# THE REVOLUTION IN INDIA

By L. D. TROTSKY

India is the classic colonial country as England is the classic metropolis. All the viciousness of the ruling classes, every form of oppression that capitalism has ap-

plied against the backward peoples of the East is most completely and frightfully summed up in the history of the gigantic colony on which the British imperialists have settled themselves like leeches to drink its blood for the past century and a half. The English bourgeoisie has diligently fostered every remnant of barbarism, every institution of the Middle Ages which could be of service in the oppression of man by man. It forced its feudal agents to adapt themselves to colonial capitalist exploitation to become its links, its organs, its convoys to the masses. The British imperialists boast of their railroads, their canals and industrial enterprises in India in which they have invested close to four billion gold dollars. Apologists for imperialism triumphantly compare present day India with what it was prior to colonial occupation. But who can doubt for a moment that a gifted nation of 320,000-000 people would develop immeasurably qualitier and more successfully were freed from the burden of systematic and organized plunder? It is enough to recall the four billion gold dollars which represent the British investment in India to imagine what England extracts from India in the course of only some five or six years.

Allowing India carefully weighed doses of technique and culture, exactly en ugh to facilitate the exploitation of the riches of the rountry, the Shylock of the Thames could not however prevent the ideas of economic and national independence and freedom from penetrating more and more widely into the masses.

ly into the masses.

Just as in the older bourgeois countries, the various racial stocks that exist in India can only be fused into a nation by means of a binding political revolution. But in contradistinction to the older countries, this revolution in India is a colonial revolution directed against foreign oppressors. Besides this, it is the revolution of a historically belated nation in which the relations of feudal serfdom, caste divisions and even slavery exist alongside of the class antagonisms of the bourgeoit e and proletariat which have grown greatly in the last period.

### Social Antagonisms in India

The colonial character of the Indian revolution against one of the most powerful oppressors masks to a certain extent the internal social antagonisms of the country, particularly to the eyes of those to whom such masking is advantageous. In reality the necessity of throwing off the system of imperialist oppression which, with all its roots intertwined with the old Indian exploitation, demands the greatest revolutionary effort on the part of the Indian masses and by that itself assures a gigantic swing of the class struggle. British imperialism will not abandon its positions voluntarily; while dropping its tail before America, it will direct the remains of its energy and its resources against insurgent India.

What an instructive historical lesson it is that the Indian revolution, even in its present stage, when it has not yet broken loose from the treacherous leadership of the national bourgeoisie, is being crushed by the "socialist" government of Mac-Donald. The bloody repressions of these scoundrels of the Second International who promise to introduce socialism peacefully in their own home countries represent so far that small deposit which British Imperialism brings in today on its future accounting in India. The sweet social democratic deliberations about reconciling the interests of bourgeois England with democratic India are a necessary supplement to the bloody repressions of MacDonald, who is of course ready, between executions, for the thousand and first commission of reconciliation.

The British bourgeoisie understands too

well that the loss of India would not only mean the crash of its sufficiently rotted world power but also a social collapse in its own metropolis. It is a struggle of life and death. All forces will be set in motion. This means that the revolution will have to mobilize irresistible energy. The many-millioned mass has already begun to stir. They showed their half-blind force to such an extent that the national bourgeoisie was compelled to come out of its passivity and master the movement in order to break the edge of the revolutionary sword. Ghandi's passive resistance is the tactical knot that combines the naivete and self-denying blindness of the disunited and petty bourgeois masses with the treachous manoeuvers of the liberal bourgeoisie. The fact that the chairman of the Indian Legislative Assembly that is, the official organ of the machinations with imperialism, gave up his post to head the movement for the boycott of English goods, is of a deeply symbolic character. "We will prove to you," say the national bourgeoisie to the gentlemen on the Thames, "that we are indispensible for you, that without us you will not calm the masses; but for this we will present you with our own bill."

#### The Jailing of Gandhi

By way of reply, MacDonald puts Ghandi in jail. It is possible that the lackey goes further than the master intends, being conscientious beyond reason in order to justify his faith. It is possible that the Conservatives, serious and experienced imperialists, would not at the present stage go so far with repressions. But on the other hand the national leaders of the passive opposition are themselves in need of repression as support for their considerably shaken reputations. MacDonald does them this service. While shooting down workers and peasants, he arrests Gandhi with an abundance of forewarning such as the Russian provisional government used to arrest the Kornilovs and Denikens.

