

CAMPUS SPARTACIST

October 1, 1965

N.Y.C. Campus Fraction

Free

Introducing 'Campus Spartacist'

Frederick Engels said at the grave-side of Karl Marx: "Marx was before all else a revolutionist." His researches were predicated upon the perspective of struggle against capital. From this point of view alone could Marx develop revolutionary theory; only in this way could Marx's ideas become a living political force. "Fighting was his element," Engels continued in the same speech. Still more today theory has life and meaning only as it contributes to the revolutionary organization of the working-class.

Here is the source of tension between revolutionary organizations and radical individuals who are scholars first, and then socialists. The academic who imagines that the force of his ideas has dispensed with the idea of force has himself abandoned the struggle for socialism. The task remains: to build the American revolutionary movement as an integral part of an international working-class party which can overthrow capitalist society.

In accordance with this perspective we will publish articles and reviews relating each particular conflict to the general struggle to build the revolutionary party.

The student movement does not occupy a privileged position aloof from the conflicts of a decaying society; nor is it sufficient unto itself. Rather, we recognize that the student, while on the periphery of the class-struggle, nevertheless suffers in an extreme form the alienation characteristic of capitalist society. Thus the university, as well

SOCIALIST REVOLUTION: the Only Road to Peace in India

The war between India and Pakistan is a continuation of the religio-communal politics of the Hindu and Moslem ruling classes which led to the bloody partition of India into India and Pakistan in 1947--and the creation of the Kashmir problem.

"Pacifist" India--whose pacifism was never more than a recognition of its military and political weakness--has undertaken a military adventure which once more is giving the Soviet and Chinese leaderships an opportunity to show their nationalism and cynical class-collaboration, with the former supporting India and the latter Pakistan.

The crisis which the oppressed working people of India, Pakistan and Kashmir face is the crisis of the entire world socialist movement--the crisis of leadership. Nowhere is the brutal significance of this more evident than in the communal conflict now raging around Kashmir.

Behind the Partition

The particular crisis in India flows primarily from the historical incapacity of the national bourgeoisie to lead the struggle for national independence and unification as a prerequisite for classical capitalist development.

In the absence of any revolutionary

(continued next page)

as being an area of significant struggles, provides many of the professional revolutionists--the cadres--of the revolutionary communist movement.

working-class leadership in India and Pakistan, British imperialism, the Congress Party and the Moslem League were able to proceed at will with the oppression and exploitation of the Hindu and Moslem masses.

The Congress Party, in which the Indian bourgeoisie was organized, remained subordinate to British imperialism during the final phase of the partitioning negotiations. The solution finally reached, while involving certain disadvantages for British imperialism, nevertheless secured the latter's basic interests. As the Indian Trotskyist Party declared on the eve of August 15, 1947,

'The direct rule of British imperialism is ending. The job of governing the country has been handed over to the Indian bourgeoisie, with whom the British imperialists have entered into a partnership.... Despite a certain improvement in the relative position of Indian capital, the volume of British capital investment in India has undergone no significant change, while the grip of imperialist capital over the exchange banks, insurance companies and in shipping and key positions in industry continues.... The direct rule of British imperialism, we declare, therefore, is being replaced by indirect rule.'

The feudal Moslem League was able to take a tough stand on partition, forcing Britain to accept the creation of the Moslem state of Pakistan, because of the support it was able to obtain from the Moslem masses, who were justifiably concerned over their possible future under a Congress regime. Because of the absence of a revolutionary working-class leadership which could unite the laboring population against British imperialism and the Indian landlords, bureaucrats and capitalists, the Moslem League was able to pawn itself off on the Moslem masses as the defender of their interests. Thus communal hatred became the basis for a mass movement.

British imperialism found this a congenial prospect, even though it had been unable to force acceptance of its origi-

nal "Cripps proposal," under which a unified India would have emerged embracing the Moslem League as well as the Congress. The result was a prostrate India, with a chronic, long-lasting communal division that would undermine the potential unified strength of the country and assist the British strategy of remaining on and intervening at important moments in the life of the two dominions.

Kashmir

The accession of Kashmir to India took place in 1947, when the ruler, the Hindu Maharajah, Hari Sing, terrified by the prospect of a general uprising in West Kashmir, bolted to Delhi and asked to join the Indian Union.

With remarkable cynicism the British Governor General, Admiral Mountbatten,

What Is The

Permanent

Revolution?

three concepts of the
Russian Revolution

by

Leon Trotsky

10¢

Order from Sparksist,

Box 1377, G.P.O.,

New York, N.Y. 10001

and not an Indian President, accepted the accession with a fraudulent proviso that a referendum should be held at a later date! Once Kashmir joined the Indian Union, the Indian ruling-class was free to occupy Kashmir and suppress the national movement not only in Poonch, but also in Gilgit and Baltistan in the north.

