

A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY FOR INDIA

M. N. Roy to the "Swatantra Bharat Sabha"

Dear Comrades,

Let me congratulate you for having indicated the right way to the numerous rank and file Congressmen (adherents of the All-India National Congress-Editor) eager for an effective struggle for freedom. The prompt suppression of your new-born organization (the *Swatantra Bharat Sabha*) is the proof that you are on the right road. The fact also proves that the journey on the road you have selected will not be an easy one. It requires courage of conviction, revolutionary determination and above all collective effort.

The *Swatantra Bharat Sabha* did not propose to act as an independent political party. It wanted to function as an organized group inside the Congress with the purpose of having the latter eventually adopt a revolutionary program. The move was tactically correct at the moment it was made. The situation has changed since then. Now to be an integral part of the Congress organization does not provide the revolutionary elements with field for legal activity. The Congress itself has been declared an illegal body. Besides, you could never have the illusion that the Congress as a whole organization would ever endorse a revolutionary program as advocated by you. Your purpose evidently is to remain in close contact with the Congress rank and file with a view to win these over to your position. This is a very correct attitude. Having a very distinct program, your group, nevertheless, from the very beginning represented the tendency towards an independent political party, objective conditions for the rise of which are mature, and upon the rise of which further development of the national revolutionary struggle depends. An independent party with its own program can still support and cooperate with all other organizations actually conducting a struggle against imperialism.

The program of your group is not only the program of national revolution. It also indicates the way to the struggle for a greater social revolution. This being the case, historically, your group provides the platform for all the revolutionary elements to be welded eventually into a powerful party of the working class. Rapid development of the situation and future perspectives demand that the latent tendency of your group should be given a clear form. Your group should without delay take up the very urgent task of a mass party of the Indian workers and peasants.

Forces objectively making for and even consciously advocating Socialist reconstruction of the Indian society, have been steadily growing in the country of late. But very few of them have as yet been organized in a party without which no struggle for political power and social reconstruction is ever possible. A *revolutionary party of the working class* is a historic as well as immediate necessity. Given correct program, and with methods of organization suitable to the conditions of the country, it is bound to grow rapidly into a powerful political factor.

Comrades: It is hardly necessary for me to tell you that the program you advocate is a program of social revolution. National freedom will be

only a stage in that revolution. The social revolution will overthrow the parasitic exploiting class from power and make the producing masses collective owners of everything produced by their collective labor. Consequently, the army fighting the numerous battles of this revolution must be, in the first place, recruited from the working classes. The party advocating and striving for the overthrow of the present capitalist society is the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. Some of the pioneers of the party, as many of ourselves, may not be actually born in the working class (altho most of them are intellectual workers) but they become the pioneers of social revolution by ideologically disassociating themselves from the exploiting classes and identifying themselves with the proletariat.

There can be no party of the working class earnestly striving for a social revolution in the interests of the producing masses except with the revolutionary determination that grows out of firm conviction. There is no use having a noble ideal unless one is determined to reach it at all cost. A great idea is of little practical value unless one struggles for triumph. In a certain period of history a particular social class assumes revolutionary character being antagonistic to the dying old and therefore the harbinger of the rising new. But the entire class cannot possibly take active part in the actual struggle. Only the most advanced of it, together with those who desert the doomed old to fight for the nascent new, do the actual revolutionary fighting. Therefore, the advance-guard, organized in the revolutionary party, becomes the organ thru which the energy of the entire class is brought to bear upon the situation. That means, every single moment in the life of a member of the revolutionary party must be devoted to the cause of the revolution. Every other form of activity should be secondary. The paramount obligation is to the party. The party must have the first claim upon the very being of its members. These should work for the party, live for the party, die for the party. Only such a party can make a revolution, and we need such a party in India.

Comrades: As a loosely formed group you can make no more progress. Pioneers of a revolutionary class, striving for a great social revolution, must organize themselves into a powerful political party. It is hardly to be expected that a revolu-

the preamble for a mean... (1)
3. On February 12, 1931 the national office of the I.L.D. issued a letter declaring that: "Our whole International Labor Defense organization is faced with the question: 'SHALL WE SUSPEND THE LABOR DEFENDER?'"

4. A scheme is under way for the "consolidation" of the various Finnish Communist papers. The scheme means the liquidation of all Finnish papers but one and the publication of a "bulletin" in New York (instead of the mass paper, *Etteenpain*).



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tionary working class party can legally function in India, under present conditions. Confining its activities to legal limits, it is bound to deviate from the road of relentless revolutionary struggle. All avenues of legal activities must be explored; but the party organization must be built up under-ground. This disadvantageous position requires the party to penetrate all the existing legal mass organizations, and to create new ones as fields of its activities. Not only the workers and peasants, but all other oppressed and exploited classes, must be organized for conducting the struggle for the freedom of their immediate grievances. By assuming a leading part in this struggle the revolutionary party will be firmly rooted in the large masses of the population. *But the first step should be the creation of a leading cadre, firm in conviction, clear of vision, compact in organization, united in action and unshaken in determination.* Let your group become this cadre. That should be your logical line of advance, if you adopted the revolutionary program with full knowledge of its revolutionary significance.

With fraternal greetings,
M. N. ROY.

Berlin, Nov. 20, 1930.

The Economic Week

Most economists are now agreed that the recent talk of revival is unfounded and that tangible evidence of expanding activities is not generally visible. The loudest optimists are now shifting their revival prophecies to the Spring. Some look to next winter. The A. F. of L. survey admits that "unemployment will last on at nearly its present level for several months and will be a serious problem for the rest of the year." The farmer's income has already fallen by over 20%.

The downward price trend contin-

ues. The stock market is at best irregular—going from brisk rise to sharp breaks. January exports fell heavily, especially to Europe, the best market. Electric power production dropped badly last week to a new low level—5.6% in a week. In the first two months building construction in Manhattan fell 14%. Steel production continued its slow seasonal increase to 59.9% in comparison with 57.8% a week ago but as against 93.1% the corresponding week of last year. The average daily pig iron output for Feb-