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# COMMUNIST

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CLASS ESSENCE OF GANDHISM

by S. M. Vakar

—from PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY No. 3 (1948)

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RESOLUTIONS OF INFORMATION BUREAU OF  
COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

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# RESOLUTION OF GREETINGS FROM EDITORIAL BOARD OF COMMUNIST TO COMRADE STALIN ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY

**T**HE Editorial Board of COMMUNIST offers its greetings and pays its homage on the occasion of his 70th birthday to Comrade Joseph Stalin, the unchallenged leader of the international working class, the friend and deliverer of all oppressed humanity, the guide and teacher of the world Communist movement and the Communist Parties of the world.

The working class of India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Comrade Stalin whose historic writings and speeches on China and India, and whose profound analysis of the colonial liberation struggles as the reserve of the proletariat in the fight against world imperialism immensely helped the Indian workers to understand the unity of their national and international obligations and wage an irreconcilable struggle for the emancipation of their country from the yoke of imperialism.

The Communist International founded by Lenin and Stalin, and led by Stalin after Lenin's death, played a decisive role in rearing and shaping the Communist movement in India. It was through the inspiring lead of the Communist International that twenty-five years back, the working class of India undertook the task of organising a united trade union movement free from the influence of the agents of the bourgeoisie.

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Stalin's great classic, *A Short Course of the History of the CPSU (B)*, guides thousands of proletarians in their fight for peace, for freedom from enslavement to Anglo-American imperialists, for democracy and Socialism in India.

The working class movement of India owes a deep debt to Comrade Stalin.

This is as it should be. For Stalin, like Marx, Engels, Lenin, belongs to that class of giants of humanity whose life is the life of the epoch they live in, and who compress in their writings, actions and words, the entire experience of their epoch, who look ahead many years and who are able to initiate world historic changes because of their complete mastery of the science of social development, who are moulders and creators of history.

Stalin's life is inseparably connected with the biggest world-shaking events of our time—the organisation of the October Revolution, the defence of the Soviet Union against the interventionists, the building of Socialism in the USSR; the defence of the USSR against Hitler's hordes, and their complete rout; the rapid progress of Socialist reconstruction in the USSR, leading the Soviet Union towards the establishment of a Communist society.

His life is equally connected with the great liberation struggle of China where his prophetic words have found consummation in the complete liberation of over 400 million people; the liberation struggles of India and other colonial countries; the struggle for Socialism carried on in all capitalist countries. Whenever a movement or its leadership has faltered, or gone wrong, the inspiring and wise words of Comrade Stalin have helped to set on its feet and resume its onward march.

The Bolshevik leader who, along with Lenin, built the Bolshevik Party, the model for all proletarian parties; the colleague and disciple of Lenin who rescued Marxism-Leninism from the foul hands of base vulgarisers and turn-coats; the great internationalist who brought about unity and friendship among the different nationalities inhabiting the USSR, through his championship of equality among nations and right of self-determination; the great architect who planned the successive Five-Year Plans; the great warrior and military leader who personally planned the defeat of Hitler's armies and under whose leadership now the USSR is taking rapid strides towards Communism; the liberator who has freed the peoples of Eastern European countries from the yoke of national and social enslavement to the fascists and their agents; and the liberator who by routing the Japa-

nese and German fascists has brought freedom and democracy to the millions of Chinese people—such have been the glorious achievements of the Great Stalin.

Stalin's historic achievements and victories have inflicted decisive defeats on world imperialism and scored decisive victories for the world working class, for all freedom-loving humanity. Eight hundred million people are liberated and stand ready to guard peace, democracy, Socialism. The hundreds of millions in capitalist countries and enslaved colonies are ready to wage the final battle against imperialism and capitalism.

World capitalism has lost the battle. Its bastions are crumbling one after another. The people of the world are seeing before their very eyes the declining power of the capitalist world and the tremendously strengthened power of the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism. The people of all lands feel that their liberation is near at hand.

That is why the name of Stalin symbolises freedom, national and social freedom for peoples of all lands.

The fighting masses of India, like the peoples of all other countries, see in Stalin the great liberator of all lands, the friend of the oppressed, the leader whose leadership ensures the victory of Socialism on a world scale.

The Stalin Constitution—the most democratic constitution in the world; the great progress in material well-being and prosperity during prewar years which brought about the irrevocable victory of Socialism in the USSR; the colossal sacrifice in men and material which the people of the USSR made to defend the liberation of all lands and the rout of Hitler's armies; the unprecedented production triumph of the postwar years under the leadership of Stalin which introduced all-round prosperity, which has led to such material well-being that it is enabling the people of the USSR to take rapid strides towards Communism when the capitalist world is languishing, when it is in the throes of a crisis, sowing all-round misery, destitution and unemployment; and finally, the invincible military strength of the USSR—all these have created profound love, admiration, respect for the peoples of the USSR and their leader, Stalin.

The people of India, like the peoples of the world, see in these triumphs the complete superiority of the Socialist system over the capitalist system; the superiority of the Stalin policy over all other policies.

These bonds have been strengthened by the fact that while the American imperialists threaten to destroy the freedom-loving people with the atom bomb, the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Stalin offers to ban all ato-

mic weapons and use atomic energy for lightening human labour, for all-round peace and prosperity.

These bonds have been strengthened by the fact that while the American imperialists offer to unleash another world war on the peoples of the world, a war against the Soviet Union and countries of People's Democracy — the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Stalin offers to the peoples of the world, peace and friendship among nations, cooperation among peoples.

The Stalin policy of peace and friendship among peoples reflected the interests of all lands and remains true to the bond of international solidarity and unity of the world working class.

The policy of American imperialism on the other hand is one of incendiary war—in their drive for world domination—a policy which spells national enslavement for the peoples of all lands, exploitation and oppression at the hands of capitalist monopolies.

In India the designs of American imperialism are helped by the policy of India's ruling circles who by taking India into the British Commonwealth, have joined the warmongers' camp.

Invited by the Nehru Government to come and exploit India's resources with guarantees of good profits ensured through curbing of the working class and people's movements, the American imperialists are hatching out plans for the complete subjugation of India.

Their endeavour is to make India their war base against the Soviet Union, against the liberation movements of the South-east Asian countries; to draw her in their war economy and dominate her economic life completely.

The war policy of American imperialism is at the same time a policy of national enslavement of India, of her peoples.

The foreign policy of the Nehru Government helps war and national enslavement being foisted on the people of India.

In their nefarious designs the American imperialists are being helped by the treacherous leaders of the Socialist Party of India who under the garb of neutrality slander the Soviet Union and split working class unity.

Marxist-Leninists in India and the masses led by them will unceasingly struggle for peace and friendship among nations—for they know that the cause of peace is the cause of their own national and social liberation.

India's reactionary ruling circles, following the dictates of the Anglo-American enslavers of India, are organising a

war plot on the Indian soil. Marxist-Leninists in India will unmask this war plot, expose it to the people and see that Indian money and manpower are not exploited for the foul purpose of attacking the Soviet Union or other peoples.

In their struggle against Indian reaction, against Anglo-American enslavement, in the struggle for peace democracy and Socialism, they are inspired by the great teachings of Comrade Stalin.

Inspired by the great victories of the Democratic Camp led by Stalin, convinced that the doom of the imperialist warmongers and their national agents is impending, the masses of India—workers, peasants, students and women—are surging forward to fight the American enslavers and their agents. They are surging forward to defeat the imperialist-capitalist-landlord alliance which persecutes the Indian people, shoots workers and peasants down for the crime of defending national freedom, of fighting for democratic and trade union rights.

Fighting against the oppression of Indian reaction and the treachery of the Socialist leaders, the Indian masses join the great army of liberation—the army of peoples of all lands—the army which fights for freedom, peace and People's Democracy—the great army of the democratic camp led by Joseph Stalin.

The Editorial Board of COMMUNIST salutes the Great Stalin whose brilliant leadership has created all the preconditions for the liberation of the entire world.

The Editorial Board calls upon all Marxist-Leninists to master the teachings of the great leader so that the working class is able to fulfil its great responsibilities unerringly.

Long live Stalin—the teacher of all Communist Parties, the leader of the world working class movement, the friend and liberator of all peoples of all lands to final victory!

Long live the Cause of Freedom and Peace among nations—the cause of Stalin!

## THE CLASS ESSENCE OF GANDHISM

By S. M. Vakar

ON January 30, 1948, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the most influential leader of the Indian National Congress and one of the most popular political leaders of India amongst the masses, was assassinated in Delhi.

In spite of the fact that Gandhi considered the unification and independence of the Indian people as the aim of his activity, the reactionary-utopian content of his social theory and the reformist methods of struggle linked with it led to the fact that not only did his activity not facilitate the overthrow of the colonial yoke, but it was widely utilised by British imperialism for its own mercenary interests.

After the Second World War the crisis of the British colonial system linked up with the general crisis of capitalism pushed the British imperialists into a new political manoeuvre. This political manoeuvre consisted in the attempt to partition India into two States so as to instigate maximum enmity between them and to retain its domination over them. Hindu-Muslim hatred, fanned by British colonisers in India assumed the form of armed conflicts between States (e.g., in Kashmir and Punjab). Gandhi being a supporter of a united India attempted to prevent bloody religio-communal conflicts that were provoked by British imperialism, and appealed for peace between Hindus and Muslims. Six months after the partition of India, Gandhi was assassinated by an active worker of the Hindu Mahasabha—a Hindu organisation of a semi-fascist character. The British imperialist bourgeoisie having utilised Gandhi to the fullest measure during those stages when this was possible, at the new stage of the struggle for its domination saw an impediment in this figure and Gandhi was set aside. The social essence of

Gandhism and its basically reactionary role in the history of the national liberation movement in India have not been elucidated almost up to the present day in Marxist literature. Meanwhile, Gandhism even up to the present day stifles the development of the consciousness of the Indian masses who are rising in struggle against British imperialism.

The contemporary crisis of the colonial system of imperialism is closely bound up with the powerful advance of the national liberation movement in the colonial East. The termination of the Second World War opened up a new stage in the development of the national liberation movement in India, which is one of the biggest and industrially most developed amongst the colonies. This stage is characterised by a wide sweep of the working class and peasant movement, by the going over of the national bourgeoisie into the camp of imperialism and by a strengthening of the leading role of the Indian working class in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement of the masses.

The paramount task of the Indian proletariat at this stage consists in the emancipation of the millions of peasant masses from the ideological and political influence of the bourgeoisie and particularly from the influence of Gandhian ideology. Without such an emancipation, as Comrade Stalin points out,

“The revolution cannot be advanced and the complete independence of capitalistically developed colonies and dependent countries cannot be achieved.” (Stalin’s *Address To The University of the Toilers of the East*, From Lenin, Stalin, Zhukov, *On The Colonial Question*, PPH, p. 17)

The Great October Revolution brought about a radical change in the development of the national movements of the colonies and dependent countries.

“...the October Revolution is the first revolution in the history of the world to break the age-long sleep of the toiling masses of the oppressed peoples of the East and to draw them into the fight against world imperialism.” (Stalin, *The October Revolution and the National Question*, from *Marxism and the National & Colonial Question*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1942, p. 74)

In pointing to the radical change in the social composition of the national movements after the October Revolution, Comrade Stalin emphasises that

“the chief point here is not that the bourgeoisie of one nationality is beating or may beat the bourgeoisie of an-

other nationality in the competitive struggle, but that the imperialist group of the ruling nationality is exploiting and oppressing the greater mass and above all the peasant mass of the colonies and dependent nationalities and that by oppressing and exploiting them it is drawing them into the struggle against imperialism and making them allies of the proletarian revolution." (Stalin, *The National Question Once Again*, from *Marxism & the National and Colonial Question*, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1942, p. 225)

The October Revolution activated also the Indian peasantry whose political awakening began to transform the bourgeois liberation movement of India into a national liberation movement.

The new stage of the liberation movement in India that was ushered in by the October Revolution began with the powerful revolutionary movement of 1919-1922. The Indian Big Bourgeoisie found itself face to face with the reality of a tremendous growth of the anti-imperialist movement of the Indian masses. While utilising the strength of the mass movement as a weapon of pressure on British imperialism, the Indian bourgeoisie at the same time, sought for a means whereby it could hold back the revolutionary energy of the masses within the bounds that it needed. At this anxious moment for the Indian national bourgeoisie there appeared on the political arena of India Gandhi with his theory of 'non-violence' and 'non-violent' tactics. He appeared in the halo of the fame of a semi-saint acquired in the period of twenty years of political activity in South Africa where he had managed to achieve considerable success in the struggle against race discrimination against Indians.

Gandhi built his socio-political teaching on the basis of the religion of Hinduism, widely prevalent among the Indian peasantry, and the essence of whose dogmas requires that no violence should be committed against any person. The elements of Tolstoyism with which this dogma is mixed has lent Gandhism a peculiar type of truth-seeking character by pointing out love, suffering and self-sacrifice as the means to attain truth and justice.

Since Gandhism has to a great extent grown out of the religious ideology of the Indian masses, it becomes difficult to define where the influence of Gandhism ends and the influence of religion begins. Gandhism, like religion in general, is one of the forms of the "spiritual oppression that weighs everywhere on the masses of the people, ground down by perpetual toil for others, by want and by loneli-

ness." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, Lawrence & Wishart, London, p. 658)

In speaking of the class roots of contemporary religion, V. I. Lenin wrote:

"The deepest root of religion today is the social oppression of the working masses and their apparently complete helplessness in face of the blind forces of capitalism." (V. I. Lenin, *The Attitude of the Workers' Party Towards Religion*, Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, English edition, Moscow, 1947, p. 143-44)

The main root of Gandhism as a mass peasant phenomenon, is the selfsame as the root of contemporary religion, already pointed out by Lenin. The anti-capitalist elements which are to be found in Gandhism are expressed weakly and exceedingly inconsistently (e.g., Gandhi's critical attitude to capitalist industry and bourgeois culture). But it was this which facilitated the popularity of Gandhism among the masses. In India, a country whose development had been artificially held back by the British colonisers to the stage of semi-feudal relationships, the socio-economic conditions of life assisted in the dissemination of Gandhism which had direct links with feudal ideology. It should be remembered that in India right up to the present time, 45 per cent of the territory belonged to 600 feudal Princes with a total of 100 million population. Apart from these eastern despotic States where there existed serfdom and all forms of feudal bondage right down to debt slavery, all over India extremely strong survivals of feudalism remain, existing in different forms and aspects. For example, such a survival of feudal relationships as the division of people into castes plays not a small role in the life of contemporary India. At the same time, the Indian countryside is sustaining the destructive effects of encroaching capitalist relations—its population is getting differentiated, the old mode of life is being broken up, the ancient tenor of life is changing.

"Non-resistance" appeals to the "spirit" constitute an ideology inevitably appearing in such periods, says Lenin, "when the entire old order has been over-thrown and when the masses bred in this old order, who have imbibed with their mother's milk principles, habits, traditions and beliefs of this order, do not and cannot discern what the new order that is 'taking shape' is, what social forces are shaping it, and how exactly what social forces are capable of bringing salvation from the innumerable and very acute miseries natural to periods of 'break-up'." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, Lawrence & Wishart, p. 689)

Gandhi calls for the turning back of the wheel of history to the mediaeval commune structure, the basis of eastern despotism; he glorifies poverty, asceticism and a primitive rural life. He proposes not the raising of the standard of living of the pauperised peasantry, but the sinking down of all classes to a low standard of life which is already the lot of millions of Indians. ("Confession of Faith", *Young India*, July 13, 1921, p. 783) Gandhi sets forth his reactionary utopian views on economic development in his "A Confession of Faith".

The economic programme of Gandhism consists in the retention of the feudal backwardness of the Indian countryside and in the opposition to industrialisation ('machinism' in Gandhi's terminology). Gandhi visualises the practical application of this programme in (a) the development of rural domestic handicrafts industry; (b) the spreading of the use of 'charka'; and (c) in the propagation of 'Khadi'.

Gandhi's plans of economic reforms are based on a low productivity of labour, on primitive technique and primitive methods of production—hence the Gandhian preaching of primitive economy as a solution for India's problems is exceedingly harmful. Gandhi's attitude towards industrialisation is directly linked with the propaganda for rural industry. Gandhi's views on this question have undergone certain changes—from a complete denial of 'satanic' civilisation and 'machinism' to a recognition of their expediency under specific conditions.

Commencing in 1909 with a rejection of mechanisation, Gandhi after thirty years comes to the conclusion that "mechanisation is good when hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as in the case of India." (R. Palme Dutt, *India Today*, PPH, Bombay, 1947, p. 509)

Gandhi's socio-economic programme is full of irreconcilable contradictions. Thus Gandhi recognises the necessity (not the possibility but the necessity!) of retaining the feudal-landlord landownership in India. Gandhi declares the aim of his economic measures to be betterment of the material conditions of life of the Indian peasantry ground down by the landlord-moneylender yoke. But at the same time, Gandhi proclaims as inviolable the main source of the social afflictions of the peasantry—the feudal-capitalist system of exploitation. He only wishes to mitigate it with the help of his utopian reforms.

Gandhi asserts the necessity of retaining such a bulwark of reaction and despotism as the Indian Princes. Deviating

from the basic precepts of his own theory Gandhi arrives at open justification of social inequality and a recognition of the necessity of castes. The necessity of retaining castes in Gandhi's words "is based on an economy of social energy (on its right distribution) and on a healthy self-restraint by man by means of his will". (Quoted from Romain Rolland's *Mahatma Gandhi*, 1924, p. 34) Thus the "economy of social energy" must take place in the opinion of Gandhi at the cost of maintaining the privileged position of the exploiting classes, towards the "healthy self-restraint" Gandhi appeals only to the starving lower classes.

Behind this pseudo-scientific phraseology it is not difficult to detect a justification of social privileges, the glossing over of class antagonism and a eulogy of conservatism and reaction.

Raising to the skies the dogma and institutions of Hinduism which glorify social inequalities and cultivate barbarism and obscurantism, Gandhi comes forth as a defender of the spiritual slavery of the Indian people. He causes great harm to the consciousness of the masses by his preachings, of "one of the most heinous things such as exist in this world, to be precise—religion." (Lenin)

Thus Gandhi's socio-economic programme is a programme of conservatism and reaction. The social ideas propagated by Gandhi have strengthened that which is most stagnant, inert and vegetate in the life and consciousness of the Indian peasant. And this suited British imperialism which in exploiting the Indian people relies on the reactionary feudal elements of Indian society. As is said in the declaration of the Communist Party of India,

"Princes are the creation of the British Government. They have been supported in the past and are supported today by British guns because they are the prop of British rule." (*Declaration of Independence*, 1946, p. 4.)

Being an alien to a concrete historical posing of the problem, Gandhi argues abstractly from the standpoint of so-called "eternal" principles of morality and religion. But such a mode of thinking is an ideological reflection of the old feudal set-up.

