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Two annas



THE SOCIALIST PARTY Its Rejection of Marxism

by Aruna Asaf Ali

Four annas



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LEFT SOCIALIST GROUP

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Policy Statement

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The following representatives attended the First Convention of the Left Socialist Group held in New Delhi :

Com. Harsahai Singh	...	Bareilly
„ Shambhunath Chaturvedi	...	„
„ Ramnarain Upadhyaya	...	Muzaffarnagar
„ Ramchandra Sharma	...	Badaun
„ Pabbar Ram	...	Azamgarh
„ Om Dutt Shastri	...	„
„ Keshav Gupta	...	Agra
Com. Bapurao Jagtap	...	Bombay
„ D. S. Nargolkar	...	„
„ Gulabrao Ganacharya	...	„
Com. Madhavrao Gaekwad	...	Poona
„ Kusum Gaekwad	...	„
„ Tushar Pawar	...	„
Com. Pyaralal Rikhi	...	Amritsar
„ Meher Singh Giani	...	„
„ Bishan Singh	...	Ferozepore
„ Munshi Ram	...	„
„ Satyapal Sharma	...	Hissar
„ D. N. Goswami	...	„
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Com. Roshanlal Dukhia	...	Patiala
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„ Lal Behari Pande	...	„
„ Asa Ram	...	„
„ Dev Brat	...	„
„ P. Viswanath	...	„

This Statement of Policy was adopted at the First Convention of the Left Socialist Group held in New Delhi on March 15, 16, 17 and 18, 1952. Thirty-two representatives of the Group from Delhi, Bareilly, Muzaffarnagar, Azamgarh, Badaun, Agra, Amritsar, Ferozepore, Hissar, Patiala, Bombay, Poona, Akola, Drug, Madras, Calicut, and Ottapalam attended the Convention. The Convention set up an Organizing Committee of 14 members which has been empowered to reorganize the Group in all parts of the country.

Organizing Secretary.

*Issued by the Organizing Secretary,
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THE Left Socialist Group began as a revolutionary breakaway by class conscious workers from the bourgeois socialism of the Socialist Party of India, whose leadership was deliberately corrupting the theory and practice of scientific socialism as propounded and practised by Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. Such class conscious workers who left the Party very soon realized that it was not enough merely to rid themselves of such leadership.

2. They realised that only a Communist Party, *i.e.*, a party which accepts the Marxist-Leninist economic and revolutionary theories and seeks to implement them through Leninist-Stalinist practice, can successfully lead the democratic classes against the present Indian State. Such a party will have to work in complete harmony with the International Communist movement. The Indian Communist Party has tried to do so. But it is as yet ineffective in achieving the loyalty and support of the people generally. This is due to the fact that it has not earnestly tried to increase revolutionary awareness in the Indian working class.

3. For achieving this necessary loyalty it is necessary, in our opinion, that in the present situation, we should continue as the Left Socialist Group and help the communist movement and the Communist Party of India.

4. The present international and Indian situation in which we find ourselves can be summarised as follows:

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

5. Capitalist accumulation has reached such a stage in America that about 400 people control today the production of well over a half of the capitalist world's manufactured goods*, whose distribution is also in the hands

* "American productive capacity is undoubtedly well over half and probably closer to 60 per cent of the industrial capacity of the entire world. . . . During the war, the United States had emerged by far the leading world exporter and importer."—J. S. Allen, "World Monopoly and Peace," p. 92.

