

JP's letter to MEM (undated) :-

5400

This is to make a fervent and prayerful request - will you not consider your decision? Can you conceive of a better opportunity to serve the people? You will say you are doing your bit. I agree. But, you can do much more than bits. There, you should agree.

I am not thinking of the Party alone in making this request. The Party of course needs you badly. Your clarity, your drive and your capacity for organisation would revolutionise the Party, would make it alive and _____. This is the finest possible opportunity of organising and developing the Party, for making headway among the masses, in the Congress and among the students. What is needed most is not policy - policy we have - but initiative and action. Here we entirely fizzle away as the backwash of the Congress.

But I am digressing. In requesting you to come back, I have in mind also the larger ~~political~~ politics of the country and even to the extent, international politics. You were always the Party's link with Europe, particularly with Great Britain. This link should be formed ~~anew~~ anew. The voice of Indian Socialism should be heard abroad. Who else can ~~make~~ make it heard but you?

I do not know your present views regarding non-violence. I do not think that those who believe in it. Like Iohia have no place in the Party. But I think it is very wrong to pose the social question as violence vs. non-violence. To do that is contrary to marxism and unscientific sociology. I am writing this because the evolution of your thought in the direction of non-violence from every ~~platform~~ platform and emphasising Gandhiji's way as the only way out, his utility to the socialist movement would approach the vanishing point. I am myself not a bloodthirsty monster.

But I regard the issue of violence and non-violence as a side issue. And I do this in spite of the murders in Russia and the colossal murders now going on. These murders would no more check the evolution of Socialism than the murders of the Thorwider and the Napoleonic wars checked the evolution of capitalism or the murders of the Inquisition checked Protestantism. Even the progress of Nazism paves the way to socialism - paradoxical though it may appear. The only issue today on the stage of history is Capital vs. Labour. Whether the issue is decided violently or non-violently, if labour (conceived in its widest social significance) wins, a better world, a more peaceful and a more civilised world would be born. This is not determination. I am basing my optimism and view of the future in an estimation of the conscious efforts of men, being made now and to be made in the future. This estimation further assures me of the ~~eventual~~ eventual victory of labour.

The whole Party is ready to welcome you. Recent events have created deep faith in your political judgment and insight and comrades would receive you with open arms.

I have never known much about your personal affairs. I know there were certain difficulties, but I also knew that they were not the real reasons, why you left ~~the~~ active politics. I believe I would not be making a mistake in thinking that they would not be the real obstacle to your coming back. But there are no "real obstacles" left. The road is clear for you.

Most of the reactions to the Russian tragedy have not impressed me. As I wrote before they lose themselves in the sands of liberalism and Utopianism. I like however such a reaction ~~as~~ as Lucien Courat's Marxism and Democracy. It is constructive and it holds fast to Marxist Marxist moorings. The book is valuable - the only one of its kind in English. I doubt if there is any English knowing socialist who is so deeply read in Marxism - not ~~as~~ ^{as} propounded by the church, but as it is:

a living, developing social science and methodology. My enthusiasm for the book does not mean that I agree with all that it says. There are several questions which I should like to pursue further. Moreover, neither is Indian Capitalism well developed, nor is the working class mature. In that case Leninism in some form is inevitable for us. By the way, it appears from Laurat's exposition that there is a lot of similarity between Lenin's principles of organisation and yours.

I am _____ again. Let me return to my main purpose and appeal my request. Do come back. Apart from doing justice to yourself, you would render inestimable service. I am not discounting the possibility of your soon landing in Prison. That might appear ~~frank~~ fruitless. But even that would be service - more valuable, more effective than what you are rendering by your present activities. May you rise to the occasion

(J.P.)

JP's letter to NRM (undated):-

You have not satisfied me. I did not say that the utility to the Socialist movement of me who believed in the new dynamic " was reduced to vanishing point. What I said was that one who went about preaching from every platform that Gandhiji's was the only way had a vanishing utility for the socialist movement. I cannot say if in your case, the two things are the same. It is likely that you have accepted the new dynamic in toto - along with the number of trusteeship and _____ and the rejection of the class struggle. You would perhaps be interested in the following statement of Gandhiji's: "God is the force among all forces known and unknown. Non-violence without reliance upon that Force is poor stuff to be thrown in the dust. (Harijan, June 20, 1940,

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As for the new dynamic, I have respect for it, and believe that it has invented a useful form of mass action which should be (as it has been to some extent) adopted in socialist practice. But, as regards its theory, I reject it as utterly unscientific and built up of hocus-pocus. That the man who uses it exercises great influence need not surprise us when we turn to other great men in history who have done likewise. Indeed till the rise of Marxism, and outside of the practice inspired by it, men have been impelled not by scientific understanding but by the blind (in the sense of un-comprehended) laws of their existence.

Returning to the new dynamic, I cannot have much respect for its underlying theory - which to me is the only thing that matters - when I see that two and a half years of war and the Cripps episode were necessary to bring Gandhiji where he should have been from the beginning - I _____ to his attitude towards the war, the Communal problem, the question of anarchy, etc. There is a chorus of approval from every side today of Gandhiji's present policy. But what even our socialist friends have failed to tell the people that what Gandhiji is saying today ^{is} ~~what~~ what the socialists had been saying all along. When Mahadeo Desai expresses surprise that the authors of the Communal triangle should have hit upon

the same solution of the Communal problem and the Indo-British problem as Gandhiji before even the Cripps mission was mooted, he merely expresses surprise at the superiority of Marxian sociology to that of Gandhism. No one has a right to be disillusioned with socialism or communism because of disillusionment with the ~~stalin~~ Stalin regime. It would be the same thing as being disillusioned with Gandhism after the Congress ministries. I have no doubt that if the Gandhian State came into being, the status of Gandhism inspite of their best intentions, would make of it no better mess than Lenin's successor has done with the Soviet State. But no one on that account should have the right to be disillusioned with Gandhism itself. I am also not forgetting the fact the the very failure of the Stalinist regime is adequately explained only by Marxist theory.

However, it is not my intention to argue with you. It is clear to me that when a person of your propinquity and intellectual integrity has arrived at a conclusion, it would be beyond my capacity to influence this thought. I, therefore, accept your statement that there is no return for you to this old faith - whether of the orthodox or the protestant denomination. And it seems futile to dwell on the pang that that statement has caused some people.

But may I say that you have paid too careful a attention to my words rather than to the spirit which filled them. You will remember that I had said I did not want you to come back only in the interest of your party but also in the interest of the larger political movements. It is ~~also~~ true I had never conceived of you as ever leaving the socialist movement so completely. But even I am not so raw as to believe that outside of the Socialist movement, there is no political life whatever, and I had conceived of you when I sent you my fervent prayer, as playing a part and an effective part in the larger politics of the land. Your faith in the new dynamic should itself compel you to throw yourself into the boiling cauldron of sevakram. I believe

the greatest moment of Gandhiji's life is approaching and the new dynamic is to rise to unprecedented heights. What little opportunity could there be for you to take the plunge ? I am not giving up hope about your socialism, but we shall see about that later. I shall no doubt earnestly pray that the new dynamic should solve the social problem. Perhaps its younger devotees may find the way out. Be that as it may it is what we do to the present that matters. For the rest, I do not think socialism is so unmindful of the question of means and ends as you seem to think. But the whole question of socialist action depends upon understanding of the dynamic of society, which is as different from Gandhian understanding as chalk is from cheese. But, as I have said, I do not wish to argue.

I shall conclude by saying that my prayer to you has lost none of its force - rather it has been strengthened by what you have said and by your confession of faith, . . .

(J.P.)