Apropos similar supra-historical philosophising beliefs by Tolstoy, Lenin wrote:

"Tolstoyism in its real historical content, constitutes an ideology of the Eastern Order, of the Asiatic order. Hence follows asceticism as well as 'non-resistance' to evil, profound notes of pessimism and the conviction that 'all is nothing',

'all that is material is nothing'." (Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, Lawrence and Wishart, p. 688)

In form, the Gandhian theory of "non-violence" is almost synonymous to Tolstoy's "non-resistance to evil". But the social content of Gandhism is diametrically opposed to Tolstoyism. In the words of V. I. Lenin, the latter is an expression of the spontaneous protest and indignation of the Russian patriarchal peasantry, and expresses its strong and weak sides. But Gandhism arose as a definite form of the class struggle of the Indian reactionary bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement of the Indian masses. In the final analysis, Gandhi utilises "the spontaneous protest and indignation" of the Indian peasant masses, ground down by a dual yoke. He exploits their religious ideology for the class aims of the Indian bourgeois-landlord upper strata. If in the works of Tolstoy, there appears the peasant "striving to sweep away completely the official church, the landlords and the landlord government, to destroy all the old forms and systems of landownership..." (*Ibid*, p. 583) then in Gandhi we find nothing even approaching in similarity these revolutionary aspirations of the peasantry.

Apart from its socio-economic programme, Gandhism comprises the religio-ethical theory of "non-violence" whose practical method is "non-violent opposition". It also comprises the theory of "harmony of class interests" whence arises the practical conclusion of a call for class collaboration.

The combination of religion and of politics which is characteristic of Gandhism is nothing new in principle. The historical role of religion consists in that it constitutes an instrument for the spiritual enslavement of the popular masses and consequently definitely a political weapon. In Gandhism religion inevitably served the interests of the exploiting classes. Gandhism was utilised by the Indian bourgeois-landlord upper strata in order to hold the Indian masses in darkness and servitude and exploit them with impunity. The British imperialist bourgeoisie utilised in its turn these aspects of Gandhism in order to disrupt and weaken the Indian national liberation movement.

The basis of Gandhi's religio-ethical views is the doctrine of "non-violence". Teachings on "non-violence" are met with in many religions (Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism). The new thing in Gandhism is that Gandhi for the first time made this "teaching" the theoretical basis for his practical activities.

Gandhi declares "non-violence" to be the first and last dogma of his faith, and proposes it to India as the only path

of freedom from British colonisers. (M. K. Gandhi, *The Great Trial, Young India*, March 23, 1922, p. 1053) The essence of Gandhian 'non-violence' lies in opposing the force of arms with the force of moral superiority. (M. K. Gandhi, *The Doctrine of the Sword, Young India*, August 11, 1920, p. 262) Turning to practical questions, to questions of the mutual relationships between enslaved India and its imperialist exploiter, British imperialism, Gandhi logically arrives at the proposition of opposing British guns with the 'spirit' of India. (M.K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj, Young India*, January 26, 1921, p. 867)

Thus the Gandhian theory of 'non-violence' signifies in practice a complete disarming of the Indian people in face of the armed imperialist opponent.

In reply to bloody repression with which the British imperialists crushed the popular movement, Gandhi called upon the Indian people "...to learn how to maintain spiritual equanimity at the sight of not one thousand, but many thousands of murders of innocent men and women...let everyone look at the gallows as an ordinary thing in life." (As quoted by Romain Rolland in his book *Mahatma Gandhi*, 1924, p. 48)

As the experience of the Indian national movement has shown, the number of victims of Gandhian 'non-violence' surpassed all the expectations of Gandhi. Liberation, as Gandhi himself admitted, might have been easier and quicker to achieve with the force of arms. (M. K. Gandhi, *The Doctrine of the Sword, Young India*, 1922, p. 263) The following frank admission made by Gandhi in February 1922 is characteristic:

"I value my own salvation more than anything else, more than the salvation of India. And therefore, I am first a Hindu, and only then a patriot." (M. K. Gandhi, *No End to My sorrows, Young India*, February 23, 1922, p. 681)

The development of the Indian national liberation movement and particularly the mass movement gives a convincing illustration of the fact that Gandhi always considered the perspective of the liberation of India from the imperialist yoke as directly and absolutely dependent on the observance of the notorious 'non-violence'. Thus it was in 1922 when the revolutionary movement of the masses began to break down the limits of Gandhian tactics that Gandhi preferred the destruction of the movement and compromised with imperialism.

An analogous situation was created in 1930-31 when a new and still more threatening wave of the revolutionary movement called forth from Gandhi, as the leader of this

movement, a new betrayal. Finally, it was the same in 1924 when under the direct threat of aggression from Japanese imperialism Gandhi preached pacifism and 'non-violent' resistance to the Japanese aggressor and thus laid India open to the threat of fascist invasion. To achieve the purpose of the struggle against British imperialism, Gandhi recognised only peaceful means of struggle, from the boycott of British goods to the refusal to pay taxes to the Government. He considered the fundamental forms of his tactics to be 'non-violent, non-cooperation' and 'civil disobedience' in its individual or mass form. Gandhi describes his method of action as 'homeopathic'. This method has the perspective not of radical socio-political transformation but a slow and gradual reform of social conditions on the basis of compromise and the winning of concessions from the British authorities.

In fact, even in the camp of the Indian bourgeoisie, it was recognised that behind Gandhian 'non-violence', "there was no idea... of dealing with the larger social problems and of changing social conditions." (J. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, 1937, p. 537) In those cases when Gandhi gives a call for disobedience, he demands that this disobedience be 'meek', 'humble' and 'voluntary'. Love towards the oppressors, humility and voluntary submission to the imperialist colonisers—this in the final analysis was what Gandhi called for from his much-afflicted people.

It is characteristic that Gandhi himself fearing above all else the revolutionary activity of the masses never once in the course of his long socio-political life called a campaign of mass civil disobedience.

The absence of the national liberation movement in 1919-22 indicated the beginning in India of the new epoch opened by the great October Revolution—the epoch of colonial revolution. These years were the touchstones of the political philosophy, tactics and leadership of Gandhi on Indian soil.

During this period, the Indian proletariat began to emerge as an independent political force, with its own political slogans and its own proletarian methods of struggle. There appeared various Communist groups (in the twenties) which later (in 1933) were united into a single Communist Party of India.

At the height of the revolutionary movement of 1919-1922 the British Government brought into force a law dispensing with normal court proceedings and authorising imprisonment without trial (the so-called Rowlatt Act). This Act aroused indignation amongst the broad masses. Gandhi,

acting on the authorisation and in the name of the Indian National Congress, and hence of the Indian bourgeoisie, attempted to hold the popular movement to the path of organising 'non-violent' resistance to this Act. But the masses responded to Gandhi's call with activities far exceeding the wishes of the 'great sage'. In the country there arose a wave of strikes, demonstrations and uprisings in which was expressed an unprecedented unity of all the peoples of India, without distinction of caste, religion and language. This movement was crushed with the most fierce repression. But Gandhi, being frightened by the revolutionary activities of the masses, disowned the interests of the people and denied all connection whatsoever with the "unreliable elements causing disorder". Attempting to keep the movement within limits accessible to the control of the leaders of the Congress, Gandhi, for the first time in India, put forward the plan of 'non-violent, non-cooperation', which according to his beliefs was to compel the British imperialists to concede independence to the Indian people. This was a typical bourgeois-reformist plan of struggle for independence through peaceful, 'lawful' means. It provided for different stages of struggle—boycott of British goods, boycott of legislative organs, educational institutions and finally the last decisive measure—the refusal to pay taxes.

But the mass movement from the very first stages, far exceeded the limits of the reformist political programme of Gandhi. The popular masses were not inclined to await concessions from the exploiters. Mass strikes, revolts, the movement against landlords, and finally general strike—such were the forms of the mass movement that Gandhi was attempting to deflect on to the path of reform.

The powerful advance of the national liberation movement of 1919-1922 was a threat to British rule in India. According to the admission of British official circles, the Indian "movement assumed the undeniable character of an organised revolt against the British Raj." (V. Chirol, *India*, 1926, p. 207) The revolutionary wave embraced the many millions of the peasant masses. At this decisive moment for India, Gandhi, the recognised leader of the movement, came to a compromise with the British Government and himself decapitated the revolutionary mass movement. (February 1922)

In his article *My Guilt* (Mea Culpa), Gandhi gives as the reason for the 'calling-off' (more truthfully, betrayal) of the national liberation movement the fact that the masses had broken the principle of 'non-violence'. In the events of 1922 for the first time, revolutionary experience gave the

material which exposed the class essence of Gandhian 'non-violence'. It clearly answered the question as to whom 'non-violence' serves and whose interests it preserves. It turned out that for its Indian advocate 'non-violence' was not always an end in itself, and at certain moments the more real and concrete aim of Gandhi's appeal for 'non-violence' emerged.

Gandhi stigmatises the refusal of the peasants to pay land rent to the landlords as 'mass violence' (c.f. Bardoli Resolution of the Indian National Congress, March 1922). Only the logic of class interest compelled Gandhi to perceive in such a peaceful form of protest 'violent' activities. Nevertheless, although peaceful, this form of protest was at the same time an expression of the class struggle. Thus the Gandhian sham stand on principle for 'non-violence' was exposed and its twofold class content was revealed in an un-concealed form. Gandhi's 'non-violence' meant a condemnation of the class struggle of the workers in all its forms, it meant a condemnation of the revolutionary activities of the mass of the Indian proletariat and the Indian peasantry. Thus Gandhian 'non-violence' stands openly on guard the interests of the exploiting classes and in their hands it fulfils the role of a weapon against the revolutionary movement of the masses.

Every experience of Gandhian 'non-violent' practice confirms that Gandhi, along with all the Indian exploiting classes is more afraid of his own people than of British imperialism—the worst enemy of the Indian people. "Under no circumstances the violence of the mob"—this is the basic slogan of Gandhi. The class essence of Gandhi is here quite clearly and definitely expressed.

In this connection, the following statement by Gandhi is characteristic:

"If we do not want violence to result from our non-resistance to evil, we must retrace our steps as soon as possible... let the enemy accuse us of cowardice, better a bad reputation than treachery to one's own God." (As quoted by Romain Rolland, *Mahatma Gandhi*, 1924, p. 114)

The British imperialists whose rule in India was threatened by every advance of the national liberation struggle regarded Gandhism as their ally in the camp of the only irreconcilable foe of the imperialist colonisers, i.e., in the camp of the popular liberation movement of the Indian masses. And Gandhism, whether Gandhi wished it or not, became the most loyal ally of British imperialism, standing between imperialism and the mass movement which inevitably would bring about the destruction of the former.

That which would have facilitated the overthrow of British rule in India, Gandhi declares as fatal to... India. Thus he goes so far as to assert that the violence of the crowd is inadmissible "even in reply to gross provocation". (Quoted from C. F. Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, 1929, p. 285)

Moreover, it is precisely when the mass movement begins to exceed the bounds of non-violence which Gandhi with foresight laid down for it that he betrays the movement and becomes a direct ally of the British Government. In this way Gandhism becomes not only the class weapon of the Indian landlords and the bourgeoisie, but also objectively a weapon of the British imperialists. And this is completely logical insofar as the Indian people are confronted with two categories of exploiters—"their own" national exploiters and the foreign imperialists. Sooner or later the development of the revolutionary movement of the masses leads to this, that both the one and the other find themselves inside the same camp of the enemies of the revolution. Being a weapon of the national exploiters Gandhism cannot but become a weapon of the British colonisers. The Gandhian doctrine of non-violence was an expression of the fear of the exploiting classes in the face of the growing popular liberation movement. Later (in 1930), Gandhi openly recognised the necessity of fight on two fronts—against the enemy from outside, British imperialism, and against the internal enemy, the revolutionary movement of the Indian masses.

In his letter to the Viceroy of India Gandhi wrote:

"It is my purpose to set in motion that force (non-violence) as well against the organised violent force of the British rule as of the... growing party of violence." (M. K. Gandhi, *Letter to the Viceroy*, March 2, 1930)

Gandhi's call for a fight on two fronts reflected the splitting of the Indian national movement into two irreconcilable camps — the revolutionary and the compromising camp. And it signified the going over of the national bourgeoisie along with Gandhi into the camp of struggle against the national liberation movement.

Such objectively is the class significance and the reactionary role of the Gandhian doctrine of "non-violence" as a weapon against the revolutionary struggle of the Indian masses, and of Gandhian tactics of "non-violent resistance" as the compromising tactics of class peace.

The class essence of Gandhism is unmasked with particular clarity in the theory preached by Gandhi of the 'harmony' of interests of the exploited and exploiters. This theory is the kernel of Gandhism whence logically arises the

reformist nature of Gandhi's politics and tactics and his constant tendency to compromise and to class collaboration. Gandhi's own attitude to different social groups emerges here all the more clearly. Therefore, this aspect of Gandhism is the key revealing the social significance of its other parts—the religio-ethical doctrine of “non-violence”, the tactics of “non-violent resistance”, the socio-economic programme. In respect of the relation between the Indian peasantry and the zamindars and the taluqdars (Indian landlords), Gandhi assures the latter that “the Congress movement is in no way intended to attack their legal rights.” (Bardoli Resolution, March 2, 1922)

Gandhi declares arbitration to be the sole means of resolving the conflicts between the peasant and landlord. Class struggle is categorically and absolutely forbidden. While posing as the defender of the Indian peasantry, Gandhi at the same time attempts to level off the antagonistic contradiction between the peasantry and the landlord top strata which constitutes the basic feature of the social life of the Indian countryside.

On this point also the contradiction and the inconsistency are expressed very clearly. On the one hand Gandhi sees “true democracy” in the idealised “simple, rural life”. On the other, notwithstanding this Tolstoyan type of moralising, Gandhi not only recognises the necessity of retaining the system of landlordism, but even considers this system, so pernicious to the peasantry, as ‘desirable’ from the point of view of the interests of the Indian economy. The money-lenders, the worst enemies of the Indian peasants who hold millions of peasants in the web of debt slavery, Gandhi calls the “trustees of the unfortunate people.” (c.f. J. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, 1937, p. 517) In respect of the relationship between labour and capital, Gandhi proposes to the worker that he should appeal to the good sense of the capitalists, and to conduct every struggle with the aim of winning, not human rights but the “hearts of the masters”. (M. K. Gandhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, 1928, p. 4)

Gandhi has expressed himself most categorically on the question of the relationship between labour and capital, in his article *Wages and Values*.

“I know that the right to strike is the inalienable right of the worker in order that he may achieve justice. But it must be regarded as a crime immediately the capitalist accepts the principle of arbitration... When the factory worker learns to identify himself and his interests with those of the factory owners and elevate themselves, then they and together with them flourishes the industry

of our country.” (M. K. Gandhi, *Wages and Values*, October 6, 1920, ‘*Young India*’, p. 732)

Here we have before us a typical bourgeois preaching of the ‘harmony’ (even ‘identity’) of the interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, of the landlords and the peasantry.

To try and effect this preaching in practice Gandhi set up in Ahmedabad (Gujerat) a separatist workers’ association. This organisation was created by and continues to be intimately linked with the owners. It was the kernel of the Patelite Indian National Trade Union. As Palme Dutt points out in his book, the Ahmedabad Association has always been isolated from the Indian working class movement, being in actual practice an organisation of the agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement. Such is the pernicious combination of Gandhism and the working class movement.

Gandhi asserts class peace and the collaboration of classes to be both necessary and possible under conditions of capitalism when “the main feature of the capitalist system is a most acute class struggle between the exploiters and the exploited.” (*History of the CPSU (B), Short Course*, Moscow, 1945, p. 126) Indeed Gandhi’s “collaboration of classes” is the “collaboration” between the rider and the horse. Gandhi replaces class struggle by moral self-purification both of the exploiters and the exploited in the spirit of Tolstoyan preaching which V. I. Lenin so mercilessly ridiculed.

As opposed to the ideas of scientific Socialism, Gandhi propagates his “Socialism”, a Socialism for all classes—for the exploiters and for the exploited. He wrote in 1934:

...“Our Socialism or Communism should be based on non-violence, and the harmonious cooperation of labour and capital, the landlord and the tenant.” (Quoted from J. Nehru, *An Autobiography*, 1937, p. 535) And six years later, Gandhi publicly declared in his paper *Harijan*, “...I hope I am not expected knowingly to undertake a fight that must end in anarchy and red ruin.” (*Harijan*, April 1940) Fear in face of “red ruin” united in one camp the Indian exploiters as well as British imperialists and national reformists of the type of Gandhi.

Gandhi has defined his position in the event of a possible revolution in the following manner:

“I shall be no party to dispossessing the propertied classes of their private property without just (!) cause... You may be sure that I shall throw the whole weight of my influence in preventing a class war... Supposing there is an attempt

unjustly to deprive you of your property, you will find me fighting on your side..." (M. K. Gandhi, *Interview to Deputation of the United Provinces Zamindars*, p. 62)

Thus there remains no doubt that Gandhi's ideology stands on guard the interests of the exploiting upper strata. It serves both the feudal strata and the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the working class.

Palme Dutt brings out the following fact which can serve as a clear exposure of the anti-popular essence of Gandhism. This incident, as Dutt points out, was completely suppressed in the bourgeois Press (including the Congress Press). It relates to the event which took place in Peshawar in 1930. When the mass movement assumed huge dimensions the Hindu troops (two platoons of the Second Battalion of the 18th Royal Garhwali Rifles) who were sent to suppress the movement refused to fire on the Muslim crowd. Fraternisation began and many soldiers handed over their arms to the Peshawar people. This event was of tremendous import to the later development of the movement. The troops were immediately withdrawn from Peshawar, and for ten days (April 25 to May 4) the city was in the hands of the people. Subsequently seven Garhwali soldiers were subjected by court-martial to severe sentences.

What was Gandhi's attitude to this manifestation of 'union between religion and classes'?

Insofar as this 'non-violence' and this 'alliance of classes' created a real threat not only to British imperialism in India, but also to the existence of the national exploiting ruling classes, Gandhi in the most categorical terms, condemned the Garhwalis. "A soldier who disobeys an order to fire breaks the oath which he has taken and renders himself guilty of criminal disobedience." (c.f. Palme Dutt, *India Today*, PPH, Bombay, 1947, p. 303) Considerably later (in 1946), Gandhi finally revealed the true motive of his indignation in 1930. He no longer conceals it with words about 'oath' and 'disobedience', but openly declares that it was the unity of the workers and peasants, of the Hindus and Muslims which "would have meant delivering India to the rabble. I would not want to live up to 125," continues Gandhi, calling himself a 'true democrat', "to witness that consummation. I would rather perish in the flames." (*Ibid*, p. 474) This explanation of Gandhi's speaks more than all his 'philosophical' formulations and 'non-violence' phraseology.

Gandhi's propagation of 'harmony' of class interests combined with 'non-violence' methods of action which in fact excluded class struggle waged by the masses, was the cause of the irreconcilable contradiction between Gandhism

and the Indian working class. Only the proletariat, the sole consistently revolutionary class can fulfil the role of the grave-digger of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys the national reformists. It is not without reason that Dutt calls the Indian working class the only force which fights Gandhi.

The contradiction between Gandhism and the Indian proletariat deepens with every strike, with every new stage in the movement, as a result of the growth of the class consciousness and organisation of the proletariat.

In the twenties of the 20th century, as a result of the great revolutionising influence of the Great October Revolution, the Indian working class for the first time came forward with its own independent political demands. It opposed Gandhian 'non-violence' with its own revolutionary proletarian methods of struggle. It is precisely at this moment that the crisis of Gandhism begins to get sharply accentuated, and the reactionary nature and impotence of the Gandhian leadership of the mass movement increases.

During and after the Second World War, the contradiction between Gandhism and the Indian proletariat which had begun to assume the hegemony of the national liberation movement hastens the gradual political and ideological turning away of the Indian peasant masses from Gandhism.

