

SPEAKING OF THE PRESENT WORLD WAR.

Aldrich correctly points out the role gold will play in the war and peace as part of the American imperialist policy. He says, "In the accomplishment of this result it is unavoidable that the United States, because of its great economic strength, will play a most important, if not controlling role."

Rukeyser, another "economist" speaking of the Aldrich plan says, "Implicit in the Aldrich suggestion is the hope that the dollar would become the post war monetary yardstick displacing the pound sterling. Thus the gold problem should be viewed as an incident in the whole set of economic relationships of the United States..."

In reality — what the different groups of imperialists are saying, is that with 18 billion of loot on hand we can be liberal internally, because there is enough plunder for us all. Have the free gold market, let some crumbs fall down below to line up the defenders of Wall Street's policy, and in a financiers' united front we will use our economic and military might to ORGANIZE THE WORLD to the needs of American imperialism. We, the American imperialists will decide what takes place at the PEACE CONFERENCE by our gold, by our might. That is their AIM. We do not say that it will be accomplished.

SUMMARY

In summary the gold policy has the following relation to the outcome of the present im-

perialist war:

1—In the struggle against Great Britain the United States hopes to make the Dollar the dress for the international medium of exchange. To replace the Pound. To dominate the world financial field.

2—Establish its financial hegemony over decisive parts of the earth (not land imperialism — but finance capital — the latest form and highest form of imperialism). This hegemony will be shared with lesser partners at the expense of the other imperialists, the weaker nations, and especially the impoverished masses.

3—Lend Gold to obtain political concessions as a result.

4—Lend Gold (to buy war supplies) to smash the proletarian revolution wherever it develops. The Finnish campaign for funds is a prelude and child's play to what is in store.

5—Use the Gold supply as an important weapon to reorganize and redivide the world to the needs of the American world empire.

6—The "free market" to be established by American Imperialism is like the free public institutions in the South with its Jim Crowism. It will be free to American imperialism and its allies. It will be a closed door to others.

7—The armed might of American imperialism stands behind this policy ready to enforce it if necessary.

March 21, 1940.

The Maturing Revolt In India

Not only does the imperialist war intensify all the contradictions of capitalism; it greatly increases their rate of development. A clear indication of this is the spreading revolt of the Indian toilers, now on the verge of breaking out into open revolution. In the last war the wave of revolutions began in the imperialist nations first, then swept eastward to the colonies. But today the contradictions of decay capitalism are so sharp, especially throughout the British Empire, that the very outbreak of the war already poses the problems of the

rapidly maturing Indian revolution.

The hesitation that has characterized Britain's war participation is largely determined by the fear of the break-up of the Colonial Empire and the Indian revolution. India is the keystone to the British Empire. Revolution in India means not only a key setback to Britain in the war; it marks the death-blow to the far-flung British Empire. The dependence of the Empire on India's colonial status is readily shown: Practically 32% of India's exports go to England, while 39% of her imports

come from England. India's industrial development — textiles, railroads, communications, iron, steel, etc. — is almost exclusively in the hands of British capital. The fact that India is so overwhelmingly agricultural today is due to Britain's imperialist policy to check industrial development. Yet the Indian death rate is twice as high as that of England.

Politically, the Indian revolt means revolutionary upheaval throughout the entire East and Africa — a threat at the foundations of imperialism. This threat is a factor in strengthening the pressure of Hitler and Mussolini in the Balkans and the Near East. The United States also finds the menacing colonial revolution a powerful tool in achieving its own imperialist aims.

In the first world war England could afford to make PAPER promises of dominion status to the national bourgeoisie; these promises bridled the latter and enabled the imperialists to hold the workers in check. The decadence of British imperialism is clearly shown by the fact that today it does not even dare make such paper promises of dominion status AFTER the war. A significant symptom is the great concentration of troops in the Near East and the colonial area (a greater concentration than on the Maginot line). These troops are NOT merely arrayed for a possible attack on the Soviet Union.

The Indian melting-pot boils over with revolt — British imperialism trembles in fear.

INDIA AND THE INTER-IMPERIALIST ANTAGONISMS

Not only Downing Street, but all the imperialists, eye India with the utmost attention and lay plans accordingly. Hitler maneuvers in the Balkans and Near East in order to get a foothold for intervention in India; Mussolini traces a map from Rome to Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland to — India.