of their own agents and satellites. These 400 monopolists, apart from the profits they derive from the home market have an annual yield of over 2,000,000,000 dollars from foreign investments. Naturally, with this intensification of capital in the hands of the monopolists, the contradictions inherent in capitalism also have increased. These contradictions are expressed in (a) the constant fight between prices and wages in America and the European countries, (b) the hidden struggle between the monopolists of America and their satellites in other capitalist countries over markets which becomes apparent in the shape of foreign policy quarrels, (c) the revolutionary mass movements in all colonial and dependent countries, and (d) the open hostility of the imperialist camp to the U. S. S. R. and the New Democracies of Europe and Asia. These contradictions make the world market chaotic, cause inflations in all capitalist and colonial countries and lead to "dollar shortage", which means incapacity to consume in the capitalist world outside America. American monopoly uses what it calls "regulation" at home and war-mongering abroad to overcome these contradictions. Regulation means "the extreme development of a parasitic superstructure" over the system of actual production.* War-mongering is an age-old imperialist way out of economic crisis. In the building of its vast armament industry and keeping it going, millions of American wage-slaves who otherwise would have been unemployed are absorbed. The products of such an industry are forced on capitalist states throughout the world, who in their turn, employ millions of men who otherwise could have been employed in useful labour. The under-production caused in these countries makes them parts of America's world market. But once war-mongering becomes part of the solution of economic crisis it remains so for ever. As more arms are produced

* "Parts of the tens of billions of dollars of profits and super-profits are siphoned off to various auxiliaries of the monopolies. In the United States these include millions of small proprietors who act as distributing agents for the giant corporations, more millions of employees engaged in selling, advertising, etc., more millions of government employees, soldiers, police, etc., rentiers who live off the growing federal debt and petty stock holders in the giant corporations."—Victor Perlo, "American Imperialism", p. 225.

more Americans have to be armed and more satellites abroad have to be bought up. War-mongering for the sake of assuring the colossal super-profits of the 400 monopolists resorts to a policy of creating stooge governments in Europe and Asia. These Governments are armed. But armed governments must have an enemy, an object of fear and hatred. Propaganda against this enemy seeks to convince the dependents on monopoly in America, Europe and Asia that they are being armed in defence of their countries and they are prevented from becoming critics and revolutionaries against monopoly.

6. Monopoly finds this enemy, against whom its satellites can be armed and marshalled, in the socialist countries. The period of the most intense accumulation of capital in the hands of the fewest possible of monopolists is also the period of the beginning of socialist production and distribution. The economic victories achieved by socialism in Russia inspire all colonial and semi-colonial countries. Monopoly sees in the principle of socialist production and distribution its most dangerous enemy because socialism, striving for revolutionary people's democracies easily wins the admiration of the producing classes of the colonial and semi-colonial countries in which capital has achieved only a low degree of accumulation. As in China and the New Democracies, so also in many colonial and semi-colonial countries, sections of the bourgeoisie are progressively realizing that class struggle in the epoch of imperialism is a democratic struggle in areas of low accumulation. In such situations certain sections of the national bourgeoisie play an oppositional role to imperialism. This cuts the ground from under the feet of the imperialist colonisers leading to their isolation.

7. The imperialists in this situation are engaged feverishly in piling up arms that can be used against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. To use these arms on behalf of it, imperialism has set up a circle of satellite states who will do its behest. The socialist camp headed by the U. S. S. R. on the other hand, is trying to make the people in capitalist countries understand that monopoly will inevitably create wars as long as it is per-

mitted to control production and that it is to the interest of every one but the monopolists to have peace and ordered progress towards socialist production and distribution.

8. The politics that follow from this economic situation are the politics of stealthy bribery and corruption of the State-owning classes in the capitalist and colonial world by American monopolists and their agents on the one hand, and of healthy internationalist socialist efforts for peace and reconstruction by the socialist countries on the other. While the political tactics of the monopolists are worked out through such organizations as the U. N. O., the Commonwealth, the Atlantic Pact, etc., which seek to bring the property owners of the entire non-socialist world under a single war policy aimed against Russia, China and the New Democracies, the politics of socialism are built on the principle "the fight for peace is the fight for socialism".