The many millions of Indian peasantry, constituting tremendous force in the national liberation movement, was initially the main social base of Gandhism.

The explanation of the tremendous influence of Gandhism in the first period of its appearance in India must be sought for in the socio-economic conditions of the Indian peasantry, in the low level of its class consciousness, in the conditions of unbelievable darkness in which it lived, without rights, under the grip of superstition and religious prejudices, promoted by the dual and unrestricted exploitation both national and imperialist. Under these conditions the utopian theories of Gandhi which harked back to the past, which idealised the patriarchal mode of life and sanctified the canons and the old traditions of Hinduism, found an easy response from the peasant masses.

But with the very first appearance of Gandhi at the head of the peasant movement (satyagraha in Champaran) it was shown that Gandhian leadership of the national liberation movement based on the peasantry, could not be consistent and in fact always remains bourgeois reformist. It revealed that between the interests of Gandhism and the Indian peasantry there likewise exist irreconcilable inner contradictions arising from the opposing tasks and methods of struggle.

The historical aims of the national liberation movement is the overthrow of the British imperialist yoke and further the passing over to the agrarian revolution (the agrarian question being the root problem of agrarian India).

Gandhi never put forward the tasks of overthrowing the British rule. His aims were limited to morally influencing the British colonisers in order to 'persuade' them of the necessity of granting India self-rule (swaraj). As for the agrarian revolution, Gandhi was one of its most zealous opponents, as of revolution in general.

But as Comrade Stalin has pointed out, it is impossible for the national liberation movement not to be linked up with the agrarian revolution insofar as in the epoch of the crisis of imperialism "the peasantry constitutes the main army of the national movement." (Stalin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, Russian Edition, p. 71) Stalin also emphasises that "the national and colonial question is inseparable from the question of emancipation from the yoke of capital".

The logic of facts forced Gandhi to make the valuable and completely true admission that the "Congress has never made any bid for victory". (M. K. Gandhi, *Speeches and Writings*, p. 778) If we bear in mind the aims and tasks of the Indian national liberation movement, the experience of the whole non-violent movement tells us the same thing. It was not without reason that Palme Dutt calls Gandhi "the general of unbroken disasters".

The peasant masses going through the school of the revolutionary movement are growing politically, and raising their class consciousness and organisation.

The final betrayal by the Indian bourgeoisie of the cause of Indian freedom and the going over of this bourgeoisie into the camp of imperialism, particularly after the end of the Second World War quickened the growth of the class consciousness of the Indian peasantry. The Indian working class standing at the head of the national liberation movement more and more attracts the peasant masses to rally under its banner.

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**T**HE significance of Gandhism as a definite ideology under the conditions of a class society consists in the fact that in practice it always reflects and defends the class interests of the bourgeois-feudal upper strata of Indian society and utilises the weak points of the Indian masses—their religious prejudices and social oppression in the interests of these upper strata. Gandhism has always been and remains today the most powerful hindrance to the develop-

ment of the mass revolutionary movement. It plays into the hands of British imperialism by helping to crush the movement of the Indian masses and to retain India in its hands. Gandhi, when proposing a solution to any problem, proceeds from the assumption that the social *status quo*—the power and privileged position of the ruling classes — must be retained.

In his work, *On Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, Comrade Stalin points out the historical significance of ideas and theories in social development: "There are old ideas and theories which have outlived their day and which serve the interests of the moribund forces of society. Their significance lies in the fact that they hamper the development, the progress of society."

This is precisely the role of Gandhism in contemporary India. The theory and tactics of Gandhi have played a *hampering and reactionary role* in the development of the national liberation movement.

One must see in this the historical mission of Gandhism as a serious obstacle in the path of development of the Indian national liberation and democratic movement. One must see in this the historical mission of Gandhism as the weapon of British imperialism.

In their colonial policy, the British imperialists utilised Gandhism as their ideological and political weapon.

The growing anti-imperialist movement in the colonies was a menace to the rear of imperialism, *i.e.*, to the very existence of British rule in India. The old openly colonial method of exploitation arising from "the fire and sword" principle turned out to be inadequate or completely unsuitable in the new historical situation. It became necessary to buy over the upper strata of national exploiters and to weaken and disrupt the anti-imperialist movement in the colonies while continuing the old imperialist policy on the principle of "divide and rule", and on the retention of feudal survivals and the support of internal social reaction.

The carrying into practice of this programme was facilitated to a considerable extent by the reactionary ideology of Gandhism. The Hindu orientation of Gandhism facilitated the disruption of the united national-liberation movement on religious-caste lines, *i.e.*, objectively it brought grist to the mill of British imperialist policy.

In his socio-economic programme, Gandhi idealised the survivals and traditions of mediaeval India, *i.e.*, he stood not for social progress, but for social regression and this helped the British imperialists to consolidate their rule in India.

In preaching 'non-violence' as the basic method of social and political struggle, Gandhism caused the greatest harm to the class struggle and to the national liberation struggle by deflecting the mass movement from revolutionary aims and leading it into channels of national reformism.

Gandhism is not an accidental phenomenon. It arose at a time when the Indian masses for the first time had begun to awake to political life, when the class consciousness of the proletariat and the peasantry and their organisation as a class had not yet reached a very high level. Oppression, backwardness, the low level of class consciousness of the Indian masses combined with the tremendous role of religion, represented a fertile soil for the dissemination of Gandhism and strengthened its influence among the popular masses.

The Second World War brought about deep changes in the international situation. The new historical situation is characterised by the general crisis of world capitalism and particularly of its colonial system and likewise by a weakening of the external and internal positions of British imperialism. "World War II aggravated the crisis of the colonial system, as expressed in the rise of a powerful movement for national liberation in the colonies and the dependencies. This has placed the rear of the capitalist system in jeopardy." (A. Zhdanov, *The International Situation, Moscow, 1947*, p. 11)

Under conditions of the most acute crisis of the colonial imperialist system, the British colonisers were compelled to seek for new forms of colonial domination, forms that are more flexible and camouflaged than before.

"The peoples of the colonies no longer wish to live in the old way. The ruling classes of the metropolitan countries can no longer govern the colonies on the old lines."

With the end of the Second World War, the Indian national liberation movement entered a new and higher stage of its development. The revolt in the Indian navy and the heroic struggle of the Bombay workers in February 1946 proved to be the beginning of the new stage of the freedom movement.

The characteristic feature of this stage is the considerable organisation of the Indian proletariat, the growth of its class consciousness and a strengthening of the hegemony of the proletariat in the Indian national liberation movement. Another characteristic feature is the rapid growth of the peasant movement which (for example in the area of Telengana in the Princedom of Hyderabad) is tending to develop into an agrarian revolution. A third feature of the

new stage is the growth of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement in the Indian Princely States (Hyderabad, Kashmir and others). The influence of the Communist Party of India is growing not only among the working class but also amongst the Indian peasantry. The Second Congress of the Communist Party of India which took place in March 1948, demonstrated this. The Communist Party of India is the vanguard of the struggle for real independence and democracy.

The growth of the revolutionary struggle of the masses has led to a demarcation of social forces, a division into two camps in India. On the one hand is the anti-imperialist camp unifying the revolutionary elements of society with the Indian working class at its head, and on the other hand the camp of imperialism, which includes the Indian Big Bourgeoisie, the feudal elements and the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Comrade Stalin characterises the betrayal by the compromising national bourgeoisie of the cause of national emancipation of its country in the following manner:

"Dreading revolution more than imperialism, concerned more about its moneybags than about the interests of its own country, this section of the bourgeoisie, the wealthiest and most influential section, is completely going over to the camp of the irreconcilable enemies of the revolution, having entered into a bloc with imperialism against the workers and peasants of its own country." (Stalin's *Address to the University of the Toilers of the East*, Lenin, Stalin, Zhukov *On the Colonial Question*, PPH, Bombay, 1948, p. 19)

In the political report of the Central Committee to the Sixteenth Congress of the CPSU (B), Comrade Stalin speaking of the growth of the revolutionary movement in India, Indo-China, Indonesia and other countries, gave the following characterisation of the bourgeois leaders of the type of Gandhi.

"Messieurs the bourgeoisie count on drowning these countries in blood and rely upon police bayonets, appealing to people like Gandhi for help. There is no doubt that police bayonets are a bad support. Tsarism also had tried in its days to rely upon police bayonets, but what sort of support it turned out to be is known to everyone. As regards the assistance of the type of Gandhi, Tsarism had a whole bunch of them in the person of the liberal compromisers of every kind, from which however

nothing except confusion resulted." (J. Stalin, *Report to the Sixteenth Congress of the CPSU* (B))

The Mountbatten Plan and the partition of India are a direct result of the compromise between British imperialism and the Indian exploiting upper strata. The British Government faced with the growing colonial revolution in India had to resort to buying over the Indian big bourgeoisie by allowing it to administer the country in the capacity of a junior partner. The Nehru-Patel Government having come into power took to the path of suppressing everything that was progressive, the path of supporting the most violent reaction. It went over to a policy of terror. It adopted a policy of terror towards the working class and peasant movement and to the members of the Communist Party of India and trade unions. In expressing its protest against the arrest of Indian trade union leaders, the Communist Party of Great Britain wrote: "The Indian National Government shamelessly utilises all the repressive and despotic political methods which have always been associated with imperialist rule." (*Pravda*, April 18, 1948)

In these new historical conditions a new ideological "glorification" of British rule in India is necessary. The ideology of force conforms more to the new needs of imperial reaction than reactionary-utopian Gandhism. Gandhism is undergoing an acute internal crisis which has been historically paved for. The development of the national liberation movement played a decisive role in accentuating the crisis of Gandhism. From the standpoint of the exploiting upper strata, the historical mission of Gandhi has ended. Gandhi can no longer hold back the revolutionary movement of the masses. The Indian big business in the new stage passes over to a policy of unconditional capitulation before British and American capital.

But the role of Gandhism as an instrument of the spiritual oppression of the backward masses of India has not yet ended. The Indian exploiters and the British colonisers will as yet utilise Gandhism in order to exploit the consciousness of the oppressed Indian masses. A clear example of such a utilisation of Gandhism is seen in the fact that the first most organised and revolutionary step of the Indian sailors in February 1946 was disarmed precisely with the 'help' of Gandhism.

Ideology can be a force for conservatism—survivals of the old ideology continue to linger even when the soil on which this ideology arose has vanished. The social soil of Gandhi has far from vanished. The survivals of reactionary ideology do not disappear by themselves from the conscious-

ness of the masses and an irreconcilable struggle against them is necessary. Struggle against Gandhism is one of the forms of the class struggle of the Indian proletariat—the ideological class struggle. The struggle against the influences of Gandhian ideology is all the more necessary since the British colonisers are attempting to give the 'old, patriarchal' Gandhism a 'new' pro-fascist colour, and make this 'newly-baked' Gandhism the banner of present-day imperialist reaction in India.

Already in 1924, Comrade Stalin pointed out that there were tremendous revolutionary possibilities in India

"Because that country has a young militant, revolutionary proletariat which has such an ally as the national liberation movement—an undoubtedly powerful and undoubtedly important ally. Because there the revolution is opposed by such a well-known foe as foreign imperialism which lacks all moral credit and is deservedly hated by the oppressed and exploited masses of India." (*Stalin, Problems of Leninism*, p. 32)

The emancipation of the Indian working masses from the influence of Gandhian ideology is the necessary step in the path of the victory of the Indian revolution.

# ELEVENTH VOLUME OF THE WORKS OF J. V. STALIN

By P. YUDIN

**V**OL. XI of the Works of J. V. Stalin contains writings relating to the period of January 1928 to March 1929. This short period was replete with events of first-class magnitude, events which demonstrated the great inspiring and organising role of our Party in the struggle for the victory of Socialism in the USSR.

Working in pursuance of the decisions of the Fourteenth Congress of the CPSU (B), our Party achieved important successes in carrying out Stalin's programme for the industrialisation of the country. The foundations of a heavy industry were laid.

Basing itself on the achievements in the field of industrialisation, the Party of Lenin and Stalin proceeded to tackle what, after the seizure of power was the most difficult of the historic tasks of the Socialist revolution, namely, the swinging of the labouring peasant masses from the path of individual farming to the path of Socialist collective farming. The line of collectivising agriculture approved by the Fifteenth Congress of the CPSU (B) was, under the guidance of Comrade Stalin, pursued with the utmost consistency. All the necessary requisites for a mass collective farm movement were created.

The Party's policy met with the ardent approval of the working people of town and country. The powerful upsurge of labour enthusiasm of the masses stimulated the extension of Socialist emulation. The country commenced the realisation of the first Five-Year Plan.

The successful implementation of the policy of Socialist industrialisation, the elimination of private owners from industry and trade, the resolute offensive conducted by the Soviet State against the kulaks—all this evoked the frenzied resistance of the doomed capitalist elements within the country.

The kulaks and the capitalist elements in the towns found ideologists and defenders in the Right capitulators,

headed by the Bukharin-Rykov group, who openly opposed the Party's policy of building Socialism in the USSR. The Bolshevik Party, headed by Comrade Stalin, exposed and routed these capitulators and restorers of capitalism.

In the battles against the Right opportunists, Comrade Stalin united the whole Party, and led it in the grand attack on the kulaks—the last stronghold of capitalist exploitation in our country.

Vol. XI of the Works of Comrade Stalin graphically reflects every aspect of the many-faceted State, Party and theoretical activity of our great leader and teacher in this period. Fourteen of his writings—"On the Programme of the Comintern", "Industrialisation and the Grain Problem", "The National Question and Leninism" and others — are published in this volume for the first time.

The writings contained in Vol. XI are vividly indicative of Comrade Stalin's unremitting concern for the further strengthening of the Party and the cementing of its ranks. Comrade Stalin stresses the necessity of raising the ideological level and enhancing the vigilance of the members of the Party, and insists on the absolute necessity of developing criticism and self-criticism to the utmost as a Bolshevik method of educating cadres and as a driving force in the development of Soviet society.

Profound theoretical analysis of the international and internal situation of the country, supreme firmness and inflexible will in carrying out Lenin's behests and in the struggle against the class enemies and their Trotskyite-Bukharinite agents, veritable genius in the elaboration of cardinal problems of Marxist-Leninist theory — these are characteristic features of the works of Comrade Stalin contained in the eleventh volume.

## I

**T**HE Works of Comrade Stalin contained in Vol. XI give a profound theoretical elaboration of the problems relating to the Socialist industrialisation of the country, and draw general theoretical conclusions from the experience gained in the struggle of the Party and the Soviet people for the practical effectuation of the policy of industrialisation.

The Soviet State had inherited from tsarism a technically, economically and culturally backward country. V. I. Lenin had repeatedly pointed out that the elimination of this backwardness was the principal task of the working class in its struggle for the building of Socialism. Already in September 1917, in his celebrated "The Impending

Catastrophe and How to Combat It", Lenin, outlining the economic programme of the Bolshevik in the Socialist revolution, wrote:

"The result of the revolution has been that the **political** system of Russia has in a few months caught up with that of the advanced countries.

"But this is not enough. The war is inexorable, it puts the alternative with ruthless severity: either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced countries **economically** as well.

"...Perish, or drive full-steam ahead. That is the alternative with which history confronts us." (Works, Vol. XXV, P. 338, Russian edition)

The decisive requisite for eliminating the technical and economic backwardness of the country was to build a powerful up-to-date Socialist industry, especially an industry producing means of production.

Comrade Stalin made a priceless contribution to Leninism comprehensively elaborating the theory of Socialist industrialisation as the decisive requisite for laying the material basis of Socialism and safeguarding the political and economic independence of the Soviet Union.

Of decisive importance in the struggle for industrialisation was the question of the pace of industrial development. In his elucidation on "The Industrialisation of the Country and the Right Deviation in the CPSU (B)", Comrade Stalin pointed out that both external and internal conditions dictated the necessity for a rapid rate of industrialisation. The independence of our country could not be safeguarded unless we had an adequate industrial base for defence.

On the other hand, the backwardness of the national economy, and especially of agriculture, was one of the chief obstacles to the rapid development of industry. Either the whole economy of the country, including agriculture, must be placed on the technical basis of modern large-scale production, or a return to capitalism was inevitable—that was how matters stood.

"And it is impossible to place the economy of the country on a new technical basis without a rapid rate of development of our industry, and primarily of the production of the means of production," Comrade Stalin said. (p. 256)

Comrade Stalin scientifically demonstrated the necessity for a rapid rate of industrialisation of the country in order that the USSR might, in a historically brief period, overtake and outstrip economically the principal capitalist countries.

At the same time, Comrade Stalin posed in all its amplitude the question of the sources of industrialisation, disclosing the fundamental difference between the sources of capitalist and Socialist industrialisation. Examining the history of the industrialisation of the principal capitalist countries he showed that, in the case of England, these sources were colonial plunder over the course of centuries; in the case of Germany, the five thousand million she received in indemnities from France after the Franco-Prussian war; and in the case of tsarist Russia, extortionate loans received from foreign capitalists.

The methods of capitalist industrialisation were abhorrent to the Soviet State because of its very nature. In the speech at a plenum of the Central Committee on "Industrialisation and the Grain Problem", first published in Vol. XI, Comrade Stalin called upon the Party to develop industry, to industrialise the country at the expense of internal accumulations.

As history shows, the Socialist method of industrialisation elaborated by Comrade Stalin proved immeasurably more effective than the capitalist method. Within the short space of thirteen years, the Soviet Union was transformed from a backward country into a great Socialist industrial power, which proved capable not only of withstanding the military onslaught of fascist Germany, which had seized possession practically of the whole war industry of Europe, but also of smashing her. And the might of our Socialist industry is being demonstrated with fresh force today, after the war, in the rapidity with which the national economy is being rehabilitated and developed. These epoch-making victories are the triumph of the genius of Stalin's plan for the industrialisation of the USSR.

Guiding themselves by Stalin's precepts on industrialisation and by the great experience of the USSR in laying the industrial foundation for Socialism, the People's Democracies are today successfully tackling the problem of industrialisation in their countries. The People's Democracies are developing in much more favourable conditions than those in which the USSR developed. They are in friendly alliance among themselves and with the USSR, which is rendering them immense assistance in laying the foundations of Socialism. This lends them great opportunities in overcoming their economic backwardness and creates favourable conditions for the successful accomplishment of their plans of Socialist construction.

The theory of Socialist industrialisation worked out by Comrade Stalin is of international importance; it is the

scientific programme of the Bolshevik Party in the building of Communist society.

## II

COMRADE Stalin rendered paramount and historic service in providing an exhaustive answer to the question how the millions of labouring peasants were to be enlisted for Socialism. Comrade Stalin shattered to atoms all the anti-Marxist theories on the peasant problem, and, guiding himself by Lenin's cooperative plan, developed a harmonious theory of collectivisation of agriculture.

Much attention is devoted in Vol. XI of the Works of J. V. Stalin to the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Comrade Stalin showed that the question of putting agriculture on the lines of large-scale Socialised economy was a question of the future of Socialism in the USSR, of the elimination of the roots of capitalism in our country.

By 1928, the country was confronted with great difficulties arising from the fact that small-commodity, low productive individual peasant farming could not satisfy the growing needs of the State. Although agriculture as a whole had surpassed its-pre-war level of output, the gross output of its principal branch—grain production—was only 91 per cent of prewar, while the aggregate surplus of grain sold for the supply of the towns barely reached 37 per cent of pre-war. Moreover, all the signs pointed to the danger of a further decline in the output of commodity grain.