American imperialism, intent on domination in the new imperialist redivision of world (a domination primarily at the expense of her greatest rival, England), estimates the possibilities of an Indian nationalist regime whose capital as well as its material and political support would come from the United States. The Indian Nationalist bourgeoisie has certainly noted America's eighteen billion dollar gold loan and her recent twenty million dollar loan

to Chiang-Kai-Shek.

Although Japanese imperialism is fully occupied with the "pacification" of China, it, too, wants to utilize Indian developments as a weapon against English interference in China. Nor are the Nipponese imperialists averse to a southward and westward extension of their empire. It should be recalled that they have long sponsored a Pan-Asiatic policy in their own interest.

Briefly, these are the points in which world imperialist policy depends on the situation in India. In addition the Stalinist clique, at the helm of the warped Workers State, intensifies its pressure on the Near East and works in India for nationalist, anti-British purposes; as an ally of German imperialism it seeks the defeat of Britain. Above all the Stalinist role is to head off the Indian SOCIAL revolution, a technique learned in the Chinese Revolution.

It is clear that the fate of the Indian revolution is inseparably bound up with the moves and plans of the imperialist powers. Several conclusions must be drawn:

1 — Even the very first steps in the national revolution signal the approaching doom of British imperialism.

2 — Every imperialist power maneuvers for control on the basis of a possible comprador bourgeois regime in India; such control would be a vital weapon in deciding the new imperialist redivision of the world.

3 — Britain must move to crush EVERY revolt, even of a strictly nationalist character; this is especially true as the proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry, moves toward the social revolution.

4 — All the other imperialists, but especially the United States, will aid and abet such bourgeois nationalist attempts in varying degrees; but ALL will fight with tooth and claw against the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and peasantry in their drive toward Soviet power.

5 — Stalinism is a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy whose foreign policy is based on its internal role (a bureaucratic force resting on the October property relations), and conditioned by its bloc with German imperialism. Hence it will undertake political — perhaps even military — steps against British imperialism; but it will play a completely counter-revolutionary role in the attempt to strangle the Indian social revolution.

The above considerations, whose economic details must be eliminated for lack of space, show that India is a vital link in the chain of world imperialism and that the course of the Indian revolution is inextricably linked to the problems of world imperialism and to the struggles of the world proletariat.

THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

Revolutionary Marxists must be crystal-clear on the nature of the maturing Indian revolution; they must present an analysis and a STRATEGY that will create the possibilities of victory, and not a repetition of the Chinese catastrophe of 1925-27.

On March 19, police fired on a demonstration for Indian independence at Lahore and killed 21 workers, wounding 29 others. At the same time the Indian National Congress, holding a plenary session at Ramgarh, again went on record for a campaign of NON-VIOLENCE — but postponed all action until Gandhi has time to attempt a deal with British imperialism.

These two simultaneous events vividly summarize the Indian political situation. On the one hand the workers are hesitantly moving toward revolutionary action that would be given tremendous impetus by a revolutionary leadership (135,000 strikers have paralyzed the textile industry); on the other hand the national bourgeoisie "resolves" that workers should lie down peaceably in protest when the police open fire — and this is to be a threat (1) against British imperialism, a weapon in obtaining a rotten compromise! Here is open proof that the national bourgeoisie and its political organization, the Congress, can play only a REACTIONARY role in the revolutionary struggle.

"COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE" AND THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION

The Congress wants to free India from the ties of "British policy and British ECONOMIC STRUCTURE," but it cannot, nor does it desire to free itself from the whole policy and economic structure which Britain epitomizes: capitalist production and capitalist appropriation. The Indian nationalist bourgeoisie simply wants the upper hand for itself; it wants to replace Britain by diverting a greater share of the fruits of exploitation to its own coffers. But despite its wishes, this compradore bourgeoisie

can free itself of British domination only in so far as it subordinates itself to some rival imperialist power's domination; thus it must maintain the economic, political, and social oppression of the millions of toilers. That is the whole scope of its reactionary role. Further, all its threats against the British have meaning only in the degree that Britain fears mass action and recognizes the ability of the native bourgeoisie to hold the masses in leash. This cowardly bourgeoisie dreads even civil disobedience, for it knows that the struggle, once begun, will burst all confines; and the national bourgeoisie trembles in the face of a revolutionary mass movement as much as does British imperialism.

