

India

The Present Situation in India

By V. Basak

I.—A Summary of the Policy of Gandhism.

On the pages of the Indian press and at numerous meetings in the country, among the most varied strata of the population, there is a most lively discussion as to the results of the policy of Gandhism. The summarising of the results of Gandhism for the last twelve or fifteen years takes place from the point of view of a criticism of Gandhism. Various classes, various political groups draw various conclusions from this criticism. Many Congressites have again raised the question of forming a Swaraj Party, i.e., participation and collaboration with British imperialism in the Legislative Assemblies.

One of the prominent Congressites, Mr. Azaf Ali, published an article in the "Bombay Chronicle" on June 26, in which, while recognising the breakdown of Gandhism, he calls on the masses to adopt a Five-Year Plan of participation in the Legislative Assembly to bring pressure on the English from within. This plan, says Mr. Azaf Ali, is our last hope. If this does not succeed, there is nothing to prevent the Communists or revolutionists triumphing in India.

"Left" Congressites like Bose appealed for the formation of a "Left" party inside the National Congress to change the old leadership of the Congress. They criticised Gandhism, but in their own fashion, reproaching Gandhi for losing his steadfastness, because, they say, he proved to be a bad diplomat, does not know when to make compromises, easily gives way to the pressure of the imperialists and was not able to use in negotiations such a trump card as the mass anti-imperialist movement. Bose swears that he is against the policy of compromises, etc. But this is not true, because in the appeal to the third political conference of Indians in London, where he criticises Gandhism, Bose objects to the use of revolutionary methods of struggle, speaks against the peoples' revolution, and invites the masses to apply the methods of the economic boycott only. In the past and at the present time, the "Left" Congressites in every way disrupted the preparations for a general strike, disorganised the mass peasant movement against payment of rent, taxes and debts, etc., and while having in mind that their words cannot be believed, the very plan of Bose of overthrowing the yoke of the British imperialists by an economic boycott without a revolution is reformism, is the same Gandhism which Bose so emphatically criticises at present. As a matter of fact, Bose's project of a "Left" party to a great degree is intended to keep back the petty-bourgeois masses, above all the student youth, from going over to the side of the Communist Party, to the side of revolutionary methods of struggle.

What is the picture of the present bourgeois national camp? What divisions can be seen? At present we can note three groups. One which openly and insistently demands the cessation of all pseudo opposition and participation in the Legislative Assembly. The second, led by Gandhi, does not object to participation in the Legislative Assemblies, but considers it inadvisable to admit defeat openly before the masses and puts forward a plan for individual civil disobedience (Gandhi proposes to select one hundred picked Congressite non-resisters who must demonstratively refuse to obey some law. Gandhi proposes to concentrate the attention of the toiling masses on this campaign, calling on them not to interfere nor undertake mass activity). Gandhi is openly against the mass movement, but formally states that resistance (!) is not yet over. Finally, there is the third group of "Left" Congressites, Bose and Co., who profess to criticise Gandhi from the "Left," but are ready to take part in the Legislative Assemblies, to prepare a new leadership. Both the "Lefts" and the Rights and the Gandhists (who will try to play the role of the centre) are against calling on the masses to resist the new constitution. All the groups are trying to avert mass activity, hiding themselves behind talk about the alleged apathy of the toiling masses. Nobody will be surprised when the "Left" Bose and Co. and the Rights unite to form a party like the previous Swaraj party. The leading article of the "Bombay Chronicle" of June 1933 speaks about it.

The policy of all these groups show that the Indian bourgeoisie continues its line of collaboration with British imperialism. Rivalry with Japanese capital and a number of small

economic and constitutional concessions, and their fear of the approaching national revolution, compelled the bourgeoisie to come out openly to stop mass struggle. The bourgeois leaders of the National Congress explain their failure to get any substantial concessions by saying that they have not been able to secure Hindu-Mussulman unity, and they call on the National Congress to concentrate the attention of the toiling masses on this, and even criticise Gandhi because he gave more prominence to the question of untouchability.

All these explanations of the causes of the defeat of the civil disobedience campaign are not serious, because the Hindus and Mussulmans acted together in mass activity (strikes, demonstrations, hartals, etc.). Only bourgeois reformists are capable of replacing the question of the unity of the toiling masses of various religions and nationalities by the question of agreements with the priests, landlords and bureaucrats whose actions depend on the will of the British imperialists. **The responsibility for the present pitiful results of the independence movement falls entirely on the Congress leaders, including the "Left" Congressites.**

The bankruptcy of Gandhism is rapidly accelerating the process of the disillusionment of the revolutionary sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, especially the revolutionary youth, with national-reformism. The great peculiarity of the present situation in India is that the workers and peasants have accumulated tremendous experience in the class struggle, have seen in practice the policy of bourgeois national-reformism and its "Left" variety. This practice proved the treacherous attitude of the I.N.C. towards the struggle for independence, their betrayal of the interests of the workers and peasants. And ever new sections of the toilers are realising this at the present time.