9. In such a situation the most advanced and therefore the most decisive form of struggle is the struggle between imperialist America and its satellites on the one side and socialist Russia and the democratic people of the world on the other. This struggle is being waged in every part of the world without any limitation by national frontiers, because both monopoly and socialism are international today. On the side of imperialism, it has become clear that one over-all strategy of encirclement of socialism has been accepted by every bourgeois state. Though there may be ideal differences between the American Foreign Office and the Foreign Offices in other imperialist countries and their satellite states, for practical purposes, fundamental policies are dictated through lines of supply of armaments. This international build-up of armaments by imperialism can be made ineffective only through the widest possible international democratic unity under the banner of socialism. The first condition for such unity is the acceptance of a common world socialist leadership by all class conscious revolutionaries. Today the Communist Parties of Soviet Russia and China provide that leadership under the guidance of Com. Stalin and Com. Mao Tse-tung, the leaders and teachers of all progressive man-

kind. The task of the leaders of people's struggles in the capitalist and colonial countries is to perfect the tactics of such struggles so that they are in complete harmony with the world strategy of socialism.

THE INDIAN SITUATION

10. The theoretical and practical tasks before the realistic Indian revolutionary are to determine the tactical line that will maximise the class struggle in India and at the same time permit him to use the weight of that struggle to the greatest advantage of socialism in its world struggle against imperialism. The determination of such a line can be only possible through a realistic understanding of the decisive forces of production as they operate on and within the Indian economy and the relationships they have brought in that economy.

11. The greatest number of people in India live by working on land. The majority of this number either sell their labour to landlords or rich peasants or themselves cultivate very small pieces of land. Both the wages for agricultural labour and the income from cultivation are so meagre that no savings can be effected by this largest number of people. In the absence of savings there is practically no purchasing power in the villages for other than the most elementary industrial commodities. In the absence of such a demand the accumulation of industrial capital on a profit basis is extremely slow. (According to the Planning Commission, under the present dispensation, only 5 per cent of the national income can under planning even, be directed towards investment). In the absence of the growth of industrial production in the villages and the relationships proper to that mode of production, the relationships in rural India continue to be feudal and semi-feudal. Basically, the relationship of the peasant to his land is feudal, that is, it lacks that degree of democracy that capitalism permits. Property continues to be immobile and privilege is preserved according to custom. But these relationships of agricultural wage labourer to employer and peasant to his land are not uniform for the whole of India or typically or ideally feudal, because in India between 1775 and the end of the first half

of the Nineteenth Century the apex of the feudal system was assaulted and subjugated by the power of British capitalism in various areas to different degrees. Imperialism directly ruling India gave the Indian feudal economy which had lost decisive feudal overlordship in varying degrees, a partial and artificial superstructure of capitalism. While at the top the character of Indian property underwent a change in that it became a subordinate capitalist ally of foreign monopoly capitalism, at the bottom Indian property remained feudal. While at the top of society the relationships became partially capitalistic and therefore democratic the relationships at the bottom remained largely Asiatic and wholly undemocratic. The internal contradictions of capitalism expressing themselves as world wars in the era of imperialism incapacitated the British capitalistic structure greatly and it had to permit a section of the upper stratum of the native bourgeoisie to share power as a junior partner. Those who were thus installed sprang mainly from the new Indian bourgeoisie who had come into being during British political control, and their feudal supporters. This native big bourgeoisie is potentially imperialistic. Its inevitable orientation is towards monopoly (observe the quick growth of finance capitalism in India) but as it is maturing in a world of advanced monopoly, *i.e.*, in a period when international financial oligarchies are the most decisive factors in capitalist production and distribution, when the export of arms has become absolutely essential for the most advanced monopolies, when the territorial division of the world into imperialistically controlled raw material areas and markets is complete—the Indian big bourgeoisie has no chance of establishing itself as a powerful industrial bourgeoisie—that is, of being able to achieve such quantities of profit that can be accumulated into a competing industrial system opposed to the main monopolists.* As a result of this situation the Indian bourgeois is partly industrialist and partly compradore. The industrialist sec-

