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WORLD ROLE
OF
NATIONAL REVOLUTION

— *By the same Author* —

Modern Indian Peasant

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NATIONAL REVOLUTION

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PREFACE

The Sanfrancisco discussions have brought out clearly how strong is the intention and the power of the imperialist countries to cling to their imperial possessions and priveleges. The most advanced proposals ; as sponsored by Soviet Russia and China can only contemplate the recognition of the right of the Colonial and Oppressed peoples to ultimate independence as contrasted with the Anglo-American offer of training the oppressed peoples to self-government. Neither of the proposals come anywhere near the fundamental demands of the coloured and oppressed peoples for the immediate recognition of their national independence, here and now, and also for the fixation of the time limit within which they should be helped to attain complete control of all their political and economic institutions. Until and unless these unfortunate peoples are first of all recognised as free peoples, independent of all imp ialist control, there is no guarantee that the so-called oolonial trustees—world or regional—will work solely in the interests of these peoples and without an eye on the perpetuation of the tutelage or on the spoilation or diversion of their national resources for ulterior purposes.

In fact, there is a real fear that Soviet Russia may be contemplating to gain for herself certain mandates in Asia and in the Pacific under the guise of her proferred ideal of training the peoples of those mandates. But even if this fear may be dismissed, the acceptance of her proposal by the traditional imperialists cannot mean very much

more than what had happened in the case of Iraq where the country's nominal independence was recognised while her economic subjection was perpetuated by the Anglo-Iraq treaty.

The main difference between the last and the present post-war proposals for the governance of mandates lies in the greater powers being proposed to be given to the great powers—two of them being new to the modern imperial groups. — And these greater powers do not go beyond a general supervision, inspection and guidance of the governance of the oppressed peoples and they do not contemplate the change-over of the mandates, wherever necessary from certain imperialist powers to other powers or the fixation of a time limit for the eventual liberation of the oppressed peoples.

It becomes therefore quite clear that all the colonial, coloured and oppressed peoples had to go a long way through their national struggles for independence and against imperialism before they can think of reaching upto social revolution. Mahatma Gandhi has given his clarion call to all his peoples to fight against imperialim. Mrs. Vijaya Luxmi is rendering a signal service to all coloured peoples by her persistent advocacy of their case for freedom in the very citadel of the conquering heroes, that is, San Francisco. The Indian National Congress has warned the victors of the second world war that they are only sowing seeds for many more wars by their greed and tenacious hankering after imperial booty.

Mahatma Gandhi has made it crystal clear that Indian Nationalism is not a parochial by-lane of the world politics and that it contemplates the development of the national struggles of all colour-

ed and oppressed peoples into a veritable world offensive against not only imperialism but also captialism. Through his assurance, that National Congress fights from now onwards for achievement of Kisan Muzdoor Praja Raj, he has shown how national revolution of Indian and other oppressed peoples can develop into a social revolution but within the orbit of national freedom in a non-violent and constructive manner Therefore Indian fighters for freedom are to-day in the vanguard of all those growing ranks of the fighters of all oppressed peoples and countries who are all rising rapidly against imperialism—the old and new, and the open and the disguised. It is on the crest of this rising wave of national liberation movement that the martyrs of national struggles are beckoning to us all to make contributions towards the emancipation of the world from the monster imperialist and capitalist exploitation.

The bulk of this thesis was drafted in Tanjore jail, 1944, when I had to deliver series of speeches to my fellow political detenus. They are intended to help the anti-imperialist fighters and oppressed people to understand the elementary principle underlying their struggles for freedom. This book is being published in the hope that it may help the Indian nationalists who are working under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and National Congress to see clearly what they are fighting for.

1st June '45
Peasants Institute,
NIDUBROLU,
S. India.

N. G. RANGA.

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World Role of - -

- National Revolution.

1. There are two kinds of revolutions—Revolution and Counter – Revolution. That one is a revolution which leads towards progress; that one a counter-revolution which either retards progress or helps reaction.

Revolutions

2. Revolution comes whenever there has to be and is an outburst of pent up creative and constructive forces and a more or less sudden burst of a deadlock in social conditions and arrangements. But a revolution is only a culmination–though it seems to come to the surface all on a sudden in an explosive manner - of a prolonged, accumulated and fermenting process of social transformations and conflicts and struggles, all of them seeking to find a progressive solution to an increasingly impossible social conditions and arrangements.

When do revolutions come?

3. Generally a counter-revolution is brought about by those social forces, which had till then been enjoying the upperhand in society and which found it impossible either to make any more concessions to their social enemies or to negotiate with their opposition through normal means and channels and which therefore must take law into their own hands and violently and unconstitutionally and suddenly abrogate all or most of the social, economic and political rights of the progressive and revolutionary sections of the

When do counter-revolutions come?

population and re-establish their unchallengeable and wholesale authority over the whole of their society.

4. Though the culmination of a revolution seems to be taking place, all on a sudden, in a day or a week or a month, for years the revolutionary forces must have been gathering strength and the revolutionary effort must have been taking shape and gaining momentum and spreading its springs of action for years and even decades.

How long do revolutions take in their coming?

Thus, revolutions have also their own epochs and over decades, a revolutionary epoch spreads out its inspiring Gospel, and stimulating strength and energising activity.

5. At different times or epochs revolutions are brought about for different purposes. In a slaveholding society slaves revolt to abolish slavery; in a feudal society peasants and slaves engineer revolution; and even the bourgeoisie revolt against feudal restrictions on the growth of bourgeois economic life; in a bourgeois society of the west, the proletariat and lower middle classes and peasants rise in rebellion against capitalist exploitation, and in the colonial condition of the Eastern and South American and African countries, revolutions are brought about by peasants, workers and intellectuals for the purpose of national liberation to start with; enconomic emancipation eventually and whole-sale destruction of imperialist and capitalist hegemony over them all.

Character of revolutions

Thus there are such revolutions as bourgeois, peasant, proletarian, national revolutions.

6. Whichever section of society is wide awake to the evils that arrest the progress and prosperity of such sections

of society as embrace the concerned section, tries to take the initiative, especially if it is economically, politically or socially far more advanced, conscious or organised for the time being than any other section which may be equally, if not more, affected by the said evils.

Who starts a revolution ?

7. By the conspiracy of historical events, any one of the many groups, sections or classes, of a diseased, or oppressed society, may come to take the initiative. It may not necessarily be the most exploited or the most suffering. It need not be the most highly enlightened, nor need it be the most discontented. It certainly has to be best organised, led by ablest and determined leadership, most conscious of its revolutionary mission and best determined to achieve both the redress of its wrongs and also the capture of power. All these are not conditions precedent for it to take the initiative. A revolutionary situation is highly combustible and any little friction is enough to ignite it and set the revolutionary wheel in motion. Hence history has a hand in giving the initiative to anyone of the several affected and distressed sections of society in any revolutionary situation.

History has a hand in raising such a section to take the initiative!

8. In this regard too, it is wrong to be dogmatic as the Orthodox Communists try to do. It is not always the most distressed that can be the vanguard nor is it the best organised or the most conscious. It is also wrong to think that only that section which has the least to lose and most to gain, that can be the vanguard. It is most unrevolutionary to concentrate on any one single class as the most effective vanguard and neglect all other classes, more or less similarly situated vis-a-vis

Who is the revolutionary vanguard?

their common oppressors; for in modern times, no one single class is able, or can be trusted to achieve a full fledged revolution. Moreover, a single-class vanguard and its achievement of a single-class revolution as in Soviet Russia is likely to prove a veritable danger to all other equally oppressed classes. And such a revolution can only set in motion social forces and conflicts that can be solved by another revolution.

Who benefits from a revolution?

9. Generally whoever takes the lead in a revolution and has the most conscious leadership and best organisation derives the greatest advantage from a successful revolution. Often more than one group or class take part in a revolution. But not all of them are benefited either equally or fully. For instance, in the national revolution of France of 1789, the peasants played the greatest part but it was the bourgeoisie that was benefited most.

What can be the attitude of National Revolution towards Vested Interests?

10. A national revolution has necessarily to build up a national united front against imperialism. This does not mean that all the important elements in national life, especially the vested interests, are willing to join such a national united front. The Indian, Chinese and Irish experiences indicate how large sections of landlords, industrial magnates and other aristocracy and vested interests are likely to join hands with imperialism. They may even go to the length of conspiring against national revolution, as did the Ulster landlords and as do the Muslim Leaguers, with a view to vivisect their respective countries, knowing full well that such a policy would only strengthen the imperialist enemies. They may obstruct the social development, as do Indian Sanatanists; or economic development on

Socialist lines like the Indian Capitalists or political and economic development, like the Muslim League and C. P. by rendering direct or indirect help to imperialism through their respective obstruction to National Revolution. Under such circumstances, it will be foolish for the leadership of National Revolution to dilute its economic programmes to such an extent as to encourage or prop up the reactionary and rapacious vested interests in any country and thus postpone the redressal of the worst sufferings and wrongs of the masses and the development of mass struggles against the oppression of the landlords, money lenders, merchants and industrialists. And that the workers or peasants who have had the exhilarating experience of waging and participating in economic struggles and who have gained much from the activity of the national leadership can and will render greater service to national revolution is shown by the grand response given by Ahmedabad and Coimbatore workers and Bihar and U. P. and C. P. Kisans during the 1942-44 national struggle; thanks to the progressive role played by their local congress ministries and Congress leadership. Mahatma Gandhi has rightly avoided frightening the Indian vested interests unduly and driving them into the bosom of imperialism, either en masse or in large numbers. But it is feared he has gone to the extreme of assuring them of the continuance, both now and in future, of their interests. In this regard, Pandit Jawaharlal and so many of us, Socialists, have taken up a more masswise, realistic stand. That is, we have realised the need to declare that ultimately all systems of exploitation and vested interests must go and that, as things are, landlordism and money lending must be eliminated, if need be, by paying the persons concerned suitable and possible compensation. Some of us have, however, gone to the other extreme, of demanding their immediate liquidation and without the payment of any compen-

sation. We have to remember the urgent need of National Revolution not to drive these vested interests irrevocably and wholesale into the embraces of imperialism and thus strengthen its forces. Therefore, it is necessary to encourage the masses by assuring them of the ultimate liquidation of these oppressive systems of exploitation. And this conclusion is in perfect harmony with Gandhijee's speech at the Round Table Conference on Commercial Discrimination and also with Dr. Sun's teachings.

So far as the present is concerned, the leadership of the national revolution has to bend all its energies to win recognition for class organisations; to minimise, if not to end, all the oppressions; to abolish all illegal exactions, to reduce the tax or rent or interest burdens; to regulate the powers of the vested interests in such a manner that all undue and patently unjust exactions and cruelties are eliminated and to remove from the landlords, etc. all powers to summarily attach peasants' properties, to force workers and peasants to live in specified areas and houses, sell their products at less than market prices and otherwise incur undue losses or render unjust or undignified services. In rendering all such assistance to immediate, urgent and growing peasants and labour, any amount of risks can be and ought to be taken and Gandhijee's Harijan campaign is the beaconlight to all revolutionaries; for, though he incurred the greatest displeasure of Sanatanists, he pursued his revolutionary role with truly admirable determination and drive. And after all, such a campaign of immediate reform is not so great an immediate liability to National Revolution. For, if a few vested interests are upset and may even be driven into opposition, the national leadership can hope to gain, immensely more enthusiastic, numerous and conscious revolutionary supporters to the national revolution, besides

strengthening the missionary role and revolutionary faith and enthusiasm of the serried rank of its votaries.

But in choosing the time, and the grievance to be redressed and also the vested interest to be fought, great care has to be displayed, so that the enemy may not gain more strength than the weakness we risk and the additional strength we hope for. Naturally such decisions ought to be made by national leadership and the class organisations ought to be willing to abide by such decisions or work subject to such decisions.

Unfortunately in India, during the Congress ministerialism, our class organisations, the organisations of students and youths were so much under the influence of the C. P. that they did not keep in mind this caution. Nor did the Congress ministers realise the need for them to be venturesome in strengthening and fending for the masses as against the vested interests.

Alone in the colonial world and also in all the career of revolutions of the west and the east of the twentieth century, Mahatma Gandhi has had the genius to conceive a constructive programme of achieving a social revolution like the fight against untouchability; the economic reorientation typified by the Khadi and village industries and national autarky; the cultural revolution; to choose the best and most advantageous moments for his campaigns and to achieve growing strength for national revolution, without in any way strengthening the enemy. It is upto the present generation of revolutionaries to go much further than he ventured in undermining the other vested interests, even while striving hard to marshall and consolidate all the national forces for achieving national liberation. They have to take lessons from his practice of the art of revolution and see that through every one of their onslaughts on the

vested interests, national revolution (and not imperialism) gains definite advantage.

Similarly in the two 1917 Russian Revolutions, peasants suffered and sacrificed most, liquidated the gratest sections of the exploiters; but they let slip the real essence of power, once revolution was a success. In France, the bourgeoisie, was the most conscious and politically advanced; in Russia the proletariat was equally ripened and so they ran away with the bit in their mouths and the political power became their preserve. Again in Post-War Germany, the proletariat and peasantry achieved the preliminary to a revolution but the wide awake bourgeoisie quietly asserted itself and prevented the full outburst of the proletarian revolution that the communists were dreaming of.

11. People desire a revolution in their conditions - Political, economic, social - because they despair of a rapid and full change in their situation through the usual evolutionary channels of life. They find their existing conditions to be intolerable. They passionately desire a change. They think they can no longer have patience with the usual Parliamentary, constitutional methods to bring about the required changes. They find that if they do not resort to revolutionary means, they will be condemning themselves to the perpetuation, nay the worsening, of their existing distressing conditions. So they choose to take all the risks of a revolution in preference to the continuation of the security of their present conditions, which prove to be a worse curse than the uncertainties of a revolt.

Why does any one desire a revolution?

12. Generally the mass of people do not have any specific ideas about what they want to gain from a revolution. They have a vague notion that their several

conditions are sure to be better and their status in society to rise higher. At certain times certain groups or classes are more clearly conscious of their historical mission and revolutionary ideals than others. At the same time, different classes desire different things to come to them from their common revolution. So, that class which is best organised and led and most clearly conscious of its revolutionary aims gains most from a revolution. In 1830-70 the British bourgeoisie wanted Parliamentary power, economic freedom and imperial opportunities; the British proletariat had only vague notions about Politics and a few specific economic aims and consequently the former became politically predominant and the latter gained only the Factory Acts, while losing heavily on the political front. In the Post-war Balkan revolutions, the proletariat and peasants had but unformed political ambitions, while the peasantry knew their need for land and so, while both of them failed to gain political power, the peasantry certainly succeeded in gaining land and in liquidating most of the landlords. In the Irish struggle for independence of the 19th century, most of the people passionately desired and fought for political freedom but different sections of them also demanded, incidentally, satisfaction for their sectional or class needs, such as catholic emancipation, tenancy laws.

What do people expect from a revolution?

13. A revolution is the outlet through which the progressive, and creative forces, elements or activities burst into demonstrable and irresistible existence from out of the shut-up and cramped crucible of a particular state of society. There is a continual struggle in every state of society between dead and creative,

What forces are ranged against revolutions!

inert and active, traditional and growing, conservative and progressive forces - whether of the realm of productive, exchange, distributive, activities of people or of the realm of their thoughts, born so largely out of such activities. Naturally, there are always certain sections of people who are interested in maintaining the status quo; in conserving the existing order of productive resources, exchange relations; conditions of distribution of wealth; the state of educational inequalities in occupational and technical opportunities and also the concentration of political power in any particular undemocratic groups or classes. These sections are the vested interests and they are always ranged against a revolution. If it is an industrial revolution, it is the guilds and handicrafts that are opposed to it. If it is the peasant or the proletarian revolution, it is the capitalists with or without the aid of the feudal lords who are ranged against it. If it is a national revolution in the East, it is the European, or American or the Japanese imperialists who try to thwart it. If it is a colonial revolution of China or South America, or even of Asia or Africa, it is the European or American capitalism that may be ranged against it.

14. Lenin thought - but wrongly - that the proletariat can always be consistently pro-revolutionary. The proletariat of the imperialist nations of the west and of Japan have not displayed any such consistency in their attitude towards the national and colonial revolutions of the peoples suffering from the exploitation of the imperialism of their countries and Governments. In fact, the British and French Proletariat had displayed as much affection - though in a less blatant and unashamed fashion - as their local capitalists for their imperial interests and capitalist domination over their

Is there a consistently Pro-revolutionary force?

colonial peoples. Even the peoples of Soviet Russia have displayed an unexpectedly cool and conservative silence over the fate of the colonial peoples throughout their three years of warfare with Germany. They had even gone out of their way to use the communist parties to sabotage the colonial and national struggles, in order to canvass the support for themselves of the European imperial powers.

Lenin expected all the proletarian parties of all countries to rush to the rescue of all revolutionary forces - whether they be national or colonial. But even when the Chinese were struggling hard against the Japanese from 1936-7 onwards and the Spanish Republicans against the counter - revolutionaries and German and Italian Fascists, the proletarian parties of Europe and America utterly failed to render any effective assistance.

At different times, in different continents or countries, various sections or classes of people have proved to be and have found it most necessary to be the most revolutionary forces and have also managed to be the vanguard of their revolutions. Thus, the mediaeval princes rose against the Roman Papacy; the European bourgeoisie rose against the Papal injunctions against money-lending and the feudal levies and feudal monopoly of political power, and so on. But the same classes turned out to be the most conservative, once their ambitions for political and economic power and opportunities were satisfied either partially or fully. Thus, the bourgeoisie which proved to be the most revolutionary throughout the 19th century has proved to be the most gilt-edged conservative force of the 20th century, contrary to all communist professions and expectations, the proletariat of Western European and American countries have turned out to be the least revolutionary and in some respects, even counter revolutionary during the twentieth

century. No wonder Fascism triumphed in Germany and Italy, war-torn France, with the acquiescence of the bulk of the working classes. In U. S. A. the communist party has had to dissolve itself, in order to prevent the American proletariat from losing caste with the dominant Americanism. Therefore the orthodox communist view that of all classes, the proletariat will everywhere be most revolutionary and will range themselves on the side of all revolutionary forces is untrue to facts.

In fact, no one class needs the same kind of revolution all the time; no one country can be in a revolutionary ferment all the time. At any one moment, in any one country, a revolution may be in progress for some one purpose that interests some one class or group and not all the other classes or groups need be either enthusiastically ranged on the side of or vehemently opposed to it and it is quite possible for certain classes or groups to be indifferent to it, without losing their right or need, or capacity, to desire and work for a revolution demanded by itself for the satisfaction of its own or their own special needs.

15. Even while the risk of social structure is left intact and goes on functioning more or less usually, sectional revolutions may take place, on the initiative of specific classes or groups of people, against certain social or political or economic evils and for some definite results. Thus, the status of certain castes of peoples can be raised in social heirarchy as has been happening in 20th Century India, despite the orthodoxal interpretation of scriptures. The Harijans are coming to be redeemed of the curse of untouchability by a truly revolutionary effort, led by Mahatma Gandhi. Cottage, industrial or peasant economy

Sectional Revolutions

may come to be revolutionized by the development of co-operative organization in their structure.

16. Revolutions may be effected in the interests of particular classes alone, even to the detriment of or irrespective of the needs of other equally oppressed classes. Such was the proletarian revolution of Soviet Russia, in which the peasants and professional classes were scrupulously kept out of powers. In the Balkans, the peasant revolutions took place, quite independent of their local proletariat and when later, the proletariat rose in revolution, they were not aided by the erstwhile revolutionary peasants. The German middle classes achieved their Nazi revolution, in alliance with the counter-revolutionaries but in opposition to the revolutionary forces of the proletariat. Rarely are such single class revolutions stable enough to fulfil their revolutionary tasks, because, the other classes, which also have their revolutionary mission but which are for the time being left out of the revolutionary benefits, can only be temporarily suppressed but will ever be on the look out for an opportunity to burst forth with redoubled vigour and achieve the requisite revolutionary balance of power.

Class Revolutions

17. In some cases, certain peoples are in revolutionary ferment because their language is sought to be suppressed, the growth of their culture obstructed; their special schools prohibited; their peculiar modes of worship are discouraged or banned, their admission into the public services, Public Institutions is tabooed etc. Again, in many a place, peasants only desire the abolition of forced labour, illegal exactions, lowering of tax burdens, tenancy legislation, debt relief etc.,

Revolutions with limited objectives or prospectives

Workers demand better conditions of employment and living. In such cases and through such struggles, revolutionary atmosphere is created but a full fledged revolution may not take place. For, the concerned vested interests or powers that may be wise enough to make the needed concessions or adjustments and thus not only negotiate the local or sectional opposition but also weaken or prevent the growth of the general revolutionary ferment that is usually gaining momentum over a fairly prolonged period in any one country.

18. But colonial and National Revolutions are different from the above mentioned sectional or class revolutions; and also revolutions with limited objectives.

Colonial and National Revolutions

First of all, a colonial revolution is aimed by a politically independent country, to achieve economic emancipation from the thraldom of economic imperialism. Thus the South and Central American States, China, Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, have to aim at such colonial revolutions. Secondly the national revolution is desired by such countries as India, African countries, Arabic States, which do not have either political or economic independence and which must free themselves from the hold of both political and economic imperialist powers. Thus, the national revolution is a much more comprehensive affair than a colonial revolution and does comprehend the latter. Therefore, we shall continue to use the most comprehensive term "National Revolution" throughout this thesis, to mean both the colonial revolution of the politically independent countries and also the fuller national revolution, of those countries which are not even politically independent and which have to gain both political and economic independence.

Since almost all the masses of colonies - whether politically free or not - are being oppressed by the imperialists and the capitalists who are at their very elbow; the peasants and workers are the worst sufferers and even the petty bourgeoisie feel this imperialist and capitalist oppression. These colonial and national revolutions bid fair to be the biggest, most comprehensive and universally popular upheavals of modern age. In them no one class is sought to be neglected or kept down or even purposely oppressed. They aim at the common uplift of the whole of the concerned nation.

19. Those who talk so glibly of fighting, and eliminating or ignoring the idea of nationality from out of the mind of people ignore the warnings and lessons of history. Let them only enquire why the Jews who had been externed from their beloved Palestine thousands of years ago are even today passionately hankering after a chance of getting back to their "national home" which indeed has become the real national home of others, the Arabs. The Jews had to go to so many countries; inter-marry with so many other races, settle down to speak so many other languages and adopt such different customs and also fight in such varied defence forces, often ranged against each other owing to the military alignments of their respective countries. Yet they remained loyal to their millenium old idea of separate nationality, its mission, its language, culture and philosophy. Is all this nothing to our internationalists?

How strong is the idea of nationality?

And what about the passionate loyalty displayed over centuries by the Irish towards their national freedom? Till today they are so extremely anxious not to give any quarter to the hated British Imperialism. The Red Indians were

deceived, subjected and persecuted for centuries, large sections of them were even destroyed; their lands confiscated and their reserves constantly encroached upon. Yet today they are again astir with a new passion for regaining at least a breath of their former glory and they are spring - clearing their traditional national culture and lore. Even the de-nationalized descendants of the ancient Negro slaves of America and West Indies are zealously attempting to link themselves up to the real Negro national (tribal, no doubt) life, culture and aspirations of the African Stamp. How can, under such circumstances, the highly developed Chinese, Indians, Indonesians and countries of Arab culture abstain from fighting for their national freedom?

20. As with the class revolutions, so with national revolutions, that section or class will be most benefited which is most conscious, organised and ready to take the fullest advantage of the new opportunities made available by the successful revolution. But whereas in a class revolution, the concerned class alone arrogates to itself all or the greatest portion of political power, economic opportunities and social status to itself, and may even attempt with more or less success to suppress other sister groups or classes, the national revolution, though benefiting most only certain wide awake groups or classes, inevitably succeeds in acting as a leavening force for all other groups or classes. To a lesser or greater extent, every section and class of people within the concerned nation derives the benefit of the national revolution.

Who will benefit from such a National Revolution?

21. Even as the revolution is in process of fermentation, certain good results are derived by the revolutionary peoples. But whereas in any proletarian or peasant

revolution that is in being, only the concerned class is developing, in its class consciousness, organisation and leadership; while its enemies too are organising themselves in their turn for trial of strength, in a national revolution, every class, group, sect or professional people have an opportunity and rouse themselves, develop class, group and national consciousness, and their respective organisations and leadership and on top of all, to achieve a growing sense of unity, brotherhood and national duty.

Transitional benefits of National Revolution

22. Orthodox Communists spread the wrong impression that from national or colonial revolutions, the bourgeoisie alone benefit most. The twentieth century history of national or colonial revolutions refute this wrong propaganda. In Ireland and Turkey, in Mexico and Chile, it is the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and workers who benefited most. In the Spanish Republic, even during that short period of two years, it was the peasants who were sought to be helped most. In China, both Dr. Sun Yat Sen and Chiang-kai-shek were trying to weaken the feudal order and strengthen the peasantry. In India too, both Gandhijee and Jawaharlal have been trying to utilize the Congress power for the benefit of the peasants and workers.

Who has benefited most from National Revolutions?

It is no doubt true that as a result of national or colonial revolution, the local bourgeoisie too are benefited. But that is inevitable. Their share can be and is continually reduced and the twentieth century national revolutionary movements have been hard on the bourgeoisie. By the very force of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggles that national and colonial revolutions have to wage, in order to

reach their successful culmination, they are obliged to take such precautionary anti-capitalist steps that in most circumstances, they manage to control their national capitalism and plump for more and more of State Capitalism. And the Cardenaz State Socialism of Mexico is in no way inferior to that of Soviet Russia in its concern for the interests of the workers.

23. On the whole, it is true to say that the modern proletariat have not shown any great enthusiasm for national revolutions. They have everywhere been unwilling partners or doubting Thomases in such movements. They have certainly failed to take the initiative and provide the leadership for national movements, except for the west Indian revolt. Why? Not because they have lacked organisation or leadership; for, alone among the toilers, they have had the best organisations and most conscious leadership during this century. It is not because they are not revolutionary minded; for, revolutionary propaganda and consciousness and atmosphere have prevailed most in their midst, especially since 1917. Yet revolutionaries preferred to consider not their partisan interests but only their humanitarian and revolutionary duty towards other suffering peoples. But how can there be any justification for the continued existence and functioning of such committees, even after Soviet Russia is freed from the Nazi hold and is recognised by the world as one of the four biggest powers of the world? The continuation of such an organisation can only mean and function as the Fifth column of Soviet Russia in Post war years, to supplement the nefarious activities of the C. P. Therefore, National Revolutionaries can have nothing to do with this or such

Why have the Proletariat played such an insignificant role in national revolutions?

other organisation in Post war years. Not because they have the least to gain, for, whenever and wherever a national revolution has taken place, as in Ireland, Turkey, Mexico, China, they have been given much weightage in both political and economic powers and privileges. Yet, they have lagged behind. Why?

The most important cause for this otherwise inexplicable and unnational position of the proletariat is the wrong turn given to their politics by Marx, Engels and Lenin, through their Internationals. Internationalism has been held on as the most immediate and intimate objective to be achieved by the proletariat and nationalism posed as one of the anti-proletariat and counter-revolutionary forces to be avoided and if possible, to be fought and vanquished. At a later stage, we shall discuss the reasons why they have taken up such an attitude. Suffice it here to say that the organised labour movements - whether economic like the Trade Unions, or political like the Labour and Socialist and Communist Parties - have been either antogonistic towards or apologetic about national movements and have discouraged to say the least the proletariat from taking part in an enthusiastic and conflicting manner. It is true that both Lenin and Stalin had latterly warned workers about their need to play their part in nationalist movements, but the general anti-nationalist momentum of the Socialist movement of the Post War years has been too strong for their hesitant warnings. Hence, the failure of the world Proletariat to rush to the front line of the national struggles; the brief Chinese proletarian response of the parties being an exception.

24. In contrast with the proletariat, the peasants have everywhere responded to the call of national revolutions most enthusiastically and daringly. They may not be

taking the initiative or providing the leadership. But they provide the largest rank and file, offer the greatest sacrifices, endure the worst sufferings and display the noblest heroism and most prolonged and indissoluble loyalty to the national cause. Why is it so?

Why do peasants rush into nationalist movements so enthusiastically?

Peasants are the closest section to Mother Earth. They are in best and most frequent communion with all her wonders and vagaries. They draw the sustenance and water from out of her for the maintenance of their respective peoples. They have had the longest and most consistent contacts with the most variegated life that prospers on the bosom of Mother Earth. And natiolism is born out of such an atmosphere - physical and psychological - atmosphere scintillating with all the ardour of creation, and aroma of service and the culture, song, poem, thought and feelings of people are inextricably intertwined with all the hills, rivers, valleys and dales, forests and graves, villages and heaths, seas and ships, the adventures of mountaineering and sky gazing, all a part of Mother Earth. So, at the very first sounding of the bugle and the drum; the heralding of the call of their Mother Earth, the peasant hastens to rush to her side, leaving aside his wife and children and equally beloved cattle and crops, as if answering the call of his innate nature, whether it be with the bow and arrow of the tribes; the swords and clubs of the feudal areas; plying the machine guns, tanks and aeroplanes and bombers of the West or the bare but brave hearts, the Indian Satyagraha, the peasant is the first to be ready to strike for the sake of his country, to die in her service and to rejoice in her triumph. From the glorious French Revolution of 1789, the world peasantry have written, with their streams of

sacrificial blood, an unforgettable and ever inspring Saga of daring, suffering, sacrifice and success, all at the bidding of their basic nationalism - which is about the greatest force of their very nature - both physical and psychological.

Stalin goes wrong when he says that a nationalist movement manages to sweep peasants into its vortex but at a later stage. In fact peasants generally provide the first factors of discontent and disaffection against the exploiters and the most unbearable and reorganisable burdens of imperialist regime, and they give rise to a national movement and certainly a revolt. They may not be in the vanguard. But they are the first to arrive at the common meeting ground of action and struggle, once the national call is sent out in a clarion and resounding manner from a recognisable throat.

Indeed, a nationalist movement becomes such only from the moment that it attracts peasants' hearts and wins their enthusiastic support, uptill then, it can only be in an embryonic stage. Like the crow hatching the cuckoo's egg, the bourgeoisie or intelligentsia or both may be helping the nationalist movement through the incubating period but it is the peasant, like the cuckoo, that recognise the real and resounding song of the great movement and rush to its side to lend it their song of sacrifice and their strength and support.

25. Language, literature, arts, crafts, culture, religion and race, if in need of renaissance, growth and flowering but if prevented from their legitimate development by an anti-national and foreign power and its aggressive culture prove to be potent forces of revolutionary capacity. All these are social heritages whose roots go back to the premordial days of humanity in its earliest family, group, clan and tribal days. They are the very stuff of which the rich web of

modern civilized existence of all peoples is made up of. Any continuous, powerful and painful interference with their normal activity in people's lives is sure to be resented most vehemently. In the hands of a revolutionary genius they prove to be the most potent and combustible revolutionary material.

