

**A MIRROR
FOR
REVISIONISTS**



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

From Marx to Mao



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“Renmin Ribao” Editorial, March 9, 1963

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1963

Printed in the People's Republic of China

In the past twelve months, the revisionist clique headed by Dange have seized the leadership of the Communist Party of India by taking advantage of the large-scale campaign launched by the ruling groups of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords against China, against communism and against the Indian people. They have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, betrayed the revolutionary cause of the Indian proletariat and the Indian people and embarked on the road of national chauvinism and class capitulationism, thus creating complete chaos in the Indian Communist Party. Their intention is to turn the Indian Communist Party into an appendage of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords and a lackey of the Nehru government.

How low have Dange and company sunk? Let us first look at Dange's letter of greetings to Nehru, dated November 14, 1962, on the occasion of the latter's birthday.

Here is the full text:

My dear Panditji,

Allow me to convey our heartfelt congratulations to you on behalf of the Communist Party of India on your 73rd birthday.

You have inspired and led heroically the Indian nation in its struggle for national freedom.

In the post-independence period you have laid the foundations of a new Indian nation pledged to the policies of planned development, democracy, socialism, peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism.

Today, in this hour of grave crisis created by the Chinese aggression, the nation has mustered around you as a man to safeguard its honour, integrity and sovereignty.

The Communist Party of India pledges its unqualified support to your policies of national defence and national unity.

May you live long to realise your ideals of building a prosperous and socialist India.

Yours sincerely,

S. A. Dange
Chairman, C.P.I.

This is not an ordinary courtesy letter. In his letter, (1) Dange completely sides with the Indian reactionaries and violently opposes socialist China; (2) Dange pledges the Indian Communist Party's support to the Nehru government's "policies of national defence and national unity" which are directed against China, against communism and against the Indian people, and what is more, he pledges, not support in general, but "unqualified support"; and (3) Dange places his reliance on Nehru, the representative of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords, to bring about socialism in India.

This letter is the Dange clique's political oath of betrayal of the Indian proletariat; it is an indenture by which they sell themselves to the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords and the Nehru government.

The Dange clique have revealed their revisionist features more and more clearly ever since the Nehru government provoked the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1959. For the past three years or so, they have identified themselves with the stand of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords and served as the apologists and hatchet men of the Nehru government in the anti-China campaign.

(1) In complete disregard of the historical background and the actual situation with regard to the Sino-Indian boundary, the Dange clique have unconditionally supported the Nehru government in its territorial claims on China. With regard to the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian boundary, they assert that the illegal McMahon Line is a "virtually demarcated border line" and that it constitutes the "border of India". With regard to the western and middle sectors of the Sino-Indian boundary, they describe the Nehru government's unjustified claims as "correct".

(2) In complete disregard of the fact that the Indian ruling groups have deliberately provoked the border conflict to meet their internal and external political requirements, the Dange clique have tried to shift the responsibility for the border conflict on to China, alleging that China "has a wrong political assessment of the Indo-situation" and "hence this dispute was created".

(3) Instead of revealing the truth about the constant encroachments on China by Indian troops over the past three years and more, the Dange clique, following Nehru, have on a number of occasions most viciously slandered and attacked China to suit the wishes of the reactionary ruling groups of India. They have asserted that China "has committed a breach of faith", that China wants to "settle a border dispute with India by force of arms", that China "insists on the old maps of all their old emperors", that China is given to "a fanatic ambition to restore what it considers its historical geographical national-state form", that China "will lay down his life and fight against his neighbour and brother" "even for an inch of a hedge", that China has been "overcome by something of Bonapartism", that

China has taken a "militarist and recalcitrant attitude" and "now threatens even world peace", and so on and so forth.

(4) Instead of condemning the Nehru government for its obstinate stand in perpetuating tension along the Sino-Indian border and spurning a peaceful settlement, the Dange clique have done their utmost to justify the Nehru government's attitude in rejecting negotiations. They have expressed their "full support" for the pre-condition which the Nehru government laid down for the resumption of negotiations.

(5) The Dange clique have shamelessly provided cover for the large-scale attacks launched by Indian troops against China. Seven days after the order issued by Nehru on October 12, 1962 to "free" Chinese territory of the Chinese frontier guards who were safeguarding it, Dange issued a statement, talking about "intrusion by the Chinese forces to the south of the McMahon Line, thus violating Indian territory", and saying that "we take the Indian Government's report as true in this respect".

