

Against the capitalist offensive, against strike-breaking and against the attempts to rob you of the right of combination;

Against fascism and against those who have paved the way for fascism, the social democratic and reformist leaders;

Against the imperialist warmongers;

For the vital interests of the working masses; for the social and national emancipation of all oppressed peoples, and in defence of the Soviet Union!

**Intensify the mass struggle against the production of war materials, and against the transport of arms and ammunition!**

**Form the revolutionary united front against hunger and impoverishment, against fascism and war!**

**Fight for the victory of Socialism!**

(Sig.) The Central Committees of the Communist Parties of **Germany, France, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Italy, United States of America** (Sections of the Communist International).

## INDIA

### The Struggle for the Indian Masses under Conditions of Colonial Terror.

By Rathan Singh.

The powerful movement of the Indian masses against imperialist slavery, against servitude to the landlords and the moneylenders, against all relics of barbarism in the social system of the country, is rapidly developing. In spite of the still existing unequal tempo of development, it is more and more taking on an All-Indian character.

British imperialism has unleashed a frenzied attack of terror, bloodshed and oppression. In the last 5 or 6 months alone, over 60,000 persons have been thrown into prison.

Punitive expeditions are operating in Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the North-west Provinces, etc. They shoot down the peasants, forcibly collect taxes and debts, mercilessly crushing the slightest manifestation of protest. Firing at demonstrations of workers, violent crushing of strikes, etc., are everyday occurrences.

However, this system of terror cannot stop or crush the growing revolutionary movement of the worker and peasant masses. The toiling masses are coming out into the streets. There is a growing desire for organisation. Everywhere, local groups and organisations are springing up. This movement of the masses breaks through various channels. The platform of action of the C.P. of India has correctly indicated its line. The Indian Communists correctly show that under the conditions of a terrorist regime it is essential to utilize and take advantage of all legal and illegal possibilities for work among the broad masses of workers and peasants.

The successful mobilisation of the toiling masses, their liberation from the influence of national reformism, the preparations for the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution and its victory, can only be achieved if there exists an independent illegal party of the proletariat—the **Communist Party**. A Party which is able to withstand the blows of terror and assure the continuity of its work and the actual carrying out of mass work in mobilising and training the toiling masses; a party which is able to overcome legalist illusions and secure the widest spread of Communist agitation and slogans.

"For the victory of the Indian revolution, it is necessary to have a Communist Party of the proletariat—the leader and organiser of the toiling masses of the country. The creation of a centralised, disciplined, ideologically united, mass, underground Communist Party is at present the chief basic and historically mature task of the revolutionary liberation movement of the proletariat of our country" (Platform of action of the C.P.I.).

This statement in the platform of action of the C.P.I. is absolutely correct. The formation of such a party at the present moment is the primary and the **most essential** task of every Indian Communist.

However, the formation of a mass Communist Party and its becoming the actual leader of the toiling masses can only be accomplished through the energetic participation of the

Communists in all forms of the mass movement. Only by participation in the everyday political and economic struggle of the toiling masses, organising, taking an active part and leading the strikes; energetically and constantly working in the factories and mills, in the trade unions and other mass organisations of the toiling masses, can the Communists speed up and secure the creation of a powerful party and lead the masses to a victorious revolution. Only in this way, utilising legal and illegal forms of work, can the Communists win the confidence of the working masses, increase their ties with the toilers and recruit tens of thousands of class-conscious workers into their ranks; form party organisations throughout the country, train and lead the masses to the decisive struggles and at the same time train, educate and transform the Party into a genuine, staunch leader of the revolutionary people.

