thus kept India away from its bourgeois-democratic destiny till a

period when that transformation proved a shackle to the higher development of human society.

The second phenomenon, namely, the historically belated birth of the Indian bourgeoisie, is a by-product of the first phenomenon. The unnaturally long period of time that the Indian bourgeoisie took to emerge out of the womb of feudal India, made it a historical anachronism. It appeared on the political stage at a time when historical development had issued a death-warrant against it. Its belated birth made the Indian bourgeoisie a tragic phenomenon. It had lost the chance to be creative and proved utterly sterile socially. It was denied its revolutionary role against feudalism and moreover was forced by the historical development in the period of its birth, to defend the entire property basis of Indian society, in other words, to defend feudalism along with capitalism. This fact has determined its class-role in the national revolution in India. Thus cheated out of its historical role, the Indian bourgeoisie could not fulfil its democratic tasks and became counter-revolutionary before it could start its revolutionary career. And the national revolution in India in the era of world proletarian revolution has for its historical task the destruction of both capitalism and feudalism. That is why the national revolution in this epoch is proletarian in content and character.

The Indian bourgeoisie because of its belated birth could not fulfil its role as a defender of even formal bourgeois-democracy. It has become an enemy of democracy, more so as it is tied to the land-owning class which with autocracy as its life-blood, has been throughout its existence, the sworn enemy of democracy.

Because of its own class-interest in destroying feudalism, the peasantry is ready to proceed upto the frontier of formal bourgeois-democracy.

The working-class, the only consistently democratic class, is ready to push democracy to its logical conclusion.

The urban petty-bourgeoisie will support revolutionary democracy or counter-revolution, not on their merits but on the strength of the movement that either of them may conjure. Characterless because of its intermediary class-position, the petty bourgeoisie will side with the national revolution only if the proletarian leadership of the revolution is bold and vigorous in its pursuit of the democratic end.

In India, the national revolution, therefore, does not depend for its completion on the unity of all classes, but on the sharp

division of class-forces—British Imperialism, the Indian capitalist class and the Indian landowners on one side and the Indian working class, the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie on the other side. The “Unity of Will” of the people, the characteristic hall-mark of bourgeois democratic revolution is wholly absent here. In the epoch of world-proletarian revolution Indian revolution cannot carve out its own special way, notwithstanding the pious platitude about “the peculiarity and speciality” of India, that pseudo-spiritual muck of the apologists of the Indian bourgeoisie.

Since the beginning of this second imperialist world war, the economic and political crisis in India has deepened and broadened out enormously to embrace the entire socio-economic structure of the Indian society.

The burden of taxation, direct and indirect, has increased enormously. The needs of the imperialist army maintained in India and the Far East are sucking India dry of foodstuffs and other raw materials. The price of essential foodstuffs have soared high like a rocket and the peasantry is literally starving. The condition of the urban population is not better either. In the cities foodstuffs are scarce and prohibitive in price and profiteering is rampant. The mill-owners are making fabulous profits but the industrial workers have not been granted a dearness allowance on par with the rise in price, not to talk of a decent rise in wages as a share of the profit they are helping the capitalists to make. The imperialist war has dragged the masses of India into the whirlpool of dark and sinister economic misery.

This economic misery has been transformed into a profound political hatred of the British imperialist rule in India. Masses are itching for a fight to the finish with British imperialism. The repeated defeat of imperialist Britain by Japan and Germany has not failed to show the masses the utter rottenness of British power. The myth of British might has exploded for ever and the bluff has been called. An all round crisis affecting both the rulers and the ruled prevails ; a situation just ripe for a revolutionary upheaval.

The objective premises of a revolution have been staring at our face and clamouring for being translated into revolutionary action for a long time, but the ideological lever, by that is meant the political party that raises the objective factors to the pitch of revolution, has been found missing.

The Congress, the party of the India bourgeoisie, could not undertake the task of national revolution of India because the Indian bourgeoisie of which it is the party has itself turned counter-revolutionary. Only a party of the revolutionary proletariat capable of bringing into a revolutionary flux the peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie for the achievement of the proletarian revolution with the democratic republic of workers and peasants and provisional revolutionary government as the principal slogans of the revolution, could organise, lead and complete the national revolution. Due to the complete bankruptcy of leftism in India this ideological lever is all along missing. There have been so far four parties in the field which constituted the left movement in India.

1. The Congress Socialist Party.
2. The Stalinist party of legal communism, the C.P.I.
3. The Royist party, and
4. The Revolutionary Communist Party of India, the R.C.P.I.

Later, two more newcomers intruded into the leftist arena---the Forward Bloc and the R.S.P. We shall examine their pretensions to leftism in due course.

It is strange but tragically significant that leftism in India had the National Congress as its point of departure. Its leftism was decided not in relation to the national revolutionary movement, but in relation to the Congress, the party of the Indian bourgeoisie. Because of this, leftism in India either became the leftist manouvre of the Indian bourgeoisie or the radical wing of the bourgeois Congress. Judged by their relation to the Congress, the Gandhian group was considered to be the right-wing and the Congress Socialists, the Forward Blocists and others were considered the left-wing.

But if we judge these parties, by their relation to the national revolutionary movement, we get a completely different picture. The Gandhian group is not the right-wing of the national revolutionary movement but an anti-revolutionary group completely outside the orbit of national revolutionary movement. It can on no account be considered a factor of the national revolution.

And the Congress-Leftists—the Congress Socialists, the Forward Blocists and the R.S.P., they appear in quite the opposite role in relation to the national revolution in India. They appear in their true colour in the role of the right-wing of the national revolutionary movement. Leftism in India has

committed the gross error in considering the National Congress of the Indian bourgeoisie as the synonym of the national revolutionary movement of India. That is of course mostly due to the overwhelmingly petty-bourgeois character of leftism in India.

Some years back when the stunt of "leftist" consolidation was the popular trick of political card-sharpers, we had pointed out the utter futility of such a move so long as the determining factors of leftism were not fixed. The conditions which must be fulfilled by an individual or a party before that individual or party can be considered leftist, must be laid down first and only after that can one talk of left-consolidation. The conditions which must be fulfilled in order to entitle a person or an organisation to be considered leftist are as follows :

1. The recognition of the Indian National Congress as the political party of the Indian bourgeoisie.
2. The recognition of the Indian bourgeoisie as the counter-revolutionary class and therefore the Congress as an anti-revolutionary force.
3. Recognition of the necessity of the independent class-organisations of the workers and peasants.
4. Recognition of the necessity of weaning away the peasantry from the influence of the bourgeois Congress and to link it up with the revolutionary party of the proletariat.
5. The estimation of the character of the national revolution as a proletarian revolution and not a bourgeois one.
6. The acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the political content of the state-form of the democratic republic that the national revolution will achieve.
7. The acceptance of Socialism as the aim of the national revolution in India.

These are the indispensable premises of leftism in India.

The Congress Socialist party, the Forward Bloc and the R.S.P., in one word the Congress-Leftists, do all that lies in their power to hide the class-character of the Congress. So did once the Stalinist legal-communists and the Royists when they also played the role of Congress-Leftists. The Congress Socialists, the Stalinist 'national-frontists', the Royists, and the Forward Blocist all of them declared Congress to be an organisation and not a party and asserted that the national revolution in India will be achieved through the instrumentality of this organisation. These parties not only hid the class-character of the Congress, but also had declared that the Indian bourgeoisie had still

a revolutionary role to play in the coming national revolution in India and that the Indian revolution was not a proletarian but a bourgeois one.

All these parties because they ascribed revolutionary role to the counter-revolutionary Indian bourgeoisie gave their support to the class-collaborationist united front policy of Menshevism and Stalinism.

The Congress Socialist Party being a wing of the bourgeois Congress went to the length of making even socialism a gift of the bourgeois Congress. Says Jayprakash Narayan, the Congress Socialist leader : "In the particular specific conditions of India, Congress and Socialism are mutually dependent." There is not even the slightest reference to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Congress Socialist Party's programme, and even the least informed knows that to talk of socialism without acknowledging the dictatorship of the proletariat as the essence of the state-form which a victorious revolution will create, is the surest way of sabotaging the achievement of socialism.

And so far as the class-organisations of the workers and the peasants are concerned, all these parties agreed that they must be tied to the political apron-string of the bourgeois Congress. Royists went so far as to deny the necessity of the class-organisation of the peasantry.

Thus, these parties denied and negated almost all the major premises of leftism in India. Amongst these parties the Forward Bloc could hardly be called a party and still less a leftist party. Both in ideology and in technique of struggle it remained essentially on the basis of Gandhism. The R.S.P. has nothing to do with revolutionary socialism but has very much to do with cliques in the Congress and futile alliances of power-politics with various parties.

Only the Revolutionary Communist Party of India fulfilled all the premises of leftism in India. It fought against the treacherous theory of the united front with the bourgeoisie, consistently carried on the exposure of the Congress, declared the Indian bourgeoisie as a counter-revolutionary class in this particular epoch, asserted the national revolution to be of proletarian in character and fought against the subordination of the class-organisations of the workers and peasantry to the class-party of the Indian bourgeoisie. .

While the Congress Socialist Party, the Stalinist legal Communist Party, the Royists, the Forward Bloc and R.S.P. failed

both ideologically and organisationally, the Revolutionary Communist Party of India failed not because of its ideological stand, which is completely correct, but because of its organisational weakness.

Leftism in India got itself buried under the debris of ideological blunders, opportunism and organisational weakness.

Since the war started, the Stalinists and the Royists advanced one step more in pursuance of their united front tactics. From the united front with the bourgeoisie, they passed on to the united front with the British imperialism. The myth of People's War was created in order to cover up the shameful surrender to imperialism. When Stalin bound himself with the golden chain of friendship with Hitler, these Stalinist chorus boys discovered democratic virtues in Hitlerism. Today, when Stalin and Churchill are united by an equally golden chain of friendship, the Stalinist chorus boys have no other alternative but to serve British imperialism. They have reduced the great principle of revolutionary internationalism to the principle of wage slavery of Stalin's clique. The change of policy of the Stalinist National Frontists will depend entirely as in the past, on the order of Stalin and on nothing else.

The Congress Socialists, as behoves a wing and integral part of the bourgeois Congress, limp behind the bourgeois Congress faithfully and follow all its vagaries and political stunts without a protest. In this epoch, petty-bourgeois socialism can have no other end. The Revolutionary Communist Party of India, in spite of its correct ideological stand, is incapable to lead a movement at this period because of its present organisational weakness.

The fate of leftism in India is, thus, sealed, so far as the question of organising and leading the national revolution in the period of the second imperialist war is concerned. The living water of the national revolution has for the moment slipped through its fingers.

When the second imperialist war begun in 1939, the bourgeois Congress adopted a policy of futile neutrality. Neither help nor obstruction, this most absurd policy was adopted. The leaders of the Congress started discovering democratic virtues in British imperialism, and the country was swamped with this purposeful hypocrisy. The Congress trumpeted the policy of non-embarrassment to the British imperialism. All these policies were adopted on the ground of a mythical non-violence. Only as a gesture of moral protest, the Congress ministers were made to resign

in seven provinces : an absolutely wrong move from the point of view of the struggle for national independence. Behind this hypocritical 'moral protest' was hidden the political unwillingness of the Indian bourgeoisie to launch a mass struggle against British imperialism. The Indian bourgeoisie and its party, the National Congress were as yet not prepared to take the risk of the mass struggle against British imperialism. They feared their own class-destruction in the hands of the same mass forces which they would mobilise and let loose against British imperialism for gaining a few concessions from the British bourgeoisie.

Time and again, the Congress leaders declared their solidarity with British imperialism—of course on the spacious pretext of supporting democracy. But in reality, this declaration of solidarity sprang from the source of identical class-interest of British bourgeoisie and the Indian bourgeoisie against the Indian masses. Here we got one more instance of non-revolutionary character of the colonial bourgeoisie in the epoch of proletarian revolution.

The national revolution is unrealisable without a revolutionary insurrection of the masses and the mass insurrection is exactly the thing which the bourgeois Congress dreads most and wants to thwart with all its power. Mahatma Gandhi again and again declared that in no case would he launch a mass movement, as that would embarrass British imperialism—a thing which he did not want to do. What he really meant to say by this but left unsaid was that such a mass insurrection was bound to threaten the very existence of the Indian bourgeois class. Therefore, on no account such a struggle could be undertaken.

That is why the Congress ministers were made to play the melodrama of gentlemanly resignations only as a moral protest. Their resignations are not meant to give the signal of a mass movement for India's independence, but were just a moral protest whose patent hypocrisy and political intensions deceived none. The Indian bourgeoisie was not yet prepared for a mass movement.

Then followed the episode of individual civil disobedience. Again, a pantomime of "moral gesture" which was intended for hiding the fear of the Indian bourgeoisie of a mass movement.

It was not so much the fear of the leftist movement in India that forced the Indian bourgeoisie to decide against a mass movement, as it was the uncertainty of international situation which did not seem propitious to the Indian bourgeoisie for the mass movement.

In 1939, British imperialism had not as yet received any hard knock from Nazi Germany, and its power was not weakened by the continuous reverses that since then have weakened British imperialism considerably.

Then there was another factor which was causing great uneasiness to the Indian bourgeoisie. In 1939, the balance of power in Europe went in favour of the Soviet government. Hitler had bought the neutrality of Soviet Russia by allowing Stalin to grab half of Poland, Bessarabia and the Baltic countries. What Stalin would not achieve by revolutionary method, namely the Sovietisation of Poland, Baltic and other countries, he intended to carry that out by the imperialist method of aggression with the consent and connivance of Hitler. However reprehensible that may be from the point of view of revolutionary Marxism and international revolution, and however fatal that pact with Hitler and the aggressions have turned out to be afterwards, at that moment, it appeared that Soviet Russia was acquiring territories and getting more powerful without the least military effort on her part. Soviet Russia appeared to be scoring victory after victory by only taking advantage of the rivalry between the contending imperialist powers.

The Indian bourgeoisie realised with alarm that the result of the war was going in favour of its most dreaded enemy, the Soviet government. Whereas to the European and American bourgeoisie, Stalin had long ago unmasked himself, to the Indian bourgeoisie he still appeared as the incarnation of world revolution. The apparent successes of Stalin's unprincipled diplomacy frightened them. They were assessing in the victory of Stalin's diplomacy the growing power of the Soviet government and their own approaching doom.

Thus the political development in the international arena and the shifting of political forces in favour of Stalinism appeared to the Indian bourgeoisie as the strengthening of the world revolutionary front. It is this that forced the Indian bourgeoisie to decide against a mass movement for putting pressure on British imperialism in order to squeeze out a few concessions from its unwilling hands.

The international political situation in 1939 militated against the possibility of the Indian bourgeoisie launching a mass movement against British imperialism. What appeared to be Stalin's diplomatic victories had unnerved the Indian bourgeoisie. It saw the unwritten word of its class-destruction on the wall of

international political development. That is why we witness the political stunt of the resignation of ministries and the melodrama of individual Satyagraha enacted by the Indian National Congress under the guidance and patronage of its class-owner, the Indian bourgeoisie. In 1939, the world political situation did not allow the Indian bourgeoisie to go further than this.

By 1942, the international political background had undergone a colossal change. Fascism had scored victory after victory against the so-called democratic powers. It had, moreover, given infinitely worse and deadly blows to the Soviet power. Whether the naked Fascism of Hitlerian type or the veiled Fascism of Churchillian type would ultimately win, that is a question we can very well leave to political speculators, but this is certain that world imperialism as a whole will emerge out of this war immeasurably stronger than the world revolutionary forces. Soviet Russia for years to come will be dependent on the help of Anglo-American imperialist powers. Soviet Russia under Stalin has long ago ceased to be the ideological centre of world revolution, now it ceases to be one also from the point of view of financial and technical assistance to the international revolutionary movement.

The present day dependence of Soviet Russia on Anglo-American imperialism has forced the Soviet government to lend its support to the notorious Atlantic Charter and to enter into a pact with British imperialism in which the Soviet government promises not to interfere in any way with the status quo of the British imperialist domination for another twenty years.

In 1942, the forces of world revolution have reached its most extreme low water mark. For the time being counter-revolution has emerged triumphant. The Indian bourgeoisie is not primarily concerned as to which combination of warring imperialist powers would come out victorious in this world-war, because whichever side wins, it will not materially alter its class-position. The victory of neither side can or will destroy the economic privileges of the bourgeoisie, which the victory of Soviet Russia would certainly have meant. Therefore, the defeat of Soviet Russia and its tragic weakening is a most welcome thing to the world bourgeoisie.

The Indian bourgeoisie, in spite of its material and intellectual shortcomings in comparison to those of the bourgeoisie of Europe and America, has not been slow in realising the implication of the defeat of Soviet Russia. Today the Indian bourgeoisie is

confident that a mass uprising in India can receive no help of any importance from Soviet Russia. Any mass movement which the Indian bourgeoisie would organise in order to put pressure on British imperialism will not be able to break through the bourgeois limitations of the movement and assume a revolutionary form, because those two factors which are necessary for such a break-through are missing : first, the revolutionary leadership of the masses is non-existent in India, and secondly, the help given to a revolution by an international revolutionary centre is out of question at present. The utter characterlessness of the leftist movement and its weakness as well as the mortal weakening of the Soviet power by the Nazis have negated the possibilities of a successful revolutionary movement in India.

Keenly alive to its own class-interests, the Indian bourgeoisie has taken stock of the political situation and has admirably understood the difference in the co-relation of political forces in the international field. It realises that this is its last chance as a class to put pressure on British imperialism by a mass movement and siezes it. It fights British imperialism in order to safeguard its own class-interests from the inevitable anarchy and chaos of the war period and of the post-war period. It wants to entrench itself strongly before the final crash comes. The Indian bourgeoisie realises that the present time is the most propitious one for putting pressure upon British imperialism by a mass movement. It moreover realises that the mass movement because of the national and the international causes will not be able to assume a revolutionary character. At the present moment the national and the international situation lends it the helping hand in keeping the mass movement firmly in control. That is why the 1939 policy of non-embarrasment has been thrown overboard by the Indian bourgeoisie together with its medieval moral pose. In 1942, a sudden revelation (!) of the true character of British imperialism seemed to have dawned on the bourgeois Congress and a sudden urge for a mass movement is felt. This political volte face is perfectly consistent with the fundamental class-interests of the Indian bourgeoisie and is moreover quite in line with the change in the international political situation.

The "Quit India" slogan reflects all these political zig-zags and cross-currents and epitomizes the political conclusion reached by the Indian bourgeoisie. It is an admirable slogan for inflaming the masses and for mobilising them against British imperialist domination. But the bourgeoisie wants only a pres-

sure movement, not a revolutionary movement. It declares that the movement would be short and swift. In other words, the Indian bourgeoisie is fighting shy of the prospect of leaving the masses too long in a state of mobilisation. Such a state of mobilisation spread over a long period may lead on to a revolutionary transformation of the movement. Such a risk the Indian bourgeoisie is naturally not prepared to take. Therefore, the movement is contemplated as a short and swift one.

And the programme of action ? The masses are asked to plunder, to set fire to government property and to dislocate the entire transport system of the country by destroying the railway lines. The entire plan of action does not go a step further than this. What does it signify ? It signifies the intention of the bourgeoisie not to allow the movement to assume a revolutionary character. The entire movement must be kept confined within the frame work of disconnected episodes of loot and arson. It must not be allowed to get linked up through a centralised leadership. Its spontaneous, atomised and non-centralised character, must be maintained. This is the political implication of the programme of action that the Congress has placed before the country. By arson and loot, the state power cannot be seized, nor can the state power be seized by the spontaneous, non-centralized episodes of violence. The seizure of power can never be made by a movement of spontaneous and decentralised nature, it can only be attained through a movement led consciously by a political party with a centralised leadership. In other words the seizure of power can only be the outcome of a revolutionary process ; and a revolution is not by any means a huge pile of unrelated and unconnected episodes of violence. Revolution is a planned act undertaken by a political party for the seizure of power. That the authors of present movement do not want a revolutionary movement but just outbursts of localised mob violence, is quite evident from the plan of action they have put forward. They themselves are determined to see that the present episodic character of mass violence is maintained. The intention of the leadership is also apparent from the way the entire Congress leadership has meekly allowed itself to be transported to jail. To expect a political movement to succeed without the guidance of leadership is something like expecting the army to fight without a general staff. Thus, we are driven to the conclusion that seizure of power has not been contemplated at all. Transference of power by the pressure of world-development and of internal

anarchy is the high watermark that political movement led by the Indian bourgeoisie can reach today. The Quit India movement is repeating its usual rounds of plunder and arson and is not moving a single step forward. The political bankruptcy of the Indian bourgeoisie has been completely revealed by this movement.

Likewise, the hypocrisy of the slogan of non-violence has also been completely unmasked by this movement. So long as the forces of world revolution had not received the mortal blow from Fascism, as at present, non-violence was the declared policy of the Indian bourgeoisie. Pacifism is the sly and sinister tactic that the bourgeoisie employs in order to keep the masses away from the path of revolution. Non-violence is that pseudo-ethical stalling horse which has been designed by the bourgeoisie to hide its class-interest. But when the international forces of revolution got a set-back, the Indian bourgeoisie immediately threw off its cloak of non-violence and initiated a movement of loot and arson. The non-violence of Gandhism has been buried seven fathom deep by Mahatma Gandhi himself. One thing is clear that the Indian bourgeoisie would never again be able to trick the masses with its holy magic of non-violence. Henceforward both the counter-revolution of the Indian bourgeoisie and the revolution of the masses of India will try to achieve their respective objects by the use of force. The stupor caused by the spiritual narcotic of non-violence on the masses of India is eliminated for ever. The masses are learning and will learn better with each passing day the lesson of this sporadic use of force to which the bourgeoisie has inspired them, and will not fail to learn from their own experience how to use force in a revolutionary manner.

The seizure of power by a movement of spontaneous and sporadic violence is an impossibility. The bourgeois Congress never made the preparation for the seizure of power, nor intended it.

But international situation may all the same force British imperialism to accede to the demand of the so-called national government of the Indian bourgeoisie. Such a development will only temporarily complicate the task of the Indian revolution but will ultimately simplify it. The masses will learn quicker and better true nature of the Indian bourgeoisie and shall not be slow in battering down the so-called national government of the Indian bourgeoisie by the hammer of revolution.

The conclusions that we draw from the Quit India movement are the following :

First, the utter bankruptcy of the Congress, the party of the Indian bourgeoisie and its total inability to lead the national movement.

Secondly, the complete overthrow of non-violence as a technique of struggle.

Thirdly, the complete exposure of the National Frontists, the legal Communists, the germ-carriers of anti-revolutionary Stalinism.

Fourthly, the rapid revolutionisation of the masses.

Fifthly, the ripening of the ideological premises for the growth of real leftism as a result of the political development, both national and international.

The national revolution in India has definitely jumped over the hurdles of Gandhism and has scornfully rejected the petty bourgeois Congress Socialism which is at the service of the Indian bourgeoisie.

It has thoroughly exposed the legal communist traitors of the Stalinist and the Royist brand. Only the political line of the Revolutionary Communist Party stands fully vindicated by the development and march of the national revolutionary movement.

RED FRONT, OCTOBER 1942.

ONWARD FROM '42

Independence of India—for that matter, independence of every country in the world depends upon a social order which is very much different from what it is now. The conception of a new social order as understood by the Allies and the Axis powers does not include the idea of independence for all countries. Their conception of independence fundamentally stands upon the negation of such rights for the weaker nations and the colonial peoples.

A Fascist or an imperialist cannot concede freedom to dependant peoples without actually destroying himself. A new world order based on the fundamental rights of all peoples to be master of themselves is not a geographical question alone—not even a simple political question of pacts and agreements. But it is a question of socio-economic foundation of the society at large. The words independence of a country, in this epoch of decaying capitalism and imperialism has assumed different meaning, both quantitatively and qualitatively, from what it meant in the hay days of the bourgeoisie. It has become extremely difficult for the bourgeoisie to maintain their own status of independence owing to the inherent and ever-increasing conflict of interest in order to maintain their place under the sun. In fact in order to achieve this they have hurled the whole world into this war of ferocity and mad destruction, threatening the very existence of mankind. This kind of independence will be too costly to aspire and one is not sure how long one can maintain it because of the ever-increasing capacity of forces of destruction in war. The power enjoying this kind of independence will be increasingly arming themselves with still more terrible weapons of war. After the Second World War, these powers, in order to settle the question of rights of independence, will hurl the world into another conflict—the Third World War. This game will continue so long the socio-economic system of world capitalism is allowed to exist. In this game of independence, no nation is

sure of its existence, not to speak of its independent status and, as such, will always be nervously standing on the verge of a volcanic instability.

Thus, it is obvious that the independence of India as well as of all peoples of the world depends upon a new social order, in which there is no scope for aggression and world conflict. But we all know that capitalism breeds conflicts and competition, and therefore aggression, war, imperialism and Fascism. Thus we see that the new order which every man and woman of the world is crying for is really a very different one. It is the world socialist order and nothing else. It is that order which can guarantee the rights of the peoples for independence and which can bring the mad war to an end. Such a social order will be the culminating point of the world revolution which will give a concrete expression to the world federation of socialist states.

