

SOCIALISM
The Goal of the Epoch

Draft Manifesto
of the
DEMOCRATIC VANGUARD

1954

Four Annas

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FOREWORD

1943 was a dark year in India. Thousands were dying of starvation, hoarders and profiteers were all powerful, corruption was running rampant in every sphere of administration ; the Japanese fascist forces were on the Eastern border. The anti-fascist forces were numerically a small minority, and not all of them were clear and consistent about anti-fascism.

When the Indian people were in the throes of an unprecedented crisis of highest magnitude, when the national leadership betrayed the masses going the wrong way, when the different "left" parties hopelessly failed to guide the people on correct lines with a really revolutionary programme, when illusion ran supreme, a flicker of light was born in this darkness ; a conference of a good number of men and women in Calcutta adopted a manifesto which was titled "India to Build Her Own Freedom". This was the basic manifesto of the Democratic Vanguard. Among these were represented four generations of political workers, and they, in a way, represented an unbroken tradition of revolutionary liberation struggle carried on in this country. The combination could justly be proud of its unfailing revolutionary honesty and consistency. The spirit of the old martyrs of hallowed memory, the feeling of brotherhood with all fighters of freedom everywhere, worked within the combination through living bonds of memory and association.

Since that day eleven years have passed. A world moving at indescribable speed, has altered the situation beyond recognition today. Yet nothing has happened that was not foreseen in that small pamphlet, or in the later resolutions and reports of the Democratic Vanguard. The correctness of the Manifesto has been proved beyond question.

The present Manifesto, the Second Manifesto of the Democratic Vanguard, is a restatement of policy as necessitated by the changed situation. It is a further development of the basic manifesto.

The differences between the two manifestos may be summarized as follows—whereas in the First Manifesto we called for a Democratic Revolution * in India in view of the war situation and the still continued traditions of the national liberation movement, here we call for a Socialist Revolution; whereas in the First, we considered the time unripe for the formation of the People's Party, here we are calling for the formation of the Working-class Party.

This is no correction of past mistakes, for we committed none. This is a logical development of our fundamental stand.

The basic manifesto remains a most significant document in the history of the Indian Liberation Movement. It must be read by all serious students of Marxism and revolutionary politics. A proper evaluation and understanding of the present draft will be possible for only those who have read the earlier document.

At that time we were alone. Today we are alone again. For in India today we are the only organization that is planning for a Socialist Revolution. Other Marxists are swayed towards "People's Democracy" or some variant of it.

We appeal to all political workers to give this document its due consideration. Indifference to it will not pay in the end.

* "Its goal is the attainment of Democratic Revolution in India, which at this stage can be attained and maintained as a part of Democratic Freedom of all the peoples." — — — "The content of the Democratic Revolution is the direct management of affairs of the people, political and social, by the democratically organised power of the toiling masses uninterfered by any other agency."—India o Build Her Own Freedom.

We have made no secret of our opinions in respect of other political parties. We want them to criticise us in the same manner. It seems that "toleration" has become a watch-word in political circles as well as in the general conscience of the people. In our opinion, only a merciless and ruthless ideological and programmatic conflict between the different claimants of leadership can help the people to appreciate the real issues involved and also establish each of the claimants in its true position. A movement cannot grow without conflict of ideas. If we all devote ourselves to the programmatic struggle with the necessary seriousness and vigour, almost half the battle for better life will be won; the only thing required is that we will not deceive ourselves or the people in this struggle.

Therefore we request all political parties and groups to help us with their well-considered criticism. That will not injure us. If in the process we find at any moment that we had been wrong and some others right, we will instantaneously liquidate our separate existence. To our own judgment we have not yet committed a single serious mistake in respect of ideology, programme, strategy, tactics; nor have we committed a single serious mistake in respect of the immediate struggles of the toilers, the principles to be followed and the technique to be adopted. This is a proud heritage, and this gives us the strength for the conviction that we will win our goal in not very distant future.

This document is being presented as a Draft Manifesto for opinions. After giving due consideration to the opinions that we may be posted with, the Draft will be finalised as the Manifesto proper in the form as may be adopted by an All-India Conference of the Democratic Vanguard.

Calcutta,
July, 1954

ALL-INDIA COMMITTEE,
DEMOCRATIC VANGUARD

Socialism—the Goal of the Epoch

(DRAFT MANIFESTO of THE DEMOCRATIC VANGUARD)

I. THE PRESENT PHASE OF THE INDIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

In 1947, with the acceptance of transferred power by the Indian National Congress, the Indian National Liberation Movement entered a critical phase of its history. Various trends of the Liberation Movement had converged to build up this movement, mighty and widespread, unparalleled in the history of national movements. An almost ceaseless course of conflicts of ideas had developed the movement qualitatively. The people's urge for 'Freedom to Live' had begun to assert itself within the movement and the people had begun to look upon Independence as not merely a replacement of the British rulers by a set of Indian rulers, but a way to build up better life for all. The movement had developed a world-outlook, and there was a growing awareness that the Indian national struggle was a part of the world-struggle of the enslaved peoples and the toiling masses of all countries ; an atmosphere of close fraternity with the enslaved peoples of Asia and mutual encouragement and inspiration had grown up. Besides these, the movement had registered a great advance by evolving its own instrument of struggle which was admirably suited to the immediate tasks of the movement as well as had the potentiality of developing as future organs of power. All partial and immediate struggles of the various sections of the people came under the hegemony of the general Liberation Movement, received help and support from the Liberation Movement, sometimes in spite of the unwilling leadership, and became part and parcel of the general Liberation Movement.

All this was disrupted and the entire heritage of the movement was shattered by the gross betrayal of the national

the gift of "Independence" and impose a constitution that betrayed all previous promises. The bourgeoisie, however, did not hesitate to utilise the changes brought about by the war for their class-interests. Towards the end of the war the foreign rulers, utterly exhausted by the war, realized that they could not hope to retain their rule for long, and that the best course for them to take would be to transfer power to their own class in India. They were already planning the strategy of the "Third World War" and they wanted to save India for capitalism and parliamentary democracy as well as to obtain her men and materials in a possible war against the Soviet Union; this could be effectively done only by a national capitalist regime working with some popular sanction. This, among other contributory causes, led them to transfer power to their Indian counterparts.

With the Indian bourgeoisie coming to power, the forces of the National Liberation Movement became scattered. The war situation had already disrupted the movement, and the terrible communal carnage—a bitter fruit of the bourgeois negotiations and bargainings for shares of power and the consequent crisis of transfer of power—further injured the movement. But the bourgeoisie was not content with this; through their INTUC and various other agencies, they initiated the disruption and division of the organized Trade Union movement and other toilers' movements. They were helped by the still continued prestige that the name 'Congress' carried, the popular press that was supporting the new rulers, and actual use of state-power for their ends. The virtual liquidation of the Liberation Movement was not taken note of by most of the 'Left' forces, and this gave rise to extreme forms of sectarianism carried on by these, isolated from each other; this factor coupled with the fundamentally mistaken policies of the big leftist organizations, substantially contributed towards the success of the bourgeois move. One of the wishes of the foreign

rulers while transferring power was thus fulfilled. Party squabbles assumed formidable proportions and none seemed to care for the toilers' movement as a whole. "Pocket-organizations", artificially buttressed up positions of leadership, vilest intrigues and wire-pullings went on. This situation remains materially unaltered even now, and although the popular urge for unity has forced everyone to be loud in professions of "Workers' Unity", "Left Unity", "Democratic Unity" etc., the practice continues.