(6) After the Nehru government had mounted a large-scale armed attack on China, the Dange clique clamoured for the "defence of the Motherland". On November 1 and December 2, 1962 and on February 12, 1963, they issued successive anti-China resolutions which pledge full support to the Nehru government's "policies of national defence and national unity", inveigle the people into making "greater voluntary sacrifices", support the Nehru government in "buying arms from any country" and back its policy of ganging up with U.S imperialism.

It is only too clear that, cloaked as Communists, the Dange clique have played a role which the Nehru government cannot play in deceiving the people, stirring up reactionary nationalist sentiment and undermining the friendship between China and India. No wonder the Home Minister of the Nehru government said gleefully not long ago: "What better reply could be given to China than the leader of the Communist Party in this country, Mr. Dange, himself condemning the Chinese stand and upholding the viewpoint of the Government of India?"

The national chauvinism of the Dange clique runs counter not only to the interests of the Indian proletariat but also to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Indian people, that is, to the national interests of India. Internally, the national chauvinism of the Dange clique serves the reactionary nationalist purposes of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords; externally, it serves the purposes of U.S. imperialism which is promoting neo-colonialism in India. Their chauvinistic policy is a policy that provides support for the Nehru government in repressing the Indian people and in hiring itself to imperialism at the cost of national independence. Their policy constitutes a betrayal of the international proletariat as well as a betrayal of the Indian people.

From the very first day the Nehru government launched its massive armed attack, the Dange clique, going further and further, have unfolded a whole series of activities in support of the Nehru government's "policies of national defence and national unity", and they have pursued their line of class capitulation ever more thoroughly.

Here is a striking example. Four days after the all-out attack by the Indian forces on the Chinese border, and

after Nehru had called upon all workers "not to indulge in strikes", Dange, in his capacity as the General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress, rushed in with a letter to Nehru. He proposed that a tripartite conference of representatives of workers, employers and the government be held to discuss "the problems of the production front and defence". The Nehru government readily accepted his advice and lost no time in calling such a tripartite meeting. The meeting adopted a unanimous resolution prohibiting the workers from engaging in strikes or slow-downs and urging them to work extra hours, contribute to the "National Defence Fund" and subscribe to "Defence Bonds".

By this action Dange directly assisted the Indian big bourgeoisie to sabotage the workers' movement, deprive the workers of their basic rights and intensify the exploitation and enslavement of the working people. This shameless action which Dange took as Chairman of the Communist Party of India and General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress proves that he has wholly turned himself into an instrument of the ruling class for repressing the working class and the working people.

Here is another striking example. In November 1962, S. G. Sardesai, a member of the Dange clique on the Central Executive Committee of the Indian Communist Party, had a leaflet distributed, which reads in part:

"Our moral responsibility to defend our country when a socialist country attacks us is greater than that of our other compatriots, not less."

"It is our sincere and fervent appeal to the ruling party, the National Congress, as also to all other patriotic parties that we must set aside all our differences at this crucial hour

and unite under the common national flag. The only test and consideration at the moment must be national defence. . . .

“. . . we declare explicitly that even if we are excluded from the collective efforts for national defence, we shall still devote all our energy to the same cause . . . We shall carry it out without expecting the slightest reward, even if some of our own compatriots attempt to treat us as pariahs . . .

“The crucial need of the day, the acid test of our patriotism, is . . . to give monolithic support to Prime Minister Nehru to strengthen his hands, and to carry out his behests. He is the country’s supreme field marshal, its commander-in-chief.”

Look! How perfect is the devotion of the Dange clique to Nehru! How disgustingly they fawn upon the Indian Congress Party! And what fanatical national chauvinism! They are straining themselves to serve the interests of the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords of India and to drive the broad masses of the Indian people to take a stand against socialist China. Does this have anything in common with proletarian internationalism or with genuine Indian patriotism?

Here is yet another striking example. In November 1962 in a report to the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress Dange said:

“We do not lay down conditions for defending our country. Because the country belongs to the people. I do not hold the view that in a condition like ours, we should decide our behaviour by asking whether the country is ours or of the national bourgeoisie.”

“. . . we unconditionally support the war effort.” “My unconditional support to Nehru Government is there in the matter of defence.”

“We have to stand by our nationalism. . . .”

“. . . under conditions of the national emergency, defence and near-war conditions require that the trade unions of the AITUC do modify temporarily their normal relations with

the bourgeoisie, their functioning and approach to the questions of the working class.”

“. . . we as the working class say that for the time being, we suspend the question of strike struggles and protecting our class interests by that method.”