This is the inner meaning of our struggle for freedom that we have launched on August 9, 1942. Our struggle for freedom has its socialist content as it has now become a part of the world revolution by unwinding of historical forces. Whether we like it or not the struggle for freedom in our country can no longer halt by driving out the British imperialists. This can only be achieved successfully if the toiling people of India takes its place in wide struggle of masses for world revolution. Thus our struggle for freedom that we have launched cannot end with the temporary set-back that the '42 movement has received. It is a struggle both national and international in its scope and end; in their attempt to suppress the people, the Fascists and the imperialists stand in the same relation with the masses. If the Soviet Russia is fighting the Fascists, we in India are fighting the other part of the same enemy. So in our fight against British imperialism we need not feel shy of any so-called internationalism. For us Indians there can be no better act of internationalism than to struggle for India's freedom from the yoke of British imperialism. In fact India's independence is a first step which can bring about that disintegration of imperialism which will upset that system in such a manner as to establish the preliminary condition of world revolution. Let it be noted that every belligerent power, whether it is the U.S., Britain, Germany or Japan, is banking upon the wealth of Indian resources and power for recouping their losses in the war after its conclusion. On the other hand, we mean to foil their conspiracy by achieving independence of India.

The enormity of the Indian problems does not have an easy solution. There is no easy solution for the imperialists who can only depend upon their guns. Nor is there an easy solution of the Indian bourgeoisie who can only tremble in fear and act in nervous desperation when the toiling masses of India are on the move. It is because of this reason only when Indian bourgeoisie realised a possibility of an Axis victory and it was no longer possible for them to remain a dumb partner of their English boss, these opportunists took a chance and encouraged the people to move forward till they did not take a decisive action as they wanted to keep the door open for a compromise with the British if the prospect of war takes a favourable turn for the Allies. They will not grudge if the masses chose violent means as long as they are not strong enough to organise themselves and throw up their own leaders in order to guide the movement in their own way. The Indian bourgeoisie knew fully well that the leaders of their party, the Congress, can make the masses halt where and when they wished. Thus only when the Indian bourgeoisie were confident of the situation, they prompted the masses to move forward. A momentous outburst of peoples' energy shook the length and the breadth of the country. The gigantic elemental fury and indignation of the masses demonstrated the strength of the people in action. But they were not properly led by anybody. They were taught nothing. They were not organised ; they had no organisation of their own. The Congress leaders took no responsibility of leading them or guiding them. They kept them in the dark and no hint was given beforehand what the Congress intended to do. Naturally there was no programme of action. The only thing that Gandhi chose to tell them was that every man was his leader, thereby debarring the necessity of organisation and centralised leadership.

But why ? Why the people were not asked to move organisationally ? Why the congress ceased to guide them in action ? This is a fundamental question. We will shortly discuss the answer. But before that we like to show the consistent attempt by the Congress leaders to discourage the masses to stand on their own feet. They took every step to prevent the masses from acquiring political consciousness. Congressmen were made to enter the class organisations of the workers and peasants with a definite motive to undermine such organisations as trade unions and Kisan Sabhas from within. The workers and the peasants were allowed to seek the redress of their petty grievances through

the trade unions and the Kisan Sabhas while for politics they were made to rely on Congress and Congress alone, thus ensuring the obedience of the masses to the bourgeois leadership. Furthermore such 'Leftists' as the Congress Socialists, P.C. Joshiites, Royists, and the so called independent Kisan and labour leaders like Swami Sahajanand, Indulal Yagnik and others caused total confusion among the masses and prevented them from independent action.

What the Indian bourgeoisie feared most was not the use of violence by the masses, but the creation of a revolutionary leadership of their own. At the beginning of the movement the Congress leaders were thus determined to prevent the creation of an organised leadership which could rival their authority. These they were sure of at the time of launching the '42 movement. The so called Joshiite Communists, the Royists, the Sahajanands and the Yagniks exposed themselves by recruiting themselves as the propagandists of the Home Member, Mr. Maxwell. Hence they exposed themselves as renegades. The masses also rejected them. Gandhi did not have to take the least of trouble to remove these elements from among the masses. The Congress Socialists gave up their attempt to form Kissan Sabhas as soon as they found a place in the Congress Working Committee. The "professional" trade union leaders like N. M. Joshi, Mrinal Kanti Bose and others did not dream of troubling the peace of the Indian bourgeoisie, who by the time had become the main suppliers of raw materials for war equipment of the British, by encouraging the workers to struggle. After Subhas Bose left this country the Forward Blocists did not make any attempt to create organisation of the masses. They were to 'correct' the path of 'compromisim' as they called it. And as soon as the Congress launched the struggle and apparently left the path of compromise, the Forward Blocists, in the absence of Subhas Chandra, did not know what should be their next programme and died a natural death. Thus Gandhi saw that he was the monarch of all he surveyed; there was none to dispute his authority. The masses were without any mass organisation and independent leadership; so he felt it safe to launch the movement but at the same time asked the people to use their own individual judgement. Why? Because Gandhi was afraid of the rank and file of leftism in the Congress. In his absence while he was in detention, and in the absence of the other leaders who were arrested on the very first day of the movement, the masses if properly organised may

utilise that organisation and put up a very serious challenge to the British. The intention of Gandhi was obvious. It was to utilise the masses, to create enormous but elemental wave of violence so as to cow down the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow swiftly in order to achieve a suitable compromise, at the same time to keep the masses practically helpless because of lack of organisation and effective leadership. Moreover Gandhi knew that he would have to disown the violence of the masses; so he had to keep himself away from them. Hence it is clear why Gandhi wanted every man to be his own leader, which, in fact, would ensure that there would be no leadership at all. Let us not forget that Gandhi is not afraid of anarchy as he openly said before the movement was launched. He is afraid of revolution, but anarchy is not revolution. Anarchy excludes organisation and leadership and encourages chaos. But revolution is impossible without organisation, effective leadership and conscious programmatic direction. No doubt violence is involved in both. In a revolution it is a conscious use of violence, in the case of anarchy it is unconscious and unplanned. Gandhi thus made every effort to prevent the development of consciousness of the masses so that his movement does not become a revolutionary upsurge.

But still the masses worked wonders. The courage and self sacrifice shown by the people of India during the months after August 1942 were equal to the courage and self-sacrifice of the masses of France during the French Revolution or of the masses of Russia during the October Revolution. Indeed the response they gave was enough to carry them much forward had we been prepared; for what they lacked was organisation and equipment. And for want of these the movement was slowly losing momentum. The Congress leaders were not interested any more to carry on with the movement. They were seeking for a compromise. But as the war had sharply turned in favour of the Allies, British imperialism was no longer in a hurry to come to terms with the Congress.

This is a very serious time for us, the Revolutionary Communists. We have correctly analysed the nature of the movement and found out its drawbacks. So it is for us now to take every concrete step to rectify the defects of the movement and to work with sustained energy to rouse the masses to effective action. Let us not retreat. Let there be no compromise. Onward from '42.

In order to give fresh impetus to the mass movement a revolutionary has two sets of tasks to fulfil—the organisational task

and the ideological task. So far as the organisational task is concerned it has four distinct facets : Panchayets, Ganavahini, Revolutionary Committees and the Revolutionary Party.

Panchayet—it is synonymous with the Soviets of the Russian Revolution. It cannot be at once socialist. But it is the organ of power of the masses in revolutionary action. The class nature of the Panchayets directly varies with the consciousness of the masses and the tempo of the various phases of the revolution. So long as the revolutionary movement limits itself within the orbit of national independence it will not be socialist in character, but as the movement deepens it will take up socialist programme basing itself on the peasants, the workers, and the soldiers. The Panchayets will be the people's legislative, executive and judicial authority based on mass democracy free from the control and interests of all types. Hence, we must popularise the ideas of the Panchayet—the Mazdoor Panchayet, the Kissan Panchayet, Fouzi Panchayet and the Navik Panchayet—the instrument of the seizure of power of the masses. The federation of these Panchayets will establish the Panchayet Raj. So along with popularising the idea of the Panchayet, we must make the central slogan of the movement as—“All Power to the Panchayets”.

Ganavahini—the Ganavahini or the people's militia will be the instrument for fighting of the people in the revolution under the banner of the Panchayets. Without an organised instrument like the Ganavahini to protect the Panchayets and to establish their authority we cannot achieve much with simple anarchic disturbances. Like the Panchayet the Ganavahini shall also manifest the class-content according to the development of the class-issues of the revolution. Being a more militant body based on democratic principles, each must be more homogenous in its class-content and mass-leadership. With the gradual success of the revolution and with the gradual disintegration of the imperialist army many soldiers from the imperialist forces will join the Ganavahini. It is obvious that the imperialist army as a whole cannot and will not come over to the side of the revolution. The ordinary soldiers or even the officers may join the Ganavahini by destroying or deserting the imperialist army structure.

Revolutionary Committees—Revolutionary Committees are the direct medium between the masses and the revolutionary Party. Let every factory, every village, every town, every barrack, every naval ship have their secret Revolutionary Committees which

will train the masses day after day and guide them to form Panchayets and Ganavahini. These committees shall try to embrace all the advanced elements in the masses.

The Party—The Revolutionary Communist Party—it the party of the toiling masses struggling to become politically conscious and consistent exponents of revolutionary communism on the basis of the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin in opposition to the treacherous group of P. C. Joshi which is casting aspersion on the very ideal of communism. The R.C.P. has from its very inception in 1934 tried its best to organise the toilers in their class organisations independent of the Congress and of any bourgeois influences. Time has shown how correct this policy was and the future will surely demonstrate its correctness in connection with the national struggle of Indian freedom. In the course of its history it had to change its name twice—in 1934 it was launched under the title of the Communist League. Then it was changed to Communist Party of India. And now we have decided to call ourselves the Revolutionary Communist Party of India. We know that every student of politics knows that communism is nothing if not a revolutionary programme. But in the hands of the so called Maxwell-communists it has become so profane and distorted that we have been forced to add the adjective 'Revolutionary' before communism to differentiate ourselves from this status. We know that there are many other groups working independently more or less on the same lines as us; we invite them to join the Party because it is impossible to bring about a revolution without a centralised party of genuine Communists.

Among the ideological tasks, we must explain to the masses the reasons for the set-back of the movement and teach them to prevent the leaders from staging a damaging retreat. With the fast of Gandhi there is already a talk of retreat and compromise. Whatever may be the outcome of these events, we must be careful to prevent the retreat and must continue the struggle to the finish, to the final victory of the revolution. But how can we do this ? It can only be done if we begin to build the organisational structure mentioned above. Unless the masses have their own organs of power, independent of the Congress, only then we can continue the fight when the Congress cries halt.

Gandhi had already discovered the "violent" activities of the masses in his letters to the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow and the Congress too will no doubt denounce the anarchy of the masses

at the command of the leader. Then who will stand with the masses with all their sins and sorrows ? They have already undergone a severe repression from the government—collective fines, wanton shootings, lootings of the innocents, mass raping of women, even aerial bombardments. These are the painful and horrible price they have paid for their convictions. Is there none to stand for them, to defend them ? Our Party—the Party of the Revolutionary Communists unhesitatingly stands on the side of the masses. We will live or die with the masses as we fight for them or with them. We are not unhappy because the masses chose the violent path. We are unhappy that they could not use it effectively because they were not taught how to do so. Our Party must immediately undertake the task of teaching the masses the science and art of revolution.

Revolution has its science and art of application. Subjective preparations of the revolution lie in the effective movement of consciousness of the masses and in this lies the great task of the party with its propaganda machines, organisation and material equipment.

Our party must immediately redouble its activity in spreading real political education for the masses. The confusion created by the betrayers, the spirit of defeatism spread by the bourgeoisie and the terror created by the Goonda-Raj of the British, shall lead the masses to reaction unless we, the revolutionaries, rightly educate the masses in right earnest. We must take the masses in our confidence and we need not be afraid to place before them our acts of commissions and omissions and we must not delude the masses with false hopes and empty boastings. Empty assurances that some Indian leaders are coming from abroad with millions of armed soldiers for their deliverance or that we are going to finish imperialism within a month or two—and other similar boastings only help the reaction. We must tell them that revolution is no easy job; yet there is no way out but revolution. There is no escape in retreat and no shelter in fear.

And then the contents of independence for the masses must be explained to them. The contents of independence as the masses understood and for which the masses will stand by, must include the question of bread, land and collective ownership of the key industries of the country and power to the masses. The vague promises of glowing future will not suffice; they must understand the promised land in terms of concrete things in the simplest possible language they understand.

We must explain the sinister implication of the Congress offer to the British imperialism that if they agree to the Congress demands, the Congress will join the war against the Axis. We must stand unequivocally against this resolution. We, the Indian masses, shall not buy our freedom at the cost of continuing the imperialist war. We shall neither fight the Japanese for the British nor shall we fight the British for the Japanese. Peace that is a call to wage war against war is a fundamental slogan of independence and revolution. To achieve our end we shall defeat all aggressors of the world. The revolutionary implication to the slogan of peace is very much different from the idea of the pacifists. Not the world peace drawn up by imperialists at conferences which is nothing but a truce, but the peace of all peoples which can be possible only in a world revolution—that is the kind of peace about which we mean to educate masses.

It is not to be expected that the masses will be readily accepting our policy as their own but we must ceaselessly continue our work. Considering all the betrayals by the so-called peasant and labour “leaders” and considering the lack of organisation of the masses, it is probable that we shall have to undertake hard extensive field-work before we can expect the entire masses gathering under the Red Flag. Moreover, masses learn more by experiences than by lessons of theory and they do not reject any leadership until they realise from their own experience the shallowness of that leadership. But we must be ceaselessly helping the masses to understand their experiences. By this time the masses have considerable experiences to understand who is who and what is what. We must help this process of understanding and this process of consciousness. And it is only in this way we can help them to remove confusions in their feeling of frustration and prepare them for further revolutionary actions.

RED FRONT, MARCH, 1943.

PERMANENT REVOLUTION

In the first Address of the Central Committee of the Communist League to its members in Germany in March, 1850, Marx wrote : "While the democratic petty-bourgeoisie wishes to bring the revolution to as swift a conclusion as possible through the carrying out at the most the above-mentioned demands, it is in our interest and it is our task to make the revolution permanent until all propertied classes are more or less dispossessed, the governmental power acquired by the proletariat and the association of proletarians, achieved not only in one country but in all important countries of the world, thus ending the competition of the proletariat in these countries and at least until the most important productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletariat...But they (German workers—S.T.) will accomplish the greatest part of their final victory for themselves through self-enlightenment as to their class-interests, by taking their own independent party attitude as early as possible, and by not permitting themselves to be fooled as to the necessity for the independent organisation of the party of the proletariat by the hypocritical phrases of the democratic petty-bourgeoisie. Their battle-cry must always be, the permanent revolution."

These are the memorable words with which Marx clearly enunciated the permanent character of the world proletarian revolution till the final victory of socialism could be achieved.

The salient points of Marx's arguments in favour of the permanent revolution are :

First, the democratic petty-bourgeoisie will soon cry a halt to the revolution as soon as its interests are fulfilled.

Secondly, it is to the interest of the working class not to bring the revolution to a swift end, but to make it permanent till

(a) all the propertied classes are more or less dispossessed.

(b) the governmental power acquired by the proletariat and the association of proletarians, is achieved not only in one country but in all important countries of the world.

(c) by acquiring governmental power in all important countries the competition between the proletariat in these countries is ended and at least the most important productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletariat.

Thirdly, till these ends are achieved the battle-cry of the proletariat of every land must be that of the permanent revolution.

Thus, it is clear that according to Marx, for the victory of socialism, the proletarian revolution cannot limit its task to the expropriation of the propertied classes of one particular country only and to the seizure of the governmental power in one country only; for the victory of socialism the proletariat must disposses the propertied classes in more than one country just as it must seize the state power "in all important countries of the world" (Marx.)

This step is necessary because only thereby will the powerful forces of capitalist competition from these important capitalist lands be eliminated. By "all the important countries of the world", Marx undoubtedly meant the most highly developed capitalist countries.

Unless these powerful competitions are eliminated and the "most important productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletariat" (Marx) not only in one country but in all the most advanced capitalist countries, socialism is impossible.

Therefore the battle-cry of the proletariat must be the "Permanent Revolution".

The successful proletarian revolution in one country is the ideological and material yeast for the proletarian revolutions in other lands. It is the starting point of the permanent revolution: the world revolution. The proletarian revolution will defeat its own purpose—the establishment of a socialist society—if the powerful forces of capitalist competition are not eliminated. And the elimination of these forces can be achieved only by a series of proletarian revolutions in the principal capitalist countries. Surrounded by the raging ocean of capitalist states, a small island of a proletarian state—the proletarian dictatorship—may manage to survive but it can never reach a state when the victory of socialism will make the proletarian dictatorship itself a superfluity.

These are the fundamental economic and political reasons which led Marx to propound the theory of the permanent revolution as early as 1850.

Without the permanent revolution, there is no socialism. By emphasising again and again the necessity of world-revolution

for the victory of socialism in Russia, Lenin had only reiterated his intellectual conviction and faith in the theory of the permanent revolution.

Both Marx and Lenin had emphasised the absolute necessity of world revolution, of a continuous wave of revolutions in the principal capitalist countries of the world on the crest of which socialism will triumphantly emerge.

Obviously, continuous revolution has reference to the recognition of the absolute necessity of world-revolution for the establishment of socialism even in one country, to the continuous shaping and sharpening of the ideological, strategical and tactical weapons of a victorious proletarian revolution and proletarian state for nurturing and helping revolutions in other lands. Its continuity has reference to an epoch, not to days and months or years.

Lenin had rightly remarked in the 'State and Revolution' that between the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the victory of socialism, there is an epoch.

That epoch is the epoch of the permanent revolution ; the epoch of a series of proletarian revolutions ; in one word, it is the period of world revolution in continuous flow.

But in the meantime the dark age of the Stalin regime emerged. The world revolution or the permanent revolution was declared to be an ideology, deserving permanent inquisitional punishment. This was also the period when the loud rigmarole about the victory of socialism in one country came into vogue.

In justification of this theory, shameless distortions and falsifications of viewpoints of Marx and Lenin were brought about.

Attempts were made to prove that, according to Marx there was a difference between socialism and communism, and that by the victory of socialism was meant the fulfilment of those conditions on which the lower stage of communism depended. It was no doubt a clever dodge, but remained a travesty of Marxism.

In the "Critique of the Gotha Programme", Marx wrote about "a communist society, not as it has developed on its own foundations, but on the contrary, as it emerges from capitalist society, which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges." Further Marx wrote that "in a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of individuals under division of labour, and these with anti-thesis between mental and physical labour have vanished etc.

only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois rights be fully left behind.”

Thus, Marx only wrote about a communist society just emerging from the womb of capitalist society and of a “higher phase of communist society”.

Not even once did Marx describe socialism as the lower phase of communism. Even in the preface to the Communist Manifesto, in which Engels dealt with the reasons for not calling their brochure the “Socialist Manifesto”, he never suggested that socialism was something fundamentally different from communism or was its lower phase.

It was Lenin who in the “State and Revolution” described the communist society just emerging from the womb of capitalist society as the socialist stage of society, and the higher stage of society which grew out of this first stage as the communist society. This was surely an unwarranted narrowing down of the implication of the word “socialism” by Lenin, done undoubtedly with the purpose of simplifying the problem for the uninitiated in Marxism. But then how could Lenin even dream that his usage of the word ‘socialism’ for the first phase of communist society should be later on so shamelessly distorted by Stalin and taken advantage of, for decrying the permanent revolution of Marxism and for advancing the absurd theory of “Socialism in One Country”! And, moreover, is it really the view of Lenin ?

While Lenin has used the word socialism for the first phase of the communist society, he has not failed to point out that it is only the notion of the man in the street. Lenin writes of “the first phase of communist society (generally called socialism).” Here Lenin by the use of the words “generally called socialism” has made it clear that such an usage of the word “socialism” is not scientific, but is only a common usage amongst the uninitiated general public.

For, in his “State and Revolution” we find Lenin writing as follows, “The transition from capitalism to communism will certainly bring a great variety and abundance of political forms, but the substance will inevitably be the dictatorship of the proletariat”.

Further — “Hence we see that interesting phenomenon of the first phase of communism retaining ‘the narrow horizon of bourgeois law’...Consequently, for a certain time not only bourgeois law, but even the capitalist state may remain under communism without the capitalist class” (Lenin—State and Revolution).

From both these quotations, it is more than clear that Lenin never called the first phase of communism, socialism. For, in both these passages he is dealing precisely with the first phase of communism and on both the occasions he has used the word, communism and not once the term, socialism.

“Capitalist state may remain under communism” and the “first phase of communism retaining the narrow horizon of bourgeois law” and the dictatorship of the proletariat during “the transition from capitalism to communism”—all these passages refer to the first phase of communism called socialism by that uninitiated ignoramus—Stalin.

Now let us see what Marx and Engels have to say on this subject. Says Marx—“Between capitalist and communist societies there lies a period of revolutionary transformation from the former to the latter. A stage of political transition corresponds to this period, and the state during this period can be no other than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat”.

It is obvious that Marx here talks about the first phase of communist society which Stalin calls socialism. Marx also writes about the “future state in communist society”. It is more than obvious that this also refers to the first phase of communist society, (socialism of Stalin) as state surely will not exist in the “highest phase of communist society.” (Marx)

In his letter to Bebel, Engels writes—“The anarchists have too long been able to throw into our teeth this people’s state, although already in Marx’s work against Poudhon, and then in the ‘Communist Manifesto’, it was stated quite plainly that with the introduction of the socialist order of society the state will dissolve itself and will disappear”.

It is obvious that by “the socialist order of society” Engels means “the highest phase of communist society” of Marx. For the state can only disappear and dissolve itself in the highest stage of communist society.

Thus, we are driven to the conclusion that Lenin, Marx and Engels never used the word socialism for the first phase of communist society and to Marx and Engels there was no difference between socialism and the “highest phase of communist society”.

The difference between socialism and communism has been wilfully manufactured by Stalin to substantiate his monstrous theory of “socialism in one country”.

Writes Stalin —“There are two peculiar features of the October Revolution. What are these peculiar features ?

First, the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat was born etc., etc. Second, the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat became established in our country as a result of the victory of socialism in one country—a country with capitalism still little developed—while capitalism was preserved in other countries more highly developed in the capitalist sense”.

This is the very first time that one hears of such an amazing thing as the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat “as a result of the victory of socialism in one country”. (Stalin)

It is common knowledge that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the result of a victorious proletarian revolution in one country.

Of course, the victorious proletarian revolution can in loose sense be described as the victory of socialism but not in the Stalinist sense of “the victory of socialism in one country”. Victory of socialism can only follow after the victory of a proletarian revolution has established the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, and after the dictatorship of the proletariat has initiated and carried out under its guidance a series of victorious revolutions in the principal capitalist lands. Till these lands have come under the banner of victorious proletarian revolution and competitions between the lands of victorious revolutions and the principal capitalist countries have been, thus, eliminated, socialism is impossible of realisation. Lenin says —“The dictatorship of the proletariat is a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the toilers and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the toilers etc. . . . an alliance aiming at the final establishment and consolidation of socialism”.

The victory of proletarian revolution is possible in “a country with capitalism little developed” (Stalin) because of the law of the uneven development of capitalism but that is not the victory of socialism in one country in the sense Stalin means it.

From the correct theoretical stand that “uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism” (Lenin), Stalin has drawn the completely wrong conclusion that “in view of this the victory of socialism in one country, even in this country which is less developed in the capitalist sense—while capitalism is preserved in other countries, even, if these countries are more highly developed in the capitalist sense—is quite possible and probable.” (Stalin)

He concludes this faulty reasoning with the remarks that “such, in a nutshell are the foundations of Lenin’s theory of the proletarian revolution.” Quite right. What Stalin had inadvertently

let slip is true. The uneven economic and political development of capitalism is sure to lead to the proletarian revolution at the weakest link of the imperialist chain, and that surely is in a nutshell Lenin's theory of a proletarian revolution. But Stalin's sly substitution of "the victory of socialism in one country" for 'the victory of a proletarian revolution in one country' is an absolute vulgarisation of Lenin's theory of a proletarian revolution.

Stalin has quoted two passages from Lenin's writings in support of his "Socialism in One Country" theory. As quoted by Stalin, Lenin said : "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country, taken singly. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organised its own socialist production, would stand up against the rest of the world, the capitalist world, attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, raising revolts in those countries against the capitalists and coming out in the event of necessity, even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states."

In the second quotation, quoted by Stalin, Lenin said : "As a matter of fact, the power of state over all large-scale means of production, the power of state in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of this proletariat with the many millions of small and very small peasants, the assured leadership of the peasantry by the proletariat, etc.—is not this all that is necessary in order to build a complete socialist society from the co-operatives alone, which we formerly treated as huckstering and which from a certain aspect we have the right to treat as such now, under NEP ? Is this not all that is necessary for the purpose of building a complete Socialist State ? This is not yet the building of Socialist Society, but it is all that is necessary and sufficient for the build-ings."

Let us now examine both these passages of Lenin one by one. In the first passage, we are told that the "uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism". It is an unassailable fact. Then Lenin says : "Hence, victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country, taken singly".

The obvious meaning of this passage is that because of the uneven development of capitalism, the revolution that will bring the victory of socialism (the socialist revolution) will be possible

in several or even in one capitalist country, taken singly. In other words, because of the law of the uneven development of capitalism, the weakest links of capitalism may give way in one country or in a number of countries. Therefore, the weakest link may be broken in several countries or may be broken even in one country.

By "victory of socialism" Lenin has meant nothing else but the victory of the proletarian revolution. The following lines make clear Lenin's intention. "The victorious proletariat of that country having expropriated the capitalists and organised its own socialist productions would stand up against the rest of the world etc." The expropriation of the propertied classes followed by the organisation of socialist production, simply means that the proletariat after concentrating the social means of productions in its own hand by expropriating the bourgeoisie would begin the organisation of a mode of production which would not be based on the economic exploitation of one class by another for profit motive, in other words, the proletariat would begin the organisation of socialist production. Lenin has only emphasised the immediate tasks that are to follow in the wake of the victory of a proletarian revolution in one country. The tasks are : the expropriation of the propertied classes, the organisation of the socialist production in the national sector, and fomenting permanent revolution (world revolution) in the international sector. That is what he meant when speaking about the proletariat of the country of victorious revolution. He said : "It would stand up against the rest of the world, the capitalist world, attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, organising revolts in those countries against the capitalists, and coming out in the event of necessity, even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states."