* "Even when capitalists in the undeveloped countries succeed in accumulating enough capital, even when they desire to construct basic industrial enterprises, they often find it physically impossible to purchase the needed equipment and to acquire the necessary patent rights in the imperialist countries."—Victor Perlo, "*American Imperialism*", pp. 104-105.

tion is intermittently in rivalry with foreign monopoly. The compradore part, that is that part which benefits through distribution of imperialist goods or through collection of raw material for the imperialists, is not exclusively concentrated as it was in China. The British imperialists controlling the State decisively, made many classes in the urban areas compradore, without however permitting the growth of anything like the Four Families of China. Great parts of the income of the Indian non-industrial bourgeois is derived from trade, salaries and commissions obtained in the service of the monopolist, taxes raised by a State which collectively is the greatest compradore in Asia, and professions dependent on British culture and economics, and through that culture aiding British and American capitalist production. This State is a satellite of monopoly capital, but exists in a relationship of superiority as far as the landlords and other feudalists who had been protected by the British imperialists are concerned. This Indian bourgeois is more democratic than the Chinese bureaucratic capitalists and does not hesitate to grant reforms like adult suffrage, because, to the degree that it is capitalist it understands the advantages of political democracy as a salutary condition for the growth of capitalism. While it is more broad-based in society than the Chinese bureaucratic capitalists, and therefore suffers less from acute internal contradictions, it is weaker in the sense that it will not get the same degree of support from imperialism as Chiang Kai-shek did. This is so because it harbours hopes of itself becoming an adequate industrial capitalism. Such hopes run against the interests of the monopolists. To the degree that the Indian bourgeois meets with opposition from foreign monopolists, it tries to strengthen itself by befriending the feudal remnants in India and getting their support. The contradictions between the national (industrial) bourgeois, and the pure agents of imperialism within it are not yet sharp enough. Even when they are, that section of the Indian bourgeois, opposed both to imperialism and feudalism, is not so circumstanced that it can come out on the side of socialism. Arguments that may be projected by socialists or appeals, by themselves, will not bring it on the side of a people's democratic revolution. This is nothing strange. In China also, the national bourgeois which was socially and economically

even weaker than the Indian national bourgeois did not come out on the side of progress until, apart from projecting arguments assuring it of existence for some time, the Communist Party of China also began to build an alternate focus of patriotism, which in their situation was the army of revolutionary peasants and workers.

12. From what we have said it can be concluded that the State in India is a feudal-bourgeois state, dependent for existence on foreign monopoly capitalism and therefore opposed fundamentally to the socialist world, incapable of increasing production because, at one end its dependence on monopoly capitalism will compel it mainly to be a distributor and at the other, its need for feudal support will prevent it from resorting to downright agrarian reform. As it continues to fail in the task of production it is steadily losing the support of many sections of the lower bourgeois. It is an unstable State expressing an uneven equilibrium of several partially opposed classes.

13. The growth of socialist power over the vast areas and populations of Russia and China is also helping to make the instability of the class balance expressed by the Indian State greater. The experience of the national bourgeois in the New Democracies and in People's China under communist control is making many sections of the Indian bourgeois to vacillate more, and to shed at least part of its illusions about increasing its prosperity through association with imperialist capitalists. But to count upon the vacillating quality of certain sections of the Indian bourgeois as a revolutionary asset will be foolish. The vacillation of the national bourgeois in India can be made use of only by a Communist Party which has achieved the maximum possible loyalty from the Indian proletariat (about 9 million strong, if all classes of industrial workers are included), and the Indian peasants and agricultural labourers whose numerical strength is overwhelming. Unless the Communist Party achieves such loyalty from these classes the vacillating national bourgeois can never be utilised in the interest of the new order. It will merely be inactive and being inactive it will continue to be exploited by monopoly capitalists. But a Communist Party capable of effectively leading the true democratic classes

(classes which consistently want freedom from bureaucracy, freedom from all feudal land relationships, freedom for unhampered political and economic agitation, which in our conditions are the proletariat, the peasantry, the agricultural workers and the urban middle classes) will be able to deepen the disillusionment of the greatest section of the national bourgeois and take it to the side of socialism in the great world struggle that is going on.