What are the revolutionary elements or forces that swell the torrents of National Revolution? and why ?

Generally it is the intelligentsia that become more quickly and keenly conscious of any sedulous onslaught against any or same or all of these much prized heritages of humanity, because, they are much more conscious of the historical role of such a heritage and are also interested in its protection because their own predominance, social status and even economic opportunities in their society are so largely dependent upon their key position in the working of such a heritage. For instance, where separate schools for the teaching of the language of the suppressed peoples are stopped; their distinct dresses are suppressed; their special social entertainments are discouraged, the teachers, the weavers and toilers and the musicians and artists respectively are unemployed and socially degraded. So at first they become conscious of the special incidence of the new dispensation and they help others also to realise the horrors of subjection.

Similarly the priests and others associated with them of any religion of the masses come to feel their de-promotion from their former social supremacy, once their people come to be politically subjected to another people of another religion and especially is it so, when the rulers begin to propagate their religion among the subject peoples. Slowly their incomes too come down. The large numbers of

scholars who have attained a high place in their society because of their knowledge of their religious lore also feel consciously their social fall. In the same way, the arrogance of the ruling peoples hurt the aristocracy latent in these cadres of the society of the masses who have provided the leadership and it is all the more so, if the rulers and the ruled differ in their social geneology and characteristics and culture, as is the position with the British and Asiatics, with the Japanese and Chinese; with the Europeans and Red Indians or Negroes.

It is through such causes and by such avenues of discontent and disestablishment of so many sections of the intelligentsia of the subject peoples, that the seeds of discontent, and disaffection are sown widely in the fertile and extensive soil of the broad masses. It is therefore wrong for orthodox communists to maintain that nationalism takes its growth in the back-yards of the modern bourgeoisie. Rather, it is true to say that the intelligentsia are about the most natural nest in which modern nationalism first finds its first habitat.

But the driving power for any national revolution (including colonial revolution) emanates from the accumulating troubles and burdens that are inevitably heaped upon the wide masses of peasants, proletariat and praja. An imperial regime is generally more costly than a Swaraj government. The new rulers and their services generally distinguish themselves from those of the former regime by higher scales of salaries, allowances and Durbars. Quite a good percentage of the former ruling class and its services are also discontented as their powers are gone and employment is lost. Costly paraphernalia of the imperial civilization, such as the mechanical means of transport and intelligence, are introduced and the deceitful modern exchange relations

are brought in to entice the local masses into the coils of local and foreign debts - individual and national and the colonials are brought into the dangerous embraces of world, markets. Thus, their increasing impoverishment is brought about. No wonder, the local arts and crafts go to the wall in competition with the free imports of cheap manufactured goods; the local agricultural produce is taken away for courtesy prices, or for a song. Everywhere, every one, formerly engaged in local economic activities comes to feel the painful effects of modern imperialism. Their discontent grows. They are in a mood to listen to the message of revolt of their intelligentsia.

As a matter of fact, the bourgeoisie have come into the national struggles of both India and China at a fairly later stage, when the national movement has gained much momentum and been enriched, by the broad rivers of martyrs' blood. As in everything else, they are businessmen first even in politics and they come to flirt with revolutionary politics, even of a nation with such a universal appeal, only they feel that they stand to gain more than what they have to risk. Hence, their wayward and flirtatious relationship with Indian nationalism in particular. They have been fishing in dangerous depths. It is time yet they were only too keen on going over to the Government's side whenever its offers were sufficiently tempting to whit, there was the Lees-Modi pact, wherby Indian mill owners went into agreement with Lancashire textile.interests over the division of Indian market for yarn and cloth, although the National Congress was determined to make India self sufficing in textiles. Therefore, it is thoroughly unhistorical to say, as the orthodox communists do that nationalism is only the by-product of capitalism and the hand maiden of the bourgeoisie and whatever may be the case with

the nationalism of Western Europe, it certainly is not true of colonial nationalism.

What all struggles foment and strengthen National Revolution ?

26. Every struggle or movement that tends to awaken growing numbers of people to the presence in their midst, the ravaging influences of imperialism and capitalism helps to strengthen a national revolution. Almost the first preliminary to the germinating of the seeds of national revolution is the destruction of the stupour, pessimism, lack of initiative and impatience and unformed and ill-taught disaffection of the masses of colonials, that help to prostrate them before their masters. This can be done only by something or someone turning a knife into some sore wounds of some sensitive sections of the colonial masses. For China, it turned out to be the anti-opium campaign of the twenties and anti-British and anti-Japanese campaigns and boycott of British and Japanese goods agitations of the forties. For India, the anti-indenture labour; anti-Indigo and Tea plantation system, the Famine Relief and Tax . Reduction campaigns of the twentieth century that opened the eyes of Indians to the need for removing the canker eating into their very vitals. The Labour Strikes too played their own part. The Social Reform Movements of China and India, there against the small foot, here against enforced widowhood, child marriages and untouchability have also awakened some sections of people to the need of big social changes and that led them to realise the need for political power. The discovery that the teaching of history and politics, doled out in colleges was partial and untrue and was calculated to make our intelligentsia ignore the rich stores of cultural achievements and scientific thoughts of our own culture and fall a victim

to the interested propaganda that the rulers were of divine qualities, super-human abilities and supra-intelligence and character proved 'a timed bomb' and its explosion in the nation wide campaign for the boycott of the British schools and the organisation of national schools has done not a little to re-establish the cultural and intellectual self-confidence of the Indian intellegentsia. India's endeavours to recapture the inspiring and educative atmosphere of the ancient Indian democracy and its modern institutional representative, the Panchayat of the village, caste, guild, temple or math, thanks to the researches made by the Home Rule League and Radhakumud Mukherjee, have provided the much needed corrective to the imperial arrogance of the British that India should kneel before their Mother of Parliaments and gain by slow stages her first lessons in Parliamentary life from her master, Great Britain. This re-discovery of their own Parliamentary traditions has revolutionized the Indian's Political conceptions and national hopes and aspirations.

The refusal of a few great or heroic persons like Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar to wear the prescribed court dress of the rulers; of the time honoured intelligentsia of China and India to deign to recognise the whites as the God chosen people; of the proud and noble women of these countries to bow before the coquetry and court of the western women and of the oriental artists to come down to the westren cash nexus and deal in the world markets has had revolutionary effects upon the sensitive and proud hearts of the modern oriental intelligentsia. Many a struggle there have been in these directions. Each one of them has sent a series of thrills down the spine of the colonial peoples. Sentiment and senses were roused to an exhilarating consciousness of the urgency of the need for

freedom from all outside oppression and overlordship, if only their national honour, and progress are to be raised to the highest heights.

Naturally publication of every new book on any progressive topic, the discovery of any scientific truth, the manufacture of any new instrument of production; the display of any skill in any art or craft; the publication of any new or happy thought is avariciously grasped by the suffering peoples, as further evidence of their continued progress. Thus when Vivekananda received a great ovation at the world conference of Religions at Chicago in the early years of this century; when Poet Rabindranath won the Nobel Prize, when Jagadish Bose discovered how the ancient Indian Sages were right in maintaining in their Veda of Trees, that trees too have feelings etc., when Radhakrishnan could demonstrate that all the known schools of philosophy of the west were anticipated, by several millenniums by corresponding schools of thought of India and China, the East was inadvertently waging an intellectual struggle with the imperial west and drawing no end of strength and inspiration.

With the heroic and prolonged struggle that Mahatma Gandhi has been carrying on ever since 1908 against the arrogant west and its imbecile oriental pupils, on all fronts, from the economic to the political, from methods of warfare to systems of social justice, the national revolutions of colonial countries have reached a spiritual climax. And today, it can be confidently asserted, that the colonial peoples are able to feel far happier in their devotion to the cause of peace, and exploitation of man by man, non-encroachment of country by country, non-oppression of race by race and also to their highest and noblest respect to the sanctity of human life and happiness, who can say

that this rediscovery of their ability to stand loyal to the noblest and best ideals of humanity is not having a revolutionizing effect on their outlook towards their imperial masters and on their anxiety to throw off all their political, economic and social shackles.

27. The very same social reform movement, say to abolish untouchability, Pardah, illiteracy, criminal tribes classification, dowry system, etc, if turned as a weapon to thwart our Swaraj movement and to strengthen the imperialist system, can come to be a counter-revolutionary force.

What are the counter-revolutionary elements or struggles in any national revolution?

There are some Harijans who maintain that since untouchability is still observed in certain places and even where it is gone, Harijans are far behind other peoples in their social, economic and political conditions. Swaraj must not be demanded by us, and if demanded, it ought not to be attained by India. Clearly it is a counter-revolutionary move, even from the view point of the very Harijans. For, as Dr. Ambedkar put it rightly at the first Round Table Conference, the presence of the British imperialist has only prevented Harijans rising in revolt against their intolerable social, economic and other disabilities.Similarly, the present obstructive activities of the Muslim League is also counter-revolutionary. It it also struggles for the attainment of Swaraj by fighting the British imperialism, at least as effectively and boldly as the National Congress and makes the continuation of British administration impossible in India and at the same time demands satisfaction for its communal demands, it can be a revolutionary force. Instead, it is today preventing the consummation of our struggle for freedom by begging the British not to yield to our national

demand unless we agree to its anti-national Pakistan demand and thus perpetuate the British domination over all the split bits of Mother India and it is a blatant counter-revolutionary move and it is being supported by the Orthodox communists. What a tragedy! Even if nothing else is done, to fight such counter-revolutionary forces is itself a great revolutionary service. Similarly, for the C. P. of China to go on undermining Chiang-kai-Shek's Govt. is a counter-revolutionary move.

28. It is wrong to think that every National Movement happens to be revolutionary. Many a stage of progress has to be achieved and many an experience - happy or unhappy - to be gained by a national movement before it reaches a revolutionary stage. Supposing, as with the Australian's national movement, the imperial power finds it advisible to yield national freedom long before the colonial people are forced to venture on a career of revolution- a national movement attains its fulfilment without reaching the stage of revolution. Again, if a controversy over the right of a separate national minority to get its people taught in their own language and to see its language adopted in all public offices and for all public purposes, as had arisen with the French in Canada, is met more than half way by the imperial power or the majority section accepting the claims of the minority, its national movement advances, without culminating in a revolution. If the national movement of minorities, as those of Russia, is met in a friendly manner, as by the Bolsheviks and their right to separate language, local self government, independent, educational and other cultural institutions, organised in harmony with their traditions is recognised, then there need be no revolution.

National Movement comes first and National Revolution next

29. But, if, however, a religious minority comes to be identified with a distinct economic interest as in Northern Ireland, its claims cannot be satisfied by any but revolutionary means, for, through friendly give and take means, its irreconcilable claims cannot be yielded by the majority section in a peaceful manner. If a national or racial minority, like the Kurd in Turkey, the slaves in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire were to be treated cruelly; its reasonable demands for cultural autonomy opposed and its right to function as a separate national minority thwarted, then its national movement cannot but take a revolutionary turn.

When does a National Movement take a revolutionary turn?

Again, once a national movement reaches a stage when, the people concerned and their leaders have exhausted all constitutional means for advancing their freedom's cause and have come to the conclusion that all further progress is barred, and all the known means of agitation and struggle fail to show a further road to progress, then, that people venture upon the uncertain and heroic career of revolution. Such a stage may be reached after a nation goes through one or more periods of Parliamentary experience or through a number of negotiations – protracted, painful or infructuous - with the ruling power. Or, it may even be precipitated by some sudden and altogether unforgivable provocation caused by the rulers, like the Bengal Partition or Amritsar - Jallianwalla Bagh massacres of India - or the Limerick treaty betrayal in Ireland or the Tea Duties on U. S. A. Through a prolonged but unnoticeable stages, a nation may be gaining consciousness of its past achievements, present plight and the causes therefor and its available opportunities for emancipation and by a magic touch of an inspired leader like Dr. Sun Yat Sen or Mahatma Gandhi or Develera or

Mustapha Kamal Pasha, it may, all at once, as it were, come to be aware of its national maturity and viewing its present condition from that newly won consciousness of national greatness and mission with horror and shame, it may rush into revolutionary activity without even a correspondingly great provocation from its imperial masters. That is how, the Sinn Fein Movement of Ireland, refused to send Irish members of Parliament to London but proceeded to form the Irish Republic. It is how Mahatma Gandhi declared the British Raj to be 'Satanic' and thus invoked all the pent up fury and hatred of the Indian masses against all that is Satanic and called upon them to treat everything concerned with that Satanic Regime as an untouchable and so to non-cooperate with it. Similarly when Dr. Sun found the British most unyielding over the questions of extra-territoriality and the concessions and distribution of China into so many commercial spheres of influence, he declared a boycott of British Goods. Later, his successors, both Chiang and Wangching Wei hurled the same weapon of boycott against Japanese goods. Thus at a high state of development of national movement does it become revolutionary.

30. Even after revolutionary means are adopted, the movement can only be national. The only difference is that a national movement shifts its gear from peaceful and slow methods to revolutionary and rapid strides. In the pre-revolutionary era, all efforts at national development had the automatic control point of the ultimate refusal of the ruling power to yield in anything in any direction. So long as the imperial power goes on yielding, either because of persuasion or because of enlightened

What is it that distinguishes a Peaceful national movement from a National Revolution ?

self interest, the national aspirations continue to be broadened, emboldened and achieved. But once the shutter is drawn and the shop of negotiations and concessions is closed, the national movement has to turn its attention, however reluctantly, from that obstructed activity to get another and explore the possibilities for advancement. Thus it was the case with the India of pre-1920 days. Indians wanted more representation in legislatures and more power in local self government. But when the 1908-10 constitutional and local reforms set the limits of advance, Indian national movement had to content itself with working the reforms and asking for more. When a few places on the Exceutive Councils of the Governors and Viceroy were alone offered, Indian National Congress was dissatisfied but was willing to fill those places and beg for a few more.

But with the advent of Lokamanya Tilak and his aggressive tempo, revolutionary atmosphere began to besiege the Congress. The Congress leadership was not prepared to go ahead and launch upon a revolutionary career. Hence the Surat explosion and the split in national leadership.

The national movements of Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Indo-China, Arabia, continued, till the outbreak of the Second World War to be merely peaceful and failed to catch up to the prevailing world atmosphere of national revolutions.

But the national movements of Philippines, Burma, India, Turkey, Egypt, Ireland, had attained by 1922 a high stage of revolutionary activity and were on the high road towards their national liberation through the pursuit of their national revolutionary means with the aid of their own national resources.

Once a movement reaches the revolutionary stage, all bounds that have hitherto restrained its hopes and aspirations,

its strings and sufferings are burst asunder and the seemingly overwhelming imperial powers and prestige seem to hold no more terrors to the revolutionary peoples. If any limits are recognised to the national political ideals, as was the case with India upto 1928 when the Congress was content with the aim of achieving Dominion Status within the British Commonwealth of free and equal nations, it is entirely because of the free will and decision of the concerned colonial people. Indeed, the achievement of real spiritual freedom of any people and a nation begins from the very moment on which it decides upon a resort to direct action and turning its back upon the former methods of petitioning, pleading and passing the tests set by the imperialists for fitness for higher scales of concessions. Thus, it was from 1920 onwards that Indians and Burmese had begun to be free from the imperialist hold of Btitish Empire; so were the Irish free from the beginning of the 18th century. What Mahatma Gandhi has done for the spiritual emancipation of India, Zaglul Pasha did for Egypt, Sun Yat Sen for China.

How long does a national revolution take to reach fulfilment?

31. A national revolution begins from the moment that a colonial people, through their national organisation or organisations declare themselves either through a definite resolution or declaration or through actual resort to direct action, no longer bound by the constitutional framework that hide-bounds all their activity. It cannot always be conducted at the same high tempo of direct action. It has also to go through a fairly long career of ups and downs, intense revolutionary propaganda, activity and struggle, followed by a dull period of apparent rest and recuperation; again culminating in a more intense and more widespread resort

to direct action and so on, until a stage is reached when the imperial masters and the struggling peoples begin to come to grips with one another in a grimmer and bloodier fashion. Excatly at what stage and moment the masters are overthrown and the enslaved become completely emancipated it is difficult for any one to forecast. Indeed, those who are actually engaged in the movement may come to feel, due to their extreme concentration on the tempo of the moment, that their particular revolutionary move is the very last one and theirs is the life and death struggle. But nevertheless a nation may have to experience many such exhilarating, exciting and excruciating revolutionary struggles before on some time and all but unexpected morning it may find itself called upon to undertake its self governance. Thus, Mahatma Gandhi was perfectly sincere when he declared quite rightly both in 1930 and 1942 that the struggle of that particular moment was the last and most desperate one for the Indian nation.

Right upto 1922, when the Anglo Irish treaty was finally concluded, it used to be thought that a national revolution reaches its natural finale, with the advent of national feeedom. But the subsequent history of Ireland and Turkey has shown that a national revolution remains in firment for easily two decades after the revolutionary struggle against the immediate imperialist masters is over. In Ireland, the struggle between the protogonists and opponents of the treaty had to be surmounted and De Velera had to liquidate, one after the other, the various imperial vestiges that conditioned Ireland's national freedom. In Turkey, the Ata Turk had to wage relentless and continuous war against the relics of feudalism and Caliphate and other conservative and anti-national elements.

The revolutionary career of the Latin or Indian American States since the 1911 Mexican Revolution shows

quite clearly that with the attainment of political freedom, the national revolutionary career of different colonial peoples does not end and that it has to assume even greater responsibilities and more difficult tasks in order to free those very same people from the less noticed but more painful and dreadful clutches of economic imperialism. Hence the struggle since 1911 of China against the unseen but bloodletting tentacles of European and American and Japanese powers. Hence also the fight of Egypt, Afghanistan, Persia and Arabic States against the military and economic strangleholds flung around their necks by the British and French imperialisms. Therefore, the movement of national revolutions is likely to be a very prolonged one, until any or every nation becomes free both politically and economically from any kind of imperialist exploitation and restraint, it is bound to be in need of a revolutionary national movement. Whether any particular nation is in process of revolution is dependent upon the ripeness or otherwise of her national movement, her people and also the nature of her troubles from the imperial masters.

How National Revolutionary struggles are a part of the World Movement against Imperialism !

[i] Post War and World of Imperialism

32. Whatever might have been the characteristics of the 19th century imperialism – and they certainly included the economic exploitation, cultural and racial suppression and political subordination – the twentieth century imperialism is an unashamed compound of political and economic exploitation and the main instrument of world capitalism in the looting of subject peoples. Capitalism and imperialism have come to be intertwined from 1850 onwards and more so, from 1870. And today (1944) imperialism is a bye-word for capitalist

exploitation of subject peoples by the people of its habitat. In addition to that capitalist exploitation, there may be thrown in direct or indirect political exploitation as well as suppression.

For instance, the British Empire has its political and economic hold over the countries comprised in its imperial domains and is content to hold sway only on the economic life of Argentina, and some other Indian-American States. The American Empire - it is not called as such by world's writers possibly out of courtesy - had the Phillippine islands within its political sway and controlled the life of almost all the South – Indian – American States directly through economic imperialism and had partial sway over Canada, China. And by the end of this War, these two Empires bid fair to control almost the whole of Asia, minus the Soviets, the whole of African and American continents and Europe minus the Soviets through their economic or political or both imperial tentacles. Hitherto, only non – Europeans had to suffer from this plight and now, Europeans too have to fall in line with other colonies.

There will still be the Soviet and Japanese regimes with their unknown and unfathomable political and economic, national and imperial and missionary roles to play. It is hard to believe that they may not emerge out of this war with either new imperialist ambitions or with their old imperialist traditions dogging their steps. The Russian behaviour in gaining practical control of the Chinese Inner Mongolia and Sinkiang and helping the Chinese C. P. to carve out a portion as Red China and in recognising the unholy occupation - rather grabbing - of Manchoukoa and Outer Mongolia, by the Japanese, does not encourage one to believe that Soviet Russia can altogether shed her Czarist imperialist appetite and the recent fascination of

Stalin for Petet the Great and his imperialist exploits warns us against entertaining any great hopes of Russian support for the world movement for the emancipation of colonial peoples. And how can any one expect the Japanese to uproot their ingrained passion to fulfil their World Mission of sudbuing all to their Impeiial House and accepting their world dominating civilzation?

And there are still the damaged empries of France, Holland, Belgium, Portugal. Both Roosevelt and Churchill have guaranteed their integrity. From the proceedings of the Pacific Relations Conference of 1943 and the British declarations on colonial questions in 1942 - 44, it becomes clear that these imperial systems are sure to continue to dominate and restrict the life of their colonial peoples.

33. The camouflage of simple power or multi-power mandates may be initiated for the governance of some colonies. But so far as the fate of the concerned colonials is concerned, it cannot be much different, in all fundamentals, from their present plight, when one remembers how almost all the Post – War imperial powers will be heavily and almost inextricably indebted to U. S. A. including her Government and capitalists, one can easily assure there will be one single stream of imperial tendency of capitalist exploitation of all the colonial peoples.

Beware of 'Mandates' System of "Sacred Trust" notoriety !

34. To fight this persistent and growing world phenomenon of imperialism, the world movement of national revolutions is bound to take shape in Post – War years. It is not meant thereby, that a conscious World movement will come to be started, all over the world. But it certainly

means that as national revolutionary movements gather momentum in different countries and continents, they come to have a world significance and also to influence each other both in their aims, objectives, methods, techniques etc.

[ii] Its natural anti-thesis is the World Movement of National Revolution

Even in the interregnum between the two World Wars, there was a growing tendency for colonial peoples to learn from one another, for their movements to influence each other and for their revolutionary technique to follow certain common lives of development and methodology.

35. Immediately after the Versailles treaty there was a rising and spreading movement of national revolutions in quite a large number of colonies. A careful study of Pandit Jawaharlal's Glimpses of World History will show how in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, India and China, national revolutionary movements were sweeping hundreds of millions of people into a spontaneous and infectious world rising of the suppressed peoples. That revolutionary tide has receded for a time; advanced again during the 1929 - 35 economic depression and was gathering momentum for another sweep and burst up, when this Second World War came and temporarily diverted much of its strength and force into other channels. But these five years of war have put the colonials through an exceptionally rapid and revolutionary education. Their economic conditions have worsened; tax-burdens increased manyfold; their exploitation through inflation and compulsory loans; their impoverishment and under-nourishment through the military requisitions of food, clothing etc., and their other sufferings

Significance of Post War National Revolutions

due to recruitment etc. have all created enough discontent in their hearts. At the end of the war, colonials are sure to be much more disillusioned about the professions of their imperial masters. They have already seen through the boasts of the military powers, spiritual eminence, and cultural advancement of their masters. They know now that the behaviour of their masters towards one another and humanity in general is in no way better than the purposeless and suicidal bloodfeeds between the most backward tribes, whom they are supposed to be civilizing into peaceful co-existence. Therefore, it does not take long, nor much persuasion to rouse them into a formidable revolutionary movement soon after their masters settle down for a so-called peaceful repast at their imperial tables after the Peace Conferences and League inaugural ceremonies are over. It needs no prophet to say that the new Post War colonial revolutions are going to be much more formidable, more widespread and more popular than their last wave of 1921-24.

36. Already the Indian masses have given the lead to the colonial world by exposing the pretensions of the British imperialists; by putting to a test the democratic professions of U. S. A. and by placing an inescapable challenge to the Socialist ideals of Soviet Russia. China alone is able to come out well in this test by openly and nobly ranging herself on the side of Indian revolutionary demand for freedom.

What is India's lead?

Through her renunciation of Ministerial power in the great majority of the Indian provinces; through her conduct of a well disciplined, all India wide protest against this Second World War and India's unilateral participation in it, under imperial compulsion and through her nation-wide campaign of 'Quit India' demanding the immediate

withdrawal of British imperialist domination over India, the Indian National Congress has shown to the whole of the colonial world how and what they must all be getting ready to do, at least at the end of the war to wear down the citadels of their imperial masters. No wonder Mrs. Gunthu exclaims that the real test of this war to the professions of the allies and united Nations and also the really constructive achievement of this war is the Indian National Revolution. There is no doubt that it is only the harbinger of many more such revolutionary outbursts.

Naturally a careful study of the aims, objects, methods and technique, and experiences of such a revolution is bound to be of great benefit to other countries and peoples, similarly placed, as and when they start - as they must, in Post war years - their own national revolutions.

37. One very instructive, though painful experience of Indian nationalism of the war period is also bound to have much effect on the attitude of other colonial peoples too towards their local Communist Parties and Soviet Russia, their Fatherland. The Communist Party of India has betrayed the revolutionary national movement both during the Individual Satyagraha campaign and also during the 1942 - 44 national travail, when imperialism forced an unequal national struggle on the Congress, in a manner not dissimilar to the Pearl - Harbour bombing by Japan. It went over to Government; handed over so many so called saboteurs and handed many more of their enemies in the Congress as fifth columnists turned out to be a bare faced imperialist agent, on the pretext that it was warding off the danger of an invasion by the Japanese. Even while the C. P. was roaring on paper against the Japanese; the Russian Soviets,

C. P.'S Betrayal of India's Revolution

their agents were maintaining their friendliest relations of neutrality, mutual trade etc., with Japan. The Indian National Struggle has thus exposed the Communists in their true colours and shown how their activities in colonial countries are only calculated to strengthen the Soviet Russia; how they are capable of betraying colonial national revolution for the sake of their party protection and advancement and in the interests of Soviet Russia.

38. Even by now, many a colonial country has been watching India's travails for achieving freedom and has adopted many of her national ideals, programmes and methods. And India in her turn has learnt much from the Irish freedom movement. For instance, the Indian non-cooperation movement found an echo in Egypt and Arabian Countries. India's campaign of boycott of foreign goods found friends for it in China and some Arabian States. Macswiny's Hunger Strike, as a political weapon was perfected by the Mahatma and many of his disciples to strengthen communal unity, anti-untouchability and temple-entry campaigns. The Indian experiences of boycotting legislatures, later, entering them and obstructing their work and another time, offering responsive cooperation and latterly working them found many imitators in several colonies. Even the recent Indian attempts to build up national revolutionary strength by organising peasants and workers into their class congresses, Students and youths into their age – group Congresses and helping them all to grow into additional streams of strength to the common national revolution has also found many admirers in other countries. The Gandhian contribution of a `constructive programme has found acceptance in China, Egypt and

Are not colonials learning from each others' trials and tribulations ?

many Arabic States. Thus what Italy was during the nineteenth century, Ireland was upto 1930; Japan was upto 1910; China was upto 1930, India is today occupying the central and leading position among the colonies. If thus the colonial world was getting into that international revolution and progressive mood and momentum right upto 1940, what wonder can there be if after the end of this war, a conscious effort comes to be made through the colonial peoples Freedom Front, by active and experienced revolutionaries, to rouse the colonial peoples of all colonies to the organisation and conduct of their national revolutions.

Lenin recognised the anti-imperialist role of national revolution

39. Thus if imperialism is going to be the biggest single World phenomenon and menace in the New Post-war period, to fight it and counteract its mischief and to rid the world of its evil tentacles, there is bound to arise the need and clamour for a world-wide movement. Lenin did realise this need to fight this growing menace as long ago as 1914. But he pitched his hopes mainly on the Proletarian revolutionary movement to liquidate it. He felt sure, that so far as the industrial west was concerned, the Proletarian revolution could deal mortal blows at the very trunk of this overgrown and widespread Banyan tree of imperialism. He too realised that might not be enough. He could see that what Marx had expected so confidently did not come to pass; that is, a Socialist revolution in England, Germany and France, because of the emergence of their capitalist-kernelled imperialism and the growing reimbursements into their coffers of surplus value or profits from colonial exploitation. So, he saw that until and unless the western industrial powers were robbed of their empires and prevented

from drawing upon the surplus value of the more numerous colonial peoples there could not be much chance for Socialist revolution to succeed in U. S. A. and European countries. Hence his search for any signs of awakening, restlessness, antii-mperialist movement for national liberation and anti-capitalist reaction by colonial peoples. He found that, already there were powerful, conscious and organised national liberation movements in both China and India, countries that comprise more than 40% of world population, with vigorous and self-conscious civilization and intelligentsia with their proud possessions of hoary traditions of many a social contribution to human advancement. He noticed the significance of Dr. Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary movement and the elimination of the hoary Manchu monarch of China, as well as that of the growing capitalist development of both China and India. So he drew the heartening conclusion that if only the colonial peoples were all to rise, in a similar manner, and with greater tempo and organised effort against imperialist powers, the world movement for Socialism was bound to gather strength and achieve rapid success in an increasing number of industrial countries.

But such colonial revolts cannot be of Proletarian origin or leadership. There is as yet no Proletarian section with any substantial numerical strength or strategical position. So, these revolts have to achieve support from other sections of people and possess qualities and features other than the familiar Proletarian political features. Lenin too could realize, with the aid of the nationalist movements of China,India,and Egypt, that the colonial movements must necessarily be nationalistic, both in their content and outward shell and nationalism has to be invoked as the biggest most dynamic and explosive force, and to be pitted against

world imperialism as the most creative and revolutionary force destined to triumph over it, so far as the colonial world is concerned. So, he drew the heartening conclusion that, starting from opposite directions, the Proletarian revolution from the West and the Nationalist revolution from the East, both ranged against their common enemy, world imperialism, they can and will have to converge on the same evil force, the world imperialism and destroy it. Thus, he almost reached the point, that the colonial revolution has to and is bound to shape itself into an all colonial world anti-imperialist force.

The tragedy of the Comintern's attitude towards colonies

40. But not quite that conclusion did he definitely come to. That is the tragedy that has disabled the Comintern and orthodox communists from giving the proper lead to the colonial peoples or playing their progressive role in the national movements of the colonial peoples. Lenin stopped short of realizing and formulating it into a political thesis, that like the proletarian revolution of the West, the colonial revolution too has to be provided with a scientific thesis of revolution; that its world role has to be recognised; that its political idealogy to be formulated and that its laws too have to be studied carefully, with special reference to the colonial conditions.

Why was nationalism a bug bear to Lenin etc?

40. (a) To Lenin and other orthodox Communists, nationalism could only be the medium in which the Proletarian revolution was to take shape and express itself, as per the Communist Manifesto. They could not recognise or reconcile themselves to the fact that nationalism could be and actually was an independent revolutionary, creative and

explosive force, as strong, if not stronger and as infectious as the idea and actuality of Proletarian revolution. And that through national revolution, peasants and Praja, the hitherto neglected section in the mind of western revolutionaries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have an exceptionally brilliant and powerful and progressive role to play and that such national revolutionary movement of the colonies could not be sought to be hidebound by the revolutionary idealogy and technique of Socialist that was being hammered out by western Socialists in relation to their historical and environmental conditions, was not realised by them. Therefore, they came to be too facile but what proved to be imbecile – conclusion that the Socialists of the West, with the revolutionary Prolerariat to back them up, could seek to stimulate, arouse, organise and had the colonial peoples also and raise their revolutionary movements against the World Imperialism. Hence the Communist initiative and leadership for the world Anti-Imperialist conference held at Brussels in 1927; also the flambuoyant self-imposed mission of the Third International to lead the colonial revolutions under the leadership of the world Proletariat, with the local national C. P. S. working as the so called vanguard and the local Proletariat providing the so called revolutionary nucleus. Hence also the failure of their colonial thesis to come to grips with the real essentials of the colonial situation.

