CHAPTER-II

EMERGENCE OF THE COMMUNISM:

THE FORMATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF

INDIA IN MAHARASHTRA.

Every historical movement occurs in a particular socio-economic context; it evolves a historical complex according to its genius. Before the conquest of by the Britishers, Maharashtra had a village oriented self-sufficient economy, and a stereotype structure of society based on 'Varna system'. With the advent of the Britishers, this socio-economic structure of Maharashtra was slowly shattered to pieces.

Rayotwari and Balutedari were the two salient features of the Maharashtrian agrarian system. According to the Rayotwari system, the tiller possessed the land. This feature of the system prevented the growth of land lordism on a large scale. The Balutedars used to get fixed agricultural produce in relation to the services they performed to the land-holding agriculturists—carpenters, smiths, potters, barbers, washerman etc. were treated as the Balutedars. This system remained the basic organizational pattern of rural Maharashtra and was not weakened until the advent of the universalized market system under the Britishers. Karl Marx has very aptly written:

"The political unity of India, more consolidated, and extended farther than it ever did under the great Moghuls, was the first condition of its regeneration. That unity imposed by the British sword, will now be strengthened and perpetuated by the electric telegraph. The native
army, organized and trained by the British drill - Sergeant was the sine qua non of Indian self-emancipation, and of India ceasing to be the prey of the first foreign intruder.

The free press introduced for the first time into Asiatic society, and managed principally by the common offspring of Hindus and Europeans, is a new and powerful agent of reconstruction. The 'Zamindari' and 'Royatwari' themselves abominable as they are, involve two distinct forms of private property in land - the great desideratum of Asiatic society - from the Indian natives, reluctantly and sparingly educated at Calcutta, under English superintendence, a fresh class is springing up, endowed with the requirements for government and imbued with European science. Steam has brought India into regular and rapid communication with Europe, has connected its chief ports with those of the whole South-Eastern Ocean; and has reindicated it from the isolated position which was the prime law of its stagnation. England, Marx says further, was the 'unconscious tool of history' in bringin about a social revolution in Hindusthan."

i) AGRARIAN RELATIONS IN MAHARASHTRA:

Before the British conquest of Maharashtra, all land in Maharashtra at the close of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, was regarded as the property of the rulers of the State. While the rulers retained the right of supreme ownership of the land, the cultivated lands and adjoining waste land, forest and meadow lands were held by the village community. In the 18th and early 19th century the arable lands of the Maratha community were, as a rule held and used by individual members of
the community and wooded plots, forests and other land were collectively possessed and used by the whole community. Land revenue was collected by the rulers from agriculturists or the Royats—(the term Ryot is derived from Arab-Persian language meaning subject, ordinary person, tenant, peasant.

The State being the supreme owner of the land in feudal Maharashtra, private feudal land ownership outwardly appeared as the right of the owners to collect for their own benefit all or part of the land revenue from the lands granted to them. The land held privately was therefore regarded by their revenue department in the Maratha State as 'Inams'—(Inam means gift, grant. In the States of feudal India this term was used to designate a private holding which was fully or partly exempt from payment of land revenue to the States. Inams of Maratha feudal, as a rule, were actually the right granted to receive all or part of the land revenue collected from a specific territory).

Thus, State ownership of land, private feudal landholding, and the village community comprised the chief elements of the agrarian system of feudal Maharashtra in the 18th and the 19th centuries.

The British colonialists, after the conquest of Maharashtra, retained the institution of state ownership of land; having complete control over the main sources of irrigation, most of the uncultivated land and forests, and also concentrated in their hands huge sums of land rent. They became the supreme proprietors of land, allowing the 'Inamdari system' to continue.
Under the system the most privileged were the top stratum of the Maratha feudals - the holders of 'Saranjams'. Saranjams embraced an entire village or villages, but Saranjams of individual plots of land also existed. Lands and pensions were also secured to officials of the feudal administration, i.e. Deshmukhs, Deshpandes, Patils, and Kulkarnis.

In Kokan - coastal districts of Bombay - Kolaba, Ratnagiri and Thana the Patils' holdings were secured to them; they extended their Vatans considerably and becoming petty-feudals, they held one or several villages as Khots - (hereditary tax farmers). For the first 40 years of the British conquest, the Khots continued to hold their land on the basis of traditional rights. What the Khots had hitherto held as 'Vatan' was henceforth conferred on them by a special act.

The land revenue remained the main source of income to the government through out the first one quarter of 19th century. This could be augmented only by one means, the maximum enhancement of the land revenue assessment. Every lawful or unlawful, was made to get the utmost out of the wretched peasantry who were subjected to torture, in some instances cruel and revolting beyond description, if they would not or could not pay what was demanded.

*Here are the many who are discontented Deshmukhs of old, at present impoverished and shorn of all importance, grumble, and are indignant with the present government; while their last days in Poona in mansions, which once sparkled with luring but spending are now dirty

* For details please refer to :
  i) India in Transition - M.N. Roy.
  ii) India Today - R.P. Dutt.
  iii) Social Background - A.R. Desai.
and halt at ruins. The Brahmins who used to receive rich presents at the time of the Peshwas, have now lost all importance even in the native society and look upon the activities of the present government with repressed spite."

This passage throws sufficient light upon the changing socio-economic structure of Maharashtra under the Britishers.

The procedure of the land survey and the settlement in Ryotwari districts was extremely bureaucratic in character and was designed to restrict the rights of the ryots as landed proprietors. Failure to pay land revenue meant confiscation of the ryots holding and its sale by auction. Thus in 1896, 11632 acres of confiscated land were sold in the Ryotwari areas of Bombay and in 1899-46972 acres.

The ryots paid a special tax for the right to pick fruit from the fruit and palm trees belonging to the State. They could acquire the trees as their own property by paying for each tree a sum equal to 10 times the tax.

In 1885-89 the people in Thana and Kolaba districts carried a stubborn struggle to get the forest laws amended. A commission was appointed in 1887. The peasants get back the right to have waste land and forest tracks for community use.

Money lenders were a dominant class. They used to lend money against the standing crop as security. Money lending, trading and shop-keeping activities were performed by the same individual. The Marwari's specially and the Brahmins too to some extent, excelled as money lenders. The rate of interest was very high - varying from 12% to 30% leading to
the colossal exploitation of the peasantry. The people turned to open resistance, resorting to violent actions against the money-lenders specially in 1870-75. The rebellion, which is famous as 'Ramoshi's Band' was crushed by the armed forces of the British government.

**ECONOMIC CHANGES IN MAHARASHTRA IN THE SECOND-HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY:**

The heavy taxes, fall in agricultural prices, crop-failure and rise in household expenses, compelled the peasant to turn to the moneylenders. The ruin of the small commodity producer which began in India created a labour-power market. But the overwhelming majority of the peasants who were deprived of the land came to till it again, not on the capitalist but on semi-fuedal lines. Craftsmen, increasingly losing their self-sufficiency, became more and more dependent on the dealers, or buyers-up, who operated in the lower forms of trading capital in small scale industry. A considerable number of peasants and craftsmen who could not find employment and who were deprived of their means of production swelled the army paupers. Poverty, chronic under-nourishment and wholesale death from starvation followed. 26 million people died of starvation in 1876-1900 five times as many as in the preceding 25 years.