“Industrial truce is, in a sense, ‘class collaboration’. But it is consciously accepted. . .”

“The question of unstinted support to national bourgeoisie at this juncture of history was not a matter contradictory to the principles of working class movement.”

“So we support the war effort, we are with the national bourgeoisie. . . Don’t hesitate. The more you hesitate, the more you will be confused.”

Here Dange, completely denying the class nature of the state, openly describes as belonging to the people a state which is under the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords. He has completely gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie and has publicly called for unstinted support of the bourgeoisie. Completely abandoning the Marxist-Leninist theory of class struggle, he openly advocates class collaboration. Dange and company have thoroughly degenerated and become cat’s-paws of the Indian big bourgeoisie.

What is even more shocking is that, while closing ranks with the Nehru government under the slogan of “national unity”, Dange and company have used the power of the Indian ruling groups to push aside the people who disagree with them within the Indian Communist Party and to split the Party wide apart. After China had effected a cease-fire and withdrawn her frontier guards on her own initiative, the Nehru government, acting on a list of names previously furnished to it, made nation-wide arrests, throwing into gaol eight or nine hundred members and leading cadres of different levels of the Indian

Communist Party, who are loyal to the cause of the proletariat and the people. While "calling on all members of the Party not to be provoked by the arrests but carry out the policies of the Party with calm and cool determination", the Dange clique exploited the situation and sent their trusted followers, on the heels of the police, to take over the leading organs of the Party committees in a number of states. The purpose of these actions by the Dange clique was to reconstitute the Indian Communist Party and wreck the Indian revolutionary movement so as to serve the ends of the big bourgeoisie.

Furthermore, Dange and company are assisting the Nehru government to hoodwink the people with its sham "socialism". They laud Nehru as "the symbol of national unity" and say, "When you have such a person at the head of the nation, and we [Dange and company] take our correct position inside the common front, the front grows into a leading force for future development. What future development? For Socialism!"

The Moscow Statement clearly points out that Communists should expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans. But Dange and company have done nothing to expose Nehru's so-called socialism; on the contrary, they have tried to convince the Indian Communists and the Indian people that Nehru is really pursuing a policy of socialism and should be given unstinted support. They have publicly asked the Congress Party to co-operate with the Indian Communist Party in order to build socialism in India under the leadership of the Nehru government. We would like to ask: If the Dange clique believe that Nehru and his Congress Party can be depended upon to realize socialism, what need

is there for a Communist Party controlled by Dange and company?

The series of facts just cited make it evident that the Dange clique are sliding farther and farther down the path of revisionism. They have replaced the theory of class struggle by the slogan of class collaboration, and they have replaced proletarian socialism by bourgeois socialism. They are devotedly defending the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords, and have cast to the winds the revolutionary cause of the Indian proletariat and the Indian people. They are giving unconditional support to the Nehru government in its policy of hiring itself to U.S. imperialism and have totally abandoned the task of fighting imperialism. They are trampling underfoot the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples and are acting as buglers for Nehru's anti-China campaign. For proletarian internationalism they have substituted bourgeois chauvinism. In brief, the Dange clique have already gone so far in their degeneration that they have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and they are sinking deeper and deeper into the swamp of class capitulationism and national chauvinism.

This is not the first time in history that revisionists like Dange and company have turned up in a Communist Party.

Since World War II, revisionist trends have afflicted the Communist Parties of a number of countries. Renegades from Marxism-Leninism, like Browder and Gates in the United States, Larsen in Denmark and Shojiro Kasuga in Japan have appeared in a good many Parties. And it is not only in Communist Parties of capitalist countries that such renegades have made their appearance; in

