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# THE VANGUARD

CENTRAL ORGAN COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA  
(SEC COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL)

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## ONE YEAR

Today the *Vanguard* completes the first year of its existence. In this short period of twelve months its usefulness has been unquestionably demonstrated. It has faithfully and courageously stood at its post through thick and thin. But above all it has been proved by the relentless logic of history that the *Vanguard* is destined to play a decisive role in the Indian Revolution because it is the standard bearer of the class which is objectively the most revolutionary element in our society. In a most critical period of the national life, when the movement for national liberation was led into a blind alley and proved to be utterly incapable of finding the only way out the *Vanguard* appeared on the scene as the herald of a new phase of the anti-imperialist struggle. From the very beginning we did not hesitate to point out the weakness of the nationalist movement. Our object in doing so was not mere barren criticism, it was, on the one hand, to awaken the consciousness of the revolutionary social forces, and, on the other, to stimulate the vacillating middle-classes to action. A retrospective analysis of the past year leaves no doubt whatsoever that the path indicated by us was the only path to national liberation. If today the Indian people do not stand any nearer to the goal than a year ago, it is because of the refusal of the bourgeois leaders to travel on the only way which leads to national freedom. We have never had any illusion on this score. Therefore, we are not in the least

disheartened by the apparent depression in the movement. In fact, we predicted this period of depression as the logical consequence of the reactionary philosophy and faulty tactics of Non-cooperation.

## TELEGRAM

To the Editor, "VANGUARD",

The Executive Committee of the Communist International greets the first organ of Indian communist thought on the occasion of its first anniversary. The Communist International and its sections follow the activities of the *Vanguard* with the closest interest, and observe with pleasure its growing influence among the Indian working-class. There is no doubt that the *Vanguard* will play a great part in the history of the Communist Movement in India. We wish further success to the herald of the Indian Social Revolution.

**Long live Free India!**

**Long live the Communist Party of India!**

**Long live the Vanguard!**

**Presidium of the Communist International**

Now that the deadlock, which followed the crisis, is breaking down before the rise of new political parties with clear social character and unmistakable economic significance, conscious revolutionary factors of our society can no longer defer a serious consideration of the programme advocated in the

columns of the *Vanguard* during the last twelve months. We came out with the demand for the organization of a mass-party which should lead the workers and peasants in the anti-imperialist struggle, independent of the treacherous bourgeoisie and the timid lower middle-class. Never has this demand of ours been more imperative than today. The national movement is floundering like a rudderless ship on the ocean of political confusion and dangerous inaction. Taking advantage of this depression, the bourgeoisie is coming out with its doctrine of compromise and gradual evolution through constitutional means. It is needless to say that the organization of the revolutionary social forces, of those who have nothing to lose, but a world to gain — of those who therefore, must denounce the tactics of compromise, — cannot be delayed without great detriment to the freedom of the Indian people.

The nationalist movement has turned the corner. It is no longer the same half-utopian, half reactionary movement called Non-cooperation which was led by Gandhi. Today it is a decidedly bourgeois movement which seeks such modification of the imperialist domination as will permit the development of Indian capitalism. This programme certainly sounds like that of the good old Moderates. But there is a fundamental difference which is very dangerous. The post-war restiveness of the masses and the utilization of this mass upheaval by the Non-cooperators have taught the bourgeoisie a valuable lesson.

This lesson constitutes the essential difference between the programme of old Modelism and that of the new bourgeois nationalism. While the former believed sublimely in the doctrines of constitutional democracy preached by the British Liberals and therefore, prayed and petitioned year after year, the latter takes the field with the same programme but with the knowledge of a very powerful weapon and with the determination to make use of it. This weapon is the pressure of a mass movement. What they want is not a revolutionary change, but a readjustment of relations between the imperialist overlord and the Indian bourgeoisie. If need be the discontent of the masses will be exploited in order to force upon Imperialism the necessity of this readjustment. Hence, so much talk about the "masses". Hence the determination of the liberal intellectuals to organize the workers and peasants!

What does this new tendency signify? It signifies that the workers and peasants are to be used in order to conquer concessions for the upper and middle-classes. In other words, the workers and peasants should bear the brunt of the anti-British struggle, should go to jail, should shed their blood if, perchance, it is necessary—for what? To forge the chain of their own bondage. Their reward will be the gilt on the chain. This is what bourgeois nationalism, which has been born out of the ruins of Non-cooperation, really means. This is what has been foretold by us during the last twelve months. This is what calls for the organization of a revolutionary party of the masses. Totally independent of the bourgeoisie.

There are two reasons why a revolutionary mass-party based upon the class interests of the workers and pauperized peasantry should be immediately organized. First, such a party is alone capable of leading the anti-imperialist struggle further; and second, such a

party must come into existence in order to prevent the fruits of national freedom conquered by the workers and peasants from being totally misappropriated by the bourgeoisie.

