

which will end in our slavery. The Americans are also eagerly waiting for it. You have also decided that the battle is already lost. But the people and we think that the nefarious plans can be defeated ; and that it is not so easy for the dollar imperialists to swallow our country through the good graces of a charlatan class analysis.

From this basically wrong proposition they evolve a wrong and reactionary line on every front—but of this later. □

II

Logic of Anti-Leninism in Theory and Practice

THE LOGIC OF ANTI-LENINIST OUTLOOK—IDEOLOGICAL and organizational—is inescapable. As we have said, it must unmask itself at the first contact with reality, when it passes from professions to action. Last week these anti-Leninist, anti-Party elements revealed their true features when they led a raid against the Party's weekly paper, the Bengali *Deshhitaishi*, assaulted their colleagues and tried to capture the office. The struggle for power against the neo-colonial State degenerated into attempts to 'capture' the office of the paper and direct physical attacks on Party members. Some of those who were involved in it still hold Party cards and they secured the support of elements from outside the Party in this attack.

BUILDING FIFTH COLUMN INSIDE

What organizational outlook does this reveal? The moment, after months of their vituperative propaganda against the Party, the latter takes action against some who openly indulge in defiance of all Party norms, others against whom no action is

taken join hands with outside anti-Party elements for physical violence against the Party. It clearly reveals that they have organized themselves into a faction inside the Party with their own centre, and are united to defy every measure of discipline. While they seek to mislead some honest Party members into the belief that they are only interested in discussing genuine differences with the Party leadership, in reality they have been attempting to build a fifth column for their own anti-Leninist activities inside the Party.

This is where all their talk of bureaucracy inside the Party, liberty to discuss political differences, misuse of Marx's quotation "one step of real movement is worth more than a dozen programmes" lead. It is clear that they were insincere when they talked of bureaucracy inside the Party ; all that they wanted was licence to attack and destroy the Party ; it is clear that they only claim privileges of Party members but recognize no obligations towards the Party.

Their anarchist outlook towards organization is a counter-revolutionary outlook ; and it is the quintessence of individualist outlook. Anarchism represents the outlook of bourgeois individualism and is hostile to a class outlook which cannot be developed without a tremendous sense of discipline and subordinating the individual to the Party collective.

HELPING REACTIONARY FORCES OUTSIDE

Today the entire capitalist class—the foreign and Indian monopolists—are viciously attacking our Party, and desperately attempting to isolate us from other parties of the United Front to break the present Ministry. Efforts have been afoot from the side of the Congress to woo certain parties in the United Front, promising support to them if we are thrown out. The Congress Working Committee and the AICC have directed the main fire against our Party in West Bengal. Some have demanded a direct illegalization of our Party. They are holding us responsible for murders, assaults, for every conceivable evil to prejudice popular opinion against us.

The all-India leaderships of the PSP and the SSP—the latter notwithstanding its tall boast of waging an irreconcilable fight

against the Congress—are themselves lending a helping hand to this propaganda by circulating false and imaginary tales about violence on our part. The Central Government is waiting for intervention and a treacherous crowd is waiting on the sidelines to cross over to the Congress the moment there are signs of ebbing strength of the United Front. It is at this juncture that they openly violate discipline and weaken the Party.

This is not accidental. Departure from a strict Marxist-Leninist class outlook leads to the camp of reaction. It may lead via the revisionist way or the Left-doctrinaire way.

ULTRAS' "CLASS" FORMULATIONS

Last time we referred to their 'class' formulations. Lest we might be accused of quoting from earlier documents and not from their recent ones, we will take the liberty of quoting them again :

"In this situation, fearing revolution, the big bourgeoisie (representing the monopoly and big capital) of the country established the Congress rule in 1947 on the basis of collaboration with imperialism so as to preserve intact the interests of imperialism and to exploit jointly with imperialism Indian labour and resources. The tremendous increase in *tax burdens* on the Indian people is the outcome of intensified exploitation jointly by imperialism and Indian finance capital. . ." They emphasize the partnership in State of imperialism and the big bourgeoisie. Also remember that, like the revisionists, these people, in this formulation, at least, do not accept that the landlords have a partnership in the State. They add: "With these contradictions has been connected and is operating the contradiction which arises from not releasing the productive forces in the rural areas through reform of the feudal land system. . .", etc. But they do not say that this is due to landlords having a share in State power, the compromise of the capitalists with the landlords.