The platform of action of the C.P.I. correctly presents this question. The correctness of its statements is confirmed by the experience of all Communist Parties. This experience also shows that a relentless struggle must be waged against all the existing mistakes in the Communist movement. **One type of mistake** follows the line of **neglecting** the work of the formation of an illegal mass Communist Party and carrying on mass illegal activity. Objectively, this leads to the refusal to form a Communist Party, i.e. rejection of Communism, desertion of the Communist movement and the people's revolution. Such a legalistic position aids the government in its struggle against the Communist Party, against the revolutionary proletariat; it weakens the development of the Communist movement. It shows the inability of the Party to lead the working class. Such mistakes objectively aid the disruptive activity of the reformists bent on disorganising the ranks of the workers. **Another type of mistake** is the line of rejecting the use of legal forms of work and organisation, and particularly refusal to carry on everyday work in the trade unions. Such rejection or neglect of work in the legal mass organisations, in the trade unions, in the factories, self-isolation from mass activity, from strikes, makes it easier for the bourgeoisie to strengthen their influence among the working masses, and helps to convert the working class into an appendage of the bourgeoisie. Failure to take advantage of legal forms of work and organisation, refusal to form mass trade unions, etc., amounts to a refusal to form a mass Communist Party, is a rejection of the **revolution**. The refusal to utilize the legal possibilities is usually apparent in those places where a sectarian policy predominates among the Communists, where the Party is replaced by sectarian circles of intellectuals, isolated from the masses.

Neglect and underestimation of mass work, especially in the factories and in the trade unions, strengthens the position of the reformists. This can be observed in many countries, and it is obvious in India. One of the chief reasons why the national-reformists in India have still a stronghold in the workers' movement is the fact that many Communists do not see the need to do mass work. This can be seen in Ahmedabad, Madras, Calcutta, Jemshedpur and a number of other places.

The experience of **Calcutta** illustrates this point very clearly. During the last few years there has been a number of jute strikes in Calcutta, but the revolutionary groups have practically stood aside from the struggle of the jute workers. This has been mentioned even in the Indian proletarian newspapers (see *Workers' Weekly*, middle of 1930).

The same picture is to be seen in the **Bengal** union of jute workers. This union is a top organisation, having very little contact with the masses. The managing committee of the union is not elected at a conference of delegates from the mills, and the majority of the committee is composed of leaders from outside and not the workers in industry. The jute union has not yet overcome old traditions of organisations of leaders, and is no mass organisation of the jute proletariat. No work is carried on in the mills. Under such conditions, Bose and Co. found it possible to carry on their campaign in 1931 and call a series of conferences of jute workers.

The experience of the strikes in Calcutta shows that the national-reformists and even some adventurers—paid agents of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists—are still able to disorganise and defeat the struggle of the working masses, meeting with hardly any resistance from the revolutionary groups.

The railway trade unions, seamen, dockers, etc. are in the hands of the reformists.

**All this explains why the bourgeoisie through their agents still maintain their influence among the working masses and are still able to disrupt the struggle of the toiling masses for independence.**

And this happened at a time when Calcutta, as an important proletarian centre, should have given assistance to Jemshedpur, the coal districts, the plantation workers and also to the peasantry of the United Provinces, Bengal, Assam, Behar and Orissa and the Northern districts of the Madras Presidency.

In Calcutta there are hundreds and thousands of active workers who have gone through a number of strikes, demonstrations, etc., but who cannot find their way into the Party, because the Communists do not know of them and are not drawing them into the mass organisations. The Communists do very little to develop these active workers, are badly connected with them, are not teaching them Marxism and are not training them to become the organisers of the workers' struggle. The utilisation of legal forms of work, the organisation of mass trade unions, of legal and semi-legal factory committees, of a legal proletarian press, would to a tremendous extent make the task of drawing in these active elements much **easier**, it would give the Party besides its illegal means and illegal forms of work and agitation an additional channel through which it could make thousands of contacts with the working masses and draw thousands of them into the organised revolutionary movement. However, while taking part in the mass movement and building mass organisations, a decisive struggle must be carried on against attempts to form from above paper organisations, i. e. organisations which are not connected with the masses. The tendency to form organisations of leaders (which is still to be observed in the Indian revolutionary movement) is connected with a number of mistakes of a political nature. It arises from insufficiently close contact with the working class, lack of faith in the power of the proletariat and its ability to lead the movement of the people, isolation from the active workers, insufficient differentiation from the „Left“ national-reformism and the insufficiently clear and consistent struggle against it and its manifestations in the ranks of the revolutionary movement. As a result, many revolutionists even at the present time continue to bring with them into the workers' movement the traditions of the bourgeois National Congress (bureaucratic methods of work, artificial division into leaders and patronized masses, the substitution of the initiative and participation of the masses in the work by mechanical bossing from above, etc.).