Profits and Politics

Neither Ayub Khan nor Shastri has any

concern for the Kashmiri people.

The Indian capitalist class was driven to this war for two reasons: first, in order to distract the starving millions of India's urban and rural poor from the real problems of landlessness, indebtedness, hunger, misery and exploitation. Second, in order to expand its territory and secure themselves militarily and strategically against China.

Right to Secession

When asked at a press conference whether he would agree to an independent Kashmir Ayub Khan replied: 'That would open up a much bigger issue. Complete independence would create another cockpit of power politics. . . . today I am not sure it would be practical.'

Secession from capitalist India and Pakistan is an imprescriptible right of the Kashmiri peoples.

Shiekh Abdullah, the Lion of Kashmir, derived all or most of his popularity with the Kashmiri people precisely because his demand for a plebiscite did not exclude the right for autonomy or independence.

It was for this reason that he was arrested by the Indian government.

Warning

Three years ago, when India's policy of provocations directed at China ended in military disaster and public humiliation for the Indian ruling-class, the British Trotskyists warned the Indian working-class movement not to be deceived by the fraudulent propaganda of the Congress government, and its lackeys the Communist and Socialist Parties. They urged Indian Marxists to utilize the war crisis in order to prosecute more vigorously the class struggle against the landlord-bureaucrat capitalist government of Nehru.

The defense of China was indissolubly bound up with the struggle for the overthrow of the Congress regime. There could be no other kind of revolutionary defense of China.

Repercussions

'Such a struggle would have had tremendous repercussions throughout Asia, particularly in East Pakistan, where Ayub Khan's dictatorial regime was being seriously threatened by Bengali opposition.'

The abandonment of such a policy by the Communist Party, Socialist Party and Revolutionary Socialist Party for the sake of defending the so-called national interests of India, meant, in practice, the betrayal of the working-class, a strengthening of capitalist reaction and an unprecedented resurgence of Hindu-Moslem hatred.

A large part of the responsibility for this betrayal rests with the Soviet leaders who actively supported the Indian government and supplied it with arms and airplanes. The full fruits of this counter-revolutionary policy are being gathered in Punjab and Kashmir today.

Socialism is irreconcilably opposed to the national state and private ownership of the means of production. The defense of the capitalist nation-state, particularly the aborted capitalist states of India and Pakistan, which are mere appendages of Anglo-U.S. imperialism, is in every way historically and socially reactionary.

For a United Socialist India

The real task facing the Indian working-class is not the perpetuation of frontiers forcibly imposed by imperialism, but the tearing down of these frontiers and the revolutionary unification of India. This task can and will be carried out only after the overthrow of the capitalist states of India and Pakistan.

The Chinese Communist leaders, by their fulsome support of Pakistan have not only betrayed the real interests of the Kashmiri people, but, more important, they have explicitly recognized and accepted the imperialist vivisection of India and the perpetuation of Hindu-Moslem antagonism!

Imperialism and the U.N.

There is no doubt that this war could not take place without the tacit sanction of American imperialism, which controls the purse strings of both India and Pakistan. The strange behavior of Johnson toward the war can be understood

In the next issue of
Campus Spartacist:

-Where is the anti-war movement headed?

-What course must it take?

-How does it relate to the election campaign?

by America's desire to weaken Britain in Asia and strengthen her own position through the instrumentality of the United Nations.

The frenzied activities of U-Thant, who is nothing more than a glorified valet for Johnson, will not bring peace or communal harmony to this benighted land.

On the contrary, as in the Congo, such activity will lay the basis for an increased repression and exploitation of the multi-millioned toilers, Hindu and Moslem alike.

The only real beneficiary of this war is U.S. imperialism, which, to the extent it is pushed out of Vietnam, tries all the more desperately to increase its penetration into the rest of Asia.

In this sense there is a direct connection between the bloody slaughter in Vietnam and the carnage in Sialkot.

It is the death agony of imperialism.

There is only one way out. That is the road of class struggle, of revolutionary opposition to the war plans and intrigues of the Hindu and Moslem capitalists and for the creation of a government of workers and peasants led by a revolutionary Marxist Party.

Read and Support SPARTACIST

Contents of the forthcoming issue include:

- "Deutscher on Trotsky & the Fate of the Russian Revolution," by Shane Mage
- "The Negro Struggle & the Deacons," a southern report
- "The Black Ghetto Outbursts" (including the 'Spectre of Spartacist')
- "On Revisionism & the Algerian Coup"
- 'Lost' Theses on Centrism by Leon Trotsky
- Socialist Policy in the New York City Elections.

Subscription Blank

Enclosed is: \$1.00 for twelve issues (two years)
50 cents for six issues (one year)

Name _____

Address _____

return to: SPARTACIST, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001