It is such a hopelessly futile attempt on the part of Stalin to dress up the incorrigibly interantionalist Lenin in the tattered chauvinistic rags of "socialism in one country".

The second quotation from Lenin, as it is quite clear from the text, deals with the question of the economic and political where-withals at the disposal of the victorious proletarian revolution in one country for building up a complete socialist society. The problem of building up socialism has two aspects—the national aspect, and the international aspect. Here, Lenin deals primarily with the national aspect of the problem. To those who got panicky at the introduction of NEP, Lenin pointed out that in the

national sector the victorious proletariat had the power of state in its hands, control over all large-scale means of production and alliance with small and very small peasants. Obviously, in this passage, Lenin deals only with the pre-requisites that are necessary within a country for building a socialist society ; but thereby he did not mean to suggest that these factors alone were capable of building up socialism. Here, he intentionally ignored the international factor in order to lay emphasis on one aspect of the problem. It goes without saying that only international factors are not enough for building a socialist structure in a particular country; certain pre-requisites are necessary within that country for the international factors to act upon. Lenin in this passage lays stress on those national factors only. Little did he imagine then that his utterances meant for emphasising one particular aspect of a problem would be distorted and mutilated to appear as the total aspect of the problem.

In "The Problems of Leninism", while dealing with the question of the victory of socialism in one country, Stalin writes : "But the pamphlet 'The Foundations of Leninism' contains a second formulation, which says : 'By overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie and establishing the power of the proletariat in one country one does not yet ensure the complete victory of socialism. The principle task of socialism—the organisation of socialist production—has still to be fulfilled. Can this task be fulfilled, can the final victory of socialism be achieved in one country, without the joint efforts of the proletarians in several advanced countries ? No, it cannot. To overthrow the bourgeoisie the efforts of one country are sufficient, this is proved by the history of our revolution. For the final victory of socialism, for organisation of socialist production, the efforts of one country, particularly of a peasant country like Russia, are insufficient ; for that, the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are necessary'. This second formulation was directed against the critics of Leninism and against the Trotskyites, who declared that the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, in the absence of victory in other lands, could not hold out against conservative Europe. To that extent—but only to that extent—this formulation was then (April, 1924) adequate and undoubtedly it served a certain purpose. Subsequently, however, when the criticism of Leninism in this sphere had already been overcome in the Party, and when a new question had come to the forefront, the question of the possibility of building a complete socialist society by the

efforts of one country, without help from outside—the second formulation became obviously inadequate, and, therefore, incorrect.”

Thus, we see that in April, 1924, in “The Foundations of Leninism.”, Stalin considered that the victory of a proletarian revolution though possible in one country, the victory of socialism in one country, specially in a backward peasant country like Russia, was impossible. But in 1926 when he wrote “The Problems of Leninism,” the victory of socialism in one country had become possible in the meantime. But why ? What fundamental changes in the national as well as in the international sectors have taken place to make the impossibility of 1924 a possibility in 1926 ? According to Stalin, his 1924 formulation was made only with one purpose in view, it was directed against the Trotskyites who declared that the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, in the absence of victory in other countries, “could not hold out against conservative Europe.” But then in 1926 such a formulation was no longer necessary as “the criticism of Leninism (it would have been honest if Stalin had said ‘criticism of Stalinism’ instead—S.T.) in this sphere had already been overcome in the Party.” So victory of socialism in one country was not possible in 1924, not because it was theoretically wrong but because it was necessary to express such an opinion in 1924 when the Leninist tradition in the Bolshevik Party was yet too strong to be ridden roughshod over by Stalin.

Lenin had only passed away then and Trotsky’s influence in the Party was still too formidable to be trifled with. But in 1926 Bolshevik Party and the Third International had toppled with remarkable speed from the revolutionary summit of Leninism into the marsh of Stalinism. That explains Stalin’s change of attitude in 1926. His own words were sufficient proof of this. Only tactical considerations made him speak against “socialism in one country” in 1924; when the tactical considerations were served, he propagated “socialism in one country” since 1926. This clearly proves that Stalin never was really an opponent of the utterly chauvinistic and utopian theory of “socialism in one country” at any stage of his political career. Only when Lenin was alive he did not dare to blurt out such reactionary nonsense and had to wait for two years after Lenin’s death for such a venture.

Such is the essence of Stalin’s “theoretical” endeavours ! They are all tactical moves undertaken to crush one or the other group

in the Bolshevik Party and the Comintern. It had no other basis, and it had no other interest to serve than that of the clique.

But then why did his formulation of 1924 become incorrect in 1926 ? Stalin realises that only the tactical reason of fighting Trotskyism would be a bit thin even for his yes-men in Russia and his hirelings in other countries. Therefore, he strives hard to theorise and here is the result. Stalin writes : "What is the defect in this formulation ? (meaning thereby the formulation that socialism is impossible in one country without the joint efforts of the proletariat of several countries—S.T.). The defect is that it joins two different questions into one ; it joins the question of the possibility of building socialism by the efforts of one country—which must be answered in the affirmative—with the question as to whether a country in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established can consider itself fully guaranteed against intervention, and consequently against the restoration of the old order, without a victorious revolution in a number of other countries—which must be answered in the negative. This is apart from the fact that this second formulation may give occasion for thinking that the organisation of socialist society by the efforts of one country is impossible— which, of course, is incorrect" (The Problems of Leninism).

It is clear that Stalin thinks that the impediment to the victory of socialism in one country is only military intervention. Otherwise, if non-intervention from that quarter can be guaranteed, then the proletarian state in one country can achieve the complete victory of socialism in one country even in a backward country, such as Russia. Has Stalin advanced any argument in support of such a contention ? No, only such stupid assertions—"the possibility of building socialism by the effort of one country—which must be answered in the affirmative", and "that the organisation of socialist society by the efforts of one country is impossible—which of course, is incorrect."

Stalin is absolutely wrong. Even if the proletarian state's immunity from military intervention remains guaranteed, the "peaceful" intervention of world capitalism in the economic field is sufficient to prevent the complete victory of socialism in one country. The proletarian state will have to depend upon capitalist sources for the raw materials which almost all are controlled by the principal capitalist powers. In order to get that, the proletarian state will have to produce goods for foreign trade. These goods will come under the operation of the laws of

the capitalist market. In order to be able to sell its goods to capitalist countries, the proletarian state-industry will have to reckon with competition from capitalist industries, and that is bound to affect the norms of socialist production also. The piece-wage system has to be resorted to in order to be able to stand capitalist competition—Stakhanovism in Soviet Russia is a proof of that—and that must result in the accentuation of economic inequality amongst the various sections of the people of the proletarian state. Thus, as a result of the constant “peaceful” barrage of capitalist economic fire, both the productive and the distributive life of the proletarian state will continuously be in a state of disturbance.

That is the reason why Marx, as early as in 1850, advised the world proletariat to make the revolution permanent till it should seize governmental power “not only in one country, but in all important countries of the world, thus ending the competition of the proletariat in these countries and at least until the most important productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletariat.”

It is clear from the above quotation that Marx considered it absolutely necessary that the revolution should be continuous till the economic competition of the proletariat of the principal capitalist countries with the proletarian state came to an end and the most important productive forces were concentrated in the hands of the world proletariat.

For Marx, the victory of socialism was impossible till these economic problems were solved on an international scale. But for Stalin the victory of socialism in one country, even in a backward peasant country like Russia, can be achieved without the solution of the two economic tasks mentioned by Marx, solely by its own economic strength, provided there is no military intervention by the capitalist states.

Such is the quixotic logic of Stalin’s chauvinistic and petty bourgeois utopian theory of the victory of socialism in one country.

It is as far from the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Lenin as the screeching of the ape is from the speech of a human being. And even Stalin has been forced to admit that “it goes without saying that for the complete victory of socialism, for complete security against the restoration of the old order, the united efforts of the proletarians of several countries are necessary.” But here the old and sly trick already referred to, is again in evidence. A la Stalin, “for the **COMPLETE** (My emphasis—S.T.) victory of

socialism" united efforts of the proletariat of several countries will be necessary but not for the victory of socialism in one country. So the victory of socialism in one country is not the same as the complete victory of socialism ! Stalin has spoken the truth, however unwittingly. And our concern is with the complete victory of socialism and not with a partial or fractional triumph of the same. It is mischievous and dishonest to try to show that the "victory of socialism in one country" is different from "the complete victory of socialism in one country." We have already seen how Stalin had made unscrupulous use of the unwarranted distinction which Lenin had made between socialism and communism, solely for the purpose of simplifying the problem for the uninitiated.

Further, Stalin says : "While it is true that the final victory of socialism in the first country to emancipate itself is impossible without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several countries, it is equally true that the development of the world revolution will be the more rapid and thorough, the more effective the assistance rendered by the first socialist country to the workers and labouring masses of all other countries."

This is one of the rare occasions when Stalin, talks truthfully about what is known to all students of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism. Nobody with any common sense ever doubted that the victory of the proletarian revolution in one country would not be helpful for the world revolution. On the contrary only the victory of socialist revolution in one country (not to be confounded with the victory of socialism in one country) can be the starting point of the permanent revolution, in other words, of the world-revolution.

The country of the victorious proletarian revolution can be called the socialist country, and as a matter of fact we all say that in reference to Soviet Russia, provided we remember that here the word, socialist, is used in the sense of a country that has made the first beginning for the achievement of the ideal of socialism, just as when we call someone a Communist, we do not suggest thereby that he has achieved communism, but that he is working for the realisation of the same. This extra cautiousness on our part about the commonplace would not have been necessary, if Stalin had not made such dishonest use of the word, 'socialism', to mean all sorts of things.

"But what," asks Stalin, "if the world revolution is fated to arrive with some delay ? Is there any ray of hope for our revolu-

tion ? Trotsky sees no ray of hope, for 'the contradictions in the position of a workers' government . . . can be solved only . . . in their arena of the world proletarian revolution'. According to this plan, there is but one prospect left for our revolution, to vegetate in its own contradictions and rot away while waiting for the world revolution."

What extraordinarily bad logic and what profound distrust of the forces working for the world revolution ! If the world revolution is delayed for decades, it will be delayed not because of the revolutionary situation not being ripe in principal capitalist countries but because of the worthlessness of the present leadership of the world revolution, the worthlessness of the Stalinist leadership of the now defunct Third International. The world revolution has been delayed because of anti-revolutionary Stalinism and for no other reason. Trotsky's words as quoted by Stalin are perfectly valid. The final solution of the contradictions of the workers' state must be in the world arena ; because two contradictory world-systems cannot exist side by side *ad infinitum*. Stalin's notion of "socialism in one country" is nothing but the twentieth century caricature of the 'utopian socialists' idea of little socialist settlements amidst the snarling jungle of capitalist competition.

The vastness of a country is no argument at all in favour of socialism in one country. What we should take into consideration in this connection is the relative strength of the world forces of capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat of a single country. It is not a question of geographical dimension, but that of the productive forces. The dictatorship of the proletariat of a single country, even if that country was the highest in capitalist development, could never measure its strength against the combination of economic forces of the rest of the capitalist world. It will be hampered in its task of collectivisation of agriculture ; Stalin's retracing the step in collectivisation is a proof of this, and its relation with capitalist countries through foreign trade will keep its economy under constant pressure of capitalist exchange relations. Its goods will always have to be manufactured with an eye to the demand not only of the home market but also of the world capitalist market. Self-sufficient economy is an impossibility even for the most highly developed capitalist country. Autarchy is more a slogan of political stunt than one of economic reality. Thus, the proletarian state will be constantly hampered in its work towards a socialist economy by the

existence of a capitalist economy at its elbow, just as a capitalist economy will always be in a state of crisis, minor and major, by the existence of a socialist economy by its side. But what is a mere crisis for a long established and enormously powerful system, we mean world capitalism, will be a disaster for a newly-born system of socialist production of a particular country in the face of the constant opposition of world capitalism. This disaster can be averted and socialism become a reality, only when the proletariat achieves governmental power "not only in one country but in all important countries of the world, thus ending the competition of the proletariat in these countries and at least until the most important productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletariat" (Marx).

As we see, Marx has specially laid stress on "ending the competition of the proletariat. . . in all important countries of the world. . . until the most important productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletariat."

Thus, much as we fear to court the displeasure of Stalin, we cannot but point out to him that without a world revolution, there is no hope for the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country to blossom forth into socialism.

If the world revolution does not come to its help, then the proletarian dictatorship in one country will surely "vegetate in its own contradictions and rot away" as Stalin has rightly said though he meant it as a condemnation of those who uphold the doctrine of permanent revolution and world revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat of one country if it cuts itself away from the stream of world revolution, if it stews in its own juice for long, believing that to be a step forward, hugging it as the 'complete victory of socialism' (Stalin), then the proletarian state is sure to rot away. As sure as anything, the bureaucratisation of the sections enjoying the fruits of the state power must result from that and separation between this stratum and the broad masses of the people is inevitable. And what can be a better example of this rotting away than Stalin's Russia !

The extreme bureaucratisation of the state officials, the growing economic disparity amongst the various sections of the Soviet people, the reintroduction of titles such as Marshall etc, abolished by the proletarian revolution, the introduction of monetary rewards, the unheard of terror directed against the members of the Communist Party who condemn the misdeeds of the bureaucratic regime—all these go to show to what extent the degeneration

the proletarian state has undergone under Stalin and his clique.

We know that in the first stage of communist society "to each according to his need" cannot be worked out. Bourgeois inequality will persist for long time to come till communist inequality ushers in true equality. But it does not at all follow from this that the bourgeois inequality shall not be in the process of being slowly levelled out even in the first stage of communism, but on the contrary will be more and more accentuated, and the economic and its resultant social differences between the various strata of the people of the proletarian state will be growing wider. And what would be more grotesque than this, that while the differences between the various sections of the population of the Soviet Union are on the increase, Stalin should become increasingly vociferous about the "complete victory of socialism in one country"!

Only a world revolution, that is, the victory of the proletarian revolution in the principal countries of Europe can bring about the victory of socialism. And the ideology of world revolution is not the ideology of passivity and of pessimism as Stalin thinks or tries to make out. It is the most dynamic challenge to world capitalism, the most virile summons to arms to the proletariat of all capitalist lands for smashing capitalism and establishing the socialist society. It is a solemn warning to the proletariat of the country of the victorious socialist revolution not to rest on oars but to work for the deliverance of the world proletariat. It is a call of immeasurable depth and width. Its revolutionary appeal is irresistible and its imaginative appeal touches the deepest depth of the human heart.

Stalin is wholly in the wrong, when dwelling on the permanent revolution he says : "It does not stimulate an active onslaught on capital in individual countries, but encourages passive waiting for the moment of the "universal climax", for it cultivates among the proletarians of the different countries not the spirit of revolutionary determination but the mood of Hamlet-like doubt over the question as to what, if the others fail, to back us up?"

Even a bourgeois philistine would not have made such a vulgar caricature of Marx's theory of permanent revolution as Stalin has done. Moreover, he has shown his characteristic peasant outlook on life. The peasant always looks at the world from the angle of his village. To him, every talk of the national interest seems to be against his interest. He does not understand

and cannot grasp that the welfare of his village is wholly dependent on the welfare of the Nation. His peasant outlook on life makes him argue in the following fashion—if one talks of the dependence and conditionality of socialism on a series of revolutions in the principal capitalist countries, it means that he has no faith in the revolutionary potentiality of one particular country. This argument is not materially different from the argument that if one asserts that world peace depends on the combined efforts of the masses of the principal capitalist countries, he thereby betrays lack of faith in the power of the proletariat of a single country to exert itself for peace.

Such is in a nutshell Stalin's argument, when he raves against the permanent revolution and wilfully vulgarises it to serve his purpose. Simultaneous revolutions in principal capitalist countries do not mean that one revolution will be followed by another in the next twenty four hours. It only means that the victory of the proletarian revolution in one country becomes the starting point of a series of proletarian revolutions in other countries. The process once started will not stop till this task is fulfilled. The first country to make this revolution must consider the tasks of its own revolution unfulfilled till revolutions have succeeded in principal capitalist lands. This consideration is, moreover, based on facts, not on wishful thinking.

This is not the gospel of pessimism nor of despair either. This is just the process of making the proletariat realise the enormity and sublimity of the task that lies before it. It is to free it from the downward pull of rural-mindedness and to make it world-minded. And all this is not tinged even with a drop of sentimentalism based on unreality but on a sure foundation of revolutionary reality and socialism. But Stalin is nothing if he is not wily, and his only contribution to Marxism consist of quoting (misquoting) Lenin in place and out of place.

The theory of permanent revolution has two aspects. One relating to the revolution of a particular country, the immediate passing over from the bourgeois-democratic phase of the revolution to the socialist revolution. To be more precise, it is the task of the socialist revolution which "in passing solves the problem" (Lenin) of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. In the words of Lenin "We stand for an uninterrupted revolution." All these refer to the problem of revolution of a particular country.

The second aspect of the theory of permanent revolution is related to the international task of the revolution. It deals with

the causes which make it imperative for the first victorious proletarian revolution to operate as the yeast of revolution in the world arena realising fully well that the victory of socialism can only be the outcome of the successful revolutions in principal capitalist countries.

These are the two aspects of the theory of permanent revolution as formulated by Marx. We have so far dealt with the second aspect of the theory, namely its world-revolutionary aspect, and have shown how Stalin has taken undue and dishonest advantage of Lenin's words and has vulgarised and distorted them to suit his 'socialism in one country' balderdash. We have shown how the theory (!) of 'socialism in one country' is a complete refutation of Marx's theory of permanent revolution as the indispensable premise for the victory of socialism. We have also shown how Stalin's vaunted victory of socialism in one country has been belied by the extreme bureaucratisation of the Soviet state-apparatus, the opening of the flood-gate of the most diabolical terror against the Communist revolutionaries and the masses by Stalin and by the growing economic and social differences among the various sections of the Soviet people. Stalin's attack on the theory of permanent revolution always came from this angle, from the angle of the victory of socialism in one country. In other words, the more Stalin drew himself away from world revolution the more hysterically shrill became his attack against Marx's theory of permanent revolution. Trotsky became the target of Stalin's vengeance only so far as he drew the attention of the Communists throughout the world to the betrayal of world revolution (permanent revolution) by Stalin.

Failing to convince anybody but himself and his hirelings all over the world, with his absurd theory of victory of socialism in one country, Stalin cleverly shifts the ground and says, "Lenin fought the adherents of permanent revolution not over the question of 'uninterruptedness' for he himself maintained the point of view of uninterrupted revolution, but because they underestimated the role of the peasantry which is an enormous reserve force for the proletariat". Stalin is absolutely correct in this point; only it would have made his case stronger and his honesty more evident if he had pointed out along with it how Lenin scorned and scoffed at the idea of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country and was an incorrigible believer in an uninterrupted series of revolutions in the world arena. But then that would have frustrated Stalin's purpose to reduce

the victory of socialism from an international phenomenon to a national one. Hence, the chicanery.

Trotsky was undoubtedly wrong when he had launched the slogan of "No Tsar but the Workers's Government" during the 1905 revolution in Russia. This was surely an under-estimation of the role of the peasantry in the bourgeois-demoncratic phase of the revolution. While pointing it out we must also recognise the other fact that it was Trotsky more than anybody else who had since 1905 drawn the attention of the Marxists to the permanent revolution theory of Marx. These two are undisputed facts. But may we ask Stalin, what is the logical connection between Trotsky's wrong slogan of 'No Tsar but Worker's Government' of 1905 and Trotsky's propagation of the permanent revolution theory of Marx ? Is the under-estimation of the role of the peasantry in the revolution inherent in the theory of permanent revolution itself ? Can it be said that Trotsky under-estimated the role of the peasantry in the 1905 revolution as is clear from the slogan of "No Tsar but Worker's Government" because he championed the Marxian theory of permanent revolution ?

No, it cannot be said so. Trotsky's ultra-leftist mistake in the period of 1905 revolution had nothing to do with his championing the theory of permanent revolution. There is absolutely no logical connection between the two, just as Lenin's admittedly mistaken policy of invading Poland has nothing to do with Lenin's championing of the world revolution.

Trotsky, as quoted by Stalin, says : "This abstruse term (meaning thereby permanent revolution—S.T.) represented the idea that the Russian revolution whose immediate objectives were bourgeois in nature would not however stop when these objectives have been achieved. The revolution would not be able to solve its immediate bourgeois problems except by placing the proletariat in power. And the latter, upon assuming power, would not be able to confine itself to the bourgeois limits of the revolution. On the contrary, precisely in order to ensure its victory, the proletarian vanguard would be forced in the very early stage of its rule to make deep inroads not only into feudal property but into bourgeois property as well. In this it would come into hostile collision not only with all the bourgeois groupings which supported the proletariat during the first stages of its revolutionary struggle, but also with the broad masses of the peasants who had been instrumental in bringing it into power. The contradictions in the position of a workers' government in a backward country

with an overwhelming majority of peasants can be solved only on an international scale, in the arena of the world proletarian revolution.”

The thoughts expressed by Trotsky in the above-quoted passage are hundred per cent correct. Here, Trotsky had in a masterly fashion woven the operation of the theory of permanent revolution in its national and international aspects into one monolithic scheme of revolution. The revolution of 1905, though its immediate tasks would be bourgeois-democratic, would not be able to solve them without putting the Russian proletariat in power. And the Russian proletariat after it has seized power will certainly not content itself with destroying feudalism but also shall make deep inroads into bourgeois interests. This will ultimately make the large masses of the peasantry hostile ; and in a backward peasant country like Russia, this contradiction can only be solved with the aid of the victorious proletariat of other lands. There is not a single thought here which has not been expressed by Lenin over and over again while writing about proletarian revolution and world revolution. That the 1905 revolution can fulfil its bourgeois-democratic tasks only by placing the Russian proletariat in power, has been repeated scores of time by Lenin. That the proletariat coming into power cannot stop at the threshold of bourgeois interests, is proved by the history of the October Revolution. The successful revolution by a decree forbade the sale and mortgage of land.

Then followed the Sovkhoz and the Kolkhoz and ultimately the collectivisation scheme. Were all these not a continuous chain of inroads into bourgeois interests started by the victorious proletariat of Russia as soon as it came to power ? And did it not bring the dictatorship of the proletariat into conflict with the broad masses of peasants, its erstwhile supporters, which necessitated the deportation of millions of peasants and shooting of thousands by Stalin ? And did it not ultimately lead to the sudden stoppage of collectivisation by Stalin ? Has it not proved beyond doubt that in a backward peasant country, the contradiction between the town and the country cannot be solved without the powerful help of the proletariat of the principal capitalist countries ? And is it not more than clear that powerful help is neither the ‘moral sympathy’ of the petty-bourgeois variety, nor ‘the sympathy of European workers for our revolution’ of Stalin variety ? They are good so far as they go, but they are certainly not sufficient for solving the contradictions between the victorious pro-

letariat and the peasantry in a backward country. The powerful help capable of solving this contradictions cannot be anything but the help given by victorious proletarian revolution of principal capitalist lands. And Lenin points that out not once but hundreds of times. In March 1919, at the Party Congress, Lenin said, "We have a practical experience in taking the first steps in the destruction of capitalism in a country with a special relation between the proletariat and the peasantry. Nothing more. If we swell ourselves out like frog, and puff and blow, this will be utterly laughable to the whole world. We shall be mere braggarts." On May 19, 1921, Lenin again voiced: "Did any one of the Bolsheviks at any time ever deny that the revolution can conquer in a final form only when it comprises all or at least several of the more advanced countries?" He again in November 1920, reminded that the Bolsheviks never could dream of "making over the whole world with the forces of Russia alone. . . . Such madness we never reached, but we always said that our revolution will conquer when the workers of all countries support it."

"We have not" wrote Lenin in 1922, "completed even the foundation of a socialist economy. This can still be taken back by the hostile forces of a dying capitalism. We must be clearly aware of this, and openly acknowledge it. For there is nothing more dangerous than illusions and turned heads, especially in high places. And there is absolutely nothing 'terrible', nothing offering a legitimate cause for the slightest discouragement, in recognising this bitter truth; for we always have taught and repeated this A B C truth of Marxism, *that for the victory of socialism the combined efforts of the workers of several advanced countries are necessary*". (Italics mine—S.T.)

So Lenin asserts, "The (European) revolution is growing. . . . and we must hold the Soviet power until it begins. Our mistakes must serve as a lesson to the Western proletariat. And our task now is. . . . to hold fast. . . . this torch of socialism, so that it may continue to scatter as many sparks as possible to the increasing conflagration of the social revolution. The Russian Revolution was in essence a dress rehearsal. . . . of the world-wide proletarian revolution. (Lenin at the Congress of the Party, March 1919)

Thus, between Trotsky and Lenin there is no difference on the score of permanent revolution. Moreover, we have already pointed out that Trotsky's under-estimation of the role of the peasantry in 1905 revolution cannot by the widest stretch of

imagination be linked up with Trotsky's advocacy of permanent revolution. At least, the passage quoted by Stalin does not lend itself to that interpretation.

We have not taken upon ourselves the task of defending Trotsky. Trotsky himself was more than a match for Stalin and for his international horde, as is evidenced by the fact that failing to spar with him in the intellectual arena, they had to take recourse to the gangster's job of murdering Trotsky. We are forced to bring in Trotsky in the discussion of the permanent revolution, only because Stalin who can never discuss an ideology in the abstract but always brings in personalities to cloud the real issue, has over and over again denounced the permanent revolution theory of Marx under the pretext of fighting Trotsky and Trotskyism.