The workers' and peasants' party which existed in Calcutta is a pretty good example of these methods of work. The workers' and peasants' party of Bengal was an organisation only of the leaders, who instead of developing mass work were ordering from above, and actually did not attempt to draw the mass of workers into their ranks, to start work in the factories, and create a genuine mass movement and organisation. The political programme of this party had traces of national-reformist influence. In actuality such a party objectively hindered the formation of the Communist Party and hindered the liberation of the working masses from the influence of "left" national-reformism.

The traditions of these "top" organisations are deeply hostile to and incompatible with the type of mass organisation for which the Communists are fighting.

Every attempt to found a legal organisation **from above**, claiming the role of a mass organisation but consisting of a small handful of leaders and sympathisers who **replace** the mass organisation, is harmful and leads to isolation from the masses. It hinders the development of the revolutionary movement and hinders the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses. However, the struggle against the traditions of the "top" organisations which are isolated from the working masses does not exclude the possibility when, especially in the initial stage, an organisation though small in numbers is in reality a mass organisation. The decisive characteristics which define the difference are: 1) the existence of close ties of such organisation with the broad masses of the toilers, 2) the existence of a programme which expresses the class interests of the proletariat, 3) participation and organisation in the everyday struggle of the toiling masses, 4) energetic and incessant work in drawing the broad masses of workers into their ranks, 5) the consistent struggle against the imperialist and bourgeois agents in the workers' organisations.

The most suitable form of mass legal activity are unquestionably the trade unions. The trade unions connected with tens and hundreds of thousands of workers, defending their everyday interests ensure the widest possible contact of

the Communists with the working masses. Without participation in the economic struggle of the working class, the C.P. cannot exist and cannot grow.

"The formation of trade unions was a gigantic step forward for the working class... as a transition from the scatteredness and helplessness of the workers to the **beginnings of class unity**... Except through the trade unions, through their mutual influence on the working class together with the Party, the development of the proletariat has never taken place and could not take place anywhere in the world."

(Lenin, "Left Wing Communism".)

And it is here, to the organisation and work in the T.U. that the Indian Communists must first of all direct their attention in the struggle for the working masses and for the utilisation of legal possibilities. There are very many forms of legal and semi-legal work, which should be used in the struggle for the masses. They must be used in accordance with the concrete conditions and circumstances demanding one or another form of mass legal organisation.

Among such forms of work and mass organisations we may mention factory committees, mutual aid societies, Leagues of Militant Workers, cultural societies, schools, evening and day courses, sport organisations, legal papers, clubs of readers and subscribers of our papers, worker correspondents, unemployed committees, etc. The organisations may be of a permanent type like trade unions, etc., or of a temporary character—committees of struggle against the arrest of workers during strikes, committees of action against discrimination of the pariahs, etc.

The Party organisation must be in **constant search** for the most suitable forms of mass activities and the use of various legal and semi-legal possibilities, and use these forms as the situation may demand.

One thing must be absolutely clear — and that is failure to use legal and semi-legal forms of mass activities and organisation leads to the isolation of the Communists from the masses and objectively means the **rejection** of the people's revolution.