This disintegration of the Liberation Movement is the most significant event after the war. All plans of action, struggle, and programme, are unreal if they do not start from this.

Yet the struggles of the people continue. They have to continue, for the attainment of "Independence" has not solved one single problem of the people. Their sufferings continue and assume unbearable magnitudes; scarcity, high prices of consumption goods, low prices of agricultural commodities specially cash-crops, lack of purchasing power, lack of employment, retrenchments, wage-cuts, illiteracy, ill-health, lack of almost all human needs, smothering of all wishes, lack of any real freedom, actual attacks on the various fundamental rights—altogether an encircling attack on the most fundamental human right, the right to exist, continue and increase in intensity and extent to make a wearisome burden of life. People have to struggle, they have to resist further attacks on top of their existing misery. Therefore we witness struggles everywhere, in every sphere of life, in various forms and on various issues. But, for the want of the perspective of a general Liberation Movement, these struggles remain isolated from one another, un-co-ordinated, and sporadic in nature; they do not develop on higher levels and on wider scales. Moreover, the prevailing disunity and disruption, also products of the disintegration of the Liberation Movement, create further

complications in the ways of these struggles. The authorities can easily suppress or evade the isolated struggles taking advantage of these factors; and defeats in this circumstance do not necessarily lead to growth of greater determination and zeal, but on the contrary to depression and demoralization. Struggles can be very easily misled by lumpen-elements and confused enthusiasts harbouring fundamentally mistaken notions about revolutionary manner of struggles nurtured by the traditions of the 'August Movement' and, at a later stage, the Ranadive-led C.P.I. adventure.

In this situation the toiling masses have only one way out. They have to rebuild the Liberation Movement. In order to do that we have to be clear about the goal of the movement. The movement has to be rebuilt, but rebuilding cannot and should not take us back to the pre-"Independence" stage. That is neither possible nor desirable. In order to lift the movement out of the present rut we have to develop it at a higher level. The goal today can no longer be the substitution of present set of rulers by a newer set. The experiences of the last few years, now generalized, lead the people to the realization that power serves only those who wield it; that the people require power in their hands in order to live; also that People's Power cannot be a gift. People's Power cannot be obtained through transfer, even though the transfer be effected by a set of our own countrymen; it cannot be obtained through parliamentary elections and legislations; it has to be built up. The building up of people's power is the integral task of the Liberation Movement.

People's power can be built up only on the basis of immediate struggles; it is never obtained as the result of constitutional lawyers' conferences evolving a constitution to be put into effect at some future date; it has to be realized and won in actual life; a constituent assembly may at a

later date record what the people would have already established in reality.

For the requirement of the immediate struggles, instrument of struggle is a necessity; the people's instrument of struggle is the potential organ of power. Without instrument of struggle establishment of people's power would be an idle dream. It is also the lesson of history in the present epoch that no progress, made anywhere, has been without the instrument of struggle, and no progress is possible without instrument of struggle.

II. GANA-PANCHAYETS

—INSTRUMENT OF STRUGGLE, ORGAN OF POWER.

At the present stage, the Liberation Movement can be re-organized and the struggles continued with a view to the future attainment of people's power on the basis of Gana-Panchayets. Gana-Panchayets should be formed wherever possible as local and institutional instruments for democratic co-ordination of struggles with the widest possible active participation of the people concerned. In every locality, in every territorial unit of the country, in every institution where toilers have to work for their daily bread, the people should be invited to organize their own local organizations in the form of Gana-Panchayets which should be an arrangement for collective discussion, decision and action in respect of the various issues that face the toilers. Mazdoor-Panchayets should be developed as supplementing the work of existing Trade Unions in order to attend to the other various needs of the working-class movement.

Ideological and programmatic struggles should be initiated and welcome within the body of the Gana Panchayets; all points of view in respect of the toilers' struggles should be heard and thoroughly discussed; the decisions should be unanimous as far as practicable. But all attempts to disintegrate

or disrupt the organization on any pretext must be stoutly resisted.

The Gana-Panchayets, getting interlinked, spreading a network throughout the length and breadth of the country, and evolving higher organs in course of and in the requirement of the struggles, shall serve as organs of people's power at the hour of need.

There can be no confusion between these Gana-Panchayets, and the 'Panchayets' imposed from the top by the Congress administration to function as Union-Boards in reality. This Gana-Panchayet is an instrument of struggle, and built on the basis of the people's urge for struggle.

III. OBJECTIVE OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT DEFINED

The prevailing confusions about the idea of the Liberation Movement make it necessary to clearly define the objective. Without a definite objective, without a common goal, struggles cannot be linked up with each other and the sporadic, isolated nature of the struggles cannot be overcome. What can be the goal of all struggles now going on or developing in future? Can it be merely the replacement of the present Congress Ministers by some others? Can it be superficial reforms that do not touch the basic problems of the people? These objectives have been tested and rejected by the people in reality, although they may be temporarily misled now and then. Moreover an analysis of the present situation clearly establishes the inadequacy, rather the reactionary character of such objectives. It will be seen in the course of the following analysis that liberation of the people and the entire society is impossible without ending the system of exploitation.

IV. CRISIS OF EXISTENCE

The situation in India has been aptly termed "**CRISIS OF EXISTENCE**" from the toilers' point of view. The impact of the present socio-economic crisis has accelerated the intensity

and variety of the awful miseries of the toiling masses. The unprecedented intensity of the unemployment problem, both urban and rural, the dwindling purchasing power, the scarcity of necessary commodities and the insecurity of life and livelihood are all results of the capitalist system. The basic economic problem is of a two-fold character—scarcity of commodities and lack of purchasing power to buy even the limited commodities available. Under conditions of capitalism, the one leads to the other and this vicious circle goes on till the total collapse of the system or an artificial boom created by a war-situation. Shortage of purchasing power, lack of "effective demand" leads the private owners of the means of production to curtailment of production in spite of the real demand of the people, and this means retrenchment, lay-off, wage-cut, unemployment, fall of prices of the agricultural raw material, particularly cash-crops, and consequent further loss of purchasing power. Unemployment also decreases the purchasing power of those toilers who succeed in retaining their employment, for it imposes the burden of the unemployed kith and kin on them, and more fundamentally, decreases the price of labour-power.

Every sphere of life for the toiling masses is endangered. There are world-wide conspiracies of war and war-preparations, conspiracies to crush the toilers' organizations and movements. These give rise to real apprehensions for life and security.

The Liberation Movement has to be a movement to end this crisis, and has to be comprehensive of all these issues. But the crisis cannot be ended under the system of exploitation.

V. CAPITALISM CANNOT END THE CRISIS.

Capitalism, being the cause of the crisis, cannot solve the crisis, on the contrary, can only aggravate it and is actually aggravating it. For capitalism, based on the profit-motive of private owners of the means of production cannot solve the problem of purchasing power. Under capitalism

there has to be a gulf between the cost of production (wages, salaries, prices of raw-materials, etc.) and the price of the product; labour power is engaged, people are given jobs, in order that they may produce more than they are given the power to consume (purchasing power). Purchasing power of the country's internal market is largely made up of the wages, salaries and incomes of the peasantry out of sale of agricultural produce. Therefore the purchasing power of the people is bound to lag behind the production; consequently, production has to be curtailed for want of buyers, for want of purchasing power; without a market which would give them the profit, the private owners of the means of production have no reason to carry on production.