Comrade Stalin showed that the solution of the grain problem involved a fundamental, Socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

"It is impossible", he said, "endlessly, i.e., for too great a length of time, to base the Soviet system and Socialist construction on two **different** foundations, on the foundation of Socialist industry, the most large-scale and integrated, and on the foundation of small-commodity peasant farming, the most highly disintegrated and backward. We must gradually, but systematically and persistently, place our agriculture on a new technical basis, the basis of large-scale production, bringing it up to the level of Socialist industry. Either we solve this problem—and then the final victory of Socialism in our country will be assured—or we turn away from it, do not solve this problem—and then a return to capitalism may become inevitable." (Pp. 253-54)

In January and February 1928, Comrade Stalin made a tour of a number of Siberian districts (Novosibirsk, Barnaul,

Biisk, Rubtsovsk, Omsk), took part in joint meetings of Party functionaries and representatives of the Soviets and State purchasing organisations, and addressed meetings in various districts of Siberia. In these speeches, first published in Vol. XI of the Works under the title, "Grain Procurement and Prospects for the Development of Agriculture", Comrade Stalin mapped for the Party organisations a programme for the reconstruction of agriculture on Socialist lines and for combating the kulaks.

In the works published in Vol. XI, Comrade Stalin devotes particular attention to the question of strengthening the bond between town and country, between the working class and the peasantry, and the utmost development of all forms of cooperation in the countryside. The Right capitulators endeavoured to distort Lenin's idea of the bond between the working class and the basic mass of the peasantry, representing it solely as a question of satisfying the consumer demands of the peasants, and ignoring the leading role of the working class in the bond. Exposing the anti-Leninist views of the Right capitulators, Comrade Stalin declared:

"The aim of the bond is to bring the peasantry close to the working class, as the leader of our entire development, to strengthen the alliance of the peasantry with the working class as the leading force in this alliance, gradually to **remould** the peasantry, its psychology and its production, **in the spirit of collectivism**, and in this way to prepare the conditions for the abolition of classes". (P. 162)

Guided by Comrade Stalin, the Communist Party worked persistently and patiently for several years preparing all the conditions, necessary for the great revolutionary change in the countryside, for the transition to solid collectivisation and the abolition, on this basis, of the last of the exploiting classes—the kulaks.

The writings in Vol. XI show the supreme perspicacity and persistence displayed by Comrade Stalin in preparing the Party for the decisive battle against the kulaks. For this purpose, the working people had to be intellectually armed, the anti-Marxist bourgeois theory of the Rights respecting the "peaceful mergence" of the kulaks with Socialism had to be utterly demolished. This task was performed by Comrade Stalin. He showed that in the transition period from capitalism to Socialism, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle does not subside, does not die away, but becomes more acute.

"It has never been the case, and it never will be," Comrade Stalin said, "that moribund classes voluntarily surrender

their positions without attempting to organise resistance.... On the contrary, the advance towards Socialism cannot but lead to resistance to this advance on the part of the exploiting elements and the resistance of the exploiters cannot but lead to an inevitable sharpening of the class struggle." (p. 172)

The resistance of the capitalist elements within the country inevitably merged with the struggle of the bourgeoisie of foreign States against the Soviet Union. In this struggle, the imperialists relied upon the remnants of the shattered exploiting classes inside our country.

Comprehensively elaborating the programme of collectivisation of agriculture, Comrade Stalin showed that the transition to collectivisation could be achieved, not by the peasants simply and peacefully joining the collective farms, but by a mass struggle of the peasants against the kulaks. It was necessary to defeat the kulaks in open battle in the sight of the whole peasantry, so as to convince the peasants of the weakness of the capitalist elements.

"First Results of the Procurement Campaign and the Further Tasks of the Party", "Results of the July Plenum of the CC, CPSU(B)", "Industrialisation and the Grain Problem", "On the Bond Between Workers and Peasants and on State Farms" and other works contained in Vol. XI show that the Party, led by Comrade Stalin, the great continuer of Lenin's cause, successfully coped with the most difficult tasks of developing collectivisation and of smashing the last and most numerous of the exploiting classes—the kulaks.

Guided by Comrade Stalin, the Party in the end succeeded in swinging the basic mass of the peasantry to the lines of Socialism and in eliminating the kulaks as a class on the basis of solid collectivisation. This was a profound revolutionary accomplishment, as important in its consequences as the revolution of October 1917.

As the result of the accomplishment of Stalin's plan for the collectivisation of agriculture and thanks to the efforts of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people, the most highly mechanised, the largest in scale and most productive agriculture in the world was created in the USSR.

The victory of Socialism in agriculture in the USSR points the way to Socialism for the peasants of the whole world. The People's Democracies are already engaged in the practical solution of this problem. Of course, each country will find its own ways of accomplishing the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture, depending upon the specific economic, cultural and historical conditions of its develop-

ment. However, the path traversed by the Soviet peasantry is general and applicable to the peasants of all countries.

Comrade Stalin's writings on the ways, means and method of Socialist industrialisation of the country and collectivisation of agriculture constitute a new chapter in the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism, and represent one of the most important departments of the new science created by Comrade Stalin—the Political Economy of Socialism.

### III

**T**HE works included in Vol. XI show how consistently and persistently Comrade Stalin conducts the struggle to strengthen the Bolshevik Party, to keep its principles pure and to develop Marxist-Leninist theory.

We know that the Fifteenth Party Congress decided that the views of the Trotskyites were incompatible with membership in the CPSU(B) and expelled them from the Party. Demolished ideologically and organisationally by the Party, the Trotskyites became an unprincipled clique of political scoundrels and careerists, a gang of political double-dealers. In his article, "They have Reached the Depths", first published in Vol. XI of the Works, Comrade Stalin points out that the Trotskyites had become an underground anti-Soviet organisation, hostile to the proletarian dictatorship.

The sharpening of the class struggle in the country found its reflection in the Party. The Bukharin-Rykov anti-Party group, which expressed the interests of the kulaks and urban capitalist elements, came out openly against the Party's policy. The Right capitulators fiercely resisted the policy of industrialising the country and collectivising agriculture. In their efforts to save the kulaks, they tried to secure the repeal of the emergency measures against the kulaks and cooked up their anti-Leninist theory of the "subsidence of the class struggle" and of the "peaceful mergence" of the kulaks into Socialism. The whole programme of the Rights reflected their counter-revolutionary aspiration to drive the country towards capitalist restoration.

At the Plenum of the Moscow Committee and Moscow Control Commission of the CPSU(B) in 1928, Comrade Stalin stressed the necessity of waging a struggle on two fronts while concentrating fire on the Right deviation. The Rights, Comrade Stalin said, represented an agency of the kulaks within the Party.

"...The triumph of the Right deviation in our Party would unleash the forces of capitalism, undermine the revolutionary positions of the proletariat and increase the chances of the restoration of capitalism in our country," Comrade Stalin said. (P. 231)

In the struggle against the enemies of Leninism, Comrade Stalin ideologically armed our Party, and disclosed the substance of the deviations from the general line of the Party and the social roots from which they sprang.

"The social basis of the deviations is the fact that small-scale production predominates in our country, the fact that out of small-scale production rise the capitalist elements, the fact that our Party is surrounded by a petty-bourgeois environment, lastly, the fact, that certain sections of our Party are infected by this environment." (Pp. 269-270)

Comrade Stalin mobilised the entire Party to combat the Right deviation. Right opportunism was shattered ideologically and organisationally. From this struggle the Party emerged ideologically and organisationally stronger than before.

Comrade Stalin showed that the Right and the "Left" deviations were two forms of the struggle of the ideology of bourgeois restoration against Marxism-Leninism, against Socialism. The Party, Comrade Stalin said, must wage the fight on two fronts.

Comrade Stalin gave a profound theoretical analysis of Centrism as a political phenomenon.

"Centrism cannot be regarded as a special concept: on the one side, say, sit the Rights, on the other the "Lefts" and in between the Centrists. Centrism is a political concept. Its ideology is one of adaptation, the ideology of subordinating the interests of the proletariat to the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie **within one common party**. It is an ideology alien and abhorrent to Leninism." (P. 282)

The problem of the struggle against anti-Marxist deviations in the Party worked out by Comrade Stalin constitute a further development of the theory of the party of a new type, the Party of Leninism, a further development of the strategy and tactics of Marxism and Leninism, and are of prime importance to the entire international Communist movement.

Of outstanding and fundamental theoretical importance are Comrade Stalin's pronouncements on the subject of criticism and self-criticism contained in a number of the

works in Vol. XI. In his article, "Against Vulgarising the Slogan of Self-Criticism", Comrade Stalin wrote:

"...Self-criticism is an indispensable and permanently operative weapon in the arsenal of Bolshevism, one indissolubly connected with the very nature of Bolshevism, with its revolutionary spirit."

"...Without self-criticism there can be no proper education of the Party, the class and the masses; without proper education of the Party, the class and the masses there can be no Bolshevism." (Pp. 128 and 129)

In mobilising the Party for the victorious building of Socialism, Comrade Stalin laid emphatic stress on the necessity of training new, Bolshevik cadres for all branches of Government administration, economy and culture.

In his historical speech at the Eighth Congress of the Young Communist League in May 1928, Comrade Stalin said:

"We now need whole bodies, hundreds and thousands of new Bolshevik cadres, capable of being up to the mark in the most diverse branches of knowledge. Without this, there is no use talking about a rapid pace of Socialist construction in our country. Without this, there is no use talking about our being able to overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries." (P. 77)

The necessity of training new cadres, coming from the working class, was emphatically stressed by Comrade Stalin in his report on "The Work of the April Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission".

In the case of bourgeois society, the basic cadres of intellectuals are created even before the bourgeoisie comes to power. But the proletariat has to create its intelligentsia in the course of building Socialism. The Bolshevik Party set about the solution of this difficult problem with all its customary energy and efficiency, and successfully solved it.

Vol. XI contains Comrade Stalin's well-known speech on "The Three Distinguishing Features of the Red Army", in which he said that the Red Army was an army of emancipated workers and peasants, an army of brotherhood among the nations of our country, an army educated in a spirit of respect for the peoples of other countries, in a spirit of maintaining and establishing peace among them. These distinguishing features are the source of the strength and might of the Soviet Army so brilliantly displayed in the Great Patriotic War.

## IV

**C**OMRADE Stalin's "The National Question and Leninism", which is published for the first time in Vol. XI, is a magnificent contribution to Marxism-Leninism.

We know that Comrade Stalin performed distinguished service in the creation and development of the Marxist theory of the national question. His classical work "Marxism and the National Question", written in 1913, was assessed by Lenin as the best that had ever been written by Marxists on the national problem. Developing the ideas of this masterly work, and drawing general theoretical conclusions from all the innovations Socialism was introducing into the national life of the Soviet people, Comrade Stalin, in his "The National Question and Leninism", for the first time in Marxist literature formulated the thesis of *bourgeois and Socialist nations*.

Before drawing his conclusion regarding Socialist nations and demonstrating this new thesis, Comrade Stalin thoroughly analyses the question of bourgeois nations.

He rejects the muddled theses of certain authors who held that nations arose and existed in pre-capitalist times. Comrade Stalin points out that in the pre-capitalist period individual elements of nationality — language, territory, common culture—did exist, but these elements were in an embryonic state and at best constituted only a latent potentiality for the formation of nations in the future.

Comrade Stalin says that the rise of the so-called "modern" nations was connected with the rise of capitalism, that they were the creations of a definite era, the era of the development of capitalism. In this period the destiny of the national movement was naturally bound up with the destiny of the bourgeoisie. In this period the bourgeoisie and its nationalist parties were and remained the principal directing force of such nations.

The ideological and social-political tenets of these nations were: class peace within the nation for the sake of "national unity", expansion of the territory of one's own nation by seizing territories of other nations, distrust and detestation of other nations, suppression of national minorities, a united front with imperialism, etc.

"Such nations", Comrade Stalin says, "should be defined as bourgeois nations. Such, for instance, were the French, English, Italian, North-American and other, similar, nations. Such bourgeois nations, too, were the Russian, Ukrainian, Tartar, Armenian, Georgian and other nations in Russia

prior to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system in our country.

"Clearly, the destiny of such nations was bound up with the destiny of capitalism, and with the fall of capitalism such nations were bound to depart from the scene." (P. 338)

The Socialist revolution in the USSR wrought a radical change in the economic, political and cultural life of the Soviet people and changed their mentality. In the USSR, Socialist nations arose and developed.

"These are new, Soviet nations, that developed and took shape on the basis of the old, bourgeois nations after the overthrow of capitalism in Russia, the liquidation of the bourgeoisie and its nationalist parties, after the establishment of the Soviet system.

"The working class and its internationalist Party constitute the force that cements these new nations and directs them. The alliance of the working class and the labouring peasantry within the nation with the purpose of eliminating the relics of capitalism for the sake of the equality and free development of nations and national minorities; abolition of the relics of nationalism, for the sake of the promotion of friendship among nations and the affirmation of internationalism; a united front with all oppressed and unequal nations in the struggle against the policy of conquest and wars of conquest, in the struggle against imperialism—such is the spiritual and social-political aspect of these nations.

"Such nations should be defined as Socialist nations." (P. 339)

Comrade Stalin points out that the formation of Socialist nations does not imply the elimination of nations in general, but only of bourgeois nations. He stresses that the new, Socialist nations are much more closely welded and united than any bourgeois nation, since they are exempt from the irreconcilable class antagonisms that corrode bourgeois nations, and are, to a far greater extent than any bourgeois nations, nations of the people in general.

Of exclusive importance from the scientific and political standpoint is the perspective Comrade Stalin draws of the future development of nations. Basing himself on the opinions expressed by V. I. Lenin, and developing the theses formulated in his speech of May 18, 1925, on the "Political Tasks of the University of the Peoples of the East", Comrade Stalin showed that in the period of the victory of Socialism in one country, nations do not die away but flourish and develop.

Nor will the first stage in the period of the world dictatorship of the proletariat mark the beginning of the dying away of nations and national languages, the beginning of the evolution of a universal language. Comrade Stalin holds that national distinctions will begin to die away and a universal language for all peoples will be elaborated only in that period of the development of a world Socialist society:

“When the world Socialist economic system has become sufficiently strong and Socialism has become part of the life of the peoples, when the nations have become convinced by practice of the advantages of a universal language over national languages....” (P. 349)

In his “The National Question and Leninism”, Comrade Stalin gives a profound and full-length definition of the policy of the Bolshevik Party on the national question. He says, firstly, that—

“The Russian Marxists have always held by the premise that the national question is part of the general question of the development of the revolution, that in the different stages of the revolution the national question has different tasks corresponding to the character of the revolution at each particular historical moment, and that the Party’s policy on the national question changes accordingly.” (P. 350)

Having put an end to the power of the bourgeoisie in Russia and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Bolshevik Party completely abolished the system of national oppression and established equality of the nations in our country. The Party helped the formerly oppressed nations to rise to their feet, to revive and develop their national cultures, and to train their own national Party and Soviet cadres, and in this way encouraged the consolidation and development of new, Socialist nations.

The Party’s Leninist-Stalinist national policy has led to the building up of an indestructible friendship among the peoples of the USSR, to the formation and consolidation of a Soviet multi-national State, whose strength and firmness may be envied by any non-Soviet State.

Comrade Stalin’s work “The National Question and Leninism”, like his other works on the national question, is a reliable compass for the Communist Parties and working people of all countries that are now struggling for national independence and equality, for the abolition of national oppression and for the establishment of firm friendship and

cooperation among nations. The works of Comrade Stalin constitute a mighty intellectual weapon in the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism and for the victory of the lofty ideas of proletarian internationalism.

## V

**M**UCH space in the works included in Volume XI is devoted to the international revolutionary movement and the tasks of the fraternal Communist Parties.

Comrade Stalin lays stress on the international importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and of the work of Socialist construction in the USSR. The Socialist Revolution in the USSR is by its very nature—

“part of the world revolution, a base and implement of the world revolutionary movement.” (P. 152)

Holding aloft the banner of revolutionary internationalism, Comrade Stalin speaks of the international tasks of the workers of the USSR and of other countries.

“Undoubtedly, the international character of our revolution lays certain duties upon the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR in respect to the proletarians and oppressed masses of the whole world.” (Pp. 151-152)

The whole world can now see how successfully the Soviet revolution is performing its international duty. The first Socialist country in the world rendered substantial assistance to the working class of the People’s Democracies in conquering power, and is now assisting the People’s Democracies in the building of Socialism.

The greatest assistance the Soviet Union has rendered the working class of the world is that it smashed the most reactionary of forces, German fascism, and thereby saved the peoples from enslavement by the German imperialists.

The Soviet Union pursues a consistent foreign policy. The words pronounced by Comrade Stalin in 1928 have a powerful resonance today:

“It would be foolish to assume that international capital will leave us in peace. No, comrades, that is not true. Classes exist, international capital exists, and it cannot look calmly on the development of a country that is building Socialism.... One or the other: either we continue to conduct a revolutionary policy, rallying around the working class of the USSR the proletarians and the oppressed of all countries—and then international capital will do everything

to interfere with out progress; or we abandon our revolutionary policy, and make a number of fundamental concessions to international capital—in which case international capital will probably not be averse to 'assist' us in the matter of the degeneration of our Socialist country into a 'good' bourgeois republic." (Pp. 54-55)

Today the Soviet Union is performing its duty to the international proletariat and to the working people of the whole world by successfully building Communism, by disinterestedly assisting the People's Democracies and the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, and by its leading role in the fight for peace, and against the imperialist instigators of a new war.

Comrade Stalin, at the same time, stressed the duties of the international proletariat to the Soviet Union. In his speech on "The Programme of the Comintern" at the Plenum of the Central Committee in July 1928, (first published in this volume) Comrade Stalin said:

"These duties of the proletariat consist in supporting the USSR in its struggle against its internal and external enemies, in its war against a war aiming at stifling the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR, and in preaching that the armies of imperialism should directly pass over to the side of the proletarian dictatorship in the USSR in the event of an attack on the USSR." (P. 152)

The strength of the working class movement lies in its fidelity to the great ideas of proletarian internationalism. Every retreat from it is a betrayal of the cause of Socialism and desertion to the camp of the bourgeoisie. So it is now with the Tito clique in Yugoslavia. Having betrayed internationalism, Tito's bourgeois-nationalist clique traversed the shameful path from Socialism to fascism and definitely deserted the camp of democracy and Socialism for the camp of imperialism and fascism, for the camp of the sworn enemies of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the world Communist movement.

Discussing the way the Communist Parties of other countries can benefit from the experience of the USSR, Comrade Stalin drew attention to the international significance of NEP.

"Can the capitalist countries, even the most developed of them, do without NEP in the transition from capitalism to Socialism? I think not. In one degree or another, the New Economic Policy, with its market ties, and the utilisation of these market ties, will be absolutely indispensable

for every capitalist country in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (P. 145)

These were prophetic words. The economic policy pursued today in the People's Democracies conforms to all the basic principles of NEP. In these countries, the economic key positions, including wholesale trade, are in the hands of the State. But side by side with this freedom of trade exists. Small retail trade is to a large degree in the hands of private enterprise. The regulating role in economic life as a whole belongs to the Socialist sector, to the People's Democratic State.