Participation in the mass movement, work in the mass organisations (including those mass trade unions which are under the influence of the reformists), the creation of new organisations, demands a simultaneous development and increase of all forms of illegal activity, the strengthening of the illegal Communist Party, which alone is able to assure the correct revolutionary class policy and leadership in such mass organisations. The creation of the C.P. is the main requisite, the rejection of which is the rejection of the struggle for the hegemony of the proletariat.

The strengthening of the underground organisation and the struggle to secure the leadership of the mass legal and semi-legal organisations demands that the Communists organise Communist fractions in all these mass organisations. So far the importance, the role and the need of Communist fractions has not been, as a matter of fact, recognised by the Indian Communists. **In reality there are still no fractions.** This is one of the reasons why the Communists cannot properly organise and carry on everyday work in the trade unions and have lost their positions and influence in a number of trade unions. In this respect, the experience of Calcutta does not differ from the other districts in the country. However, without organised work of the Communists in the mass organisations, without the creation of Communist fractions it is not only impossible to ensure a single unified political and practical line which all the Communists, working in the various mass organisations must follow—but it is impossible to fight successfully for the hegemony of the proletariat in the general revolutionary movement of the toiling masses.

Taking into consideration all the foregoing, it is interesting to define what should be the position of the Communists in regard to the attempts to form a legal workers' Party, as for example is the case in Calcutta. In spite of the fact that we do not know the programme and the character of this Party, its composition and leadership, and do not know to what extent it carries on a genuine struggle in defence of the interests of the working class and the Indian revolution, we still consider it advisable, however, to discuss a few questions of principle connected with such a problem.

In India, as in any other country, there can only be one real political party of the proletariat, and this is the Communist Party, which under the present conditions in India can

exist and develop only as an underground Party. The struggle for such an All-Indian Communist Party is the central task for all Communists.

Therefore, from the point of view of the Communists, the formation of local legal workers' parties in various provinces of India cannot in any case take the place of the Communist Party. The formation of such local legal workers parties may be considered permissible in principle as **auxiliary mass political organisations**. There sometimes may arise such a situation when, due to the temporary existence of legal possibilities, the creation of a Communist Party can be hastened through a revolutionary legal workers' party even in the absence of a strong Communist Party. However, at the present time under the present concrete circumstances in India (unexampled terror, the sharpening of the struggle against the revolutionary proletarian organisations, the inner situation in the Communist movement, etc.), the Communists must clearly understand the conditions under which such legal local worker parties can be formed and developed (realising of course that a longer existence of such parties will not be permitted by British imperialism if these parties carry on a class policy, take part in the mass struggle and are not reformist organisations).

The creation of a **local legal workers party** (under the present concrete conditions) as a means of leading the struggle for the masses, the winning of legality and the isolation of the reformists, may be considered permissible if the following conditions exist: 1) If an underground Communist movement exists and the united Communist organisation is able to guarantee a correct revolutionary line and the activity of such a party. 2) If such a party is formed as the result and the organised expression of the mass movement of the workers, and if such a party does not take the place of an underground Communist movement and the Communists carry on an energetic struggle against legalist illusions. 3) If with this is connected, before and after the formation of the Party, an energetic, persistent, everyday mass work in the factories and trade unions. 4) If the programme of such a party, containing its demands and taking into account the necessity for its legal existence, at the same time in essence is the class programme of the proletariat. 5) If the Communist organisation, while participating in such a party, takes measures not to expose to and preserve a considerable part of its cadres from destruction by the police, which a legal party is bound to bring, and will not lessen but on the contrary increase its activity in developing the underground Communist movement.

While not refusing to take part in the existing mass legal workers' parties, the Communists must struggle against their transformation into reformist organisations, Roy organisations, etc., which try to divert the workers from the revolutionary struggle and direct them along the path of reformism.

The importance of the above mentioned conditions is absolutely clear, especially in India, with its experience of the workers' and peasants' parties, before we undertake to develop the task of organising such worker's parties.