The possibility of carrying on in face of this internal condition, by utilising foreign markets is today absent; one-third of the world is out of the capitalist orbit; in the rest of the world, powerful capitalist states compete with each other, and Indian capitalism has no elbow-room against American, British, Japanese, French and German competition. To engage in a war for securing markets imperialistically is ruled out by the obvious military weakness of Indian capitalism; even if it could enter on such a venture, and such tendencies are discernible, it will not help the people in any way.

The capitalist system is collapsing all over the world. It can no longer solve any problem of the people. All schemes of social progress that seek to retain capitalism, are delusions for the people.

The fact that India is industrially backward in comparison to the USA, UK or France makes it all the more difficult for capitalism to make any progress here, and increases the sufferings of the people to unbearable extents. therefore, the world capitalist chain should break here first. The advanced capitalist states can continue so long as the backward areas remain within the capitalist

orbit, for these backward areas serve as feeder-area and the advanced capitalist states can pass on the major brunt of the crisis to the backward areas greasing their creaking economies with the harvest that they reap from here. It is a corollary of the law of uneven development of capitalism that the "weakest links" in the chain—the underdeveloped areas shall snap first; there is no other alternative for the underdeveloped areas but the liquidation of the capitalist system and take to the socialist path. It is also a verdict of history that the revolutionary struggles for socialism could succeed only in those countries which were weak from the point of view of capitalistic development.

Moreover, the productive forces in India have developed social character and are in contradiction with the relations of production which is based on private ownership of the means of production. In the major industries, such as Jute, Coal, Iron & Steel, Transport & Communications, Cement, Sugar, Tea, Textiles, etc. and even in the smaller industries the character of the productive forces happen to be social, i. e, the toilers, the producers, are inter-related through the medium of their productive activities throughout the entire society. Some of these are state-owned now; but that is only a developed form of private ownership—capitalist state monopoly. So the contradiction between the forces of production and the relation of production has to be removed by socializing the ownership of the means of production.

In India capitalism still holds its sway simply because it has not been given the death-push; the resulting sufferings of the people cannot be ended without eliminating the capitalist ownership.

VI. DEFENDERS OF CAPITALISM: CONGRESS & THE C. P. I.

The world has advanced very far since the first days of criticism of capitalism. Due to the tremendous events of

the Russian Revolution, the Second World war and the Chinese Liberation, and various other factors, today very few persons can openly advocate capitalism. The evils of capitalism are widely recognized and no popular support can gather around open advocates of capitalism. But this situation gives rise to the various middle-of-the-way theories forwarded by covert supporters of capitalism; most of these are based on claims of "realism" and pseudo-liberalism. 'Controlled Capitalism', 'liberalized capitalism', "mixed economy", "welfare economy" etc. are shibboleths of the capitalists who seek to delude the people. That was also the nature of the pseudo-socialist shibboleths of the National Socialists in Germany and other fascist regimes. Fascism is after all the logic of attempts to retain capitalism even when it is dying on a world-scale, due to its inherent contradictions intensified by the process of the law of capitalist economy and the basic features of fascist economy and the recent variants of "modified capitalism" are common—a deliberately lowered technique of production, artificial autarchy, cheap labour-power, artificially regulated consumption, small-scale cottage and rural industries, high protective tariff-walls, subsidies to industrialists at the cost of the toilers, coupled with armament production, war-industries and war. Politically this leads to shedding of all democratic facades and assumption of open dictatorship by the capitalist class.

Significantly enough the Congress Government is an ardent advocate of the basic features of a fascist economy in this country. The overwhelming burden of rural unemployment as well as urban unemployment drives it to lay very great stress on rural and cottage industries; the same factor is behind its recent admiration of the small-scale industries. It frankly declares its inability to solve the unemployment problem, and as for the problem of

the peasantry it seeks to enrich a few of the rich peasantry by liquidating the zamindari system at the cost of the entire toiling people who have to bear the cost of paying compensations to the landlords; its aim here is to obtain a social base for its regime, Chiang's miserable defeat in China providing a lesson. It is unable to lay hands on the hidden profits of the big bourgeoisie; it is unable to tackle the jute, tea, sugar, textile magnates and has to yield to them on various issues. It is unable to liquidate corruption and inefficiency in the government projects.

Its construction-plans are based on two factors—foreign loan and increased indirect taxation of the people. Foreign loan today means American loan, and that means political enslavement on the one hand and economic subservience on the other.

American loan means involvement in war-plans which are against the immediate interest of the Indian capitalist class even; it also means restriction of trading opportunities in foreign markets. Moreover, from the toilers' point of view, American loan is of disastrous consequence as the toilers will have to pay back this money with interest through generations hereafter; this is actually selling the future generations. And already the American loan-agencies act against the interests of the toilers.

In a situation where the main problem is that of decreased purchasing power, any plan that is based on increased indirect taxation is meaningless; for increased indirect taxation means further loss of purchasing power. So the plans of the Congress Government do not solve the problem, but only create them in renewed forms and increased intensity. They do not remove the problems, they give new appearances to them.

A note of warning is to be sounded here against the

"mixed economy" slogan of the Congress Government. It seems that the Congress Government is claiming and some people are being misled by that claim, that their "mixed economy" is similar to the mixed economy of the transition period in Socialist states. There is no similarity between the two. In the Congress sense of the term every capitalist country presents a "mixed economy"—a mixture of state monopoly capital, private monopoly capital, small scale capital, rural and cottage industries, and feudalistic survivals. That was the picture in India even during the British rule. The belief that the so-called Public Sector is socialistic and would gradually expand and absorb the Private Sector and thus "grow into" a full-fledged socialist economy is a dangerous illusion. State monopoly capitalism in transport, armament and other strategic industries under conditions of decaying capitalism, with private finance capital operating in other spheres, and with the power in the hands of the capitalist class organized in parliamentary democratic state-machinery with provisions for total abrogation of civil liberties under pretexts of 'emergency', 'defence', etc, is potential fascism. The logic of the capitalist system is driving the Congress towards laying the foundations of a fascist economy.

The logic of the situation is also driving the Congress to tightening up of executive rule and vesting the executive with powers to curtail all liberties of the toilers.

It would appear strange to find the Communist Party of India in this company. But here is another instance to prove that names are often misnomers. "National Socialists" were anti-socialists and the Communist Party of India is against the movement for socialism here. And that is not really surprising, for anybody who is conversant with the Indian political scene, is aware that the C. P. I., according to its own admissions, has never yet followed a

correct line, and has betrayed the working-class and the toiling people again and again. Their present position is that capitalism has to be developed in this country before they can talk of socialism, and for this purpose they propose the following measures—confiscation of British capital, restriction of foreign competition, protection to Indian capitalists, protection to cottage industries, liquidation of the zemindary system, distribution of land to the tillers, reduction of rents and taxes. According to the C. P. I., these measures taken together can solve the problem of purchasing power and solve all problems of the people. The draft resolution on unemployment problem circulated by the C. P. I. leader S. A. Dange to the 24th session of the AITUC went to the extent of claiming that these can lay the foundation of "a modern prosperous economy."

We may examine these remedies here.