The weavers forced out throat competition from the Manchester manufacturers even in their own villages. Indian weaving was crushed by British fabrics made from Indian cotton. The village craftsmen and crafts were slowly but inevitably withering away. In 1883 in Poona out of 1100-1300 looms only 400-500 produced cotton cloth.
The production of silk fabrics, metal wares, tobacco processing in Poona was badly hit by foreign competition. No better was the position of oil producers. By 1883, only 7 or 8 paper making establishments remained in Poona, each employing 5 to 6 people. The rest of the industry had been throttled by foreign competition.

Sholapur was the biggest centre of cotton handcraft industry. At the beginning of 1880, there were about 5000 craftsmen, weavers, spinners, dyers. There were 2240 looms in Malegaon and 1200 hand-15 looms in Ahmednagar.

Due to the specialization, raw material was received from and the finished products were sold to the same merchant. Thus the craftsman were also exploited by the merchants—peti-bourgeoisie.

Thus under the British rule, all production in India, rural or urban, agricultural or industrial, became production for the market. A large class of traders grew with the expansion of the internal market, which linked up Bombay and other industrial centres in Maharashtra to the world market. Thus the growth of industries gave birth to two modern classes i.e. the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The people in Maharashtra were reshuffled into new social groupings, new classes, as a result of the basic capitalist transformation of the society. But due to the uneven economic growth of the centres, the process of the rise of the new social classes among different communities was also an uneven one. Because certain communities were engaged in definite economic, social or educational vocations,
i.e. in pre-British period, the Baniyas were traders and shroffs, and the Brahmans the custodians of education. In the new social environment, the Baniyas along with the Parsis switched over to capitalist commerce and banking and developed into new social classes, i.e. commercial and financial bourgeoisie. The Brahmans assimilated the modern education introduced by the British government, and turned themselves into a modern intelligentsia; and an educated middle class. The upper strata of the Muslim community in the pre-British period, were on the whole, divorced from medieval trade or moneylending and were mainly engaged in military and administrative careers. The vast Muslims population belonged to the poorer classes. Hence, a modern intelligentsia, a modern educated middle class, and a bourgeoisie on a substantial scale, sprang from within the Muslim community later than from within the Hindu community.

THE RISING OF NEW SOCIAL NEW CLASSES.

According to Marx: "The Zamindari and Ryotwari systems were both of them agrarian revolutions effected by the British government, and opposed to each other; the one aristocratic, the other democratic; the one a caricature of the English landlordism, the other of French peasant proprietorship; but pernicious, both combining the most contradictory characters, both made not for the people who cultivate the soil, not for the holder who owns it, but for the government that taxes it."

The general effects of colonial land relations were to increase impoverishment and indebtedness and thus to worsen the effects of stratification and to introduce a new fluidity into village society.
(1) THE COMMERCIAL BOURGEOISIE.

The rise and development of modern bourgeoisie was bound up with the expansion of trade, commerce, industry and banking in India and in Maharashtra. The Sholapur Gazetteer, written in 1884 described the situation thus: "Much of the best land is in the hands of money-lenders who have either bought it or taken it on mortgage. The money lenders do not themselves till but put in tenants, usually the former owners of the land under the terms of lease. The tendency seems for the petty-landholders to diminish and the land to fall into the hands of men of capital who employ the old holders as their tenants or labours. The higher class of husbandmen are usually also merchants dealing in cotton, cloth, grain and lending money."

The class of bourgeoisie never included the native Vanis or Marathas; but immigrants from Gujarat, Rajasthan, Marwari, Parsis, Sindhi's etc. Local Maratha Vanis were an exception. A few Lingayats and Jains too formed part of the class of bourgeoisie.

The conflict of interests between the Indian and European commercial classes was the main reason for the formation of independent organizations of these classes. The Indian Merchants Chamber was founded in Bombay in 1907. The Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce was started in 1927. The rising industrialist class had become sufficiently strong and conscious by 1905. They supported the classes which were already fighting for breaking the monopoly of the British in the services and professions. That is why their watchward in the national freedom struggle
was 'Swadeshism' and 'Protectionism' and naturally they were allied with the professional classes.

(ii) THE PROLETARIAT:

The Indian proletariat was formed predominantly out of the pauperised peasants and ruined artisans who became wage-earners. According to Gail Omvedt-

"The British rule drastically affected the social fabric of Indian agriculture, but to leave virtually unaffected the basic production and the level of technique. The upper strata of agrarian society benefited handsomely. The position of the cultivators deteriorated. Capital needed for the development of agriculture was siphoned off and the level of total output tended towards stagnation. The traditional village caste economy, with peasants, artisans and labourers maintained in their position by feudal overlords, were replaced by a village open not to more intense market influence but also to a new control by moneylenders and the intelligentsia. The Brahmin elite clearly showed their ties with the commercial bourgeoisie and most specifically in cases where these opposed peasant interests. As the proletarian class was almost illiterate and culturally backward, it developed national and class-consciousness much later than the intelligentsia - the educated middle class and the bourgeoisie.

(iii) THE INTELLIGENTSIA:

In the early period, the intelligentsia mainly comprised the Brahmins. The newly educated Brahmins filled the administrative posts
in the British administration. W.W. Hunter notes: "The Maratha Brahmins instead of adopting a policy of resistance have adopted a policy of acceptance and they are at this moment the chief native administrators of the system which superseded their own. Deshmukhs, Patils, Kulkarnis were retained as functionary officials in village administration. But the Patils were reduced to the status of the petty-police functionary".

This was true. But still the role of the intelligentsia in the history of modern Indian nationalism was decisive. They integrated, to a great extent the Indian people into a modern nation and organized various social and religious reform movements in the country. They were the pioneers, organisers, and leaders of all political and national movements. The educated Indians who studied the history of trade unions and peasant movements in other countries, gave a lead to the Indian workers and peasants and helped them to form their class organizations and movements. Similarly, the educated people, by assimilating the modern ideas of democracy and freedom, and familiarizing themselves with the social, cultural and scientific achievements of other people (and specially by the western people) spread their knowledge among the illiterate masses. The militant nationalist and the terrorist movements were the result of the discontent prevailing among the unemployed educated youth.

Thus, the emergence of new social classes prepared the ground for conflict. The conflict was especially between the two classes, the wig Indian industrial bourgeoisie collaborating with the foreign bourgeoisie and the industrial proletariat who acted as the vehicle of
trend
for independent economic development. The anti-imperialist interests of the petit-bourgeoisie and of the proletariat coincided in many respects and this helped in the spread of the ideas of petit bourgeois patriotic democracy among the workers.

THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS AND ITS PETTI-BOURGEOIS NATURE;

The beginning of the nineteenth century can be treated as a landmark in the history of Maharashtra. It was a period of socio-religious movements through which efforts were made to rescue the people from the shackles of superstitious, inhuman social traditions and orthodox conservatism. Liberalism was the essence of these movements. There were efforts to arrive at a rational scientific outlook in different fields i.e., social, religious, political etc. Due to the effects of these movements politics too was getting radicalized, ultimately transforming into the politics of extremism in the era of B.G. Tilak. Prominent among such thinkers were Agarkar, Dadabhai Naoroji, Vishnubuva Brahmachari, Tilak, Jyotiba Fule and others. Influenced by western liberalism, rationalism and scientific outlook, these people tried their best to reconstitute the stereotype society on certain new principles. Some leaders of the C.P.I. feel that these movements, by creating a stir and regenerating new hopes among the people, created a favourable ground for Communism in the later period of the nineteenth century. That is why Javdekar has described Dadabhai Naoroji as the Indian Marx.
In the same way Javdekar has credited Vishnubuva Brahmachari with originality in expressing socialist ideas in India.

Vishnubuva Brahmachari in an essay on the 'happy state' has described his vision of the socialist State. Vishnubuva writes:

"The land should be cultivated collectively and the produce should be distributed equally - according to the necessities and demands of the people. The king should be the custodian of land, clothes, jewellery and other useful articles. The people should take away necessary articles from the treasury of the king and should return it (ornaments etc.) when not necessary. All the people including the king should strictly be non-vegetarian and should eat the same food (in quality?) The bride and the groom should be given freedom to decide their marriages on their own accord. The children above five years should be possessed and nurtured by the king and after completion of their education, they should be absorbed in different professions they like. The king should accept the responsibility of the old people (men and women) without expecting any manual work from them."

Apparently one may feel that these ideas have certain resemblance with Marxian socialism. But it is not so. These ideas are neither scientific, nor they have come out of deep reflection on the existing socio-economic conditions. Moreover these ideas failed to create any stir against the exploitation and injustices inflicted upon the common people. These ideas failed to catch the attention of the people and move the masses. The ideas of Vishnubuva were not properly speaking, in the strict socialist tradition and they failed to inspire mass movements. On the
contrary, Vishnubuva vehemently defended 'Vedas', pointing out how they comprised all the knowledge of scientific and technological development acquired by the West in modern period. Thus he never intended to challenge the establishment but tried to revive the past with certain philanthropic, humanist, utopian touches. So it could neither influence the masses, nor win any following. The ideas of Vishnubuva could neither change the course of history; nor reconstitute a decadent society on socialist principles.

No doubt Dadabhai Naoroji had clearly pointed out that the policies of the British government are mainly responsible for the poverty and exploitation of India. The following passages will clearly show how Dadabhai had bitterly criticised the British government for India's exploitation. Dadabhai writes:

"Whatever Muhammad Gazani could not take away after looting India for 18 times; the Britishers have taken away more than that within one year. Moreover the wounds of the bruised India were healed after the 18th strike by Gazani; but the strikes from the Britishers and the bleeding caused by it is never ending. Just like a season is followed by another season, the exploitation is followed by more rampant exploitation irrespective of the life and death of the Indian people."

Further Dadabhai pointed out:

"The per capita income of the Indian people is Rs.20=00 per annum; which is less than the expenditure incurred on the prisoners by the British government."
Again in the following passage, Dadabhaji points out clearly how British imperialism will be perished one day:

"He who runs may see that if the material and moral destruction of India continues, a great convulsion must inevitably arise, by which either India will be more and more crushed under the iron heel of despotism and destruction, or may succeed in shattering and destroying hand and power." That is why in his speech before the Indian National Congress in 1906 Dadabhaji asked Indian people to,

"Agitate, agitate over the whole length and breadth of India, in every nook and corner - peacefully of course - if we really mean to get justice from John Bull."

Just like Dadabhaji, M.G.Ranade too denounced the theory of laissez-faire and championed state interference for improving the economy of the country.

"But though the early Indian moderates or nationalists would have joined hands with the socialists in their denunciation of imperialism and laissez-faire, they were not the advocates of socialism; an ideology with which they were very imperfectly acquainted, if at all. The proletariat and socialism was yet to become a force in Indian politics." Points out Shanker Ghosh.

Dadabhaji Naoroji also worked with Hyndman and other British socialists. He took active interest in the problems of the workers. But Naoroji was not able to achieve anything in this regard. So comparison of Dadabhaji with Marx is out of place.
Some of the Communist leaders feel that had Tilak lived longer,
he might have prepared the ground for Communism. With the advent of
Tilak on the political scene, the moderates and the liberals were
decidedly swept in the background. Tilak changed the nature of politics.
He tried to organize the peasantry and the working class. The Bombay
workers went on strike in protest against Tilak's arrest in 1908. Tilak
who was not generally enthusiastic about the Russian Revolution, later
welcomed it warmly. But the following passages from Tilak's writings
will clearly point out that he stood solidly with the Jamindars and money-
lenders. Tilak writes:

"Generally, the people are under the impression that the Sahukars
(money-lenders) are at the root of exploitation and difficulties of the
people. In fact the people cannot do without the Sahukars. He provides
capital for agricultural and other purposes. Many times he is liquidated
along with the liquidation of his indebtedors. The British government intentionally is creating a rift between the money-lenders and the people. In fact it should not be so."

Tilak wrote six articles in Kesari objecting to the law against
the Khoti system in 1897. He wrote:

"The government cannot interfere in the relations between the
Khots and tillers, which have been traditionally decided without giving
compensation, the government has not right to take away the right of the
Khots of accepting half or more than half of the produce. As the govern-
ment cannot distribute the property of the money-lenders to the beggars
in Poona, in the same way, the government cannot improve the conditions
of the tillers at the cost of the Sahukars. It is a question of right
and not of sympathy."
Tilak expressed his displeasure on the labour law passed in 1891, which really did not provide any appreciable facilities to the working class. It only sanctioned one day's leave to the workers and protection from overwork for the women and children who were below 9 years. He wrote:

"The principle of this law has been borrowed from England, whatever it may be it has incurred great loss to our industries."

Whatever may be the reason, it is clear that Tilak was not prepared to jeopardize the vested interests of the bourgeoisie. He had a soft corner for the traditional economy; so he deliberately accepted the position of class-co-operation and not of class-conflict. Just as in the social field he pleaded the cause of orthodox conservatives, in the economic field too, he served the purpose of the higher echelons, the moneylenders and landed aristocracy.