The theory of permanent revolution is not Trotskyism nor has it anything to do with certain ultra-leftist mistakes of Trotsky. Lenin was just as much a champion of permanent revolution as Trotsky was and with a much more surer grasp of the revolutionary reality. But Trotsky certainly had done a great service to revolutionary communism by drawing out attention over and over again to the theory of permanent revolution since Lenin died in 1924 and the sinister anti-revolutionary regime of Stalin started. In the face of the most diabolical machinery of vilification and terror of Stalinocracy, he kept the banner of revolutionary communism flying in the best traditions of Marx and Lenin.

Therein lies Trotsky's invaluable service to the theory of permanent revolution. So far as the theory itself is concerned, it is pure and simple revolutionary Marxism.

The theory of permanent revolution, as we have already discussed, has two aspects, one national and the other international. In the national sector, the proletariat is asked not to stop along with the bourgeois-democrats on the frontier of bourgeois revolution but to push the revolution forward to its logical conclusion—the proletarian revolution. In the national sector the revolution has to be permanent till the proletarian revolution is successfully carried through ; and in the international sector the successful proletarian revolution of one country has to serve as the detonator of the proletarian revolutions of other countries. But just now we are concerned with the national aspect of the theory. Permanent revolution in the national sphere unerringly points its finger to the proletarian revolution ; it gives warning to

the proletariat not to stop at the wayside inn of bourgeois-democracy and constantly reminds it of its historical task. It serves no other purpose. Moreover, in the imperialist epoch, in the countries such as India and China, the bourgeoisie being closely linked up with the landed aristocracy, the democratic revolution can no longer be the historical task of the bourgeoisie, but of the proletariat. The proletariat alone can fulfil the democratic tasks by consolidating the state power exclusively in its own hands. The agrarian problem can therefore be effectively solved only by the proletariat lifted up by the revolution to the position of the owner of the state power. There is absolutely no other way for the fulfilment of the democratic tasks. If the proletariat does not seize power, the democratic tasks remain unfulfilled as is clearly demonstrated by the February Revolution in Russia, the National Revolution in China, and the 'independent' India ruled by the Indian bourgeoisie.

"The road to democracy passed through the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Trotsky). This means that the democratic revolution can be carried out only by the proletariat which does not stop with the destruction of the feudal property only, but with the seizure of power forthwith starts its assault on capitalist property relations. Herein lies the permanency of the national revolution in the backward countries. This is what Lenin means to convey when he writes about the bourgeois revolution "growing into" socialist revolution, and that is why the theoretical bulkhead created by the doctrinaires, between the democratic and socialist revolutions, is so thoroughly mechanistic. Thus the permanent revolution can have no other special tactics and special slogans than those of the proletarian revolution which in some cases will have to fulfil in passing the unaccomplished tasks of the bourgeois revolution. Some people calling themselves the advocates of permanent revolution maintain that the slogan of the proletarian revolution is—The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This is wholly incorrect. The dictatorship of the proletariat could never be the slogan of the proletarian revolution in the most advanced capitalist countries where the bourgeois democratic revolution had long ago been accomplished. It cannot be the slogan because the question of the middle strata is as important in the proletarian revolution as it is in the bourgeois revolution. The success of the proletarian revolution will depend upon its successful handling of this problem. The urban petty-bourgeoisie—the shopkeepers, clerks, students, small independent

practitioners, doctors, engineers, school teachers, professors etc, and the rural petty-bourgeoisie—the peasants, the small farmers of the advanced capitalist countries, the village gentry—all these elements constitute the most important reserve of the revolution. If the bourgeoisie manages to win over the middle strata to its side then it becomes the auxiliary force of the counter-revolution ; if the proletariat wins it over to its side, it becomes then the powerful reserve force of revolution.

The failure of the revolutions of 1848 and 1871 in France and the failure of the 1848 revolution in Germany, were all due to the failure of the revolutionary forces to keep the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie on their side till the revolutions were completed. The victory of the Russian Revolution was assured by the Russian peasantry's support of the proletarian lead. Lenin's masterly tactics consisted in driving the revolutionary edge between the peasantry and the bourgeoisie and in winning the peasantry over to the side of the proletariat. The period between February and October 1917, was taken up by the Russian proletariat led by the Bolshevik Party in wresting the peasantry from the clutches of the bourgeoisie. It was only when the peasantry had definitely swung over from the side of the bourgeoisie to the side of the proletariat that the moment of the uprising was decided upon by Lenin. In order to achieve this task the solgan 'Land to the Peasant' was advanced. This slogan as we know is the slogan of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. It remains still within the framework of bourgeois property relation. Yet the Russian proletariat raised this slogan in the course of the proletarian revolution and raised it correctly. Had it not done so, had it raised the slogan of the 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat', the peasantry would have then clung closer to the bourgeoisie and followed the bourgeois lead in suppressing the revolution. It is the class-content of the state-power of the victorious proletarian revolution. But the solgan of the proletarian revolution must be "Democratic Republic." "All Power to the Soviets of Workers and Peasants"—which is also a democratic slogan, and not the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, was the slogan of the Russian revolution. Trotsky writes : "For a long number of years, the Russian Bolsheviks mobilized the workers and the peasants around the slogan of democracy. The slogans of democracy also played a big role in 1917. *Only after the already existing Soviet power had arrived at an irreconcilable political antagonism to the Constituent Assembly before the eyes of the entire people, did*

our Party liquidate the institutions and slogans of formal, that is, of bourgeois democracy, in favour of real Soviet, that is, of proletarian democracy." (Italics mine—S.T.)

Of course, it goes without saying that whatever may be the state-form of the victorious proletarian revolution—and it cannot be anything but the democratic republican form—its inner class-content must only be the dictatorship of the proletariat and the proletariat alone. Multi-class dictatorship is as much a political myth as the multi-class political party.

Castigating Stalin and Bukharin for the opportunist muddle these two had cooked in China, Trotsky adds: "The Sixth Congress of the Comintern under the direction of Stalin and Bukharin, turned all this on its head. While on the one hand, it prescribed "democratic" and not 'proletarian' dictatorship of the party, *it simultaneously forbade it the democratic slogans for preparing this dictatorship. The Chinese Communist Party was not only disarmed, but stripped naked.*" (Italic mine—S.T.)

Our babies lispng Marxism, but understanding neither its theory nor its tactics and strategy, should take note.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the consummation of the permanent revolution in the national sector, and the dictatorship of the proletariat in principal capitalist countries with the help of the first victorious proletarian revolution is the culmination of the permanent revolution in the international sector, ultimately resulting in the establishment of a socialist society—the final aim of permanent revolution.

June 1944.

“QUIT INDIA” IN RETROSPECT

The August mass uprising was crushed by British imperialism with a bestiality that is a very good second to that practised by the Nazis in the territories they had overrun. Mass rape of women in scores of villages in the district of Midnapore in Bengal and in the United Provinces and Bihar ; the shooting and bayonetting of unarmed people, only to bring home to them the might of British imperialism, the burning and looting of huts of the peasants in innumerable places—all these and much more were carried out by the imperialist-Fascist regime in India with a cold-blooded bestiality. The outburst of bestiality was not just an isolated instance of individual depravity. It was meticulously planned by the high-placed officials of the British imperialist-Fascist regime in India.

Against such a mighty imperialist power armed to the teeth the masses rose in revolt. Ground down by the untold sufferings of the war years with their lands and huts forcibly occupied by the military, all their boats destroyed, their women molested, the masses were seething with deep hatred against the British imperialist oppressors. That is why when the battle-cry of “Quit India” was raised it found such a ready response in their hearts.

But those leaders of the bourgeois Congress who had given the call, gave no instructions and made no preparations. This omission on their part was not just a slip. It was a deliberate counter-revolutionary plot hatched by the Gandhian clique that dominated the Congress. Stir up the masses and utilise them for the political ends of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, take good care that the mass uprising remains sporadic and decentralised—such was the scheme of the counter-revolutionary Gandhian leaders. And it must be admitted that in the successful carrying out of this plan of theirs, the Gandhian clique had been eminently successful.

One of the most astoundingly counter-revolutionary plots was hatched by Gandhi and the other bourgeois leaders of the

Congress with a nonchalance that has hardly any parallel in the political history of any other country.

The stage for the enactment of this counter-revolutionary drama was set up with consummate political craftsmanship. The Congress Working Committee which is the monopoly of the Gandhian clique steered the political manoeuvre so skilfully that the All-India Congress Committee was divested of the leadership of the coming struggle and Gandhi, who is not even a member of the Congress, was made the sole dictator. He was vested with the sole authority to start the movement whenever he chose to do so, to suspend the movement if he so desired, and also to determine its programme of action.

Never in the political history of the world did a political organisation surrender its inalienable right to chalk out the programme of action of a movement and to direct it to one individual in the way that the All-India Congress Committee was made to do by the trickery of the Gandhist clique.

Dictatorship of the worst type covered with a pose of disinterestedness took control of India's political destiny. The members of the Congress Working Committee or those of the All India Congress Committee had no knowledge of the programme of action of the struggle to come. Some individual members of the Congress Working Committee had informal talks with Gandhi on the issue of the programme of action and whatever they had gathered in course of such informal talks, was about all that they or anybody knew about the programme of action.

In April 1942, the "Quit India" slogan was splashed into the swirling pool of mass discontent. Its effect on the masses was instantaneous and thrilling. The masses were straining at the leash and were all eagerness for a militant programme of action and call for action. But the programme of action was Gandhi's monopoly and it was never given out. When arrested, Gandhi left the message, "Do or Die" and disappeared behind the high railings of Aga Khan's palace. But then, do what and die for what? Where was the programme of action? It was in safe custody of Gandhi's inner voice! On his way to the prison, Gandhi is reported to have expressed the sentiment that the message of "Quit India" should be scattered amongst the masses and they would know what to do. This astounding bluff was hailed by the sly bourgeoisie and the muddle-headed petty-bourgeoisie as a superb example of Gandhi's confidence in the masses!

Confidence, indeed ! This confidence trick to betray the struggle was all that the Indian bourgeoisie had fervently desired. The scattered and decentralised mass forces rose to great heights of heroism, but the mass uprising could never assume the character of a revolution due to the absence of both the revolutionary leadership and revolutionary programme.

In some quarters it is said that Gandhi could get no time to announce his programme as he was clapped in prison before he could do so. This argument advanced to defend Gandhi is, in fact, the severest condemnation of him. Only a fool could believe that British imperialism would allow Gandhi or anyone else every facility to launch a mass movement. And Gandhi who is so uncannily shrewd and moreover has a lifelong record of hobnobbing with British imperialism, would have known this more than anybody else.

But this trickery was played not because Gandhi was caught napping, one cannot catch him napping ! It was done because the Indian bourgeoisie for the furtherance of its class-interest planned an elemental and decentralised mass uprising and not a revolution. That is why no programme of action was given and it was crowned with that superb chicanery—carry the message to the masses and they will know what to do.

In July 1942, Sardar Patel, the Indian pocket Hitler (the Indian bourgeoisie being a pocket edition of the European and American bourgeoisie, Patel necessarily had to be a pocket Hitler or a pocket Mussolini) announced that this time the struggle for independence would be short and swift. But may we know what were the reasons that prompted Patel to make such a statement and what was the programme of action that he suggested to bring about such a happy state of affairs ?

Let us just take a peep into the activities of this Fascist leader of Gujrat. Patel and the textile mill-owners of Ahmedabad came to an understanding between themselves to have the mills closed for two months. The mill-owners had readily agreed to close their mills. They had enormous stock at their disposal. Stoppage of production for two months would do them no harm. On the contrary, it would bring extra profit in their pockets as a result of the rise in price. Moreover, they were to continue to deliver to the government for war purposes the quota of manufactured textile goods as before. Thus, by closing down the textile mills for two months, the Ahmedabad mill owners made an all-round gain. First, their prestige in the political stock exchange of

nationalist India shot up; secondly, as war-supplies were being continued the good relation with British imperialism was maintained ; thirdly, more profit could be pocketed as the price of textile goods could be raised due to the stoppage of production ; and fourthly, by sending the workers away from Ahmedabad for two months, the mill-owners could very successfully nip in the bud the chance of a militant development of the movement in the city of Ahmedabad.

Thus, the two-month suspension of work in the textile mills suited the Ahmedabad mill-owners beautifully. They feathered their nests at the cost of the public, gained prestige in the nationalist circles and, at the same time, they could keep their good relations with the government. Nearly ninety thousand industrial workers of Ahmedabad were sent away to their native villages by the mill-owners. With the departure of the workers, Ahmedabad became a city of mill-owners, clerks, school teachers, shop-keepers and such other sundry petty-bourgeois elements. Ahmedabad was robbed of its militant kernel, all that remained was the bourgeois husk and the petty-bourgeois chaff. That was exactly what the mill-owners and their henchman Sardar Patel wanted. In spite of the persistent effort to corrupt the working class of Ahmedabad through the Majdoor Mahajan, there was always a danger (danger from the bourgeois point of view) that the workers might behave in a revolutionary manner in the period of a great mass upheaval and create a revolutionary situation in the city by storming the headquarters of the government, as well as by the seizure of the factories. Therefore, to avoid such unpleasant risks it was surely a great brain-wave on the part of the capitalists to send the workers out of the city of Ahmedabad. After they were sure that no danger threatened them from any quarter, the mill-owners of Ahmedabad did not mind opening their purse-strings to those petty-bourgeois romantic boys who for a month and a half were busy throwing crackers in the streets of Ahmedabad. It was really such a fun for the capitalists and, moreover, how easily they could become patriots ! The entire movement at Ahmedabad since the workers had left the city, was just silly petty-bourgeois fire-works engineered by the Ahmedabad mill-owners from behind the scene. This was the great contribution to the freedom struggle made by the Ahmedabad mill-owners, so feelingly eulogised by Sardar Patel only recently. This was the marvellous preparation which was to make the struggle for national freedom "short and swift" !

What a striking example of political charlatanism ! But the drama was far from finished yet. Something equally interesting was to come in the last act of the drama. After the expiry of two months, when the stock of manufactured textile goods was running short, the mill-owners got their workers back from their villages, inspite of the vehement protest of the Ahmedabad City Congress. The time for the real test of the mill-owners' patriotism had only then come. Now their pockets would have been touched and the government would have taken over the control of the textile mills for maintaining the war-supplies. So the capitalists' horse-sense naturally prevailed over their patriotism.

This was how Sardar Patel and the Congress had mobilised the working class of Ahmedabad for the struggle for India's freedom ! In Ahmedabad, Patel played the game of the capitalists and the capitalists with Gandhi caps on, played the game of the bourgeois Congress. It suited both to play each other's game.

Now, what about the peasants ? How were they mobilised and what were they supposed to have done ? They were urged to "do or die". But apart from this dramatic slogan, what were the concrete steps that the peasants were asked to follow ? Was there any concrete plan suggested to them ? If so, what was it ?

Here we are helped by a very valuable document which Dr. Sitaramayya, a staunch follower of Gandhi and a member of the Congress Working Committee, has supplied to us. While trying to explain away the so-called Andhra Circular which had been made so much of by the government, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya had made some very interesting revelations in a statement which he had issued recently. We shall quote only that particular portion of the statement where he deals with the supposed programme of action of Gandhi. While addressing a public meeting at Bezwada on the July 19, 1945, Dr. Sitaramayya made the following observation : "The programme mentioned in the circular included the non-payment of taxes other than municipal taxes, cutting of palmyra and date palms, and the cutting of telegraph wires. The last item, according to Mahatma Gandhi, was "not prohibited but not recommended". The "open rebellion" intended by Mahatma Gandhi included all these things mentioned in the so-called circular but the removal of railway rails and the burning of wagons or compartments were strictly prohibited." He framed the circular because he got those instructions "after full discussions with him".

The sensation that this speech caused in this country, compelled Dr. Sitaramayya to issue a statement in elucidation of his speech. In the statement issued by him on July 22, 1945, he referred to a meeting which he and a few other important Congressmen had with Gandhi soon after the July meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Wardha, and then made the following observation : "That was a gathering at which hardly three members of the Working Committee were present including myself. At that gathering, we discussed the relevancy of withholding payment of municipal taxes, zamindari rents, picketing toddy shops, boycotting all foreign goods, felling of toddy trees and wire-cutting. All excepting the last, that is wire-cutting which too "is not prohibited but not encouraged", have been part at one time or another of legitimate and authorised programmes of the civil dis-obedience movement, and Gandhiji had repeatedly written that this movement would comprise a summation of all the activities that had been undertaken in the past. He himself discussed, in answer to a question, the practicability or otherwise of wire-cutting being conceivably of a non-violent character, and at the same time expressed grave doubts about its practicability."

Later, Gandhi himself was obliged on the August 4, 1945, to issue a statement on Dr. Sitaramayya's statement. In this statement he did not question the validity of the contents of Dr. Sitaramayya's statement. All that he said was that the "Andhra Circular was neither authorised by the Congress nor by me".

So, if we accept the programme of action enumerated by Dr. Sitaramayya in his speech as the programme of action Gandhi wanted to pursue in the struggle he was supposed to launch, we would be perfectly within our rights.

One highly significant thing should be noted in this connection. Dr. Sitaramayya mentions that at the informal meeting with Gandhi at Wardha, he and others discussed the subject of withholding of zamindars' rent as an item of the programme of action of the future movement. But in his speech at Bezwada when he spoke about the programme of action which he got "after full discussion with him", (meaning Gandhi) he did not at all mention about withholding of zamindars' rent as an item of the programme of action. That item must have been dropped by Gandhi, lest it interfered with the change of heart of his friends, the zamindars !

Thus, the programme of action of the 'Open Rebellion', the rebellion that was to be "short and swift", was the old and rusted programme of civil dis-obedience with wire-cutting as the only new variant. Twice in the past India had given a trial to this masochistic programme of passivity and every time it was found to be completely inadequate to achieve anything which even remotely savoured of freedom. This time also the very same programme was meant to be adopted with the novelty of wire-cutting added to it. This was the programme of action that was supposed to force British imperialism to quit India ! Can there be a more Falstaffian parody of struggle for freedom ? There is not a word in the programme about the non-payment of rent to the zamindars, not to talk of the expropriation of the zamindars' landed estate by the peasants. How can Gandhi, the friend of the zamindars, even dream of such a calamity ?

The mighty agrarian revolution which alone could stir the peasants to the very depths of their beings and which would have at once made it amply clear to the peasants as to what they were expected to do and, if need be, to die for it, was most cunningly by-passed by Gandhi and the bourgeois Congress leaders. Inexplicably tied up as it is with the landed aristocracy, the Indian bourgeoisie could not possibly unleash the democratic revolution in the countryside. That is the reason why it canalised the revolutionary energy of the peasantry in such futile paths as wire-cuttings etc. This counter-revolutionary shunting of the militant energy of the peasantry became the main plank of Gandhism in the countryside.

In short, the plan of action, was masterly one of inaction. It was a plan for sabotaging the freedom struggle and not for winning it. But this worthless Gandhian plan of action was rejected by the masses from the very first day of the movement. Numerous political groups scattered throughout India passed on their own programmes of action to the masses, almost everywhere in the name of the Congress. The 'Left' forces in India had too long played the game of the Congress to be able to build up their own political prestige among the masses. With the exception of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Stalinists and the Royists, before they turned traitors to the cause of national revolution and became British imperialist agents, and the Congress Socialist Party, all functioned in the masses as Congressmen, thereby popularising the bourgeois Congress but not the Leftist parties.

The result of such suicidal policy was more than evident during the August uprising. The leftist forces trailing behind the Congress could neither save the masses from falling into the counter-revolutionary snare deliberately laid on their path by the Congress, nor lead the masses on to the road to revolution.

When the mass uprising started, the Congress leaders were nowhere in the field. On August 9, they had safely taken shelter in the prisons. We are not referring to the members of the Working Committee of the Congress, we are referring to the numerous big and small, provincial and district leaders of the Congress. The masses were asked to "do or die", but these leaders decided not to do anything but to fly in the safe shelter of the prison. A handful of provincial leaders who had gone underground, hastened to surrender to the police within a short time. When the masses stormed the prisons and released the leaders, the leaders rushed to the nearest police station and surrendered to the police pleading that they never left the prison of their own accord, but they were just helpless victims of mass fury ! There were several such instances in U.P. and Bihar.

Congress leadership was practically non-existent throughout the period of August mass uprising. Socialists, Revolutionary Communists and numerous individuals connected with various local organisations scattered throughout India and the rank and file Congressmen who lived amongst masses, supplied the mass uprising with its plan of action. Moreover, the masses threw up large number of leaders from their own ranks almost in all the places. Some sort of a centralised leadership was also forged in the course of the struggle. This has been a priceless experience which will be invaluable in the struggle to come ; but for the immediate purposes of the August uprising, it could be effective only to a limited degree.

In spite of colossal handicaps, the masses fought against British imperialism with exemplary heroism. But heroism alone is no guarantee for success. Revolutionary leadership and meticulous planning of revolution, the thorough understanding of the fluidity and the inter-linking of the various phases of the uprising, all these are the indispensable pre-requisites of a successful revolutionary uprising. In August 1942, all these factors were absent. So the masses went down fighting. But hardly had the blood of the thousands of our fighters for freedom dried or even before the blood had been wiped off the bayonets of British

imperialists, Gandhi started deluging the imperialist butcher, Linlithgow, with plaintive notes proclaiming that neither he nor the Congress had anything to do with the August uprising and that it was led by people who had nothing to do with the Congress.

Gandhi took shelter behind a legal smoke-screen. He was given the sole charge by the All-India Congress Committee to launch the movement, but he could not start it as he was arrested before he could do so, he said.

Technically and legally whatever merit such a statement may have, politically it was the most disgusting statement ever made by a leader of a nation's struggle for freedom. It was cowardly and was nothing but just a shameful attempt to curry favour with imperialist masters. As soon as Gandhi set the tune, all the Congress leaders, big and small, started disclaiming vehemently their connection with the August movement. The funniest part of it is that previous to Gandhi's disclaimer, all these leaders were claiming individually to have set India ablaze from one end to the other !

But the worst was yet to come. They not only dissociated themselves from all that happened in the country in August and September 1942, they moreover started a campaign of villification against those who had participated in the movement. Mr. Anugrahnarain Singh, a prominent Congress leader of Bihar, denounced the people who were still carrying on political work in the spirit of August as traitors. This was the high water-mark of cowardice and treachery that the denunciation of the August uprising had reached.

But what exactly was the purpose behind this denunciation and whom exactly were the Congress leaders trying to convince of their lamb-like innocence ? The denunciation was a slap to the masses, a stern warning to them that Congress, the party of the Indian bourgeoisie would not tolerate the encroachment on the rights (!) of the bourgeoisie by the masses. If the masses had imagined that they could use the same tactics of force which they without sanction from the Congress had used against the government, against the Indian bourgeoisie also, they are sorely mistaken. The Congress warned them by disclaiming all responsibility of the August uprising and by branding the revolutionary fighters as traitors !

At the same time, the Congress pleaded to the British imperialists to have trust in its good intentions.

With tears in his eyes, Gandhi cried hoarse that he never intended to start the movement, all that he wanted was to explain things to Linlithgow and to come to a settlement with him. According to Gandhi, it was Linlithgow who by arresting the Congress leaders created the mass uprising. Gandhi, therefore, had a grouse against Linlithgow for setting the masses in motion ! If he was not arrested, such mass violence (!) would never have occurred, said Gandhi.

What is the implication of all these tearful appeals if it was not just a broad hint to British imperialism to come to an understanding with the Indian bourgeoisie, so that a united front between the Indian and the British bourgeoisie may be forged against the the masses of India ? And was not at the Simla conference where Gandhi and the Congress leaders gladly accepted Wavell as their leader and Wavell as a servant of British imperialism ? What a glorious combination ! Even the "Socialist" Nehru found the Simla conference under the stimulating leadership of Wavell, a step forward, a distinct advance towards freedom.

The denunciation of the August uprising and the acceptance of Wavell leadership for the solution of India's political problems are made of the same stuff. The Indian bourgeoisie is marching under Gandhian leadership from passive counter-revolution to active preparation for counter-revolution. The so-called Gandhian economic plan, the Kasturba village uplift scheme, the basic education scheme—all these are but the various tentacles that the Indian bourgeoisie is spreading out to clutch at the throat of the peasantry and to keep it away from its revolutionary alliance with the Indian working class.

The August uprising has ~~come~~ come to the Indian bourgeoisie as an alarming revelation. It sees the writing on the wall and has started in right earnest to mobilise its forces. The disavowal of the August uprising, the persistent efforts made by the Congress leaders to court British imperialist favour, the acceptance of Wavell as a 'Leader' for the solution of India's political impasse, the visit of the Indian industrialists to England with Gandhi's blessings, the various Gandhian schemes—economic, political and pedagogic, the Gandhian plan to build up trade unions all over India on class-collaboration lines—all these are but the unmistakable signs of a deliberate attempt on the part of the Indian bourgeoisie to sabotage India's revolution and come to a compromise with British imperialism.

The August mass uprising, betrayed by the bourgeois Congress leaders and bloodily suppressed by British imperialism has given the Indian bourgeoisie every facility to organise counter-revolution actively.

The Gandhian counter-revolution is on the march.

August 1945.

RESURGENCE OF TRIBAL SAVAGERY IN CALCUTTA

This is not the first time that the apologists of the existing social order have roused the tribal instincts in man to serve their own selfish class-ends. This was exactly what the Czarist government deliberately did in Russia and the Nazis in Germany.