While there can be no question that the zemindary system has to be liquidated without compensation and without further loss of time, one must not imagine that this alone will relieve the peasantry; nor can the additional reliefs of reduced rents and taxes and interests substantially improve the position in respect of the purchasing power of the entire peasantry. Land is after all limited, and a scheme of flat redistribution of land to all tillers including landless labourers instead of making provisions for absorption of surplus labour-force in industry, is idle talk; therefore, an economic redistribution of land cannot really affect the 10 crores or more of the landless labourers and an equal number of peasants who are only nominally land-holding, the tiny plots of land held by them being of no consequence. Redistribution of land can be of substantial help to the rich or the middle peasant. But here a more important factor affecting all agricultural producers comes into play. The income of the land-holding peasant is determined by the price of agricultural commodities in the

capitalist market. This is of ruinous consequence for the peasantry. It will be generally agreed that the prices of raw jute, sugarcane, cotton and such other cash crops at least, are determined by the monopolistic manipulations of the mill-owners who are the buyers here. The tiller is a helpless victim in the hands of these interests. It has been borne out by the terrible experiences of the peasantry in respect of jute, sugarcane and even paddy, that increased production under these conditions may actually mean less earning, for the increase in production leads to a steep fall of prices and the cultivator sometimes cannot even meet the cost of production by selling the produce. Without removing this factor the peasantry cannot survive today, and this means liquidation of the capitalist system. The disparity between the prices of agricultural commodities which constitute the purchasing power of the vast bulk of producers—
toilers in our country, and the prices of industrial consumption commodities is also a result of the system and is hitting the peasantry very hard.

Protection to native industrialists, subsidies, restriction of foreign import, restriction of foreign competition, etc. under the capitalist conditions will mean increased prices to be paid by the consumer which directly means further loss of purchasing power of the people. Moreover these measures will invite retaliatory measures by other capitalist countries and this will lead to loss of some external markets for Indian commodities with consequent curtailment of production and unemployment and loss of purchasing power.

The C. P. I. insistence on cottage industries, small-scale industries takes no account of the fact that these are based on cheap labour-power, and involve crude and ruthless expropriation of the toilers. Having decided to continue capitalist rule in this country the C. P. I., in the face of the unemployment problem has no other alternative but

to resist rationalization and mechanization of industries and labour; the progressive view would be that since human skill, technological advance, and scientific machines cannot be used under the present system without ruining the masses, the system stands self-condemned and has to be liquidated and replaced by socialist system. This step the C. P. I. refuses to take, and goes on clamouring for retainment of crude labour-methods with all consequent dangers to life and wastage of human energy. Incidentally, this lowered technique of production was the basis of the Japanese economy.

It is gratifying to note that the C. P. I. has of late grown loud in condemning monopoly capital, both foreign and native (until recently the condemnation was levelled at the foreigners only). But this condemnation of monopoly capital is parrot-like since the implications are not realized. Monopoly capital is a definite stage in the evolution of capitalism; it has a history and is not the result of merely subjective purblind rapaciousness of certain individual capitalists. It endangers the people's lives in a newer form than free competition; but if one concludes from this that a return to free competition is the solution against monopoly capitalism, one would be profoundly mistaken. The step forward from monopoly capitalism is not towards the revival of free enterprise and free competition but towards the elimination of capitalism itself. State-control and restrictions on monopoly retaining capitalism is sham. In this connection, it is of importance to note that Lenin quoted with approval the following from Hilferding against Kautsky's advocacy of free competition and liberal peaceful capitalism:

"It is not the business of the proletariat" wrote Hilferding, "to contrast the more progressive capitalist policy to that of the now bygone era, of free trade and of hostility towards the state. The reply of the

proletariat to the economic policy of finance capital, to imperialism, cannot be free trade, but socialism. The aim of proletarian policy cannot now be the ideal of restoring free competition—which has now become a reactionary ideal—but the complete abolition of competition by the abolition of capitalism.”

Lenin goes on to say, “Kautsky departed from Marxism by advocating what is, in the period of finance capital, a ‘reactionary ideal’, ‘peaceful democracy,’ ‘the mere operation of economic factors’ etc. for *objectively*, this ideal drags us back from monopoly capitalism to the non-monopolist stage, and is a reformist swindle.”*

According to Lenin, and according to the experience of the world-struggle of the toiling masses, the step ahead from monopoly, from imperialism, from finance-capital is not modified capitalism but socialism.

But the C. P. I. refuses to take this step. The reasons forwarded are that India is a backward country and that the working-class and mass-organizations are in a very weak state. The first of them indicates that the C. P. I. has forsaken the Leninist path and is following the Menshevik line exploded by Lenin and the Russian Revolution and discarded by the working-class. The second indicates a thoroughly mistaken conception of the relation between the goal of the liberation movement, the immediate struggles and the condition of the organizations of struggle. The goal is determined by the need of the social epoch, by the relation between the forces of production and the system of production; the organizations are built or developed in requirement of the goal and not vice versa. If the working-class be organizationally weak today, the clear task is to so strengthen it that it may be prepared for the fulfilment of the task, that it

Lenin: Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism,
Selected Works, Sec. IX, Vol. I, p. 714

may lead the country on to socialism. This organizational preparation cannot be on the basis of a wrongly determined goal. It is clearly visible that the toilers’ movements cannot be developed, the working-class cannot be organizationally strengthened, the Liberation Movement cannot be inspired by any other objective today than socialism.

The C. P. I. programme of “democratic unity”, “people’s democracy” is claimed to have been based on the models of the countries of Eastern Europe and China; it seems that the Cominform has lent its support to this claim. It would be more accurate to say that C. P. I., baffled in its adventurist programme, and reprimanded by the Cominform, took the hint of people’s democracy on the basis of toilers’ alliance with the national bourgeoisie, and the present programme is determined by the need of accommodating this line; all the arguments are determined, facts are manipulated, fundamental tenets of Marxism violently distorted, with a view to defend this programme.

Therefore it is necessary to examine the factors that make the people’s democratic line of development fundamentally inapplicable in Indian conditions as obtainable at present.

Though we have a common term “people’s Democracy” for the systems now established in such countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, China, North Korea, and Viet-Minh, yet these systems are not identical with one another; there are various gradations of advance along lines of development towards socialism from actual establishment of socialism to Bourgeois Democratic Revolution with power in the hands of the toiling classes. The open and defiant deviation of Tito’s Yugoslavia into pure and simple bourgeois republic with consequent fascistic trends of development is also to be noted.

The common feature of all of them is that in all these countries the revolutionary organs of power of the people were evolved through the course of resistance struggles against the fascist invaders during the Second World War, and that in this struggle some of the national bourgeois elements combined with the toiling masses against the common enemy. The stronger sections of the national bourgeoisie developed pro-fascist tendencies and during the war either turned collaborators with the invaders and were subsequently liquidated along with the fascist invaders, or evacuated the country turning emigres; in either case they lost all social basis in the country. The bourgeoisie was thus split, weakened, and bereft of any effective power. The war-situation, the close proximity and in some cases the actual arrival of the Soviet Red Army, the forfeiture of the social base by the bourgeoisie were contributory factors that ultimately enabled the anti-fascist alliances to win power in these countries. *The slogans of "People's Democracy", "New Democracy" are slogans of the period of defensive alliance against the Fascist invasion.*

In China there were additional factors that determined the peculiar course of development. The preponderance of feudal relics in the Chinese economy, the absence of any centralized bourgeois administration, the role of the feudal war-lords, the ruthless exploitation and zulum of the imperialists connived at by the ruling clique and the compradore-bourgeoisie, the already existing Chinese People's Red Army that could grow because of the above factors, the complete loss of influence by sections of the bourgeoisie that later followed American Imperialism and its stooge Chiang-Kai-Shek determined the democratic character of the Chinese Liberation Struggle.