Comrade Stalin clearly foresaw the ways of solving the land problem in countries which would cast loose from the imperialist system. In reply to those who insisted upon nationalisation of the land, especially in capitalistically developed countries, Comrade Stalin, in his speech on "The Programme of the Comintern", said:

"Those comrades are wrong who think that the more capitalistically developed a country is, the easier will it be to carry through the nationalisation of all the land there. On the contrary, the more capitalistically developed a country is, the more difficult will it be to carry through the nationalisation of all the land, because the traditions of private ownership of land are all the stronger there, and the more difficult will it be, consequently, to combat these traditions." (P. 149)

Comrade Stalin, therefore, warned that nationalisation of all the land must not be proclaimed at once, on the very first day of the proletarian revolution, because the peasantry, imbued as it is with the proprietary instinct, will not be able at once to digest this slogan. It is by this wise policy of Stalin that the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies are guiding themselves today, gradually preparing the labouring peasants for collective forms of agricultural production.

Basing himself on Lenin's exposition of the nature of imperialism, Comrade Stalin continued the analysis of the laws of the development of imperialism and of its contradictions in the period of the general crisis of capitalism. Apart from the main contradiction, the contradiction between the camps of Socialism and imperialism, profound contradictions between imperialist countries inevitably lead to new clashes among them, to new imperialist wars. The contradictions between labour and capital and between the metropolitan countries and the colonies are growing ever more acute. All

this is inevitably leading to the downfall of capitalism.

Comrade Stalin disclosed the main contradictions dividing the imperialist forces. The characteristic feature of the present development of imperialism, he said in 1928, is that—

“of the various contradictions existing in the camp of capitalists, the contradiction between American capitalism and the British capitalism has become the main contradiction” (P. 198)

Comrade Stalin makes a concrete analysis of these contradictions. He shows that a struggle is in progress between America and Britain for oil, for markets of sale, for export markets, and for the lines of communication to markets of sale and sources of raw material.

“...All these basic questions drive towards one basic problem, the problem of the struggle between Britain and America, for world hegemony.” (P. 198)

This conclusion of Comrade Stalin remains indispensable today for a proper understanding of the present situation.

Analysing the imperialist contradictions, Comrade Stalin showed that they were leading to new imperialist wars.

“And the most important thing in all this,” he said in 1928, in his report on ‘The Results of the July Plenum of the CC CPSU(B)’, “is that Social-Democracy...constitutes the principal support of capitalism within the working class in the matter of preparing new wars and interventions.” (P. 201)

Defining the tasks of the Communist Parties, Comrade Stalin pointed to the necessity of waging an unrelaxing struggle against Social-Democracy all along the line and of creating a united front of the workers of the advanced countries and the labouring masses of the colonies against imperialist war.

These precepts of Comrade Stalin are of paramount theoretical and political importance to the fraternal Communist Parties in all their activities. They help the Communists of all countries to expose the imperialist instigators of a new war and their chief adjutors, the present-day Right Socialists, and to mobilise the masses to fight for stable democratic peace, for the triumph of democracy and Socialism, and against imperialism.

## REVIEW OF THE ALL-INDIA PEACE CONGRESS

*(From November 24 to 27, 1949)*

**T**HE All-India Peace Congress held in Calcutta from November 24 to 27, 1949, has served a powerful blow to the warmongering imperialist Powers led by America and their Indian partners, represented by the Nehru Government. It was the people's offensive against the enemies of lasting peace, People's Democracy and Socialism.

The rally of 100,000 people in the Calcutta Maidan on November 26 was an effective demonstration of the will and determination of the Indian people to impose peace upon the warmongers and to fight imperialism for “freedom, democracy and life”. It represents another victory of the international anti-imperialist camp.

The spectacle of marching peace-partisans in thousands with burning torches in their hands, parading through the streets of Calcutta on November 26 and 27, illuminated the hearts of the toiling people with the conviction that the clique of capitalists and landlords have not the power to make a present of the Indian people as cannon-fodder in an imperialist war. It inflicted another defeat on the imperialist camp.

The “Statement on Peace” unanimously adopted by the Congress and acclaimed with resounding cheers in a great gathering of 100,000 men and women belonging to all walks of life, embodies within it the charter of peace-loving people engaged in daily struggles in factories, offices and fields against a despotic Government. It indicts the imperialist warmongers and their Indian collaborators and triumphantly declares:

“We shall rally the people of all races, creeds and professions to condemn war preparations and war measures, to oppose the use of Indian resources for the purpose of suppressing other people's independence, to protest against the crushing burden of military expenditure, to refuse to be used in preparation for war.”

The statement calls upon the people to "unite to win the battle for Peace" and this call is a mighty challenge to all conspirators against world peace.

The brilliant success of the All-India Peace Congress culminating in the mammoth rally of 100,000 represents another testimony to the truth that "the strength of the world camp of peace and democracy is growing faster than ever before", the imperialist camp stands exposed as weak and isolated.

## II

**T**HE All-India Peace Congress was a historic demonstration of the Indian People's Democratic Front in flesh and blood. It was a representative gathering of Indian toilers and democratic forces, steeled in epic struggles against unprecedented repression and terror launched by the Congress administration. It was a demonstration of fighting people's unity.

The session was attended by 3,000 delegates (including 1,700 associate delegates) representing 250 mass organisations with an aggregate membership of two million men and women. Behind these two million organised toilers, stand millions of partisans in the struggle for democracy, land and food.

At the head of this mighty front stands the Indian working class, the most progressive class in modern society and the leader of democratic struggles. The All-India Trade Union Congress, with a record of 800,000 membership and enjoying the allegiance of several hundreds of thousands of unorganised workers, constituted the leading force of the session. Amongst the 3,000 delegates, the industrial and agricultural workers together constituted about 75 per cent.

They are not just ordinary workers, but workers who are in the firing line at the head of millions who are resisting the fascist offensive of the Government and the capitalists, through heroic strike struggles. About four million man-days lost in the first half of 1949 through strikes and lock-outs and many millions through agricultural workers' strikes, give an indication of the fighting forces led by the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Next in importance stand the delegates of the toiling peasants organised under the banner of the All-India Kisan Sabha. Amongst them were delegates from Telengana where the fighting peasants liberated 2,000 villages from the Nizam's rule and who are now defending their rights against the repression of the military administration. Amongst

them were the delegates from Kakdwip where the fighting peasants and agricultural workers have followed in the footsteps of Telengana and are heroically defending themselves. Amongst them were delegates from numerous Provinces and districts where the martyrdom of peasants — men and women—has written in letters of blood and fire a glorious chapter in the history of Indian democratic struggles led by the All-India Kisan Sabha.

Enlisted in the contingent was the All-India Students' Federation with a membership of 80,000 representing the pick of the youth passing through an epoch-making gigantic struggle for democratic education and political liberties. They represent a new student movement that is being born in our country and

"which is being inspired by working class heroism, which increasingly looks to the working class with sympathy and devotion, which is learning to hate all exploitation and look to the working class for leadership in the people's struggles to break the chains of hunger and slavery."

The Mahila Atma Raksha Samity with its membership of 20,000 women and a historic record of gallantry and martyrdom, constituted one of the most fighting columns in the great galaxy of revolutionary democratic fighters that assembled in the Peace Congress. In West Bengal alone, 29 women martyrs have laid down their lives within two years in the struggle for food and democratic rights, led by the Mahila Atma Raksha Samity.

A large number of clubs and cultural associations from all parts of India, many prominent artists, educationists and journalists, a section of the Forward Bloc and the editorial boards of about 50 newspapers and periodicals were represented in the All-India Peace Congress. All genuine progressive forces mustered strong to assert themselves against imperialist war, revival of fascism and suppression of democratic forces.

The All-India Peace Congress was no ordinary gathering but a national anti-imperialist rally whose voice echoed the true sentiments and interests of all sections of the masses. The All-India Peace Congress was a visible demonstration of the profound truth uttered by Malenkov on the occasion of the 32nd Anniversary of the October Revolution, that:

"Voices in defence of peace are ringing out ever more loudly, the mighty movement of the masses of people against the aggressors and warmongers, for the national indepen-

dence and the peaceful cooperation of the peoples is becoming ever wide. Gone are the days when the imperialists were able to prepare war in deep secrecy, and when war came down on the heads of the peoples suddenly, confronting them with the fact that it had already begun. The powerful movement of the peace-supporters indicates that the peoples constitute a force capable of curbing the aggressors."

The All-India Peace Congress was a convocation of common people who are no longer ignorant of the fact that the war if it breaks out will not be fought by the capitalists and landlords who are conspiring for it in their own interests, but it is the common men who will have to be used as cannon-fodder and who will have to bear the burden of death and destruction. They made it plain to the imperialist warmongers and their Indian satellites that the common man refuses to serve their interests at the cost of his own life.

The All-India Peace Congress was an assembly of people who are not merely talkers but people who are actually fighting for democratic rights with death-defying courage and resisting the armed forces of the very Government which is serving the warmongering imperialist Powers.

The peace partisans who assembled in the All-India Peace Congress were not pacifists who profess peace in words and passively submit to the imperialist warmongers in deeds. They were militant fighters whose declarations will release forces for active struggle in defence of peace.

### III

**T**HE rally of a hundred thousand men and women in the Maidan was an effective demonstration against the war policy of the Nehru Government which by joining the British Commonwealth has entered the war camp of Anglo-Americans; which by inviting American capital is selling Indian freedom and sovereignty to the Anglo-American imperialists. The logical conclusion of this policy is organisation of war preparations against the Soviet Union—the bastion of world Socialism, lasting peace and sovereignty of nations.

The Peace Congress has emerged victorious by defeating at every step the obstruction and repressive measures of the Congress Government which did its best to frustrate its preparations.

At first the bureaucrats thought that by launching repression they could sabotage all preparations. In pursuance of this policy they arrested two successive Secretaries of

the Preparatory Committee and several members of it. The office of the Preparatory Committee was searched and all papers were taken away. They arrested a number of people who joined the propaganda squads. But in place of one arrested, a dozen came forward to fill up the gap. Preparations for the Peace Congress could not be stopped.

Bidhan Roy's police then passed on to more ferocious attacks. On November 7, a peace procession in Calcutta was suddenly attacked unawares by armed policemen and sergeants with tear-gas bombs, lathis and batons. The entire gathering heroically withstood the unprovoked attack with commendable courage and determination.

Since then, for five successive days, all meetings and processions organised by the constituent bodies of the Preparatory Committee were attacked so brutally that almost the entire City boiled with rage. Police action evoked a wave of angry protests from the people; even certain daily newspapers who cannot be accused of Communist sympathy, wrote editorials denouncing the Government and its police.

The repression campaign of the Government served the opposite purpose; instead of turning the masses away from the peace campaign, it roused their active interest for it and extended people's sympathy and support. The Flag Day organised by the Preparatory Committee on November 17 for propaganda and collection of funds became a thumping success. Collection boxes were filled up, 500 propagandists covered one lakh individuals and sold 25,000 flags. The propaganda squads were hailed everywhere and there was a stampede for the handbills and posters. Within a short period of about ten days, nearly Rs. 10,000 were raised for the Peace Congress Fund.

The bureaucrats knew fully well that repression would not succeed. They, therefore, thought of relying on the clashes for which they themselves were responsible to ban the Congress on the ground that the organisers of the Peace Congress are out to create disorder and violence. They were so sure of these means that on November 8, the Police Commissioner informed the Preparatory Committee that "a Conference of the above nature cannot be allowed to be held in an open place in view of the situation now prevailing here". The Police Commissioner, however, made a fool of himself and was subsequently forced to admit that the Government did not place any ban on the Conference.

The "Peace Congress shall be held openly and legally", declared the Preparatory Committee and the Police Commissioner's note was exposed as the most arbitrary encroachment on people's liberties. A storm of popular indignation

burst out throughout the country and any intervention on the part of the police was made impossible.

Finding that the legality of the Conference could no longer be challenged and that it was going to be attended by thousands of people, they adopted the meaner tactics of refusing to give any permission to erect any pandals in open fields for the purpose of holding delegates' meeting and at the same time warned the owners of the halls and buildings that no hall and no building shall be allowed to be used for the purpose of the Peace Congress. But by such tactics they only made their own position very ridiculous. By refusing halls and pandals the Conference could not be sabotaged. They themselves realised that the indignation of the people was roused so much as a result of the provocative tactics and mean methods of the Government that people in thousands would rally for the Peace Congress in defiance of every obstruction that may be placed.

As the last stroke, the Nehru Government refused to give entry visas to foreign delegates. The delegation from the Soviet Union came upto Karachi, the Viet Nam delegates could not proceed beyond Rangoon and the delegates from the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress had to go back from Cairo. By banning the entry of the delegates from the Soviet Union and other countries into the Indian Union for attending the Peace Congress, the Nehru Government only exposed itself as the open collaborator of the Anglo-American imperialist warmongers. Nehru's hypocrisy about "neutrality" stood completely unmasked before the entire peoples. People saw with their own eyes that the British and American delegates for the government-sponsored Pacifist Conference at Shantiniketan were treated as Government guests while the entry into India of the Soviet delegates for the All-India Peace Congress was shamelessly banned, even when the League Government did not think it wise to ban their entry into Pakistan. By this action, the Nehru Government could not, of course, damage the Peace Congress, but only damned itself in the eyes of the people. The first action of the first day's session of the All-India Peace Congress was a unanimous resolution denouncing the Government for the ban on the Soviet and other delegations.

The bureaucrats did not stop at this; while the Peace Congress was in session, they did their best to cripple its strength. They kept a strict watch on the delegates' camps, the police raided these camps and tried to arrest as many delegates as possible. They dared not arrest them from the

session itself for fear of reprisals from the people, so they wanted to arrest them quietly from the camps. But the camps were not isolated residences, the boarding and lodging of the delegates were arranged in workers' quarters and in the houses of other sections of the people. The workers and other people managed to save the delegates. Of the three thousand delegates, less than half a dozen could be arrested. The rest fully participated in the four days of the Conference and all its associated functions, carried out their tasks magnificently and left Calcutta after fulfilling the historic mission for which they came. Such is the strength and vitality of the people.

The Government wanted to stifle the voice of the Conference by banning two weeklies which were devoted entirely to the publicity of the Peace Congress. A pre-censorship order was served on the *Shibir* and while the *Matamat* was being printed, the manuscripts and proofs were seized and confiscated, the manager of the press was arrested. In doing this, the Government counted upon the fact that the capitalist Press which monopolises all news would be able to black out all news about the Peace Congress. In these expectations, they counted without the people and without the organising ability of the promoters of the Peace Congress, the Preparatory Committee guided by the All-India Trade Union Congress.

About 300,000 handbills and leaflets were printed and distributed. Every union took the initiative and distributed handbills disseminating the news about the Peace Congress and broadcasting the appeals of the Preparatory Committee. The Friends of the Soviet Union came out with daily bulletins. The weekly *Swadhinata*, illegal organ, was sold in thousands of copies as openly as any legal paper. The Mazdoor Naujawan League, the organisation of the working class youth, organised a brilliant propaganda campaign and its squads functioned like living newspapers. At last, when the cordon was already broken, the 'respectable' Press was forced to give a few inches of news every day because the Peace Congress could no longer be ignored. Two Bengali dailies gave considerable publicity when the Peace Congress was in session. To the shame of the premier dailies like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Statesman*, and others of their ilk, it was noted by the people that they did not give to the news about the Peace Congress that mobilised 100,000 people as much space as they gave to Nehru's elephant, donated to the American General MacArthur's Japan.

The All-India Radio ignored the Peace Congress in obedience to the wishes of American imperialists; the Moscow

Radio came in the service of our people, broadcasting daily to the entire world full proceedings of the entire session of the All-India Peace Congress. The Indian Radio for which the Indian people pay refused to serve them in deference to the wishes of foreign imperialists.

The All-India Peace Congress has exposed not only Nehru's foreign policy and Bidhan Roy's Law and Order, it has exposed the entire ruling class of Indian oligarchs, its Press, its Radio, as obedient tools of the American warmongers.

But the conspiracies of these enemies of the people were of no avail, they were powerless to suppress the voice of the partisans of peace—so strong are the bonds of international solidarity, so powerful is the appeal of the peace movement, so magnificent is the initiative and unity of the people. Once again, it has been proved that the camp of the people is invincible.

The real extent of people's victory that has been achieved cannot, however, be realised unless it is recalled that the Communist Party which leads the working class—the class which is the driving force and principal mobiliser of the Peace Congress, is illegal in West Bengal, its leaders and a very large number of its active cadres are either imprisoned or driven underground, its Press and papers are confiscated, every manifestation of Communist activity is outlawed throughout India. The successful conclusion of the Peace Congress and the rally of 100,000 people baffling all obstructions put in their way by the entire might of the ruling power, proved that no amount of suppression can stifle the progress of the Party of the working class or stem the tide of the people's movement.

A powerful and countrywide movement for peace and against the war machinations of the Anglo-American imperialists and their Indian helpers preceded and prepared for the All-India Peace Congress at Calcutta.

The 23rd Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress, in accordance with the decisions of the World Congress for Peace held in Paris in April 1949, decided to convene an All-India Congress for Peace in cooperation with all progressive and democratic organisations of the toiling people in India. It called upon various Provincial and Regional centres of the All-India Trade Union Congress to hold peace conferences in different Provinces in cooperation with other progressive organisations.

On June 26, 1949, the Bombay City and Suburban Peace Conference was held with the participation of about 25 organisations, like the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union, the Rail-

waymen's unions, Mahila Sangh and Students' Federation, Friends of the Soviet Union, the Progressive Writers' Association and the Indian People's Theatre Association. Four hundred delegates including 50 women made the Conference a success despite the police banning the open session.

This was followed by several Provincial and Regional conferences which were organised by Provincial and Regional centres of the AITUC in cooperation with other progressive organisations.

In July, the Assam Provincial Peace Conference was held at Dibrugarh, an important railway centre in Assam. This was attended by thousands of workers and other toiling people. The police interfered with the Conference and opened fire, resulting in the death of nine persons, including four women.

A Regional Peace Conference was held at Jhansi in September. The West Bengal Provincial Peace Conference was held at Calcutta at the end of September. Sixty organisations of workers, peasants, students, women and other progressive organisations participated in it. On October 2, a peace conference was held at Sholapur in which 400 delegates participated. After this, peace conferences were organised at Delhi and in U.P.

The Bombay Provincial Peace Conference was organised on October 30 which was attended by over 100 delegates from all over the Province. Ten thousand workers and other citizens participated in the open rally.

Various Provincial and Regional centres of the AITUC were rallying workers and other people in the struggle for peace.

October 2, the International Day of Struggle for Peace, was observed all over the country at the call of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Peace Congress. In Bombay a peace rally attended by over 20,000 workers and other citizens was held. In Calcutta a big peace rally culminating in a procession of 6,000 was held. On October 2, similar peace rallies were held at Sholapur, Madras, Alleppey (in Cochin-Travancore State), Kanpur, Indore, Bhopal, Aligarh, Meerut, Gorakhpur (U.P.), Rampur and several other places.

During the working class solidarity week organised by the AITUC from October 31 to November 7, propaganda for the coming All-India Peace Conference at Calcutta was carried on. On November 7, throughout India, the 32nd Anniversary of the October Revolution was celebrated. The working class and the toiling millions of India pledged on

this day to rally behind the world forces of peace led by the Great Soviet Union.

Such were the vigorous preparations for the Calcutta Conference.

The All-India Peace Congress was the culmination of this countrywide peace movement, particularly among the working class, cementing *working class unity* more solidly than ever before. Herein lies the secret of its success.