Another quotation is worth producing : "The elections have at last produced a non-Congress Government. This marks the beginning of a movement of a Government to establish firmly the leadership of Gandhism (the social and political basis of

bourgeois pacifism) and Indian neo-fascism", etc. (Fascism and pacifism going together—good, very good !) "In consequence of the realization that the leadership represents the interests of imperialism and its Indian agents and committed to the protection of their profits", etc.

The readers should see, as we go deeper and deeper, that the other two Indian partners of imperialism drop from the field and only imperialism remains. The fig leaf of the big bourgeoisie and feudal landlords sharing power is also removed and we stand face to face with imperialism as the ruling class.

CERTIFYING IMPERIALISM

Where does this analysis lead to ? It leads to one conclusion only, that as in the British days India continues to be the colonial preserve, only the exploitation is jointly done with Indian monopolists. How can one understand the Indian bourgeois planning ? As an imperialist planning ? These plans, the attempt to build certain industries, including heavy industries, can be understood only as an attempt to tread the capitalist path, build capitalist economy in India. It is wrong to see in them the building of a self-reliant economy, as the revisionists do. There is no doubt that the attempt to build capitalism in India is not succeeding, and cannot succeed during the period of world collapse of capitalism. It is also true, as we have shown in our Programme, that this capitalist path, instead for rearing an independent economy, is making our economy more dependent on foreign aid and therefore creating danger for our economic and political independence. It is precisely this aspect of the path—anti-national, anti-freedom aspect of the path—that is to be exposed, the entire capitalist class to be pilloried for this purpose and in its place alternative people's democratic path to socialism to be advocated. Instead of this the dissidents only say this is not the capitalist path—this is the path of imperialism and their few agents, thirteen monopoly houses, and thereby they conceal the reactionary character of the capitalist path itself and screen the other sections of the bourgeoisie, who also are interested in this capitalist path. Miserable as industrial development is, to think that even this development is possible

with imperialism sharing power in the State is to glorify imperialism, to give it a certificate for building at least some heavy industries in a colony dominated by it. This is prettifying imperialism and nothing else.

MARXISM-LENINISM INDEED !

And these people, who pride themselves on their Marxism-Leninism, have they lost all sense when they suggest that bourgeois parliamentary institutions based on adult franchise are possible in a backward underdeveloped country, under a State in which imperialism shares power ? A State of thirteen monopoly houses, landlords and imperialists establishing bourgeois parliament on the basis of adult franchise; a neo-colonial State based on parliamentary constitution, a State of neo-colonial Powers based on parliament and adult franchise—this is the latest 'contribution' to Marxism-Leninism. Isn't this as bad as revisionism which spreads the illusion that American imperialism has become more peace-inclined than before ? The revisionists say it is more peaceful; the Left-doctrinaires say it is now more democratic. And this is suggested when the American imperialists are massacring thousands of Vietnamese to establish their domination and are massacring hundreds elsewhere for the same purpose; everywhere where American imperialism dominates it introduces fascist conditions abrogating even bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois democracy, bourgeois parliamentary institutions are reactionary from the point of view of Socialism; adult franchise remains only formal right under bourgeois democracy; but that does not mean that these can become the instruments of imperialist rule in a backward country. The national subservience and slavery it imposes cannot tolerate any bourgeois democratic institution. But our charlatans forget all this.

The reality is that the American imperialism is making every effort to swallow India; that the present Government of the capitalist-landlord classes led by the big bourgeoisie is rapidly travelling down the inclined plane to get into the American net, and only the working class, leading the people, can save the situation by ousting the Government, by establishing a People's Democratic State. If we fail in this, the danger of national

enslavement is no doubt there. It should not be underestimated. But to be an ardent revolutionary one need not imagine that he is already a slave.