14. The Communist Party of India, because of the historical peculiarities of our country has not hitherto been able to achieve this necessary loyalty of the truly democratic classes in our society and because of that failure has not been able to spread the disillusion about imperialism in the national bourgeois. Certain tactical mistakes which led it into right reformism and left adventurism alternately in the past have brought on it a diffidence about approaching the democratic classes directly and courageously. This diffidence and lack of self-confidence will be made use of by the enemies of socialism, the bourgeoisie and the feudalists, to corrupt the working classes. Already the Indian proletariat and peasantry are divided into many reactionary political groupings and weakened; thus it will not be difficult for the ruling classes and their agents further to debilitate them and take them on to the side of imperialism temporarily at least. As long as the Communist Party of India suffers from this lack of self-confidence, as long as it is not absolutely united in the practice of the revolutionary theory of proletarian-peasant leadership of the people's liberation movement in India, so long the Indian situation will require a body of revolutionaries like the Left Socialist Group.

15. The Indian people's struggle against the imperialists and their Indian agents will not be strong or weak according to the contradictions between monopoly capitalism abroad and national capitalism here. It will be strong or weak according to the unity and revolutionary awareness in the truly democratic classes in India. Let us quote a paragraph of supreme importance in M. Suslov's "Defence of Peace and the Fight against Warmongers" (Meeting of the Information Bureau of Com-

munist Parties in Hungary in the latter half of November 1949—published by the journal “For A Lasting Peace, For A People’s Democracy”):

“Working class unity offers a reliable basis for the creation in each country of the broadest possible alliance of the forces of the people and the nation for resistance and struggle against the war policy of imperialism. The imperialist war-mongers are threatening the independence and sovereignty of all nations. To facilitate this they endeavour to disintegrate and split the unity of the people within each country.....

.....The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries must carry the fight for working class unity to a victorious conclusion. This requires that they shall further strengthen the solidarity of their ranks and raise the ideological level of their cadres and of the mass of their rank and file members. It requires both mastery of the Marxist-Leninist teachings, more precise organisational work and more effective propaganda. They must indefatigably and steadily combat all manifestations of opportunism and work intensively to eliminate sectarianism which is a serious impediment to the struggle of the Communists for working class unity. The biggest danger that now threatens the Communist Parties is the danger of being passive in the face of current developments, of capitulating to difficulties, of overrating the strength of the enemies of peace and democracy, of failing to understand the struggle of the vanguard of the proletariat is of decisive importance for the achievement of working class unity and the salvation of peace and that success in this struggle depends primarily and chiefly on the persistent work of the Communists.”

16. It is in proportion to the disunity, and therefore the incapacity for struggle in the working class, the peasants and the agricultural labourers of India, that the democratic struggle of the people against the imperialists and their agents becomes vague and incapable of aiding the world struggle for socialism. Realising the advantages that accrue to it out of the disunity and lack of revolutionary awareness in the working class, the imperialists and their agents are strenuously trying to keep these classes divided

and unaware. The chief instrument for this tactic of disruption in India, as everywhere else, is right-wing social democracy. Right-wing social democracy is the age-old weapon of imperialism. In India right-wing social democracy is at present more dangerous than elsewhere because, taking part in the nationalist agitation against the British, it has been able to achieve for itself a wholly unjustified reputation for revolutionaryism. Through right-wing social democracy many potential revolutionaries are being corrupted continuously with a brand of “socialism” which rejects Leninist-Stalinist practice and misinterprets Marxist-Leninist theory. Therefore, misguided revolutionaries preaching a socialism which inevitably takes them to the side of imperialism and war-mongering in the world struggle, are able to confuse the working class and thereby reduce the strength of the people’s democratic struggle. What is necessary in such a situation is a political weapon in the shape of a band of convinced Marxist-Leninists who attach the first importance to the tasks of releasing as many revolutionaries as possible from right-wing social democracy and striving tirelessly to unite the working class under the banner of Communism and help it to lead the people’s struggles. As the Communist Party sheds its sectarianism and its diffidence, it will fulfil this function. But till it does so, there will be need for the Left Socialist Group to remain a Left Socialist Group.