#### IV

ON the eve of the Peace Congress, the movement for peace organised by the All-India Trade Union Congress and other mass organisations allied to it had covered at least 500,000 men and women in Calcutta and suburbs within a period of 15 days. The majority of the meetings and demonstrations were held in working class quarters.

Many unions affiliated to the All-India Trade Union Congress held peace conferences and forged the unity of the rank and file workers in the particular trade. The engineering workers were, of course, at the forefront of the campaign. Even among the tramway workers whose unity has been disrupted by the Socialist lackeys of the Government, rank and file workers came together in support of the Peace Congress, silencing all disruptors. Tram workers, irrespective of Party affiliation, joined together and saved the delegates of the Peace Congress from police arrests.

In jute mills, as in Budge Budge, for instance, the rank and file workers took the initiative to foil the opposition of the management, took the propaganda leaflets from the Peace Squads and themselves distributed the same to the mass of workers. Throughout the entire jute belt, neither the mill management nor the INTUC could prevent workers from rallying in thousands for the Peace Congress.

In Cossipore, 15 unions and other clubs met together in a Peace Conference with 70 delegates and called upon the workers to participate in the work of the Peace Congress. In the Gun and Shell Factory, peace slogans were written on the walls by the workers themselves. Prior to the All-India Peace Congress, peace conferences were held in Kidderpore, Tollygunge, Badartala, Shahpur, Howrah and numerous other areas. The brave Pottery workers of Beliaghata, who were on strike for more than 100 days, held a peace conference in the face of a gangster attack organised by the Government agents.

In all these conferences, the INTUC leaders, leaders of the Socialist Panchayats and similar company agents were

completely routed. The working class in the City and suburbs asserted its unity in the struggle against imperialist warmongers.

What is it that moved the workers so much and roused their initiative to such an extent?

The answer to this question was furnished by an organiser who narrated his experience of peace propaganda among the municipal workers of Calcutta. This is the gist of what he said:

"I was in the midst of a number of workers belonging to the INTUC. Formerly, they won't even listen to anyone who belongs to a Red Flag union. They asked me questions about the real intentions of the sponsors of the All-India Peace Congress. I explained to them that the British and American imperialists are making conspiracies for a new war and the Congress Government in our country is thrusting upon your shoulders all these retrenchments, high prices and cuts in real wages because they are pledged to carry out imperialist orders to make preparations for a new war against the Soviet Union. The All-India Peace Congress is being convened to make it known to the world that we—the Indian people—refuse to become cannon-fodder for an imperialist war.

"The workers heard with rapt attention, the gathering around me increased by this time and I noticed that a man looking like a police watcher was standing nearby. I pointed out to these workers that I cannot continue my talk as there are people who can call the police and get me caught and I am instructed by my union not to get caught. At this the workers assembled replied—'Go on, comrade, with your talk, the leaders of our union never tell us these truths. We will not let anybody arrest you, let anyone touch you and we will see.'

"You must remember that I was speaking to that section of workers who are fanatically loyal to the INTUC, who sometime back, would not hesitate to assault me at the bidding of INTUC leaders. When I finished my talk, they requested me to come to them again and explain more."

This small incident narrated by an organiser of the Peace Congress gives an indication why the appeal against war roused the workers and closed up their ranks. First, there is tremendous love for the Soviet Union, in which the workers see their own morrow, their future. They are roused by the fact that the Soviet Union is the target of imperialist attack. Secondly, they did not want death and destruction in the interest of profiteers. Thirdly, workers understood

that the fight for peace is directed against the same enemies whom they are fighting in defence of jobs and wages. This is the common experience of all squads who had spoken in hundreds of gate meetings in the mills during the second and third weeks of November.

Shop assistants, particularly the bidi workers, played a great part in mobilising support from the city poor.

Love and respect for the Soviet Union is a powerful factor that is cementing the unity of the working class. The Government employees' union which had organised a large number of meetings and demonstrations in the Dalhousie Square area in support of the Peace Conference reported about the tremendous response for slogans of support to the Soviet Union. In the Peace Conference convened by the Central Government Employees' Union, a delegate moved an amendment to the main resolution for deleting the clause regarding support to the Soviet Union. The entire delegation rejected the amendment, only two or three voting for it.

In all the preparatory conferences that had been held prior to the Peace Congress, the INTUC and the Socialist Party dared not stage any opposition, their agents made efforts to concentrate on slanderous propaganda against the Soviet Union and to dub the Peace Congress as a Communist show, but all their efforts ended in failure.

Anti-Soviet slander and the propaganda that the Peace Congress is a Communist show did not cut any ice even among the students and teachers. Not only the Socialist Party, but the groups affiliated to the Socialist Congress organised by Sarat Bose were particularly active among the students for opposition to the Peace Congress. But how miserably they failed can be understood from the following fact:

The AISF organised a Peace Conference in the Vidya-sagar College, Calcutta, in support of the All-India Peace Congress. There were 300 delegates representing all sections of the students irrespective of political loyalties. Delegates of the 'Revolutionary Socialist Party' and the 'Revolutionary Communist Party' moved amendments to the main resolution for omitting support to the Soviet Union and People's Democracies, but when their amendment was put to vote, only four out of 300 delegates voted for it, the rest against. If this happened in a college where the AISF is not so strong, one can imagine what happened in other colleges and schools.

How bankrupt and impotent was the slanderous propaganda of the disruptors can be understood from the fact that many peace squads often were faced with the question:

Have you come on behalf of the Government-sponsored Pacifist Conference or the 'Communist-sponsored' Peace Congress? Our squads at once proceeded to explain that it is only the enemies of peace who are slandering the All-India Peace Congress as 'Communist-sponsored'. But ultimately it was the assurance that 'Communists are in it' that induced the questioner to put a few coins in the collection boxes.

An unprecedented response was obtained among the middle class people of Calcutta. Peace Squads moving in tram-cars with collection boxes seldom met with a refusal from the passengers. Middle class families in Calcutta offered varieties of aids for the success of the campaign, generously contributed to its funds and rallied in thousands to acclaim the Manifesto of the Peace Congress.

So great was the response from them that even on November 27, that is the very next day after the general rally of 100,000, about 50,000 men and women mostly middle class people turned up at the Maidan to see the performance of the IPTA which had prepared a programme in connection with the Peace Congress. It was suddenly announced that the Police Commissioner had banned the performance under the Dramatic Performance Act of 1876. So bitter was their indignation that the entire gathering voted by show of hands that the performance be held in defiance of the ban. The dramatic performance, of course, could not be held, but amidst thundering cheers a few songs were sung. The meeting passed a resolution condemning the action of the Police Commissioner and then a huge torch-light procession marched through the streets.

The All-India Peace Congress was thus a remarkable demonstration of the truth that the fight for world peace is a common platform on which the unity of the working class can be achieved and the joint front of all progressive people can be forged. This unity and this joint front can be built up against imperialism and its Indian collaborators by ruthlessly exposing all pseudo-Socialists. To the extent this unity is achieved, the people's camp becomes invincible. The peace movement becomes a people's movement because it is directed against the enemies of the people.

## V

**T**HE proceedings of the Congress truly reflected the determination of the people to preserve peace at any cost. The resolutions of the Congress and every speech on the resolutions embodied within them the common senti-

ments of the working people and progressive intellectuals. They presented a striking contrast to the wailings of the Pacifists and the waverings of pseudo-democrats. They were firm and straightforward.

On the first day's session, November 24, Comrade Chakkarai Chettiar, Chairman of the Presidium, declared in his presidential address:

"Indian people shall never tolerate India's participation in an anti-Soviet bloc."

He compared Nehru's American tour with Chamberlain's European tour and then warned the people against any repetition of the consequences of the latter. By drawing a contrast between the Pacifists and the peace partisans, he pointed out in simple and clear terms that the former conceal from the people who are the war-instigators and why they are conspiring for a war. Comrade Chakkarai Chettiar then plainly told the delegates that

"The Soviet Union does not and cannot want war and our people know this perfectly well and that the Anglo-American imperialist Powers are the real instigators of a war."

He concluded his speech with the solemn warning that

"Imperialist domination takes the guise of foreign aid, beware of it. A democratic regime based on people's will is the only real guarantor of peace."

The presidential speech was acclaimed with thunderous cheers by 3,000 delegates and 12,000 visitors present at Deshapriya Park.

Comrade Sultan Niazi, a student leader, opened the debate on Statement on Peace. He sharply attacked the war preparations of the Anglo-American Powers and asked:

"Between war and peace, between armed intervention in other nations' affairs and equality of nations, imperialism and independence of colonies—between these two camps, where does Nehru stand? Is there any middle course between just and unjust? Nehru's 'neutrality' stands unmasked and he is joining the American war camp."

His speech was translated in the next day's session in Hindi and Bengali. The delegates and the visitors acclaimed Sultan's speech with resounding slogans greeting free China and the fighting people of Telengana.

The next speaker, C. V. Rajagopalachari of the Madras

Civil Liberties League bluntly expressed the mood of the entire delegation when he said:

"We have assembled here not to beg for peace, but to fight for peace and to win it."

Amidst lusty cheers from the entire gathering of 15,000, Comrade Sardul Singh of East Punjab declared:

"We challenge the warmongers to launch a war, and they will be taught a lesson. The people of Punjab have always been cheated into war by the imperialists in the interests of their profits. Punjab will no longer fight for them."

Vivek Ranjan, a young boy 11 years old, the son of Comrade Prativa Ganguly, shot to death by Bidhan Roy's police while she was leading a procession of the Mahila Atma Raksha Samity in the month of April, expressed not only his own feelings but those of the entire gathering in the following words:

"Peace will not be assured until those who killed my mother are thrown out of power."

Comrade Ibrahim, a worker of a Calcutta factory and elected to the Presidium of the Peace Congress, exposed the repressive measures for suppression of working class movement by pointing out that

"the Government wants to smash the organisation of the workers so that India can be taken into a war without any protest. Nehru's neutrality is nothing but a bluff."

Comrade Rehana, a girl student, in the course of her speech on the Draft Statement on Peace told the delegates that the students who are fighting for democratic rights stand for the Soviet Union.

Comrade Nambiar from Andhra declared:

"The heroic people of Telengana showed the way to peace by fighting against the exploiters."

After him, Comrade Homi Dani, a worker from Tamilnad, announced:

"If the warmongers thrust a war on us, the workers of the South Indian Railways will not run a single train to carry troops."

With this declaration, the entire gathering cheered the speaker with slogans greeting the heroic fighters of Telengana. A delegate from Telengana in the course of his speech

reported that the military administration who have mobilised 50,000 troops to suppress the people of Telengana have condemned more than 30 people to death sentence and a boy of ten years to a term of imprisonment for 46 years.

"Shame, shame", shouted the entire gathering in bitter anguish at the staggering disclosure. A resolution was at once passed amidst thunderous cheers for withdrawal of the death sentences in Hyderabad. Slogans were raised "Down with the fascist oppressors".

Comrade Khote from Bombay declared on behalf of Bombay workers:

"We who demand peace and bread are given bullets. Bombay workers shall not fight against the Soviet Union."

It must be recalled that in 1939, when Hitler began his war in Europe, 90,000 Bombay workers went on a one-day strike in protest against war. Comrade Annabhau Sathe, a worker-poet from Bombay, said:

"The imperialists have been defeated again and again. In the First World War, the struggle for peace gave birth to the Soviet Union. In the Second World War, the struggle against imperialist warmongers gave birth to the People's Democracies and victorious China. If the imperialists bring about a third world war, peace will be established by liquidating imperialism on a world scale."

Thus, all the speeches made in the delegates' session and the open rally demonstrated a unity of thought and purpose proceeding out of the anti-war sentiments of hundreds of thousands of people belonging to all nationalities.

Every reference to the Soviet Union and Comrade Stalin was greeted with thunderous applause and raising of slogans "Long live the Soviet Union", "Long live Comrade Stalin". It was a powerful demonstration of international solidarity of the Indian toilers with the world forces of democracy and peace, headed by the Soviet Union and its great leader, Comrade Stalin, whose name is a symbol and inspiration to the millions of fighters for lasting peace, freedom, democracy and Socialism.

When the Statement on Peace, which unreservedly endorsed the Manifesto of the World Peace Congress held at Paris and Prague was put to vote, it was unanimously adopted with thunderous cheers rent the sky with slogans:

- We do not want war.
- We want peace.

— Who are the enemies of peace? Truman, Attlee, Nehru.

— India will not fight against the Soviet Union.

The entire rally gave a tremendous ovation to Comrade Stalin, the leader of the international proletariat and the builder of Socialism. The ovation revealed our people's warmest love and respect for Comrade Stalin, as the conqueror of Hitler, the staunch champion of peace and democratic liberties and the most consistent supporter of colonial liberation struggles, as one whose name symbolises freedom—national and social freedom for peoples of all lands.

While the session was on, a prisoner just released from the Alipore Central Jail rushed to the Conference and announced that inside the jail the political prisoners were holding a peace conference and the jail authorities resorted to a brutal lathi charge on them, they are bleeding. The entire gathering at once raised the slogan—release the political prisoners.

The Statement on Peace and other resolutions passed by the delegates' session were unanimously ratified in the rally of 100,000 men and women on November 26. Thus they have become a People's Charter for Peace, Freedom and Democracy.

The Congress did not finish its tasks by passing a declaration. It elected a Peace Committee with 75 members with a mandate to continue the work of the Peace Congress in fulfilment of its aim.

The All-India Peace Congress is not the end but the vigorous beginning of a peace movement whose blast will sweep away all the war propaganda that is being made by the imperialists and their henchmen. The vigilance of the people must be roused again and again, a network of organisations of Peace Committees must fill the whole land, the movement must strike its roots deeper and deeper among the masses. The All-India Peace Congress was aware of these responsibilities and, therefore, passed an organisational resolution to continue the fight for peace in unity with the world peace movement and under the guidance of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress held at Paris and Prague.

The people must be made aware, as the *Izvestia*, official organ of the Soviet Government, rightly pointed out:

"The stronger the forces of peace and democracy grow, the more desperate are the imperialists' efforts to retain their domination, and the more insidious are the methods they use. This makes it incumbent on the democratic camp

to double and treble its vigilance and its efforts in the fight for peace. The voice of millions upon millions of people struggling against war, for peace and friendship among nations, must resound still louder." (October 2, 1949)

The peace movement will triumph because the proceedings of the All-India Peace Congress had made the people aware that the strength of the peace movement lies in the fact that it relies on the mighty camp of democracy and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union—the main bulwark of peace in the world, that it is developing under the slogan of friendship and solidarity with the Soviet Union. It will triumph because, as the *Pravda* brilliantly asserted:

"The countless ranks of the supporters of peace and democracy, united by the lofty noble aim of protecting mankind from the aggressive plans of imperialist reaction—these represent an invincible force, capable of maintaining peace and the security of the peoples."

## DECISION OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ON A STATE LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

By RAM BILAS SHARMA

**T**HE Constituent Assembly has decided that 'Hindi' in the Devanagri script, with the international form of numericals, should be the State language, but for a transitional period of 15 years, English should continue to be used." (*Times of India*, September 15, 1949)

Rajendra Prasad said:

"We have done the wisest thing possible and I am happy. I hope that posterity will bless us for it." (*Free Press Journal*, September 15, 1949)

"We are on the threshold of a linguistic revolution in India," said Jawaharlal Nehru in the course of the debate. (*Times of India*, September 14, 1949)

How does this decision on the question of a State language so warmly hailed by Nehru and Rajendra Prasad affect the people, their languages and culture, their struggle for People's Democracy and Socialism? What are the great changes in the social and cultural life of the people envisaged by Nehru by this "linguistic revolution"?

The first thing to be noticed in this decision—the Munshi-Iyengar formula as accepted in the Constitution — is the place given to English in the State and administrative affairs of the country.

The English language, is to continue for such official purposes for which Urdu was being used before the commencement of the Constitution.

Even after 15 years, the Parliament is permitted to provide for the use of the English language for such purposes as it may deem proper.

In the constituent units of the Union, English is to continue to be used for all official purposes as before until the Legislature of the State otherwise provides by law.

English is to continue to be used for official purposes of communication between different States as well as between a State and the Union.

The proceedings in the Supreme Court, in every High Court, the acts of Parliament, Ordinance, orders, rules, regulations and by-laws will be in the English language.

No bill or amendment for changing the position of a State language can be introduced within the 15 years after the commencement of the Constitution.

The article on the State language thus effectively guarantees the status granted to English by British imperialism.

Nehru made this very plain when he said: "We have our own language but English must inevitably, *whether you mention it in the resolution or not*, continue to be a most important language in India which a large number of people will learn, and *perhaps learn compulsorily*". (*Times of India*, September 14, 1949, emphasis mine—Writer)

In effect, therefore, English will continue as a compulsory State language even though the fact might not have been mentioned in the Constitution. But it is there in the Constitution also for all to see. English is to remain foisted over the various Indian languages as before and wherever any slight change is to be made in the position of English, it is to be made in favour of another compulsory language, *viz.*, Hindi. So far as the element of compulsion is concerned, it will be there so long as the Constitution remains in force.

This is a natural consequence of the policy of servile collaboration with imperialism and of fascist attack on the people's struggle against the burden of the economic crisis that the Nehru Government has been following. Representing the selfish class interests of Indian Big Business, the Nehru-Patel Government does not want to and cannot dispense with English which has been the language of the British-trained bureaucracy, the officers of the army and the police. When Congress leaders talk of the unity of India, they mean the unity of interests of Indian Big Business as protected by the civil and military services.

If the common people participate in the activity of State organs, they can do so only in their own languages. But the police State created under the Constitution is meant for suppressing the democratic activity of the people. It is not meant to facilitate this activity as happens in States which are meant to destroy the power of landlords and capitalists.

The languages and cultures of the various nationalities

in India are thus suppressed by the continuity of English as a compulsory State language.

Secondly, knowing that the people will not tolerate this imposition of English for a long time, the Indian bourgeoisie keeps an alternative in the form of Hindi. Utilising the people's desire for unity and cooperation between various nationalities in its own class interests, the bourgeoisie frightens the people by saying that there will be chaos in the country if there is no compulsory State language.

This is tantamount to saying that the Indian people cannot manage their own affairs without tolerating their exploitation by capitalists. It is tantamount to saying that no national equality is possible, no equality of languages and cultures is possible since in the bourgeois code of democratic rights no two nations can live together without the one oppressing the other. Cooperation as the bourgeoisie knows it by its experience means domination.

In a People's Democracy, cooperation will mean cooperation on a basis of national sovereignty and equality and not be a sweet phrase for national oppression.

By making Hindi a compulsory State language within a period of 15 years or after, the bourgeoisie will secure not the cooperation of various nations in the interests of the people, but the domination of some nation by others in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The pretensions about maintaining the unity of India through Hindi as a compulsory State language are bound to be soon exposed by the people's own experience.

Congress leaders have talked a great deal about non-interference with the status of the languages in the constituent units of the Union. They know that such interference will not be tolerated easily by the people. Hence, they first destroy all semblance of Provincial autonomy in the Constitution, concentrate foreign trade, customs, ports, transport and communications, defence and defence industries, income tax, currency, etc., in the hands of an autocratic Centre, which not only opposes the right to self-determination, but is not prepared to tolerate even the demand for the reconstitution of Provinces on a linguistic basis, and then talk of the free status of a language in a national region.