The orthodox Greek Church did not take an insignificant part in the pogroms organised by the Czarist government against the Jews, just as in fomenting the communal (tribal) passion the role of the Hindu and Muslim priests is notorious. The Jews were made responsible for all the miseries that the people of Russia suffered under the Czarist autocracy, and in this way the discontent of the Russian people against Czarist tyranny was shunted on the rails of tribal (communal) savagery.

This was how Czarism by making the Jews the scapegoat for all the miseries of the Russian people for which Czarism alone was responsible, could save itself from popular fury.

The same phenomenon was observed once again in Nazi Germany. After the First World War, the German people were hungry and unemployment was rampant. The German bourgeoisie, bereft of the colonies by the Treaty of Versailles, was squeezing more and more profit out of the famished German working class. The lot of the German peasants was not a bit happier under the utterly degenerate Prussian Junkers. Due to all these factors, the radicalisation of the German masses was proceeding fast and the grumblings of the gathering revolutionary storm could be heard from all corners of Germany.

At this critical historical juncture, Hitler appeared before the admiring gaze of the panicky German capitalists and the Junkers as the incarnation of all that is primitive and crude and was hailed by the German bourgeoisie as its saviour. Hitler resuscitated the primitive Nordic tribalism, including the tribal god 'Votan'. Hitler made the Jews responsible for all the suffering of the German people. Anti-semitism was without doubt a deliberate move

undertaken by German Fascism in order to sidetrack the anti-capitalistic hatred of the German masses to the morass of vulgar tribalism.

Rousing of tribal (communal) passions is thus a manoeuvre of the possessing classes. It is one of the most vile attempts made by the ruling classes to split-up the revolutionary unity of the masses in order to perpetuate their own rule.

On August 16, 1946, we witnessed one of the most barbarous recrudescence of communal (tribal) savagery in Calcutta. Jinnah and his Muslim League have been since long preaching tribal cults to the Muslim masses with definite aim in view. A most absurd and unscientific theory (?) of "Two Nations", in faithful imitation of Hitler's pure Nordic race theory, was manufactured by Jinnah. In this century, racial or tribal mysticism is the last resort of the modern primitives, the Fascists of all countries. The Muslim League, the party of the utterly decadent Muslim bourgeoisie, thrives on this tribal mysticism.

All the same one may like to know as to why the Muslim League is nurturing and fomenting such tribal savageries and what really is the purpose behind such activities of the League ?

The question is pertinent and deserves an answer. The Muslim League is the political party of the Muslim capitalists and landlords. Historically, the Muslim bourgeoisie is of much later a growth than Hindu bourgeoisie. The Muslim bourgeoisie appeared on the historical stage of India long after the Hindu bourgeoisie had firmly established itself in the economic life of the country. That section of the Indian bourgeoisie which was Muslim by religion and was late-comer in the field, found itself economically cornered by that other section of the Indian bourgeoisie which was Hindu by religion.

In every capitalist country there is incessant competition amongst the individual members of the bourgeois class for ousting one another from the market, but nowhere the religious belief of the contending members of the bourgeoisie has ever been made an issue. Religion is never mixed up with economics and religious differences are never exploited with the dishonest purpose of manufacturing utterly untenable, ignorant and wicked racial theories as was done by Hitler and is being now done by Jinnah.

Due to extremely primitive social conditions and the appalling backwardness of the masses, anti-semitism was possible in Czarist Russia. It was possible in Nazi Germany, because in spite

of very high percentage of literacy amongst the German masses, the Catholic Church with its hundred and one superstitions and the Prussian militarism with its brutal regimentation of the German mind, never allowed democracy to flourish in Germany. In spite of almost universal literacy, the German mind is primitive, more emotional than rational in character, admires regimentation of thought and feeling and loves to be ruled. To be more exact, the Germans never had any experience of practical democracy and never did accept it as a social ideal. Just because of this, the Germans extricated themselves from the coils of the Prussian militaristic state, only to surrender themselves more completely to an infinitely more brutal, dangerous and diabolical militarism and racial fetishism—I mean Hitlerism.

In India, the emergence of tribal fetishism, as enunciated and preached by the Muslim League, is due solely to the economic, social and political backwardness of the country and the extremely low level of political consciousness of the people.

This low level of political consciousness is also responsible for the prevalence of the religio-political magic cult of Gandhism.

The Muslim bourgeoisie has whipped up tribal fetishism in the Muslim masses for furthering its class interest, just as the Hindu bourgeoisie has inoculated the Hindu masses with pro-capitalist and anti-revolutionary bacilli of Gandhism for the furtherance of its own class-interest. Both have followed different methods according to their mental and psychological make-up as determined by the historical development of each ; but though the methods are manifestly different, the end is absolutely identical in both the cases. It is to maintain the rule of capital. In other words, to maintain the rule of exploitation and violence on the masses.

But why did the leaders of the Muslim League who have so far made themselves prominent only by their assiduous licking of the boots of the British imperialists, suddenly decide to stage a 'Direct Action Day' throughout India, on August 16'? Was it really directed against British imperialism or the Hindus in general as proclaimed by various small and big leaders of the Muslim League ? No, most definitely not. It was definitely not directed against British imperialism nor against Hindus as such. This 'Direct Action Day' was nothing but a direct attack on the solidarity of the HINDU AND MUSLIM MASSES who were forging a magnificent revolutionary unity through numerous

struggles waged against both the Hindu and the Muslim capitalists. The masses had shown wonderful solidarity on the day of the general strike in Calcutta on the 29 July last and recently on many more such occasions. Both the Hindu and the Muslim bourgeoisie have been unnerved by such demonstrations of solidarity amongst the Hindus and Muslim masses and both have taken steps to undermine the solidarity. The Congress, the party of the Indian bourgeoisie as a whole, and the Muslim League, the party of the Muslim bourgeoisie in particular, both have reacted sharply to the growing revolutionary temper of the masses. The Congress leaders (including their pets—the Congress-brand “Socialists”) have deliberately sabotaged the railway strike, have persistently preached compulsory arbitration (a Fascist method worthy of Hitler and Mussolini) and in most cases have looked with suspicion and disfavour the strikes of the industrial workers all over India. Mahatma Gandhi had gone to the length of advising the working class of India to hand over its inalienable rights to strike for political reasons to the Congress, that is to say the Indian bourgeoisie.

The Muslim bourgeoisie is naive and primitive. It is very much behind the Hindu bourgeoisie in slyness, diplomacy and political card-sharping. It is only natural that the political party of the Muslim bourgeoisie—the Muslim League—should reflect all the naivete and primitiveness of the class it represents. The Muslim League reacted to the situation with infinitely less skill and finesse than the Congress. It could bring out and depend upon no other weapon from its political armoury than the crudest weapon of tribal fanaticism and savagery.

The Indian Masses, because of their daring to strike again and again at the citadel of the Indian bourgeoisie, are now being systematically attacked by the Indian bourgeoisie. Both the Congress and the Muslim League are on the offensive against the Indian masses. The communal (tribal) orgy of murder and loot engineered by the Muslim bourgeoisie and followed up by the Hindu bourgeoisie has achieved its desired end. It has split-up the working class into rival communal camps and has, at least for the time being, broken up the unity of the working class. This was exactly what the Indian bourgeoisie had so long fervently desired.

It is true that some rich Hindu and Muslim businessmen have suffered heavy losses during this communal riots but they have reaped enough harvest during the war by black-marketing to be able to bear the loss with equanimity. But thousands of poor

Hindus and Muslims—small traders, shop-keepers, book-binders and day-labourers—have lost their all, their lives and the means of livelihood. They have literally been ruined and cannot escape the clutches of starvation.

This is the net result of three days of communal butchery started by the Muslim League and followed up with zeal by the followers of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha, the communal organisation of the Hindus.

The Congress and the Muslim League both are busy devising ways and means to share power with British imperialism for the joint exploitation of the Indian masses. The endless bargains and the fruitless diplomacy of these two parties cannot even make a real beginning towards the solution of the communal problem, not to talk of solving it.

But the masses—the Hindus and the Muslims—are determined to put an end to the machinations of the Hindu and the Muslim bourgeoisie. They have suffered the most and out of their bleeding hearts rings the fervent cry : “We have seen through the game of the capitalists. We shall put an end to this communal orgy.” It is the Hindu and the Muslim masses and their political parties alone that are capable of ending the communal warfare. The Congress and the Muslim League by the very nature of their class-composition and ideologies can never do this.

Only, those who believe in the necessity of building up the class-organisations of the toiling masses and their complete independence from the political domination of the Congress and the Muslim League can sweep away the communal filth by the stormy sweep of the revolutionary mass movement. There is absolutely no other way to end it. No amount of diplomacy and plans of their division of ~~the~~ plundered booty from the masses between the Hindu and the Muslim bourgeoisie, can ever solve this problem. Diplomacy is an intellectual superstition which believes that words rather than action can solve a problem, and division of spoils only whets the greed of the bourgeoisie and the greed knows no end. It is from below, from the dark, hungry and bleeding world of the masses that the final solution will emerge.

The masses of India have for the time being fallen a prey to the diabolical conspiracy of the Indian bourgeoisie, the conspiracy to instigate the vampire of communalism to sap the revolutionary life-blood of the surging mass movement. But as sure as there is the morning after even the darkest of nights, the masses of India

shall emerge out of this shame and sorrow, more united and with much greater political consciousness.

Only then they will fulfil their own destiny and realise the cherished goal of India's emancipation from foreign and indigenous bondage.

Looked at from the historical angle, that day of final reckoning is not far.

September 1946.

POST-WAR WORLD AND INDIA

The war is over but it has not solved the problems that were responsible for the war, it has only accentuated them. The elimination of Germany and Japan as competitors in the world market does not at all signify the elimination of competition for the capture of the world market amongst the remaining capitalist powers and Soviet Russia. As a matter of fact the struggle for market has been hundred-fold increased since the termination of the war.

The U.S. has emerged from the war as the strongest power. She has developed an unheard-of productivity. She has practically ousted Great Britain from Australia, Canada, China and Japan. Great Britain has dropped down to the category of a third rate power. Her productivity is miserably low in comparison to that of the U.S.

The United Kingdom's normal economy is based on imports of food and raw materials which are paid for by exports and by earnings of shipping and other services and by income from overseas investments. All of these credit items have been affected during the war. The export trade was deliberately abandoned so that man-power, production and materials could be mobilised to the fullest extent, with the result that it shrank to less than one-third of its prewar volume and is expected in 1946 to cover not more than half the country's essential expenditure on a minimum volume of imports and on other necessary payment overseas.

Britain, unlike the U.S., does not have food and raw materials with which to support her 47 million people. In normal times, British imports were the equivalent of one-sixth of her national income. Britain normally paid 45.5 per cent of these with coal and finished products ; the rest she paid for by her charges to foreign customers for her shipping, banking and insurance services and by income from overseas investments.

The picture has now changed. Britain's foreign investments have also been appreciably reduced. During the war, specially

UNITED KINGDOM COMMERCIAL EXPORTS

	£ million	Index of volume
1938	471	100
1939	440	94
1940	411	73
1941	365	56
1942	270	36
1943	233	29
1944	258	30
1945 (Jan/Sept)	273	42*

(*Increase in exports in 1945 is partly due to exports for relief purpose.)

in the early part of it she was forced to sell many of her foreign investments. Owing to extensive liquidation of foreign securities, the repatriation of loans by overseas debtors caused by Great Britain's heavy war expenditure overseas, the net income from overseas investments in 1945 will be less than half the 1938 figure. From Government White Paper statistical materials presented during the Washington negotiations, we learn that out of £ 4,000 million foreign investments, forced sale totalled £ 1,118 million.

SALE OF OVERSEAS INVESTMENT DURING THE WAR

	£ million		£ million
Sterling area		North America	
Dominions			
(Australia, New Zealand, Eire, South Africa)	201	United States	203
		Canada	225
			428
India, Burma and Middle East	348	South America	96
Colonies and other sterling area countries	15	Europe	14
		Rest of World	16
	<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/>		<hr style="width: 50%; margin: 0 auto;"/>
	564		126

Total £ 1,118

Thus, a little over 25 per cent of Britain's foreign investment has been liquidated. The war has reduced her shipping tonnage by 25 per cent and her insurance and banking revenue severely. More important, her debts abroad have amounted to a figure just about equalled by her foreign investments.

According to the 'Economist', Great Britain's gross receipt of dividends in 1945 was £ 170 million, whereas the interest she paid the same year for her foreign loans amounted to £ 73 million. In other words, the net receipt from foreign investment was only £97 million in 1945.

External liabilities of the United Kingdom on the other hand have increased enormously. On December 31, 1939, it was £ 556 million ; in 1940, £ 735 million ; in 1941, £ 1,299 million ; in 1942, £ 1,818 million; in 1943, £ 2,465 million ; in 1944, £ 3,073 million and on June 30, 1945, £ 3,365 million.

The major problem facing post-war Great Britain is to restore and increase the export trade. But the losses of internal capital, both industrial and domestic, restoration of civilian supplies and demands upon the labour force—all these factors complicate the production of goods for export.

The total damage to property is estimated at £ 1,450 million. Much of the property consisted of industrial plants, and in addition, industrial capacity has run down by the deferment of all but the most vital repair and maintenance. There has been considerable domestic disinvestment.

DISINVESTMENT WITHIN THE UNITED KINGDOM

	£ (million)
1940	97
1941	254
1942	162
1943	194
1944	178
Total	885 million pounds in five years.

The loss of national wealth due to the war is a little over £ 7,000 million. Pre-war national wealth of Great Britain has been estimated at £ 30,000 million ; in other words, about 25 per cent of Great Britain's national wealth has been destroyed in the war.

Merely to buy abroad, Britain must send abroad much more than she used to do previously. The latest estimate is not 50 per cent more than in 1938, but around 75 per cent.

Previously, by Imperial Preference, Britain kept America out of her home market. Now she cannot. Those strategies will be nullified, if not eliminated by U.S. loan to Britain and by the Bretton Woods agreement. Britain's position has been weakened by her huge debt to nations and her inability to supply enough goods to them.

Britain is far behind America in mass-production. The costs are too high in Britain. For example, even before the war, manufacturing costs in Britain's auto-industry was 32 per cent per pound of finished product. This is more than twice the cost of a U.S. car. In 1938, about 28 companies in Great Britain produced 390,000 private cars, about one-tenth of normal U.S. output.

The British cost of production of car is high because the British industry is not geared, like the American, to producing immense quantities of metal of absolutely uniform quality. The Austin Motor Company preferred to buy American silver finish body sheet and pay a tariff of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent because the American steel was more uniform and entailed less waste.

Steel could lower the cost but certain British steel prices have been as much as 50 per cent higher than world prices.

The British steel industry's best reason for high prices is the cost of coal. The price of coal in Britain, about £ 8.50 a ton, is more than twice the U.S. price.

Coal is getting very expensive. It is threatening to ruin Britain. British coal occurs in narrow seams that are hard to get at. As a result, the productivity of miners reached its peak before 1900 and despite some mechanization, increased little thereafter, for the mines became deeper and harder to work. Shortly before the war, the average mine worker was producing only little more than a long ton a day. The Ruhr miner was producing 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ tons and the U.S. miner 4 tons a day.

During the war, the U.S. Government put 15 billion dollars in new plants while the national wealth of Great Britain declined by twice as much. U.S. industries also put billions into new and existing plants.

The growth of the United States Power production is also spectacular.

UNITED STATES POWER PRODUCTION

Electric power generation	—	Little over 40 billion of kilowatt hours in 1920 to nearly 240 billion of kilowatt hours in 1944.						
Generating capacity of U.S. Power-plants	—	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 15%; text-align: right;">1920</td> <td style="width: 5%; text-align: center;">—</td> <td style="width: 80%;">16 million kilowatt</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">1944</td> <td style="text-align: center;">—</td> <td>50 million kilowatt</td> </tr> </table>	1920	—	16 million kilowatt	1944	—	50 million kilowatt
1920	—	16 million kilowatt						
1944	—	50 million kilowatt						
Utilisation of Power-plant capacity	—	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 15%; text-align: right;">1920</td> <td style="width: 5%; text-align: center;">—</td> <td style="width: 80%;">35 per cent</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">1944</td> <td style="text-align: center;">—</td> <td>55 per cent</td> </tr> </table>	1920	—	35 per cent	1944	—	55 per cent
1920	—	35 per cent						
1944	—	55 per cent						
Per capita consumption of Power	—	<p>In 1939, per capita consumption of power in U.S. was 50% higher than that of Britain, more than twice that of Germany, more than 10 times that of Japan and 150 times that of China.</p> <p>For the past forty years the rate of increase of per capita consumption of power has been incredibly rapid—15% a year.</p> <p>In 1939 U.S. consumed 150 billion kilowatt hours and in 1944, 280 billion kilowatt hours.</p>						

Great Britain's power production is only an infinitesimal part of this gigantic power production of the U.S.

U.S. synthetic rubber tonnage in 1944 was more than half the world's pre-war production of natural rubber and it is produced by less than 22 thousand workers. With this mass production in her favour American imperialism is making every effort to reduce to a minimum the British imperialist hold over the world market.

American imperialism has squeezed British imperialism not only out of the Canadian and Australian markets, it has virtual monopoly of the entire economic life of Japan where U.S. big business is setting up huge industries with the idea of swamping the countries of the East, including India, with cheap commodities by exploiting cheap Japanese labour. The U.S. is also installing industries in China and is gradually ousting Great Britain from the Chinese market.

On the other hand, Soviet Russia which is economically devastated, is frantically trying to rebuild her industries by removing

industrial plants from all countries of Europe. She has pocketed Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Baltic countries and holds sway over parts of Austria and Germany. In Central Europe, in the Balkans and in Poland Soviet Russia is busy consolidating its hold on the national economy of these countries. The Soviet government has negotiated a new commercial treaty with Sweden and has advanced her a loan of £ 75 million notwithstanding stout opposition of the U.S. The greater part of Europe thus is now under her sway.

Great Britain is thus being squeezed out of European as well as from the Asiatic and Atlantic markets. The tension is daily growing among these three powers.

But in spite of all this grabbing of territories, Russian production is far behind the production of Great Britain, not to talk of that of the U.S. Between 1938-40, Russian oil output grew only a little over 3 per cent in 1940; it totalled about 31 million tons, a little over 10 per cent of the total world output. During the war, Soviet Russia lost about 15 per cent of its pre-war production. In 1943, Russia's production was about 28 million tons, 3 million tons less than what it was in 1940 or only 9 per cent of the total output. This explains Soviet Russia's interest in foreign petroliferous territories. Soviet seizure of Austria's Zittersdorf oilfields, Russia's aggression on Iran, the demand of Turkish territory, the Soviet-Hungarian economic agreement—all these exude the smell of oil.

Thus from the above picture it is clear that the three-cornered struggle between the U.S., Great Britain and Soviet Russia goes on ceaselessly and increases in fury.

THE POST-WAR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE

The phase through which European capitalism must pass at the present historical period is the bourgeois-democratic phase, before it could reach the Fascist phase once again. It could not right away assume Fascist dictatorship because the European bourgeoisie has lost its mass following. Before the war the Fascist parties were mass parties. The state then was manoeuvring between two extremes. Today the situation is quite different. The masses have swung towards communism and socialism, as it is clear from the enormous votes that these political parties have secured in the elections in Europe. The European bourgeoisie has not the mass support to launch a naked Fascist

dictatorship for fear of proletarian revolution. It must manoeuvre on the democratic front for some time in order to have a breathing space to prepare for a transition from bourgeois-democracy to Fascist dictatorship. In order to get this time for manoeuvring, the bourgeoisie will have to depend upon Social Democracy and Stalinism. It can do so only by bourgeois-democratic methods and not by Fascist dictatorial methods. The bourgeois-democratic regimes in Europe are thus the results of the co-relation of class-forces in post-war Europe. Coalition governments are the order of the day, just as we had the coalition governments of the Social-Democracy and the Centrum, the Catholic Party of Germany, after the First World War. That government was formed by the German bourgeoisie to stem the tide of the German revolution. In the same way, after the Second World War, the bourgeoisie is organising the coalition governments in European countries composed of Socialists, Stalinists, Catholic and Christian parties to stem the tide of the proletarian revolution. In Italy, Holland, Belgium and France, bourgeois democratic regimes have been established. The European proletariat has increased its strength, therefore, the bourgeoisie has been compelled at this stage to rule through the bourgeois-democratic parliamentary method.

Unless the Socialist revolution steps in quickly, historically speaking, bourgeois-democracy will be the stepping stone to Fascism, just as in the past Popular Front was the stepping stone to Fascism.

THE ROLE OF STALINISM IN EUROPE

The role of Stalinism in Europe is that of Social-Democracy or Menshevism. It is the hangman of revolution in Europe as was proved in Greece and during the Warsaw uprising.

Stalinism is the champion of bourgeois-democracy. In other words, it is helping today in the work of rehabilitation of the European bourgeoisie, just as the Social-Democracy did after the First World War.

The European masses are prepared for revolution. They know that democracy in this period is entirely in their keeping. The bourgeoisie, engulfed in a crisis, can save itself only by curtailment of democracy. Only the proletarian revolution can save democracy.

Along with the U.S., the British and the French imperialism, Stalinism is making every effort to stabilise bourgeois-democracy in Europe ; its efforts are directed against the proletarian revolution. Along with the British, the U.S. and the French imperialism, Stalinism is striving hard for the balkanisation of Europe. Bitter struggle is going on amongst these four powers for the domination of Europe. Europe is being parcelled out amongst these powers.

This balkanisation of Europe weakens the proletarian front there. Balkanisation is directed against the proletarian revolution.

In the occupied countries there is a recrudescence of a nationalist movement directed against the four powers. The nationalist bourgeoisie first sided with the Nazis and then with the 'democratic' imperialists. This has clearly proved to the European proletariat that it can ensure the national integrity of every country.

The objective forces of the proletarian revolution have more than ripened within the womb of the capitalist society but the midwife, the subjective factor—the political leadership is absent.

Stalinism, the neo-Menshevism, is leaving no stone unturned to crush the proletarian revolution in Europe, as a matter of fact, in all countries of the world.

But why is Stalinism against proletarian revolution in Europe ?

Because, the proletarian revolution in any of the major countries of Europe will (1) end Stalin's national-socialism in Russia, and (2) destroy the bureaucracy in Russia which is the main support to Stalinism.

The Stalinist bureaucracy ruling Soviet Russia today, realises this fully well ; therefore, all its efforts are directed towards the sabotage of the proletarian revolution in Europe.

Let us hear what an arch-Stalinist has to say about the proletarian revolution in Europe. In a speech delivered at Sofia on February 27, 1946, Dimitrov has said the following among other equally counter-revolutionary things. In defence of the Fatherland Front which is formed of all motley elements of society, he said : "The struggle for socialism is different now from what it was in 1917 and 1918 in Tsarist Russia, when the October Revolution was carried through. At that time, it was essential for the overthrow of Tsarism and the dictatorship of the proletariat was essential for the transition to Socialism. Since that time, as you

know, three decades have gone and the Soviet Union as a Socialist state has grown into a great power.

“The existence of so great a socialist state as the Soviet Union, and the historic democratic revolution which has been taking place in many countries since the war raises the question of the creation of socialism for many countries, *not as a struggle of the working class for socialism*, against the remaining productive strata in the country, but on the contrary, as a question of *the co-operation between the working class with the peasants, craftsmen, intelligentsia and the progressive strata of the people*. . . .In short, it will be the historic work of the entire people. . . .Hence, we Communists openly state that in the prevailing circumstances, we chose this very course because it is a realistic and painless road to socialism. . . .Making use of the great teachings of Marx, Engels and Stalin, we Bulgarian Communists and Marxists will be in a position to find our own Bulgarian course towards Socialism.”

What are the implications of these words of Dimitrov ?

First, that the struggle for socialism today is different from that it was in 1917-19 in Tsarist Russia. At that time, it was essential to overthrow autocracy and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, according to Dimitrov, it would not be necessary to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat as according to him, great socialist state, Soviet Russia, is there.

It is not at all clear from Dimitrov's words as to why the existence of the great socialist state of Russia would make the dictatorship of the proletariat in other countries superfluous in the historical period, following the overthrow of autocracy or bourgeois dictatorship in these countries. Is it because Dimitrov is for class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie for the achievement of socialism (!), that he is assuring the bourgeoisie that there would not be any dictatorship of the proletariat and that the bourgeoisie need have no anxiety on that score ?

Secondly, according to Dimitrov, socialism is no longer the struggle of the working class. It is a struggle of the entire people, and people a la Dimitrov includes the intelligentsia and also the progressive strata. Here by the use of the words, “progressive strata”, Dimitrov has slyly included the bourgeoisie as he has done by the dishonest use of the word “people”.

In other words, socialism will be the struggle of the bourgeoisie also ! Class-collaboration will lead to socialism, that is the gist of Dimitrov's words.

Thirdly, according to Dimitrov, this new painless way to socialism, should be pursued by making use of the great teachings of Marx, Engels and Stalin.

Here, Dimitrov's purposeful omission of the name of Lenin should be noted. It is good that he has done so. A preacher of class-collaboration, a pacifist protagonist of the painless way to socialism and an opponent of the dictatorship of the proletariat has no right to use the great name of Lenin. Dimitrov has done well to omit Lenin's name but he has also no right to make dirty use of the great names of Marx and Engels, as both of them stood for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for revolutionary methods for winning socialism and were determined opponents of class-collaboration.

Dimitrov's speech proves conclusively that the Stalinist tactics of the united front with the bourgeoisie has reached its logical end. Stalinism today denounces revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Stalinism today is for the "Fatherland Front", that is for class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie and for the painless way to socialism. In other words, Stalinism is for the constitutional and parliamentarian way of achieving socialism.