The winning of power by the anti-fascist alliances in these countries is one of the greatest events of our time. The

Chinese liberation particularly is of the greatest significance for the whole of South-East Asia. This victory is a source of great strength for the toiling masses and their Liberation Movement in India.

Had the Indian National Liberation Movement been able to take full advantage of the Second World War and the world-wide Anti-fascist struggle, and had a section of the Indian national bourgeoisie whole-heartedly participated in that struggle, India might have reached the goal of Socialism through a course of development along some form of People's Democracy suitable to Indian conditions. This was visualized in the basic Manifesto of the Democratic Vanguard published in 1943 under the title "India to Build Her Own Freedom". But that did not happen.

Today, the toilers' struggle in India is of necessity directed against the Indian bourgeoisie; and there can be no alliance between these two antagonistic forces in real life. The Liberation Movement is based on the immediate struggles of the people; it cannot be isolated from them, and parliamentary alliances between various groups not linked up with the Liberation Movement, cannot be substitute for the Liberation Movement. Since in the daily life the toilers have to struggle against the retrenchment orders—to take instances—of both native and foreign owners, since in daily life the people have to struggle against the high prices of such commodities as sugar, cloth, cement, tea etc. and other consumption goods and many of these industries are largely owned by native capitalists, since in daily life the peasant masses have to struggle against the low prices of raw jute, cotton, sugar-cane and food-crops even, and the low price is produced by capitalist manipulation, irrespective of race and country, since in daily life the toilers have to struggle against various other ills which are produced by the national bourgeoisie, since there is no common enemy for both

the capitalists and the toilers whom to fight daily, and finally, since the system of which the sufferings of the people are outcomes, is being maintained and protected by the capitalist state-machine and the toilers have to come into conflict with it, the struggles of the toilers will not forge any unity or alliance between these two forces, on the contrary, these struggles can only intensify the antagonism between them and forge the unity of the working-class and the solidarity of the toilers aimed against the capitalist without any race-distinction.

Under the circumstances, any plan of collaboration with any section of the bourgeoisie without which any form of People's Democracy is an impossibility, is bound to be at the cost of the toilers, and, hence, bound to antagonize the toilers against such a plan.

The C. P. I. programme, therefore, may appeal to some sections of the bourgeoisie, but it cannot be a programme of the Liberation Movement. The C. P. I. programme is actually failing in the field, and the appeals to the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, the various occasions on which the C. P. I. actually sacrifices the interests of the toilers to the needs of those whom they call the "national bourgeoisie", are creating difficulties in the field. It is significant that the C. P. I. rank and file very rarely tell the workers or other toilers of their declaration against Socialism.

Capitalism having been proved to be untenable, and the People's Democratic Line inapplicable, the Liberation Movement has no other course but to struggle for the liquidation of the system of exploitation, capitalism, and for the establishment of Socialism. Socialism is the goal of the Liberation Movement in India at this stage.

VII. OTHER PARTIES

Before we pass on to the consideration of the tasks in-

involved, we have to examine some other political parties that claim to speak for socialism.

The first of these, the Praja Socialist Party, is a queer collection of people holding diverse views. We have the Gandhite and semi-Gandhite P. S. P. leaders who are all for a decentralized economy based on cottage industries: there are the leaders who have found a panacea for all ills in the Bhoodan Yagna of Vinoba Bhave; there are the 'spiritualists' engaged in 'self-purification' and sermonizing; there are Trotskyists and semi-Trotskyists with distinct pro-imperialist role whose prime business, among other oddities, is maligning the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic; there are class-collaborationists and "change-of-heart" moralists hobnobbing with the American Moral Rearmament business: there are disgruntled erstwhile Congress leaders and Congress ex-Ministers who can take to any programme or slogan that suits their purpose; there are "original thinkers" out to evolve syntheses of Socialism, Gandhism, Nationalism, Fascism, Democracy—in short everything that appeals to them. The common feature of all these theoreticians is that class-collaboration, the fascist remedy for communism, has a strong appeal for all of them.

In fact there is a strong half-conscious fascist trend operating within the P. S. P. It is now several years old, and open expression of it has been sometimes mild, sometimes violent. We have to remember that during the second World War the Congress Socialist Party (which is the actual core of the present P. S. P.) was openly advocating the cause of the Nazi and Fascist states, and mobilizing opinion in support of Japan. After the war, the anti-communist tirade in this country was led by the Socialist Party, and the anti-Soviet campaign was heartily taken up by them. J. P. Narain had occasion to lend his support to the Congress Govt's Preventive

Detention Act in West Bengal on the plea of its being a border-state, and the strike-movement of the Trade Unions against the Act (then called the Public Security Act) was sabotaged by the P. S. P. leaders among others. Asoka Metha at a later date came out with suggestions for vigorous methods of dealing with the Communists and their ideology. Rammanohar Lohia's hysterics against People's China and suggestions for a Sino-Indian war over Tibet are notorious. The other day the cry was taken up by the erstwhile Congress President—K. M. P. founder— now P. S. P. leader J. B. Kripalani in the House of the People. The P. S. P. "intellectuals" were leading associates of the "Cultural Conference" held in Bombay in 1951 with USIS collaboration. The P. S. P. labour-stalwarts are organizers, teachers and trainees of the American-sponsored I. C. F. T. U. and its blackleg-training "colleges" in India. The American connections of the P. S. P. leaders leave no room for doubt. The ideological, programmatic stand, the international connections, and the disruptive activities carried on by the P. S. P. leaders against the toilers' movements, particularly the Trade Union organizations are logically determined by one another. The vote-catching shibboleths of nationalization, civil liberties etc. need mislead no one, for the nationalization slogan is offset by the decentralization programme, and the civil liberties cry is offset by the fascistic vigour against communism; their tacit acceptance of the present state-machinery as the means to their end is a further exposure of their fascistic basis. For, in the decaying period of capitalism, a party professing to run the capitalist state-machine efficiently and effectively must lean towards fascism ; that exactly was Hitler's slogan.

The sudden and intermittant participation of the P. S. P. leadership on certain issues in the toilers' struggles is explained by the pressure of the rank-and-file many of whom still retain revolutionary fervour. There is also the need of

vote-catching to be taken into account.

The generally prevailing opinion about the P. S. P. is that it has no difference with the Congress, and this is on the whole an approximately correct estimate. Any illusion about the P. S. P. being a "Leftist" force ought to have been completely shattered by the recently manipulated P. S. P. ministry in Travancore-Cochin.

The R. S. P. I. also professes Socialism. This party too is a victim of various trends within its fold. As a matter of fact, the R. S. P. I. programme is determined by the need of justifications for maintaining its separate existence ; and this leads to accommodation of one point of view as against another, and later on when the separate existence is threatened by the further development of the newly accommodated views, a swing against them in favour of another. For instance, in order to rationalize its opposition to the C. P. I. it succumbed to the Trotskyist infiltration ; this almost drove it into the arms of the P. S. P. when, in its recent resolutions, it expressly rejects Trotskyism. Until recently some of the R. S. P. I. leaders were frantically anti-Soviet and anti-People's China. On the outbreak of the Korean War, the R. S. P. I. leaders in Bengal decided that the war was an imperialist war and no business of the Indian people. The R. S. P. I. could not be prevailed upon to join the protest-meetings and demonstrations against the American aggressors. Later on, however, the central leadership thought otherwise, and began condemning the American attack. The R. S. P. I. refusal to join the World Peace Movement is another pointer. The strong pro-P. S. P. trend within the party led it on to merger talks, usually close alliance with the P. S. P. against the C. P. I., and combination in disruptive activities.

