

The Situation in India

By L. M.

The events in India denote a historical turning point in the development of the national revolutionary movement not only of India but of the whole colonial world. The Executive of the Indian National Congress decided by an overwhelming majority to cease passive resistance and to participate in the provincial parliaments as well as in the future federal parliament. **Gandhi**, it is true, reserved to himself the right to continue passive resistance individually, but at present he is solely occupied with his hypocritical campaign for religious equality of the "untouchables," and his gesture has little political importance, as he himself admitted that the members of the Executive of the National Congress, who already a year ago advocated the official cessation of the struggle, admission of the defeat of the National Congress and participation in the work of the legislative bodies, were right.

To-morrow, however, **Gandhi's** gesture may again acquire a political importance. He remains in reserve, just like the "Left" phrasemongers of the National Congress—**Jawaharlal Nehru**, **Subhas Chandra Bose** and the rest—who never tire of talking about "independence" and even about "socialist India," but in actual fact support the treacherous policy of the National Congress. We presume that the peace between British imperialism and the Indian National Congress will mean the release of **Roy**. **Roy** was always on the "Left" wing of the National Congress.

The decision on the final abandonment of passive resistance will not have any practical results. Passive resistance was already long since abandoned, and the "individual resistance" which **Gandhi** has now proposed only provoked a pitying smile even among the members of the National Congress. Of much greater importance is the fact that the National Congress already recognises the slave Constitution which English imperialism wishes to give to India and promises British imperialism its co-operation in the legislative bodies.

The new Constitution is not yet ready. There will still be severe fights on this question in the camp of the English bourgeoisie. The National Congress desires by means of its decision to strengthen the **MacDonald-Baldwin** wing against the **Churchill** wing. The Constitution which **MacDonald** and **Baldwin** are preparing strengthens the economic and political key positions of British imperialism in India. It strengthens the influence of the Indian princes, these vassals of the British crown, and the influence of the big landowners, these buttresses of British imperialism. It perpetuates the rule of incitement, the feuds between the **Hindus** and **Mohammedans** and **Sikhs**. It perpetuates the division of the Indian people into castes. It leaves the absolute control of the army, finances, foreign policy, and police in the hands of the British bureaucracy. It protects the big landowners and gives absolute right of veto to the Viceroy and the governors of the provinces against all decisions of the provincial and central legislative bodies. It is a Constitution of enslavement and national humiliation.

The Indian National Congress has accepted this Constitution. It has once again capitulated to British imperialism. It has even discarded the ineffective weapon of passive resistance and wants to bargain—the word "fight" would be out of place here—with English imperialism for its demands only in the confines of the Constitution.

The antagonism of interests and the conflicts between the Indian bourgeoisie and the liberal big landowners, whose interests are represented by the National Congress and British imperialism still remain. The miserable concessions which the Indian bourgeoisie have already received, and are now receiving, in no way do away with these conflicts and antagonisms. The Indian bourgeoisie, however, are more afraid of the revolutionary movement of the workers, of the threatening agrarian revolution of the peasants than of British imperialism. They place their class in-

terests above their national interests and conclude a fighting alliance with English imperialism against the working people of their own country.

In 1922 the National Congress in **Bardoli** betrayed the national revolutionary movement. The present decision of the Executive of the National Congress sets the crown to the unending acts of national treachery which the National Congress has committed since 1930, since the commencement of the famous salt campaign initiated by **Gandhi**.

The difference between 1922 and 1934, however, is enormous. In 1922 the National Congress announced the cessation of any struggle at a time when the national revolutionary movement was ebbing. At the present time, however, the wave of national revolutionary movement is rising in India. In 1922 the working class did not play an independent role in the national revolutionary movement. Since 1928, however, the working class has come forward as an independent political force and is fighting for hegemony in the national revolutionary movement. In 1922 the National Congress was the undisputed leader of the whole of the people, and the opposition of the working class and of the peasantry was only expressed in spontaneous outbreaks. To-day the working class is building up, even if slowly and under great difficulties, its advance-guard, the **Communist Party of India**, and the peasantry has shown in gigantic mass risings in **Burma**, **Berar**, **Kashmir**, **Alwar**, and **Bengal** how profound is the ferment, how great is the indignation against imperialist oppression, against the feudal yoke, against extortion and heavy taxation, how imminent is the agrarian revolution.

In 1930 **Gandhi** still had the urban bourgeoisie, broad strata of the intelligentsia and students behind him. The new shameful capitulation, the new shameful treachery is shaking the petty-bourgeois mass basis of the National Congress, and it depends upon the Communists, upon the revolutionary labour movement, whether the "Left" phrasemongers of the Congress, **Nehru**, **Bose**, will succeed in keeping the petty-bourgeois masses under their influence. A wave of acts of individual terror is sweeping India. This shows that the petty-bourgeois masses are turning away from the Congress methods; but it also shows that they have not yet found the way to Communism, to the revolutionary mass struggle.

The Indian bourgeoisie has again capitulated. The capitulation of the National Congress is taking place to-day on an incomparably higher historical stage than in 1922. The bourgeoisie is capitulating and kow-towing to British imperialism. The proletariat, however, is fighting! The textile workers of **Bombay** are marching again in the vanguard. More than 75,000 textile workers have been on strike for over a month, and in demonstrations and street fights are defying the combined forces of British imperialism and the Indian bourgeoisie. This strike struggle is also taking place on an incomparably higher plane than the big strike struggles of 1928 and 1929. The English government has caused all Communists in **Bombay** who could be found, and also the strike committee which, according to the reports of the government, is under Communist influence, to be arrested. The government maintains that the Communists prepared and led the strike, that the Communist Party of India is working to support the strike of the **Bombay** textile workers by a general strike of the jute workers, metal workers and railway workers, and by spreading the strike to all textile centres of India. In 1929 the English government wished to crush the strike of the textile workers by arresting the leaders of the **Girni Kamgar Union** and the leaders of the **Workers' and Peasants' Party**. To-day they are directing their counter-reactionary blow against the Communist Party.

The National Congress is capitulating—the proletariat is fighting under the leadership of the Communists.