Disparity between Lenin's teachings and Comintern's performances

41. Lenin did realise to some extent the special chracter of colonial revolution and therefore recommended that the Western Socialists and Proletariat should be willing to support such a revolution even if it be led and even manned by the bourgeoisie, priests and landlords the sections known to be most

reactionary in western countries. For he knew that colonial conditions would be so intolerable that all classes and sections of colonial peoples were bound to be revolutionary minded in their attitude of opposition to imperialism. But unfortunately neither he nor his followers could quite overcome their acquired distrust and opposition to nationalism, nor could they forget how nationalism was the one great force that was preventing the western proletariat from tearing themselves away from any sentimental, traditional and nationalities of unity with the bourgeoisie and becoming merely workers without a fatherland and willing to unite with one another on a world scale, as per Marx exhortation. So they were torn by this internal conflict between their faith and scientific analysis. Their distrust of nationalism prevented them from realizing that colonial nationalism would be one of the greatest anti-imperialist revolutionary forces; in no way less important than the Proletarian revolution contrary to Lenin's thesis on war, they gave the disastrous lead from the Comintern that the national leadership of Chinese and Indian national revolutionary movements had to be fought and the rising but nascent Proletariat of these countries should always be on their guard against such leadership.

With this series of initial blunders, prejudices, and distrust forming the very foundation for their approach towards colonial revolutions, orthodox communists could not but go the wrong way and give the most disastrous guidance to their local Communist Parties. Thus it was that during the Gandhi-Irvin Pact - which by the way marked the high water-mark of Indian nationalism - the Communists condemned the Pact and Mahatma Gandhi, its author and circulated a scurrilous attack to British working classes against Gandhijee, when he went to attend

the Second Round Table Conference. Right up to 1936 i. e. until the Comintern adopted the thesis of 'Popular Front', not in the interests of colonial or European countries but mostly in the interests of Soviet Russia, the Comintern pursued this policy of opposition towards the Indian revolution. Similarly in China, the Communists and their principal, the Comintern too played the same disastrous role of stabbing the Kumingtong from behind, weakening the national Government and disrupting the national unification movement that was being achieved at such a huge cost over such a long period by the three national leaders, Dr. Sun. Wang and Chiang. Thus, both in India and China, the Comintern pursued a definitely counter-revolutionary role, all because, it has failed to realise that the "national revolution" is a twentieth century phenomenon, as independent, distinct and as dynamic as 'Socialist revolution of the West" and that both of them have their quite independent spring-wells of strength and inspiration, quite separate laws of development and functioning, and that they can but be supplementing each other in their common objective of destroying world imperialism and its content and motive force, world Capitalism.

Marxism and the question of Nationalities by Stalin

42. When they had made up their mind to come to grips with the national question, Stalin had at first come to the astonishing pre-war view that it—"The national struggle — is a struggle of the bourgeois classes among themselves" and later, developed the Post – War view that it is "virtually a peasant question" and when asked to explain the cause for this change of front, Stalin rightly answered that "space and time" and "actual historical

situation" had to be considered "what is correct in one historical situation may prove to be incorrect in another historical situation." Uptill 1919, the Comintern demanded the right of self-determination for subject nationalities but thereafter, adopted the other slogan of the "right of peoples to political secession." That these two slogans had special significance to Russian nationalities of that period is quite clear but the non-Russian nationalities could only understand them to mean the two sides of the same demand for national liberation. But the Comintern was vainly trying to foist these redundant slogans, with all their associated controversies upon the other colonial world, only to confuse their politics.

When later the University of the peoples of the East was entrusted with the task of training revolutionaries for colonial peoples, Stalin made the usual communist Parties mistake of growing the special and independent role that national revolution has had to play in the world's offensive against world Imperialism and its principal capitalism. He wrongly assumed that national revolution could not achieve success and complete independence "unless" the compromising national bourgeoisie is isolated, unless the petty bourgeois revolutionary masses are freed from the influence of this bourgeoisie, unless the hegemony of the proletariat is established and unless the advanced elements of the working class are organised in an independent communist Party. (18-5-1925, Stalin's Speech at the University of the peoples of the East.)

Herein he saved the ends of discord and disruption that were to lead the C. Ps. in almost all the colonies to split the national revolutionary ranks and to continually manoeuvre for the advancement of their own partisan interests and to help other revolutionaries also to drift towards

sectarianism. As Stalin had himself recognised in the case of Java, what was needed was the building up of national front against imperialism. But what he actually advised the C. P's to do was to classify colonial countries into three catagories, those like Morocco which had no proletariat, those like china and Egypt "which are industrially little developed" and those like India "which are capitalistically more or less developed" with their "more or less numerous national proletariat" and to work for national united front only in countries like Morocco but to persue a policy of splitting the bourgeoisie; isolating the compromising section of it; win over the petty-bourgeoisie for the leadership of the communist party; work in the local national revolutionary party like the Kuomintang of china, Congress of India, in order to facilitate "the actual leadership of the revolutionary movement by the Communist Party". The results of this wrong lead have been most disastrous to the national revolutions of both China and India.

When, however, the interests of Soviet Russia necessitated an alliance with the democratic bourgeoisie as against the Facists, the Comeintern did not hesitate to order all the C. P's to abandon the 1925 Stalin thesis of Splitting and disrupting National Forces and to work for a solid and allround united front with all and sundry in both colonial and imperialist countries.

And Stalin made no secret of the fact that be had primarily the interests of Soviet Russia, as the "standard-bearer of the revolutionary movement in all countries" in his view, when he was exhating the C. Ps to fulfil "the urgent tasks of the revolutionary movement in the colonies and dependent countries" in order to prepare a "counter-blow by the united forces of the revolution to the probable blow of imperialism on the Soviets".

Trained thus as they were to think first of Soviet Russia's interests as being synonemous with those of their own national proletariat's interests and also to mistake their interests of their local proletariat, who form an infinitismal minority, for the interests of the broad masses of their countries, the C. Ps. hearkened to the S. O. S. call of Soviet Russia; and abandoned their local national revolution and embraced the new allies of the Soviets as their own best friends and left the colonial revolutionary masses in the lurch.

All this tragedy has been enacted by the Comintern and its local branches, in persuance of not only their enslavement to Soviet Russia, and her domination over all the orthodox communists but also because of their wrong analysis and understanding of the role and place of imperialism versus national revolution and Socialist revolution. They viewed the world's struggle against imperialism as only the proletarian struggle and considered the national revolution of the colonial peoples as an appendix to it, meanly supplementing its work. They failed to realise that world capitalism and its projection, imperialism could come to be vanguished only if both the Socialist Revolution not merely proletarian revolution, and the National Revolution work, as independent forces with inter-dependent means and activities and effects, complementing each others work against their common enemy. It was beyond their ken to recognise the independent role of the National Revolution.

43. Till today, it is most unfortunate that the Western Socialists and orthodox Communists of the C. P. persuasion fail to realise how inapplicable and utterly inadequate are their analyses and teachings about the colonial's national revolution and how partial is their whole

thesis and strategy of struggle against world Imperialism.

How Western Socialism cannot guide National Revolution?

Except for what one can learn from their experiences in their revolutionary struggle against their local bourgeoisie and World capitalism, so far as their national efforts can affect it, there is no special guidance either through by their thought, analysis or thesis, that western Communists and Socialists can offer to the revolutionaries engaged in the national revolutions of the colonies. To the extent that colonials have to study the Socialist ideas of reconstructing national economy, the Soviet Economic planning and social reconstruction and understand the vagaries of finance capital and world Imperialism, they find some help from the thought and activities of European and American Socialists and Communists. But so far as conducting their own national revolutions is concerned; colonial revolutionaries have to depend either on their own resources of analysis, organisation and revolutionary ability or on the national revolutionary thought, activities, experiences and achievements of other colonial peoples who have been engaged in their national revolutions. Thus, they have much to study about and learn from the rich experience and achievements of Ireland, Turkey, China, India, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mexico, Chile. As yet, no systematic study of their national revolutions, their progressing ideology, tactics and achievements has been made. But such a study must be made at the earliest opportunity, the world movement if national revolutions is to gain adequate momentum and ideological and tactical maturity and depth.

Socialists and Communists of the west and their Poor chelas of the colonies have failed to make such a study. And they we unfiit to do it, because of their counter-

revolutionary traditions in the colonies and their Western prejudices against of nationalism and their communist contempt for Peasants and Praja.

For instance, their analysis is too strongly coloured with their proletarian bias of the west and the western distrust of the bourgeoise, petty–bourgeoise and peasant leadership of the colonial national revolution. Ralph Fox, Strauss, Edgar Snow, Roy and other socialists have taken particular care to misinterpret the genesis and actuality of of the contents of chinese revolution in order to maintain that it has really been the proletariat of the cities on the coast who provided the initiative, momentum and revolutionary ardour to the chinese national revolution and who are to-day the driving force behind that revolution and that the Red China took shape because of proletarian leadership and soon. But the facts protest so lordly against such a msiniterpretation. Similarly spacious and spurious claims are being made by the C. P. of India, for the so called leading role it is supposed to have played in the recent phases of Indian national revolution. Socialists, communists and their parties who can view things in such a jaundiced manner cannot be expected to provide either a correct or a truthful and helpful analysis of actual colonial economic, political and social conditions, or any useful guidance in our colonial national revolutions. Also weighed down as they are by their recent betrayal of national revolution and their unshamed arrowal that Soviet Russia and not any of their respective national countries, their Fatherland and their career of unholy partnership with imperialism, not even with a view to force it to yield to national demand for freedom but only to aid its war effort, the better that Soviet Russia may be strengthened, while being completly indifferent to the incalculable damage done to our national

revolution, they cannot but take a wrong view of our colonial problems and understand our revolutionary problems the wrong way and offer suggestions that can be calculated not to strengthen the national revolution but to regain strength for their own Parties and ideology and their main objective, the Strengthening of Soviet Russia. Therefore, it will be the most foolish and disastrous thing for colonial revolutionaries to turn to, or depend upon C. P. for guidance and not to work out their own independent ideology and technique for their national revolution with the help of their colonial nationalist leadership.

44. And colonial revolutionaries have a rich fund of thought, experiments, experiences and tactics that have so far been mooted and developed and tried during the last hundred years and especially since the last world war in almost every part of the world. The teachings, and revolutionary activity and achivements of such great revolutionaries as Dr. Sun Yat Sen, De Velara, Atta Turk, President Gardenaz, President Haya Zaghul Pasha, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarojini Devi, Sirdar Patel have to teach them. And there is the greatest living fountain head of national revolution, viz. Mahathma Gandhi. He has made during the past 30 years some of the greatest and richest contributions to the ideology and methodology of national revolutions. He has conducted five nation wide struggles of the most unique nature. He has brought the greatest and worst imperial machine to desperate straits. He has liberated spiritually the largest slice of humanity and has set in motion the greatest single stream of national revolution that bids fair to overflow Indian borders to flood all other colonial areas, fertilize their national movements and overwhelm

How colonials have developed their world thought and technique of anti-imperialism?

world imperialism in the near future. It is to these growing and ever swelling springs of realistic revolutionary and wise teachings that colonial revolutions have to turn for inspiration, guidance and dynamic and life-giving contacts and not to the anti-nationalist counter-revolutionary communists and their Soviet Russian mentors.

45. As we have already said, the post-war years will witness a world-wide movement of national revolutions in order to liquidate political and economic imperialism. Since imperialism is a world force its liquidators and destroyers i. e. the Western Socialist revolution and the Colonial national revolution will also be world forces, while the Western Socialist revolution tries to hammer at its "home capstalism" of the Western Countries, National revolution attempts to liquidate finance capitalism and its political hegemony in colonial countries. Both, war against different but interdependant forts of capitalism and so, both can be and will be independent and yet, in fact, inter-dependent world revolutionary movements, fighting against the same enemy but from different directions and with different forces and allies, and instruments and even time-tables.

What is the world role of national revoiution?

Naturally such a force as the national revolution has a world role to play; as grand and inspiring, as progressive and dynamic as the Socialist revolution of the western Countries.

46. Only short sighted nationalists or hypocratical opponents of national revolution can possibly maintain that the national revolutionary wavement of the colonial world can at all be oppesed to Socialism. To desire to achieve Socialism is not the monopoly of the Communist party or any western Socialist Revolulion seeks to fight capitalism, the Colonial National Revolution attempt to fight but its pojection, imperialism and both aim at the

Do we want Socialism?

achievement of both national liberation and freedom by destroying the double facts of the same common enemy World Cnpitalism and Imperialism. So, both the western Socialist and the colonial national revolutionary have to be equally conscious of their loyalty to their common ideal, national liberation is inseparable, though distinguishable, from Socialism.

That is why Mahatma Gandhi and pandit Jawaharlal the Trade Unionists led by V. V. Giri and Kisan-congresists like us declare their faith in Socialism. And all Colonial national ravolutionaries have no other-go but to embrace socialism because, otherwise, they cannot effectively fight imperialism, which is only the projection of World Capitalism and the best dissolvent and most effective opponent of capitalism is Socialism.

Further, Indian as well as other Colonial peasant and workers and the Praja (that is the professional classes, including the intelligentsia) desire Swaraj or national liberation, not merely for its own sake but also for what it may one to mean to them in terms of their earnings, conditions of employment, security of employment, useful leisure, growing standards of culture; rising opportunities to gain political and economic opportunities, power and strength and in short in terms of individual and collective happiness and political and economic equality and opportunity.

During the last twenty years of Indian National Revolution, the Indian peasants workers, have made rapid strides in their political education, consciousness and training; thanks to Gandhijie's inspring invitation to them to enter the repeated national struggles with definite political and economic ends in view. Our endeavours too, in building up their class organisations have continued not a little to place before them the ideal of achieving on the

morrow of national libetation, the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj or the peasants, portectrait, Praja Raj. And to-day, to great numbers of Indian toilers, Swaraj means but the beginning of their missionary and revolutionary endeavours to achieve the fullest Socialist democracy, which is known to them as the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raja.

47. It is pleasant ro contemplate and to hope for the simulataneous achievement of both National liberation and Socialism. But practical exigencies of national revolution must always come first and be faced first. No where till now, has it been possible to achieve these two great ends simultaneously. It is Utopian to hope for it. For, if national revolutionaries make it their avowed object to achicve Socialism simultaneously with national liberation, then they must be prepared to lose from now onwards, any-kind of support or sympathy of all the colonial vested interests their friends and supporters and hangers on and also to face their opposition. And in no country are the toiling masses so conscious, so organised and so revolutionary as to be able to fight successfully both their local bourgeoisie, and feudal religious interests and the imperialists. Hence the advisibility of fighting first for national liberation

Can National Liberation and Socialist Revolution come simultaneously?

48. Yet, this does not mean that national revolutionaries have to postpone all efforts to give even a socialist turn to national politics and economics. In actual practice both Dr. Sun of China, Gandhijie, Nehru of India have taken care to give as much socialist turn to nationalism as is consistent with their need to build up a national unied front. By slow but conscious efforts, the socialist content of national revolution can be continually raised. Their attempts to liquidate landlordism by paying liquidation both in China

and India, to minimise the vigours of landlordism and reduce tax-burdens, to improve the conditions of labour in both the fields and factories and their struggle to nationalise modern means of communications such as railways and their passion for the development of socialised key industries, banking, currency are all in that direction. Through the development of co-operative credit stores and production of manufactured consumers goods, and co-operative organisation of agriculture and cottage industries, the further growth of colonial capitalism can be prevented and additional industrial progress can be achieved on socialist lines. By imposing suitable conditions of size, organisation and on the working of industrial plants, by prescribing the maximum rates of profits, by providing for the socia security for workers, by stipulating for the nationalisation of such key and other industries, after a prescribed period and by prescribing and enforcing the minimum prices for agricultural produce and minimum wages for agricultural workers, by controlling the big land holders powers to rack rent their tenants and by such other means, national revolutionaries can go on, by progressive steps and in a discreet manner, raising the socialist content of their National Revolution, so that, once National liberation is achieved, the toiling masses will have been set on their high road towards socialism. But at every turn, the touch-stone for all this will have to be the strategical intrests of national liberation.

Can we not rise the Socialist content of national Revolution

49. Simply because we recognise the world role of national revolution and the need for forming a "Colonial Peoples Freedom Front", it does not mean that the C.P.F.F is to be empowered to lay down mandates for the colonial revolutionaries simply to carry them out or that there must

be one unalterable and orthodox revolutionary ideology and technique to be accepted as 'Bible'. Such foolish and entirely unrevolutionary tactics have been followed by the Comintern during its 25 years of career with disastrous consequences. Every country has to work out its own detailed ideology, programme and day to day tactics for its national revolution, in the light of its local conditions, i. e. of history traditional environment, mass psychology, social structure and political and economic maturity and genius. For developing such a national programme, the local revolutionaries have to depend upon their own national resources and state of revolutionary situation. All that the world movement can do, through the C. P. F. F., is to seek to place at the disposal of all national revolutionaries, to thoughts and experiences of the greatest national revolutionary leaders of the various national revolutions, and also the periodical surveys of colonial national revolutionary movements, and their ideological and practical achievements and also the inspiring messages of national revolutionaries all the world over. It must scrupulously avoid dictating to the national revolutionary movements. Like the slogan of 'Socialism in one country', there must be an effort made to achieve "Freedom from Imperialism for each country", mainly by its own efforts with occasional help from others.

Does its world Role necessitate any iron-laws like those of the Comintern?

50. We must not commit the same blunder as was committed by the Comintern of laying down the law for all colonies. For, as Lenin realised so long ago, there is the law of uneven development of different countries. And this law affects not only the capitalist development but also the resultant social, political and ideological development of different peoples. No one world idea or tactic

can be equally applicable to all such unevenly developed countries. For instance, although all Colonies are suffering from imperialist domination, the politically independent but economically dependant colonies suffer less than those wich are subject to both kinds of imperialism and among the latter, a wide-awake country like India with an advanced national revolutionary movement suffers less and has to fear from imperialism much less than other colonies. Also the African Negro countries are today the worst sufferers. So, they all need different practical programmes of work, varying ideological bases for the widly differing constituents of their national revolutionary movements and so on.

Why can we not lay down the law to all national revotutions as the Comintern used to do?

51. The world and especially the colonial world has marched a long way ahead of Mazzini's times, in its ideology, content and technique of national revolution. In Mazzinis days, it was enough for him to invoke the glorious memories of Roman Republic and the imperial unity of Rome to inspire his contemporary Italian youth and to rush them head-long against the Austrian imperial forces. The sense of national pride and honour had only to be kindled; the memory of national history and heroes to be enriched and enlivened and the self confidence and ambition of the youth had to be regenerated and the love of their common mother land to be roused in the breasts of the masses, before the Italian masses were roused to revolutionary action and to fall upon the vestiges of imperial power and attain the most essential preliminary victory, the spiritual emancipation. What the Statesman Gavour, the national hero, Garibaldi

Is modern national Revolution the same as that of Mazzinis ?

did, was only to put the finishing touches to the inspired and awakened Italian Nation to help it don the mantle of national freedom and unity. But conditions are not so simple in these forties and fifties of the Twentieth Century.

52. The present day imperialism is no longer a purely political supremacy of one country over another. It is an intricate and intriguing admixture of political and economic supremacy, not of one nation only but of quite a number of imperial nations with and one of them being in the lead for the time being in that particular colony, over the unfortunate colony or colonies. To fight against such an evil force, mere Mazzini's national ideology, based on national history, sentiment, traditions and memories and passions–though constituting by for the largest ingredient of the forces of nationalism and the noblest section of the motive power behind national revolution–is not quite enough.

Why does the present national revolution differ from that of Mazzinis ?

It is true that such an ideology, devotedly clung to and zeolously worked upon has helped the Poles, the Czechs, the Jews, the Arabs to achieve some kind of national homes and liberation at least for two decades. But so many other equally powerful but extraneous and world conditions like the last world war and the contradictions between the victors themselves and the victors and the vanquished had helped them so greatly. Therefore, a broadening of the base of national revolutionary ideology is made imperative by the growing complexity of the ramifications and tactics of imperialism. In the past, imperialism did not have as great and as intimate a hold over the masses as at present.

53. Both Mahathma Gandhi and Dr. Sun Yat Sen have been far-sighted enough to sense this change and so, they have included the social and economic fabric of their national peoples in their ideological perspective. Today the ideology of national revolution embraces not only Mazzinis approach and contribution, the Irish Patriots economic and political tactics, the Chinese three Revolutionary principles, Gandhijee's Non-Co-operation, constructive programme, Economic Demands indicating the substance of independance, Nehru's Socialist approach with the peasant as its centre and Kisan Congressites, interpretation of the Bombay 1942 August Resolution of the Congress, as offering to fight for peasants, workers and Praja Raj. It also includes the State Socialism or Capitalism demanded by Indian Notionalists and partially achieved in India and Mexico, Co Operatization of rural credit etc. as in India; co-operative socialism as visualised by the late Ramdas Pantulu, and controlled capitalism and agriculture too.

How did modern national Revolutionaries react to modern Imperialism ?

54. Even in its tactics, National Revolution has come to embrace many new items. Gandhijee has been making his experiments of waging national revolutionary struggles with non-violence as its weapon and also open conspiracy and that too with surprising and increasing successes. Dr. Sun, Gandhijee, Zaghul pasha have tried the experiment of building by an organised National Revolutionary Parliament. Dr.Sun's party has turned out to be completely totalitarian, after it had got rid of the communists. And the Indian Congress too is trying to achive a radical internal reorganisation to avoid the disruptive machinations of the

Tactics too are changing

C. P. The Atta Turk maintained till the end a tight dictatorship and De Velara has had to get on with a democratic dictatorship. Thus, a careful study of modern tendencies of national revolutions is badly needed.

55. National revolution, as it reaches higher stages of militant struggles against imperialism has to achieve higher and better integrated and more strongly disciplined revolutionary forces, to withstand the the usual imperialist tactics of disruption and division. No revolutionary force or party can effectively fight and hope to achieve success, as long as it does not insist upon strict discipline in action and wholehearted devotion to the greatest revolutionary force, that is nationalism, of the colonials and more or less complete agreement on the fundamental approach, national and international – that colonial nationalism can make towards the imperialist masters and contemporary world forces. But such an internal hegemony and strength and unity cannot be reached and has not been reached by any national revolutionary party, like the Congress or Kuomintang so long as it has included in its ranks the members of the communist party. Under the false plea of making it a national parliament the Indian and the chinese nationalists have allowed their respective parties to welcome communists. And the results have been most unfortunate. Just at the most crucial moments when Chiang was engaged in his Northern Expedition to subdue the war lords and unify china and when Gandhijee was engaged in his life and death struggle with the British in 1942–44, the Communists dealt almost morbal blows at the national revolution. So, no national revolution can assure itself of any success as long as it does

Can National Revolution take into partnership anti-nationalist elements and parties ?

not give up its former ideology of allowing an imperio in imperium; i. e of permitting people, owing other allegiances which are not at all in harmony with their national duty, to remain and occupy responsible positions in their revolutionary party. Morevoer, the Communists loyalty is not to nationalism but to social, their devotion is not to their motherland but to their Soviet Fatherland.

56. Because, a nationalist party which claims to be and aims at being the real spokesman and vehicle of national revolution, it must not harbour any other party which has or may have loyalties other than the nation and an immediate objective other than serving national revolution and national independence; this does not mean that it need totalitarian to-words its own membership and also the national masses whom it seeks to serve within itself, it has to be extremely democratic and it has to reach its decisions after the fullest possible democratic discussions both at the centre and in all the local units. At the same time once its decision is made there shall no longer be any discussion over it but only united and disciplined execution of it. India has had bitter experience of indecision as to the proper relation to be established between democracy and centralism and it is in ihe Light of 1939-40 experiences excrucisting as they have been – that we have to decide in favour of democratic centralism; which in practice may not be much different from the democratic dictatorship that Mahatma Gandhi and the working committee have practised with so much success.

Does not all this smack of totalitarialism ?

57. That the ordinary masses too have some dim-sense of their revolutionary needs and duties is demonstrated by the results of the 1944 General Election in the

Irish Free State.

Latest Irish vindication of the popular need for National Unity in National Revolution.

There grew the necessity for a unified national leadership to guide the Irish State through the difficult times of war. Ireland must remain neutral in this war to regain her national economic stability and also to dissociate herself from the British Imperialism and its career of imperial aggrandizement. But that was impossible so long as there was no democratic dictatorship or an effective National United Front. And the British diplomacy succeeded in encouraging sectional and diverse interests. De Velara appealed to the country for a clear mandate. And both the Labour and Farmer's parties too lost seats to him and the official opposition lost more seats and De Velara is given a clear majority. This displays the awareness of the Irish masses of the great and continuing need for a real democratic dictatorship, under known and tried revolutionary leadership, even after the achievement of national liberation to protect the nation from the machinations of rival imperialist powers. This also demonstrates the advisibility of the toiling classes like peasants and labour to continue their united front with the National Leadership long after the first attainment of national freedom, that is, until their national liberation is firmly secured and strengthened.

58. For how long we cannot say, but may be for a decade or two, national democratic unity has to be maintained by a newly liberated nation in-order to clear the debris of imperialism, to destory the social and political reactionary forces that used to prosper under imperialism, to put new life into the masses and raise them from out of age-old slough of despondency and inferiority complex, especially in economic matters, and to

Is not National Democratic Unity needed even after achieving National Liberation ?

definitely set them on the highway towards Socialist progress of the country. That anyhow is the lesson of the post-Liberation careers of Ireland, Turkey, and China. The decision of the Irish people has been in favour of retaining and strengthening the democratic dictatorship of De Velara. Could any other leader with any other mandate have stood up to the British and fought them into snch a reasonable and accommodating spirit over the cancellation of Land Annuities, more favourable trade terms and the respecting of Irish Neutrality in this War?

Mustapha Kamal Pasha is accused by the European writers of having maintained his dictatorship even after Turkey was liberated and unified. But could he have done otherwise? Would it have been possible for him, otherwise to achieve the many radical social reforms that he had actually achieved? To free women from their millennium old purdah, to introduce Latin script and to democratise the Turkish language, to change the very dress of people, to prevent the development of either foreign or Turkish capitalism and to encourage State capitalism etc., he needed the democratic dictatorship that he built upon.

In China too, Dr. Sun Yat Sen clearly visualized such a transitional but preliminary period of democratic dictatorship under his party. But because he committed the blunder of letting in the Communists, there could be no unity in the party. Owing to that initial failure to achieve national unity, China continues to be a prey of national disunity and disruption even after 6 years of Japanese aggression.

59. From the days of Italian national revolution, the question whether there should be complete unity in the leadership of national revolution has been exercising the

minds of national revolutionaries. Lenin decided that so far as socialist revolution was concerned, there should be complete unity in such a leadership. In that Italian revolution, there was triple leadership of Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi. But when things came to a head, both Mazzini and Garibaldi had to reconcile themselves to unified leadership under Cavour and his principal King Victor Emmanual. In Ireland too, when the Anglo Irish Treaty was concluded in 1921–22 and the Irish Republicans split on it, there could no longer be unity in that revolutionary leadership. Atta Turk too had to insist upon Turkey making her choice between him and his party and the rival party. In China and India, the national leadership could not make up its mind as to what elements could be allowed to remain in the main national revolutionary party and which of them could form a consistent, united and dynamic leadership. During the 1921–22 Non-Co-Operation and Khilafat agitation, there was nominally a duality of leadership; that is, the Congress and Khilafat committees; but in actual practice, the whole and real leaderahip came to be centred on Ghandhijee. During ihe 1924–30 Parliamentary period, though the so called No- Changers or Non–Parliamentarians were also a part of the Congress leadership, the real decisions lay with the Parliamentarians so far as Parliamentary work was concerned and the No–Changers could assert themselves, if they cared to, only in regard to the non-parliamentary politics and constructive work. But ever since 1936 Lucknow Congress, duality or even more complex elements began to infest the Indian National Congress, with very unhealthy and unprogressive results, which culminated in the Great Betrayal of August Revolution by the Communist Party.

Can there be duality in the leadership of national revolution ?

Mahathma Gandhi was perfectly right, when he claimed that there must be as much unity, decision and discipline in revolutionary leadership as can be had in a highly organised modern army. Whether actually engaged in the revolutionary struggle or engaged in preparations for such a struggle a national revolutionary leadership cannot adopt the suicidal policy of trying to harbour and reconcile two or more irreconcilable elements, or ideologies within its bosom. Mahathma Gandhi's wise advice to the 1929 Lahore Congress that its cabinet must be of one mind, was unfortunately departed from since Lucknow Congress and the sooner Congress goes back to it the better it will be. Both Dr. Sun and Pt. Nehru agreed to welcome the Communists into their respective national parties and in both eases, the consequences have been disastrous.

60. Even if for instance, the national Congress and Moslem League in India and Kuomintang and the C. P. in China find it absolutely essential to co-operate with each other in achieving national liberation by waging a united national struggle, their committee of action must be chosen in such a way as to be able to work with one mind. But will such a thing be possible? The Chinese experience is discouraging. It is so, mostly because, both-parties to the anti–Japanese coalition are interested in digging each other's graves. The English War-time coalition is a better example, since all parties are united in their patriotism and are also agreed over their electoral divisions. So, since the Moslem League can't hope to win over Hindu voters to its side and the Congress can't think of seducing Moslems from the League, there may be some chance for their coalition to work. Even then, there must be perfect

What if a coalition of Revolutionary parties agree to fight for national Revolution ?

understanding and comradely sympathy between their leaders.

Is there no danger of nationalism drifting into imperialism ?

61. Every one accepts that nationalism, when thwarted from free expression, becomes an extremely revolutionary force. During the last hundred years, it has played a great revolutionary role. But the basic nationalism of the masses has been exploited by many a political adventurer, a budding imperialist, a marauding capitalist and has been made the motive power and a spring board for imperial adventurers. So, quite a lot of prejudice has gathered round this great force of nationalism and almost all Western thinkers, whether of Bourgeois or Socialist persuasion, are only too anxious to warn people against exciting this extremely dangerous and double-edged force of nationalism. Hence the opposition to Indian National revolution offered by H. G Wells, Bertrand Russel, Upton Sinclair, Pandit Jawaharlal has answered them well by maintaining that dangerous though nationalism has been in the hands of Western nations because of their predatory adventures, it is certainly a healthy, progressive, dynamic and absolutely essential force in the life of colonial peoples, who have long been denied their right to national self-determination and who have been exploited to the uttermost limit by Western imperialists and whose natural progress has been violently stopped.