In short, Stalinism is neo-Menshevism, Kautskyism, Social Democratism of the Second International.

THE THIRD WORLD WAR

In the meantime, the shadows of the Third World War are deepening. The tension between Anglo-American imperialism on the one hand and Soviet Russia on the other is increasing.

The demand for the internationalisation of the Danube and Dardanelles by Soviet Russia, the freezing of Czechoslovakian credit in America, the demand for the "Lease and lend" equipment from Russia by the U.S., Soviet Russia's export of Jews to Palestine to aggravate the tension there, and last but not least, the 3500 million dollar loan to Great Britain by the U.S., which she will drain in the course of five years, all these go to show the direction in which the political wind is blowing amongst the three dominant world powers. This loan is a sort of notice served on Soviet Russia by the British and the American imperialism that an alliance has been cemented between them.

We find a historical parallel of great interest when we remember that just before the First World War, France gave a loan to Tsarist

Russia, the purpose of which was also to cement the political alliance between the two powers.

Then, a warning of a different nature and of a more militaristic nature has also been served on Soviet Russia. Churchill's famous speech at Fulton is the instance. In this speech, Churchill pleaded for the continuation of the Joint Staff Committees of British and American armed forces in Washington. This speech was not contradicted by any responsible leader of the Labour Party or by the Labour Government. On the contrary, this speech has been supported by an official announcement by the United States Air Force on December 31, 1946 that an agreement has been reached between the United States Air Force and the Royal Air Force for peace-time continuance of war-time co-operation in staff method, tactics, equipment and research.

Then, the atom bomb test at Bikini Atoll is undoubtedly a militaristic warning to Soviet Russia.

From whichever angle we may look at the happenings in Europe, whether from the economic or the political or the militaristic angle, we come to the inevitable conclusion that the third world war is approaching.

In brief, we are led to the following conclusions :

Ascendency of American imperialism and the downward trend of British imperialism. Sharp struggle between the American and the British imperialists for the conquest of the world markets.

A tug-of-war between the U.S.-British imperialism and Soviet Russia for the control of Europe.

The sharpening of animosity between the U.S.-British imperialism on the one side and Soviet Russia on the other for world supremacy. This will inevitably lead to a third world war.

The revolutionary wave that swept over Europe has been thwarted and checked by U.S.-British imperialism with the active help of Stalinism.

The European masses have been betrayed by Stalinism.

Stabilisation of bourgeois rule in Europe for the time being has been achieved. This stabilisation can be short-lived if there are genuine revolutionary working class parties in the countries of Europe under a Revolutionary International to guide them.

THE POST-WAR INDIA

Against this international background, let us now review the economic and political situation in India. During the war, the

pace of industrialisation increased, not due to any change in British imperialist policy but due to the pressure of world forces, and because India became a base of war supplies to the Near-East. From this, neither the theory of de-colonisation nor the change in British policy vis-a-vis India's industrialisation can be deduced. During the war, British imperialism continued to follow the same policy of obstruction to India's industrialisation as before as evidenced by the Roger Mission which decided against the establishment of heavy industries and the expansion of steel industry in India.

In 1937, the Government of India imposed a five per cent duty on long-staple cotton imported to India from Egypt. The motive behind this measure was nothing else but to hamper the production of finer cloth by the Indian textile mills and to divert the superior quality of Egyptian cotton to the British textile industry. Also our export trade was obstructed by the trade policy of the government. Our export of cotton textile to Australia was negligible up to 1936-1937, but accounted for £ 15.3 million in 1943-44 and would have been much more had it not been for the restrictions imposed by the government on the export of cotton textiles to Australia. This was evidently due to the fear that it will cut off the U.K. and U.S. from the Australian market.

The same obstructionist policy was adopted by the government regarding the motor-manufacturing industry. It refused to give the industry the backing of the state even though such an industry would have helped the supply of at least one of the most essential war materials. As a result of persistent obstruction from the government, only a motor assemblage plant could be established.

The Indian bourgeoisie reaped fabulous profits during the war, but the masses suffered enormously ; the reasons were the control of the foodgrains by the government for the military, and the withholding of the foodgrains from the market by the merchants for reaping black-market prices. Impoverishment of the masses went apace. The masses were seething with hatred against British imperialism.

British imperialism was getting hard knocks both in the Eastern and Western fronts. The Indian bourgeoisie considered this to be the most opportune time for putting pressure on Britain to achieve the maximum degree of its class-interest by letting loose a sporadic decentralised mass-force against it. The Indian bourgeoisie thought that British imperialism was in such a tight corner

at that time that a sporadic mass unrest would force it to accede to its demands. The "Quit India" movement was engineered with these two ends in view : (1) to put pressure on the British government and thereby to wrest some concessions, and (2) to shunt the mass unrest to the futile rails of sporadic attempts, away from the path of revolution.

The "Quit India" movement failed, but the purpose was gained due to world causes.

British imperialism has been reduced to a third-rate power after the war. She is threatened by American competition as well as Soviet expansion in Europe. She must protect the Indian market for herself and also create an anti-Soviet front. For both these tasks, she requires the co-operation of the Indian bourgeoisie. The Indian bourgeoisie also requires the help of British imperialism against the Indian masses and the threat of Soviet invasion.

The result of this mutual inter-dependence between the Indian and the British bourgeoisie is the Cabinet Mission, the Interim Government and the summoning of a Constituent Assembly of the Indian bourgeoisie protected by British bayonets.

Thus, after achieving the maximum of its class-aspirations, the Indian bourgeoisie has now definitely turned counter-revolutionary.

It has played out its oppositional role also. This being the role of the Indian bourgeoisie at the present time, the role of the Congress, the political party of the Indian bourgeoisie, can not be anything else but counter-revolutionary. The U.P. Ordinance against labour, the forced arbitration act and the Goonda and Anti-social Act of Bombay, all these go to show in which direction the Congress is drifting.

Therefore, it is necessary to expose the anti-mass activities of the various Congress governments in different provinces, and also at the Centre. We must also launch a vigorous propaganda appealing to the rank and file Congressmen to break with the bourgeoisie and to snatch the power in their own hands.

THE LEFTIST UNITY

Leftism in India still remains an undefined all-inclusive mystic substance. In India, class-collaboration (the united front policy), limping behind the Congress—the party of the Indian bourgeoisie, the ecstatic eulogy of the anti-revolutionary Congress leadership,

the complete submersion within the Congress, the strenuous attempts to hamper the class-organisation of workers and peasants and the frantic efforts to conceal the bourgeois class-character of the Congress from the masses—all these have been labelled and exhibited as 'Leftism' in the political market place.

This unfortunately is the physiognomy of most that passes as Leftism in India. Leftism in India is in the clutches of the bourgeois leadership of the Congress. Now and then it criticises some particular action of the Congress leadership only to apologise to it at the earliest opportunity. This variety of 'Leftism' believes that by perpetual surrender to the bourgeois leaders of the Congress it will succeed to capture the Congress diplomatically. This intellectual superstition is a proof of its intellectual and moral bankruptcy. It has not the courage to assert boldly that at every critical and revolutionary period of history the ideology of the revolutionary class is always considered sectarian by the classes whose death warrant has been signed by history.

The three fundamental errors committed by this brand of 'Leftism' are : (1) its identifying the national revolution with the bourgeois Congress; whereas in reality the national revolution can be achieved only by the mass forces organised outside the Congress and under the political leadership of the revolutionary left ; (2) its loose and superficial talk about alternate leadership of the national revolution has appeared to these leftists to be identical with the problem of the alternate leadership of the Congress ; (3) its constant effort to separate independence from socialism with an utterly unrealistic and unhistorical sophistry. Independence first, then socialism — this is a pure and simple bourgeois trickery hatched by the Congress rightists to confuse the proverbially muddle-headed middle class.

One would have expected that the Leftists at least would not fall a prey to this claptrap of the reactionaries. But only the other day Jayaprakash Narayan has with all solemnity repeated the rightist balderdash— independence first, then socialism.

Jayaprakash Narayan's declaration that he would support the Nehru government wholeheartedly and the C.S.P., the Forward Bloc and the R.S.P. towing the line of the bourgeois Congress—all these must be exposed. Leftist unity move should be vigorously undertaken by us, on the basis of four conditions. They are : (1) the recognition of the independent class-organisations of the workers and peasants by the Left, (2) the recognition of the fact that the political leadership of the national liberation movement

has historically passed into the hands of the united Left, (3) the recognition of the necessity of summoning of a People's Constituent Assembly, consisting of the representatives of the Mazdur Panchayets, Kisan Panchayets, trade unions and student organisations and, (4) the acceptance of the Mazdur-Kishan-Panchayet Raj as the central slogan in opposition to the Congress slogan of Mazdur-Kisan Praja-Raj.

THE WORKING CLASS FRONT

The bourgeoisie says that because of the war that has just ended they feel bound today to curtail the liberties and privileges of the workers. At the same time the workers have gained a new consciousness to fight for their demands, economic as well as political. In many cases strikes have been resorted to by workers not for wages alone but, say, against invidious distinctions made by the capitalists and in defence of their own dignity. These causes today are as much causes of strikes as the question of wages. The entire psychology of the working class has undergone a change.

The bourgeoisie has adopted a new road. They have agreed to profit-sharing, as for example, the Tatas. Certain working class leaders, like Abdul Bari, are jubilant over it. Bari has proclaimed the Tatas as socialists. But what is this profit-sharing ?

The bourgeoisie did not talk of profit-sharing during the war when it was making fabulous profits and now that a crisis is descending on industry there has been an offer of profit-sharing. A Bengal industrialist boasted that the Tatas had been able to fool the workers. There was no point in sharing profits when the industries were going down. And he was right.

We demand that along with profit-sharing, the capitalists shall have to give us a minimum basic wage on a human level. Higher basic wage is our demand today—that will be our central demand throughout India. Besides that whatever profit-sharing we can snatch, we will snatch.

Agitation for the fixation of a higher basic wage and not profit-sharing alone, which is deceptive, should be our immediate objective. Trade unions in our country are sectarians. They cannot join together in defensive or offensive fights against the capitalists. We cannot, on the basis of a sectarian stand, create an effective stand against the capitalists. We find that hardly 24 per cent of the trade unions can be called large-scale. In 1944 there were only 116 unions, that is to say 20.6 per cent of all the unions,

which had from one thousand to ten thousand members, while only 18 unions, 3.2 per cent of all the unions, had more than ten thousand members.

We must launch a vigorous campaign for mass trade unions and not encourage sectarian trade unionism. We must raise the spirit of militancy of the workers, rouse them to fight against compulsory arbitration, the bourgeois state-control over trade unions.

The Indian bourgeoisie through the Congress government have started an offensive against the Indian working class. The ordinance against strikes in essential services in U.P., the Bombay Industrial Relations Act, the banning of general strikes and strike for political purposes in Bombay by the recently promulgated Black Act—the Industrial Relations Act— all these bear testimony to the anti-labour crusade of the bourgeois Congress.

But trade unions are, by their very nature, reformistic, always ready to compromise with the bourgeoisie and its government. Trade unionism is an attempt to have some concessions within the framework of the bourgeois society and it cannot transcend bourgeois limits. But we have to organise trade unions because without them we cannot unite the workers together. Trade unions afford a minimum organisation which we have to utilise. Our aim is not the minimum, but still without the minimum we cannot take the workers to the next higher stage of the revolutionary struggle. Therefore, arises the necessity of a broad militant organisation corresponding to the political requirements of the mass struggle against the capitalist social order.

PANCHAYETS

Panchayets are the organisations which will be mass-instruments for the seizure of power and in the period of actual struggle will represent dual power ; in other words, these will be organisations that will transcend the limits put by bourgeois society. Panchayets are not party organisations. No comrade should run away with the idea that Panchayets are the organisations of the Revolutionary Communists only and that they alone are to pack it with their own men. Panchayets are mass organisations and as such any party may come to lead them. There we have to take the leadership not through a packed body system but through hard work. For the success of a revolutionary party that will want to take the leadership in the Panchayets will

depend on its power to coalesce with the people, its understanding of the people's psychology and its ability to guide the people's revolutionary zeal; otherwise, it is most likely that the leadership of the Panchayets will pass on to the hands of reactionaries. With millions of men we are going to form Panchayets. Any party which has dash, courage, foresight and tact can take them over. If we become sluggish and do not work and think that as we have given the slogan of Panchayets, therefore, we will always lead them, that will be committing a great mistake. We have only given a correct slogan. We must work among the masses ceaselessly and know how to lead them. We must be watchful and vigilant. We must not allow any movement of resistance to be ignored by the Panchayets.

Unfortunately, Revolutionary Communists are not to be found in demonstrations and meetings organised by other political parties. That is a Congress show, how can I take part in it? There is the Congress flag, how can I go there? These are all infantile disorders of the comrades. We must take part in every meeting and demonstration in which the masses actively participate. On the Independence Day we must hold meeting with our slogans and our ideas. If there is the Congress flag we should not be hyper-sensitive about it. We must utilise every platform, go everywhere. We must be tough and if on any particular issue they call a meeting, we will also make our voice heard there. To remain away from the masses means a death blow to revolutionary communism. If we are not heroic, if we have no dash, if we are not active, Leftism will never come out victorious. Panchayets have this danger that even at this period when we have only given them a start, they may pass on to other political parties. To be conscious of this fact is to be alert to this danger.

Objections to Panchayet : Objections to our slogan "Form Panchayets" have been voiced from different quarters. The Indian Trotskyists, who are far away from all that Trotsky really represented, have dubbed our slogan "Form Panchayets" as ultra-leftism and adventurism. The criticism of the Panchayet is based on their misunderstanding of the nature of the Soviet during 1905 Revolution and the November Revolution in Russia. Therefore, it will be necessary to dwell in brief on the actual implication of the Soviet in the two revolutions in Russia.

Panchayet and Soviet : Lenin had explained that the historical task of the Soviets was to organise the conquest of power and that

on the day after the victory, they would become the organ of that power.

From this the utterly wrong and fantastic conclusion was drawn by some that the Soviets can be organised only when the zero hour for insurrection has struck.

In October, the Bolshevik Soviets gave the call for insurrection but the Menshevik and S. R. Soviets existed for nine months previously.

In 1905, there were Soviets in Moscow, Petersburg, and scores of other cities in Russia.

Before the Soviets of 1905, during a strike in Moscow, a Soviet of Printers Deputies was created.

“Soviets must be formed, not just on the eve of the insurrection, not under the slogan of the immediate seizure of power—for if the matter has reached the point of the seizure of power, if the masses are prepared for an armed insurrection without the Soviets, it means that there have been other organisational forms and methods which made possible the performance of the preparatory work to ensure the success of the uprising. Then the question of Soviets becomes of secondary importance and is reduced to a question of denomination. The task of the Soviets is not merely to issue the call for the insurrection or to carry it out, but to lead the masses towards the insurrection through the necessary stages.” (Trotsky)

And what are these necessary stages ?

“At first, the Soviets rally the masses not to the slogan of armed insurrection, but to partial slogans, so that only later, step by step, the masses are brought towards the slogan of insurrection without scattering them on the road and without allowing the vanguard to become isolated from the class.” (Trotsky)

And when do the Soviets appear ?

“The Soviet appears most often and primarily in connection with strike struggles which have the perspectives of revolutionary development but are in the given moment limited merely to economic demands. The masses must sense and understand while in action that the Soviet is their organisation, that it marshals the forces for a struggle, for resistance for self-defence, and for an offensive. They can sense and understand this not from an action of a single day nor in general from any single act, but from the experience of several weeks, months and, perhaps years, with or without interruption.” (Trotsky)

Let us hear what Lenin says on the point : "The Social Democratic Labour Party of Russia has never refused to utilise at moments of greater or smaller revolutionary upsurge certain non-party organisations of the type of Soviets of Workers Deputies in order to strengthen the influence of the Social Democrats on the working class and to consolidate the Social Democratic labour movement."

It is clear that the formation of the Soviets for strengthening the influence of the Social Democrats on the working class and for consolidating the Social Democratic labour movement as visualised by Lenin has nothing in common with the grotesque theory of forming the Soviets at the twelfth hour of insurrection, that is to say, just on the eve of the insurrection.

The formation of the Soviet at the twelfth hour is a Stalinist caricature of the Leninist conception of the Soviet. We have a historical example of great importance of this type of Stalinist Soviet.

During the Canton insurrection there was no Soviet in Canton and the Executive Committee of the Communist International in its February resolution made certain comrades, who were the representatives of the Comintern in China, responsible for the "absence of an elected Soviet in Canton as an organ of insurrection."

To create an elected Soviet is not an easy matter. It is necessary that the masses know from experience what a Soviet is, that they understand its form, that they have learnt something in the past to accustom themselves to an elected Soviet organisation.

There was not a single Soviet in China ; when however, a date was set for insurrection, helter skelter a Soviet was appointed.

This Stalinist variation of Soviet was not an organ of insurrection but was an organ of strangling insurrection.

Likewise, the Panchayets have to be formed not in the zero hour of the revolution but long before it, just as Soviets were formed in Russia long before the actual revolutionary period. Panchayets, like the Soviets, must be formed long before the actual period for the seizure of power has arrived. The masses cannot overnight grasp the implication of an organisation. It must first be identified with their day to day struggle and then only through that process by degrees the real significance of that organisation—its real character as an organisation of the seizure of power will seep into their consciousness. There is absolutely no other way barring this. In other words, an organisation which

is primarily built for fulfilling the highest revolutionary task, namely the seizure of power, must be begun with humble tasks such as strikes etc., which at the given moment may be limited only to economic demands. For the masses to understand that the Panchayet is their own organisation both for defensive and offensive purposes, quite a good period of time is necessary and that period cannot obviously be limited only to the actual period of revolutionary insurrection. The organ of seizure of power, therefore, must be created considerably earlier than the actual period of revolutionary upsurge. The Panchayet—the organ for the seizure of power—like its Russian predecessor, the Soviet—must be formed now.

This period in India is analogous to the February period of Russian Revolution, and like the Russian Soviets in the hands of the Mensheviks and S.R.'s, for nine months in 1917, the Panchayets in India may also be controlled by the reactionary parties, but if we, Revolutionary Communists, follow the right strategy and tactics, we shall surely be able to snatch them from the hands of the reactionaries and guide the Indian masses through them to victory.

THE PEASANTRY

The present phase reflects the sharp struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat for winning over the peasantry to their respective camps. The abolition of the zamindari system even with compensation—this move of the Congress—is nothing but an attempt to win over the peasantry on the side of the Indian bourgeoisie. We must be unsparing in our efforts to explain to the peasantry the real implication of this move.

The bourgeoisie explains to the peasantry that the reasons for the rise in commodity prices are the excessive demands of the workers and thus wants to drive a wedge between the workers and the peasants, and also between the workers and the urban middle-classes.

We should prove to the peasants and the city middle-class that the high prices are not due to workers' demands but due to exorbitant profits and overhead expenses of capitalist method of production.

For this, committees on prices should be organised with delegates from factories, trade unions, co-operatives, peasants'

Panchayets and house-wives to lay bare to them the reason for high prices.

Let us not forget that victory will fall to the lot of that class that wins the peasantry to its side. If the bourgeoisie succeeds in fooling the peasantry, the counter-revolution will win. If the proletariat convinces the peasantry that its real interest lies in marching with the workers, then revolution will win.

ROLE OF STALINISM IN INDIA

Stalinism in India apes all the opportunism and anti-revolutionism of international Stalinism.

From class-collaboration with the Indian bourgeoisie during the united front period, it went over to the united front with British imperialist bourgeoisie during the war. Again, with the assumption of power by the Congress, it went over to the policy of full support to the Congress ministries in the various provinces.

In its weekly, *People's Age* of May 5, 1946, a resolution, adopted by the Central Committee of the Stalinist C.P.I. on the "New Ministries" was published. We quote the illuminating portion of the resolution: "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India welcomes the formation of popular ministries headed by the Congress and the Muslim League in the various provinces. The Communist Party will whole-heartedly co-operate with the popular ministries in all issues of people's needs and offer its constructive criticism and make positive proposals.

"The Communist Party of India would like to minimise and avoid strikes as far as possible (our emphasis). It will give the ministries every chance of settling industrial disputes amicably but unhesitatingly champion direct action when it finds that all other means are exhausted.

"The Communist Party of India realises that the vested interests, which are entrenching themselves solidly behind the Congress and League ministries, will attack every action of the workers or peasants as anti-national and anti-ministry."

It is the same class-collaboration again with a few radical phrases thrown here and there to cheat the workers.

Dange, the Stalinist leader, has assured the Congress ministry of Bombay that he will help the ministry in the working of the Trades Dispute Bill.

On the other hand, the Stalinist C.P.I. has sided with the communal Muslim League and has directly participated in its "Direct Action" in a number of places.

THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT

The germinal beginning of de-colonisation has begun with the installation of Interim Government at the centre. De-colonisation means that the bourgeoisie of a colonial country or a semi-colonial country gets a chance to inaugurate a full-fledged industrial plan of its own and it is no longer politically hampered by a dominating imperialism in its industrial plans. Imperialist powers may refuse to sell things on economic pleas, but politically they can no longer debar.

Till now India had only light industries and did not produce machine tools and machineries. A country which does not produce machineries can never be called an industrial country.

During the war, the Roger Mission and various other imperialist devices were hatched in order to retard India's industrial development even though they hampered imperialism's own war efforts.

But now it is no longer possible for British imperialists to say that they would not allow heavy industries to be built in India. They can not today put a stop, for instance, to the setting-up of a motor factory. They realise this fact and, therefore, they have come to a compromise with the Indian bourgeoisie.

The formation of the Interim Government is the surest indication that the Indian bourgeoisie is going in for a full-scale industrialisation in India and that there is nothing to stop them politically.

Discriminatory protection is at an end and full-fledged protection policy has been announced. Mr. C. H. Bhaba, Commerce Member of the Interim Government, made a statement on 17 September, defining the new Interim Government's trade policy. He said : "A substantial increase of trade can not be brought about by the hasty removal of so-called trade barriers which must inevitably hamper the development of backward countries and sterilise the purchasing power and real income of their population.

"We are determined to initiate effective measures for the rapid economic development of this country. In the past, economic progress has been slow and haphazard largely as a result

of the adoption of policies such as the policy of discriminatory protection, which have discouraged and hampered the industrialisation of this country. This outlook has now changed and the policies and measures which we propose to adopt involve a large-scale expansion of industry and agriculture and the complete modernisation of our methods of production. We will need assistance from other countries in the shape of capital goods and equipment, technical advice and food and raw materials. Our ultimate objective must, therefore, be twofold : first, to increase the export of manufactured goods, the natural markets for which are the countries of Asia and Africa ; secondly, to control imports, not only by the use of tariffs, but by the application of more direct measures also, which will ensure that our limited resources are not frittered away on less essential goods and that the products of our new industries are suitably and adequately protected." This is to oblige their paymasters—the Birlas, the Tatas and the Lalbais. The masses will have to foot the bill in the shape of taxes, subsidies, high tariff walls and consequently high prices. Moreover, capital will also be supplied to the Indian capitalists by the so-called National Government. Nationalisation and planning under such a government will mean nothing but the rescuing of the capitalists in certain industries and their strengthening in others at substantial gains to the capitalists and loss to the masses.

There is no illusion about the class-character of the Interim Government. The various anti-strike activities of this government are sure indications of its class-character. The Ordinance against strikes in essential services in U.P., the Goonda and Anti-Social Act of the Bombay Government, the C.P. and Berar Goonda Bill in C.P. and the Industrial Relations Act in Bombay—all are indications of the Indian bourgeoisie's drive against the working class of India.

But the masses, under the spell of the Congress, consider it to be the people's government. We must not project our political consciousness to the masses and think they have seen through the Interim Government. That would be the greatest mistake.

The masses must learn through hard knocks the real character of the so-called National Government. The Indian bourgeoisie can no longer hide behind the smoke-screen of British imperialism ; it is now in power. In our criticism of and propaganda against the Interim Government ; we should not say that it is no better than the previous naked British Imperialist Government of India.

That would be stupid, that would only prejudice the people against us and would only give our enemies a handle to dub us as anti-national. We should concretise our charges against this Government and achieve its exposure by concrete demands. We shall welcome the so-called independence of India, in other words, the freedom of the people of India from the direct political control of British imperialism, but at the same time, we shall have to point out to the people that British imperialism has not quit India, it has only changed its tactics vis-a-vis India. Under the cover of granting political sovereignty to India, it is planning to keep its economic stranglehold on India and that the Indian bourgeoisie is a party to this. The Birla-Nuffield agreement to jointly start an automobile industry in India, and the agreement between Lalbhai and the British textile machinery manufactures such as Mather & Platt's for the establishment of textile machine-manufacturing industry in India with a share in the profit, show the way in which the wind of economic co-operation between the Indian bourgeoisie and the British imperialist bourgeoisie is blowing.

The British imperialist bourgeoisie can not keep its hold on the Indian market, keep the U.S. away from it and form an anti-Soviet block in the East without the support of the Indian bourgeoisie and the Indian bourgeoisie can not maintain itself in power against the growing onslaught of the Indian masses without the support of British imperialism, nor can it fight a Soviet aggression single-handed. Hence this substantial economic concessions to the British imperialist bourgeoisie.

That is the reason why we have said before that only the germinal process of de-colonisation has started. The Indian bourgeoisie being forced to a compromise with British imperialism can not complete this process by any means. De-colonisation can be fully achieved only when the socialist revolution ushers in the rule of the Indian masses and destroys every trace of economic domination of India by British imperialism.

December 1946.