For five years after the commencement of the Constitution, "the Centre shall have the power to make laws regarding the trade and commerce *within a Province*, in the production, supply and distribution of coal, iron, steel, mica, cotton and woollen textiles, paper, foodstuffs (including edible oil-seeds and oil), petroleum and petroleum products

and spare parts of mechanically propelled vehicles. It means that almost everything in the Provinces will be controlled and divided in the interests of the Tatas, Birlas and Dalmias." (*Marxist Miscellany*, Bombay, May 1949)

With this economic domination over the life of other nationalities, the monopolists say—"We give you the liberty to sing a song in our praise in your own language."

The period of five years is a stepping stone to the continuation and intensification of the domination over the life of the various nationalities by big monopolists. The position of Hindi is sought to be strengthened and consolidated in non-Hindi regions at the expense of the languages spoken there. This is brought out clearly in the speeches, articles, etc., of the various Congress leaders.

R. R. Divakar, Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, has put it very clearly in the following words:

"Apparently, the Assembly was discussing about the language to be used by the State and for State purposes. But **really speaking**, the issue was not so limited as that, we were in fact discussing the language that was to be a substitute for English not only for State purposes, but for all inter-Provincial intercourse. Therefore, the implications of what would be accepted as **the common language for the whole India** were immense, far-reaching and such as would **touch the very basic instruments of expression for the whole of India.**" (*Times of India*, October 1949, emphasis mine -- Writer)

What is apparent—the imposition of Hindi as a compulsory State language—is undemocratic enough. The implications, the *real* aim of making *Hindi the common language* of India—all this is downright fascism.

Congress leaders do find a common language with Gollwalkar and Co. on the national question and are prepared to carry national oppression to the extent that there would be one common language for the whole of the country and the right to existence of all other languages would be denied. The *real* purpose of the article on State language is nothing but the ultimate suppression of all other languages in favour of Hindi as State language though immediately, this is not intended to be *apparent*.

Congress leaders from non-Hindi regions knew that the real and apparent aims will not remain concealed from the people of those regions. Hence, mock battles had to be fought to convince the masses there that they had defended the rights of their languages.

None of them raised the question of the equal status of all languages of India. None of them could raise it because they themselves have predatory ambitions about the neighbouring regions, their neighbours' languages and the rights of national minorities in their own regions.

Instead, they fought over the issue of the so-called international numerals, posing it as vital to a compromise on a mutual give-and-take basis. The mock battles of these impotent servants of the Congress High Command were duly commended by Nehru as vital battles fought by vital people. Rajendra Prasad posed the so-called compromise over numerals as mutual accommodations between the viewpoints of the North and the South.

The fact remains that the Congress leaders from the non-Hindi regions no less betrayed the trust of their electorate by accepting Hindi as a compulsory State-language than the rest did by imposing it.

The fear of possible inability to make things look democratic before the people came out in some of their speeches.

Ramalingam Chettiar, replying to the Hindi-speaking members, who said that they would not yield on the question of numerals because it would be difficult for them to face the voters, asked them: Did they realise how much more difficult it would be for the members of the South to face their voters, after having given up their own language and yielding on the question of the numerals also? (*Times of India*, September 14, 1949)

The "victory" over the question of numerals was thus meant to satisfy the democratic aspirations of the people in the non-Hindi regions!

Some of them, like Satish Chandra Samanta (West Bengal), put forward the claims of their own language to be the State language of India. Some others lamented the fact that Gandhian Hindustani was not accepted as a State language. Yet some others put forward the national and international virtues of Sanskrit. All these solutions could be no less undemocratic than the one that was finally accepted.

Another deception practised on the people of non-Hindi regions was that their languages, too, would be made to contribute to the growth of the common language. Even the foundation of an academy for the purpose of taking the best of all languages for developing Hindi has been proposed. This is nothing but throwing dust into the eyes of the people for covering undemocratic practices.

It should be remembered that Congress leaders are following an undemocratic policy, *viz.* of Sanskritisation of languages in the non-Hindi regions. They are unable to take

and develop the best of the speech of the common people there. The decay of bourgeois culture is manifested in their contempt for popular speech and usage. What best can they take from their languages then and give to others?

"In the early stages of capitalism," said Stalin, "one may still speak of a 'common culture' of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. But as large-scale industry develops and the class struggle becomes more and more acute, this 'common culture' begins to melt away. One cannot seriously speak of the 'common culture' of a nation when the masters and the workers of that nation cease to understand each other. What 'common destiny' can there be when the bourgeoisie thirsts for war, and the proletariat declares 'war on war'?" (Marxism and National Question, p. 48)

The Indian working class has declared war on the warmongers. It is fighting for peace while the bourgeoisie is straining to act as a faithful watchdog of imperialist warmongers. Common culture is melting away between the two and this division is reflected in the field of language also. The common people led by the working class develop their spoken languages for all social and cultural purposes. The bourgeoisie—both dominating and dominated—looks back to classical languages or to English and bars the way to people's participation in State affairs through their own languages.

The bourgeoisie can nowhere do any good to the languages—either in the North or in the South.

But it is doing its worst to foment national rivalries and jealousies on the language question. It is either Hindi versus Punjabi, or Hindi versus Rajasthani, or Marathi versus Gujerati (in Dang area), or Hindi versus Urdu, and so on, in every part of India. The decision of the Constituent Assembly is calculated not to bring about peace and unity between the various nations, but increased feuds and bitterness. By this method, it is meant to split the working people of different nations and stop them from uniting in a common struggle against their exploiters. The working class together with all democrats and progressive intellectuals must foil this nefarious game of the bourgeoisie. It must stand for the complete equality of all nations and their languages, in theory as well as in practice.

Let all unite in a common struggle against the imposition of a compulsory State language on the people.

The democratic principle of national equality must be upheld.

The fomentors of hatred and enmity between nations on the question of language are the enemies of the people.

The international unity of the proletariat shall foil bourgeois diversions and in leading the struggle for People's Democracy guarantee equality and complete freedom to all nations and languages of India.

## FOREIGN CAPITAL IN 'FREE' INDIA

### 1. ROLE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

THE anti-imperialist masses of India, who had burnt tramcars of the British-owned Calcutta Tramways Company and attacked the offices of the Imperial Bank of India during the great postwar anti-imperialist upsurge, who had vented their wrath against imperialism by including among their targets these symbols of foreign capital, are now being told that there can be no economic progress except with the aid of foreign capital. Mrs. Pandit has announced that one of her official ambassadorial duties is to woo U.S. capital (*Hindu*, July 16, 1949); the Finance Secretary of the Government of India flies to and from London and Washington to settle how double income tax on the earnings of foreign investors may be avoided; further it was no secret that Pandit Nehru's visit to the USA was intended as yet another reassurance to foreign, especially U.S. capital that India is most anxious to welcome foreign investors and give them every facility. There is hardly a speech by businessmen or top Government leaders without copious assurances to foreign capitalists and the glib assertion, meant for the ears of the Indian people, that foreign capital invited by a 'free' Indian Government cannot injure the 'national' interest. It is said that foreign capital is indispensable to develop Indian industries, make her economically strong and self-sufficient, and thereby raise material standards. Thus foreign capital is now being made the *sine qua non* of ending the poverty of the Indian masses. When the erstwhile leaders of the anti-imperialist struggle execute such a *volte-face*, when the fact of their being enthroned in Delhi is advanced as the guarantee that foreign capital would now serve the 'national' interest, it is necessary to restate in fundamentals the real role of foreign capital.

Lenin, in his work on Imperialism in 1916, laid bare the essential character of imperialist exploitation of backward countries by the highly developed capitalist ones —

where monopoly interests have come to dominate the economy—as wringing profits out of the cheap labour power in the colonies through the export of capital. He wrote:

“Under the old capitalism, under which free competition prevailed, the export of goods was typical. Under the newest capitalism, when monopolies prevail, the export of capital has become typical... On the threshold of the twentieth century, we see a new type of monopoly being formed. First, monopolist combines of capitalists in all advanced capitalist countries; second, a few very rich countries, in which the accumulation of capital has reached gigantic proportions, occupy a monopolist position. An enormous 'surplus of capital' accumulated in the advanced countries.

“It goes without saying that if capitalism could develop agriculture, which today lags far behind industry everywhere, if it could raise the standard of living of the masses, which are still poverty-stricken and half-starved everywhere in spite of the amazing advance in technical knowledge, then there could be no talk of a surplus of capital... But then capitalism would not be capitalism... As long as capitalism remains capitalism, surplus capital will never be used for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses, for this would mean a decrease in profits for the capitalists: instead it will be used to increase profits by exporting the capital abroad, to backward countries. In these backward countries, profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the prices of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap.” (PPH Edition, p. 139)

Pointing out how the export of capital becomes an increasingly important source of profits for the imperialist countries, Lenin, quoting another writer, says that while the national income of Great Britain approximately doubled between 1865 and 1898, the income 'from abroad' increased nine-fold in the same period (*Ibid*, p. 219). In the new data on Lenin's work, compiled by Varga and Mendelssohn, we find the following comparison:

Great Britain's Income from Foreign Trade and Investments (in million £'s)				
	1899	1912	1929	1932
Income from foreign trade:	18	33	51	28
Income from foreign investments:	90-100	176	250	145

Thus between 1899 and 1929, while trading profits (*i.e.*, profits based on the export and import of commodities) rose by a mere £33 million, profits derived from the export of

capital rose by £150 million. This preponderating share of the income on exported capital was described by Lenin as "the essence of imperialism and imperialist parasitism". In other words, in the era of monopoly capitalism, the export of capital to the backward countries, is precisely the means by which the colonial peoples are exploited and super-profits wrung out to fill coffers of the monopolists of the advanced capitalist countries. According to Lenin, therefore, the function of foreign capital in a backward country is not its 'development' towards higher material and cultural levels but its intensified exploitation as more and more profits are drained out by the foreign investors.

Palme Dutt, applying this analysis to India, estimated that the total of British trading, manufacturing and shipping profits from India were about £28 million in 1913. The same year, the total profits on capital investments and direct tribute (Home Charges) came to close on £50 million. "It is evident," writes Palme Dutt, "that by 1914 the interest and profits on invested capital and direct tribute considerably exceeded the total of trading, manufacturing and shipping profits out of India. The finance-capitalist exploitation of India had become the dominant character in the twentieth century" (*India Today*, p. 118). The mechanism for the exploitation of the Indian people had become *essentially*, the investments of British capital in India, which enabled surplus value to be wrung out of the Indian toilers employed in British tea gardens, mines, railways, jute and engineering industries, etc. And in the measure that foreign investments in India grew in volume, the colonial exploitation of the Indian people was intensified.

With whatever incomplete and approximate figures as are available (and it is no accident that statistics on foreign capital in India have been shrouded in secrecy), we get the following picture:

Year	Foreign Capital invested in India (in million £)
1909-10 .. .. .	365
1920-21 .. .. .	487
1924-25 .. .. .	596
1928-29 .. .. .	733
1938-39 .. .. .	741
1945-46 .. .. .	723*

—Source: Sir George Paish and Report of Joint Stock Companies.

\* Provisional.

From 1920-21 onwards, the figures do not include the Sterling Debt (£261 million in 1928-29) and the Railway Debt (£120 million in 1928-29); nor do they include the

rupee capital of foreign companies registered in India (this latter being estimated at £75 million in 1928-29). The most recent overall estimate which includes all types of foreign investments in India appears to be that of the Associated Chambers of Commerce and relating to the year 1933, as follows: £379 million—Government Sterling Debt; £500 million for companies registered outside India and operating in India; and £121 million for investments in foreign companies registered in India and miscellaneous. If, for the capital of companies registered outside India but operating in India, we take the figure given in the official Report of Joint Stock Companies—£831 million in 1932-33—we get an overall total of:

	(in million £)
Government Sterling Debt. .. .. .	379
Capital of Cos. registered outside but operating in India .. .. .	831
Others and Miscellaneous .. .. .	121
<hr/>	
Total: .. .. .	1,331

Within 23 years—from 1909-10 to 1933—the mass of foreign capital in India, on which were based the annual profits wrung out of the labour of the toilers of India by the foreign investors, rose from £365 million to £1,331 million, that is, by nearly four times. This intensified exploitation of the Indian toilers lay at the root of the anti-imperialist struggle which burst out with the commencement of World War II and which reached such gigantic proportions at the end of the war.

Such was the sweep of this struggle that foreign monopoly interests were forced to seek an alliance with the national leadership, were forced to don an 'indigenous' mantle in order to safeguard their stakes in this country. The Indian bourgeoisie, no less terrified by this mighty upsurge of the people in which the working class was assuming the role of the most militant advance guard of the fighting masses, was also thrown into the arms of imperialism, to come to a quick compromise with the latter and halt the struggle. The bourgeoisie faithfully fulfilled the role that Lenin had so brilliantly predicted when discussing the Russian revolution of 1905: "The proletariat is fighting; the bourgeoisie is stealing towards power." After all, the fighting masses had vented their hatred of exploitation not only against the symbols of foreign capital, they had shown the same uncompromising hostility to the 'indigenous' capitalists of Amalner, Coimbatore, Calcutta and Kanpur.

Moreover, the huge accumulation of liquid capital in the

hands of the Indian bourgeoisie, extorted through brutal exploitation and profiteering during the war, could be invested, could bring profits only if machinery and capital goods for new industries were forthcoming. And these capital goods were the monopoly of the imperialist Powers. Hence, too, arose the need for the Indian bourgeoisie to accept the demand of foreign capital that it should have full scope to invest in new enterprises, in partnership with Indian capitalists. Thus the acceptance of 'independence' from Mountbatten did not signify that foreign capital was on the way out from India, that the annual 'drain'—representing the exploitation of the Indian masses by foreign capital—would cease.

## II. FOREIGN CAPITAL RETAINS ITS POSITIONS

The new forms of foreign investment, viz., in conjunction with Indian capitalist interests — had begun to appear toward the end of the war and have been studied in their origin in the book, *Indo-British Big Business Deals—New Forms of Imperialist Exploitation* by Arun Bose (PPH Edition, 1947). These deals, or new big concerns in which foreign and Indian capital collaborated, emerged in the background of the growing anti-imperialist indignation of the masses. They foreshadowed the coming together of the foreign imperialist monopolies and the Indian bourgeoisie in a common front against the rising struggles of the people, politically, and jointly owned combines for the exploitation of the Indian toilers, economically.

August 1947 has seen the transfer of formal State power to the Indian bourgeoisie but, in fact, the positions of foreign capital in our economy have not been really threatened since the fanfares of August 15 were announcements merely of a 'wretched deal', which had long been brewing, between imperialism and the bourgeoisie. And however much the Indian Government would have us believe that in the new political set-up, foreign capital would be on sufferance, as it were, and would submit to the dictates of the Indian Government, facts prove otherwise. True, the Government of the Indian bourgeoisie attempted to bargain with foreign capital, but it has been forced to accept everyone of the latter's basic demands.

That the much-advertised reservation of 51 per cent shares in joint concerns for Indian nationals holds no terrors for foreign monopolists is borne out by the following comment by *Capital* while discussing the Pakistan Govern-

ment's statement on foreign capital in April 1948:

"Although there is no doubt that the 51 per cent rule will have a discouraging effect upon foreign investors, there is no reason to suppose that it involves any serious danger that control of the companies concerned will pass out of the hands of the foreign promoter. If the latter retain 49 per cent of the shares, their voting strength would be strong enough to resist any attempt to take the control out of their hands...." (*Capital*, April 15, 1948)

Actually, however, foreign capital has hung out for bigger stakes and wrung out of the Indian Government the significant concession that 'where in the national interest', majority shares may be held by the foreign partner. Thus S. P. Mukherjee at a meeting of the Expert Committee on Investments, said:

"The Government of India's policy was that the majority of shares should be held by Indians, but in particular cases, where they find that in the national interest such a foreign concern should be opened in India, **exceptions had been made....**" (*Statesman*, July 30, 1949)

Foreign capital has further obtained the specific assurance that if protection is given to any industry, units of the industry representing foreign capital would get the full benefit of such protection. A Press-note from New Delhi refers to the Tariff Board's recommendation for protection to the Motor Vehicles Battery industry in these words: When protection is conferred on a particular industry, all units of that industry whether Indian-owned or not, will be automatically entitled to claim the benefit of such protection. (*Hindu*, July 17, 1949)

Thus the road is cleared for yet higher returns on foreign investments in India. Foreign concerns will get the full benefit of the high prices charged by the technically less efficient Indian units under cover of the protective tariff. At the same time, since the foreign concerns can avail of the advanced 'know-how' of their parent companies, their real costs would be much lower than that of the other units and hence profits much higher.

The guarantee has now been categorically given that foreign capital would have the unrestricted right to do what it pleased with the profits on its investments in India, that is, to convert the profits into the home currency and remit it out of India without hindrance. The 'drain' is to go on *ad lib*. Nehru's first utterance on this in his April 1949 speech was not considered sufficiently unequivocal. Foreign capital welcomed that speech, politely but frigidly. The Bengal

Chamber of Commerce confidential Bulletin wrote: "Nehru's speech has fallen flat". It was required that the knee should be further bent and Nehru has obliged. The measure of Nehru's surrender to foreign capital is to be seen in the protest called forth even from that dogged breaker of strikes and propagandist of class collaboration, Ashok Mehta, who states:

"The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, in an interview to the North American newspaper, *Alliance*, given on August 21, held out certain official assurances to U.S. investors. The assurances were: (1) U.S. investors would be assured of the safety of their investments and reasonable profits; (2) profits could be taken out of India in dollars; (3) in the remote event of nationalisation of certain industries, the U.S. investors would be compensated in dollars; and (4) the clarification of the policy of nationalisation... The clarification runs as follows: 'As to key industries, despite previous plans for State ownership, we have done nothing about them and we are putting off their consideration for at least ten years'..

"It will be realised that these assurances tally almost word for word with the conditions laid down on September 4 by Mr. Snyder, U.S. Secretary of Treasury. Pandit Nehru evidently does not expect dollar aid on a Government-to-Government level, and hopes to induce American capitalists during his visit to the USA to invest capital in India..." (*Statesman*, September 9, 1949)

Since, in the foreseeable future, India cannot earn surplus dollars or sterling (with which to compensate foreign investors) nationalisation of foreign concerns is indeed a 'remote' possibility. Foreign capital has begun to rub its hands — after the first few months of uncertainty and the 'crisis of confidence' since August 1947 — in the knowledge that India's economic and political climate has been air-conditioned to suit the exacting tastes of trans-oceanic investors. There is a note of positive gloating in the article of Sir Alfred Watson, ex-Editor of *Statesman*, when he writes:

"The idea with which both Dominions embarked on their independence, that in a brace of shakes India might become practically self-supporting in industry, agriculture and in transport overseas of her surplus products, has been subjected to the chill winds of reality. The planners who built the airy castles of self-sufficiency are discredited even among their own people, since years have gone by and most of the plans are still on paper and have contributed little to the country's wealth. On letters now passing through Indian Post

offices is stamped a Hindi inscription officially translated as 'May God grant sense to everyone'. There are at the moment more evidence in Pakistan than in India that the solemn injunction has been taken to heart... British capital and technical assistance have brought into being a cigarette factory, another for the manufacture of switchgear and a third for making telecommunications equipment in Karachi, an alloy steel works in West Punjab and a couple of enterprises in Bawalpur State. In some of these developments there is Pakistani capital; others are wholly British owned.