17. The Indian situation then can be summarised as follows: A largely feudal economy is being exploited by international monopoly through the agency of a comparatively numerous bourgeois class whose experience is partly industrialist and partly compradore, in superior alliance with remnants of feudal overlordship. In this situation the most revolutionary classes are the proletariat, the peasant and the agricultural labourer. It is only on the basis of unity that these classes can take the leadership of a people’s democratic struggle against the imperialists and their agents. If such leadership is not assumed, the people’s struggles against imperialism will be suppressed piecemeal by the agents of the imperialists. It is only a Communist Party which will be able to put into practice Leninist-Stalinist theories of revolution and lead the united working classes and therefore the people’s de-

mocratic struggle. For building up such a Communist Party it is necessary to release many revolutionaries who are today being corrupted by right-wing social democracy. The Communist Party in this situation finds itself in a state of recovery after considerable ideological and organisational damage sustained as a result of adventurism and reformism. Such a situation can only be temporary. In proportion to the incapacity of the class balance represented in the Indian State and the Congress Government to increase domestic production, it will steadily go under the full domination of foreign monopoly. As it does so, right-wing social democratic leadership will act more and more openly the part of saboteurs of working class unity and preachers of pure bourgeois democracy, because it will require one form or other of aid increasingly from the imperialists. Under cover of paper democracy, the Indian State will develop fascism. Already perceiving these developments, the masses in certain parts of India have shown their preference for the Communist Party of India. But in the largest part of our country this has not happened. The Communist Party requires friends in the immediate future (a) for making it as popular as possible amongst all the democratic classes of the country (b) for achieving unity of the revolutionary classes. In this situation a Left Socialist Group, maintaining for some time at least an independent entity but in the closest possible relationship with the Communist Party is necessary. It has a historic task to perform.

18. As the present situation develops the political picture in India will clarify. Already the elections have proved that the politically conscious mass is divided between those who entertain illusions about Congress as the expression of free Indian nationalism (without understanding the fact that bourgeois nationalism is decadent and is being superseded by an international capitalist culture and institutions) and those who are beginning to understand the patriotic internationalist message of people's democracy under Communist inspiration and direction. But the Congress masses are in a state of political disintegration. Every step the Congress leadership takes increases the disillusionment of all but the holders of the most concentrated forms of property in India. Cong-

ress planning for prosperity has no significance because at every turn, Congress desire to retain the loyalty of the people is in contradiction to its class urge to retain all forms of property as they are today. Land reforms which are liberal on paper contradict Congress desire to convert quickly the feudal remnants into a new big-bourgeois class. Attempts to distribute the land and put money into the pockets of the feudal landowners at the same time fail miserably. The old democratic faith in a rationally redistributed India made up of economically, linguistically and culturally integrated units has gone as a result of Congress fear that in such units it will be the majority of people and not the few big property owners who will assume economic and political power. The organizational solidarity of the Congress which was possible only as long as the masses supported their programmes is giving way to a chaos of small individualist ambitions. In the eyes of the masses the bourgeois politicians who have left the Congress and have started parties like the Socialist Party, the K. M. P. P., and the K. L. P., etc., are no better than the Congress. The Socialist Party leadership specially has been wholly exposed by the elections. Their hatred of communism which they describe as due to hatred of regimentation and totalitarianism has been understood by the masses as hatred of the idea of a society without property privileges. Their spiritual love of values and their alleged faith in Sarvodaya have been seen through by the clear-sighted masses as empty formulae to confuse the revolutionary petit-bourgeois elements in their ranks who persistently cry for a new order. This Party is quickly disintegrating. But before it disappears wholly, attempts are bound to be made by lurking Trotskyite elements in India to capture the understanding of the Socialist Party rank and file with a view to keep it on the side of imperialism. Apart from the Socialist Party, there are a number of small groups with confused interpretations of the Marxist argument for their ideologies. The elections have made the advantage of United Front struggles clear to them. But being mostly led by sectarian and deviationist splinters of the Communist Party of India, it will not be easy to unite them in a non-sectarian revolutionary democratic programme. As for the parties of the right, that is, parties made up mostly of feudalists and their political and cul-