Perhaps Agarkar was the only Maharashtrian who had a clear scientific approach to social questions. Without being a reformer with a European Christian bias, he induced free thinking among the intelligentsia of Maharashtra. His political thought was genuinely revolutionary in the beginning. The following quotations from his writings will throw some light on his political thinking which is materialistic in essence. While answering Ranade, Agarkar in his speech in the Deccan College said, "history clearly points out that the root cause of all the struggles that have been fought in hunger."

At another place, Agarkar writes:

"The equal distribution of power and wealth should be the goal of our social reformation. Making provision for the equal share in happiness-
at least to the maximum level possible is social reformation."

Again,

"Each one should have a source of his livelihood. So that he may spend the time according to his conveniences - i.e. a few hours in meditation, a few hours in study, a few hours in entertainment and rest. How long it will take is uncertain."

Similarly,

"The conflict between the owners and the workers has been started in the industrial field. The working class, in order to intensify this struggle and to survive, should form their organizations and prepare themselves for the strike; otherwise the owners will not concede to their judicious demands. The division of society in three distinct classes - i.e. Intelligentsia, Bourgeoisie, Proletariat, is not a permanent phenomenon. By wiping out the existing disparities, and bringing everyone on par slowly, these three classes will be transformed into one performing various functions simultaneously. This will be the real progress."

In pre-Independence period, the elites expressed the ideology of national revolution. It was the nationalism of a class combining bourgeois and high caste traditions. Jyotiba Phule represented the ideology of the social revolution in its earliest form, with a peasant and anti-class outlook. Hence Phule directed his thought and movement of opposition against the Brahmin elite. 'Non-Brahminism' represented not simply communalism or the inspiration derived from British divide-rule policies; it represented the first expression of social
revolution. Phule, however, failed to provide economic analysis of the social problem nor did he suggest political organization appropriate for bringing about the social revolution. Ethnic and cultural factors rather than economic or political factors were given prominence by Phule. He and his colleagues thought that the peasant mass were toiling under double exploitation - that of the Brahman elites as well as the colonial rulers. So Phule focussed on agriculture and spoke from the peasant's point of view. While the nationalist criticised the "drain" of income from India to England, Phule and his colleagues directed their attention to the "drain" from the peasantry to the urban based bureaucratic elite and criticised severely such taxes as octrois, which municipal income, and the local fund, by means of which largely upper class students were educated at the expense of the peasantry. But Phule failed to give any consideration to the economic differentiation within the peasantry. The whole problem of property and the organizations of the relation of production was absent from his thought. Phule protested against the dominant position of the Brahmins in the government and emphasized that their positions should be limited according to the percentage of their population and non-Brahmins should be associated with the government at all levels.

The establishment of 'Satyashodhak Samaj and Phule's ideology gave birth to a new conflict between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. The Satyashodhak Samaj provided Phule's followers a platform for merciless criticism of the Brahmins. The Brahmins also retaliated with equal vehemence. The conflict between the Brahmins and Non-Brahmins has certainly marred the growth of the progressive movement in Maharashtra.

* For detailed analysis of Phule please refer to 'Mahatma Phule and his tradition (Marathi) by Prabhakar Vaidya. Vaidya is a member of the CPI. He blamed Dange and others for neglecting Phule and Ambedkar.
While the earlier thinkers with certain notable exceptions (Agarkar, Phule, Badabhai etc.) cherished a vague socialist enthusiasm which owed to philosophical doctrines of equality and to a passion for the removal of poverty and suffering; it is only in the 20th century that socialist doctrine became a definite influence on Indian (and so also Maharashtrian) thought.

According to Gail Omvedt, Javalkar, who was one of the prominent leaders of the 'Satyashodhak Samaj' had adopted a Marxian outlook. She has stated that.....

"Javalkar projected the absorption of the Satyashodhak Samaj movement into Marxism, and with this a maintenance of class struggle and social militancy. Capitalists, the British and the Brahmins were to be opposed - in that order - and the peasants were to rely on their own organizations and a radical ideology to do so." But her contention seems to be exaggerated. The 'Satyashodhak' movement, no doubt, represented the interests of the Non-Brahmins; but the movement on the whole was a struggle for power between the two elitist sections - Brahmins vs - Non-Brahmins. Despite its Marxist jargon, it was communal in character.

THE IMPACT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION:

The Russian revolution had a tremendous impact on the minds of the Indian people, and particularly on the working class by its national-revolutionary and class-emancipatory role and ideology. The news of the Russian revolution, Lenin's decree of 'land to the tillers of the soil' and the declaration of the rights of the people of Russia were
published in the Indian press and received wide circulation. A section of the intelligentsia tried to propagate the spirit of the revolution in speech and writing. No doubt the revolution changed the course of history and the nature of politics in our country. A number of papers in Maharashtra, Bengal etc. published in detail the reports of the revolution. Many writers wrote biographies of Marx and Lenin in different languages.

The 'Bombay Chronicle' wrote:-

"The victory of the Bolsheviks means the victory of the common March people. If Lenin is successful the revolution will sink into significance before the November revolution for its success is nothing less than the end of the upper - middle class and the final triumph of the common people."

The 'Modern Review' wrote:-

"It is refreshing to turn from the chorus of abuses and misrepresentation directed against the Russian Soviets by the capitalist press to the illuminating sketch of the framework of the Soviet State ....... We are at least, given an insight into the mighty efforts of revolutionary Russia to organize herself and work out her Communist ideals...... In fact, the Bolsheviks are striving to make Russia better and noble than anything she has ever been."

In the beginning Tilak was inimical to the Russian revolution but later on he welcomed it in the 'Kesari' -

"The 6th and 7th of November 1917 will be historically memorable dates, for during these two dates the Russian revolution took place
without shedding a drop of blood. Of course the efforts of thousands of persons for years were instrumental in bringing it about, but every big idea requires some one as its embodiment. Lenin's name will live for ever in the history of Communism."

Though 'Kesari' wrote very highly about the Russian revolution, this spirit could not last long. After the death of Tilak, many persons from the 'Kesari' group took the path of responsive cooperation in Indian politics. The militant admirers and followers of Tilak joined the ranks of Gandhi's first non-cooperation movement. Left wing revolutionaries among them, specially Dange, who were already becoming critical of Gandhi's ideology and method of struggle, were profoundly influenced by the impact of the Russian revolution and the thought of Lenin and developed a new orientation to their critique of Gandhism.