If India is a component element in the internal rule of the British bourgeoisie, then on the other hand, the imperialist rule of British capital over India is a component element of the internal order of India. The question cannot at all be reduced to one of the mere expulsion of some tens of thousands of foreign exploiters. They cannot be separated from the internal oppressors and the harder the internal oppressors and the harder the pressure of the masses will become the less will the latter want to separate. Just as in Russia the liquidation of Czarism together with its inebtedness to world finance capital became possible only because to the peasantry the abolition of the monarchy grew out of the abolition of the landowning magnates, to the same degree also in India the struggle with imperialist oppressions grows out of the countless masses of the oppressed and semi-pauperized peaantry, out of the necessity of liquidating the feudal landlords, their agents and intermediaries, the "chinovniks" and sharks.

The Indian peacant wants a "just" distribution of land. That is the basis of democratism. And this is at the same time the social basis of the democratic revolution as a whole.

At the first stages of their struggle the ignorant, inexperienced and disunited peasantry which, in single villages, opposes the individual representatives of the hated regime, always resorts to passive resistance. It does not pay rent, does not pay taxes, it escapes to the woods, or deserts from military service, etc. The Tolstoyan formulae of passive resistance were in a sense the first stages of the revolutionary awakening of the peasant masses. Ghandi does the same in regards to the masses of the Indian people. The more "sincere" he is personally, the more useful he is for the owners as an instrument for the disciplining of the masses. The support of the bourgeoisie for peacefu resistance to imperialism is only a preliminary condition for its bloody resistance to the revolutionary masses.

From passive forms of struggle, the peasantry has more than once in history passed over to the severest and bloodiest wars against their direct enemies: the land owners, the authorities and the loan sharks. The middle Ages were full of such peasant wars in Europe; but they are also full of merciless suppression of reasant wars. Passive resistance of the peasantry as well as its bloody uprisings can be turned into a revolution only under the leadership of the urban class which thus becomes the leader of the revolutionary nation and after the victory-the bearers of the revolutionary power. In the present epoch such a class can be only the proletariat, even in the Of ent.

It is true that the Indian proletariat occupie a smaller numerical place in the composition of the population than even the Russian proletariat on the eve of 1905 and 1917. This comparatively small size of the proletariat was the main argument of all the phillistines, all the Martinovs, all the Mensheviks against the perspective of the permanent revolution. They considered fantastic the very thought that the Russian proletariat, thrusting the bourgeois aside, would take hold of the agrarian revolution of the peasantry, would give it a bold swing, and rise on its wave to the revolutionary dictatorship. Therefore they consdered realistic the hope that the liberal bourgeoisie, leaning on the masses of the city and village, would complete the democratic revolution. But it turned out that their social statistics of the population are far from measuring the economic or the political role of single classes. The October revolution, by experience has proved this once and for all and very convincingly.

#### The «Only» Missing Condition

if today the Indian proletariat is numerically weaker than the Russian this in itself does not at all pre-determine the smaller swing of its revolutionary possibilities, just as the numerical weakness of the Russian proletariat compared to the American and English was no hindrance to the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. On the contrary all those social peculiarities which made possible and unavoidable the October revolction are present in India in a still sharper form. In this country of poor peasants, the hegemony of the city has no less a clear character than in czarist Russia. The concentration of industrial, commercial and banking power in the hands of the big bourgeoisie, primarily the foreign bourgeoisie, on the one hand; a swift growth of a sharply defined proletariat, on the other, exclude the possibility of an independent role of the petty bourgeoisie of the city and to an extent the intellecttual and transform by this the political mechanics of the revolution into a struggle of the proetariat with the bourgeoisie for the leadership of the peasant masses. So far there is "only" one condition missing: a Boshevik Party. And that is where the problem lies now.