tural friends, the elections have again proved that the Indian masses have advanced too far on the road of democracy for such parties to be really influential. Jawaharlal Nehru's clever attempt to confuse the masses by describing the parties of the right, the feudal-communist parties, as the chief enemies of people's democracy has fallen flat. Sections of the democratic masses have already realised and other sections are steadily realising that the chief enemy of people's democracy in the Indian situation is the feudal-bourgeois balance represented by the Congress leadership which wants to build in India a capitalist bureaucratic nation-state in subsidiary alliance with imperialism and with that end in view talks of neutrality in foreign policy and about bourgeois-liberalism as a base for political economy.

TASKS

19. The communist movement in this country has to perform the following among other tasks: (a) giving political reality to the class struggles in India by organizing the industrial working class, the landless agriculturist and the peasant so that they can unitedly lead a people's struggle against the pro-imperialist classes and their State in India; (b) advancing the people's struggle in India so that it can be in harmony with and can effectively aid the peoples of other nations in the most advanced expression of class struggle in our age, that is the political and economic struggle between international capitalism and international socialism led by the free people's governments of the Soviet Union and China.

20. These tasks when they are examined in detail and with particular reference to the Indian situation can be stated as:

(a) the task of bringing about working class unity through organizations of study and struggle in the Indian working class;

(b) the task of uniting landless peasants in Khet Mazdoor unions for advancing their struggles for employment and adequate living conditions and giving them political education;

(c) the task of forming Kisan Sabhas to achieve free-

dom from feudal dues, rent, and for adequate return from cultivation, and conducting struggles under the slogan 'land to the tiller';

(d) the task of integrating all these struggles in a broad people's democratic struggle in the towns as well as in the countryside and making the working classes lead that struggle, and

(e) the task of keeping the Indian people's struggle at all social levels on the side of international socialism.

21. The achievement of working class unity will require the starting of study circles where the fundamentals of Marxist economics and revolutionary theory can be taught. It also requires a nation-wide movement for non-sectarian and militant trade unions. To reduce the sectarianism and right-wing socialist reactionaryism in many trade unions under the influence of the Socialist Party, the Congress, etc. it will be necessary to create Joint Action Committees in every factory and amongst workers employed in the transport and other services. At all levels of trade union organization, the Left Socialist Group's duty is to bring into being contact between federations of unions and individual unions. For this purpose we should place before ourselves a specific programme of organising working class study circles in which Marxist theory and practice will be taught by members of the Left Socialist Group, the Communist Party and other Marxist parties who agree to work on such a programme. For this purpose it will be necessary to approach the Communist Party of India to draw up along with us a syllabus of studies and bring into being a cadre of teachers.

22. In all factories where there are more than one union it should be the task of the Left Socialist Group to strive for a single union through organizing Joint Action Committees. For this purpose the Left Socialist Group will have to work in the closest possible unity with the Communist Party of India.

23. It should be the task of the Left Socialist Group to bring the workers into all popular agitations for genuine independence and freedom, better living conditions, greater democratic liberties, urgently needed agrarian reforms,

freedom from bureaucracy, freedom from oppressive social customs and struggles for the establishment of states based on nationalities under the banner of communism and to train them to take a lead in such agitations.