But we do not thereby mean that nationalism does not at all drift and degenerate into imperialism under all circumstances. Italy, once unified and emancipated, did not take long to dream of imperial adventures, despite Mazzini's inspiring gospel of Nationalism as a stepping stone to international brotherhood. Japan, once awakened

to the call of the modetn world and its opportunities of machine civilization, was not slow to graft Western spirit of modern imperialism to her rejuvenated nationalism. The chagrined and chastened post–War German nationalism did not hesitate to drink the Nazi philosophy of aggressive nationalism, stretching its arms into the forbidden ground of imperialism, all in the name of national honour and prestige. American democracy, which had long boasted of its respect for other peoples' right for freedom and self–determination, was willing to allow the first Roosevelt to stretch its imperial claws across the Pacific and hold Phillippines under its sway. Even the Argentinian Republic, which groans under the heavy palm of Anglo–American economic imperialism, does not mind indulging in imperial adventures and machinations against her neighbouring States, such as Uruguay, Paruguay. Even in Asia, and Africa, we have had the Iran Shah and Abyssinian Emperor, indulging in their imperial titles. Thus, the itch of glory, the fascination that the very idea of empire and the glamour of possessions are still popular enough to succeed in degenerating the healthy and wholesome nationalism of the masses into the extremely dangerous and suicidal imperialism. And modern finance capital, with its cantrol of markets,. exchanges, communications and mechanism of world money and manufactures continually perverts nationalism and diverts it into imbecile imperialism, the better to exploit both the so called imperial peoples and the subject masses. Such is the position of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Belgians, the Danes, the South Africans, the Australains, who are all flattered by their nominal imperialist domains but who are taken under the so called protective wings of Anglo–American imperialism and their Defence Forces. Therefore, the masses of the world have ever to be on their guard against allowing their basic and essential

nationalism to be prostituted for the sake of world capitalism, through the device of suicidal imperialism.

Will it be Possible to prevent nationalism from drifting into imperialism?

62- The history of the world during the last century shows that on the whole the people of most of the free countries do certainly manage not to flirt with the extremely dangerous idea of imperialism. After all when compared to the total number of peace-loving and nationally contented countries and peoples, those which have degenerated into imperialism have been comparatively few. Indeed, those countries which have had to struggle for long for national liberation and which had gone through the bitter, though exhilarating experience of national revolution like Ireland, Egypt and Turkey have shown great unwillingness to flirt with the idea of imperialism, because they have realised the horrors, costs and weaknesses of imperialism. It is wrong for the Anglo-American thinkers who have had experience of their own imperial-minded ruling classes to generalise for the rest of the world and then warn the national revolutionaries who are struggling against the imperialism of their own Anglo-American Governments and their satellites against their nationalist fervour and power.

How can we be assured that colonial nationalism will not race for imperialism?

63. Yet, one cannot be too careful, especially where nationalism can so easily don the robes of imperialism. The dominant Anglo-American imperialism has beeome so wily and so much impregnated with the machinations of modern capitalism that it is capable of slowly poisoning the mind of its satellites the present and the prospective - and drawing them as partners into its general political snare of imperia-

lism. For instance, until the beginning of the last war, Australians, South Africans and Canadians were quite content with making the best use of their national democratic freedom. But at the end of the war, Britain garlanded them wiih their "Sacred Trust" of mandates and drew them into the vicious but attractive company of imperialists; not as open imperialists but as the civilizing guardians of the uncivilized and backward peoples. Once their vanity was tickled and their status was raised from being mere nations into master-nations, those British Colonies began to develop their appetite for more and more wards or mandates and also more and more power over their new pupils, the so called backward peoples. In a less direct but equally pernicious manner, imperial capitalism can and does entice colonial capitalism into partnership in sharing the monopoly interests that the dominant imperial capitalism gains over the trade, industry and economic life of certain peoples and coúntries of the world. For instance, the Anglo-American capitalism is busy at the present moment with negotiations with Indian and Chinese capitalism for joint economic exploitation of Africa, Middle Eastern Asia, China and Eastern Asia. It is therefore most necessary for national revolutionaries to prevent the success of all such machinations. The only guarantee against such developments is the rapid development and popularisation of the anti-imperialist idealogy, with increasing stress on the economic issues for colonial national revolutionary movement. Fortunately Pandit Nehru has been strengthening the Gandhian Pacifist (non-violent) and anti-imperialist ideals and both he and Gandhijee have together provided a rich heritage of anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist ideology and practice to the Indian National Congress. Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek too has had to think and work upon the basis of consistent anti-imperialism.

64. It must be remembered that the dominant stream of dynamic tendency coming through the post-war national revolutions of colonies is anti-imperialist spirit. It is the duty therefore of every lover of world peace, and an advocate of national freedom or self-determination and socialist advancement of the masses to strengthen that tendency and see that the new post-war national revolutions will be immune from the treacherous manoeuvres of world Imperialism and also from the suicidal mania for conquests, mandates and "Sacred Trusts".

Anti-imperialist spirit the only best safeguard

And that will not be an impossible task, if the Indian example of raising the percentage of socialist ccntent of nationalism is followed by other national revolutions. Fortunately for Indian nationalism, Mahatma Gandhi has been moving speedily towards Socialism from nationalism and socialists from socialism towards nationalism; again Gandhijee has insisted upon resuscitating national self-sufficiency economy, with suitable modifications in conformity with the needs of the contemporary world and Panditjee upon evolving and executing a planned economy, with the basic industries mechanized and socialised and cottage industries fitted into a planned cooperative mechanism of research, finance, organisation and marketing. Thus, both of them, the assured Socialists, have been evolving a more comprehensive and constructive conception of socialism, thanks to the Russian experiences and Indian cultural and communistic ideals and traditions born out of and grafted on to the basic nationalism of Indian masses. By now, Indian Socialist ideals, as incorporated into the congress ideals and programmes and as also practised by the various agencies of the congress for constructive work, have come to be as advanced and

progressive as the Russian Socialism, in practice. If this tendency is further strengthened consciously, Independent India will be much farther from any ideas of imperialist ambitions than Leninist Russia had ever been. And the Bombay August Resolution of the Congress is an earnest of this consciousness of world responsibilities of Indian national revolution.

In conclusion, let it be noted that there is no better or greater guarantee against the spread of the cult of imperialism and degeneracy or diversion of national revolution into imperialist adventures than a vigorous campaign for the ending of all wars and for the establishment of a World Federation, with one and the only Defence, with all the nations free and equal in the eyes of one another and also those of the Federation and without their separate national Defence Forces. It is true that such an ideal cannot be reached or will not be allowed to be reached, so long as world capitalism and its projection, world imperialism prevail. But it is the task of the Socialist revolutions of the west and national revolutions of the colonial peoples which have to keep constantly before them these objectives of liquidating capitalism, its imperialism and also, the internecine wars and anarchy in international life and also the achievement of a world federation helping all the free and equal peoples of all nations to enjoy the benefits and results of Socialist planning of production and distribution and nationalist freedom, culture and civilization. Such in brief is the future programme, sketched out by the Indian National Congress, thanks to Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, such, indeed, is the only political solution for the contemporary problems of colonial countries,

Let us not forget that the way of H. G. Wells, Russels, Sinclairs is the way of escapism; the way of Stalin

is the way of Egyptian Sphinx and the way of premier Churchill and Roosevelt is the way of imperialism, clothed in flambuoyant nineteenth century liberal phraseology and the way of the Communists is the way of soviet dictatorship of the proletariat to be spread all over the world under the guise of spreading socialism. The way of National Revolution is the true way of anti-imperialism, and world liberation. Only the socialist revolution of the west can hope to come anywhere near National Revolution in its true revolutionary and inspiring role.

Will the bourgeoisie enthusiastically support National Movement ?

65. The evidence of history of the twentieth century national revolution indicates that the great majority of the bourgeoisie play quite a prominent part in the nationalist movement of their respective countries. Imperialists pay court so assiduously to capitalism that they oppress and annoy even the bourgeoisie of the colonial peoples and so, the latter have no other choice but to resent imperialism and become votaries of nationalism. From time to time, several of them may allow themselves to be bribed, frightened or bamboozled by imperialists but at no time are a majority of them bought over by imperialism. As the nationalist movement gains more and more mass support and attains revolutionary tempo, fewer and fewer of them are able to muster courage to openly oppose the nationalist movement and go over to the enemy. Therefore any moves on the part of national revolutionaries to isolate and expose them and treat them as virtual allies of imperialists and fight them as such is likely to do more harm to the National Revolution than good.

66. However, we cannot at all be sure that the bourgeoisie are likely to support and strengthen a Nationa-

list Revolution.

But will the bourgeoisie back up National Revolution ?

It is even possible that they may dissociate themselves from such a revolution. They may not, at the same time, range themselves on the side of the imperialists, in the name of law and order if Indian experience is any guidance. They may also not non-cooperate with government. They may play the part of belligerent neutrals on the side of their nationalism. The section that is likely to go over to the enemy and brave the public opinion during a revolution is sure to be insignificant.

67. Even Stalin has had to admit that in countries like Morocco, the bourgeoisie can be revolutionary. Lenin too conceded that colonial bourgeoisie would be capable of and would also be obliged to join National Revolution.

Will not the colonial bourgeoisie be revolutionary under any circumstances ?

The Mexican, Chilian, Brazilian bourgeoisie had on the whole been revolutionary and anti-imperialistic, solely because they wanted to free their countries and themselves from the control of European and American economic imperialism. The Chinese and Burmese bourgeoisie have been definitely revolutionary despite the C. P. assertions to the contrary. And who can say that the British have been satisfied with the belligerent neutrality with occasional spasms of unwilling co-operation that Indian bourgeoisie had displayed during every one of our national struggles. Some even maintain that a good section of the Indian bourgeoisie has actively supported Indian revolutions. Therefore, it is on the whole safe for any national revolutionary movement not to alienate the local bourgeoisie; to be content with its neutrality in revolutionary times and with its lukewarm support during ordinary times and never

to force it wholesale to get into the embraces of imperialism. It will be a tragedy for National Revolution to pursue the Comintern cum Stalin (1923) inspired policy of fighting the bourgeoisie and splitting the nationalist forces. If however any section of the bourgeoisie goes over to the enemy, it can and must be fought determinedly.

68. Then there are the African countries which are even today very largely under the tribal economy. There is no appreciable bourgeoise class or proletarian class. The imperialists try to subdue their peoples through bribing their tribal chiefs with some political power, a show of some state authority and also by various requisites. For fear they may lose even that little influence with their overlords and power over their tribal peoples, most of the chiefs wish to continue to pay homage to their imperial masters. So, they may not like to join any revolutionary movement.

What about countries with tribal organisation ?

But, if only nationalists know how to gain their 'ear' and rouse their tribal self-respect and kindle their memories of former independence, it will not take long to win quite a good number of these chiefs as enthusiastic supporters for the national movement. The Gandhian nationalistic constructive programme is sure to raise the economic strength of the tribes, and their fighting capacity and embolden them to venture upon a non-cooperation campaign. In short, the great bulk of the tribal chiefs can be won over for the National Revolution. So, a real National United Front can be built up, not on the C. P. lines but on the Gandhian lines. We will go to details at a later stage.

69. One objective is common to all colonies; whatever be their status, political and economic. And that is,

to struggle against imperialism – political or economic or, both political and economic and to win complete national emancipation. It is true that quite a large number of colonies, especially those in Africa and a good number of those in the Pacific islands are not yet fully aware of their anti–imperialistic historical mission and have not begun to move consciously against imperialism. But whether they are conscious of it or not, the very historical events of the forties and the revolutionary upheavals that this Second World War is creating are forcing everyone of them to move unmistakably in the direction of national liberation and anti–imperialist sttruggles.

What are the objectives of National Movements ?

The other objective is only a consequential one. That is, all the colonies are obliged to clamour for a World State with one Defence Force, to maintain the freedom of all nations and countries and to help every country and people to devise just those political, social and economic institutions and relations as are suited best to them and as can ensure the rapid progress in every sphere of their life. They desire to be freed from the bondage of their present imperial masters and to be assured of immunity from any future aggression–either political and military or economic from any of the bigger and more powerful nations or people.

Countries like India which have yet to gain their political and economic freedom and those like Mexico and Brazil which have to gain only economic freedom, are striving for the fulfilment of these two complementary objectives. Even the African peoples can and do cherish these objectives.

70. The ordinary people may not even be able to comprehend their political significance in their everyday

life. Is there a more appealing and intimate objective? There is. It is their demand to be recognised as free and independent people by the post-war World Federation or any other organisation that the post war world may bring into existence for maintaining peace in the world. Such an objective will appeal, it is true, only to those countries like India, Arabian States, African States, the Pacific Islands etc., which have not yet won their political freedom. But it will be a powerful and dynamic objective that is capable of setting aflame hundreds of millions of people and rushing them headlong on the road to revolution and freedom.

Demand for recognition as Free People

India has taken easily 45 years before she could muster courage to demand complete independence and severance of her political contacts of bondage with the British Empire. But political events are moving so fast and the political progress of the world is moving by such leaps and bounds that within 14 years after her declaration of her will to be completely free from imperial bondage, the British Government has had to publicly avow its readiness to let India secede from the Empire, if she so desired and formulate her own constitution through her democratically elected constituent Assembly. Thus, what Lenin and Gandhijee have said is quite true; that nations and countries are able to achieve as much progress in a few months or years of revolutionary portent as they do during as many of the ordinary and dull decades or centuries. Moreover, the experience of the rest of the world, particularly of the white colonial world, is there at the disposal of any colonial people and they can learn from and improve upon it and thus save themselves from many a pitfall and gain strength and inspiration from the achievements of

similarly placed but earlier awakened peoples. Therefore there can be nothing preposterous or unattainable for the colonial peoples of other countries to start their political agitation from the point to which India had reached in 1929 December after 44 years of arduous political career. That is, it is quite practical politics for them to set the gear of their political tempo from the rising and expanding vista of complete independence. To aim at their national independence and to claim Swaraj is the 'birth right' of every colonial, in terms of the inspriring slogan of Lokamanya Tilak. No people can grow into a nation and no country can ever reach independence unless they are bold enough to determine to achieve national freedom and complete independence from all bondage to imperialism.

71. In every country there are many weak-hearted people who feel that they ought not to attempt to jump at one stage from their present petitioning pose into the almost giddy heights of demanding complete independence. But they fail to take advantage of world events and also of the ever rising tempo of political and economic general progress of all peoples of the world. It is true that most of the Negroes of African States or the Red Indians of the South American States may not be fully conscious of the political significance of the new ecnomic relations that are interpolated into their everyday life. But the ravages caused by the World Markets, the unequal Exchange Relations and Currency Manipulations that their imperial masters have introduced into their economic life are causing increasing poverty and unavailing hard toil; and even if the people concerned are as yet unable to understand by themselves, the cause and effect of their economic conditions, it does

Is it not better to start with a more moderate demand ?

not take much time or trouble for any one of the politically conscious and spiritually (ideologically) emancipated leader to help the masses to understand the real causes for their growing pauperisation and the continued depression of their social and political conditions. Whether they like it or not, every people are being dragged into the vortex of the modern imperialism and its principal capitalism which are gathering more and more speed and strength like a whirl-wind. And also, whether they are consciously made aware of it or not by their rulers, the sorry figure cut by their imperial masters in this Second World War, the exposure of the brittle and euphemral and unedifying character of their culture, civilisation and religious professions, together with the growing participation by the colonial peoples in the manipulation of the modern weapons of warfare and in the wartime cosmopolitan social atmosphere are destroying whatever inferiority complex the Negroes and Red Indians must have suffered from and what little hesitation they had had to aim at the abolition of what must have appeared to them, till 1940, to be the invincible imperialist power of their masters. Any revolutionary nationalist who fails to take advantage of this extraordinary and exceptionally progressive spirit and atmosphere of the new age ushered in by the Second World War will be failing in his revolutionary duty. Any nationalist who does not respond to this rising water-mark of spiritual exaltation of subject peoples by a correspondingly emboldened higher tempo of national demands betrays his people and fails in his historical mission. Any anti-imperialist who does not take advantage of this sudden fall in the prestige of imperialism and the opening of the flood gates of disillusionment regarding the super-structure of imperialist supremacy and strength betrays his revolutionary mission. And any Socialist who does not pursue a consistent anti-imperialist career

and who betrays the colonial people into the imbecile and pre-1914 methods of paying and working for the triumph of his imperial masters is a counter-revolutionary of the worst type.

72. As practical politicians, we may have to admit that most of the colonial peoples may not be able to achieve complete independence soon after the war, for their mere asking for it. It may even be true that if they pitch their demand much lower, they can have the satisfaction of achieving correspondingly much greater success. But, not to demand the recognition of their national independence is to run the grave risk of postponing for an indefinite period, the achievement of their national independence and allowing their imperial masters to take advantage of their hesitation about independence and make it appear, that their subjects cannot even hope of ever attaining their national independence.

Once the recognition of national independence is not insisted upon, it is easy for the imperialists to set up before the colonial masses, the extremely elusive and delusive ideal of self-government, 10 be attained, not in the very near future but in a remote future. And self-govetn-ment is by no means anything like national liberation and it is not at all intended to emancipate the concerned people from all vestiges of political imperialism, not to speak of economic imperialism. The moment the ennobling and historical objective of national liberation is not visualised and if visualised, is not clung to passionately and any lower, less ennobling and historically reactionary objective, like self-government or responsible government or representative institutions or fiscal autonomy or

Beware of the dangers of demanding anything less than the recognition of their complete independence

Provincial autonomy or economic and social socurity programmes, is adopted as their national programme, as sure as anything, the imperialists will succeed in making this lower and reactionary objective appear to be not easily attainable and attempt to delay even its achievement for as long as possible.

73. It was General Smuts, that arch-imperialist of the British Empire and the advocate of Kiplings' obnoxious gospel of "White Man's Burden" and the statesmen of the "Ku-Klux-Klan" creed of Americanism and colour politics who initiated this extremely attractive but treacherous slogan of "Sacred Trust of Civilization". Under this delusive gospel, he has helped the victorious powers of the last war to grab the erstwhile German, Turkish possessions and incorporate them into their imperial domain but under the new category of mandates. These imperial powers were supposed to hold these mandates as 'sacred trust for civilization' and to take upon themselves the highly exalted mission of training the socalled backward peoples of these mandates in modern methods of government, and civilised ways of life. In order to ensure greater support for their growing empires and also for the newly conceived ideas of holding empires under attractive, if false, captions, the older imperial powers took into partnership many a new European and American nation and invested them, (with the Imperial status). though without the usual sacrament and annointment of the Church. Thus it was that several British Dominions acquired their new imperial status, under the guise of mandatary powers and the older but second rate empires acquired newer possessions.

What about the ideal of 'Sacred Trust' of civilization ?

How these mandatary powers had misbehaved towards the unfortunate mandates and their peoples is known to

all who read, Pandit Jawaharlal's "Glimpses of World History" and who have followed the bloody course of contemporary relations of Great Britain, France, South Africa, Belgium, Japan with their unfortunate mandatory peoples. The Jews and Arabs of Palestine, the Arabs of Syria, the peoples of Irak and Trans-Jordania, the Nigroes of West Africa and others have had to drink deep in the bitter and bloody spring-waters of imperial oppression and repression. Easily thirty years have elapsed since the beginning of the first world war and clearly twenty two years of world peace were enjoyed by the mandatory powers since these mandates were entrusted to them; yet not one country – not even excepting the namesake independent country of Irak has been helped by the Mandatory powers to attain real national liberation.

74. Many used to think and I was one of them that the main cause for this miserable failure of the "Sacred Trust" was the failure of the League of Nations to empower itself with the right to interfere in the internal administration of the mandates; to fix the time-limits for the achievement of specific political and economic reforms and to allocate those mandates, not to anyone but to a number of imperial or other mandatory powers. We established the League of Coloured Peoples in London in 1931 to achieve these and other similar objectives. But we have since realized, especially after the self-exposure of the imperial ambitions of Smuts, Churchill, Eden and even such a democratic American internationalist as John Gunthur, that we were wrong in starting with the initial assumption that any one or more of the socalled civilised nations could be expected to work for the advancement of the socalled backward peo-

What is the main cause for the failure of this "Sacred Trust" ?

ples, that we have committed the gravest blunder in accept ing the prevailing unspiritual and unedifying classification of some nations as "civilised" and that we had abandoned the very birth-right and historical mission of the coloured and other colonial peoples by not insisting upon the recognition by the world as a whole of their right to national liberation and independence. We know now, because of the world's failure to realise the right of the colonical peoples to attain national independence, it has become possible for Smuts to dream of controlling the whole of the socalled Black Continent in the name of civilisation through the the vicious claws of South African Race-Mad Whites; for Premier Churchill to indulge in the 18th century bandit-ideology of "we shall hold what we possess" and for John Gunthur to become apologetic towards thə growing American political control over the West Indies and other Atlantic and Pacific possessions. The present day British concession that they accept their accountability to the League for their rule in Colonies is another deceptive inperialist move. Once the right of any people to national independence is recognised and they are treated as indepenndent people, the whole attitude of all other peoples changes towards them. They may be in need of much assistance, moral and material, and other peoples may be welcomed to offer whatever assistance they can. But all outside assistance – the nature, variety, quantity and canalization of it has to be chosen and welcomed and tested by the people concerned. Once this right is recognised and the colonial people are treated as the real masters in their own land, all outsiders, however numerous, intelligent, expert, powerful and developed they may be, will know how to serve them, without any sense of superiority; how to train them without looking down upon them and how to uplift them without any idea of gaining a vested interest. The colonial

people too will learn, once they are all made to feel that their country is their own, their national independence is a generally recognised possession and their fate is in their own hands, how to welcome outside experts, teachers, and technicians without any sense of inferiority complex, how to play the'modern arts and crafts without losing their sense of propriety and national needs. The moment the relations of master and servant are replaced by those of comrades, a veritabe psychological revolution will set in and the colonial people can be expected to make repid progress on their road of adapting their country and institutions to the modern world and its tempo of progress of civilisation.

It is because such a relationship of comradeship was not established between colonial countries and the victors of the last war and because the League of Nations did not take upon itself the responsibility of treating the colonial peoples as free and equal in the eyes af all humanity, once their former imperial masters were declared the vanquished and also of obliging all other peoples to treat them as free peoples and help them in a friendly and progressive manner, the world has had the sorry spectacle of the socalled "Sacred Trust" being disecrated in broad daylight and the mandatory peoples being degraded into the position of chattels and play-things of rival imperialisms.

75. In mediaeval times, kings used to consider their kingdoms as their personal properties and their peoples as their subjects. Whenever they liked, they used to sell or make a free gift of portions of their kingdoms to other kings, without a thought about the feelings of their subjects. It was not much different from the manner in which the slave owners used to sell, mortgage or lease out their slaves. This morbid idea has not yet left the mind of the modern

imperialists who are the modern descendents of those ancient and mediaeval autocrats has become clear when after the last war, the colonial possessions of the vanquished were divided up by the victors but with the twentieth century screen and make believe of a "Sacred Trust". That even this war has not raised the United Nations to any higher ideals or practices is demonstrated by the fact of the transfer of the administration of a number of West Indies and Caribbean Islands from European States to the American States. Even John Gunthur has found it impossible to condemn this pernicious practice because of his growing imperailist unction. Before this Second World War began, some of the British imperialists and administrators were mooting the idea of a re-transfer to Germany of her former colonies. And the Kenya Indians had to protest against such an idea and a possible imperialist deal.

How can colonial peoples be transferred from one master to another?

The only way by which such an immoral idea and practice can be dealt a death blow and a peaceful and progressive present and future can be assured to colonial peoples is to recognise their national independence and their right to achieve their right to achieve their own national progress along lines determined by themselves but on the advice and guidance of the whole humanity as represented by the future World Federation. This liberation must be extended to all colonies; the last war's mandates, and this war's new acquisitions and also all the other colonial countries, possessed for some time by any of the imperial powers of the modern world. There shall be no more colonies. That must be the slogan of all freedom-loving people.

Therefore, the idea of the Pacific Relations Conference and Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek, that instead of single-

power mandatory control, there must be multi-power control and that the multi-power accountability for their discharge of Sacred Trust is also wrong and frought with pernicious consequences. It does not in any way liberate humanity and colonials in particular from the obnoxious traditions of exchanges of chattels from one master to a Joint Stock Company of masters.

76. So, the uttermost minimum demand - the most urgent and the most intimate - of all colonial peoples must only be that their national idependence must be recognised and their freedom – political and social and economic–be respected by the prospective World Order and by all the other peoples of the world. This is the objective of nationalist movement. This alone can be complementary demand that national movement can make and fight for, as against its world enemy imperialism, even while from the other end, the toiling masses of the imperial and other capitalist countries are trying to destroy the same world force of imperialism by achieving Socialist revolution.

The minimum demand of colonials

77. In the nineteenth century, so many interested Europeans spread the mischievous and utterly false notion that the Negroes were a backward people–backward in their mind, social organisation, personal cleanliness and habits and mechanical arts and modern equipment of civilisation. They were busy creating the disastrous impression that the Negroes were suicidal–minded, were constantly at war with each other, were addicted to cannibalism, head hunting and human sacrifices and so on. Thus was created a deep

Can the Negroes of Africa appreciate such a demand ?

prejudice against them in the mind of all those who were under the influence of Western thinkers.

But the twentieth century studies of anthropologists, psychologists and other socialogists have proved quite conclusively that there is essentially no qualitative difference between the brains of a Negro or a European and a Negroe's intelligence is as keen and perceiving as that of a European. The intelligence tests made on the emigrant but domiciled Negroes of U. S. A. have revealed the same facts. And today, whenever and wherever opportnnities are given, even the descendants of the former Negro slaves of U. S. A. and West Indies have displayed their exceptional abilities in scientific research and mechanical arts and also in beau arts.

As for theit abilities to govern themselves, there is abundant evidence to show that their history is full of their succeesful attempts at building up tribal and inter-tribal governments and also empires, raising, training and leading highly efficient armies and maintaining law and order, not only in mere policing activities but also in all the productive and distributive activities of all their peoples.*

Regarding the selfgoverning institutions about which Europeans boast so much, it can be safely asserted that Negroes too have developed fairly satisfactoty methods of self-government through their clan and tribal social araangements and also the rule of their chieftains and the councils of their family chiefs. Even today, all their social and economic life, in their socalled "Reserves" is subject to their own tribal customs and the interpretation of them by their Courts and despite all their boasts, the European imperial State touches hardly more than the fringe of their life.

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* Note—See "Races of Africa" of the Home University Library.

It is highly presumptuous of any European or imperialist to maintain that the Negroes are incapable of appreciating the need for and advantages of making such a demand for national liberation. Indeed, the successors of the transplanted Negroes of the slave age of West Indies have already raised their demand for Dominion Status and have launched upon their revolutionary career and inflicted quite a number of serious blows on British and Freneh imperialism. So, the African Negroes too can come to be revolutionary and dynamic in their endeavours to win freedom from European domination, if only a leader like Gandhijee coins the magic phrase and inspiring and well adapted programme that the Mahathma has provided for the Indian masses. After all, most of the African Negro tribes were independent right up to 1870 and these seventy years of slavery has not yet succeeded in sapping their deep and strong currents of love of independence and Swaraj.

78. Irrespective of the differences in their economic, political and cultural conditions, the minimum political demand of all the politically enslaved peoples and countries is the same. And that is, their demand for their political and economic emancipation and for the recognition of their national independence by all other nations. Anything less than this, no people of any colony can ask for and if there is any section of them who do not support such a demand and who even oppose it, it is nothing but reactionary and counter-revolutionary. More than this, it is possible for many colonies to fight for, for instance, India desires to achieve economic and cultural independence also. Many of the South American States demand religious independence from the control of Rome. All the South American

The minimum demand is the same for all colonial peoples

States attempt to emancipate themselves from the control of economic imperialism and priesthood. So was the case with the pre-war China. The uneven development of colonies can influence not this minimum demand but the methods and means by which it is to be attained.

79. If we look into the history of nationalist movements of India and China, we find that though the imperialist oppression may be continuously growing, either some outsiders or some exceptionally sensitive local people have taken the lead in initiating a nationalist movement.

How and by whom a national movement is begun or is to be begun

The introduction of English education and the debt of some Indian intelligentsia in the realm of world's current of thought had certainly helped India to think of her need to oppose the imperialist oppression. Yet a few noble-minded Englishmen like Hume, Wedderburn, Cotton took special interest and realised the need of India for political rights. The spiritual renaissance, fermented by Swami Vivekananda and the researches made by Ramesh Chunder Dutt and Dadabhoy Naorozee into the economic effects of British imperialist domination over India were the formative influences to give shape to India's nationalism. But India had to wait for nearly 22 years before she could realise her revolutionary mission and it happened, as suddenly as any revolutionary situation generally reaches the boiling point, over the forcible and arbitrary separation of Bengal into two sections, by Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy, without giving as much as a thought to the feelings of the people. In China too, the American Missions, Hospitals, and Colleges and Schools did much to create quite an effective impact of modern western civilisation upon the ancient and stay-put Chinese culture

and one of the products of such a cultural fermentation was Dr. Sun Yat Sen, and the Soong family. It was however the unashamed and intense imperialist exploitation of China by the imperialist powers led by Great Britain; the forcible importation of the hated opium; the series of national humiliations heaped upon the Manchu Emperor that brought the nationalist resentment to a fever heat and set China on her revolutionary career.

Christian missionaries have been very active in African countries and among Negroes for the last seventy years. But somehow, they have not succeeded in stimulating as much cultural interest among Negroes. It is mostly because the poor Negroes were too much overwhelmed and overawed by the dazzling western mechanical arts, with their gun powder and machine guns as their best spokesman. Instead of reacting in as aggressive, and independent a manner as the Indians and Chinese have done to this new civilisation and working out their own synthesis and progressing they have chosen to withdraw themselves into their forest reserves for food and into their traditional social life for cultural satisfaction. And in this, they are in no way exceptional. The mediaeval Indians too withdrew thus into peninsular India when confronted by the aggressive and conquering Arabs and their intolerant "Islam". They had however half a millennium to work out their own advanced cultural synthesis, through the cults of Bhakti, hero worship, Sikhs, and Maharashtra cult of blood and sword. It is after all, not even a century since the African Negroes have been subjected to this intolerable modern imperialism. So, none need be surprised at the failure of this Christian and imperialist impact upon Negro social economy and culture to throw up any national leadership in any of the African countries to initiate a nationalist movement.

The Christian missions have done irreparable harm to the African Negroes because of their failure to make a sympathetic and systematic socialogical study of Negro social and economic organisation and political traditions. And consequently the few Negroes who had been trained by them could only venture to work as teachers, nurses, and join the lower cadres of services and technicians. The Arab and Indian immigrants have also failed miserably to make any progressive contribution to these peoples and to kindle any nationalist urge among them. Hence the unfortunate lull in the public life of African peoples.

The Indonesians too seem to be in need of a match being put into them. A couple of centuries ago, a half caste Javanese schemed to raise a rebellion against their Dutch masters, with the aid of the Chinese immigrants, Unfortunately it was discovered a few days previous to the date of revolt and the leader and a large number of his followers were cruelly butchered.