History has put on the order of the day the question of summing up the results of Gandhism, and around this a wide discussion should be carried on, because it is the duty of Communists to help the masses to realise the lessons of the past stage of the class struggle.

The Indian Communists in 1930 published their Programme of Action, and the short course of events confirmed the correctness of its statements, and it should be made clear to every toiler.

The toiling masses, and above all the workers, peasants and revolutionary intelligentsia, in summing up the experience of the past years and re-examining their old positions, must not only reject Gandhism and the "Left" national reformism of Bose, Nehru, Roy, Kandalkar and Co., but must also sum up the results of the policy and the practice of the national revolutionary groups. It is time to sum up the results of the terrorist groups as the **Gadr Party, the Punjab Workers' and Peasants' Party**. It is time to sum up the results of the policy of the Leagues of Youth (Naujuwan Bharat, Sabha, etc.). While fully admitting the self-sacrifice and heroism of the members of the national revolutionary groups, we must openly recognise that their path was not correct and objectively helped the bourgeois National Congress to carry out its reformist policy. As a matter of fact, the national revolutionary groups dragged at the tail of the bourgeois leadership of the National Congress.

There is only one path for the liberation of India, liberation of the peasants, formation of a workers' and peasants' government, and this path was pointed out by the Communists. The workers and peasants of the old Russia followed the path pointed out by the Communists. And at the present time the power in the Soviet Union is in the hands of the workers. There are no landlords, factory owners and usurers in the Soviet Union. There are no castes and no pariahs. The land and water belong to the peasants. The workers' government has given to the peasants 150,000 tractors and gives an additional 50,000 every year. Women and men are equal. Almost everyone literate. All the children go to school free of charge and receive free food in the schools. There are no unemployed in town or village. The workers themselves fix wages through the workers' government and the trade unions. Wages are increasing every year. The working day is seven hours. Medical assistance is given to all free of charge. **The Workers' Republic is building Socialism, i.e., a system in which there are no parasites, no exploitation of man by man, where everything is directed towards improving the life of the toilers, where the workers rule the country and there are no idle rich.**

The Chinese workers and peasants are going along the same path, building and fighting for their Soviet power. Throughout the world the workers are following the example of the Soviet

workers and fighting against imperialism for socialism. In India also the workers have begun the fight for socialism. In India the workers have begun to build up a Communist Party, and it is **only under the leadership of this party** that the workers and peasants of India will obtain freedom, will receive land and water, create a workers' and peasants government, destroy the caste system and inequality, will improve the life of the workers and move forward to the construction of socialism.

Every worker and peasant, every revolutionary and toiler must think over these results and choose the path of further struggle.

The path of Gandhi, the National Congress, Bose and Nehru, Roy and Kandalkar and their like, the path of reformism and crawling before the imperialists, princes, landlords and capitalists, is the path of treachery and betrayal of the peoples' interests.

The path of the terrorists, of the petty-bourgeoisie national revolutionary groups, the path of unclarity, brings confusion into the mass movement, instability and vacillations, and is the path which supports capitalism and aids the work of the reformists. We should not go along this path because it leads to defeat.

There remains the only path, the path of the Communists, the path of consistent revolutionary mass struggle, the path of systematically preparing, mobilising and training the masses for the national revolution and its culminating point—the revolt of all the toiling people for independence, land, food and the workers' and peasants' government.

Every class-conscious worker and toiling peasant and revolutionary must take the path pointed out by the Communists.

There is no other path for liberating our great, mighty, but enslaved and impoverished country.

This path means the strengthening of the fighting alliance of the working class and the peasantry, the alliance led by the working class with the Communist Party at its head.

(To be continued.)

Fight Against Imperialist War

Czechoslovakia, the Outpost of Imperialist War in Central Europe

By G. Friedrich (Prague)

The greater the difficulties at home and abroad become, the greater becomes the danger of war and the more feverish the armaments for the coming war, the capitalist way out of the crisis. In this respect Czechoslovakia, as the leader of the Little Entente, this group of imperialist States in Central Europe, also plays a leading role in the war preparations. The Four-Power Pact, the increasing activity of the revisionist States, the growing inner difficulties in the States of the Little Entente themselves, have given rise in these countries to a situation which in no way differs from the time preceding the imperialist world war. The threats to employ military force against the "enemies" who are demanding a revision of the peace treaties are becoming increasingly open, and instead of the former phrases about "securing a hundred years' peace," which were used in order to cover up war preparations, one hears talk about the sure guarantee of a strong, well-equipped army.