24. In the countryside the struggles against landlordism, struggles against bureaucracy, struggles against communalism, struggles for better services and greater availability of consumption goods will be the several aspects of the people's revolution. Through these struggles the Left Socialist Group should seek to unite the two revolutionary rural classes in India and bring them into militant association with the organisations of urban workers.

25. This will be facilitated by organising common study circles of poor peasants and landless peasants, socially oppressed classes and untouchables, rural artisans, etc., at which the contradictions that may now and then crop up between peasant and rural proletariat should be explained as due to the present unequal distribution of property.

26. While study circles should be common for these classes, Kisan Sabhas and rural unions should be organised separately.

27. It should be our task both in the towns and the countryside to popularise on all occasions all struggles initiated or led by the Communist Party of India and to explain to the working classes and to the broad masses that the democratic revolution in India cannot be separated from the struggle of international communism against international capitalism and to make communism and the Communist Party of India as popular as possible.

28. The defence of communism and the Communist Party of India, the efforts to unite the working classes so that they can lead all democratic agitations and movements in India under the banner of communism will naturally bring us up against the right-wing socialists, specially the Socialist Party of India.

29. The task of the true Marxist revolutionary in

regard to right-wing socialism has been succinctly summarised by the Information Bureau of Communist Parties in a resolution adopted in November 1949 as follows:

While waging an irreconcilable and consistent struggle in the realm of theory and practice against the right-wing socialists and reactionary trade union leaders and while ruthlessly exposing them and isolating them from the masses, the Communists must patiently and persistently explain to the rank and file social democratic workers the supreme importance of working class unity, enlist them in the struggle for peace, bread and democratic liberties and pursue a policy of joint actions for the achievement of these aims.

30. The Left Socialist Group can perform these functions to greater effect than the Communist Party of India today. Therefore we should regard it as one of our most important tasks to persuade our former comrades in the Socialist Party to come to our discussion and study circles, provide them with the proper literature, help them whenever they resort to struggles on any of the democratic fronts, try always to include them in Joint Action Committees and United Fronts and wean them away from the influence of their reactionary leaders.

31. So that no part of our programme may bear a sectarian taint we should as early as possible try to bring together the various Left Parties in India on the basis of a common understanding of the democratic revolution in India. The United Fronts achieved here and there during the elections have shown us that united work is possible. But in striving for United Fronts and common understandings with parties of the Left it should be our first duty to see that such effort does not lead to the creation of an organisation or line of thinking which encourages separation from the Communist Party of India. A United Front in which the Communist Party is not a leading force will inevitably become a force on the side of reaction because international communism can recognise only one communist party as the Communist Party of that country. Comrades of the Left Socialist Group should bear in mind that there is no force in the argument that

because the Communist Party of India resorted to certain wrong tactics in the past it will continue to adopt wrong steps in future. It is our conviction that just as there were historic reasons for the mistakes committed by the Communist Party of India, as there were for mistakes committed by ourselves, there are historic reasons which will compel the Communist Party to act correctly hereafter. Therefore if it becomes possible and necessary for us to call a convention of Left Parties it should be only on the basis of a complete understanding with the Communist Party.

32. These generalisations can be reduced to specific duties as follows:

1. Starting of study circles for the working classes.
2. Starting of Joint Action Committees in factories ;
3. Starting unions of landless peasants, rural craftsmen, socially oppressed classes and untouchables, etc.
4. Starting Kisan Sabhas.
5. Uniting Kisan Sabhas where there are more than one in a given area.
6. Studying local problems with a view to bring about union through struggles of all democratic classes under the leadership of the working class.
7. Popularising communist principles and the Communist Party of India.
8. Releasing comrades in the Socialist Party who are under the spell of the reactionary leadership of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan and others.
9. Bringing Marxists of all Left Parties together for a common understanding of communism and trying to remove misunderstandings about the Communist Party.