Recently there has been some nationalist movement. But the nationalists were split in twain, the moderates being content with demanding some more constitutional reforms and the extremists demanding full "Home Rule". The Japanese invasion and occupation of these Islands has changed every thing, we know not, in what direction. So far (1945 April) we have not heard that any independent Indonese political regime is set up – even as such puppet regimes go in these war times.

The romance of Lawrence of Arabia is told by the Hutchisons publication by an American journalist, with the caption "With Lawrence in Arabia". One can see from it, how much a genius though of a foreign origin could do, provided he is aided by such an exceptional

crisis as a World War, by the militaty assistance of an outside world-power like Great Britain, and also by the combustible and proud peoples who go under a prouder imperial regime.

What is the lesson that one can draw from such instances? That at times, outside help and initiative can be of some use. That at certain crucial moments, an outsider or a number of foreigners can certainly be able to render signal service to a colonial people by rousing them to the realisation of their plight and by putting a match to their highly inflamed feelings and experiences and giving the much needed start to their local nationalist inovement. That such outside influences as a new religion, culture can rouse a people.

80. Unfortunately the results of most cases of such interference by or initiative of foreigners have not been happy. The Christian missionaries have created more ill-will than good-will. The Arabs and Indians have been in colonial politics only for their own benefit.

Role of Communists unsuited to colonies

The communists have also been playing for their own party interests, besides introducing wrong and unsuitable policies and programmes. Their part in Chinese and Indian, Burmese and Javanese politics has been most reprehensible.

The Christian missionaries end in supporting European or American imperialism, and the communists support the Soviet Russian leadership. If ihe former succeed in proselftising some Negroes, they only isolate them from the rest of their peoples, and the communists too do the

same, if at all they are able to gain a few adherents among Negro youth. Both the newly converted Christian and Communist Negro youths share the common vice of looking down upon the other Negroes, their social traditions and functions and effecting a strange sense of superiority, so much so, they make themselves disqualified ever to touch the hearts of the masses and winning them over to the national cause of progress.

Moreover, the communist is not only unfitted but is also positively harmful to the colonial nationalist work. For, apart from his snobbery and new fangled ways of dismissing everything with scant courtesy, everything that smacks as Negro culture and tradition, he is tied down so tightly to the apron things of Soviet Russian foreign policy and to the inapplicable, all world embracing mandates of the communist international that he does more harm than good to the Negro National Cause. However much Stalin may insist, for the guidance of the Russian Communists that they should not ignore "the peculiarities of social life and culture", of different peoples and that they should take into account "all the peculiarities of economic life, class structure and historical past" of such peoples, the communist-copyists of other countries turn out to be the votaries of "Russian Great power chauvinism" Moreover, these colonial Communists are so incapable of working out an independent ideology of national revolution, as a complement to the western ideology of social revolution, both intended to converge their forces, starting from two opposite ends, upon their common enemy, the world imperialism, that they vainly try to foist on the colonials, their European-minded and Russian certified (under-written) proletarian revolution and thus give an entirely wrong turn to colonial revolution.

81. There is a mistaken notion in certain quarters that a national movement tends to stimulate and strengthen colonial capitalism and therefore they argue that no socialist ought to join and work in it. Through the very force of circumstances, colonial nationalists are obliged to advocate more the development of national state capitalism and even state socialism than the strengthening of private enterprise. What is the greatest curse of modern imperialism? That its finance–capital controls most of the investments in colonies and manages large number of mines, Factories, Banks, Railways, Shipping etc. Every nationalist is burning with the desire to liquidate this economic imperialism. He knows that in most of the colonies, the local capitalists are not in a position to buy off the foreign capital and also the management and goodwill of foreign enterprise. So he is obliged to advocate and fight for the nationalisation of all such foreign capital, and enterprise. In fact, in India, the National Congress has been demanding, with increasing success, the state purchase of railways and their management from the British capitalists. There is a cry, even today, to buy off all other foreign investments in India. What is interesting is that the demand is not at all for handing over these enterprises for the Indian private capitalists.

Does Nationalism help capitalism?

82. Further, colonial nationalism can be simultaneously so socialistic and revolutionary as to entertain and execute the idea of confiscating foreign investments. For instance, the Indian National Congress resolved at its Karachi session in 1931 that all foreign liabilities of India, which could not be proved to have been contracted definitely in the interests of India, should be cancelled.

The Cardenaz Government of Mexico confiscated all the oil and other properties and investments of Anglo-Americans and handed them over to the management of the proletariat concerned. The De Velara Government repudiated the payments of land annuities, once imposed upon slave Ireland in return for the socalled abandonment of the lands by the English landlords. The Indo-China Government decreed that no foreign capitalist should export any capital from beyond its borders. Thus, colonial nationalism can be and is revolutionary and socialistic in its attitude towards foreign capitalism. Since it is accustomed thus to the idea and growing practice of State capitalism and the advantages thereof, it tends to be unwilling and chary to encourage the development of local capitalism. If it is reinforced by conscious socialist outlook, as is increasingly the case in India, thanks to Gandhijee and Nehru, it can be expected to prevent any further growth and strengthening of colonial capitalism.

Nationalism can be Socialistic

83. The very dynamics of modern imperialism produces its antithesis, nationalism of the colonial peoples. Similarly the impact of World capitalism upon the colonial peoples, through the world Markets, their unequal exchanges and the consequent draining of peasant's wealth into the coffers of the industrial and commercial classes both within the concerned colonial countries and also of the industrial and imperialist countries gives rise to a Socialist revolt. Imperialism must be fought both as a political domination and as an engine of economic exploitation through it and for the sake of its principal, capitalism. And that two-fold

Why colonial Nationalism must become Socialistic ?

struggle can be waged by colonial peopoles only with their two great weapons of nationalism and socialism. That is why, most of the colonial nationalists have had to make their approach towards Socialism, even while remaining loyal to their main source of inspiration; that is 'nationalism.

Hence, also, the continuous rise of the Socialistic Content of Indian nationalism and of the programme of National Congress. True, both Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Sun were conscious of the unsuitability of the western Socialist thesis for colonial peoples; yet they have realised that they could formulate their altenatives to world Imprialism and its disguised capilatist exploitation only through their own independent Socialist approach. Hence their contribution; the Socialistic nationalism of the colonial peoples.

But there is a great and fundamental difference between Gandhiji's Socialist approach and that of the western proletarian Socialists, the former wants social freedom and justice for all the toilers, based upon democracy and therefore favours Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj, while the latter are wedded to Marxist Leninix dogma of proletarian dictatorship, based upon the proletariat alliance with and the leadership of the great masses of peasantry. Gandhijee stands for the peasant and the western Socialist stands for the proletariat and while the former's democracy promises a fair deal for all other classes of toilers, the latter's dictatorship of the proletariat threatens to condemn peasants and professional classes to eternal subjection and to eventual metamorphosis into the proletariat.

Colonial people's socialism accepts the peasants as the fulcrum of colonial national revolution and also as an eternal class. It accepts and invites the other two classes of toilers also as equal partners in colonial revolution. Such is the nature of socialistic nationalism of more than half the world.

84. Anyhow care will have to be taken not to let private capitalism gain new wings or legs. India is today at the threshold of tremendous development of basic industries, thanks to her rapidly accumulating sterling assets. The Indian capitalists are scheming to enter into a deal with Anglo-American finance capital to achieve an international capitalist hegemony, with themselves as the presiding deities, over the industrial development of India. Unless the national revolutionary leadership of India is sufficiently wide awake to this danger, displays enough of grit and socialistic planning and insists upon India's development either under State auspices or under those of controlled capitalism with a limited lease of power, say for 20 years, India is likely to lose her best opportunity to set her people on the right road of progress and prosperity. Similar will be the need of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico which are also bidding fair to accumlate vast sterling and dollar securities and thus become creditor countries at the end of the war. The future alone can decide whether national revolution can be equally socialistic.

Beware of Capitalists' Plans

Success in this direction can be ensured for the world cause of national revolution, if, to start with, liberated countries manage to gain social control over their key financial services, like the banking, currency and foreign exchanges, foreign trade and modern means of communication. and co-operatise their cottage industies, and agriculture and develop their national self-sefficiency economy. Then and then alone, can nationalists venture upon a policy of industrial development under controlled capital, on the lines of the New Economic Policy of Soviet Russia.

85. The minimum that has to be aimed at is a National planning for the all-round agricultural, industrial, economic

and social development of every colony, under the leadership, guidance and supervision of its national government. Whether it can succeed or not, nationalist movement of every country has to strive for a series of economic readjustments and developments in order to successfully fight not only world imperialism but also world capitalism comprising colonial and imperial capitalism. Such a plan must be centred on the village and revolve around the peasant and industries must help and not master the peasant and the proletariat.

What plan is needed ?

86. Colonial nationalism has yet to try to achieve a much bigger and more urgent task, that is, it has to fight against the present unequal exchange relations that prevail in the foreign trade between colonies which are predominantly agricultural and imperial countries which are predominantly industrial. Taking advantage of their imperial and industrial supremacy and their control over the modern means of communications especially shipping and over the mechanism of foreign exchanges and trade and world markets, the industrial powers manage to fix much higher prices for the services of their peoples as embodied in their manufactured goods and much lower prices for the services of the colonials as embodied in their agricultural produce and force upon the colonials, over–valued manufactured goods and extract from them their under-priced agricultural produce, through their manipulations over the foreign exchanges, currency policies and world markets. Thus, though England appears to be, for all practical purposes, deriving no visible booty from India, by way of any capital or annual payments of cash given over by Goverment of India to Government of Great

A bigger task of fighting unequal exchanges.

Britain, actually huge booty is being derived from India by Great Britain through these unequal exchange relations. Like her invisible imports, there is also invisible flow of India's resources and the results of the hard work of her toilers into the homes of the British people, through the comparative cheapness of all the Indian goods imported into England, as compared with the abnormally and unjustifiably higher prices charged for corresponding services rendered by the British but as embodied in their exports.

And this aweful, incessant and ever increasing drain of colonial resources flows not only into the coffers of the concerned imperial powers but also into the coffers of all other industrial countries and peoples, wherever they may be. So the problem of relieving the distress of the colonial peoples and saving them from this drain is inextricably tied up with the problem of eliminating the capitalist exploitation of the world by world capitalism. The plight of those countries which are politically free is only a little less miserable than that of those unfortunate countries which are subject to both political and economic imperialist supremacy. Therefore nationalist movement has to continue its work and has to go on from one revolutionary struggle to another, until these unequal exchange relations are ended, until they smash the supremacy of world capitalism over world markets and until they gain complete freedom of action vis-a–vis the capitalist control of dominant foreign exchanges, currencies and world Monetary Schemes and plans. This means, that colonial nationalism has to aim at the building up of national economic seif sufficency economy – more liberal and less militarised than the Euoopean Autaky – and making every country as independent of world capitalism and its weapons, the world markets, currencies and exchanges as possible.

87. This world movement of national liberation can and must aim at the linking up of the economic and political programmes and offensives against world imperialism and capitalism in order to maximise its impact upon the common enemies and also to ensure the greatest success for the colonial peoples. For instance, if the Governments of all the politically free colonies are prepared to come to some agreement between themselves reagarding their plans of self-sufficiency and also their planning of exportable or commercial crops, even the Governments of countries like India which are under the control of their masters, will also have to fall in line, due to the pressure of nationalist movement. Then if all or most of such agricultural countries manage to work out their plans of crop-planning and storage of surplus stocks for one, two or more years, than it may be possible for them to oblige the imperial and other industrial nations to disgorge much of their present ill-gotten booties and agree to more equal exchanges of their goods for the colonial goods, then and then alone, can colonial people attain their first big and real opportunity to progress in this world of economic strife and competition.

How are Colonial Peoples to cooperate ?

To plan and achieve these series of offensives against world imprialism and capitalism, it is not Socialist revolution that is indispensable but national revolution that is possible, and indispensable. The greatest motive force behind any such world offensive against world capitalism cannot be so much the Socialist Revolution of the western conception and experience as the nationalist revolution of the India cum Mexican conception and experience. Thus, we see, that this movement of national revolution has its world mission and role to play. It cannot be replaced nor can it

be liquidated by Socialist Revolution. It can be accepted, if it so chooses, as a complement by Socialist Revolution.

What role do politically free colonies play in this world offensive against imperialism ?

88. So many European historians assume that once a country achieves its political freedom, it settles itself down to bourgeois democracy and no longer bothers about such world forces as world capitalism and imperialism. Socialists who accept this bourgeois mis-reading of history also decry the role of national revolution and seek to justify the development of class political parties in rivalry to and in addition to the main Nationalist Revolutionary Party, in anticipation of the achievement of political freedom. That both these groups are wrong is illustrated by the experiences of Ireland and South American States. In Ireland, the Fienna Fail, that is, De Velara's party has continued to be consistently anti-imperialistic and revolutionary even after 20 years of political freedom, contrary to the British historians' expectations and the Labour and Farmer parties have only served the purpose of weakening the hegemony of revolutionary forces, though they have offered their cooperation off and on to De Velara. The South American States have been in a revolutionary ferment and epoch since 1911. They have risen, one after the other, against the aggressive first Rooseveltian Americanism and imperialism of U. S. A. and also against the creeping python of economic imperialism of Europe and U. S. A. In this great continental wave of anti-imperial revolutionary movement, not only Mexico, Chile but also Brazil and Argentina have taken enthusiastic part. Therefore it is generally true to say that the achievement of political independence does not damp the anti-imperialist phase as colonial revolution.

89. Even apart from their resentment of direct or indirect political control exercised over them by imperial authorities either as the predominant group of world powers or as the owners of the biggest combinations of navy, air force, etc., colonial peoples have a more direct and economic interest, for seeking points of contact and developing unity between themselves and achieve their capacity for united action. And that is, their need to wrest themselves free from the awe-ful tentacles of economic imperialism, exercised through wold Markets and their means of unequal exchange relations forced upon them by the industrial countries and peoples, will make them to cooperate each other.

What will be the continuing economic factor, uniting all kinds of colonial countries against world capitalism and imperialism ?

Even supposing all the colonial countries come to liquidate their foreign liabilities and even rise to the status of creditor countries, there is no guarantee that they can emancipate themselves from those unequal exchange relations. They must, in addition, achieve unity among themselves and succeed in forcing the industrial and commercial countries and peoples to agree to more equal exchange relations between themselves – the agricultural peoples and the others – the industrial peoples. To this end, thay have to attempt to build up their respective national self–sufficiency programmes; crop planning and suitable crop–restriction and crop–storage plans and work out and enforce international regulation of total production, processing, home consumption, storage and marketing of stipulated quantities of different agricultural produce, in order that the consumers–both local and foreign–are forced to pay more equitable and satisfactory prices than they have used to pay for ages in the past. They may not succeed, all at once, in

this direction and in the case of all crops. As with the industrial monopolists, so with these agricultural countries, it is quite possible that their internal jealousies, rivalries and politics may come in the way of the development, and later the continuation and success of such international crop–control schemes; for some countries may stealthily attempt to poach on prohibited markets or other countries may try to produce more than their quota and so on. And moreover, the imperial powers are ever there to split the colonies, entice some of them away by attractive baits of imperial preferences–like the 1932–40 Ottawa Scheme of British Imperial Preferences–and thus prevent the consummation of any such international combination of colonial countries. Thus had failed the 1930–36 Wheat Control Talks. Despite all this, colonial countries will be finding it necessary to strive towards unity and combination among all or some of them and can and will succeed in achieving some cooperation on some one or more crop control schemes. Thus, there is at least as great a growing tendency for colonial cooperation and combination as there is the opposite tendency from the imperial countries to keep them apart. And the world movement of national and colonial revolutions is bound to help the former tendency and also help towards the strengthening of the colonial peoples and their consciousness of a united, worldwide historic mission of anti–imperialism and capitalism.

90. The interests and role of Soviet Russia are in a state of flux. Until 1939, she was in need of exporting her agricultural produce in order to pay for her imports of industrial machinery. To the extent that her exports of wheat partook of the features of dumping, her re-entry into world markets was a distinct disadvantage to other

agricultural producers, in that, the Russian exports acted as a "slumping" influence on the world level of prices for wheat etc.

How, at the end of this war and in the first two decades of the post-war period, Russia is going to figure, it is hard to say. We can however venture to anticipate that her capacity to sell both agricultural and industrial goods on the world markets may be rapidly growing after a few years of her peace after the present storm.

On whose side will be Soviet Russia, as between the agricultural and industrial peoples ?

Then, will she not try to take advantage of the prevailing unequal exchange relations between the industrial and agricultural peoples and their services, as embodied in their respective productions, that are enforced in world markets? More and more, her exports will consist of manufactured goods and she may even grow to be the biggest exporter of manufactures. It will be too much for any one to imagine that she alone, of all industrial countries, will be willing to accept lower prices for her manufactures and pay higher prices for others' agricultural produce that prevail in the world markets.

In fact her unfair dealings with peasants between 1917–1939 do not encourage one to feel that she is likely to behave differenlty from other industrial nations. She has had as cruel a tradition of having forced her peasant masses to part with their agricultural produce at too low–even dead–low prices and imposed upon them too highly priced industrial goods. She rufused to allow any free markets, even of the one-sided capitalist type. She brought out, in her rude practices, all the hidden horrors

of capitalist exploitation of peasants and used her military and other State authority to extract, by legal or illegal requisitions, the maximum of peasant's production, at nominal prices and to throw in their faces the few and weakening supplies of manufactured goods at too abnormally high prices. Again and again the Russian peasants had to revolt against this blatant unequal exchange relations that were so unashamedly being imposed upon them by the Dictatorship of the proletariat. It is difficult to hope for better behaviour towards peasantry and colonial peoples from such a prospective industrial power in post-war years? She too may be willing to get into preferential arrangements with other countries, especially those with agricultural economy, but in the same way as the British, U. S. A. and other imperial systems and such imperial or Soviet preferential systems can only lead to the delaying and the failure of colonial efforts to achieve unity among themselves as against the industrial and commercial countries.

While thus there is no warrant for our optimistic expectations that Soviet Russia may go out of her way to strengthen the struggles of colonial peoples in general against world imperialism and capitalism, we may not be surprised if she finds it possible to render some help to some one colonial people at some one stage or the other of their anti-imperialist struggle in order to weaken or embarass the concerned imperialist power. Such a development is nothing unusual, since France and Italy helped Mustspha Kemal in his struggle of 1921-22 against England and her protige Greece. To reinforce her diplomatic fight against any one of the other three great post-war powers, Soviet Russia may also find it convenient to instigate her friends, the local communists to reinforce

or even to inaugerate the local anti-imperialist struggle. But there is always the danger of such extraneous help being withdrawn, so soon as Soviet Russia's need is over or when her convenience demands the withdrawal of such help.

The bitter experience of the Spanish and Chinese Governments, of this uncertain factor of Soviet help must be kept in mind by colonial national revolutionaries.

We must also remember that Soviet Russia's big stick against the other great powers is her capacity to instigate, stimulate, and re-inforce the anti-imperialist struggles of colonial peoples. She has to flourish this stick to bolster up the local communists and thus to build up her un-official allies in every colony.

She must also enurse her own professed mission of anti-imperialism and thus minister to the missionary zeal of her ruling proletariat by winning the good-will of colonial masses through her mouthful expostulations against imperialism and her occasional encouragement to colonial struggles in some part of the world or the other. But the colonial revolutionaries will be making a great mistake if they lean too much on Soviet professions or assistance. They must learn to depend upon their own internal strength. They must develop their own revolutionary ideology and tactics. They have to forge their own leader-ship. They may welcome Soviet help but they ought not to look to the Soviets or communists either for ideology or leadership.

91. Of course the Communist Parties are anxious that as many colonial countries and their peoples are won over to the side of Soviet Russia as possible. But to what end? That it is only to the strengthening of Soviet

Russia, even if it be to the disadvantage of the colonies and not to their mutual advantage has become quite clear through their great betrayal of the anti-imperialist struggle of colonial peoples during the Second World War. However much is our disgust of the C. P. methods of sacrificing us and making us the scape-goats of Soviet Russian interests, we cannot and must not turn a blind eye on what goes on in Soviet Russia. Every colony and her national revolutionaries must be watching and studying, as carefully as he can, the internal economic structure, and development and progressive tendencies of Saviet Russia and also her political structure and the inter-relations between her economic and political structures and ralations. Even more particularly, they have to examine the manner of Soviet Russia's adjustment of the relations between the peasants, that is, collective farm peasants, and the proletariat in political, economic and social activities and institutions. Since Soviet Russia's experiments are certainly the grandest and the most mass-minded, they deserve to be studied with the greatest care and sympathy. Since, even according to Lenin, there can be no study of politics or economics without a bias, it is essential for colonial peoples to make their studies of Soviet Russia with their peasant and rural bias and examine every thing in order to see if the one-sided, one class dictatorship of Russia (by the proletariat) is really doing justice to the peasants and is also conducive to the equal and rapid advancement of peasants.

What can be the relations between national revolution of all colonial countries and Soviet Russia?

To study thus Russian conditions, experiments and achievements, to draw the necessary and useful lessons therefrom and to try to adopt them to suit their local

conditions and to imbibe the Russian spirit of socialist construction and to utilise it for all the toilers and not only for the proletariat or professions or even for peasants is certainly a progressive move on the part of the colonial peoples. That is no reason why they have to accept the leadership or ministerial services of their local C. Ps; nor need they make themselves abject slaves or pupils without a will of their own, of Soviet Russia.

The National Revolutionary Movement of the colonies has even more to learn from their own respective experiments and achievements in their endeavour to gain freedom. And they have also to learn a lot from the social, eeonomic and political experiences of both the colonial and other countries of the East in particular.

Therefore there is no reason why they must concentrate all their attention on Soviet Russian life alone. In fact, such a concentration by Indians, on their study of English life has done them so much harm; narrowed down their mental perspective and cultural attainments and has had disastrous effects on the growth of their revolutionary and constructive thought and activities. Without entertaining prejudices against any country and without too much preoccupation with any one country, with their peasant and rural bias, the champions of national revolution have to study, with the constant help of their National Board of thinkers and leadership, and with the occasional help of the C. P. F. F. through its pamphlets, propagandists, etc., the relavant aspects of the progress being made by all the countries of the world with special reference to the colonial coloured, and then Soviet Russian peoples.

92. It was right that during those critical times when Soviet Russia was groaning under the blows of Nazi Germany and Russians were still struggling heroically to throw

off the invaders and free their soil from the hated aggressor, all colonials should be rallying to her side, in their sympathies and should organise the committees of "Friends of Soviet Russia" just as some had formed in U. S. A. "committees of friends of China" and some English people formed the "Friends of India Society". as China and India too were struggling against their imperial masters. It cannot be denied that the India C P. had tried to make capital out of this spontaneous and genuine sympathy shown to Soviet Russia and her great social experiments for its own Partisan interests. Yet, Indian revolutionaries preferred to consider not their partisan interests but only their humanitarian and revolutionary duty towards other suffering peoples. But will there be any need for such committees, even after Soviet Russia is freed from the Nazi hold and is recognised by the world as one of four biggest powers of the world?

Is there a need for the "Friends of Soviet Russia" organisations, even after the war?

93, It must by now have become clear, from what has been said, that the national revolution of the colonies is as important a progressive force of the socialist revolution of the western countries. Both are interested and engaged in fighting world capitalism and its projection, imperialism. In one or two countries of the west, socialist revolution may succeed and similarly, in one or two countries, National revolution may also triumph but even such fortunate countries can and will find their ordeal very much lightened, if they are assisted by the sympathy and support of other countries and indirectly by their actual engagement with their common enemies; that is, the imperial powers and world capitalism.

What is the relation between socialist revolution of the west and national revolution of the colonies ?

But world capitalism and imperialism cannot at all be fully liquidated, until and unless both National Revoiution and socialist revolution work simultaneously in their respective spheres of need and activity and fight against there common enemies. If, instead, those engaged in socialist revolution of the west wish to intefere with and boss over those engaged in National revolution or vice versa and if both the sections begin to dispute each other's revolutionary role and demand the merger of the one with the other, as indeed the C. P. does everywhere, needless controversy is caused, confusion is created and their common objective, of liquidating their common enemy, the world capitalism and imperialism, will be forgotten.

94. It is high time that communists and Western Socialists realise that there is not only one world progressive and revolutionary movement, as had been thought by their orthodoxy but that there are two such world movements, emanating from two portions of the world, rising from among the exploited and suppressed peoples and moving towards the same goal but by different roads, converging on the same enemy, the world capitalism and imperialism. Every nationalist who is playing his part in a national revolution of any one nation of the colonies is as important an instrument, a revolutionary and a progressive as every socialist of the West who is also playing his role in his local socislist revolution. A nationalist who is fighting against his local imperialist power and its agencies is, indirectly and unconsciously but nevertheless, as surely and effectively, fighting against all the imperialist powers of the world and their principal, the world capitalism. Similarly every

Does this mean that there are two world revolutions and progressive movements at one and the same time?

socialist is striking, though consciously against his local bourgeois power, but unconsciously and as effectively against the World Bourgeoisie. Any Socialist or Communist who fails to realise this truth and who, therefore denies the world significance and anti-imperialist and revolutionary role of any nationalist of the colonies, is deliberately going against the very fundamental teaching of Lenin, his political Guru, regarding the world's fight against imperialism.

95. Under such circumstances, a true colonial socialist has to take his stand by the national revolution, and agree to work on the orders of its leadership. He has no right to pose himself to be a better revolutionary than the local national revolutionary leadership. His conception of the world has to be shaped from the nationalists view-point of his local nationalist leadership. His relations with the politicals, political parties and activities and also the governments of other countries, will have to be guided, and shaped by his local national leadership. He can best serve his Socialist cause by wholeheartedly identifying himself with the National Revolution, by eschewing all outside, extra-territotial allegiances and by accepting the slogan of national liberation first and everything else next as his guiding principal revolutionary activity.

When there are two world movemants against imperialism, what is the role of Socialists in colonial countries?

It will certainly be possible for him, indeed it will be his duty and privilege to do all that lies in his power, consistently with his loyalty to the national leadership, to urge the adoption of socialistic outlook and analysis and planning whenever practical problems have to be tackled by the National Revolutionary Party. He can seek to

raise the Socialist content of the Nationalist Revolution, but he must not at any time allow his Socialist zeal to jeopardize the growth and functioning of the National United Front against the main common national enemy, imperialism. He may distinguish himself by declaring his socialist pursuasion but he must function, first and last, as a 100% spokesman and agent of national revolution, keeping the national and anti-imperialist interests first before everything else.

Who is superior- the Socialist or the Nationalist ? None, of course

96. It has become the fashion for communists to shout that while nationalists are only trying to liberate some one country, they are trying to fight for the liberation of all the peoples of all countries. They boast that while nationalism is only a temporary phase, they are fighting for the more lasting and nobler ideal of world brotherhood. But the historical facts refute these boastings and shouts. Lenin himself has made it clear that the Socialist Revolution of the West could not succeed so long as the national liberation movements of colonies did not gather momentum and begin to non-plus and vanquish imperialism from their end. Therefore, national revolution is most important for the success of Socialist Revolution of the West and if the Socialist Revolution is a progressive world movement, then surely, national liberation movement of colonies too is equally progressive. As a matter of fact, that part of the world in which conditions can be said to be in some way ripe for Socialist Revolution is much smaller in area and population than the colonial part of the world and if at all, any one has any right for pre-eminence or priority of honour, it is the colonial national revolutionary. Moreover Stalin has made it abundantly clear that nationalism

is a basic, progressive and dynamic force and in the colonies, it is the greatest revolutionary force. Therefore communists are most uncommunistic when they pose themselves to be superior revolutionaries and grander internationalists than the national revolutionaries.

97. Under such circumstances and ideological juxtaposition of national revolution, what is the role that a communist party can possibly play in colonies? None whatsoever. By remaining and functioning as an independent party and by fighting and manoeuvring for its own strength and popularity it can only go on harming the world's fight against imperialism, weakening both the Socialist Revolution of the West and Nationalist Revolution of the East and thus play a definitely counter-revolutionary role. They may try to excuse themselves or justify themselves, as Mr. M. N. Roy does, for this anti-national and counter-revolutionary role by pretending that the national revolutionary party, like the Indian National Congress or the Kuomintang is a burgeois and fascist organisation. But no amount of such pretensions and false propaganda can possibly absolve them from their aweful plight of playing a counter-revolutionary role.

Is there a place for communist party in colonies?

That this analysis is quite correct is shown by their behaviour at the very first touch stone applied to their professions and mission both in India and China. In India, just when every nationalist was in need of every kind of help from every quarter while the whole repressive machinery of British Imperialism was directed against Indian national revolution, the Indian Communists joined forces with the imperialists and worsened the plight of nationalists and hunted down patriots. In China, even while the

Japanese were gaining a stranglehold over more and more of her territory and masses, the Chinese Communists have been playing such treacherous, sectarian and disruptionist role that Generalissimo Chiang has been obliged to detail 500,000 of his troups to watch and keep in check the unruly, unpatriotic and power-mad communist armies. Does not this make it clear that, if at all the communists wish to function as a party, it can only be as a counter-revolutionary force and nothing else.

It is true that the C. P. pretends to work loyally within the Congress in India and Kuomintang in China and Labour Party in England. But both Chinese nationalists and British labourites have realised, through their bitter experience, that they could not possibly digest this C. P. and they could harbour it only at their peril, because the C. P. is wedded to the theory and conviction – disastrous though they are to the world cause of revolution – that it alone is and can be the true champion and vehicle of world revolution and the proletariat and it must try in every colonial and any other country to gain for itself the ear and heart of the masses, by first of all alienating them from the national leadership. In India too, nationalists are realising that they cannot possibly have any truck with communists. And why are they so incompatible with the nationalist forces? Because there is no progressive revolutionary or necessary role for them to play in national revolution. Even in such an inpendent and powerful country like U. S. A. the C. P. has found out that there is neither any role nor any place for it in that American national politics and when that is so, in a pre-eminently imperialist cum capitalist country, how can there be any place in such an essentially revolutionary and progressive and dynamic world movement of colonies as the National Revolution which

demands complete unity and harmony in organisational and ideological affairs?

Therefore, every colonial youth who joins the National Revolution is ranging himself on the side of progress and revolution; but he who joins the C. P. is isolating himself from that ennobling cause of National Revolution. Every colonial student who accepts the national leadership is on the side of organised and swelling revolutionary forces; and he who joins the C. P. drifts into the backwaters of reaction and counter-revolution. Every colonial peasant or worker who throws himself heart and soul into the whirlwind of anti-imperialist struggle, organised and led by the National leadership is making his contribution to the glorious World Revolution against World Imperialism; but he who joins the C. P. goes on striking at the very world revolution, to serve which he is enticed into this blind alley.

How and by whom a national movement is begun or is to be begun ?