The inner contradictions of capitalist production today force Imperialism to mend its ways. Curiously enough, the latest phase of bourgeois nationalism in India sets out to "end or mend" the British domination. "To end" is but a threat to expedite the process of "mending." - the necessity of which is already recognized by Imperialism, not under the pressure of the nationalism of the colonial bourgeoisie, but before the threatening collapse of the world capitalist structure. So it is clear that the day may not be very remote when the ways of Imperialism will be "mended." Indian capitalism will come into its own and for what purpose? To what effect? To expropriate the poor peasantry herd them into the great industrial centres and suck their life-blood with the help of the monster of the Machine. This will be done by the joint efforts of the foreign and native bourgeoisie-the brothers in spirit. This, in broad outlines, is the picture of national freedom which will be bestowed upon the Indian people if the working and peasant masses fail to assert themselves through their conscious vanguard—an organized class party—on the political situation.

A year ago today, the *Vanguard* appeared on the political stage of India with the standard of this political party. We did not come too early, nor were we too late. But our path has not been strewn with flowers. Various have been the obstacles that we have had to overcome. From the very beginning Imperialism recognized its mortal foe in the *Vanguard* which however, was still looked upon with inertness and even with suspicion by many of those whose interests and sentiments it objectively reflected. We were nor cordially welcomed by

the upper-class nationalists the Non-cooperators could not relish our dispassionate criticism of their social philosophy and political impotency. This was not unexpected by us. Through such variegated circumstances the *Vanguard* has marched boldly on, with a firm conviction, that the day will come when the historic necessity of the mission undertaken by us will be recognized by considerable section of the revolutionary elements in the movement.

If the life of the *Vanguard* has not been without success in the national sphere, it has been more so in the international sphere. Through its medium and that of the Communist Party for the first time an organic and active relation has been established between the struggling Indian people and the world proletariat, led by the victorious workers and peasants of Russia. The significance of this international relation may not yet be fully realised by our nationalists, who vainly seek the sympathy and support of the bourgeois world, but it will be the greatest asset for the Indian workers and peasants, who today stand on the eve of a bitter and protracted political struggle. The telegram received by us from the Presidium of the Communist International on the first anniversary of the *Vanguard* proves that the Indian working class, which enters the struggle under the rage of Imperialism and frown of the national bourgeoisie, has the backing and comradeship of the organized Proletarian Army mightily battering down the social system which enslaves nations and makes machines out of men to swell the pockets of a few.

The *Vanguard* enters the second year of its existence with something accomplished and with a greater future ahead. It is the banner of the army which is destined to usher into India an era of real freedom which will open the door to progress and prosperity to those who toil.

## THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The long-postponed third annual session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at last met. Those who expected a new leadership from this quarter have been disappointed. The gathering at Lahore was a working-class affair only in name. The spirit that reigned there was one of pure nationalism and humanitarian idealism. Nationalist leaders representing practically all the classes of our society except the working-class, arrogated to themselves the role of "labour delegates." Their monopoly was broken only by a few incipient labourites who vehemently opposed any political action on the part of the trade unions. The gathering as a whole however, acted from the beginning to the end as an adjunct to the National Congress, actuated partly by the pious desire to "uplift" the downtrodden masses and

partly by the anxiety to find ways and means of enlisting the services of the working-class for the cause of bourgeois nationalism, whose triumph will signify the increased exploitation of the masses.

The following quotation from the 'Nation', which breathes the spirit of the All-India Trade Union Congress, is a graphic picture of what the Lahore gathering was and what could be expected of it. On March 27th the 'Nation' writes: "A huge fleet of motor-cars drove up to the gate of the Bradlaugh Hall, and vociferous cheers greeted the arrival of the leaders. The hall was gaily decorated with wreaths of flowers. Several parties of musicians were present who sang national songs until the arrival of the President-elect. As soon as the Deshbandhu's car drove up shouts of "Bande Mataram" and "Deshbandhu Das ki jai" went up from all quarters. Many other ladies and gentlemen were present. And so on

and so on went the description of the gathering which was supposed to be composed of the representatives of Indian workers living on starvation wages, or at least of sincere reformers moved by the misery of the poor! To such an elite or intellect and opulence did the naive Deshbandhu preach his doctrine of "Swaraj for the 98 per cent!"

The president, whose Utopianism seems to be still struggling against the pragmatic politics of his rationalist associates, could not but feel a bit uneasy in the midst of this mockery, and in his concluding speech observed. "One criticism that has been leveled against us is that we have a Trade Union Congress in which there are not many workers. Let us hope in a few years the delegates will be the labourers themselves. "A pious hope indeed: but do the present self-appointed labourites permit us to share the hope of Mr. Das?"