Some workers' and peasants' parties in the past claimed that they were almost communist. However, experience showed that they were „top“ organisations consisting only of the revolutionary intellectuals who formed a party more or less on paper, elected a C.C. at occasional meetings („conference“) did not even try to draw workers into the party, began to represent the masses from above, and did not completely outlive the ideology of the National Congress.

To follow such a path means to act contrary to the theory and all practice of the international revolutionary movement.

**It will be still worse** if attempts will be made to form in such a manner an All-Indian Workers' Party. A turn towards mass work, the struggle for legality in various sections of the country or provinces and even for a short period—with the aim of winning over the masses and creating a mass Communist Party—should always be supported, but this desire, this turn to the masses, should be directed by the Communists always along the proper channels, in every case taking into account the changes in the concrete situation.

The platform of action of the C.P.I. and the open letter of the British, German and Chinese Communist Parties to the Indian Communists, are in this sense the fundamental guiding documents which must be followed by all honest adherents of the Indian and the international revolutionary proletariat.

## THE WORLD ECONOMIC CRISIS

### Capitalist Production Sunk to 19<sup>th</sup> Century Level.

(International Economic Survey.)

From the Institute for World Economy at the Communist Academy.

The year 1932 has brought a further deepening and intensification of the economic crisis. With the exception of England there is still going on in all capitalist countries a rapid decline of production.

As regards output, the capitalist world is already below the pre-war level. If one takes 100 to represent the index of production in the year 1913, we find that the United States is at present at this level, whilst in France the index has fallen to 95, in England to 83, Germany to 63 and Poland to 46.

Even more remarkable are the figures regarding the level of production in the various branches of industry in the capitalist countries, as is to be seen from the following table, in which the years are given the figures of which correspond to the first quarter of 1932:

	Coal	Pig Iron	Steel	Cotton Consumption
United States . . .	1906	1898	1905	1913
England . . . . .	1900	1860	1897	1872
Germany . . . . .	1899	1891	1895	1889

Thus we see that the most important branches of capitalist industry have gone back to the level obtaining 25 to 40 years ago.

One of the factors exercising a very great influence on the further deepening of the crisis in the last few months is the rapid shrinkage of investments in all countries. In the United States the erection of new buildings in 1932 shows an unprecedented decline. In the first four months of 1932, the total value of building contracts amounted to only 408 million dollars as compared with 1476 million dollars and 2482 million in the years 1931 and 1929 respectively. Thus we see, that building activity amounts to only 27 per cent. of that of 1931, which itself was a year of crisis. In Germany, the extent of building activity in the year 1932 declined in value to approximately 2,000 million marks as compared with 4,000 million in 1931 and 7,000 million in 1929.

The last quarterly survey of the Berlin Konjunktur-Institut shows that at the present time the monthly average of investments in all branches of German economy amounts to 275 to 300 million marks, compared with a monthly average of 1,110 million marks in the year 1929. Thus the Berlin Konjunktur-Institut is compelled to record that the worn out means of production are not replaced to the extent necessary to maintain the economic apparatus.

In the United States the disastrous decline of investment activity is to be seen in the unprecedented restriction of all private capital emissions, which in the first five months of 1932 amounted to 156 million dollars as compared with 1049 million and 3753 million dollars in the first five months of 1931 and 1929 respectively. The result is a tremendous falling off in the demand for all the products of heavy industry. This is clearly shown in the statistics regarding the output of pig iron in the first five months of the current year:

	U.S.A.	France	Germany	England
	(In millions of tons)			
1929	18.3	4.3	5.4	2.9
1931	9.6	3.8	2.8	1.7
1932	4.6	2.3	1.7	1.6

It may be of interest to compare these figures with the output of pig iron in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, with a pig iron output of 2,467,000 tons in the first five months of 1932, thus occupies first place in Europe and is also on the way to catching up to the United States.

A further factor deepening the crisis is the growing agricultural crisis, the collapse of prices on the market for agricultural and industrial goods. In the United States, for instance, the index for farm products stood at 56 on May 15 (pre-war