We have to note the peculiar history of the R. S. P. I. It completely failed to realize the significance of the Second World War, and while it officialy pursued the Two-Front

thesis of the C. P. I. which the C. P. I. later discarded, it objectively went on helping the Fascist forces; party-enthusiasts even took to fascist methods of dealing with the anti-fascist elements. It has completely failed to realize the need and significance of the People's Democratic line of development and is unduly critical, having recently modified its antagonism, towards the People's Democratic States. Its socialistic theory remains bookish and unrelated to the struggles of the masses, and this permits it to carry on disruptive activities against the toilers' movements with all consequent deterioration of conduct and bourgeois vices.

All the other parties or groups, in spite of their separate existence, are closely allied to one or the other of the above parties, mainly the C. P. I. and the P. S. P. The Socialist Unity Centre, for instance, had a number of points in its favour at its early stage; but it now seems to veer round to the C. P. I.-sponsored People's Democratic line; it is being vitiated by the C. P. I. disease—it has to accommodate the People's Democratic line simply because that has been a line of "international communism."

Disruptionism, sectarianism, lack of perspective of the general Liberation Movement, and unawareness of the crying need of building up of the disintegrated Liberation Movement, are the common defects of all these parties and groups.

The lack of perspective of the Liberation Movement also prevents these parties, many of which have representatives in the parliament and legislatures, from conducting the parliamentary struggle in a revolutionary manner and utilising it for inter-linking of struggles and movements.

Merger talks, and actual amalgamations are being carried on every now and then between most of the above parties and groups. This is a very good thing and has to be welcome; for this clarifies much of the confusion of the people and defines the alternatives sharply. This, however,

also makes it unnecessary to deal with any of these at length.

In all these parties and groups there are revolutionary elements who are very often found to be working in defiance of the wrong policies of the top-leaderships, particularly in respect of the field of toilers' struggles from day to day. These elements if they stick to their revolutionary character, shall have to break with the leadership sooner or later.

VIII. PARTY OF LEADERSHIP REQUIRED

We see, therefore, that none of the existing parties can serve the cause of the Liberation Movement, because of the struggle for socialism. But, for the successful conducting of the Liberation Movement at its advanced stages, for comprehensive and co-ordinated growth of the movement along correct lines, as well as for the success of the struggle for socialist reconstruction after the toilers' advent to power, a leadership is required, and this leadership must be closely knit in the shape of a revolutionary party. It cannot be a make-shift arrangement of loose co-ordination between several groups, nor can it be obtained through mere election-alliances or vague "Left Unity." It has to be a party vigorously acting for the fulfilment of its tasks with clear and unambiguous ideology, theory of practice, and programme. It must be a party of the workingclass, capable of establishing its leadership in the struggles of the exploited and oppressed toiling masses. It must have an international outlook, being a component part of the international movement of liberation. It must be a party of determined revolutionaries disciplined through democratic centralist principles of organization, with unshakable unity and solidarity. It must be unerring in strategy and tactics, and must have inalienable close bonds with the masses and their movements; it must be a team of workers with understanding, initiative, ability to learn from the masses and their struggles, and unyielding zeal and courage.

Such a party is not in existence. We have seen how the existing parties fail to fulfil the primary requirement—i. e., correctness of programme. But this primary qualification is not enough. The question of the organizational principles of a revolutionary party, perhaps not so clearly realized previously, has gathered tremendous importance today in view of the changed situation in respect of mighty advances of technology and its application in the means of production. This is an age of precision-instruments, and it tells us that an apparently insignificant divergence from the required precision produces dire results in the end. Today it is not enough to profess democratic centralism in organizational matters; one has to evolve a scheme of organizations which embodies these principles and is itself a guarantee from deviations. Today it is not enough to talk of solidarity and collectivism, or condemn parliamentary democracy or bureaucracy. There must be adequate safeguards in the organizational structure itself for maintenance of solidarity, and the spirit of collectivism, adequate safeguards to ward off deviations into parliamentary democracy or bureaucracy. Today it is not enough to place before the people theoretical expositions of the structure of the new order of the organizational structure of the party.

Without an adequate and suitable organizational structure which would have an organic relation with the ideology, programme, and principle of action, no revolutionary party can correctly function today; those that begin with pious wishes and professions without this necessary instrument very soon find themselves wrecked from within or deviate into reaction and counter-revolution.

The existing parties fail in this respect too. And that is the reason why one cannot convert these parties to the correct line by working from within any of them. There is no chance of the C. P. I., for instance, ever taking a correct line.

Just as the bourgeois parliamentary democratic state-machine cannot be used for any other purpose than exploitation of the people, the C. P. I. party-machine also cannot be used for any other purpose than misleading the masses by mechanical carrying out of dictates from the top. The organizational structure is eminently suitable for blind obedience to dictation from above—be it from within the country or outside it—and mechanical discipline. But a revolution is not a mechanical business, it is primarily a matter of the life of the people. The C. P. I. is unable to learn from experiences, it cannot assimilate the lessons of struggles, for such assimilation is impossible for those who are trained to carry out dictations only. Every time they discard their own line, and adopt a new one, equally wrong, they become conformist advocates of the latest stand, and all the 'theoretical' jargons are determined by the requirements of this conformist advocacy. This leads to strange somersaults and they can go to the length of distorting and vulgarizing the elementary principles of Marxism for the sake of this advocacy. It is to be noted that the party-strength is built out of the harvests of the admittedly mistaken policies amounting to betrayal of the working-class. This makes the party a party of conformist followers incapable of providing correct leadership.

It has also to be noted that the C. P. I., in a dynamic revolutionary situation, is bound to be either paralyzed or driven to the camp of reaction. Such a situation can be expected to bring about a collapse of the party-machine, and disintegration. The considerable number of sincere elements drawn by the name of the Communist Party and the international connections, can be expected to get rid of the party-adherence instead of adherence to the cause. The party-machine is creaking already.

However, the organizational defect of the C. P. I. analyzed above is shared by almost all the other parties that profess

"Marxism", and all of them fail in this respect similarly.

Therefore, *the task is to build the party of leadership for the socialist revolution.*

How can such a party be built up? The human material required for such a party is already available in the country. The struggles of the people everyday are throwing up new leaders of the movements who are grouping in the dark for a correct line. These vanguards of the various movements combining with similiar forces which are still working within the existing parties and groups but will sooner or later break away from them in favour of the correct programme, are, the proper constituents of the revolutionary party. Once the party is formed and starts working, it is bound to go on gathering strength every day by absorbing newer forces churned out of the generalized experience of the people through their struggles. The Liberation Movement, if properly rebuilt, will provide tremendous opportunities for ideological and programmatic struggles which will undoubtedly result in acceleration of the growth of the revolutionary party.

The Democratic Vanguard, therefore, calls upon all genuine fighters for people's liberation, leaders of all toilers' movements, all revolutionary elements inside the different parties, and specially the working-class to come onward and build up this party of the Indian working-class. True to declaration in its first manifesto ("India to Build Her Own Freedom" 1943), the Democratic Vanguard will, on the emergence of the party, dissolve itself and its members will offer themselves as individuals for the membership of the party.