The list of books on Lenin and the Russian revolution which appeared in 1921 or thereabout is given below:

1) Nicolai Lenin : His life and work - by G.V.Krishnarao (English, Ganesh and Company, Madras 1921)
2) 'Socialism' - Vinayak Sitaram Servate (Marathi, Poona, 1921).
3) 'Russiatil Bolshevism' - Dr. L.N.Joshi (Marathi, Poona, 1921)
4) Nicolia Lenin - R.G.Bhide (Marathi, Bombay, 1922)
5) Lenin and the Russian Revolution - Aziz Bhopali (Urdu, Lahore, 1922)
6) The Liberation of the poor in Russia - by Gorekh (Kannada, Hubli, 1923).
7) Bolshevik Jadugar (Lenin) - Ramashankar Avasthi, (Hindi, Calcutta, 1921).
8) Biplah Pathe Russian Rupantar - Amul Chandra Sen (Bengali, 1924)
9) Gandhi Vs. Lenin - Dange. (English, Bombay, 1921)
Dange's book Gandhi versus Lenin written and published in 1921, has on the one hand to be classed among the books published in India in the early twenties giving information about the achievements of the Russian revolution and about the thought of Lenin. On the other hand, it goes far ahead of any of the contemporary books on the subject; in so far as it gives a new orientation to the critique of Gandhism. Now, however, Mr. Dange feels that the book contains certain mistakes and shortcomings while analysing Gandhian thought from the Marxist point of views.

Apart from these books a number of Indian newspapers contributed to preach Communism. The list of the papers is given below. 'The Student' - (a Calcutta daily), and 'The Khilaphat' - (Bombay daily) Chamanlal's paper the 'Nation' (Lahore) regularly reproduced Communist propaganda from European papers.

'The Maratha', 'Amrit Bazar Patrika', 'Inquilab', 'Vartman', 'Pranvir' etc. wrote articles on the Russian revolution and made an effective propaganda for Communism.

The well known Bengali nationalist weekly 'Atmashakti' wrote:

"The substantial similarity in the conditions of Russia and India bring to our mind the problems of Bolshevism. Like Russia, India too is a predominantly agrarian country. The number of educated people are about the same in both the countries. The factors that led to the rise of Bolshevism in Russia are also present in India. For those who are suppressed today want their full share of rights from the propertied classes. They cannot be kept down and under anymore."

* Dr. G. Adhikari, the theoretician of the CPI is not satisfied with Dange's book. He revealed this is an interview.
These writings had a tremendous impact on the oppressed classes in India who acquired confidence because they could now feel that were not alone in fighting the oppressors, but had the Russian working class people on their side. The success of the October 1917 revolution provided a new source of energy and inspiration to Mr. Bhide, a member of the 'Kesari' group (Poona) wrote:

"These are the heydays of British imperialism and we Indians had to gather inspiration in our struggle for freedom from every source; and what source could be better than Lenin and his Bolshevik Russia? But these sources were unknown to the public, hence somewhat mysterious and for that reason more attractive to us. Lenin's, we felt, was an entirely new experiment in revolution, which had a general appeal to our mind imbued with our ancient philosophy."

The article on the life of Lenin in Marathi were published in 'Induprakash' - (Marathi) Bombay on the following dates:

1921 - 14, 16, 26 November; 7, 17, 20, 25, December
1922 - 17, 18, January; 2, 4, 5 February and 1 March.

According to P.C. Joshi:

"We are born as a result of the impact of Russian revolution on our national movement. After the failure of the 1920 C.D.O. movement, patriots began to think of an alternative to Gandhism; of a more effective strategy than Satyagraha. Their minds naturally turned to the Soviet Union; where under the leadership of Lenin, our party had overthrown Czarism and created the foundation for building up a happy and prosperous democracy."
This is the background for the impact of Communism on Maharashtra after 1917. As Maharashtra was the only region which cherished memories of holding sway over India in the period of the Maratha empire, the elites of Maharashtra were the most defiant of the opponents of British rule, and the most confident of overthrowing it. They could win a large mass following from the peasants under the Royatwari system prevailing in Maharashtra since the time of Shivaji. The growing tensions in the industrial areas and among the industrial workers provided the necessary pre-condition for the evolution of Communism in India. Communism was now the new political creed which was drawing adherents in Europe and Asia after the Russian revolution.

THE FORMATION OF THE CPI.

It is the peculiarity of the Indian Communists that they always have two opinions on every matter and are capable of inventing justifications while switching over from one position to another. Naturally, there is no unanimity among the Communists regarding the year of the formation of the CPI. At present the CPI feels that the party was formed at Cawnpore in 1925, and that S.A.Dange had played a very significant role in the formation of the party. The CPI (M) feel that the party was formed at Tashkand in 1920, and that M.N.Roy had played a very prominent role, in its formation. Thus the date of formation of the party has become a bone of contention between the two Communist groups.
Gangadhar Adhikari gives the following account of the formation of CPI.

"The Communist party of India arose in the course of our liberation struggle as a result of the efforts of Indian revolutionaries, who under the inspiration of the great October revolution were seeking new paths for achieving national independence."

These were the four new trends:

1) Indian national revolutionaries operating from abroad in the period of the first World War and thereafter from Germany, the USA, Turkey, Afghanistan etc. They had earlier functioned through the Berlin committee and the "provisional government of independent India" or otherwise and later came to be influenced by the October revolution. Among these we have such outstanding names as V. Chattopadhyaya, M. Barkatullah, M.P. B.T. Acharya, M.N. Roy and A. Mukerjee.

2) National revolutionaries from the pan-Islamic Khilafat movement, who went abroad in the war period (1914-16) and those from the great Hijrat movement of the post-war period who similarly came under the influence of the October revolution. Among these may be mentioned Mohammad Ali, Rahmat Alikhan, Ferozuddin Mansoor, Abdul Majid and Shaukat Usmani.

3) National revolutionaries of the Ghadar party organized among the Sikhs and Punjabi emigrant Labour (USA) before the first world war, who staged an unsuccessful revolution in 1915 at the time when Komagata Maru arrived in India. (We are not here concerned with the first period of the Ghadar party but the second, post-war period, when it was reorganized and revived by Ratan Singh and Santosh Singh, with
the later as the general secretary, and who in 1922 took the initiative to establish contact with the Communist international).

4) The fourth and the most important trend was of the national revolutionaries in India itself - from the left wing of the national Congress; the terrorist organizations and parties, the Khilafat movement, the Akali movement (especially its Bahar Akali left wing which was linked with the Ghadar party). Individuals and groups of this trend of thought when disillusioned with Gandhi's ideology of non-violent resistance after the debacle of the movement in 1921-22 or those who never accepted the same - turned to scientific socialism and the class organizations of workers and peasants under the impact of the Russian revolution and later became the founders of the early Communist groups in different parts of the country; e.g. Dange in Bombay, Singarayelu in Madras, Muzzafar Ahmed in Calcutta and the Inquilab group in Lahore.

Efforts were made to have contacts with the army units under the British command fighting the Turks in the Middle-East and conduct revolutionary propaganda among them; work was done among Indian army personnel. Taken prisoner after the fall of Kut-El-Amara, and an attempt was made to form an Indian national armed force for action against the British in the North West Frontier of India, by enlisting the support of the free Pathan tribes. There was the formation of "provisional government of independent India" in Kabul by Mahendra Pratap, Barkatullah and others.

* For details please refer to - Communism and Nationalism in India - Hethon.