98. If we look into the history of nationalist movements of India and China, we find that though the imperialist oppression may be continuously growing, either some outsiders or some exceptionally sensitive local people have taken the lead in initiating a nationalist movement. The introduction of English education and the debut of some intelligentsia in the realm of World's current of thought had helped India to think of the need to oppose the imperialist oppression. Yet a few noble minded Englishmen like Hume, Wedderburn, Cotton took special interest and realized the need of India for political rights. The spiritual renaissance, fomented by Swami Vivekananda and the researches made by Ramesh Chunder Dutt and Dadabhoy Naorozee into the economic effects

of British imperialist domination over India served as the formative influences to give shape to India's nationalism. But India had to wait for nearly 22 years before she could realise her revolutionary mission and it happened, as suddenly as any revolutionary situation generally reaches the boiling point, over the forcible and arbitrary separation of Bengal into two sections, by Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy, without giving as much as a thought to the feelings of the people.

In China too, the American Missions, Hospitals, Colleges and Schools did much to create quite an effective impact of modern western civilization upon the ancient and stay-put Chinese culture and one of the products of such a cultural fermentation was Dr. Sun Yat Sun, and the Soong family. It was however the unashamed and intense imperialist exploitation of China by the Imperialist powers led by Great Britain; the forcible importation of the hated opium; the series of national humiliation heaped upon the Manchu Emperor that brought nationalist resentment to a fever heat and set China on her revolutionary career.

Christian missionaries have been very active in African countries and among Negroes for the last seventy years. But somehow, they have not succeeded in stimulating as much cultural interest among Negroes. It is mostly because the poor Negroes were too much overwhelmed and overawed by the dazzling western mechanical arts, with their gun powder and machine guns as their best spokesmen. Instead of reacting in as aggressive and independent a manner as the Indians and Chinese have done to this new civilization and working out their own synthesis and progressing on the basis of their own new synthesis, they have chosen to withdraw themselves into their forest Reserves for food and

into their traditional social life for cultural satisfaction. And in this, they are in no way exceptional. The mediaeval Indians too withdrew themselves into peninsular India, when confronted by the aggressive and conquering Arabs snd their intolerant iconoclast Islam. They had however nearly a half a millennium to work out their own advanced cultural synthesis, through the cults of Bhakti, Hero Worship, Sikhism, and Maharashtra cults of blood and sword. It is after all not even a century since the African Negroes have been subjected to this intolerable modern imperialism. So, none need be surprised at the failure of this Christian and imperialist impact upon Negro social economy and culture to throw up any outstanding and effective national leadership in any of the African countries to initiate a nationalist movement.

The Christian missions have done irrepairable harm to the African Negroes because of their failure to make a sympathetic and systematic socialogical study of Negro's social and economic organisation and political traditions. And consequently the few Negroes who had been trained by them could only venture to work as teachers, nurses, lower cadres of services and technicians. The Arab and Indian immigrants have also failed miserably to make any progressive contribution to these people and to kindle any nationalist urge among them. Hence the unfortunate lull in the public life of African peoples.

The Indonesians too seem to be in need of a match being put into them. A couple of centuries ago, a half caste Javaneese schemed to raise a rebellion against their Dutch masters, with the aid of the Chinese immigrants. Unfortunately it was discovered a few days previous to the date of revolt and the leader and a large number of his followers were cruelly butchered.

Recently there has been some nationalist movement. But the nationalists were split in twain, the moderates being content with demanding some more constitutional reforms and the extremists demanding full "Home Rule". The Japaneese invasion and occupation of these islands has changed everything, we know not, in what direction. So far (1944 June) we have not heard that any independent Indonese political regime is set up – even as such puppet regimes go in these war times.

The romance of Lawrence of Arabia is told by the Hutchison's publication by an American Journalist with the Caption "With Lawrence in Arabia". One can see from it, how much a genius thought of foreign origin could do provided he is aided by such an exceptional crisis as a world war, by the military assistance of an outside world power like Great Britain and also by the cumbustible and proud peoples who groan under a prouder imperial regime.

What is the lesson that one can draw from such instances? That at times, outside help and initiative can be of some use. That at certain crucial moments, an outsider or a number of foreigners can certainly be able to render signal service to a colonial people by rousing them to the realisation of their plight and by putting a match to their highly inflamed feelings and experiences and giving the much needed start to their local nationalist movement.

How are foreigners to help ?

99. Unfortunately the results of most of the cases of such interference by or initiative of foreiginers have not been happy. The Christian missionaries have created more ill-will than goodwill. The Arabs and Indians have been in African politics only for their own benefit.

The Communists have also been playing for their own party interests, besides pursuing wrong and unsuitable politics and programmes. Their part in Chinese and Indian, Burmese and Javanese politics has been most reprehensible.

If the Christian missionaries end in supporting European and American imperialism, the communists support the Soviet Russian leadership. If the former succeed in proseletizing some Negroes, they only isolate them from the rest of their peoples. The communists too do the same, even if they are able to gain a few adherents among Negro youth. Both the newly converted Christians and communist Negro youths slave the common vice of looking down upon the other Negroes, their social traditions and functions and affecting a strange sense of superiority, so much so they make themselves disqualified even to touch the hearts of the masses and winning them over to the national cause of progress.

Moreover, a communist is not only unfitted but is also positively harmful to the colonial nationalist work. For, apart from the snobbery and new fangled ways of dismissing everything with scant courtesy, everything that smacks of Negro culture and tradition, he is tied down so tightly to the apron strings of Soviet Russia foreign policy and to the inapplicable, all world embracing mandates of the Communist international that he does more harm than good to the Negro National Cause. However much Stalin may insist, for the guidance of the Russian Communists that they should not ignore "the peculiarities of social life and culture" of different peoples and that they should take into account "all the peculiarities of economic life, class structure and historical past" of such peoples, the communist-copyists of other countries turn out to be the votaries of "Russian Great-Past Chavinism"

Moreover, these colonial communists are so incapable of working out an independent ideology of national revolution, to be a complement to the western ideology of socialist revolution, both intended to converge their forces, starting from two opposite ends, upon their common enemy, the world Imperialism, that they vainly try to fasten on the colonials, their European-minded and Russian-certified (under-written) proletarian revolution and thus give an entirely wrong turn to colonial revolution. So, it is most essential for colonial revolution to warn about the shoals of communist party and its ideology and to adopt the ideology of national revolution.

Which foreigners can be of use to colonials ?

100. Those foreigners who are the votaries of national revolution who have developed the necessary psychological affinity with the economic, social and cultural environment of the concerned colonial peoples, and who believe in building up the national united front of all classes and groups of colonials and who have had some experience in the national revolutionary struggles of sister colonies are best suited to go to any colony, work among its people and slowly rouse their growth to the realisation of their need for a national movement of liberation. But such people ought not to overstay in any such colony, nor shall they fall a prey to the mania that once they leave the country, the nationalist movement will go to pieces. It will be quite good to stipulate that no such person shall stay in any colony for longer than five years, nor shall he come to hold any responsible executive post in the heirarchy of nationalism. And such foreigner ought not to attempt, directly or indirectly to tie up the colonial movement with any of the rival imperialist powers or with any international political body with mandatory

powers. And under no circumstances shall they be allowed to develop any kind of liason between the local national movement and the foreign policy of Soviet Russia or any other power with ideological and international interests.

Therefore, such Negroes of U. S. A., South America and West Indies who are tried nationalist revolutionaries ought to be encouraged to go to different African countries and work for short periods among the local people. Similarly Indians can venture into the East Asiatic colonies; the Turks and Egyptians into the Arabic countries and Persia and the Irish into every colony that needs such helpers. Such a distribution and activity of such national revolutionaries as between different countries can be brought to be organised by the colonial peoples freedom front.

What national problem shall be taken first by a National Movement ?

101. At various stages, and in different countries, different problems have come to occupy the pride of place in a national movement. For instance, during the first half of nineteenth century, it was social reform that commanded the attention of Indian intelligentsia led by Rajah Ram Mohan Roy. Its official votaries, the Brahma Samajists continued to plead right up to 1920 that Social Reform must precede political reform and the controversies of that age are nicely depicted in Tagore's Novel "Gora".

The first Indian War of Independence spread the cult of revolution of fire and blood and left a blazing trail of anti-imperialist religious nationalism all along the course of the Mother Ganges. Its national heirs, the Bengal terrorists began to claim in the first decade of this century that through violence and terrorism alone could Indian nationalism attain success.

There were the Christian missionaries who maintained that until and unless Indians learnt to abolish untouchability, castes and purdah, they could not dream of social political advancement.

There were yet others, of the school of Pheroz-Shah Mehta who laid great stress on the industrial dovelopment of India than on political agitation.

To this day, there are still people who complain that Swaraj ought not to be allowed to come and national revolution to succeed, until and unless the Moslems are guaranteed their Pakistan and the Harijans their rights and immunity from future oppression.

102. Wherein lies the proper solution? I think Mahatma Gandhi has made about the best approach; he has maintained that there are four requisites for the growth of national revolution; they are the abolition of untouchability, communal unity, regeneration of hand spinning and cottage industries and prohibition of drinking intoxicants. For well over twenty years, he has laboured hard to bend the energies of larger and larger sections of our people in these directions. And he has certainly achieved much. He has not however made their fulfilment the absolute and inescapable condition precedent for starting any national revolutionary movement. He has wisely refused to be drawn into the British manoeuvred Moslem League's pose, that there should be no Satyagraha movement, until and unless there could be a communal settlement and that too, when the League sat on the mountain heights of Pakistan. On the other hand, he was obstinate enough to launch upon a fast unto death in 1932 in order to persuade the Hindus as a whole to concede to the Harijan demands and work out the famous Poona

Gandhiji's Contribution

Pact. Thus Gandhijee has shown the way to the other colonial revolutionaries and the Chinese New Life Movement is only in the historical succession of the Gandhian contribution to the world's cause of national revolution.

That is, that a national revolution has to grow out of every social, economic and political need of the concerned people. It draws its strength from every organised effort made by any one of the sections of the colonial peoples to remedy their internal social or cultural evils, to improve, through self-help, their economic and social conditions and to develop, in all such ways, the requisite spirit of self-help and confidence, experience of organisation, planning and constructive activity. No national revolution which cannot develop such varietated constructive, agitational and self-reliant activities, during the times of reaction, rest and recuperation, can hope to keep its workers usefully employed in national tasks, ministering to the intimate needs of the masses and remaining in the constant touch with them And which national revolution can hope to call upon an ever increasing number of whole time and almost professional revolutionaries to mobilize the nation for a revolutionary movement, if it does not develop such constructive activities also and attend to the social and economic needs of large sections of people. Yet such activities ought not to be made an excuse for any one or group either to postpone, weaken or avoid their participation in the national revolution, once the call for arms is given by national revolution.

Christian missionaries and men like Mr. Carey who has written that impassioned appeal "The Case of Africa for Freedom" are under the impression that the first thing to do in Africa is to train Negroes for social work. They hope that from out of social work and social reforms, a

nationalist movement may slowly arise in Africa. It is much better if they and others take a hand in definitely initiating a conscious national movement. But stituated as they are, missionaries cannot be expected to do this, for, directly they do any such thing they come into the black books of the imperial governments and their various vested interests will be jeopardized. It is the domiciled Arabs and Indians who are best situated to take the initiative. But will they do it? So far they have been busy, demanding greater rights for themselves. Will they overcome their snobbery, make common cause with Negroes and help to build up a nationalist movement in the African countries? They may find it easy enough to do this, if they concentrate in the initial stages, on the Gandhian constructive programme, with suitable alterations and additions.

Who are the National Workers?

103. But to do any constructive or agitational work, there must be a growing number of national servants, who will be prepared to work voluntarily and as whole-time workers. In countries like West Indies, Indonesian, Malasian territories, it is not easy to win many of them for national movement in view of the attraction that Government services have for the youth. To gain a good number of such wholetime national workers, the most important thing to do is to start National Schools and Colleges, after the fashion of Gandhian India and impregnate the youth from their childhood with nationalist ideals and ideas of service to the whole society in general in the poor and oppressed in particular. It is in this direction that the famous Indian Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920–24 helped the Indian nationalism in a revolutionary manner. During that campaign, were gained for Indian congress

several thousands of youths, who had abandoned their orthodox English School education and concentrated their lives to the cause of national revolution. Similarly in other colonies too, a move has to be set afoot to prevent as many youths as possible from going to the official schools and getting themselves de-nationalised and impregnated with the vicious ideas of subservience and loyalty to imperialism. All such youths shall be provided with nationalist education in special schools.

What sort of education is to be provided for national Workers?

104. To such national youths, education based on the idealogy of world's movement of national revolution has to be provided. Besides a study of world's history and a more detailed study of the local national history, it is necessary to teach the youth the elementary principles of national economic, social and political planning, that achieves all ideas and institutions of exploitation and that takes into special consideration the economic conditions and capacities and opportunities of the people, their social traditions and political disabilities, needs and demands as well as aims and ideals. In India, we are developing an extra-ordinary but quite 100 per cent Indian ideology of Nehruised Gandhism; i. e., a cross between nationalistic socialism and Socialistic nationalism; and a practice of Peasant cum Protectrait struggles on one side and constructive programme of the masses on the other and a dynamism of the regulated Satyagraha both against the imperialists and their occasional allies, the Indian bourgeoisie and landlordism. This Indian national revolutionary ideology and practice is quite unique, as much rooted in the fertile soil of Indian tradition, culture, history and sentiment as the Mahatma has been the typical product as well as

the architect of Indian revolution. Similarly, the other colonies too have to achieve as unique and as completly nationalistic an ideology and practice. Already China has gone a long way in this direction, what with her three Revolutionary principles, the new Life Movement, the Co-operatives. The West Indies nationalist movement has begun to move in this direction.

105. Every National Revolution must atternpt to win the enthusiastic support of the toiling masses. Without the peasants and workers no struggle can be national or revolutionary. In Ireland, China and India, the national movement started with its initial assets of sacrifice as made by the intelligentsia. But it grew to be revolutionary only since the masses were being drawn into it, for they alone could give the revolutionary momentum. In India Mahatma Gandhi has made himself a peasant of peasants and a Harijan of Harijans and drew growing sections of them into every one of the successive national struggles. Thus to-day the Indian National Congress has grown into a real mass organisation. For a long time, there has been an unseen controversy going on in the minds of quite a large number of Indian nationalists whether, while a country like India is fighting for freedom, she can afford the luxury of independent class organisations, with their own primary membership and with their huge edifice from the village or factory committees right up to their All India Committees and their leadership.

What place do class organisations have in a nationsl Movement ?

Even as long ago as 1923, some congressmen raised with me their objections to the development of independent peasant oaganisation, as apart from the congress committees. Ever since, this controversy has been there in nationalist

politics. At its Haripura Session of 1938, the National Congress stated quite clearly that peasants could and should certainly be enabled to develop their own class organisation, even though the National Congress should be rapidly approximating itself into a peasant congress, in its policy, programme and even in membership.

In fact, so long ago as 1922, the late Desabandhu Das exhorted congressmen, from the Presidential chair of Gaya Congress, to organise separate class unions for peasants and workers in order to introduce into Indian revolution organised and disciplined ranks of the masses and thus strengthen the national leadership. Ever since, Congressmen have been quite active though not as active as has been demanded by the objective conditions in both the peasant and labour fields. Mr. V. V. Ciri led the way for congressmen in the labour field and some of us, who have come to be known as Kisan congressites, have taken the lead in peasant field since 1923.

106. Those of us, who have stood for the right of toiling classes to have their own class organisations have consistently held the view that, peasants and workers can be brought in their vast numbers into the nationalist movement and revolution, more easily and more surely through the leadership of their class organisations than what can be possible through the National Congress alone. In actual practice only much smaller number of peasants or workers are found joining the congress and playing their part in its committees and forming its leadership, whereas much larger number join enthusiastically their class organisations. Moreover, while the Congress Committees–Congress being the multi-class organisation - give very little scope for the

Why shall there be these independent class organisations?

toiling classes to gain the necessary training in organisational work and collective self-help and leadership, their class organisations provide this most essential training and equipment and thus fit them for democratic political and international life. Besides, the National Congress, being a multi-class organisation has to concern itself mostly with the general political and economic problems of the country, affecting the whole of the people or large sections of them and not necessarily with the exclusive interests of any one or two classes. It cannot hope to cater to the day to day class needs — political, economic and social; nationwide and Talukwide class problems of peasants or workers or both. Therefore there is the special need for their class organisations to serve, strengthen and lead peasants.

And we are convinced that peasants and workers who are used to organised and disciplined life and who are politically conscious can make much better revolutionary fighters than the unorganised masses who are drawn into a revolution through a sudden excitement.

107. It is, however, a mistake for anyone to think that through class organisation alone, both political and economic freedom from imperial oppression can be achieved. The recent experience of west Indies, where only class organisations were functioning and no strong nationalist movement was developed with a self-conscious and well-organised National Congress, very little political progress came to be achieved, though some concessions were extracted for labour.

But are class organisations alone adequate?

In China too, the labour organisations of the coastal cities wanted to function politically also and to set the pace for the National Government first in provoking a quarrel with the British and later on with the Japanese. The

consequences of such policital action, independently of the national Government and its party Kuominatang, did not at all prove to be beneficial to Chinese national revolution.

In India also, so many of us, of the peasants and labour movements flirted with the idea of developing independent politics for the peasants and Trade Union Congresses. From 1939 to 1942, both these organisations were drifting away from the politics of the Indian National Congress and were trying to develop and bring to a head the anti-imperialist forces with a view to give an independent fight of British imperialism and force the pace of the National Congress. This experiment too failed miserably because under the circumstances of colonial politics, no class organisation can possibly have or pursue a successful and independent poltical policy. The Communist party and Congress Socialist party, the R. D. P. and Forward Bloc and the National Congress all had their supporters on these class organisations. They all pulled in their different ways and in the end it became impossible for these class organisations to take up any clear and definite political attitude and enforce it. When the Trade Union Congress tried to stick to its anti-imperialist, anti-war policy, the R. D. P, seceded from it. When later the C. P. gained the majority and also changed its former anti-war policy into pro-war policy, there was none to enforce the former T. U. C. anti-war policy. Similarly the Kisan Sabha at first split in twain i.e., in 1941 and later, the original Kisan Sabhaites (they are now known as Kisan Congressites) and all the six provincial organisations of Southern India have also abandoned the Kisan Sabha, after the Bombay Congress August Revolution and the subsequent disturbances, as a protest against the policy of betrayal of the National struggle adopted by the Central Kisan Council in October 1942.

Thus, there are at present two Kisan organisations, that is, the Kisan Sabha and the Kisan Congress.

It must be clear from the above facts that it is not possible for class organisations, especially of colonial countries, to develop their own politics, independently of the National Revolutionary parties. This is so also because, in any such colonial country the most immediate, intimate and all embracing demand of all the people is the achievement of national freedom and it is only in support of such a demand and in the process of and also for the purpose of strengthing that demand, that class organisations can function.

True, since the achievenent of national liberation takes a pretty long time, often exceeding twenty years, class organisations are specially needed to cater to the day-to-day class needs of the toilers during the transitional period. They can also be raising the tempo of the toilers' politics; helping. them to gain political experience, even while improving their economic conditions, through their conduct of class struggles. So far as national politics is concerned, they are best advised to accept the leadership of the main national revolutionary organisation. For instance, in India, they have to work under the political leadership of the National Congress. Some may wonder why the National Congress is singled out and the C. S. P. and C. P. and R. D. P. are ignored. It is because, none of these parties can claim or hope to become a national party. They have shown themselves incapable of giving and substantiating a national leadership. Lastly the Communist party and the R. D. P. have exposed themselves during the war as most untrustworthy, anti-national and pro-imperialistic and so, it will be highly suicidal for class organisations, which are and ought to be wedded to the policy of placing

national liberation above every other policy classwise or national to accept the politics of the C. P. or R. D. P.

How can the National Party Progress without class organisations

108. Only in the nineteenth century, when masses were content to be stampeded into a general revolutionary melie, it was possible for a national leader like Mazzini and national revolutionary genius like Garibaldi to win over the peasants of the Southern and Central Italy and the rising proletariat of the North respectively for the cause of national revolution, without having to orgsnise class union also. Similarly, during twenties of the last century, a romantic adventurer of Spanish origin by name, Bolivar was also able to rally the Spanish landlord and peasant masses of a number of South American States to his revolutionary and romantic banners and to defeat Spain's imperial forces and liberate the whole of Spanish South America.

In Ireland, the national movement was mostly peasantwise in its content and programme, though the intelligentsia provided most of its leadership. Yet, from time to time, ad hoc peasant organisations like the Irish Land League were being formed to fight for a specific series of agrarian demands and thus, though there were no class conscious peasant unions as such, Irish peasantry was conscious of both its national ideals and also of its economic needs and aims. The Irish Rural Co-operative Movement, though encouraged by the British in the hope of weakening the national revolution by diverting peasants from the revolutionary path, had also made its own contribution to the revolution, just like Gandhiji's constructive programme has, to some extent, created a sense of self-reliance and organisation among peasants. But the twentieth century had seen the emergency of trade unionism and a labour party and this class cons-

ciousness of the protectrait has certainly been a strong source of strength to the national revolution.

In India too, left to himself, Mahatma Gandhi, Sirdar Vallabhai, Rajendra Prasad, the three great pioners of Indian peasant consciousness and awakening might have been content with forming ad hoc peasant organisations to attend to specific needs and grievances, expecting the general body of them all over India to be content with the Congress as their general organisation. But since 1923, that is, ever since the Andhra peasants began to bestir themselves in a class conscious manner and to show the new way to their brethren all over India, class conscious peasant unions have come to be distinctive organisational form, through which the organised life of peasants for the achievement of their aims and objects began to flow in ever rising tempo.

In China too, peasant unions began to be formed since 1926. But whereas in India, we did not belong to the Communist International and there was no local C. P, in India at that time and most of us worked under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi and Irish example the Chinese peasant unions were brought into existance as an adjunct of the Trade unions of the Coastal areas by the proletariat minded communists, who were directly under the orders of the Comintern.

We have now to consider whether the masses, when organised into their class unions can be of great source of strength than when they are content with the politocal organisation of the national revolution. All are agreed that the masses, when conscious of why and what they are fighting for, can render greater assistance and make themselves more enthusiastic and determined participants than otherwise. It is also admitted by all that, if in addition, they make themselves amenable to descipline and organised life,

they make more effective national fighters. The only point to be settled is, whether one national organisation is enough to achieve these desired results or whether a class organisation also can be of additional strength. As a means of rousing peasants or workers, educating them to the realization of their national and economic historic mission, needs and grievances and accustoming them to organised, disciplined and self-determined life, class unions can and do certainly supplement the work of the national organisation and thus help the national movement. Mahatma Gandhi has himself realized that the prestige, strength and organisational resources of the vast and almost unwielding national organisation cannot be invoked to organise the local struggles of the masses and fight for their local needs and demands. Hence, his ad hoc Committees in Champaran, Kaira, Bardoli, Ahmedabad in those war (1914–18) and post-war activities of his. Thus apart from national organisation, class organisations, whether temporary or permanent, are found necessary in actual practice. Those of us who have been devoted to the double cause of national revolution and classes have found it most beneficial and strengthening to both the causes, to develop permanent class unions, instead of having to create such unions anew whenever a local trouble or need made their organisation, and the class struggle necessary. Moreover, anyone who is in daily contact with the masses and who cares for their welfare knows that there is always some major class grievance of theirs to be redressed and a class need to be achieved and for achieving any of these local and class needs, a permanent organisation is absolutely essential, besides being of great advantage to the masses, as a permanent source of strength, avenue of experience in corporate life and a power that the vested interests and exploiters from the Village officials right up to the landlords and money lenders

have to count with. Hence the rapid development of class organisations in India.

Who can doubt that the organised sections of peasants and workers are able to render greater assistance to national movement than the unorganised sections? Those of them who are under the influence of both their respective class organisations and the national organisation can become specially strengthened in their revolutionary feeling, awareness and capacity for struggle and sacrifice.

This is possible only when there is no conflict between the national organisation and the leadership of the national revolution on one side and the class organisations and their leadership on the other. If any such conflict arises between them and if that conflict is due to ideological differences and rivalry in leadership, then the separate existence and functioning of class organisations will do immense harm to the national revolution. For well neigh 14 years of their career, the Indian Peasants organisations and for 20 years, the trade unions worked in harmony with the national revolutionary movement and its leadership and they were a source of strength to each other. But ever since 1937 the Kisan Congress and 1928–29 the Trade Unions and their Congress, began to find ideological and methodological differences with between the National Congress and these differences came to a head by 1939. The incompatibility of this new disruptive influence with the progressive, growing and naturally harmonised but variegated national revolutionary forces was brought to the surface for the first time, when under the leadership of the C. P, the Bombay Mill Labour went on a general strike against the Bombay Congress Ministry. Later, in 1942, all of us, non-members of the C. P., who had till then been co-operating

with them on the anti-imperialist front, were brought to the realization, almost by a sudden shock, that the C. P. politics and national revolutionary politics are absolutely incompatible with each other and so long as the C. P controlled or could threaten to control the class organisations, they cannot be a source of strength and power to the national revolution and they can and will be a source of weakness and obstruction to it. Taking advantage of the imprisonment of most of the active workers and leaders of the All India Kisan organisations and Trade Union Congress, as well as the National Leadership, they have tried to sabotage, with some success, the participation of organised peasants and workers in the National Struggle of 1942–44. They have even conspired to clear the whole field of peasants and labour for their own unpatriotic exploits. Therefore it is most necessary to see that whatever claas organisations are brought into existence, they do not fall into the hands of such political groups or parties whose ideologies are not four square with those of the national revolution and the nationalist-minded masses. And neither the national revolutionary movement and its organisations, nor the class organisations of the nationalist-minded masses shall give any room for such anti-nationalist parties and forces, even if they be sailing under Socialist or Communist or Self-Respect cloaks.

Why exalt the needs of national revolution to such supremacy and primacy ?

109. We have come to take up this attitude of recongnising the primacy, over everything else, of national revolution, because of our actual experience of the workings of Indian National Congress and the Trade Union Congress and Kisan Congress during the last twenty years. We have seen that neither peasants nor workers can achieve any

fundamental alteration in their miserable conditions and gain the first and principal chance for an all-round betterment of their lot, until and unless national liberation at least in its political aspect is achieved. And so long as the third party - the imperialists–is there to play its mischief and find for every anti-national and undemocratic force or element in India or any other colony, there is no hope for the masses either to be rid of their exploiting classes or to obtain adequate protection from their ravages. For instance, the Orissa Tenancy Bill was not assented to by the Governor General and the Bengal Coalition Ministry could not proceed with its move to abolish the Zamindari system because of the safeguards given by the British to the land-lords. Apart from all such things, there is the continual drain of Indian and colonial resources into the coffers of the imperialists and their countries, through their manipulation of foreign exchanges, currency policies and foreign trade. It is only a politically free country, like Mexico, which can take its courage in both its hands, begin to fight both the economic imperialism and the unequal exchange relations perpetuated by world capitalism and its world markets, And so, India China, Afghanistan, Persia, Arabian States, Egypt must first of all attain complete political independence; independence not to lead them into isolation camps, independence not to cut them off from all dealings with other countries and with any kind of international co-operation and contacts but independence from all imperialism, before they can hope to take the first effective steps to improve the economic conditions of their masses, by coming to grips with their local vested interests and also with the economic imperialists.

110. Since a national revolution is likely to achieve at least political swaraj but over a long period, it is relevant

to enquire what attitude shall the nationalist party display in regard to the immediate demands of peasants and workers. So far, the Chinese and Indian nationalist parties have not come to adopt any definite policy in this direction. It is true that the Indian National Congress has formulated a very detailed charter of minimum demands that are to be achieved but only after the attainment of full political power. That this has not been enough to guide the congress ministries so to act as to improve the lot of workers and as also to improve the position of the Congress among the working classes is the lesson of 1937–39 Congress ministerialism. This was most probably due to the fact that the National Congress did not itself take active part in the building up of trade unions and working them and framing their programmes of demands, strikes and other struggles. If it had only a reliable and experienced cadre of trade unionists, who had won its confidence and who were also at the head of the Trade Unionism of India, as has been the case in Soviet Russia, it could have found it possible both to formulate from time to time various but the most suitable and practicable programmes of labour demands and technique of labour work and also to achieve a predominant position for labour in the industrial sphere and also for itself among the workers and thus strengthened our national revolution. In future at least this omission can be and has to be made good by the National Congress itself trying to gain a predominant place in the hearts and loyalties of the proletariat by its service to them both directly through trade unionism and indirecIty through Congressism. In recent months, the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh has begun to work in the direction of training congressmen for trade union work on the lines of the congress.

What attitude shall national revolution take regarding immediate needs of toiling masses ?

Just as the masses have to be careful to press for the satisfaction of their demands only to such an extent as not to endanger the most essential anti-imperialist and national unified front, so also, the nationalist party has to see that its conception and practice of anti-imperialist and national united front is not exploited in such a manner as to pamper to bolster up the vested interests and either prevent the progress of or weaken the toiling masses. After all, Swaraj is to be won primarily, if not solely, for the benefit of the toiling masses. And weak, emaciated, unorganised and weak-kneed masses cannot be helped to achieve national revolution or to utilise the Swaraj for their advancement, without a strong, self-reliant, conscious and organised masses. Any national party which ignores the need for the immediate strengthening and organising of the masses and for the redressal of their most pressing oppression, will only be betraying its sole mission; that is the achievement of national revolution. The neglect of the Indian working classes by the National Congress has resulted in the neutralization of that section of proletariat of India which has come under the evil influences of the C. P and R. D. P. during the 1942-44 national struggle. The British Government granted so many concessions to both workers, their subsidised top-organisations and leadership that they were led into counter-revolutionary and unpatriotic channels. Every additional power won for the masses; concession extracted and grievance redressed strengthens the national revolution. From time to time various reforms; though when taken separately, each one may appear to be paltry; will thus have to be achieved by methods which may savour of too much of reformism. Yet they all have in the long run, cumulative revolutionary import and momentum. But if such improvement is achieved while any anti-national parties or groups hold sway over the peasant

and proletarian organisations, it will go to waste and it may even weaken national resistance against imperialism. So it is as necessary for the Nationalist party to play the leading role in class organisation as it is for it, to fight for their class needs. Even if such a championship of class needs were to threaten to alienate the vested interests, it is best to pursue it, so long as the growing strength of national revolution is much greater than any incidental weakness that may result from the direction of the most reactionary vested interests.

111. It may sound queer, specially as it comes from a pronounced socialist and champion of separate class organisations of the toilers to say that so far as the colonial countries are concerned, the peasants and workers shall have no other politics than that of National Revolution. But that is exactly the lesson of the national revolutions that have taken place and that are now in being. Everywhere, in all colonies, it is seen that no big or really radical improvement can be achieved in the conditions of the masses so long as imperialism holds its sway over them and their nation. And toiling masses cannot hope to ever gain their real share of political power and come to utilise the resources of their economic advancement, and either end or minimise economic and political inequalities until and unless they are free from imperialist domination–both political and economic and achieve at least political Swaraj. So long as imperialism continues, even freedom of trade unionism, peasant unionism and political propaganda and work of peasants and proletariat cannot be enjoyed fully. Landlordism beauracracy manufacturing interests will be taken into partnership by imperialism and even the mini-

Why must the toiling masses ban all politics other than that of the National Revolution ?

mum demands of the masses cannot be achieved and their economic conditions can only go on deteriorating. Under such circumstances, the most fundamental and preliminary political objective of colonial masses is to attain political freedom at least. To interpose socialist tactics and campaigns and to play for separatist Socialist advantages even during the epoch of the national revolution is to weaken or even to destroy national revolution. That will be a definitely counter-revolutionary activity, besides being unpatriotic and treacherous.