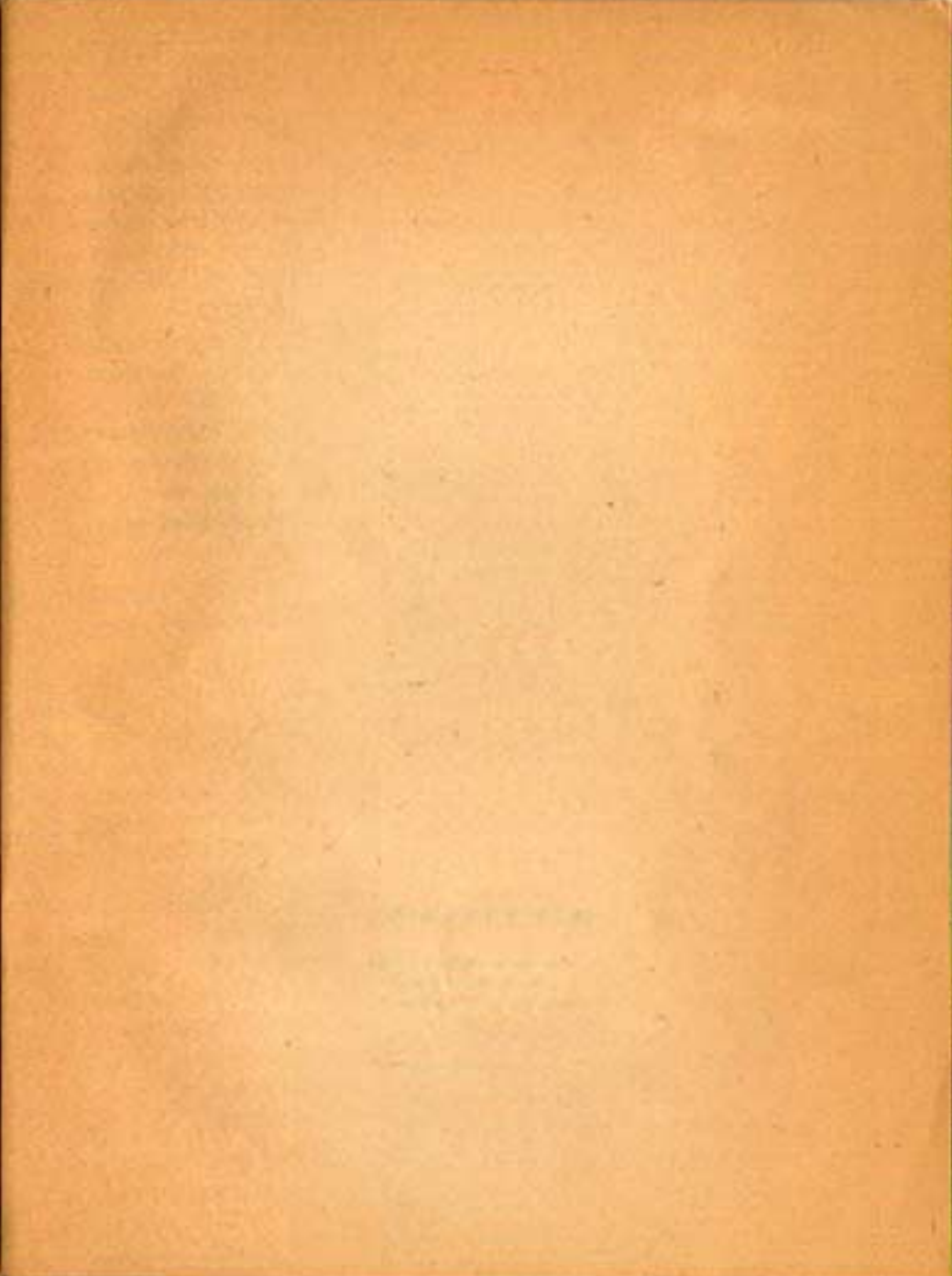
Yugoslavia where the proletariat once held power, there emerged the revisionist Tito clique which betrayed Marxism-Leninism. It is important for Communists throughout the world to draw lessons from the damage these traitorous cliques have inflicted on the cause of communism

The Tito clique provides a mirror. It reveals how a group of renegades following a revisionist line corrupt a Party and cause a socialist country to degenerate into a capitalist country.

The Dange clique provides another mirror. It reveals how the leaders of a Communist Party in a capitalist country take the road of revisionism, slide down it and end up as the servants and the tail of the bourgeoisie.

Today, the Indian Communists and the Indian people find themselves in a most difficult situation. The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people have a deep concern and profound sympathy for the Indian Communists who are persisting in their struggle for the Communist cause, and for the Indian proletariat and the Indian people who have a glorious revolutionary tradition. No reactionaries, no revisionists can block the advance of the Indian people. Relying on the proletariat and the broad masses of the people, the forces of Marxism-Leninism will in the end overcome all difficulties, and develop and expand through complex and tortuous struggles. History will prove that those who are firmly upholding truth and justice and firmly adhering to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are the genuine representatives of the interests of the Indian people and the Indian nation. India's future is in their hands.