Needless to say, here, too, the social democrats set the tone and support and conduct the ideological war preparations among the working masses. Pointing to the dangers which threaten the State—which of course in the eyes of the social-democratic leaders is at the same time the State, the home and fatherland of the working class—they call for the unity of all elements which are "loyal to the State" to be ready to defend it. Thus, speaking at the Congress of the Czech Social Democratic Railway Workers' Union, held some time ago, Bechyne, the social-democratic Minister, when dealing with the political situation, referred to the events in Germany and declared that the State is in danger and

"therefore it is our duty to rally and organise all elements true to the State, to give them a common aim and to prepare ourselves for anything. Our State and our democracy are in danger. We shall defend ourselves. We must defend ourselves, cost what it may. We shall defend democracy also against the enemy at home."

This bellicose language was expressed even more clearly in

the speech of the social-democratic Minister for Education, **Dr. Derer**, on the occasion of the national festivities in Pribina. This worthy member of the Second International declared:—

"For us revision is neither a diplomatic nor an economic nor a political question. For us revision is simply and solely a military question. . . . We are endeavouring to perfect and strengthen our army."

And as Derer, as social-democratic Minister for Education, is not only qualified to deal with military questions, but is also an authority on educational questions, he demanded:—

"The Slovakian generation educated in our schools must be inexorably and mercilessly opposed to anybody who has no feeling for the interests of our Czechoslovakian State. For people who wish to overthrow the State, no matter whether they are cunning opponents and enemies or dreamers, there must not and will not be any pardon, for any weakness in this respect would mean the commencement of inevitable disintegration. The State is maintained by moral force, but also by physical force."

Could a Mussolini, a Hitler, or any other fascist Minister have said it better? The necessary supplement is provided by the daily columns of the social-democratic press, which, under the cloak of the alleged fight against fascism, holds forth on the "mission" of the Germans in Bohemia with regard to Hitler Germany. Here there is put forward in a disguised form the same argument with which the German social patriots in 1914 called upon the German workers to "fight against Russian Tsarism," which "threatened German liberty."

A few days ago the representatives of the Prague newspapers were invited to the Gbeller aerodrome, where manoeuvres with bombing planes were carried out. Before the commencement of the manoeuvres **Bradac**, the Minister for National Defence, delivered a speech in which he pointed out that the Czechoslovakian air force must not lag behind that of foreign countries. He opposed any reduction of the military budget; the Czechoslovakian air force alone must receive at least 500 million crowns a year.

At an interview with the correspondent of the London "News-Chronicle," President **Masaryk** stated:—

"It has already been pointed out to the parties to the Four-Power Pact that the Little Entente and Poland would offer armed resistance to a revision of the frontiers attempted against their will."

Thus the President of the Czechoslovakian Republic, who is declared by the social democrats to be a staunch champion of peace and a pacifist, threatens with war.

The Czechoslovakian statesmen are not content with words, but are making all technical preparations for war. Thus, whilst preliminary military education of the youth is not yet introduced by law, it is nevertheless being carried on unofficially. The Czechoslovakian sports organisations, as well as the social-democratic gymnastic associations, are giving military training to their members. At the same time, however, efforts are being made to introduce universal preliminary military training by law. A systematic campaign is being carried on, especially by the General Staff, for the realisation of this aim. The propaganda, likewise conducted by members of the General Staff, for the establishment of work camps for the youth has the same object in view. A number of work camps have already been set up in various places and enjoy the support not only of the State but also of the military authorities.

Simultaneously with these preparations there is a feverish piling up of armaments. It should be mentioned that a law is being prepared which provides that all inhabitants shall be compelled to possess gas masks. In a number of towns air defence manoeuvres are taking place at which all organisations and the whole population are mobilised. **Bata**, the boot king, is adapting his factories for the production of gas masks. After the population of Zlin, where the Bata works are situated, have been adequately supplied, the Bata works will continue the production of gas masks in order to supply the Czechoslovakian market. All these facts show how near is the danger of imperialist war and indicate with what haste and intensity the bourgeoisie are arming. The more important and urgently necessary therefore is the fight which the C.P. of Czechoslovakia is conducting against the danger of imperialist war.