How can the proletariat help National Revolution ?

112. If only they can be persuaded to do so, the colonial proletariat can help a lot. If at the crucial moments, the railway men stop all work on the railways, the postal and R. M. S people go on strike; the miners refuse to mine coal; the workers in all the Textile and Iron and Steel and Ordnance Factories to down their tools, certainly imperialism can be brought to bay. Though colonial industrialism is yet in its infancy, it is developed by imperialism in all such key directions as are specially needed for its economic and political supremacy. And if it is brought to a stand-still and if it can even be turned against it, imperialism can be brought to full straits. It may be said that it is as theory but that in practice; the proletariat of India or even of China have never been brought to offer any appreciable non-co-operation with the Government of India or of the imperial powers respectively. That is so; But that is no reason why the Nationalist Movement and its party ought not to continually attempt to gain the proletariat's support. It will be a first class tragedy not only for the National Revolution but also to the Post-revolution reconstruction to neglect or ignore them. To gain their confidence to assure them that Swaraj will promote their

welfare and political progress, the best means is to work for their uplift from now onwards. That can best be done and most directly by Nationalist party's sparing a portion of its own resources in men and money to build up the trade unionism of workers; to formulate their demands and to fight on their behalf in all their strikes. But to leave trade unionism, to become the monopoly of C. P as at present is the greatest folly. It is the duty of every Nationalist to see that the only politics that trade unions can have is that of national revolution and that there is no place for any other politics.

113. We have, however, to keep in mind yet another possibility; that is, the imperialists may attempt to entice the masses away from national revolution, in case the National Leadership is not progressive and revolutionary enough to take them under its wings through the development of their class organisations, loyal to the development of the most fundamental aims and objectives of national revolution. From 1905, the British Govenment has been playing with this stick; now with peasants and another time with workers and so on. Lord Curzon tried to counteract the growing influence of the National Congress and revolution by fixing the maximum enhancement of land revenue for anyone resettlement period of 20 or 30 years at 18 3/4%; by stipulating that in no case, the land revenue assessment should not absorb more than 50% of net income and also by threatening the landlords, who were then one of the main pillars of nationalism in India that their peasants would have to be favoured and protected as againt their exploitation. When Mahatma Gandhi was succeeding in rallying the Harijans to the side of national revolution throu-

The neglected masses may be exploited by imperialists,

gh his anti-untouchability campaign, the British bolstered up the so-called depressed classes leadership and brought into prominence Dr. Ambedkar's group. When again the Indian peasants had been found to be swinging too much to the side of national revolution, the Agricultural Commission was appointed to divert their attention and eventually to bribe them into non-political and so called progressive agriculture. When in 1927-29 the Indian proletariat were showing signs of political activity under the leadership of V. V. Giri, Pandit Nehru, Subash Bose, the Royal Commission on Labour was appoined and a series of labour legislation was passed and a number of welfare activities were commenced to bribe the working class into economism. Now that the war time National Revolution bade fair to reach a fertile climax, the British authorities hastened to win over to their side; thanks to their popular slogan as well as excuse of an anti-fascist front; the two parties, the C. P and R. D. P, by helping them in various ways and conceding by a number of exceptionally attractive concessions to various cadres of workers, from the lowest upwards and has thus succeeded, as never before, in isolating a considerable section of organised labour and insulating them, from the national revolution.

It is therefore wise for national revolution to do two things; one is to develop class organisation; help the toiling masses to develop their class and organisational consciousness and self-respect in order to prevent them from falling an easy prey to the welfare tactics and economism that our imperialist enemies may dangle before them; and the other is, to prevent such class organisations from falling into the hands of such parties as the C. P. and R. D. P. and such forces as the reactionary and non-political communalists lest they should divert the mind of the

toilers from national revolution and even turn them into traitors and blacklegs to nationalism and revolutionists.

114. Students have everywhere played quite an appreciable, noble and effective role in a national revolution.

What role can students play in a national revolution ?

Their part in the Bengal partition revolutionary wave has became a romantic story by itself. Mahatma Gandhi has exalted the student to the status of an important political force, when he called upon him to leave the school or college and to jump into the cauldron of revolution and undertake as many of its terrible and responsible tasks as possible.

Earlier in the Italian and Irish national revolutions, students played a noble part. And the 1911 Chinese revolution and the subsequent National Boycott campaign of China against Britain and Japan owed so much to the heroic part played by students. Indeed in China, it is specially true to say that the students took the lead in many a place and on many an occasion and that too in an organised and responsible manner. Even during the present war of China against Japanese aggression. the Chinese students have set an example to the students of the rest of the world by transporting literally on their backs, the books and scientific apparatus of their universities etc., from war zones to the remote and inner mountain caves and helped to re-establish their vidyalayams or educational institutions. Many of them have joined the armies and died a heroic death in offering rhe most extraordinary resistance to the Japanese invaders. They are working actively as organisers, as relief workers, and in short, they have provided the bulk of the rank and file of nationalist leadership of China in war times.

Unfortunately in India, during 1937–41, the Indian National Congress as well as the Students Movement failed to work out a co-operative and mutually helpful contacts and co-ordination, so much so, that they were in danger of drifting away from each other. It was mostly due to two facts; the ministerial section of the Congress did not bother to think out as to how to re-align its relations with all other associated revolutionary forces and achieve a new pattern and technique of co-operative and co-ordinate relations with them and on the other side, the students drifted too fast into the coils of the communist party, which was pursuing its traditional Stalinist policy – though for a long time it was not realised to be such by so many of us–of developing its own hegemony in every social and revolutionary activity and disrupting the congress and its leadership and weakening its influence over students, youths, peasants and proletariat and where possible, even among middle classes.

Not until the Great Betrayal of National Revolution by the communist party since August 1942 did the great majority of organised Indian students realise the enormity of the mischief that the C. P has perpetrated in theit midst during those hectic years of 1927–41 under the delusive slogans of anti-imperialist revolution and world brotherhood and peace. Here and there, students began to assert their horror at rhe volte face of the communists in changing their attitude toward this war from the slogan of anti-imperialist war to that of people's war but they could not free themselves from their sense of loyalty to the idea of organisational unity. The rebels formed a rival organisation but it could not gain much support. Some of us gave the call for a National Students Association in April–June 1942 to work under the aegis of political ideology and

leadership of the National Congress. But the student pubiic needed their disillusionment of the C. P. betrayal in August 1942 and in subsequent years to shed their sensitiveness about organisational unity and to start, almost in a revolutionary and whirl-wind fashion, the rival organisation, which was at first called, National Students Association and which has by now come to adopt the more appropriate and revolutionary name, the Students Congress. By to-day the overwhelming section of students have come over to the students congress and have thus demonstrated that the heart of student population pulsates in tune with that of the masses and the whole nation.

And what a glorious part Indian students have played in our 1942–44 national revolution'! Wherever there was a College, High School or even an Elementary School, there was some extraordinary and daring revolutionary activity. Even children of 10 to 16 laid down their lives; students of 14 to 20 braved the rigours of "C" class jail life in their hundreds and college students undertook many arduous tasks and responsibilities. Thus the postwar India will be having great and noble youth cadres, who will have been well-seasoned in the fires and rigours of our national revolution and that is, inspite of the C. P. and R. D. P. and who will be working under the leadership of the National Congress.

115. This demonstrates quite clearly that the students of colonies can and will love to be loyal only to the cause of national revolution and also to the national leadership. India's and Chinese experience since 1937 also demonstrates the extreme danger of students flirting with any ideas and parties like the C. P. which are incompatible with the

What shall be the politics of colonial students?

main principles and programmes of national revolution. We also see that the national leadership will have to be much more wide-awake to the natural and organised revolutionary urge, impatience and idealism of students' population and to encourage them in every possible manner and to guide them, not as wise-acres but as comrades and to provide them more and more opportunities to gain experience of leadership and selfreliant initiative and organisational effort. Last but not the least is, that students ought to be encouraged to play an increasing part in politics but in conformity with the ideology and programme of national revolution. But all this can be best done, not if the national leadership keeps itself at a great distance from students and looks at their activities with merely interested amusement but if it takes the students into its confidence, lends the services of its trusted leaders and workers to work with, guide and assist the student leadership. In this regard, the Kuomintang has followed a better policy than the Indian National Congress. The former has actively begun to form students associations, educate the students' leadership regarding national revolutionary ideals and ensure that the students take an oath of allegiance to the national revolutionary leadership. Similarly, as with the peasants and proletariat so with students, youths and women, it is most essential that they all make up their mind to accept no other politics but that of national revolution, as determined from time to time by the Kuomintang in China, National Congress in India, the Wafd in Egypt and similar organisations in other colonial countries.

116. From the days of Mazzini, every national revolution has been making more or less effort to inspire the youth with revolutionary ideals and ardour and to

invoke their enthusiastic support. The Chinese revolution has so far made the most systematic effort to build up a permanent youth organisation from the village and town right up to the All China edifice. Every member of the youth league should take a vow of allegiance to the nation, to the revolutionary party (Kuomintang), to the three Revolutionary Principles of Dr. Sun Yat Sen and also to the Generalissimo.

What is the role of the youths?

In India too, conferences of youths have been held from time to time in differcnt parts and also for the whole of India. Prominent national leaders like Sarojini Devi, Nehru, Pattabhi, took some interest. But no systematic and persistent effort was made to build up a really strong well-knit and permanent youth organisation. Dr. Hardikar made a praise-worthy attempt for a number of years to build up the Hindustan Seva Dal. But, because it was feared by some that is was beginning to take interest in politics that might deviate from that of the congress leadership and to flirt with ideas contrary to the prevailing conceptions of non-violence, it was disbanded. That was a capital loss.

Both Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany have built up a splendid youth organisation, which literally takes charge of every school-boy and youth under its wings and fits him or her into some suitable activity of the village or youth league and keeps on training him to take up and discharge his national responsibilities, when the call comes. In this world war, this organisation has played a meritorious part in sustaining the physical and moral strength of their respective countries.

In the African countries, it will be much easier to build up the youth organisation because, there is already

the traditional "Age-Group" organisation in the tribal system. All that has to be done is to introduce the ideals of modern national revolution, constructive social service and tribal advancement into their ideology and also provide them with the requisite military and political education.

In India too, it is not a difficult problem to build up the youth organisation. If only we link up all the gymnasiums that we find existing, and grow spontaneously everywhere to cater to the cult of the 'Body Beautiful' in almost every one of our villages and towns and provide them with a nationalist political and economic ideology, help them to obtain volunteer training, inspire them with a zeal to place themselves in the service of the nation and strengthen them with a nation-wide organisation, we shall have an excellent nucleus with not less than two millions of youth, ready to draw inspiration and education from the Congress and also to give strength to it in their turn.

The Students Congress must keep itself in close contact with this youth organisation and both must be helped by the National Congress to work hand in hand with all other organisations, catering to the national revolution.

Of course, like the students, the youth too have to pursue the same politics as those of the national revolution and its instrument, the Congress in India. Into this field too, communists were trying to inject their virus of sectarianism and disruption. Because the C. P. was trying to exploit whatever narrow platform of the youth was built up to air their anti-national and "Soviet First" ideology and to confuse the youth regarding their duty towards national revolution, some of us were trying to

build up the National Youths too into the youth congress, even before the 1942 outbreak took place.

Coming to the programme of the Youth Congress, of course training for physical fitness will have to be provided in gymnasiums. For this purpose, many more gymnasiums will have to be built up. National Games have to be organised in preference to the more costly western games and provincial and All-India tournaments to be held. A minimum of military training too has to be provided. In addition, training clásses have to be organised in every part of the country, wherein, Politics, Economics and Sociology will have to be taught from the viewpoint of the National Revolution and toiling masses and with a view to train the youth mind to srrengthen the national revolution and leadership. Excursions to places of national, historical and revolutionary importance to the congress sessions as well as collective interviews with the national leadership and the students and youth congresses have also to be arranged. Special literature to the students and youths has to be produced by their congresses as well as the National Congress and all disruptive influences to be exposed.

What is the role of Women ?

117. Women too have played a noble part in almost every national revolution of all nations. But for their glorious part in the Irish revolution, the underground and military and gorilla activities of the Republicans would have failed in their very inception. The role of women in the grand and continuous Chinese mass emigration from the occupied China to the Free China is a varitable saga of sacrifice, endurance and heroism. For well over seven years, millions of Chinese women have helped their men-folk to carry on their gorilla warfare and

other revolutionary activities, despite all the horrors heaped upon them by the vengeful enemy. In India too, Mahatmajee's clarion call of 1930 brought thousands of women, who never dreamt of coming out of their home, for their everyday activity, streaming into our cities, thers to picket foreign cloth shops and toddy shops and to defy the government bans against processions and meetings. One prominent member of the Viceroy's Council had had to exclaim that the police lathi and military machine-gun were almost vanquished by this sudden stampede of the earstwhile docile and domesticated women. Even during the second world war, women are covering themselves with glory in every country and in every home, production and even war front. In India too, they have played a meritorious part in our national revolution. So many of the revolutionary activities of our national workers would have become impossible, if it had not been for women's active co-operation and in many places, their leadership. No danger seemed to frighten them; no risk too great for them. Even on the peasant front, the glorious fight put up by Veera (heroic) Gunnamma against the police on that April (1940) evening in her village, even while she was being shot at again and again, is alone enough to demonstrate the revolutionary capacity of colonial women. And the story of Manipur women's Satyagraha against the increase of market dues and other taxes; of the Bihar womens fight against the unjust occupation of their lands by landlords forms a glowing chapter in India's renaissance.

But so far the National Congress has not seriously taken up the task of building up the women movement with a view to make it a first-rate source of strength to national revolution, besides being an agency of cultural,

social and economic advancement of women. There are two sections in women organisations, one consists of the non-nationalistic Ranis and Begums and Dames of the servicemen; the other composed of the nationalistic-minded women. Some distinguished Indian patriots like Sarojini Devi, Margaret Cousins, Kamaladevi, Aruna Asaf Ali, Vijayalakshmi have contributed much to the building up of the nationalist traditions of modern Indian women. But so far, it has not succeeded in building up a well-integrated net work of organisations, from village upwards. Women of Rural India led by Bharati Devi, Malati Devi, Ambujammal, Satyavati Devi, Kanakamma have also been working intensely and at much less cost, among millions of rural women, on the inspiration they derive not so much from the west as from Mahatma Gandhi and the example of Kasturiba.

Even into this field of women movement, communists have begun to make their inroads with their slogans of birth control, defying male folk and fighting the Japanese through Mata Hari tactics. Srimati Sarojini Devi was obliged to enter her protest against their "Red Women" cartoon and propaganda.

Unless the National Congress takes up quite seriously, the question of the role of women in notional revolution, there will soon be much trouble for our national cause. Apart from continuing the usual humdrum activities of the women movement, to which we have become familiar – such as their fight for the removal of legal disabilities and their struggle for economic and political rights – it is necessary for a really revolutionary women's organisation to organise special gymnasiums and volunteers' training corps for women, central and circulating library with literature bearing on women and world's national and other

revolutions. They have also to be provided with training in many of the revolutionary activities specially suited to women. Special schools have to be organised to teach them the main principles of national revolution, its world role, its anti-imperialist mission and the part that women can find and have to play in it.

At the same time care will have to be taken to prevent the de-nationalization of our women workers, and to avoid the communist pitfalls. National revolution wants patriotic, heroic and organised women, conscious of their national mission and their special role in our national life. Fortunately Mahatma Gandhi has given, since his release in 1944, the much needed lead in this direction also and training centres are being organised on lines suggested by him.

What place can Religion have in National Revolution?

118. Uptil 1936 it used to be thought in India too, that as in the west, so with us too, nationalism ought not to have anything to do with religion. But with the emergence of the Moslem League and Hindu Mahasabha as distant political parties and the C P. and R. D. P. patting them on their backs as their political convenience demanded, as political progressives, it is becoming clear that the East has to work out her own political practice regarding religion; we have to be practical, if we are to achieve success in our National Revolution. As in India, so in Africa – may be, even more so – religion is the central factor in the life of the masses. Any politics and revolutionary politics at that – cannot therefore divorce itself from the religious life of the masses. Therefore, the national revolutionary movement and leadership will have to be careful to draw as much strength as possible from religious-minded people,

without themselves getting involved in the rivalries between rival religions. This is not an easy task. Yet, skating on this thin ice is inescapable.

It is from this standpoint, we have to appreciate Gandhiji's statesmanship in incorporating the Khilafat demands in the National Demands of 1921 and also in keeping himself nearest to the most progressive tenets and ranks of Hindus. It is to his credit that he has shown the way for making a revolutionary use of the religious feelings of the masses. On the other hand, Mr. Jinnah's tactics have resulted only in counter-revolutionary activity on the part of the League; for he did not have the genius to invoke the religious feelings of the Moslems in promotion of India's national revolution. The C. P. and R. D. P. have bungled most hopelessly by their support to the Moslem League, for, they have, thereby, only strengthened the forces of counter-revolution and the most undemocratic and unrepresentative communal and sectional ministry in Bengal, during the worst famine the oriental world has experienced during this century.

When the worst comes to the worst, the national leadership will have to be prepared to invite and welcome the co-operation of all religious forces that are prepared to fight for national revolution in a single-minded manner, without placing any extra-national loyalty before their responsibilities. To work such a united front is not easy. It is fraught with much danger. So, it can be resorted to, only when it is inevitable to do so.

Even such a united front can be more fruitful and less dangerous than a united front with the C. P. because, while the former can at best achieve national revolution and at worst, can only leave the country in a stalemate; the latter can at best lead to the divided counsels in the

revolution and at worst, demoralise the national leadership and destroy all chances of national progress.

119. Marx felt that cottage industrial workers might also prove revolutionary but only for non-progressive purposes. He thought that they could only aim like peasants, at arresting the progress of industrial revolution. His dogmatic followers have ever since entertained the same ideas which grew into a prejudice and so have neglected these people.

Are the cottage Workers also revolutionary ?

No one denies the fact that Capitalist development has proved very destructive of cottage industries. Its Machino-facture threw the cottage workers into unemployment and robbed them of their much cherished and age-long independence; Cottage workers naturally resent the inroads that modern industry makes into their preserves. When they lacked revolutionary leadership as in the first forties of the last century, they mistook the new machines for their enemies and forgot the capitalist system that was responsible for the sponsoring of industrial revolution and proceeded in vain, as in England, to destroy the new machines.

We have done better in India. Those of us who came under the influence of Gandhian constructive programme and have realised what an essentially revolutionary role these cottage workers could play in a national revolution. They number serveral millions in India; the handloom weavers alone accounting for ten millions. With all its power, political and economic, British imperialism and its Indian ally, the growing colonial large-scale industrial systems have failed to liquidate these votaries of cottage industries during their reign of a century and more. The cottage

workers have displayed greater loyalty to their respective industries, nobler espirit de corps and stronger proletarian spirit than the English workers in the depressed areas, because they have had truer and more long-standing proletarian traditions of unity and occupational self-government. These are the true proletariat of the colonies. And Mahatma Gandhi has turned towards them, as the basic rock on which he is to re-build the Indian co-operative and yet, nationally decentralized industrial structure. His Khadi programme of 1920 and All India Village Industries Association of 1934 (A. I. V. I. A) are his constructive contributions to their regeneration and re-organisation.

Some of us have proceeded to organise these workers even more directly into their respective industrial unions. So far, we have succeeded in building up a very efficient and conscious Association of Hand Loom Weavers of the whole of South India, numbering more than a million, both workers and their dependents. They are revolutionary, are devoted to our national cause, have given fine response to the call of our national revolution and are, today, highly class-conscious. Their very caste-consciousness has come to be a powerful tributary to the growing stream of their class-consciousness. And their industrial ideology is truly revolutionary. They are ready to adopt the latest improvements in the technique of their implements and also methods of production, subject to the condition that the cost of such improvements must be within their reach, i. e., their industrial or co-operative financial competence. They are prepared to adopt co-operative financing, production and marketing. The South Indian weavers have developed an excellent co-operative organisation. Mahatma Gandhi expected that similar work would be done among the other cottage workers also. But most of

the congressmen did not realize the revolutionary implications of his move, half as well as Government did–Vide. The Hallett Circular–and so, his A. I. V. I. A. has had to content itself with research into possibilities for improving the technical side of cottage production and the organisation of a few museums. But there is no doubt whatsoever that if the work is taken up in a dynamic manner, almost every cottage industry can be modernized, its workers organised and educated and turned into active and conscious national revolutionaries.

In the interests of these workers, we may have to arrest the growth of certain sections of capitalist industry, catering directly to consumers but that can, in no way, prevent the industrial progress of the country, since Japanese example indicates how, even cottage industries, if run on electric power in suitable establishments with adequate co-operative organisation, can advance the economic status of the workers and the country. But as it is, in India, and in so many African colonies, these workers are directly threatened with ruin not only by imperialist economy but also by their local capitalism. So they are naturally keen on supporting the national revolutionary leadership which assures them of a brighter future, along co-operative organisational lines. The British Government understood this possibility and so hastened to warn its officials not to co-operate with Gandhiji's revolutionary move to mobilise these wotkers. Indian capitalists too realized this danger to their interests and so tried their best to win over the National Planning Committee to their side. Thanks to the growing strength of organisation of handloom weavers, Government of India was obliged to carefully consider the practicability of adopting weavers' demand for distributing between them-

selves and weaving mills the market for cloth. This war has given a boomerang to all sections of the textile industry. But in post war years, this question of dividing the cloth market between the mills and the handlooms will again assume political importance. Therefore, national revolutionaries are best advised to cater to the economic needs and demands of the cottage workers, to organise them to carry on political propoganda and educational work among them, to rouse and raise the tempo of their class, and national consciousness and to gain them as effective sources of strength for sectional revolution. And their efforts are bound to yield good results, thanks to the real revolutionary and nationalist urge and needs of these traditional colonial proletariat.

What about national education ?

120. The imperialists are naturally interested in giving such education to the colonials as will enhance the prestige and special qualities of themselves and weaken the national sentiment and sense of self – respect, history, and achievements of the latter. They wish to achieve the spiritual enslavement of their colonials through their control of schools, radio, press. It is the duty of national revolution to counteract this vicious propaganda. Mahatma Gandhi and others of India have shown the way by starting rival schools, wherein teaching is provided but on national revolutionary lines. Hitherto too much stress was laid in such schools on the historical, cultural and sentimental aspects of nationalism and too little on the teaching of economics and politics from the standpoint of the toilers and the "havenots". It is high time that the curriculum in national schools is revolutionised and the socialist and democratic side of national revolution is presented before the students.

Twenty years of agitation has influenced the general standard of teaching in the official schools also of India and similar results may be possible of achievement in other colonies too, even while the revolutionary forces are gathering strength.

121. In view of the fact that most of the colonial masses are illiterate, impressionable, religious and sentimental, it is necessary for national revolution to make its offensive against the sedulous influences of imperialism. For instance, it is better, as the West Indian Negroes and Indians have already begun to do, for national leadership to taboo the dress, social mannerisms and parties of their imperial masters and to reinstate or to popularise the national dress, social customs and functions. As much progress as possible has to be achieved in most of our colonial habits, customs and social functions but it must be in conformity with national sense of honour and history. Thus, the Gandhian Cap is an excellent and economical national emblem and Khaddar is a progressive, Swadeshi uniform. Similarly national movement must act as a revolutionising and also regenerating influence and thus many an old, or abandoned but useful historical observances or social life of cultural attitude will have to be suitably metamorphosed and popularised again to provide a happy distinctive quality and flavour to nationalism.

What about other means of national education?

Earnest efforts have to be made to metamorphose the current social customs, literature, national history, themes for literary works, dramas, cinemas and popular recitations, art, architecture etc., in short, every walk of life and the design, artistic and cultural appearance and content of every outward expression of life must be enriched by the

new achievement of spiritual emancipation of a nation and its conceptions of a higher and happier future and mission of contribution of its individualistic national personality. India of the Gandhian age has achieved much in this direction. Even the boycott of official functions practised by the West Indian Negroes and the re-capture of the Negro dances and dress are a negative and positive contribution in this direction.

122. It is wrong to depend upon professional or whole-time teachers alone for spreading the ideals and aims of nationalism. Some of them may be needed. But most of the educational work will have to be carried on by those leaders, organisers and workers who are actively in touch with the day to day activities of both the masses and the nationalist movement. For instance, in China, Dr. Sun Yat Sen had taken upon himself the task of teaching his three Revolutionary Principles to the nationalist workers gathered in their college. Similarly, De Valera, Gandhiji of Ireland carried on a lot of systematic educational work. In India, Gandhiji did much work through his Satyagraha Ashram and later at Sevagrama; Acharya Narendra Dev and his collegues at the Kashi Vidyapith; G. L. Narayana and his band of peasant leaders of the Peasants Institute, Nidubrolu; Dr. Pattabhi and otbers at the National College, Machilipatnam, and many others in other places of India have done splendid work. Much more needs to be done. Every province must have a permanent Citizenship College and Institutes of Peasants and Workers and of Women and every district must run two or three seasonal refresher courses of training for the public workers who wish to devote their spare time, energies and

Who are to be the teachers ?

And what sort of teachers and teaching shall we have ?

other resources for the promotion of the nationalist movement directly or for peasants or workers or women movements.

Yet, care will have fo be taken not to multiply the schools of the type of Ashrams, where too much of religious teachings and observances and also of sanatanism of any one religion is followed. We must certainly train national workers to work with religious faith, single-minded persistence and sincerity but we ought not to make religion the very atmosphere, backbone and stuff of our teaching and training.

As for the wholetime teachers – few though they must be–whom we may have to engage for the conduct of our special colleges and Instuitutes, it is necessary that they are given a refresher course of training in the practical mass propaganda and organisational work for atleast a month in every year, so that their teaching can be realistic and in keeping with the actual environment and experiences of the nationalist workers.

The syllabuses for these institutes will have to be prepared by specially constituted commnittees of nationalist educational experts, but in close consultation with and on the final approval of the local provincial Nationalist party (Congress in India), the peasant, workers or women organisation, so that, the teaching given can be in harmony with the general activity and spirit of the respective movements and also in close contact with the provincial needs and types of culture etc.

123. If the national revolution is to be able to make any headway against its imperialist enemies on one side and the parties with extra-territorial primacy of loyalties on the other, it is most essential that it must develop a com-

petent and adequate brain trust. It has to include the High Command of the National Leadership, the office bearers of the associated class and mass organisations; the heads of the national or provincial training centres and also the few co-opted "ideology and educational experts." It is for this Board of National Revolutionary Ideology to bring into existence similar boards for all provinces and to decide upon the kind of literature needed. It has to get such literature written and published and distributed. It has to keep itself in touch with similar Boards of other colonial Nationalist Movements and attempt to develop a world-wide literature with a world perspective, about the National Revolution and its anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist and pro-world Federation ideology.

Do we not need a brain trust ?

This may appear to be such an impossible or idealistic plan to those who realise the insiduous strength of the continuous stream of literature that is being directed on to the colonials from the imperialist and Soviet sources, in the interests of imperial intellectual mastery or the Soviet anti-national and extra-territorial loyalties and proletarian dictatorship. The pity is that, till now, only a few people have realised the world role of national revolution and even fewer people have been able to see the need for as self-reliant, prolific and missionary stream of literature for the idea and practice of national revolution as there is for the ideology of western and modern imperialism and also, of the Soviet cult of proletarian dictatorship. And unfortunately, there is very little literature about the nationalist movements of different colonies and the achievements of the colonials. There is even much less upon their actual economic, social and political conditions, aims and objects. To study all these and to publish requisite

literature is the most urgent task of such a board as is here envisaged.

Inter-colonial tours of national revolutionaries will have to be organised and intimate contacts between each other to be developed. Every effort has to be made to help all the colonial revolutionaries to know each other well either personally or by correspondence and press and to develop a fraternal sense of unity of all their anti-imperialist and pro-national liberation activities. Unless they are all made conscious of the fact that their nationalist activity and revolutionary endeavours are as necessary, distinctive and progressive as the socialist activity of the politically and economically independent countries and that they need not fall a prey to the partial, and sectarian teachings of Soviet Russian foreign office, and its subterranean communist international and C. Ps, which are but its spiritual pupils, the national revolutionary movement of the world is sure to go the wrong way and delay the national liberation of the colonial peoples.

124. In the west. it has so far been believed that a national revolution is to lead to bourgeois democratic revolution. Lenin has warned the communists that it need not necessarily pass through the phase of bourgeois democratic revolution before it leads the colonials to proletarian revolution. Dr. Sun Yat Sen maintained that a nationalist revolution must certainly lead to such a social state in which the masses can find adequate opportunities. Mahatma Gandhi has made it clear that Swaraj India must live mostly for the sake of raising the economic, social and political status, opportunities and comforts of the Daridranarayana or the great mass of poverty-stricken toiling masses.

What is a successful National Revolution to lead to ?

But how are these very desirable ends to be achieved ? Mahatma Gandhi suggests the re-establishment of self-sufficiency economy. For the whole country, built up from the village food production and rural hand-made cloth, utensils etc., with the aid of co-operative organisation on one side and vocational training given in the Wardha schools on the other, he admits that colonials can have a few indispensable basic industries organised on the most modern and mechanised manner and also the most essential modern means of communications and other appertinences and conveniences of this age. In this way he hopes to circumvent the need to build up modern capitalism, he seems to think, that it will automatically come to an end by wear and tear, since any futher development will be prevented by the self-sufficiency economy. He does not visualise the development of any of the basic industries under capitalist auspicies. In conclusion, he wants such a decentralized economic structture, linked up by co-operative organisation as can be within the comprehension, control and co-operative activity of the great bulk of toilers, both unitedly and individually. Thus, he thinks that without any class struggle and upheaval, socialism can be achieved.

We do not wish to make a cult of either large scale or small scale industries, although we too realise that to the greatest possible extent, small scale industrial units have to be developed in order to help our cottage workers, who abound in colonies and who have a legitimate right not to be deprived of their present advanntages of industrial decentralized self-governing facilities and opportunities.

The biggest consideration is how to provide full employment to all our toiling masses and we will encourage these industrial plans which will, provide the maximum and productive employment. Thus, once the present capitalist

regime of colonies is liquidated, we, too, want the development of industries – both large scale and cottage-scale–on the most modern lines, with state or co-operative control but with the workers placed in such a position as to be able to control their direction and activity. All are agreed that the future industrial development must be under socialized control and no colony shall aim at capturing foreign markets and getting into any deals with world capitalism for market.