Today, the relations between China and India are also passing through a difficult period. The Indian reactionaries and revisionists are trying hard to undermine the friendship between the peoples of China and India. The imperialists are also doing their best to fish in troubled waters and to sow dissension. But there is every reason not to underestimate the strength of the great friendship which exists between the two peoples and which has a long tradition. Compared with the great strength of this friendship, the Indian reactionaries and the Dange revisionist clique are a handful of pygmies. In the last analysis, nobody can undermine the friendship between the peoples of China and India or the friendship between the Chinese Communists and the Indian Communists.



修正主义者的一面鏡子

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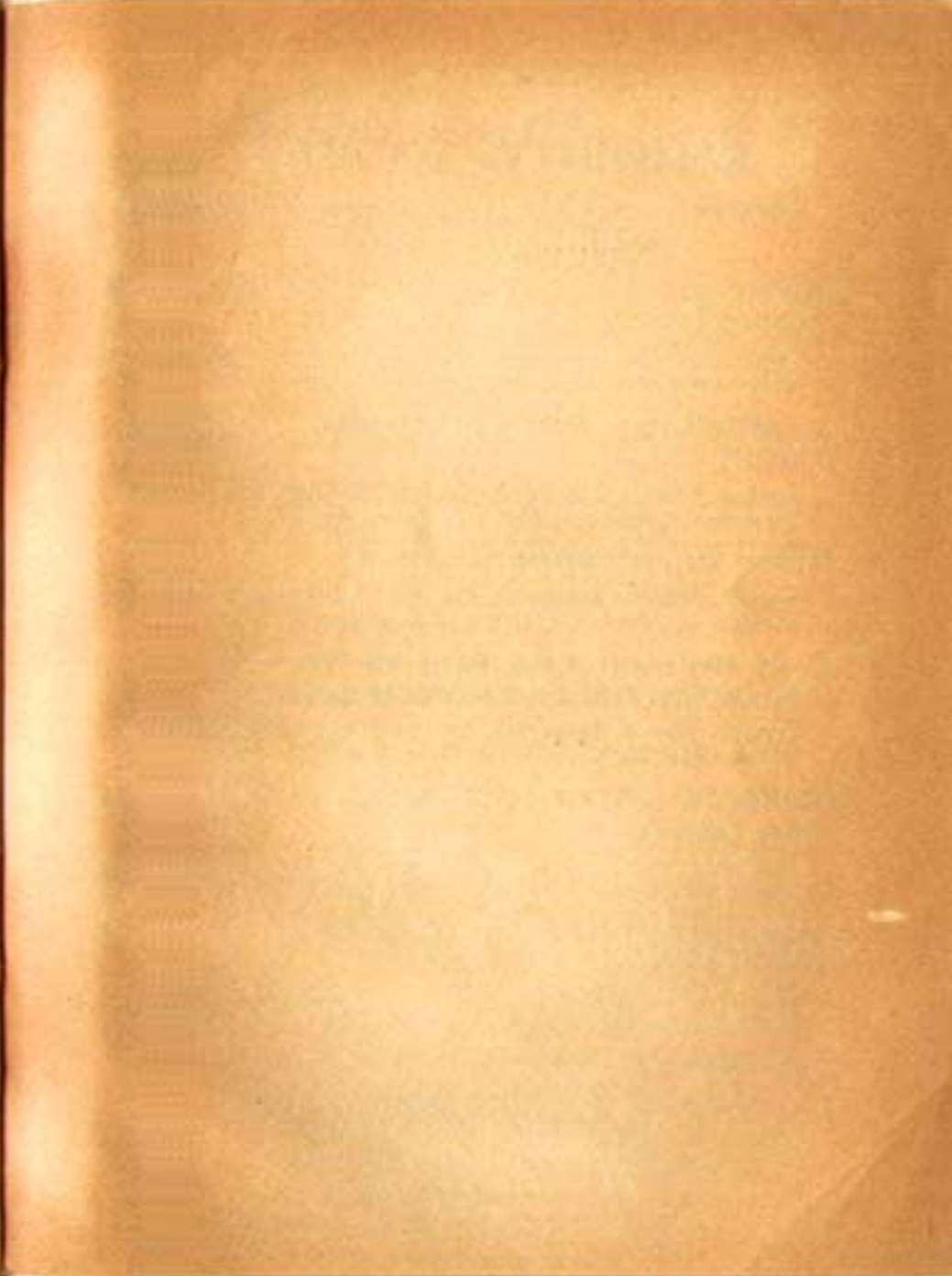
外文出版社出版(北京)

1963年3月第一版

編号: (英)3050—557

00017

3—E—554p



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Published by: FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

Pa Wan Chaung, Peking (37), China

Distributed by: GUOZI SHUDAN

P.O. Box 399, Peking, China