IX. THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION—DANGERS & POSSIBILITIES

Today, no people can liberate itself, no plan of Liberation Movement is possible unless on the perspective of the world-situation. Today there is a world-wide conspiracy against the Liberation struggles of all the peoples, against the toilers' movements of every country. But just as the

enemies of the toilers are trying to consolidate themselves into a single camp, the toilers also are building up international fraternity, mutual support and alliance. The life of all the peoples, their productive activities, their existence itself have become related and interdependent. Countries and parts of the world that were rarely noticed by others previously have now become centres of stormy developments and a ripple of events in one place immediately produces its repercussions everywhere.

Even before the Second World War ended, the relation of forces within the anti-fascist alliance began to change, and a new polarization of forces in two camps began. The world is broadly divided into two camps, although minor adjustments and realignments are going on along the bordering line.

American Imperialism, the master-ruler of the camp against progress, against toilers, is now universally recognized by the people as the greatest enemy of mankind. Emerging as the most powerful imperialist state through the Second World War, it has now enslaved the rest of the capitalist world.

The once proud imperialist countries as Britain, and France are weak vassals under the this supper-imperialism; the vanquished imperialist countries such as West Germany, Japan, Italy are groaning under the heels of American overlordship, the whole of Western Europe has this common enemy who is reaping cannon-fodder out of the hardships of the European peoples. The Middle East is a pawn in the hands of this enemy who is carrying on intrigues; manouvres, bribery, and bullying there and has netted Iraq, Iran and Turkey as it spoils. Central and South American countries have been under its domination since long and recently the tightening of the rule has started. In South-East Asia American Imperialism is hatching vile plots of encirclement and pressure, coupled with bribery and blockade in order to perpetuate its foot-hold on the throats of the peoples here.

It has set up its stooges—Chiang-Kai-Shek, Syngman Rhee, and Bao-Dai along the Pacific Coast. It has penetrated into the Indian sub-continent through Mohammad Ali in Pakistan and economic loan to India.

This is the power that has engineered the destruction of the people's elected government in East Pakistan, is financing and operating the rebel-war against the people's elected government in Guatemala; under dictations from this overlord the British vassal destroyed the constitution and broke the elected government in British Guiana. This is the state that is financing the British imperialist war in Malay, Kenya and the French imperialist war in Viet-Nam; it assisted the K. M. T. ravage of Burma; it is intriguing in Nepal; it is intriguing in Egypt, Indonesia; it has enslaved Thailand; it covertly rules Philippines; Australia, New Zealand and Canada are under its subservience.

American Imperialism has built up military bases all over the world in its encircling strategy against the USSR and People's China. NATO, MEDO, ANZUS, Pak-American Aid Pact, proposed SEATO, are infamous war-plans with organizations under American supremacy. In its attempts to terrorise the world into obedience it has displayed Atom-Bomb and hydrogen-bomb explosions; taking advantage of its own people's helplessness and confusions it is building up a monster military machine, taking advantage of the poverty and weakness of the rest of the capitalist world it is building up armies with the population of these countries as prospective soldiers to commit suicide in the name of war.

American imperialism has built up a net-work of spies, agents, informers, propagandists, and intriguers all over the world. In our country it is operating through the loan-agencies, community project administrations, USIS offices, missionary organizations, it has succeeded in securing the services of a number of 'leaders' of certain parties,

some newspapers and press proprietors, some pseudo religious organisations and university teachers. A grave menace is growing within the country; government officials and organisations are conniving at it, in spite of the declared neutralist policy of the government as expressed by the Prime Minister. The logic of American loan and aid is paralysing the government's efforts to keep out of the American conspiracy.

American Imperialism is seeking to unleash a world-war aimed at the destruction of the Soviet Union and China, and the destruction of the toiler's struggle all over the world. It is being deterred in its attempt by the fact that it still does not think itself superior in armed might to the toiler's camp; it will not hesitate to manipulate the outbreak of the war the moment it feels secure in that regard. In the meanwhile it is planning for restricted, *localised international wars* in order to tide over the economic depression. Therin lies another disastrous possibility for the toilers—if the Americans succeed in fomenting wars between any two weaker capitalist states, such a war will mean immense sufferings for the people for both the countries concerned.

Inside its own country American Imperialism has shed all pretensions of democracy and has come out as open fascist dictatorship. In the name of security and defence it has roused an atmosphere of hysteria, war-psychosis, suspicion, hatred and fear. It is murdering men and women and incarcerating hundreds of them under fascist "justice"; it is turning the name "American" into a term of abuse all over the world. McCarthy, Dulles, Eisenhower, Truman, Knowland, Nixon, McArthur—these are black names of history.

But this is only one side of the picture. On the other side is the mounting wave of discontent and disgust with American policy all over the world; there is the record of protest after protest, condemnation after condemnation, revolt after revolt on the part of the peoples and failure after failure, defeat

after defeat, loss after loss of prestige for American Imperialism. Korea and Indo-China are examples of military defeat for American policy and might; Berlin Conference and Geneva Conference are records of diplomatic defeats for them.

All over the world people are resenting the American domination. In Europe the French and Italian peoples resist EDC and the war-plans; in Britain the people refuse to aid the American adventure in China and South-East Asia; in Africa the people resist the imperialists and their military plans; in Pakistan the people condemn the Pak-American Pact; in Latin America, Guatemala and Argentine seem to have broken the American ring in South America. The struggles for colonial liberation, being waged in the enslaved countries, strike at the basis of American strategy. In our own country, there is no doubt on the part of the people about the role of American Imperialism, and it is significant that there is almost universal jubilation over every defeat that the American policy suffers. The popular antagonism against the American policy increased several folds at the conclusion of the Pak-American Military Pact, and the imposition of military rule over East Bengal.

Moreover, the camp of capitalism is torn from within by the raging contradictions prevailing in it. The disintegration of the world market as a result of the liberation of one-third of the world, the shrinking market within the capitalist world have led to feverish competition between the capitalist countries for trade and markets. British capitalism cannot even remain standing without trade with China, and East Europe; the American policy prevents that; moreover the Americans have already succeeded in ousting the British from several markets that had remained under the British monopoly so long. American Imperialism is similarly an obstacle for the trading interests of France and other countries of Western Europe. India in her present condition cannot afford to

lose the Far Eastern market, and therefore has to urge recognition of People's China and peace in South-East Asia. India is also facing keen competition from American-rebuilt Japanese capitalism in this sphere.

These factors lead to growing divergence of views within the capitalist camp and adoption of neutralist attitudes and policies. This is further strengthened by the anti-colonial policies and commitments by such countries as India, and the conflict with Anglo-American-French policies in respect of South Africa, Tunisia, Morocco, East Africa, French possessions in India, Kashmir and such other issues. On the whole this divergent and neutralist force in the capitalist camp weakens the American Imperialist camp and has to be encouraged and supported wherever possible.