If a sincere attempt is made by all concerned to understand each other, it will be found that on all matters, there can be a very large measure of agreement. For after all, whatever may be our deductions from the experiences of the west regarding industrial development and machine propelled civilization, we cannot but think of the cultural attainments, social habits and occupational and technical and intellectual grooves in which the colonial people have come to work at best advantage, because of their millennium old history. For instance, the Japanese have certainly excelled the west in their production of the cheapest commodities but with a certainly more artistic and qualitative excellence. and they have made use of small scale industrial units, cottage industries and co-operative organisation to a much greater extent than any other industrial power. To-day the Japanese are considered to be one of the greatet industrial and efficient nations of the world. Therefore it must be possible for us all to explore of the habits, and thoughts of our toiling masses and design such an industrial plan of development and organisation as will be conducive to the most efficient production and the greatest satisfaction to the colonial workers. It may be found that Gandhiji is right, as he has been in so many other spheres, in his reading of the colonials' history, ability and needs and also in his suggestion of remedial and con-structive means and measures.

125. The European liberals say, it must be the bourgeois democratic goverment; the communists say, it must be the dictatorship of the protectrait, which can attempt to garner the fruits of national liberation for the benefit of the colonial masses. We have seen how bourgeois democracy has ended in the perpetuation of the virtual dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the political subjugation or subordination of the masses and how the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, as practised in Soviet Russia has resulted in the correct liquidation of the intelligentsia and skilled artisans and technicians and also the suppression of the great majority of peasant masses; leading to the avoidable but disastrous series of famines, unseen civil wars and enormous wastage of human and material resources. In the colonies the greatest revolutionary forces are the peasants and intelligentsia and the protectrait is yet in its infancy, both in its emergence and political consciousness and ability. As Gandhiji and Jawaharlal maintain, colonial democracy must be a predominantly peasantwise *if* it is to be truly democratic. But the other two classes of toilers i. e., the Praja (professionals and intelligentsia) and proletariat are just as necessary constituents of colonial democracy as peasants. The Indian National Congress is aware of these historical necessities and has therefore declared that power in Swaraj India ought to belong to the toilers in the fields, factories and elsewhere. It is such a full fledged democracy of the masses, that is, the peasants, protectrait and praja which alone can fulfil its revolutionary and constructive tasks and seek to serve the Daridranarayana.

Who is to achieve these ends

The world has had enough of these single class dictatorships by whatever names they may strut about and

every dictatorship, however well-intentioned, has resulted in or worked only to the suppression and destruction of all other classes. Only in war time can and do people put up with a democratic dictatorship and it does serve the purposes of the masses, because it really approximates for the time being with the masses and the mass identifies itself with the interests of all the classes and all seek to fulfil their united objective, the national purpose of winning or retaining or safe-guarding their national freedom. Therefore, if at all any national revolution is to try to establish an emergent regime, it has got to be at its worst, only democratic dictatorship and at best, a real democracy of all the toiling masses. It must never be the dictatorship of either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie.

Such a Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj alone can adequately weigh the needs, interests of all classes of toilers, understand their mind and feelings and react to their public opinion in a democratic and comradely manner and in the end, give them the greatest possible satisfaction and strength. It alone can, for instance, understand, sympathise with and constructively modernise the colonial peasant and cottage industrial economy, tribal or village self-sufficiency, the local social cum occupational organisation and the traditional democratic elements and institutions of the peoples and lead them towards progress.

What means are to be adopted to achieve national revolution ?

126. For a very long time, there has been much controversy as to what means are best suited to achieve national liberation. Most revolutionaries have experimented with terrorism, organised violent revolutionary out-breaks, parliamentarism, obstructive as well as responsive and constructive programmes. But a careful review of the Irish,

Egyptian, Turkish, Chinese and Indian fights for freedom shows that no one of these means has been entirely successful or capable of assuring any appreciable success.

And in India, Mahatma Gandhi has been making some of the greatest and noblest experiments with the weapon of Ahimsa or nonviolence, through the medium of organised mass-campaigns of Satyagraha. And there can be no two opinions as to the tremendous success that it has achieved among the Indian masses against the greatest and most adroit imperialist power. It has awakened the vast concourse of India's masses. It has put life into them. It has also inspired them into feeling their actual spiritual liberation from any fear or deadening awareness of imperial mastery over them. Moreover, it has tempered them through the nation-wide and self-inflicted blows of sacrifice and suffering, through the series of Satyagraha struggles and moulded them into a nationally conscious, organised, disciplined and powerful masses, whom British imperialism can no longer dare to keep under subjection by any arguments of its might or superior intelligence or culture.

This Indian discovery has been adopted and tried by the Egyptians, Syrians, Palestinian Arabs and others with considerable success.

Since the modern imperialism takes care to disarm all its subjects and prohibits the ownership by any colonial of any unlicensed arms, it cannot be possible for any large number of colonials to come to posses atleast as modern and efficient arms and ammunition as their imperial masters and thus hope to achieve any measure of success in a pitched or even in a gorilla warfare. And that mere terrorism and even sabotage activities on an organised scale cannot succeed even in temporarily disabling the imperial

power and disorganising its organisations of oppression on any appreciable scale is the lesson of the gorilla warfare of India during the 1942 – 44 struggle; of Abyssinia during 1936–39 and of Burma in 1923–26. The partisan warfare of China and Russia and the gorilla exploits of Yugoslavia, and the Balkan patriots are themselves not very encouraging and they cannot be taken as an illustration for colonial activity, because, there, the people had had their own arms; the Allied powers supplied them with more and the remnants of their earlier national armies had supplied them with discipline, training and arms from their secreted dumps of arms and amunition. Therefore, as a matter of practical politics, violence cannot serve the colonials half as well as non–violence and terrorism is even more futile than organised gorilla warfare.

It may be said that the practice of the whole of the world and even that of every national and proletarian revolution is all in favour of violence as the most effective revolutionary weapon and that Marx went into panegyrics over violence as the midwife of revolutions. That may be true. But it does not eschew the possibility of experimenting a revolution with non–violence as its weapon. And the Indian experience of 1920–44 is not less favourable to non–violence than the world's experience of violence since the beginning of human struggles.

Any how, short of a foreign intervention, when money, arms and ammunition can be expected, and in the absence of a world crisis like the present one, it is impossible for colonials to achieve a violent revolution. Organised violent struggle cannot be organised and if organised, it cannot succeed and if temporarily successful, it cannot be sustained. Therefore Satyagraha struggle is the best under colonial circumstances.

127. For a long time and on several occassions there have been controversies among Indian revolutionaries over the advisability or otherwise of parliamentary methods. In Europe too and among socialists similar controversies arose. There are obvious risks for any revolutionary party in parliamentary works. Everywhere one risk has had to be run, that is, a number of power-mad or weak-hearted revolutionaries come to be so much fascinated by the grandeur and glamour of parliaments and the plums of offices that the imperialists in the colonies and Capitalists in Europe dangle before their eyes and succumb to their attractions and abandon the cause of revolution. Thus are lost some of the ablest leaders to the enemy. A more insiduous influence is the creeping sense of indifference to the passage of time, owing to the fact that parliamentarians get used to the inevitability of delay and slowness in passing any law or getting any administrative change. Yet another trouble is that the parliamentarians begin to obstruct unduly any resort to direct action even in extreme circumstances, as they find constitutional methods more easy to defend in the legislatures. Last but not the least is the usual distaste of Parliamentarians to risk a frontal attack through an appeal to arms or Satyagraha, on the rulers.

How can Parliamentary work help National Revolution ?

Despite these and other risks, Parliamentarianism has had to be resorted to in every revolution even by those leaders who had the greatest distaste for it. In 1905, Lenin imposed on his party, the boycott of the Duma, because he felt that the wave of revolution was rising and peoples' attention ought not to be diverted into parliamentary channels. But later on, the revolutionary ardour and capacity of the masses were at a low ebb and the need arose

for sustaining and improving upon the prevailing but low standard of civil liberties and it was felt that it could be better done by guarding and fighting on the Parliamentary front, so that no more legislative fetters might be fastened on the masses etc. Hence, Lenin's decision to let his party enter the Duma and he used even to prepare speeches, draft resolutions etc. for the benefit of his representatives in the Duma and send them across the border from his Polish residence. Similarly Mahatma Gandhi, who had the greatest dislike and disbelief in parliamentary work had had to allow the Indian National Congress to carry on Parliamentary activities also in 1923–30 and again 1935–39. It is interesting to note that those were the periods when there was a great lull in the political activity and revolutionary tempo of the masses. Thus, it is clear, that so far, parliamentary work has been found to be of some definite utility during times of reaction or recuperation or post–struggles-lull.

128. Once they are in Parliamentary bodies, what are the national revolutionaries to do in their day to day procedure. At one time, when, in India, the great majority of Congressmen were opposed to their entry into legislatures, those who wanted to utilise their platforms pleaded that they would go in, only to obstruct the parliamentary work, refuse to pass the budgets, demonstrate the unworkability and hollowness of British constitutional reforms and make the normal run of Government impossible. For a time, they pursued that policy. But afterwards, it was discovered that wherever a measure, dealing with some popular need was brought in, they could not pursue merely obstructive tactics and more could be gained for

What kind of work are Revolutionaries to carry on in Legislatures ?

the national cause by offering constructive criticism and suggestions and by helping in the speedier passage of such bills through the legislature. Thus, after a time the policy of responsive co-operation was evolved and pursued with much benefit to our cause of national revolution.

129. Once this changed policy was adopted, the Indian Congress legislators had to decide upon another question; whether they were to take part in committees, appointed by governments but on the recommendation of the legislature and whether also they could offer constructive suggestions to different departments and get the grievances of people redressed, the Congress parties replied in the affirmative. They tabooed only clear nominations by government, when and where such nominations smacked of favouritism and also jobs that carried salaries or allowances or both. In one province, that is C. P. they even allowed the local party to accept office and form the ministry but that experiment led to many evil consequences and so, it was not repeated again under the Mont-Ford Scheme.

What are the limits of responsive Co-operation?

In the Round Table Conference Constitutional Reforms too, the controversy over the advisability or otherwise of the acceptance of ministries raged for nearly two years. Those who favoured the formation of ministries pleaded that they would only try to break the 1935 Act of Parliament, and its offering the reforms, if they were only allowed to form the ministries. But once the ministries were formed, the Act had to be worked and not broken, because, it was discovered that there were so many immediate needs of the masses which could be satisfied at least in part by the ministries and which must be attended to without

delay. Moreover, Mahatmaji's triumph in extracting the Gentlemen's Agreement from the Viceroy that the Governors would not exploit the safeguards and special powers vested in them to obstruct the normal execution of the decisions of the legislature and the cabinet, in pursuance of the Congress Election Manifesto has changed the whole atmosphere. So, a policy of responsive co-operation came to be pursued.

Some provinces were more fortunate than others in obtaining much relief from their Congress Ministries for their supporting masses. Many blunders were committed; yet, many useful and revolutionary advantages were offered to the masses; especially in the shape of tenancy, moratorium and debt relief acts. On the whole, Congress Ministries achieved an immensely better record of work, service and help to the masses in their $2\frac{1}{2}$ years–too brief a period-than what the Mont-Ford Ministeries could show over their 16 years af tenure.

Yet, the world was moving so fast; the Indian impatience to achieve freedom was growing so much more fast and the Leftism within the Congress was being given the queer pitch by the C. P so cleverly, that the achievements of the Congress Ministries, considerable though they were, did not come anywhere near the constantly rising expectations of the masses, now that they were getting organised and were formulating their youthful programmes of immediate demands. So many activities of different Congress Ministeries did offend the nationalist susceptibilities of Indian revolutionaries; their flirtation with the "Steel Frame", their strange display of deference to the Governors; their fearful intrigues with a Governor or two; their resort to arms and unpopular laws to maintain peace; their growing indifference to the Congress Committess, congressmen and

even the Congress High Command, all conspired to intensify dissatisfaction with them.

A detailed and sympathetic study ought to be made about the working, achievements, failures and causes therefor of Congress Ministeries for future guidance,so that much more real, ascertainable and revolutionary strength can be sought to be derived from future Congress Ministeries than in the past. One thing is clear; that though the Congress Ministreis have not succeeded in raising the revolutionary ability and tempo of the masses, they have not altogether been a complete failure nor did they do any harm to our revolutionary cause, although they were dangerously coming to the brink of that, especially in those provinces whose ministries were being headed by the Senior Leaders. Nevertheless, a more sympathetic, understanding, intelligent provincial leadership of the National Congress and the organisations of peasants, workers youth, students, women etc., and a tighter control from the All India National leadership and a more zealous and experienced legislators may be able to get more out of the future Congress Ministries than in the past.

130. The late Mr. Satyamurti was the ablest colonial Parliamentarian of his day. He used to advocate the novel policy of some revolutionaries working in parliaments, fending for the people who are in revolt against the imperialist regime; controlling the official repression; holding Government to account for any police or military excesses or atrocities and preventing or obstructing the passage and working of reactionary legislation etc., even while a nationwide Satyagraha struggle is going on. No one would heed this suggestion while he was alive. But owing to the sheer exigencies of the 1942-44 National Struggle and the utter helplessness of Constitu-

What about Satyamurty's Experiment ?

tional-minded people to check the ravages and repression of the government, some Congress Members of the Central Legislative Assemhly took courage in both their hands and attended the sessions of the Assembly and offered battle on that gilded and protected stage where at least the British are constrained to observe some rules of the game. Our experience of the budget sessions of 1944 and 45 is certainly encouraging. And the congress party was able to express in the Assembly such condemnation of British imperialism as could not be voiced and if voiced, could not be published in the press, without running the serious risk of imprisonment without trial and for an indefinite period. It was also able to inflict a number of defeats on Government and thereby to raise the morale of the repressed and oppressed masses. It also prevented the raising of raiway rates; especiatly for the third-class passengers. It threw out the Finance Bills. It has thoroughly discredited this nominated Executive Council.

Thus, in conclusion, we see that Parliamentary work does play a definitely useful role in national revolution. Only it must be properly and effectively guided and controlled by revolutionary leadership.

131. Lenin has given many directions to communists as to how to judge the ripeness of a revolutionary situation. They are useful, to some extent to the colonial peoples also, as indicating certain weaknesses of their imperial masters. We must however keep in mind one important difference between the Europaan countries that Lenin had in his mind and the colonies. The former are free and independent: the latter are subject countries. He was thinking of a discontented ruling class in colonies, the ruling class

When can there be a revolutionary situation ?

being foreign in its origin and interests, cannot suffer from any disaffection against its own regime. He had in mind a strong, united, conscious and organised proletariat to take the initiative in revolution; in colonies, that element is extremely weak. He knew that the masses in Europe would be capable of winning a part of the defence forces to its own side and neutralizing another section and also they could come to possess some arms of their own but no such possibilities are open to colonial peoples. On the other hand, while the people in European countries may have to divide and fight against each other, in colonies it is not impossible for the great bulk of the masses to be united against their common but hated masters. Like the Europeans, colonial people too have to be preparing against the fructification of such an international crisis like the last world economic depression or the present second world war. They have also to build up their international contacts with similarly placed people of other countries during peace times and then see, if a simultaneous revolutionary activity over a suitable period can be developed in as many colonial possessions of their common masters as possible. They may try to win the sympathies and support of as many foreign governments, their intelligentsia and diplomats as possible.

If the class organisations are well developed and they have achieved the maximum mass contacts and discipline; if the peasants proletariat, praja, women, youth and students are all in a proper revolutionary mood and fitness and if there is ground for a reasonable assumption that the struggle will be a prolonged, sustained and broadbased one and not end, as did so many phases of Indian revolution in a series of burst-ups, then the leadership of national revolution may feel justified in taking steps to launch upon a revolutionary struggle.

Even then the national leadership has to go on waiting patiently, reining up its impatient war-horses of youths, students etc. until its propaganda has reached such high pitch of an accumulation that the masses come to be thoroughly convinced of their intolerable conditions, the inevitability of a struggle and the absolute justness of their national demands. In this regard, Mahatma Gandhi has displayed great statesmanship and genius in judging absolutely the right psychological moments for giving the final call for action. And which other revolutionary of the twentieth century has come anywhere near Gandhiji in his choice and marshalling of the most revolutionary, exhilarating and fiery exhortations, that ennoble the masses, inspire the warriors and rise the status of the revolutionary activity to unheard of heights in the eyes of all the world?

132. If one is to examine the Indian Satyagraha Campaigns, one can easily see that on each one of those occasions, the moment of the call for action and the means adopted and the propaganda carried on in favour of the national demand were certainly the best. Yet, success has not come. Why? Because the congress has not become an effective fighting organisation also because no one can forecast or assure himself that revolutionary ardour of the masses can last for as long as the power of the imperialists lasts; that their capacity for sacrifice can be adequate and exceed the ability of the enemy to withstand the siege; that the ranks of the revolutionaries will not be thinned unduly, long before the real culminating point of the struggle can be reached. Therefore, for any revolution, there have to be a number of successive struggles, each leading

But can the right choice of the time and means ensure complete success ?

on to a higher tempo and depth as a starting point for the next struggle, until success is achieved.

133. Since, in no country, national revolution can reach successful results or culmination by one or two successive struggles, it is necessary to see that the same tactics of struggle are not followed in all of them, for, once the element of surprise is lacking, the enemy can go on bettering his weapons of repression and violence and achieve success over national revolution, all the more easily. For instance, Gandhiji's impetuous slogans of 1921 that the Government was a Satanic sytem and that Swaraj can be won in an year took the breath away of the Government and for well over an year, the British did not know how to fight that frightful and entirely unexpected and non-violent and countrywide defiance of law and order and Government.

Shall there not be the element of change and surprise in successive campaigns?

When again Gandhiji gave the war cry of "Now or Never" and "My corpse on the Persian Sea or Swaraj in my hands" and the slogan of "Manufacture Salt" whenever possible in defiance of Governmental authority and defy all unjust laws and his invitation to women to come into the thick of the fight and jeopardise the State, left the Government merely guessing as to what would really happen and how to cope with the situation.

But when the 1932 struggle was forced upon the country and when again the 1942 strugle was forced upon us by Government, the congress leadership lost the initiative. Government had all the cards in its hands and the people were worsted on every front and the situation was brought under control much more easily and quickly than in 1921 or 1930.

The lesson that one can draw from such experiences is that at no time shall a revolutionary party like the National Congress allow itself to be taken by surprise by the enemy; that it must always manoeuvre for its own initiative and give battle at its own convenience on its own front and in a manner chosen by itself.

134. It has become usual in certain quarters, especially of the communists, to accuse Mahatma Gandhi of unwillingness to take long term steps to go on preparing our revolutionary ranks in anticipation of any emergency or even a pre-conceived campaign, but a careful and impartial reading of his numerous exhortations in writing or by speech will reveal the fact that Gandhiji has not at all been remiss in this regard and that if at all anyone is to blame it is the rank and file of the office-bearers of congress committies.

What about keeping the revolutionary party in constant fighting fitness; and training the fighting ranks to face any emergency ?

Left to himself, he would have imposed his own military discipline on all congressmen and trained them to be as active, fearless, dynamic and strong as himself, ready to give the greatest battle to the enemy. Again and again he has been insisting upon quality rather than quantity and he has even complained against our general mania for gaining millions of members of doubtful revolutionary capacity or urge.

But it is, no doubt, true that the congress organisation, as such, has failed to make itself a tight, well knit, highly disciplined and military-minded body. It is too often occupied with electoral disputes and also internal schisms. By pursuing the mirage of democratic practices in its internal structure and making itself merely the parliament of all kinds of namesake nationalist forces, whose only virtue is

the payment of four annas per annum per member, it has weakened itself.

It has not tried to recruit and train a growing number of cadres of volunteers, organisers, propagandists who are taught as to how to manoeuvre against the tactics of Government and gain more strength for the people, while minimising the evil effects of official terrorism upon the masses, it has not so far cared to build up peaceful but standing armies and theories of struggles based upon past experiences.

Peaceful though the congress struggles have to be, congress has to begin to study and analyse its own past experiences and devise ways and means by which it can derive maximum revolutionary strength even from parliamentary and constructive and other peace-time activities.

APPENDIX

Mahatma Gandhi's Message to World's Oppressed Races

PROF: N. G. Ranga who has had an interview with Mahatma Gandhi to discuss the role of Indian National Revolution in the world-movement of peasants and oppressed races for liberation from Imperialism passes the following to the press.

RANGA: Do you recognise the need for all the colonial peoples to try to come nearer to each other, learn from each other's experiences, in their fight for freedom and help each other?

GANDHIJI:- Yes, but "colonial peoples" is a badly chosen expression, oppressed races of the earth expresses the idea better. "Colonial" in the English language means whites who have emigrated to the colonies.

RANGA: Are we right in thinking that your stand against world imperialism is intended to benefit as much the African, Chinese, Red Indian and other non-white masses as of 400 millions of India?

GANDHIJI:- My correspondence with Government while under detention shows that most clearly.

RANGA: May we have your blessings for our attempts to build up the "Colonial Peoples Freedom Front" and thus develop a research propaganda and ideoligical platform with merely advisory and informative functions? I may inform you that several of our firends and admirers in England, Africa, and West Indies, such as Reginald Reynolds, A. G. Stock, Kenyatta, have already been working on your lines for the emancipation of the colonial and coloured peoples.

GANDHIJI: I want to say-Yes. But I want to understand its implications.

RANGA: The greatest social problem of the modern world is the exploitation of the vast masses of agricultural people by the industrial peoples and countries through the unequal exchanges imposed upon the former by the latter through their control over the world markets and finance and imperialist machinery. Are we right in thinking that you stand for the abolition of this process of exploitation of the producers of primary commodities and agricultural masses of the world?

GANDHIJI: Root and branch.

RANGA: Are we right in thinking that ours is only a part of the general struggle of the colonial peoples against world capitalism and imperialism and that India is the vanguard in world movement of colonial and agricultural masses for freedom – economic, and political?

GANDHIJI: I hope so.

RANGA: You say that the earth rightly belongs or should belong to the peasant. By this, do you mean only that the peasant ought to gain control over the land he cultivates or that he should also gain effective voice and power in the society and over the state in which he is obliged to live? If the Kisans are to have only land and not effective political power, their position will be just as bad as in Soviet Russia where political power has been monoplised by the proletariat dictatorship while peasants were first allowed to gain some holdings and later were deprived of those holdings in the name of collectivisation of land.

GANDHIJI: I do not know what has happened in Soviet Russia. But I have no doubt that if we have democratic Swaraj, as it must be if the freedom is won through non-violence, the Kisan must hold power in all its phases, including political power.

RANGA: Am I right in interpreting your statement that land should not belong to the absentee landlord or Zamindar and that ultimately the *Zamindari* system has to be abolished, of course through non-violent means?

GANDHIJI: Yes. But you should remember that I visualize a system of trusteeship *regulated by the state.* In other words I do not want to antagonise the Zamindars (and for that matter any class) without cause.

RANGA: When you say that a peasant has "so to work as to make it impossible for the landlord to exploit him" does it include apart from the Satyagrahic campaigns the legislative administrative reforms that peasants may oblige the state through the exercise of their franchise and

political influence to improve their individual and collective conditions and minimise the powers of the landlords ?

GANDHIJI: Civil Disovedience and non-cooperation are designed for use when people, i. e., the tillers of the soil, have no political power, naturally their grievences, whatever their character, will be ameliorated through legislative channels.

"But he might not have all that political power", you will perhaps say. My reply is that if swaraj is attained by the effort of the whole people, as it must be under non-violence, the kisans must come into their own and have the uppermost voice. But if it is not so and there is a story of a workable compromise between the people and the Government on the basis of a limited franchise, the interest of the tiller of the soil will need close watching. If the legislature proves itself to be incapable of safeguarding Kisans' interests they will ofcourse always have the sovereign remedy of civil disobedience and non-cooperation. But as I said as early as 1932 in connection with Chirala-Perala, ultimately, it is not paper legislation nor brave words or fiery speeches, but the power of non-violent organisation, discipline and sacrifice that constitutes the real bulwark of the people against injustice or oppression.

RANGA: The Bombay A. I. C. C. resolution assures the masses that the power in the national Government and Swaraj India ought to belong to the toilers on the fields, in factories and elsewhere. Can we say that the spirit of the resolution means that the Congress therefore stands for the achievement of Democratic Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj, after the attainment of Swaraj?

GANDHIJI: Not only after but before also. The Congress stands fot democratic Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj.

RANGA: Can our peasants and their organisations undertake Satyagraha campaigns against any oppressive measures or policies of a landlord or a revenue authority, i. e., after all possibilities fot settlement by negotiations through good offices of the local Congress Committees have failed? We are aware of the 1939 Bombay A. I. C. C. instructions regarding such campaigns and we accept that when there is National Government with which Congress co-operates, peasant unions as well as local committees have to seek the guidence of the Provincial Congress Committees as to when and how to start and conduct such Satyagraha campaigns.

GANDHIJI: They would be fools if they did not do that.

RANGA: Do you not recognise the need for all the colonial people too.

GANDHI: Answer.

RANGA: Are we right in thinking that you stand against world imperialism?

GANDHI: Answer.

RANGA: May we have your blessings for our attempt to build up the Colonial Peoples' Freedom Front...

GANDHI: Answer.

RANGA: The greatest social problem of the modern world .....

GANDHI: Answer.

RANGA: Are we right in thinking ours is only a part of the general struggle...,....

GANDHI: Answer.

We have to offer our apologies to our readers for a very large number of printer's devils that have crept into this book owing to our pre-occupations with public work. We have not added any corrections of obvious mistakes but have added only such corrections where we are afraid ideas not intended by us may be conveyed to the readers.

We assure our readers that we shall certainly take greater care in our future publications.

ERRATA

PAGE	
6	add words 'demands of' in line 23 before the words 'Peasants'.
12	read 'basis' for the work 'risk' in the first line of second paragraph.
13	Read 'Perspective' for the word 'Prospective' in the margin.
17	Read 'to' 'for word' 'and' in line 7.
18	Drop all the lines from 22 on page 18 up to the first line of page 19, starting from word 'yet' and ending with the word 'years'.
19	Read word 'out' for word 'on' in line 11 after the word 'held'.
	Read 'effective' for word 'conflicting' in line 22.
	Drop words 'of the parties' in last but four lines.
21	Drop words 'and reorganisable' in line 9.
24	Add word 'when' after the word 'only' in line 20.
27	Read word 'non-exploitation' for word 'exploitation'.
28	Read word 'if' for 'it' in line 26.
31	Read 'stage' for 'state' in line 20.
32	Add 'but' before the sentence in line 18.
33	Drop words 'its strings and sufferings' in line 1.
34	Read 'some one' for 'some time' in line 13.
37	Read 'single' for 'simple' in line 15.
38	Read 'lines' for word 'lives' of line 12.
40	Read 'Gunthur' for 'Gunthu' in line 6.
	Read 'Iranded' for 'handed' in line 2.
41	Read 'Principals' for 'agents' in line 1.
45	Read 'lead' for 'had' in line 16.
46	Mark full stop after word 'revolution' in line 18.
48	Read 'ignoring' for 'growing' in line 17.
	,, 'sowed the seeds' for 'saved the ends' in line 29.
49	,, 'pursue' for 'persue' in line 10.

PAGE

49 Read 'he' for 'be' in line 26.
,, 'exhorting' for 'exhating' in line 26.
50 ,, 'merely' for 'meanly' in line 20.
51 Add 'if' before 'the world movement' in line 28.
Read 'of' for 'if' in line 29.
54 Add word 'Socialist' before 'Revolution' in line 32.
55 Read 'come' for 'one' in line 19.
,, 'contributed' for 'continued' in line 32.
,, 'Proletariat' in line 2 for word 'protectorate'.
,, 'Compensation' for 'liquidation' in last line.
57 ,, 'rigours' for 'vigours' in line 1.
,, 'social' for 'socia' in line 16.
58 ,, 'the' for the word 'to' in line 16.
59 ,, 'which' for word 'wich' in line 6.
61 ,, 'up' for word 'by' in line 29.
63 Add 'revolution' after 'social' in line 6.
69 Read 'of' for word 'that' in line 19.
73 Add 'Force' after 'Defence' in line 13.
Drop words 'which have' in line 21.
74 Read 'Sphinx' for 'Sphinix' in line 1.
85 Read 'Ply' for 'Play' in line 6.
Add 'that' before 'this' in last line
86 Drop words 'their right to achieve' in line 23.
90—94 Drop these pages from the first paragraph in page 90.
97 Read 'leninist' for 'leninix' in line 20.
,, 'their' for 'the' in line 21.
100 ,, 'European Autarky' for 'European Antaky' in line 30.
102 ,, 'De Velera' for 'De Veleras' in line 16.
,, 'of' for 'as' in last line.
103 Add 'been' after 'have' in last but one line.
107 Read 'ensure' for 'enurse' in line 15.
110 ,, 'as' for 'of' in line 21.
111 ,, 'their' for 'there' in line 4.
113 ,, 'persuasion' for 'pursuation' in line 6.
118 .. 'irreparable' for 'irrepairable' in line 16.
120 ,, 'share' for 'slave' in line 12.
122 ,, 'sought' for 'brought' in line 13.
124 ,. 'Variegated' for 'Varietated' in line 14.
125 ,, 'and for' for 'in' line 29.
126 ,, 'echews' for 'achieves' in line 17.
,, 'Proletariat' for 'Protectariat' in line 26.
127 Drop word 'as' in line 13.

PAGE	
130	Read 'to' for 'of' in line 10.
132	,, 'emergence' for 'emergency' in last but one line.
133	,, 'Proletariat' for 'Protectariat' in line 1.
134	,, 'unwieldy' for 'unwielding' in line 12.
135	Drop 'between' in line 24.
139	Read 'and' for 'to' in line 7.
140	Add 'and' before 'manufacturing' in last but one line.
141	Read 'only' for 'as' in line 25.
142	Drop 'not' in line 28.
144	Read 'become' for 'became' in line 6.
148	Read 'it' for 'is' in line 18.
153	Read 'distinct' for 'distant' in line 20.
155	Drop 'and' in line 25.
158	Read 'national' for 'sectional' in line 11.
160	Drop words 'of Inland' in line 20.
162	Add 'literature' after 'less' in last but two lines.
165	Drop 'of' in line 27.
166	Read 'complete' for 'correct' in line 11.
166	Read 'Proletariat' for 'Protectrait' in line 18.
171	Read 'whenever' for 'wherever' in last but two line 31.
175	Add 'but' between words 'class' and 'in'.
177	Read 'raise' for 'rise' in line 14.
183	Read '1922' for '1932' in line 19.

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21.	Kasinathuni Chandrasekharaprakasam Aiahvaru garu	20
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25.	Devuneni Venkatramiah Garu ...	15
26.	Parvataneni Venkatramiah and Bros. ...	25
27.	Chalasani Kotiah Garu	15
28.	Parvataneni Kotiah Garu	15
29.	,, Nagabhushanam Garu ...	25
30.	,, Venkatratnam Garu ...	20
31.	,, Subbarao	10
32.	Sooryadevara Tirupatiah	10
33.	Sooryadevara Venkiah	10
34.	Koneru Kotiah	10
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