We were witnesses to the way the leadership of Stalin and Bucharin carried out the Menshevik conception of the democratic revolution in China. Armed with a powerful apparatus, this leadership had the possibility of applying the Menshevik formulae in deeds and by that alone was compelled to carry them to a conclusion. In order best to secure the leading role of the bourgeoisie in the bourgeois revolution (this is the basic idea of Russian Menshevism) the Stalinist reaucracy transformed the young Communist Party of China into a subordinate section of the national-Lourgeois party. In connection with that, according to the terms officially arrived at between Stalin and Chiang Kai-Shek (through the intermediary of the present People's Commissar of Education, Bubnov), the Communists had no right to ccupy more than one-third of the posts within the Kuo Min Tang. The part; of the proletariat this way entered the revolution as an official captive of the bourgeoisie with the blessings of the C.I. The result is known: the Stalinist bureaucracy slew the Chinese revolution. History has never known a political crime equal in extent to this one.

For India, just as for all countries of

the Orient in general, Stalin advanced i 1924 himultaneously with the reactionary idea of socialism in one country, the no less reactionary idea of "dual composition worker and peasant parties". This was another formula for the same rejection of of independent policy and of an independent party of the proletariat. The unfortunate Roy has ever since that time become the apostle of the super-class and supraclass "peoples" or "democratic" party. The history of Marxism, the development of the nineteenth centrury, the experience of the three Russian revolutions--everything, everything passed for these gentlemen without leaving a trace. They have not yet understood that the "workerpeaasant party" is conceivable only in the form of a Kuomintang, that is in the form of a bourgeois party leading behind itself the workers and peasasts in order later on to betray and crush them. History has not yet invented another type of a supraclass, or intra-class party. After all, not in vain was Roy the agent of Stalin in China, the prophet of the struggle against "Trotskyism", the executor of the Martinovist "bloc of four classes", in order to become the ritualistic scape-goat for the crimes of the Stannist bureaucracy after the inevitable defeat of the Chinese revolution. Six years passed in India in weakening and demoralizing experiments with the realization of the Stalinist prescription for the two-class worker-peasant parties. The results are at hand: impotent, provincial "worker-peasant parties", which waver, limp along or simply melt away and are reduced to nothing precisely at a momert when they are supposed to act, that is, at a moment of revolutionary tide. But there is no proletarian party. It must still be created in the fire of events and at that it will be first neceshary to remove the garbage piled up by the leading bureaucracy. Such is the situation! Beginning with 1924, the leadership of the Comintern has done everything that could be done to render impotent the Indian proletariat, to weaken the will of the vanguard, and to clip its wings.

While Roy and the other Stalinist pupils were wasting precious years in order to elaborate a democratic program for a supra-class party, the national bourgeoisie utilized this dawdling to the maximum in order to seize the trade unions. If not politically, then in the trade unions, the Kuo Min Tang has been accomplished in India, true, with the difference that the creators have in the meantime become frightened by their own handiwork, and have jumped aside heaping slander on the "executors".

## Centrism's «Left» Jump

This time the Centrists jumped, as is known, to the "Left", but matters continuously in the committee of the Committee in the questons of the Indian revolution is such a tangled ball of yarn which is apparently intended especially to derail the proletarian vanguard and bring it to despair At any rate, half of it goes on because the leadership strives constantly and willfully to conceal its mistakes of yesterday The second half of the tangle must be credited to the hapless nature of Centrism.

We have in mind at present not the program of the Comintern which ascribes to the colonial bourgeoisie a revolutionary role, completely approving the constructions of Brandler and Roy who still continue to wear the Martinov-Stalin cloak We also do not speak of the innumerable editions of the Stalinist "Questions of Leninism" where, in all the languages of the world, the discourse on the dual composition worker and peasant parties continues. No. We limit ourselves to the present, to today's latest posing of the question which is in conformity with the Third Period mistakes of the Comintern in the Orient.

The central slogan of the Stalinists for India, as well as for China, still remains the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. Nobody knows, nobody explains because robody understands what this formula signifies at present, in the year 1930, after the experience of the past fifteen years. In what way is the democratic dictatorship of the workers and neasants supposed to be distinguished from the dictatorship of the Kuo Min Tennach massacred the workers and peasants.