But the very same situation leads to another tendency among the capitalist powers which would be of grievous consequences if actually brought to culmination. The deepening of the crisis of capitalism and the feverish competition for markets has a very great possibility of engendering imperialist wars between these capitalist powers. Moreover, American war mongers, finding it difficult to unleash a world-war, are actually conspiring to manipulate *localized international wars* in order to stem the tide of economic crisis inside the USA. This is of special importance for Indian toilers; for, India's relations with her closest neighbour Pakistan are anything but cordial, and the strained relations have a bitter history behind them; inside both the countries there are forces which would be happy to have an Indo-Pakistani war; the American military base in Pakistan with offers for similar aid to India and actual economic aid given to India create dangerous complications. American Imperialism will be happy to manipulate a war between these two states of South-East Asia, for that would give it troubled waters for fishing of various sorts. The

capitalists of both these states will also be relieved if such a war breaks out for that would give them an artificial war-boom. It is significant that the C. P. I. and other forces are actually calling for increased defence expenditure in India to meet the Pakistani menace. The Indian people will not be easily misled into fighting a world-war against the Soviet Union or China ; but it would be comparatively easier to misled them into an imperialist war with Pakistan.

The Indian Peace Movement has to take note of this possible danger. While resisting all attempts of the American imperialists to unleash a world-war, and fighting against all colonial domination, this movement has to take note that the possibility of war cannot be ended until the capitalist system is liquidated. The growing unemployment problem and the deepening crisis in both India and Pakistan is a major factor which, if the right lead is not given, may win the poverty-stricken people to war-psychosis. The Peace Movement has to tell the people that the remedy of poverty is not war, but socialism.

Com. Stalin drew our attention to this possibility of the Peace Movement in some countries being transformed into a movement for ending of capitalism and establishment of socialism. That possibility exists in both India and Pakistan, and the struggles of both the peoples against the common enemies can be so developed.

Here is what Stalin said :

“ It is possible that in a definite conjecture of circumstances the fight for peace will develop here and there into a fight for socialism. But it will no longer be the present-day peace movement ; it will be a movement for the overthrow of capitalism.” *

* Stalin, p : Economic Problems of Socialism in the U. S. S. R., P. 41.
Foreign Language, Publishing House, Moscow, 1952.

The toilers in India have to be consistently anti-war for peace is the requirement of their lives. The struggle for socialism is a struggle for peace, is a struggle against Imperialism of all brands, is a struggle for world-fraternity of toilers, is the struggle for a civilized human society.

X. IMMEDIATE TASKS

The most important link which to hold at this moment for the development of the Liberation Movement is the *Struggle for Unity*. Unity is the requirement of the life of the toilers, for without unity no struggle can be carried on ; failure of isolated attempts by individuals to secure even partial relief from the attacks in every direction, is leading to an increased urge for unity. The productive forces have made the toilers interdependent and existence today has to be collective existence for the toilers. Bitter experiences of the results of disunity and division are developing this natural urge for unity. And it is no longer a question of local unity or unity in a particular struggle at a particular place. The prevailing disunity is injuring even those who are united in a particular struggle ; the experience of the recent struggles is that there has to develop a general unity of all toilers and their movements. This urge has grown to such a degree that no party or leader can speak against unity today, although most of them go on spreading further disunity in action while loudly proclaiming their pious wishes for unity.

Under the circumstance, the natural urge has to be transformed into a conscious urge of all participants in the struggles and movements. If the top-leaders of the various organizations agree to unite for the toilers' immediate interests, that unity will be best built if built on the basis of this conscious urge from below. And the leaders failing to unite on one pretext or another, the toilers' urge for unity will in that case develop into a mighty challenging force in front of which the disruptors will be made utterly ineffective.

It has to be borne in mind that the Struggle for Unity in every stage and in every sphere will be best conducted if it is based on some live issues involving the necessity of precipitating a fight over such issues.

In order to conduct the struggle for unity in a particular movement effectively, there should be an intensive drive—

- (i) to get all possible participants absorbed in the movement ;
- (ii) to explain, agitate and organise the urge for unity on a conscious plane ;
- (iii) to translate this consciousness into appropriate actions ;
- (iv) to link up the particular movement with similar movements elsewhere in order to avoid the weakness of isolation and acquire greater strength ;
- (v) to liquidate duplicate organizations of the movement, local or central, and to evolve unified single organizations, locally as well as centrally.

The programme of the Struggle for Unity cannot end here. It has to be extended to other spheres, i.e., in other movements also in which the participants of this particular movement are interested. For the interests of the particular movement and its participants it becomes necessary for the leadership to advise the participants to participate in all such movements, where these participants will struggle for unity in similar manner, thus effectively *interlinking the movements*.

This interlinking through individual participants alone cannot effectively serve the needs of the collective life of the entire toiling people. For this, all movements of the toilers should be linked up organizationally by setting up of co-ordinating bodies at the bottom as well as at the top. This will complete the Struggle for Unity in a comprehensive manner in respect of local, partial and immediate issues and will evolve

a powerful *instrument of struggles*, in the process, throughout the length and breadth of the country. But the instrument will still remain defensive for all local, partial and immediate struggles are meant to parry off dangers and onslaughts delivered from all directions against the toilers' life of the moment. Even their linking up cannot bring any qualitative change, though quantitative increase in strength will be enormous.

Protection against dangers and onslaughts leaving the sources and strength of these dangers and onslaughts untouched, entails intermittently repeated immense sufferings and hazards, and involves huge costs in energy, time and resources. Protective struggle alone ensures recurrence of such dangers and onslaughts which according to the law of the system of exploitation are bound to be ever on the increase. Hence, while attending to the need of protection through the instrument of struggle with all seriousness and enthusiasm it demands, the struggle for liquidation of the sources and strength of these dangers and onslaughts will have to be planned and conducted side by side. This struggle is none other than the struggle for liquidation of the system of exploitation and for the establishment of socialism. It is meant for a qualitative change and does require huge preparatory struggles before the final victory is achieved. Hence, all our struggles severally and collectively must have this as their goal apart from their immediate objective. *This goal is the liquidation of the system of exploitation and establishment of Socialism.* Gana-Panchayet, the co-ordinating body of all the movements of the toilers as evolved through the process of *linking up* must adopt this goal in order to raise itself up to a *full-fledged instrument of liberation movement*. This again means ceaseless struggles in the ideological and programmatic planes, for opposition against it is powerful and has to be overcome.

The above visualization of the course of development of

the Struggle for Unity through the process of interlinking and evolving the instrument of struggles to the setting up of the goal of Socialism gives us the essence of the plan of action. On the basis of this appropriate local and particular plans of action will have to be drawn up in details taking account of the special and peculiar features of a particular situation. But the fighter for freedom shall not be tied down by considerations of present strength merely. He must look ahead, never losing touch with the soil as well as never being a slave of situation. *He must ride on potentiality.* Given the required amount of zeal, vigour, initiative and persistence on the part of revolutionary fighters for freedom, be they numerically insignificant, the dynamic revolutionary situation will release a veritable flood of strength in very near future.

India has a tremendous role to play in the world to-day. A Socialist India will be the third mighty stride of mankind towards civilization, and will begin an era of world-peace and human prosperity. This land of many martyrs will not fail in this glorious battle.

- * Long Live Socialist Revolution in India :
- * Long Live the Great October Revolution of Russia :
- * Long Live People's Liberation in China :
- * Long Live Unity of the Working-Class :
- * Long Live Toilers' Solidarity :
- * Long Live the Memories of Indian Martyrs for Freedom :
- * Long Live the Memories of Martyrs of Toilers' Struggles :

INQUILAB ZINDABAD

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মাস্ত্রদায়িকতার গ্লানি	দেড় টাকা
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