

Developments In India

Seldom has there been a more spectacular exemplification of the international nature of the class struggle than is seen in the recent events in India. It seems a far cry from the blitzkrieg against France and the threatened blitzkrieg against England to the development of a prerevolutionary situation in India and yet the connection is inescapable. Readers of the International News are already familiar with the analysis of Indian events given by the Marxists. There has been no fundamental change in this analysis, but there have been developments that have sharpened the struggles and are rapidly leading to all the objective conditions for revolution in India. Let's summarize them briefly:

MASSES PRESSURE PUSHES NEHRU "LEFT"

1. The overwhelming onslaught against France by the Nazis and in connection therewith pounding of the British Expeditionary Force, led to the defeat in the Nationalist Congress of the Gandhi group. This has been foretold in previous issues of the International News, but was greatly accelerated by the triumph of the Nazi elements. Gandhism, in view of its nature as an integral part of the British imperialist machinery, was weakened by the Anglo-French defeat. The pressure of the masses, acting indirectly on the Congress, compelled the Nehru group to stiffen in its attitude towards British Imperialism and temporarily sealed the defeat of Gandhi.

It should still be observed, however, that there is no essential class difference between these two groupings and that the seemingly more radical is permeated with the spirit of Gandhism, and has been groomed and is trotted forward only as a substitute for the waning Gandhism. These changes at the top are only indicative of the outside pressure of the masses, and, left alone, can have no fundamental social significance. This should never be forgotten.

NEW TACTICS BY BRITISH IMPERIALISM

2. Faced with the temporary defeat of Gandhism, its chief mass basis in India, British Imperialism was compelled to adopt new tactics.

Suddenly, to a startled world of liberals, who are always being startled in such matters, Britain seemed to issue a manifesto promising dominion status after the war. But it was only seeming. Britain cannot at this stage of decay afford even to make unequivocal promises of dominion status. Not that the piratical descendants of Clive and Hastings would not hesitate to lie as much as they have in the past, but simply that they cannot even afford to make real verbal concessions regarding the crown jewel of the British Empire, for fear of inciting social struggles.

When examined, therefore, the so-called promise of dominion status is hedged around with reference to state conditions and to dominion status being approved by "substantial and important" elements of the population. By these British Imperialism means, and its meaning is well understood by those concerned, the princes, and the reactionary Mohammedan, Hindu, and untoachable mass leaders. It is impossible to conceive of these gentry ever being "persuaded" of the necessity of the dominion status.

So Britain tries both to have her cake and eat it, it gives empty promises on the one hand and retains everything essential on the other. But even this shadow of a concession has been forced by the defeat of France, the threatened invasion of Britain, and the Japanese advances towards Indo-China, with a longing glance at India.

CONTINUES NON-VIOLENCE POLICY

3. What was the reaction of the dominant Nehru group in the Nationalist Congress? Forced by the pressure of the petit bourgeoisie beneath them in the Congress, and still more faced with the necessity of pretending to be a real foe of Gandhism, the Congress majority was compelled to decline Britain's offer after several days of silence. However, this same majority, by continuing the policy of non-violence, shows its fundamental affinity with Gandhism. The real test of the sincerity of any organization in India claiming to fight for Indian independence is whether it will decisively break with the sanctifying doctrine of non-violence. This, of course, does not exhaust

the differences in class viewpoint in India, but it is impossible, as previously pointed out to march together with elements which are not marching at all, and there can be no march of any sort without the theoretical and practical overthrow of passivism.

IMMEDIATE OPPORTUNITY

4. England's extremity remains India's opportunity. The work of the chiefs at the top in the Nationalist Congress can amount to nothing except holding back the masses, unless there is the immediate formation of an Indian Marxist party proceeding to establish Soviets and advocating the immediate seizure of the land by the peasants and the driving of the English and the princes into the Indian Ocean. This is not just a general perspective. It is an immediate opportunity.

The plight of Britain, the confusion of the British ruling class as to methods of keeping India in subjection, the threatened blitzkrieg in London, the perspective of transfer of the center of British Imperialism overseas, the strain of war economy on the workers and peasants, the ferment in the urban petit bourgeoisie, all these are creating, and creating rapidly an immediate perspective of armed insurrection for India. Only the party is lacking.

But this is the most decisive lack. The Stalinists and the Royists who combined for all practical purposes, at the last Nationalist Congress will strive to repeat the experiences of China.

During the Revolution of 1925-1927, the Stalinist theory of "the bloc of four classes" and its participation in the Kuo-Min-Tang which was completely dominated by the comprador-bourgeoisie, led to the defeat of the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry.

A CORRECTION

Owing to a technical oversight, the last four issues of the INTERNATIONAL NEWS have been incorrectly numbered. For example the last, September issue should have been

Such a policy of class collaboration, instead of independent working class action, is no less dangerous in the development of a national phase of the revolution than in a proletarian revolution in an advanced capitalist country.

The precondition for the successful development of the Indian revolution is the complete rejection of such Stalinist, Royist and other opportunist proposals for **subordination** to **any** section of the bourgeois forces, and the advancement of the independent action of the workers in alliance with the peasantry.

BUILD THE MARXIST PARTY

But from the experiences of the past, and from the ranks of the textile workers and the other urban proletarians of India there can be gathered together a cadre party that will overcome these tendencies and lead the Indian masses to successful revolt. And after India has a successful revolution the effect upon the world cannot be overestimated. Small as are the conscious numbers of Marxists in India it still remains true as in 1917 that the main thing is to build a real Marxist party and the masses will flock to its leadership. The objective conditions are rapidly becoming rotten ripe.

It is up to the Marxists in all countries to realize the importance of India and to assist theoretically and practically in the building of an Indian Party, no matter how small. Routine, dragging methods no longer suffice in this period. The blitzkrieg tactics of imperialism must be met, and at once by "blitzkrieg" organization on our part. This, of course, does not mean putschism. But that is not the main danger now. The Indian revolution demands speedy organization of the subjective forces.

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This present issue is correctly, volume 2, number 10. The December issue will carry an index of all published issues from vol. 1, no. 1.