LEFTISM AND LEFTIST UNITY

Once more murmurs about the "Leftist Unity" are being heard in whispering galleries of political India. But these talks, as in the past are purely emotional in character. Nowhere any attempt to enunciate the ideological premises of the leftist unity is noticeable. Leftism still remains an undefined, all inclusive, mystic substance. In India class-collaboration (the united front policy), limping behind the Congress, the party of the Indian bourgeoisie, the ecstatic eulogy of the anti-revolutionary Congress leadership, the complete submersion within the Congress, the strenuous attempt to hamper the class organisation of the workers and peasants and the frantic efforts to conceal the bourgeois class character of the Congress from the masses—all these have been labelled and exhibited as "Leftism" in the political market place. The result has been disastrous on more than one occasion and in more ways than one.

In 1942, there was a spontaneous uprising of the masses. It was spontaneous in the sense that besides being emotionally stirred by a couple of slogans, the masses received no programme and no direction from the national leadership. Those who were responsible for inflaming the masses with such slogans as "Quit India" and "Do or die" thought it wise to keep the masses without any directives. This was not accidental by any chance, it was purposeful. The national leadership wanted to keep the movement planless and decentralised and therefore ineffective. As a matter of fact it did not want the masses to achieve their emancipation from foreign and indigenous bondage. In this the leadership was more than successful. Sublime heroism and sufferings of the masses were deliberately made to flow into the marsh of sporadic, disconnected and local incidents.

Yet, this conscious sabotage of the revolution has been beautifully covered up by the 'Leftists'. Jayprakash Narayan, the Congress-Socialist leader sang ecstatic hymns of eulogy of the "incomparable leadership" of the August movement ; though

he had one or two mild criticisms to offer here and there.

This unfortunately is the physiognomy of most that passes as "Leftism" in India. Leftism in India is in the clutches of bourgeois leadership of the Congress. Now and then it criticises some particular action of the Congress leadership, only to apologise to it at the earliest opportunity. This variety of "Leftism" believes that by perpetual surrender to the bourgeois leaders of the Congress, it will succeed to capture the Congress diplomatically. This intellectual superstition is a proof of its intellectual bankruptcy. It asserts with a very wise twinkle in its eyes that once the Congress starts a movement, it will utilise the opportunity to turn it into a revolution. As if revolution is like a dinner prepared by a chef (the Congress) and served by the waiters (the Congress-'Leftist').

Such faith in miracle and such utter lack of faith in its own ideology and its own leadership have never passed as 'Leftism' in any other country of the world. This "Leftism" is mortally frightened of the word 'sectarian' and tries to prove to the Indian bourgeoisie that it is liberal and respectable and that its ideology is an expansive and all-accommodating one. It has not the courage to assert boldly that at every critical and revolutionary period in history the ideology of the revolutionary class is always considered 'sectarian' by the classes whose death warrant has been signed by history.

Let us now look at the historical comedy of the first order that is being enacted for some time. The Rightist leaders of the Congress who had so long made the "Leftists" within the Congress dance to their political tune and had condescendingly allowed the "Leftists" to use the stage of their political party—the Congress, have now no further use of the "Leftist" rope-dancer on their stage. Acharya Kripalani, the oracle of the Rightists has recently released his verbal atom-bomb on the "Leftists" with a superb exhibition of dramatic skill. With a cynical chuckle he has declared the most obvious fact, a fact which we have been asserting since last 12 years that the Congress is a party and that it has always been one.

Oh, what a furore it has caused in the "Leftist" dovecote ! For years these "Leftists" have faithfully towed the Rightist line and have continuously concealed the party (class) character of the Congress and now to be thrown to the wolves by the very persons they have served so loyally ! They look at Acharya

Kripalani with pathetic anger : as much as so to say—"Tu es Brutus !".

Plaintive cries and tearful protests are being raised by the "Leftists" from all sides. One can very well understand their discomfiture but then truth is generally known to be uncomfortable and specially so to the opportunists.

With such "Leftism" can the masses of India ever succeed in winning their all-round emancipation ? Is it possible that the masses will seize power and smash the Birla-Tata regime under the leadership of those who are sparing no pains to drive them into the bourgeois fold ? Is it conceivable that those "Leftists" who are today manning the 'Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh', a typical example of "Yellow" trade unionism sponsored to destroy the class organisation of the Indian working class and to lead the workers astray on to the treacherous path of class-collaboration, shall lead them on to victory ?

One of the fundamental errors committed by this brand of "Leftism" has its origin in its confusing the national revolution with the bourgeois Congress. Being by origin nothing but a left wing of the Congress, it very naturally, though quite erroneously, considers the Congress to be the synonym for and identical with national revolution ; whereas in reality the national revolution can be achieved only by the mass-forces organised outside the Congress and under the political leadership of the revolutionary left.

This error has made the 'Leftists' simply the left-wing of the congress, just as there are left-wingers within the Muslim League, the Hindu Sabha etc., but not the left wing of the national revolution. For example the C.S.P. and the Forward Bloc. Both these organisations undoubtedly function as the left-wing of the bourgeois Congress, but they are right-wing of the national revolution, at least as long as these organisations persist in their present attitude to the Congress.

In this connection we should also take note of the loose and superficial talk indulged by these "Leftists" about the alternate leadership. Here again the problem of the alternate leadership of the national revolution has appeared to these 'Leftists' to be identical with the problem of the alternate leadership of the Congress. The inter-connection between the class, the party and the leadership seemed to have eluded these "Leftists" altogether and moreover completely blinded them by the constitutional and pacifist illusion of changing the leadership of a party by the mani-

pulation of votes! What we need to-day is an alternate leadership of the national revolution, the replacement of the anti-revolutionary Congress leadership by the leadership of the revolutionary left. This alternate leadership has nothing in common with the replacement of a reactionary leadership within the Congress.

But these "Leftists" still hug the constitutional illusion deliberately created by M. N. Roy years ago in order to emasculate the entire left in India.

The third fundamental error of these Leftists lies in their constant effort to separate independence from socialism with an utterly unrealistic and unhistorical sophistry. 'Independence first then Socialism!' This is a pure and simple bourgeois trickery hatched by the Congress-Rightists to confuse the proverbially muddle-headed middle class. One would have expected that the Leftists at least would not fall a prey to this clap-trap of the reactionaries.

But only the other day Jayprakash Narayan has with all solemnity repeated the rightist balderdash—Independence first, then Socialism.

As if the fight for national independence and the fight for socialism are two separate struggles, as if national independence is ever realisable in this epoch of imperialism by any method other than organising the masses on an anti-feudal and anti-capitalist basis, as if the struggle for national independence in the colonial countries is not the part and parcel of the socialist revolution! To fall into this reactionary quagmire 'Independence first, then Socialism'—is this Leftism?

By far the greater part of "Leftism" in India is tied to the apron-string of the Indian bourgeoisie; most of it is still the hand-maid of Indian vested interests.

Yet leftism is definitely gaining ground in spite of the present-day recrudescence of religio-political Gandhism. The general orientation of the masses is towards socialism. If we have to hasten the process of radicalisation of masses, if we want to put an end to every variety and shade of oppression and exploitation in India and if we must then really mean to make the masses rulers of this land and to achieve ultimately the classless society, we must then realise that it can only be done if Leftism in India stands on its own legs—bold, dynamic, proud of its ideology and confident of itself.

The present is the most opportune time for that. But in order to put Leftist forces in this land, two premises have to be fulfilled :

First, the recognition of the imperative necessity of the class organisation of the masses by the Leftists and secondly, the recognition of the fact that the political leadership of the masses must be, in the hands of the 'United Left' and not in the hands of the Congress.

These two premises form the absolutely irreducible minimum on the basis of which the various Leftist parties can unite and create the Leftist leadership of the masses.

Let us work for the creation of a 'United Left' on this basis.

July 1946.

FORWARD TO THE PEOPLE'S CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY !

(A letter to the leftists)

Dear Comrades,

British imperialism with the active support of the Indian bourgeoisie has staged a mock constituent assembly. The idea behind this show is to bluff the world as well as the masses of India. It is a diabolical move undertaken by British imperialism to convince world opinion that it sincerely wants to quit India, as soon as the new constitution is framed by the representatives of the people of India assembled in the constituent assembly.

At the same time the British imperialist-Fascist regime in India is encouraging the Muslim League to sabotage the constituent assembly by every possible means, so that British imperialism may loudly proclaim before the whole world that the promise of granting freedom to India could not be implemented by the British government, owing solely to the disunity prevailing among the Indian people themselves.

This very palpable imperialist trickery has been seen through by everybody who does not suffer from a political myopia. Strange to say that the otherwise astute leaders of the Congress did not see through this imperialist chicanery and have fallen such an easy prey to this. This is only one side of the picture. The constituent assembly is a very deliberate and calculated deception that both British imperialism along with the Indian bourgeoisie have decided to perpetrate on the masses of India. The masses are being repeatedly told that this constituent assembly will frame a constitution whereby they will receive an all-embracing deliverance from foreign and indigeneous exploitation and oppression. This is nothing but a hoax played by the bourgeois national leaders on the credulous people. A sample of the all-round emancipation that the masses will receive from the hands of these leaders is more than evident from the various

anti-labour legislations, banning general strike and strike for political purposes and enforcing forced arbitration, that the Congress governments in various provinces are busy putting in the Statute Book.

Moreover, we cannot overlook the fact that the constituent assembly which is supposed to bring an all-round freedom to the masses is formed by representatives who are elected by the members of the various legislatures which are in fact packed with the representatives of the vested interests. We, therefore, declare that this constituent assembly which is the result of a conspiracy hatched by British imperialism and the Indian bourgeoisie for cheating the Indian masses, is absolutely non-representative in character in so far as the masses of India are concerned, and as such has absolutely no right to frame any future constitution of India on behalf of the people.

We, therefore, propose to convene a people's constituent assembly at Delhi. The details in connection with the convening of the people's constituent assembly can only be worked out by a convention of the representatives of the leftist parties and students organisations.

Comrades, let me assure you that this move for the convening of the people's constituent assembly is pregnant with far-reaching possibilities. It will not only prick the bubble of the much-vaunted representative character of the British imperialism-sponsored constituent assembly, it will as well free the masses from the spell which the present reactionary national leadership has woven round them. It will also be a distinct step in advance towards the genuine leftist unity. It may also ultimately forge the basis for the leftist political leadership of the final struggle that we must wage against British imperialist regime in India.

I hope you realise the urgency and the importance of my proposal. I have been authorised by my party, the Revolutionary Communist Party of India, to put this proposal before you.

I, therefore, request you to put my proposal before your party or the organisation you represent, and let me know if your party or organisation is willing to co-operate with us in convening the people's constituent assembly.

Yours fraternally,

February 17, 1947

Saumyendranath Tagore

(This letter was addressed to the leaders of all leftist parties and was also published in the Toilers' Front.)

FIGHT THE POST-WAR COUNTER-REVOLUTION

A frustrated revolution always takes revenge on the society that has let it down. The post-war world was ready for a revolution. The bourgeois social order had conclusively proved its complete bankruptcy in every imaginable sphere e.g., economic, political, moral and human. Revolution alone could be the saviour of humanity. It alone could bring about the much-needed structural changes in the society. It alone could broaden out and deepen the social structure sufficiently for a free play of all the creative social forces.

Yet it remained unrealised. The revolutionary leap could not be taken. What was lacking was not the objective forces. They were more than sufficiently present. It was the subjective factor, the ever so important role of human personality as expressed through the leadership of a revolutionary party, that proved its incapacity.

The leadership proved itself to be utterly unworthy of the great demand that a revolution makes on it. This is the tragedy of the post-war world. Revolution or decomposition, these were the only two alternatives that faced us. Revolution failing, an all-round decomposition has overtaken us. Yet the present is much more favourable for a revolutionary change than were the years during and after the First World War. Both the democratic and Fascist wings of the European bourgeoisie were counted out in the world-ring by the Second World War. The European bourgeoisie has lost its hold on the masses almost completely. The post-war elections in all the countries of Europe have proved beyond a shadow of doubt the phenomenal increase in the strength of the working class parties. The European petty-bourgeoisie, as is characteristic of this class, had with the demoralisation of the European bourgeoisie swung violently towards the proletariat. Everything pointed to the on-coming tide of proletarian revolution in Europe. The bourgeois dykes were on the

verge of collapse. The angry roar of the tide of the proletarian revolution was heard on all sides.

At that fateful hour, Stalinism came to the rescue. The Stalinists vigorously repaired the bourgeois dykes in their respective countries. They were instructed by Stalin to stem the tide of the proletarian revolution in Europe at any cost. For the safety of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist regime in Russia, the bourgeois democratic governments were installed in all the countries of Europe with the active support of the Stalinists. With the connivance of Stalin, the revolutionary proletariat of Greece was slaughtered by the butcher, Churchill.

The working classes of France, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia were forced to form coalition governments with all sorts of magotty riffraffs whom Stalinism had very conveniently christened as "progressive elements." Stalinism for the perpetuation of its bureaucratic regime in Russia is forced to oppose the forces of proletarian revolution throughout the world, as victory of the proletarian revolution in any of the major European countries would ultimately mean the destruction of Stalinism in Russia. The very logic of its existence makes Stalinism the most sinister counter-revolutionary force in the present-day world. Not only politically is it busy dealing counter-revolutionary blows to the European proletariat, but by its latest Fascist method of carrying away to Russia the industrial plants of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Rumania, Stalinism is dealing death-blows to the proletarian revolution in Europe by destroying the European proletarian class itself. Stalin's diabolical scheme of de-industrialisation of Europe is the greatest tribute that he can pay to Hitler and German Fascism.

The present state of affairs in Europe is a historical anachronism, and Europe cannot remain in the present bourgeois-democratic state for any length of time. It will either pass on to the Fascist phase again with the active help of Stalinism, or smash this bourgeois democratic sham along with Stalinism with the hammer-blow of proletarian revolution.

In the inevitable fight between Stalinism and American-British imperialist combination in the near future, the world proletariat must make up its mind to destroy both imperialism and Stalinism once for all, for the furtherance of the cause of international socialism.

The correlation of class-forces in India has also undergone deep changes in the post-war world. The British bourgeoisie

has been forced to come to terms with the Indian bourgeoisie. That is the only way that the British bourgeoisie can forge an united front with the Indian bourgeoisie against Stalinist expansion on the one hand, and American competition on the other. Whatever it might do in that line by the manipulation of the strings of the economic forces, it can no longer thwart the capitalistic aspirations of the Indian bourgeoisie by political methods.

The Indian bourgeoisie can now set up industry after industry, without the least political interference from British imperialism. The germinal beginning of de-colonisation has started with the setting up of the Interim Government. But due to the mutual interdependence of the Indian and the British bourgeoisie and the adoption of the collaborationist policy with the British bourgeoisie by the Indian bourgeoisie, the de-colonisation process can only be completed by the seizure of power by the toilers of the town and the country.

The Indian bourgeoisie was destined by its belated growth to be a compromising and anti-revolutionary class, and now since the political power is being transferred to it by British imperialism, it has become a thoroughly counter-revolutionary class.

It is determined not to brook any opposition from the Indian masses to the smooth transference of power to itself by the British bourgeoisie.

The savage anti-labour laws passed by the Congress governments in different provinces of India, furnish us with the surest indication of the political intentions of the Indian bourgeoisie. The Congress leaders without the least shame have promulgated an Ordinance rule against which in the past they had so often fulminated.

The transference of power to the Indian bourgeoisie has to be smooth, that is the job which the Interim Government under the able leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru has taken upon itself.

Jawaharlal Nehru in the present period is playing the same role which Kerensky played in Russia in 1917. He is the "socialist" who is against strikes ! He stands for the abolition of the zamindari system, but with compensation ! Like Kerensky, he is also the red hot revolutionary who is always at the service of the bourgeoisie.

Like Kerensky, Nehru also tries to pose as the national hero above the classes, as the incarnation of the national being and like Kerensky, he is the spearhead of the anti-revolutionary forces in India. He is the focal point of the Indian counter-revolution.

Like Kerensky, Nehru also reveals a kind of liberalism which in its essence is anti-mass and anti-revolutionary. Nehru reflects all the formlessness and weakness of the bourgeois class he represents.

But he is the most dangerous enemy the revolutionary mass movement has in India.

The Indian bourgeoisie through its political parties—the Congress and the Muslim League—has launched offensive against the masses of India. The Congress has launched its anti-mass drive by framing anti-labour laws and Ordinances, and the Muslim League by splitting the masses on religious and tribal lines. The masses are in a state of confusion and are, thus, forced to be on the defensive.

They receive no substantial help from even the leftist quarter.

The Stalinist C.P.I. is out of the picture, so far as the genuine revolutionary mass movement is concerned. During the war these Stalinists did everything in their power to sabotage the national revolutionary movement, and helped Britain to maintain its imperialist rule in India. In the post-war period, they are acting as political adventurers by provoking absolutely useless, local and sporadic struggle with the sole idea of regaining popularity. On the Vietnam Day in Calcutta, these Stalinist counter-revolutionary adventurers, by spreading false rumours and provocations, created a situation which was absolutely unwanted at that moment and which led us nowhere.

The post-war tactics of the Indian Stalinists is to fritter away the fighting energy of the masses by engineering un-coordinated local actions without any perspective of a broad movement which may lead to a mass revolutionary struggle. On top of it, they sided with a rank communal organisation like the Muslim League with the idea of fishing in the troubled waters of communalism.

Our fight against the counter-revolutionary Stalinist C.P.I. must be waged with unabated zeal. It is the worst enemy of India's freedom and of the proletarian revolution.

The masses can also expect no revolutionary help from the Hindusthani Socialists (the present nomenclature of the Congress Socialists) and the Forward Bloc.

The Congress-Socialists, though they have changed their name, have not in the least changed their compromising and class-collaborationist tactics. The change in the name of that party is the tribute that opportunists have to pay to the great ideal of

socialism. But that they still remain tied with the umbilical cord of class-collaboration to the bourgeois Congress is evidenced from the statements issued by such Hindusthani Socialist stalwarts as Achyut Patwardhan and Kamala Devi. Both have assured us, if that assurance was at all necessary, that the change in the name of the Socialist Party does not at all mean a change in its attitude towards the Congress. The Hindusthani Socialist Party is playing the role of the Russian Mensheviks like a copy-book. All their thunder against the Congress is just got-up shows made to bamboozle the people. They fulminate against the sham constituent assembly now sitting at Delhi but funk at the idea of a parallel people's constituent assembly suggested by us.

They dare not take a positive step against the bourgeois Congress, as the Hindusthani Socialist leaders have flourished so far on the political stage only because they have been propped up by the blessing and backing of Gandhiji and Nehru.

They in turn have loyally supported Gandhiji and Nehru, even when their actions have gone against the interest of the masses. The Hindusthani Socialist Party is at the present time straining its nerves for a smooth transference of power from the British imperialist hands to the hands of the Indian bourgeoisie. Has not Jayaprakash Narayan, the Hindusthani Socialist leader, openly pledged his and his party's support to the Nehru Government? And is it not clear now why Mahatma Gandhi, a shrewd judge of men, boosted Jayaprakash so often!

Whatever might have been the beginning of the Forward Bloc, we had expected that it would shed its ideological formlessness and come out as a revolutionary Marxist group. Unfortunately it is just a conglomeration of different groups from Fascists to half-baked socialists—held together by their so-called loyalty to Subhas Bose. In reality, each group trades on the mythological figure that the petty-bourgeois middle class have made out of Subhas. It would have been infinitely better if they had tried to imbibe the militancy, the dash and the selflessness of Subhas Bose. Being nobodies in the Congress, they are naturally resentful of the present bosses of the Congress. Yet they have not the courage to leave the bourgeois Congress.

They criticise the Congress policies, fulminate against the bogus constituent assembly but lack the guts to join hands with the Revolutionary Communists in organising a people's constituent assembly. They behave as officials and functionaries and not as persons who are out to fulfil a historical task. They, like the

Hindusthani Socialists, are behaving as a sympathetic observers of the transference of power from the British imperialist hands to the hands of the Indian bourgeoisie.

This being the over-all picture of the Congress-leftists, the Revolutionary Communists have to blaze a solitary trail. On behalf of the Indian masses we fight against British imperialism and the Indian bourgeoisie, and we wage relentless struggle against all sorts of pseudo-leftism which want to mislead the masses and lead them on to a surrender to the Indian bourgeoisie and its parties—the Congress and the Muslim League.

We have repeatedly appealed to the different leftist parties for a united front against the Indian bourgeoisie at this critical juncture of India's history. We have times without number pointed out that only united left leadership can effectively fight the Indian bourgeoisie and win power for the masses. We have warned these leftists that they would prove traitors to the cause of the Mazdur-Kisan-Panchayat-Raj, if they through inactivity connive to entrench the Indian bourgeoisie in power.

We should not allow the Indian bourgeoisie to settle down on the seats of power to be vacated shortly by British imperialists. If we do so, it would be a great calamity for the masses of India. It would be a rank betrayal of socialism.

As we had expected, the response to our appeal for an united front against the Indian bourgeoisie has been in the negative. The Congress-Socialist Party, true to its loyalty to Indian bourgeoisie has turned it down and the Forward Bloc leaders, though they have individually agreed with us, have failed so far to make their organisation come out of the rut in which it finds itself today.

Fateful months are ahead of us, and the time is short. We must resist with all our might the grabbing of power by the Indian bourgeoisie.

Let us mobilise and forge the united front so that we may give the Indian bourgeoisie a fight to the finish.

Socialist revolution is the order of the day. Let us prepare the masses and fight for socialism with firm determination and revolutionary zeal. If we are behind the time, counter-revolution will triumph and reaction will overtake us. Let the revolutionary front of the toiling and suffering masses of India advance towards a victorious socialist revolution.

TOILERS' FRONT ; April 28, 1947.

INTUC—ONE MORE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY FEATHER IN THE CAP OF BOURGEOISIE

The counter-revolution has launched its offensive. From the Gandhists to the Hindusthani Socialists (the “Congress-Socialists” in their latest camouflage)—the various reactionary forces are determined to pilot the transference of power to the Indian bourgeoisie by British imperialism, without any interference from the masses of India. The latest move in that direction is the formation of the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

In spite of all the attempts made by the Gandhists to keep the working class completely subservient to the Indian bourgeoisie, they have failed so far. The solitary exception being the Gandhist-dominated Mazdoor Mahajan of Ahmedabad, which has for the last 25 years successfully kept the Ahmedabad workers in leash. Happily, however, this leash is now on the point of snapping. Under the leadership of the Ahmedabad Mazdoor Panchayet, the working class of Ahmedabad has started to deliver smashing blows to the fetters Gandhism has imposed upon it. In fact, the Indian working class has never accepted Gandhism. It has always scorned Gandhism which under the pretext of ‘non-violence’ and ‘truth’, has repeatedly tried to persuade the working class to surrender to the Indian bourgeoisie.

The working class of India has been marching towards the great goal of socialism since years. It is determined to take the future government of India in its own hands and not to allow the state-power to slip into the hands of the Indian bourgeoisie in June, 1948.

This has alarmed the Indian bourgeoisie and hence this new move to organise a central trade union organisation under the aegis of the Congress government. Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister for Labour in the Bombay government, has clearly stated the reasons which have prompted him to take this step. He writes, “The parties and groups aiming at the capture of power

by violent upheavals are forging ahead, those who are wedded to the philosophy of peaceful change are making little concerted preparation to meet the challenge and to avert the threatened disaster."

It is clear that Minister Gulzarilal Nanda and his government friends of the Congress are very much perturbed, because the masses are "aiming at the capture of power" and are hampering the noble mission of these non-violent lambs of the bourgeoisie "who are wedded to the philosophy of peaceful change."

This "philosophy of peaceful change" is the philosophic (!) name for the conspiracy to instal the Indian bourgeoisie peacefully in power.

Inaugurating the conference, Acharya Kripalani said, "It was difficult for those who believed in peaceful and democratic methods to co-operate with those who dominate the Trade Union Congress today."

Acharya Kripalani talking of "democratic and peaceful methods" ! What democratic methods he, as the General Secretary of the Congress, had used against Subhas Bose, the then President of the Congress, is known to all. And "peaceful methods" ? Who does not know of the "peaceful methods" adopted by the Congress governments in various provinces for the suppression of the working class movement ! On the plea of protecting the public utility services, Fascist methods are being adopted and Ordinances have been promulgated.

Thus, all the talk of "peaceful and democratic method" is patent hypocrisy, and at the present juncture is just a plea for allowing the Indian bourgeoisie all "peaceful and democratic" possibilities to grab power.

India's pocket-Hitler, Sardar Patel who presided over the conference said, "We are anxious so see that the right type of unions on Ahmedabad lines are started throughout the country...the Communists who dominate the T.U.C. today, foment strikes, refuse to accept arbitration, advocate a 'go slow' policy when production is most needed and bring about frequent strikes by agitating for irresponsible demands...Now with the advent of independence, we are to fight with people within the Congress itself who are out to create chaos and capture power by any means".

What is this "right type of union on Ahmedabad lines" we all know from our experience of the Mazdoor Mahajan. The mill-owners of Ahmedabad and the leaders of the Mazdoor

Mahajan have collaborated all these years to hound out the militant workers who are opposed to the class-collaborationist tactics of these leaders. They have, moreover, systematically corrupted batches of workers by engaging them as "organisers of the Mazdoor Mahajan" on fat salaries. This model of semi-company union the Indian working class has been asked to follow as its ideal !

The Sardar does not like strikes nor do the workers. The workers are not exactly in love with strikes and strikes are never launched by them in a holiday mood, just for strike's sake. Instead of wasting his words on the workers, why does not the Sardar prevail upon his worthy supporters, the Indian capitalists, to disgorge a tiny part of the fabulous profit they have reaped and are still reaping by black-marketing, and share it with the workers ? And what do the workers get by increasing production ? Nothing more than an infinitesimal part of the profit derived from the increased production goes to the workers, and almost all the profit goes to the capitalists. But how can we expect Sardar Patel to box the ears of his patrons—the capitalists ? Has he not been propped up by the Ahmedabad mill-owners all these years to protect their interest, and to see that the workers do not upset the capitalists' apple-cart ? Has he not, moreover, warned the workers that now that "independence" is to come soon, he shall not allow the masses of India to seize power ?