These activities were co-ordinated by the Indian revolutionaries in India. The ship, Kamagata Maru, chartered by the Ghadar party, to effect the entry of Indian emigrant labour into Canada - was rebuffed and returned to India. Daring attempts were made to send arms to India through ships such as Maverik and Annie Larsen, to aid the activities of Bengal revolutionaries during the war period in which M.N. Roy and Abani Mukerjee played a role in the early part of their career.

M.N. Roy and Abani Mukerjee, belonging to the younger generation of Indian revolutionaries, arrived in Berlin towards the end of 1919 and the beginning of 1920. They had made up their minds to seek help from Bolshevik Russia and the Communist International for Indians freedom struggle. Roy had come to Berlin on invitation from Russia.

57a
According to Cecil Kaye, a Communist group was founded in Moscow by M.N. Roy, whose work was:

i) to prepare propaganda literature in all Indian languages.
ii) collect and train Indian revolutionaries and send them to India.
iii) Select from Indians - then in Moscow - an emissary to India who shall -
    a) form a Communist party of India.
    b) Establish liaison between the third International, Gandhi and the Khilaphat party.
    c) Send representatives of the Indian working class to Russia for reconstruction in revolutionary matters.
    d) Send a man to America to form a Communist party among the Indians in California.
Roy had 22 students under training for two years, 17 of whom were despatched to India.

According to M.N. Roy, in December 1918, the first conference of the Socialist party of Mexico was held and he was elected its general secretary. By this time he was well connected with the ruling circles in Mexico. In the summer of 1919 Michael Borodin, sent by Lenin and the Soviet government for establishing the Communist party there was stranded in Mexico, contacted Roy who was able to give him shelter and enable him to restore his contacts with Moscow through Mexican diplomatic channels. Contact with Brodin completed Roy's Communist training and commitment. After attending the second Congress of the Comintern, Roy along with Abani Mukarjee and Acharya returned to Tashkent where a military school was established under the leadership of Roy, mainly for the bigger batch of Mujahirs. Roy was elected the secretary of the CPI formed therein October 1920.

THE FIRST COMMUNIST JOURNAL IN MAHARASHTRA:

'The Socialist' which was the first Communist journal to be published in India was started by S.A. Dange in the beginning of August 1922. It was a eight page crown size English weekly which continued to appear regularly till the end of December 1922 after which it became a monthly. It continued to appear as a monthly upto his arrest in the Kanpur "Bolshevik conspiracy case" in February 1924. Thereafter a few issues of the paper appeared in 1924 in weekly forms edited by K.N. Joglekar and then it stopped.
S.A. Dange in his article 'S.V. Ghate - our first secretary' gives the following account about 'The Socialist'.

"After the collapse of the non-cooperation movement, our group floated the weekly 'The Socialist' whose first number appeared on 5th August 1922." The appearance of the 'Socialist' attracted the attention of S.S. Mirajkar who joined Dange and helped him in the despatch and circulation of the paper. Referring to this, Dange says: "We reaped a good dividend on the very first issue". Later, says Dange, he was joined by V.H. Joshi, Lalji Pendse, Katayde, Patwardhan, Juvekar etc. and Muzzaffar Ahmed from Calcutta and Singaravelu from Madras congratulated Dange on his paper and expressed a desire to see him.

MN. Roy also appreciated Danges "Socialist" and wrote a letter to Dange on September 26, 1922 from Berlin:--

"The "Socialist" is the pioneer of the political party which will lead the struggle for national liberation in order to secure real freedom for the masses of Indian people. The appearance of the 'Socialist' marks the beginning of a new era in our movement."

Further he wrote, "we have read "Socialist" with great pleasure. India needs the "Socialist" very much. It will infuse some vigour and life in Indian journalism which has got into an intellectual rut."

"The Advance Guard" of 1st October 1922 published the following review of the 'Socialist' -

"The Socialist (Bombay) has a glorious and great future before it. It is the harbinger of the coming revolutionary leadership which
is alone capable of guiding our movement to the ultimate goal. The upper class has joined hands with the foreign ruler; the middle classes have more than once betrayed their inability to go very far; and the future belongs to the expropriated masses who have nothing to lose but a world to gain. With this motto the 'Socialist' has begun the new phase of our movement. We wish our contemporary all success."

Thus M.N.Roy got a important recruit - S.A.Dange besides others in Bombay. The Bombay group was the most important because of S.A. Dange's organising capacity and the financial resources of his patron, R.B.Lotvalia. In addition to Rs. 100,000, that he had provided to establish a Marxist publishing concern, he also set up a hostel and library for students of Marxism and helped to maintain a number of comrades who would devote themselves wholly to the cause of labour. Roy drew the five Communist groups together both organizationally and ideologically and linked them directly to the Communist international.

Dange announced the 'formation of the Indian Socialist labour party of the Indian National Congress' in his "Socialist" of September 16, 1964. He wrote:

"We suggest to the radical minded men of the Congress a programme of a party suited to our present conditions. The party may be called the 'Indian Socialist party of the Indian National Congress'. The I.S.L.P. must believe in democracy organized both in its political and industrial aspects, for communal ends.... The party must take part in the struggle of the people to win freedom from the
economic tyranny imposed by the capitalist class and capitalist state. The best way of effecting a change to socialism is by the organization of the workers, politically to capture the power of the state, and industrially to take over the control and management of the industrial machine. Democracy may use to the utmost extent its political and industrial power to defeat the attempt made by government or reactionary class to thwart the national will and to suppress liberty. We think such a programme will not frighten even the most chicken hearted spiritualists. The success in the fight with the foreigners does not end our struggle. We have to struggle with the privileged, the propertied, the landed and the rich."

M.N. Roy sent his greetings to the All India National Congress session held at Gaya in December 1922.

"The fourth Congress of the Communist International sends its heartiest greetings to you. We are chiefly interested in the struggle of the Indian people to free themselves from British domination. British rule in India was established by force and is maintained by force. Therefore, it can, and will be overthrown only by a violent revolution. The people of India are engaged in this great revolutionary struggle. The Communist International is whole heartedly with them."

Further he wrote, that non-cooperation had failed to unify the nation. It was bound to fail because it did not take the economic factors of the struggle into consideration. He suggested that the Congress must either revolutionise its outlook and be a revolutionary
organization or a new party must be formed with a programme in accordance with the needs and desires of the majority of the people with a revolutionary objective.

Dange and Singaravelu attended the Gaya Congress. But Dange, in his "Socialist" expressed alarm at Roy's programme and disclaimed any intention of working for a violent revolution.

In 1922, Roy wrote several letters to S.A.Dange, urging him to build a mass party of all truly revolutionary elements - the labour organizations, the Kisan Sabhas and the bourgeois national revolutionaries. Roy felt that such organization should be given some inoffensive name, such as 'People's party' and advocated deep penetration of the Indian National Congress to rescue it from its present degeneration. He issued a manifesto to the session of the Belgaon Congress in 1924 which received wide publicity in the English and vernacular press in India. The essence of Roy's manifesto was as follows -

"Nationalism is a revolutionary force as far as India is concerned. The revolutionary party must follow the radical programme of national independence, abolition of feudalism and landlordism, nationalisation of lands, mines and public utilities; and freedom of religion and worship. Roy felt that such a programme would infuse new life into the nationalist movement.