WRONG OUTLOOK, WRONG LINE

What political and tactical line must follow from this wrong outlook ? It may appear strange, but extreme rightist or adventurist conclusions may follow from this wrong analysis. A little bit of Marxist discipline will reveal this. If the State only represents the interests of imperialism and monopoly and big capital, it not only means that it does not represent the interests of other sections of the exploiting bourgeoisie; it is hostile to them since imperialism is a partner in the State.

This will lead to a Right-opportunist error, of overestimating the immediate importance of these sections, of attempts to accommodate them at a stage when their vacillations have to be unmasked and exposed. For the reality today is that the entire national industrial bourgeoisie regards the State as its own and is not opposed to it.

How does the adventurist line follow from this understanding ? A neo-colonial State, a State of neo-colonial Powers, a State in which imperialism shares power with the thirteen monopolist houses and landlords, or a State in which, as one document suggests, the partners are imperialists and monopolists and big capital—such a State must stand completely isolated from the people. Its Indian partners—just because they are a very narrow group looking after their own interests and sacrificing to imperialism the interests of the people, including the remaining sections of the national bourgeoisie—will hardly possess any social support; they will not have the capacity to cheat and deceive the people by appealing to national sentiments and interests because they themselves would be offending them by sharing power with imperialism. A neo-colonialist State, in the period of general collapse of imperialism, will be universally hated, with the people even ready for armed struggle.

UNDERESTIMATING STRUGGLE AGAINST NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

The conclusion will be that since there are no illusions about such a State, since the classes holding power have hardly any access to the people because of their direct connection with imperialism, the task of releasing the people from the illusions created by the ruling classes is almost accomplished, and the only thing that remains is go to on giving calls for action for new forms of struggle only. It leads to an underestimation of the serious struggle against the influence of the national bourgeoisie over the masses, of the necessity to depose it from the position it occupies even now among the people, of the role of partial struggles even in the present situation which is really pregnant with revolutionary possibilities, in fact rejection of auxiliary struggles just at the moment when they can become the immediate recruiting ground for drawing the masses into the revolutionary struggle, for smashing their illusions about the present State and the influence of the bourgeoisie over the people.

WHAT THE REALITY IS

The reality is that though the State and the classes wielding State power are getting isolated, though one of their main instruments—the Congress party—is disintegrating and they have received a severe jolt in the last elections, they still wield considerable influence over the people and are able to cheat the people in diverse ways. The election results have shown the growing shift of the masses as well as the fact that, in spite of its defeat, except in Kerala and Tamil Nadu, the Congress continues to be the biggest single party. Besides, our dissidents at least are aware that a substantial part of the anti-Congress vote—vote of parties of the Right as well as some of the so-called Left parties, e.g. PSP, SSP, etc.—is not a vote against the bourgeois-landlord State, but against the Congress Government. These parties support the State as such; they have a quarrel with the Congress party and its Government. Therefore, notwithstanding the big mass battles before the elections, especially in West Bengal, the influence of the classes controlling the State,

and parties representing these classes is considerable.

Any serious party, operating in the midst of a rapidly developing situation, with wide sections of masses still under the influence of parties not hostile to the State, is bound to take into consideration their influence, its own influence, organizational strength, the strength of its class organizations, in deciding the ways and means by which it seeks to bring the masses into the revolutionary arena, and help the masses shed their illusions about the other parties, about the national bourgeoisie.

LOGIC OF 'SUMMARY' REVOLUTION

But this is all Greek and Latin to the dissidents. Having decided that the State is controlled by imperialism, monopolists and landlords, they have drawn the conclusion that now only the economic situation will work; no heed be paid to release the masses from the influence of the bourgeois parties, for everybody is against the State; no need to have auxiliary forms of struggle, for we are marching straight into a revolutionary situation; no need to utilize the bourgeois parliamentary institutions to expose and unmask them to release the masses from electoral illusions, for the situation has already released them; partial struggles are not so much useful to defend the economic interests and thereby create class consciousness among the workers, but for organizing local capture of power, and so on. This may appear to be a parody of what they are stating; but it is not so. This is their tactical line in black and white. And this logically follows, once you declare the State to be run in partnership with imperialism. Once you declare it to be a neo-colonial State hated by the entire nation, this line follows logically. □