Shall we be wrong, therefore, in drawing the following conclusions from Sardar Patel's statement that he is organising the INTUC.

- first, to safeguard the interest of the Indian capitalists,
- secondly, to imprison the working class of India in the INTUC, the bastion of the bourgeoisie,
- thirdly, to facilitate by all means the smooth transference of power to the Indian bourgeoisie, and
- fourthly, to oppose tooth and nail the seizure of power by the masses.

Acharya Kripalani, Minister Nanda and Home Minister Patel have sung one and the same tune, the tune that is so sweet to the ears of the Indian capitalists.

The Indian bourgeoisie, greedy for grabbing power, has become quite alert. It knows fully well that time is the most important factor in politics and realises that now is the time to strike at the heart of the Indian working class, to split it, to subject it to

blood-letting, otherwise the working class of India may not allow the Indian bourgeoisie to establish itself in power.

In this nefarious conspiracy hatched by Patel, Kripalini and Nanda against the Indian working class, the Hindusthani Socialists consistent with their political tradition, have become willing collaborators. With the exception of one, all their stalwarts like Asoke Mehta, Ram Manohar Lohia and others, supported the formation of INTUC. These "Congress Socialists" have throughly unmasked themselves as persons who loyally serve the Indian bourgeoisie and who spare no pains to sabotage the socialist revolution.

The immediate result of the INTUC sponsored by the Congress will be the setting up of a parallel trade union organisation by the Muslim League. Due to this Congress move, the working class runs the risk of being split up into communal unions—Muslim Workers' Union and Hindu Workers' Union.

In Ahmedabad, where the Congress controls the Mazdoor Mahajan, this has actually happened. The Muslim workers have stayed away from the Mazdoor Mahajan and so have the Harijan workers. Till now the Muslim workers have stood under the banner of the All-India Trade Union Congress, in spite of all efforts of the Muslim League to win them over. But now as the Congress has stepped in and is trying to seduce the working class to its fold, it is more than certain that the League will also take the field.

We must oppose the formation of INTUC with all our power. We must expose its counter-revolutionary intentions. We must mobilise the Indian working class to parry this attack of the Indian bourgeoisie by a counter-attack on the bourgeoisie. We should organise one day's strike throughout India as a protest against the Congress move of INTUC. Let us start the offensive against the bourgeoisie.

TOILERS' FRONT : May 19, 1947.

BETRAYAL ALL ALONG THE LINE

More than half a century of sacrifice of countless fighters for India's independence has been shamelessly betrayed.

Hundreds of thousands had gone to jail, thousands had given their lives, scores had mounted the gallows, and hundreds and hundreds in Bengal and the Punjab had suffered inhuman torture in the C.I.D. torture-chambers.

They had suffered ungrudgingly with only one hope—the achievement of complete independence of India. Now all their dreams, selfless dedication and matchless heroism have been betrayed. India's independence has been bartered away for Dominion Status. For this paltry achievement, the colossal sacrifice of half a century was not at all necessary. Even Birkenhead, the Tory imperialist, was ready to concede Dominion Status to India nearly a quarter of a century ago.

The present Congress leadership, eulogistically but erroneously called the national leadership, has betrayed the country. In the past, from numerous platforms it had declared that nothing short of complete independence will be acceptable. Now by their acceptance of Dominion Status for India, the Congress leaders have proved that their past utterances were just sly canards. They were uttered with one aim in view—to dupe the anti-imperialist fighters, to lull them to political complacency, to gain time for cooking their filthy compromise with British imperialism behind the stage, and then to face the country with the fait accompli.

The Indian bourgeoisie must secure the economic and political co-operation of the British imperialist bourgeoisie, otherwise it cannot withstand the upsurge of the revolutionary masses of India. It realises that its own strength is miserably insufficient for that purpose. Hence this ignoble compromise and this acceptance of Dominion Status for India. The class-interests of the Indian bourgeoisie have failed to take effective cover within the "orange, white and green" stalking horse of Dominion Status.

Politically and economically, India must remain one and indivisible. She must never be divided up into independent fragments on the basis of religion, language or other differences. This has been the battle-cry of hundreds of thousands of fighters for India's freedom. Every fighter for India's freedom has unreservedly opposed the balkanisation of India.

By acceptance of Jinnah's sinister demand for Pakistan, the Congress leadership has betrayed the ideal of an united India. By agreeing to Pakistan, it has moreover accepted the unscientific and mischievous "two nations theory" of the arch-reactionary Jinnah. The Congress leaders have played into the hands of the British imperialists who under the pretext of granting independence to India are creating so many pockets of resistance—Pakistan and the various sovereign states—in order to keep the national revolutionary movement of India within the range of its fire.

But is this surrender to British imperialism and Jinnah, just an admission of helplessness and political impotence on the part of the Congress leaders ? No, it is not so. This surrender is deliberate and planned. The Congress leaders had since long accepted Jinnah's demand for the division of India. They had only hedged Jinnah's demand for Pakistan with certain conditions which they had removed one by one till they finally agreed to the division of India. By accepting Pakistan, the Congress has virtually proved Jinnah's contention that it is a Hindu organisation.

But the Indian bourgeoisie which has accepted the economic and political collaboration with British imperialism in relation to India, and for reasons we have already stated, loses practically nothing by the division of India. The self-interest of both the Hindu and Muslim bourgeoisie has already prompted both the parties to come to a standstill agreement with regard to customs, tariffs and imports, for a considerable length of time.

Thus the division of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan will not affect the Indian bourgeoisie materially. It will go on exploiting the masses ruthlessly and reaping profits merrily as before, only with much greater vehemence than it has ever done in the past. Only the masses of India have been done in the eye by this division of India into Hindusthan, Pakistan and numerous independent states. It will be the game of both the Hindu and the Muslim bourgeoisie to foment communal passions of the Hindu and Muslim masses, so that they may not combine for a joint action against them. This is one of the surest ways of keeping the masses away from the path of revolution. This was exactly the

trick that Hitler played by fomenting anti-semitism in Germany.

The Indian masses are fighting the Indian bourgeoisie with their back to the wall. Their solidarity is the only weapon they have in their fight against the resourceful Indian bourgeoisie. Now that unity also is being threatened by this division of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan, the Indian bourgeoisie is bent upon using any means—legal and illegal, pacifist and violent, 'national' and communal—to break the solidarity of the Indian masses, so that their striking power loses the revolutionary punch. The acceptance of Domination Status, the agreement with British imperialism for economic and political collaboration, the acceptance of Pakistan and the division of India—all these are deliberate moves on the part of the Indian bourgeoisie and its political party, the Congress.

These moves are directed solely against the masses of India and India's national revolution.

TOILERS' FRONT : July 14, 1947.

THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CANARD

The "Leftist" protagonists of the transference of power to the Indian bourgeoisie advance the following arguments in justification of their rank betrayal of the masses.

They say : "If at the present moment before the transference of power, we give the Indian bourgeoisie a fight, the British imperialists will then make it an excuse for not quitting India. Therefore, we must now keep quiet and see that the power is transferred to the Indian bourgeoisie as quickly as possible, and then work for the mass revolution."

This argument which is a mixture of ignorance and fraud has, unfortunately, fooled a lot of people who sincerely want British imperialism to quit India. They get scared with the prospect of British imperialism lingering on the shores of India on the pretext of quelling anarchy and disorder.

Wilful distortion and confusion being rampant, it will be fruitful to examine this counter-revolutionary canard, this purposeful falsehood spread by the Leftists about the transference of power.

First, British imperialism need no excuse to stay in India. It is there and it will be there in the so-called independent India. It will be in Pakistan, it will be in Hindusthan and also in various Rajasthans that the "sincere and honest" (according to Gandhiji) British imperialists will create in India before they leave. The too obvious political domination will vanish, but the economic exploitation of India by British imperialism will continue, as both the British and the Indian bourgeoisie have agreed to a plan of collaboration for the joint exploitation of the masses of India.

Secondly, British imperialism is not relinquishing its political hold on India out of love, it is doing so, being compelled by the pressures of world forces which are totally beyond its control. British imperialism realises it well that unless it relinquishes political power, it will not be able to win over the Indian bourgeoisie for economic collaboration.. Therefore, those who raise the bogey of British imperialism not leaving India because of mass unrest,

are not only not Leftists, but are pure and simple agents of the Indian bourgeoisie. Their whole game is to see that the Indian bourgeoisie peacefully takes over power from the hands of the British imperialists. In this respect the Hindusthani Socialists are serving the Indian bourgeoisie with exemplary loyalty.

Dr. Rammanohar Lohia advised the "Freedom Group" in Bombay that "all support should be given to the Congress so that it could be strong enough to take the charge of affairs from the British when the power was transferred."

The meaning is too obvious to need clarification. And Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, the Gandhi-backed "Socialist", even today when his party has changed its nomenclature from Congress Socialist Party to Socialist Party (of course, it is nothing but a political trickery) has made the following wise remark on June 27. He said, "At such time only, the existence of a strong Socialist Party within the Congress might save the masses of India."

"At such time" surely refers to this present period of transference of power from the hands of the British imperialists to the hands of the Indian bourgeoisie.

So, a Socialist Party within the Congress, the party of the bourgeoisie, will save the masses of India !

Were we wrong when we said that the change in the name of the Congress Socialist Party to the Socialist Party is just a political chicanery ?

The masses are fast moving away from the Congress which has already started its anti-mass drive with fury. The name, Congress Socialist, sounds ugly and inimical to the ears of the masses. Therefore, the name has been changed to fool them but the essence of "Congress Socialism" remains just the same as before.

These Socialists whose sole object in life is to see the peaceful transference of power to the Indian bourgeoisie, are busy spreading confusion everywhere, so that the masses may hesitate to prepare for capture of power and under the cover of this confusion, the Indian bourgeoisie may comfortably settle down in power.

These counter-revolutionary Socialists are the most dangerous hurdle that the masses of India will have to tackle before they can come to a death-grip with the Indian bourgeoisie.

TOILERS' FRONT : July, 1947.

POLITICAL FATALISM

There is a set of wise people to whom each and every social or political happening is historically inevitable. They wag their foggy heads and declare with an air of mysterious superiority that there is no skipping over any stage of development of history. And then mightily satisfied with the profundity of their utterance, they stew happily in the juice of their own opportunism and cowardice.

This kind of loose talk about historical inevitability is nothing but political fatalism. It is a concession to spontaneous drift of things and an admission of sheer helplessness on the part of a class and its political party.

There is no inevitability in human history. Objective forces are certainly the stuff with which history weaves its patterns, but they do not, by any means, lead to the one and the same result every time. Even the most favourable objective forces fail to yield the desired results owing to the absence of an agency that can consciously mould the objective ingredients.

In February 1917, the Russian bourgeoisie came to power after the overthrow of the Czarist autocracy. Was this historically inevitable? Was the ten months' bourgeois rule from February to November, 1917, an unavoidable phase historically? No, it was not an unavoidable phase at all. It was the masses who had overthrown Czarism and they could have easily seized the state-power if some of their political parties had not betrayed them, and the Bolshevik Party had not bungled. The Social Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks turned traitors to the cause of Socialist Revolution, and the Bolshevik Party under the opportunist and cowardly leadership of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin had succumbed to the theory of stages—first the bourgeois revolution under Kerensky and then the Socialist Revolution.

If there was a bold Bolshevik leadership in February 1917, and not the vacillating leadership that was responsible for the capitulation of the Bolshevik Party to the bourgeoisie, if there was Lenin at the helm of the Party, the Russian proletariat would have

skipped ten months of bourgeois rule and established their own Soviet government.

The Kerensky period was not an historically unavoidable and inevitable phase of the Russian Revolution, it was just the outcome of the treachery of the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries and of the vacillating and weak-kneed policy of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Stalin.

Those who are conversant with the history of the Russian Revolution know well how vehemently in April 1917, the above mentioned three opposed Lenin's April Thesis in which Lenin had advanced the slogan of Socialist Revolution. In fact, Lenin was forced to reach the rank and file of the Bolshevik Party and the Leningrad proletariat over the head of these men, and prepare the Bolshevik Party for the immediate seizure of power by the masses.

No, the February phase of the Russian Revolution was by no means an inevitable historical phase. It was only the result of the political fatalism which is the twin of vulgar mechanical determinism.

In India, the bourgeoisie cannot solve even a single problem that faces the nation today. It can neither solve the food problem nor the scarcity of cloth. It can neither improve the health of the people nor introduce large-scale scientific agriculture. Nor can it organise the planned industrialisation of India.

It is interested only in exploring the ways and means for a further intensification of the exploitation of the masses. It is interested only in black market, debauchery and corruption.

The projected 'peaceful' transference of power to the Indian bourgeoisie in June 1948, is by no means an inevitable phase of the national revolution in India. The masses of India can most certainly skip over this 'February Phase' of the national revolution by the timely seizure of state power, before British imperialism in accordance with a well laid-out conspiracy transfers political power to the Indian bourgeoisie in June 1948.

Only the revolutionary intervention of the masses can successfully scotch the conspiracy hatched jointly by the British imperialists and the Indian bourgeoisie for the transference of political power to the Indian bourgeoisie, so that a favourable condition is created for both of them for a more ruthless exploitation of the masses of India.

We must start right now to expose this conspiracy to the masses and tell the people that Socialist Revolution is the order of the day

and that they should start making preparations for the final struggle without a moment's delay.

And before we start our grim march, our first task would be to slay the ghost of political fatalism once for all, so that opportunists and traitors may not find a cover for their nefarious counter-revolutionary activities.

TOILERS' FRONT : May 26, 1947.

THE HOUR HAS STRUCK

When a country has failed to keep in step with world developments and its normal political and social growth has been arrested due to the intervention of extraneous forces, then its arrested historical development gives rise to numerous political fetishisms. In the mirror of its atrophied historical destiny the classes are reflected in their false perspectives and wrong dimensions.

The colonial countries with their unfinished national revolution (bourgeois revolution) furnish us with the best examples of political fetishism. They prove conclusively how the arrested historical growth leads to the wrong estimation of the respective role of the classes.

In India, the bourgeoisie has been hailed as national revolution furnishes the best possible mask for the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and their reactionary fellow-travellers.

The Indian bourgeoisie has been hailed as the determining force of the national revolution, not only by the bourgeois leaders of the Congress but also by the Stalinists, the Royists, the Congress Socialists and the Forward Blocists, at one time or the other.

This has in the past led to a wrong estimation of the character of India's national revolution. All sorts of "theories" were invented by the petty-bourgeois radicals whose intellectual myopia made it impossible for them to see that in the epoch of the sunset of imperialism, the Socialist Revolution alone can complete the tasks of the unfinished and unaccomplished bourgeois revolution.

Whatever causes might have been there for such confusion in the past, we expected that the 'Independence' (!) that is in the process of being bestowed to India by British imperialism will clear up confusions and dispel all illusions. Unfortunately, our expectations have been belied. The "Leftist" fellow-travellers of the Indian bourgeoisie, such as the Hindusthani Socialists (the Congress Socialists in their latest camouflage) are still clinging

to this illusion, as is clear from their loyal support to the reactionary Interim Government.

These "Leftists" do not seem to realise that neither the industrialisation of India nor the agrarian revolution in the countryside is possible if the present social order persists. The Indian industries walk on stilts of protective tariff and governmental subsidies. They have not the ghost of a chance of success in the competitive market against the European and American industries. Industrialisation in Europe and America took place in the dawn of capitalism and continued to develop in the period of capitalist ascendancy. In India, on the contrary, it has begun in the period of world crisis of capitalism and that of Socialist Revolution. It has, therefore, to face competition from the highly organised large-scale industries of Europe and America on the one hand and the ever-increasing pressure of the rising tide of Socialist Revolution on the other. On the basis of the existing capitalist relationship of production, the industrialisation of India has, therefore, hardly any future.

Then, who does not know that all the talk about the abolition of landlordism is just a political stunt of the bourgeois Congress and the League and of the petty-bourgeois hangers-on of these two parties ! The abolition of landlordism with compensation means nothing but the robbing of the peasantry once more for compensating the robbers—the zamindars. Moreover, the agrarian reforms in the country-side cannot be carried out by just making the bourgeois state the zamindar, while leaving in tact the old basis of land taxation. In one word, the re-organisation of the rural economy and the genuine industrialisation of India, both of these are wholly unrealisable within the framework of India's existing social order. And it is exactly this very social order that the Interim Government and the imperialism-sponsored Constituent Assembly are busy protecting and strengthening. Already the Interim Government has let loose an unheard-of terror against the masses, evidently with the idea of giving the masses a pre-vision of the shape of things to come after June 1948. Moreover, as a result of the plan of economic collaboration so altruistically drawn up by both the Indian and the British bourgeoisie for the industrial development of India, she will remain in the vicious grip of British imperialist exploitation even after she has become 'independent'.

No, the national revolution in India is not only far from being complete, it has not begun as yet. It is the sabotage of the national

revolution that is being planned and worked out by the Congress, the Muslim League and those pseudo-Leftists, who since long are in the service of the bourgeoisie.

Political freedom and economic emancipation, the real essence of national revolution, can only be realised by the seizure of the state power by the masses and by the establishment of the Mazdoor-Kisan-Panchayat Raj—the Democratic Republic of Workers and the Peasants.

The preparation for this must be started at once. At all cost we must frustrate this devilish conspiracy of the Indian and the British bourgeoisie to suck the last drop of blood from the heart of the masses of India under the cover of 'independence', 'national government' and 'economic development'.

The hour has struck for the preparation of the Socialist Revolution and for setting the stage for the final struggle for India's independence.

Fighters for India's freedom, comrades, carry this message to the masses and prepare them for the final struggle.

TOILERS' FRONT : MAY 12, 1947.

THE ANTI-WAR DAY

The first of August is a day of deep revolutionary significance for the world proletariat. On this day, in every country of the world, the working class reiterates its undying opposition to the imperialist war and renews its pledge to the world Socialist Revolution.

The anti-war day, therefore, is not just a drawing room affair, some sort of a gala-day parade in one's holiday clothes, nor is it for the workers a day for indulging in tearful sighs and pathetic wails like the bourgeois pacifists. For the masses, the first of August, the anti-war day, is a day of ideological and organisational stock-taking, and a day for warning the capitalist world of their firm resolve to fulfil the historical tasks put before them by the world-revolution.

Long before the First World War of 1914, the Socialist parties of Europe had decided to oppose the war efforts of their respective national bourgeoisie. They had decided to oppose the national war efforts of the bourgeoisie by the revolutionary internationalism of the world proletariat, which cuts across all geographical and national frontiers. War, they declared, must be opposed by civil war, in other words, by revolution. Such was the standpoint of international socialism before the First World War.

But when for the sake of grabbing new colonies and fresh markets, the imperialist bourgeoisie of England, France, Germany and Japan plunged the whole world into a sea of blood, at that crucial moment the Socialists of Europe revealed themselves in their true colours. They proved themselves to be as rabidly chauvinistic as the bourgeoisie. Their internationalism was not even skin deep. It rested on their slippery and lying tongues only.

In that period of shame and sorrow for the world proletariat, when practically all the Socialist leaders turned traitors to the cause of revolutionary internationalism, only a handful of men belonging to the Socialist movement held the torch of the proletarian internationalism high. They kept it burning in the face of the

most furious gale of nationalistic hysteria intentionally brought about by the wily bourgeoisie, and strengthened by the very substantial support lent to it by the treacherous Socialist leaders.

The three names that shine like stars through the gloom of this period are those of Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. These three defended proletarian internationalism with their lives. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, both were murdered by the army officers of the German bourgeoisie, with the active help of Noske, the German Socialist blackguard.

Today, on the first of August, we shall let our minds flow back to the past, so that by the study of the past, its achievements and failures, we may understand the reasons that led to the abandonment of proletarian internationalism by the Socialists. If we scan the past, we shall then realise that the treachery perpetrated by the Socialists was not just an accidental aberration. The threads of this treachery were being spun long before the First World War. It was being spun by that brand of Socialists who replaced class struggle by class-collaboration with the bourgeoisie, who advocated the parliamentary way as the only way to achieve Socialism, and represented the Socialist movement as some kind of a liberal movement to be carried on by all sections of the bourgeois society, rather than as a movement essentially and primarily of the working class and other toiling masses.

During the First World War, these threads of opportunism and class-collaboration spun so long by the treacherous Socialists, were also woven into a whole piece which revealed the entire pattern of Socialist treachery. But this is only one side of the picture. On the other side we see the grand spectacle of the proletarian revolution unfolding itself in Czarist Russia under the superb leadership of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, vindicating to the fullest the theories of class-struggle, revolution and revolutionary internationalism. Yet, even after the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, the Socialist lackeys of the European bourgeoisie followed the path of class-collaboration, and by their worship of the effete constitutionalism and formal democracy paved the way for Fascism.

And in Soviet Russia, in the land of victorious proletarian revolution, revolutionary Marxism and Leninism were replaced ultimately by anti-revolutionary Stalinism.

The Menshevik policy of class-collaboration appeared once again in the garb of Stalinist united front, and the ship of world revolution was scuttled by the neo-Menshevik Stalin in the sea

of national-socialism (Socialism in One Country). Aggression against weak states took the place of the organisation of revolutions in the capitalist countries, proletarian democracy was smothered by the most ruthless terrorism of the megalomaniac Stalin, and a privileged bureaucracy was created in the Soviet State to protect Stalinism from the revolutionary onslaught of the masses of Soviet Russia.

The Second World War was the inevitable result of all these afore-mentioned factors. It was the result of the furious rivalry for markets amongst the imperialist powers, of the socialist treachery paving the way for Fascism in Europe, and of Stalin's deliberate sabotage of the revolutions in the principal capitalist countries of Europe.

The Second World War has left behind it a trail of misery and chaos, but the causes that led to it still exist and are daily being strengthened by the rival imperialist powers on the one hand and Stalin on the other.

Inter-imperialist rivalries are growing and Stalin's nationalistic aggressions have assumed almost imperialist form and have developed the insatiable imperialistic appetite also. Stalin has, moreover, effectively sabotaged the proletarian revolutions in the countries of Western Europe by helping to install bourgeois-democratic regimes there. The European bourgeoisie prostrated by the war has been allowed respite to regain its lost breath in the democratic (?) regimes which Stalin has helped it to establish, so that after recouping sufficiently, it may, in due course, launch its offensive against the European proletariat once again. At the present moment, by its consistent sabotage of the proletarian revolution in Europe, Stalinism is serving the European bourgeoisie as the spring-board for its jump from democracy to Fascism.

The inter-imperialist rivalries, the rivalry between the imperialist powers and Soviet Russia, the suppression of the proletarian revolutions in the European countries by Stalinism, the gradual rehabilitation of the European bourgeoisie with the active help of American imperialism and Stalinism—all these with unerring finger point to one and one thing only, namely, the inevitability of the third world war.

In India, the treachery of the Stalinists of the spurious C.P.I., their temporary alliance with British imperialism during the war and their constant collaboration with the Indian bourgeoisie all these years, have been a formidable obstacle to the development of the proletarian revolution.

The Indian Socialists who surpass their European and American comrades-in-treachery in opportunism, perfidy and treachery to the cause of Socialist Revolution, are jealously maintaining their tradition of loyal service to the Indian bourgeoisie. At present they are excelling themselves as the blacklegs in the service of the Indian capitalists. Everywhere they are advising the workers not to strike, demoralising them when the workers are on strike, as was done by Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan during the strike of the miners at Lodhna coal-field, and are thrusting the workers into the trap of forced arbitration prepared by the Congress government. These Socialists are the most loyal handymen of the Indian bourgeoisie. They are straining all their nerves to help the Indian bourgeoisie to come to power without any opposition from the masses. They are shielding the Indian bourgeoisie against attacks from the side of the masses, with the fervour of devoted retainers. Has not the singularly frank Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan very recently said "that it was not practical to start struggle when the Congress was in power at the Centre and in the provinces"?

Thus the national revolution in India which in this period could not be anything but a Socialist Revolution, is frustrated due to the treachery of the Stalinists and the Hindusthani Socialists.

Dominion Status takes the place of complete independence. India is fragmented to suit the Machiavellian designs of British imperialism which has now settled down happily, fully confident of a long and prosperous stay in India.

India remains as usual the favourite hunting ground of the imperialist beachcombers.

Thus all the combustible factors that in the past led to world conflagration, remain scattered in India as well in other countries of the world.

Only a Socialist Revolution which will destroy capitalism in the principal countries of the world can demolish the factors responsible for the war, root and branch. There is no other solution of the problem of war besides Socialism. Pacifism offers no solution whatever. Pacifism which whines at bloodshed, but at the same time supports the capitalist social order which is the real cause of war, is a mock-heroic reactionary cult which by its false pose of humanism misleads the masses and weakens the revolutionary front. This pacifism is always in the service of the bourgeoisie, and is violently against the revolutionary masses.

On this day, the first of August, we, the Revolutionary Communists, pledge ourselves to relentless class struggle against the Indian

bourgeoisie. We pledge ourselves to revolution which is but the culmination of class-struggle, to India's Socialist Revolution and to world Socialist Revolution.

We are fully convinced that only World Revolution can end once for all the ever-threatening danger of the imperialist war. With this conviction, on this anti-war day of the world proletariat, we pledge our complete allegiance to the theory and practice of the permanent revolution.

TOILERS' FRONT : AUGUST 1947.