Thus Satyabhakta, a member of the national revolutionary (terrorist) group from U.P., who was influenced by the Russian revolution called an
'Indian Communist Conference' to meet in Kanpur at the time of the annual session of the Indian National Congress.

THE FIRST INDIAN COMMUNIST CONFERENCE:

The first Indian Communist conference was convened at the end of December 26-28, 1925 at Kanpur under the chairmanship of Shri Singaravelu. Muzaffar Ahmed who was released from jail in September 1925 was cordially invited. He, along with S.V. Ghate, J.P. Bargarbotta and other Communists attended the conference.

But very soon a dispute erupted between M. Ahmed and others on the one hand and Satyabhakta and his supporters on the other, regarding the party's relations with the Communist International. Satyabhakta felt that the party should be completely independent of the comintern and consequently wanted to retain the name 'Indian Communist Party'. His opponents were equally insistent on calling the party "Communist party of India" and retaining contact with Moscow. Outvoted and outmanoeuvered, Satyabhakta left the conference.

The CPI was organized after Bhakta's departure. J.P. Bargarbotta and S.V. Ghate were chosen as its joint secretaries. An executive committee was elected. This committee included K.N. Joglekar, R.S. Nimbker, (both from Bombay), Muzaffar Ahmed from Calcutta, Abdul Massid from Lahore, C.K. Iyengar from Madras and others. The party's headquarter was shifted to Bombay to facilitate communications with the comintern. When the party headquarters was shifted to Delhi, Roy expressed his dissatisfaction by starting that "Delhi is the seat of parliamentary
parties, but working class party must be where working class is."
This is a clear testimony to the significance of Bombay to the working
class movement.

The first session of the Indian Communist conference was held
on 25th December, 1925, in a special pandal built near the Congress
pandal in Kanpur. According to the Punjabee 'Kirti' (February 1926)
300 delegates attended the conference. The Government of India's
confidential report gives the number as about 500. Three more sessions
on 26, 27, 28 were held in which various resolutions were passed a
constitution adopted, and office bearers were elected.

The reports of the first Communist conference appeared in the
'Kirti', ('worker') of Amritsar, and the Bengali 'Langal' (plough) of
Calcutta which were the first Communist weekly journals in Indian
languages.

According to G. Adhikari the Kanpur conference achieved two
purposes:--

i) It foiled Satyabhakta's attempt to isolate Indian Communists
from the International Communist movement.

ii) The conference gave the opportunity to different genuine
Communist groups to come together and form a central all India nucleus
for the first time which was crystallised in the central executive
committee elected at the conference.

But Roy criticized this conference for its failure to adopt
a clearcut and correct attitude towards the Communist International
and also for not adopting any clearcut immediate programme of national
liberation on the lines of the Gaya programme.
By 1925 Bombay had become a crucial centre of Communist activities. S.V. Ghate, J.P. Bargerhotta, Firajuddin Mansoor, R.S. Nimberkar, K.N. Joglekar, S.S. Mirajkar and S.V. Deshpande were active Communists. Indulal Yagnik was treated as a camp-follower of the CPI.

The quarterly report of the CPI which was started on September 1, states that 78 persons had so far enrolled themselves as members of whom 34 belonged to Kanpur, 16 to other districts of U.P., Rajputana accounted for 11, the Central Provinces for 7, Bengal for 5, and Bihar for 2. 16 mentioned their occupation as journalists and 11 as national workers; 3 of the members were ladies.

Thus the CPI was formed. But it was fraught with disruption, fragmentation and loss of identity from its inception. The members were divided at the first conference on the question of nomenclature. One may perhaps feel that the division of a political party on the question of nomenclature is frivolous, but the history of the CPI clearly points out that the quasi question of a particular name for the party and the question of the party's relations with the Communist International had far reaching effects upon the organization, strength and weaknesses of the party.

There is some credibility in G. Adhikari's argument that the Indian Communists were not persecuted because they were Communists, but because they tried to overthrow the British empire. It cannot be maintained that just because the party did not adopt the name suggested
by Satyabhakta and decided to call itself the CPI, emphasizing its relations with the international movement, the party was un-Indian or anti-Indian.

At the same time Satyabhakta's argument also has some strength when he urged that the Indian Communists should follow a policy of its own independent of the Comintern.

As the newly emerged party had to face a number of problems, it was necessary to maintain cordial relations with other fraternal parties. So there could be no objection to the CPI maintaining friendly relations with the Communist International and especially with Russia. But the history of CPI shows that it faithfully followed the footsteps of the CPSU and tried to imitate the CPSU; every now and then it looked to the Communist International for guidance and switched over from one position to another according to the directions received from the Communist International. This often resulted in embarrassing situations for the CPI from which it could wriggle out, it at all, with great difficulty. The support which it extended to the Allied Powers in the Second World War is a classic instance of toeing the line dictated by a party from outside. The Indo-Chinese conflict split the party itself. This split has continued to plague the party, with the CPI and CPI (M) not being able to heal the breach even after the recent Emergency. The CPC and the Communist party of Yugoslavia under the leadership of Mao and Tito respectively, adopted policies independent of the Comintern; which suited the socio-economic and political conditions of the respective countries. Naturally they
could create grass roots for Communism. Thus the history of CPI in a way strengthens Satyabhakta's argument, though he was denounced as an agent of British Imperialists.

Muzaffar Ahmed, after the split in the party, wrote ridiculing the first Communist conference as an "entirely childish affair". According to him, the CPI formed in Tashkant was affiliated to the Communist International. He stated very clearly that that was the real date of the foundation of the CPI. Further he asked, why did the right Communist party rush in the direction of Kanpur to determine the date of its foundation? Was the C.I. a mote in their eyes?

G. Adhikari in his 'Documents of the history of the CPI', tried to turn the tables on Muzaffar Ahmed by accusing him of repudiating his (Muzaffar's) own stand and the stand taken by the C.E.C. regarding the Kanpur conference. Further he states the central secretariat which consisted of Ajoy Ghosh (the late general secretary of the CPI), B.T. Randive (now - CPI (M)), P.C. Joshi, M. Basavapunniah, ZA Ahmed, A.K. Gopaln (CPI(M)) and S.A. Dange (now Chairman of CPI) took the decision that CPI was formed at Kanpur in 1925. S.V. Ghate wrote an article in this connection in the "New Age."