In the present epoch of decay capitalism, the struggle for the right of self-determination can have meaning for the working class only insofar as that struggle is advanced as an AUXILIARY to win as allies sections of the national bourgeoisie, the peasants, etc. In the process the treacherous vacillation of the compradore bourgeoisie as a class must be exposed. The slogan of the right of self-determination can be advanced POSITIVELY against British imperialism only on the basis of independent political and organizational action by the Indian workers and their Party. On the basis of such independent action an alliance with the peasantry is possible in attaining the goal of Soviet power; this goal will be achieved only against the national bourgeoisie whose concept of self-determination extends only to its own interests: perpetuation of working-class exploitation and oppression for its own benefit instead of for the benefit of British imperialism.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND SOVIETS

History has already relegated to the past the aim of the national bourgeoisie: independence for itself alone. But the compradors also advocate the specific political organ of this "independence". The Congress advocates the constituent assembly as the MEANS of gaining independence. Here, again, the reactionary character of the bourgeois struggle is revealed: the constituent assembly IN ITSELF will not rally the vast hordes of the exploited; it will not solve the problem of bread and butter for the millions. Only the social revolution can do this. The struggle for the assembly is progressive only to the extent that it becomes the basis for ACTION, not talk. Further, the working-

class must realize that the struggle for the constituent assembly must be waged as an AUXILIARY to the struggle for the building of WORKERS AND PEASANTS SOVIETS. Only in this way can the assembly be of value in gaining allies for the mass struggle against British imperialism — and against the national bourgeoisie.

MARCH SEPARATELY AND STRIKE TOGETHER

Those who have no faith in the working class because they do not understand the dynamics of class relations in decay capitalism do not see how 6 million industrial workers can lead 380 million toilers to victory. To them we ask: Against whom does British imperialism send its bayonets — the mealy-mouths at Ramgarh or the workers in the streets. The strike of the 135,000 textile workers has deeper CLASS significance than the talk shop plenum at Ramgarh, striking terror into the hearts of the British — and the national bourgeoisie who, as Gandhi puts it, "cannot trust the factory workers".

Millions of peasants toiling under primitive feudal agricultural conditions — starving while food is shipped to Britain; an extremely low social and cultural level which Britain has, in the main, perpetuated, denial of any of the elementary democratic rights about which the Britishers hypocritically boast — these and similar conditions create an objective base for the unfulfilled democratic and agrarian revolution. But it is equally clear that the decay of world imperialism now torn by predatory war for redivision of the world objectively denies the possibility of such a revolution IN ITSELF. It can only be the FIRST PHASE of the proletarian, the social revolution.

This demands the firmest political and or-

ganizational independence of the workers in alliance with the peasantry, the building of a revolutionary Marxist party that can give guidance to the struggle, that can concretize the STRATEGY of march separately and strike together with the national bourgeoisie but maintain political and organizational independence from its reactionary ends as a puppet of another imperialist power or bloc.

FOR A SOVIET SOCIALIST INDIA

The imperialists of the world would like to utilize the Indian national bourgeoisie as its tool in channelizing the revolution. This reactionary bourgeoisie, part of which capitulates to British imperialism at every turn, fearful of the revolutionary wrath below (Gandhi-Nehru-Azad), part of which now speaks with louder words against British imperialism and the compromisers and flirts dangerously close to becoming the tool of the Hitler-Stalin alliance (Bose) can only play a counter-part to Chiang Kai-Shek and the other miserable adventurers who butchered the Chinese revolution.

The Indian workers in alliance with the peasantry have a hard, tedious and difficult task before them. It is one which is supported politically and materially by revolutionary Marxists in international solidarity: the struggle for the SOVIET SOCIALIST STATE OF INDIA as a section of the United Soviet Socialist Republics of Asia.

BUILD SOVIETS AND WORKERS MILITIA!

SEIZE THE LAND FROM BRITISH AND NATIVE LARGE LANDOWNERS — DON'T WAIT FOR ANY LAWS BY A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY!

March 19, 1940