Muzaffar Ahmed while answering Ralf Retzlaff in 'The Communist Revolution in Asia' edited by Robert A. Scalapino, stated very clearly that the founding of the CPI should be dated either from the formation of the Indian emigre party in Tashkant in late 1920 or from its reorganization in Moscow the following year. He maintains that the emigre
party and the party later formed inside India were constituent and inseparable units of one and the same party. Whereas G. Adhikari, in his 'documents of the history of CPI Volume I mentions that the Central Secretariat of the CPI (united) in 1958 wrote to the secretary of the Indonesian Communist party about the year of formation stating that the central secretariat without any hesitation accepted the date as 1925.

It is interesting to note the reactions of the Communist leaders from both the groups to the following questions. When asked...... supposing there had been no differences between M.N. Roy and the Communist International on the one hand; and M.N. Roy and the Indian Communists on the other; what position would the CPI have taken regarding the year of formation? Why does the CPI (M) repudiate the position taken by the central secretariat of united party in 1958? What position would the CPI (M) take regarding the years of formation if both the groups are reunited?

Whatever answers I received were unsatisfactory. The inference is inescapable that personal factors on national and international level - rather than any ideological factors were at the root of the controversy over the year of formation of the CPI. Leaving aside the differences, we may conclude that the emergence of the CPI along with its active and dominant Bombay group was a turning point in the history of Communism in Maharashtra and in India.
THE APPENDIX

AN INDIAN COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

The time has come for the Indian revolutionaries to make a statement of their principles in order to interest the European and American proletariat in the struggle of Indian masses; which is rapidly becoming a flight for economic and social emancipation and the abolition of class rule. The appeal is made to the British proletariat because of their relation to revolutionary movements in countries dominated by British imperialism.

The nationalist movement in India has failed to appeal to the masses, because it strives for a bourgeois democracy and cannot say how the masses will be benefited by independent national existence. The emancipation of the working class lies in the social revolution and the foundation of the Communist state. Therefore, the growing spirit of rebellion in the masses must be organized on the basis of class-struggle in close co-operation with the world proletarian movements.

We declare that our aim is to prevent establishment of a bourgeois nationalist government which will be another bulwark of capitalism. "Land to the tiller" will be our most profound slogan. Our programme also calls for the organization of the Indian proletariat on the basis of the class-struggle for the foundation of a Communist state; based during the transition period on the dictatorship of the proletariat.
The first step towards the social revolution must be to create a situation favourable for organizing the masses for the final struggle. Such a situation can be created only by the overthrow or at least the weakening of foreign imperialism – which maintained itself by military power. We appeal you to recognise the Indian revolutionary movement as a vital part of the world proletarian struggle against capitalism. Help us to raise the banner of social revolution in India and to free ourselves from capitalistic imperialism that we may help you in the final struggle for the realization of the universal Communist state. That is why we call upon the workers of all the countries especially Great Britain to help us to realize our programme.

M.N. Roy
Abani Mukerjee
Santi Devi.
August 1920.
CHAPTER-II: NOTES AND REFERENCES:

1. For details please refer to:
   i) Karl Marx on India.
   ii) India in Transition - M.N.Roy
   iii) India Today - R.P.Dutt.


4. Tilak and Struggle for Indian Freedom; P.P.H., New Delhi, 1966 p. 95.

5. Ibid., p.95.

6. Ibid., p.96.

7. Ibid., p.97.
   Saranjam: derived from Persian - meaning allowance. In Marathi language it acquired a new meaning used to designate the land holdings of Maratha feudal aristocracy.


9. J.P.Minayev: Travels in and diaries of India; Burma p. 92
   Translated by Hirendranath Sanyal, Calcutta.

10. Papers regarding the land revenue system of British India; 1902,p.49


12. For details please refer to:
   i) Chapter IV of this Thesis.
   ii) Peasant uprisings in India : Natarajan.
   iii) Cultural revolt in a Colonial Society.
   Gail Omvedt regarded such revolts as the beginning of the non-Brahmin movement.


15. Ibid., p.


17. A.R.Desai: Social background of Indian Nationalism, p.170
   Also refer to 'India, State and Society - Mathew Kuriyan.
   Cultural Revolt .. by Gail Omvedt.
18b Ibid., p.
20 A.R. Desai: *Social background of Indian Nationalism*. p.180
21 Gail Omvedt: op.cit.p. 1419.
22 Ibid., p.1420.
25 Ibid., p.
27 Javadekar - op.cit. p.
28 Poverty and Un-British rule in India: Dadabhai Naoroji, p.38
29 Dadabhais Speeches and Writings. pp. 236-38.
30 Speech before the East India Finance Committee, 1871.
31 Dadabhais Speeches and Writings - Appendix- D. p.185.
32 Presidential Address of Dadabhai before the Indian National Congress in 1906.
34 Interview with K.K. Deshpande, formerly a member of CPI, now the follower of C.P.M.
35 S.A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI, told me that he has accepted Tilak as his political Guru (Teacher).
36 Please refer to Chapter III of this Thesis.
37 Lokmanya Tilak - Samagra Vangmaya (in Marathi) part - 4 pp.40-47.
38 Tilak's articles in Kesari - Part II, pp.619-22
39 Ibid., Part I, p.33.
39 Essays of Agarkar Part I (in Marathi) pp. 41-42
Edited by Tikekar R.R.
Sudharak Printing Bureau, Poona.

40 Ibid., pp.179-80.

41 Collection of Agarkar's essays- Part II (in Marathi), p.469.

42 Gail Omvedt: Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. VI.No.37

43 Ibid., pp.

44 The society established by Phule in 1873.

45 Gail Omvedt, op.cit. p.

46 Bombay Chronicle, 11 January, 1918.

47 'The Modern Review' February, 1919.

48 'Kesari', 21 August 1920, 'Moral Victory of Lenin'.

48a Documents of the History of the Communist party of India

49 Interview with Dange, Bombay.

50 Cecil Kaye: Communism in India, the unpublished documents, National Archives of India., p.45.

51 S. Choudhari: Peasants and Workers movement in India- 1905-1929,
P.P.H., Delhi, 1971. p.70

52 R.G.Bhide: Nicolai Lenin- The founder of Russian Democracy, Bombay, 1922

53 State Archives - Bombay.

54 P.G.Joshi: Inaugural Speech at the I convention of CPI.
Zäxiin-1st May, 1943

   a) The resolution adopted at the party Congress at Amritsar in April 1958.

56 Ibid., pp.1-3

57 Ibid., p.6


60 Ibid., pp. 516-17.

61 Ibid., p.512.


64 Ibid., pp. 25-26.


66 'Socialist' 23-12-1922.

67 Haithcox: Op.Cit., p.43


ii) Muzaffer Ahmed: Formation of the CPI.

69 Ibid., p.

70 Ibid., p.46

71 D. Petrie: Communism in India, 1924-27, p.179.


73 Memories of Roy - M.N.Roy

74 'The Socialist', December 17, 1924.
It is surprising that the membership from Maharashtra (Bombay State) was not reported.

75 Muzaffer Ahmed: Myself and the CPI.