"...Nor is the same will to face actual conditions wanting in India. In so many words Pandit Nehru has discounted any idea that nationalisation could be effective for many years to come. Dr. Mukherjee dots the i's of this pronouncement... As one sees the picture, there is dawning on Government circles a clear realisation that India must be attractive to foreign capital... The Dominions are seeking help, which will be readily given now that there is no longer the idea that terms can be dictated from the side of those who seek aid." (*Great Britain and the East*, May 1949)

The truth is, therefore, that foreign capital has reasserted for itself every one of those privileges which it enjoyed before 'independence'. Foreign capital has shown that its role remains precisely what Lenin had characterised—surplus capital accumulated by the monopolies of advanced surplus seeking fields of investment in the backward areas, ensuring its high rate of profit on the basis of cheap labour power and materials. The new political set-up has changed not a jot this essential role of foreign capital seeking investment in India. All that has changed is that in the new foreign enterprises to be started, Indian capitalists would have a sizeable share, while the onus of ensuring the supply of cheap labour power—by savagely suppressing the working class movement—would fall on the more 'popular' shoulders of national leaders representing the Indian bourgeoisie.

### III. PROGRESS OF INDO-BRITISH DEALS

Grave dangers to India's genuine national interests lie inherent in the growth and consolidation of Indo-British (or Indo-American) business combines. They were underlined in the study already referred to, *Indo-British Big Business Deals*, as follows:

—Foreign capital digging in on a bigger scale than ever, thus adding to the 'drain' out of India in the form of profits on foreign investments, royalties, etc.

—Foreign capital getting into the very vitals of Indian economy, viz., whatever new basic and strategic industries that are started.

—Decisive control of the new industries by being in sole control of technical direction, and also through share holdings.

Since the first deals of this type which were examined in the above book, several other joint ventures, involving foreign capital in greater or less measure, have been announced. Some of the more important ones, as reported in the Press, are listed below. The list is not exhaustive but will serve as a reliable index of the trends.

#### *Engineering: (Heavy Industry)*

a) Ashok Motors Ltd. for import and assembly of automobiles. Issue—Rs. 50 lakhs. Based on an agreement between Indian businessmen and Austin Motors Ltd. for the assembly of cars and trucks, the deal appears to be on the same pattern as the earlier Birla-Nuffield agreement. Not only is 'production' controlled by Austin technicians, but the Board of Directors includes a leading Austin executive, and there is direct shareholding by Austins.

b) An automobile factory is to be started shortly in Vandalur, Madras. A company which goes by the name of the Standard Motor Products of India Ltd. will in the first instance assemble cars from imported parts and progressively manufacture automobiles. The promoters are the Union Co. (Motors), Madras.

Announcing this deal, Sir John Black, Managing Director of the Standard Motor Company of the U.K., said that the new company had been registered with an authorised capital of Rs. 1 crore. It would assemble Standard 'Vanguard' models.

c) The same company, in agreement with Harry Ferguson Ltd., a giant tractor manufacturing concern of Britain, would also develop in the future the assembly of Ferguson tractors in India.

Standard Motors and Ferguson have working agreements in the U.K. and it would seem that this combination would have preponderating influence, as compared to their Indian partners, in the newly-formed Indian company.

d) The Rootes Group another of the Big Six which dominate Britain's automobile industry, has just registered a new company in India, in conjunction with Indian partners. It will be known as the Automobile Products of India Ltd., and will begin assembly of trucks and cars from imported parts in Bombay. The new company has bought out

a Bombay automobile firm, Motor House (Gujerat) Ltd., which had earlier set up an assembly plant in collaboration with the American firm of Kaiser-Fraser.

The authorised capital of this new firm is Rs. 1 crore. *CrossRoads*, a Bombay progressive weekly, had revealed that the Government of India had agreed that the majority shares in this new concern could be held by Rootes. In this connection, it is relevant to recall that Dr. Mukherjee declared recently that exceptions had been made to the rule of majority holdings by Indian nationals.

e) Birla Bros. have entered into an agreement with the Associated Company in India of the British firm, Babcock and Wilcox, for the manufacture of boilers in the Texmaco works at Belghurria, near Calcutta. The agreement provides for technical assistance, advice and design and the training of Indian personnel in the manufacture of smoke tube boilers and associated plants.

f) Parimal Ltd., described as an 'Indo-foreign' undertaking for the manufacture of textile machinery. Issue: Rs. 150 lakhs.

g) Indian Mining & Construction Co. Ltd.—Issued capital—Rs. 45 lakhs. Foreign issue—Rs. 23 lakhs.

h) Indo-Belgian Engineering Co., Allahabad. Authorised capital—Rs. 4 lakhs. Shares worth Rs. 1 lakh to be issued to a Belgian national. (The nature of business is not specified for this firm but it is stretching the point to regard it as representing heavy industry).

#### *Light Industries & Miscellaneous*

a) A cycle factory is to be started in Madras by arrangement with the BSA Company of Britain. The sponsors of the concern have raised Rs. 25 lakhs as share capital and the BSA Co. have agreed to invest £100,000. The Madras Government will also purchase shares in the concern.

b) Another Indian firm has entered into a deal with the Tube Investments Ltd. of Great Britain for starting a plant in Madras to make Hercules cycles. It is proposed to assemble cycles in the first instance and develop manufacture in the course of five years. (*Hindu*, August 13, 1949)

c) In conjunction with the well-known British firm of cycle manufacturers, Raleigh, a joint firm by name of Sen-Raleigh Co. Ltd. has been registered with an authorised capital of Rs. 10 lakhs.

d) Acme Aluminium Rolling Mills Ltd. (also an 'Indo-foreign' undertaking) for the manufacture of aluminium foils and linings. Issue—Rs. 25 lakhs.

e) T. I. Exports Ltd. for the manufacture of metal tub-

ings, fishing rods, bicycle frames, etc. Authorised capital—Rs. 3 lakhs.

f) J. B. Advani & Co. of Bombay for the manufacture of printing ink. Authorised capital—Rs. 250,000 out of which Rs. 62,500 will be issued to the firm of Lorilleaux and Bolton, London.

g) The Udyog Vikash Ltd. A company with a proposed issue of Rs. 21 lakhs for producing in partnership with foreign firms — raw films, cut films, X-Ray films, cameras and accessories.

h) Tribeni Tissues Ltd., described as an 'Indo-foreign' concern for the manufacture of cigarette paper. Authorised capital—Rs. 130 lakhs.

The above enumeration of Indo-foreign firms supplements (although the list is possibly incomplete) the description of the earlier joint ventures given in *Indo-British Big Business Deals*. The vicious features of those earlier deals persist in these subsequent ones, viz:

—Complete technical control in the hands of the foreign partners, witness the Birla-Babcock deal and the automobile deals.

—In most of these new deals, the foreign partners represent powerful finance-capital interests, whose resources and relative strength guarantee their dominance in the new joint enterprises. Rootes, Standard Motors, Austin, Ferguson, Babcock and Wilcox, are without exception some of the most powerful monopolies in Britain's engineering industry. Even in the proposed cycle firms, the British partners involved—BSA, Raleigh and Tube Investments—control between them almost the whole of this branch of British industry.

—The foreign partners are guaranteed substantial profits from these seemingly indigenous concerns through heavy payment for technical aid and also direct shareholdings. Where there is no direct shareholdings, royalties and commission on sales are doubtless part of the agreements, as in the past. At the same time, since these new plants envisage assembly rather than manufacture (as we shall see in detail later) the 'home' factories will continue to receive orders for components which will be assembled in the joint concerns in India.

Thus, though we are supposed to have become an independent nation in the meantime, the foreign monopolies continue to control and dominate the new joint undertakings precisely as they had done before 'independence'. Two new features may be noticed, however, in these recent deals:

i) Whereas in some of the earlier deals, shareholding by the foreign partners was substituted by royalties, etc. (Birla-Nuffield; Chrysler-Walchand deals), in the above list there is open and direct shareholding by foreign capitalist interests in every case except the Birla-Babcock deal. What is still more dangerous is that even the fig leaf of majority shareholding by Indians is being abandoned. Dr. Mukherji's frank admission and the example of the Rootes Group deal are clear evidence that foreign capital has cleared the way for asserting its open and direct domination in such joint ventures. Further confirmation on this point is provided by the New Delhi correspondent of *Capital* in a recent despatch:

"A statement of the American Treasury Secretary, Mr. Snyder, has aroused some comment. Speaking before the Senate Banking Committee, Mr. Snyder declared that if foreign nations were to forbid Americans to have majority control in new industrial enterprises, it would be a 'significant deterrent' to prospective American investors. India's position has already been clarified on this issue. With the exception of about half a dozen key industries India will not object to majority control by Indians, Britons or Americans. There is almost a free zone outside the 'key industries reserve'..." (*Capital*, August 18, 1949)

(ii) Indo-British partnerships have now become a universal pattern, not confined only to heavy industries which require great technical skill. These joint concerns—through which foreign capital secures new fields of exploitation—are springing up like mushrooms. There is no longer even a pretence at restricting foreign capital to industries where complex technical processes are involved. Fishing rods and printing ink are not the only products — presumably of great national significance—to manufacture which foreign capital is being invited. A certain Bombay firm was reported to be sponsoring a factory, in conjunction with non-Indian 'specialists' to manufacture—umbrella ribs and handles! (*Capital*, February 13, 1948) And *Eastern Economist* was so carried away by its adulation of foreign capital that it solemnly suggested the need for asking foreign concerns to undertake the highly technical job of organising India's tourist traffic! These mushroom-like Indo-foreign deals are guided by no other consideration than getting quick returns with the least trouble, irrespective of the economic importance or otherwise of the enterprises involved. And, furthermore, these Indo-foreign small business deals provide corroboration of the fact that the Indian bourgeoisie,

as a class, have forged a common front with foreign capital, that is, with Anglo-American imperialism.

#### IV. STATE ENTERPRISES AND FOREIGN CAPITAL

On the other hand, where heavy industries are being started (though with considerable limitations, as we shall see later) by Indo-foreign combines, it is resulting in installing a Trojan horse in the very nerve-centre of our economy. In automobiles, heavy chemicals (the Tata-ICI deal), textile machinery making, boiler and tractor manufacture, all basic industries, foreign monopolists are in technical overlordship and have financial stakes. The most ominous development in this respect is the close association of giant foreign monopolies with the projects for State-owned key industries. Some such State-owned key industries have already been started in conjunction with foreign combines. Others are projected.

The Mysore Government has reached an agreement with the Chemical Construction Co. of New York for the establishment of a 50,000 ton fertiliser factory at Bhadrawati at a cost of Rs. 2½ crores. The Government of India are reported to have made a successful deal with the well-known Swiss combine, Oerlikon Co., for the setting up of a State-owned machine tool factory costing Rs. 15 crores: The Swiss firm will be in technical control for 20 years from the date production starts and they will also have a financial interest in the project. (*The Hindu*, April 26, 1949) An economic sub-committee of the Central Government is considering a proposal of the Orissa Government to start a factory for the manufacture of tractors in partnership with Messrs. Ingham Ltd. of Great Britain. (*Statesman*, April 23, 1949) An American firm is said to have submitted a scheme to the Government of India for establishing two oil refineries in India and have offered to subscribe 49 per cent of the share capital as well as provide technical supervision.

Besides, Westinghouse representatives have arrived in India at the invitation of the Government of India to recommend suitable sites for a plant to manufacture heavy electrical equipment; British and American big business firms have, at the instance of the Government of India, submitted project reports for the proposed iron and steel plants (costing Rs. 100 crores) to be started by Government; a synthetic petrol plant, it is said, is to be erected at Durgapur at a cost of Rs. 70 crores—an American company is likely to be given the contract for the construction of the plant and supervision work is to be entrusted to a German firm.

These are dangerous developments which serve to

expose the fraudulent claim of the 'national' Government that it would not permit private interests to get a stranglehold over the key sectors of economy. While casting aside the rattle of 'nationalisation' with which the Government of India had tried to fool the people into accepting its anti-capitalist bonafides, the Government of India had loudly asserted that in the 'new' industries, in the 'key' industries the principle of 'national' ownership and control would be fully applied and profit-making interests would have no say. Even this bluff has been called by the actual course of events.

The above news items show that the Government of India has not stopped short of seeking technical advice from foreign monopolists—though even 'technical advice', as in the case of other Indo-foreign deals, is a cover for decisive control by foreign interests. The machine tool deal with the Swiss firm should make this clear—for 20 years the Swiss combine will be in sole technical control and would be in a position to retard the development of this basic industry. But apart from technical control, foreign monopolies associated in these State-sponsored key projects are being given a direct profit-making interest through holding of shares, as in the machine tool deal and the proposed tractor and oil refinery deals.

That these are no isolated cases but portents of things to come, is amply borne out by evidence from well-informed quarters. The New Delhi correspondent of *Capital*, whose despatch we have had occasion to quote earlier, also furnishes the following significant comment:

"The participation of foreigners even in the 'reserve' field (key industries) may be considered. Although the Government would prefer cent per cent or majority control in such undertakings, the need for their rapid development and financial considerations may compel modifications in the original plan..." (*Capital*, August 13, 1949)

The financial difficulties of the Government—caused by the generous tax relief to capitalists, the squandering of money on embassies and delegations, reckless expenditure on police departments, etc.—are now being advanced as the plea for handing over control and ownership of basic industries to foreign monopolists. A document which circulates among the inner sanctum of British Big Business in India, the "Strictly Private and Confidential" India Bulletin of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, wrote in its August issue:

"In consequence of the screening of development

schemes, a Government department, in at least one case already, has turned to private enterprise to enquire whether a scheme, formerly reserved for Government operation, can be undertaken by them without cost to Government."

Referring to Nehru's August speech in which he stated with reference to nationalisation of key industries—"Frankly speaking we have not got the resources to do it"—the *Bulletin* goes on to say:

"These remarks add point to the suggestions now being made in Delhi that a number of new industries in which Government had planned to participate, will fall under the economy axe and that foreign enterprises may be offered free scope to start them, if they will. This is particularly mentioned in connection with steel plants. But the Americans are in no mood for anything less than complete control...."

"Government's plans to set up three shipping corporations show practically no progress. Two of the corporations may be described as indefinitely postponed. The setting up of the third is tied up with negotiations between Scindias and Government for sale of the Vizag shipyard.... Scindias want payment in cash while the Government would prefer to pay at least half the purchase price in shares. The economy axe may fall on both projects and it is not altogether unlikely that Government will tire of their negotiations with Scindias and may even turn to 'foreign' shipping interests to help them out with their plans...."

In the words of Sir Alfred Watson, the solemn injunction of 'May God grant sense to everyone' is now being taken to heart in India: Nehru is at great pains to prove that when he had earlier spoken of nationalisation of key industries he did not really mean nationalisation! "Frankly we haven't the resources", and so, foreign monopolies, which have the resources, are confidently awaiting the Government of India's invitation to welcome them into one key industry after another in the true spirit of India's hospitality—"Come in, gentlemen. What is mine is yours"! The Government of India may attempt to save its face through some form of nominal control, either by holding some shares, or reserving some shares for Indian businessmen, etc.—but the central fact emerges that foreign capital is being entrenched in a big way in the few basic industries that have been or are to be started in India. The collaboration between the bourgeoisie and imperialism could not but lead to this disastrous result.

## V. "INDIA LIMITEDS"

Foreign capital, as we have seen, has safeguarded its future in India by going in for deals with Indian businessmen and forming joint combines. It was also being offered scope for investment in large key undertakings nominally under State control. Yet another form in which foreign capital has entrenched itself in India during the last few years is by setting up rupee subsidiaries of giant trusts, in which a fraction of the shares are offered to Indians. To further heighten the 'indigenous' effect, some leading Indian capitalists are taken on the Board of Directors.. So widespread was the influx of foreign capital in this form that even a Committee of the imperialist regime, the Bombay Industrial and Economic Enquiry Committee (1940), was forced to note the powerful positions occupied in Indian economy by 'India Limited' concerns.

In the period immediately preceding and after 'independence', this process has continued and several India Ltd. companies representing powerful foreign interests have been registered:

	(Authorised Capital (in lakhs of Rs.))
Coates of India Ltd. (Printing ink business)	20
Exide Batteries (Eastern) Ltd. (Dealers in electrical goods)	30
Sankey Electrical Stampings (Electrical stampings, etc.)	20
Associated Battery Makers (Eastern) Ltd. (Dealers in electrical goods)	100
Osler Electrical Lamp Mfg. Co. (Manufacturers of electric lamps and appliances)	100
F. & C. Osler (India) Ltd. (To acquire assets of P. & C. Osler)	100
Thomas W. Ward (India) Ltd. (Manufacturer of electrical eng. equipment & agricultural implements)	5
Lewis & Tylor (Mysore) Ltd. (Woven belting & Fine Hose)	12
Goodyear Tyre & Rubber Co. (India) Ltd. (Tyres, etc.)	300
Haywards Distillery	10
Brooke Bond Estates Ltd. (Tea)	70
British Drug Houses (India) Ltd.	15
Drug Products Co. Ltd. (subsidiary of a New York Co.)	15
Cadbury Fry (India) Ltd. (Chocolates & Confectionery)	5

These are companies registered in course of the last three years alone. The figures of paid up capital are not available, the above denoting authorised capital. The overwhelming extent to which foreign capital is involved despite

offer of shares in India is indicated by figures quoted for a few of these concerns. Thus, out of Rs. 5 lakhs authorised capital for Cadbury's, Rs. 3.2 lakhs are to be issued to U.K. residents. The entire amount of the first issue of capital of Thomas W. Ward (India) Ltd. is being taken up by the parent British firm. In the case of British Drug Houses (India) Ltd., Rs. 5 lakhs worth of shares are being issued to the original London Company. If this is the proportion of foreign-held shares for the smaller India Ltds., there is no doubt that with the bigger concerns like Goodyear, Osler, Exide, etc., the volume of shares held by Indians must be small and the actual proportion of foreign capital invested, very substantial indeed in the total figure of Rs. 8 crores representing the authorised capital of the above firms.

Precise details are yet lacking about other foreign firms which have recently been given permission to set up subsidiaries in India. But they deserve mention if only to expose the bankruptcy of the Government's claim that foreign capital is being encouraged only in industries of national importance.

Among the foreign monopolies which have latterly obtained the Government of India's sanction to set up 'India Ltd.' branches are the British firm of Slazengers to manufacture sports goods; the American firm of Coca Cola to manufacture sweet drinks; certain other foreign firms, it is understood, have also been permitted to set up here to manufacture biscuits and... Vanaspati! As noted above, for the greater glory of India's industrialisation, foreign capital will also flow in to set up distilleries and chocolate plants.

An additional index of foreign capital entering India in recent years is provided by data on 'further issues' of capital by established foreign firms in this country, whether registered here or abroad. Below are quoted instances of such additional issues of capital by foreign concerns in the last few years—again, the data should not be regarded as exhaustive.

		Paid-up capital (in Rupees) (* in £)	Increase (in Rupees) (* in £)
Alcock & Ashdown (Shipwrights etc.)	(1943)	1,669,700	
	(1947)	3,342,200	1,672,500
Britannia Bldg. & Iron Co.	(1943)	500,000	
	(1947)	1,000,000	500,000
Alkali & Chemical Corp.	(1941)	9,196,440	
	(1947)	9,300,000	103,560
Indian Copper Corp.	(1940)	900,000*	
	(1947)	949,000	49,000*

Assam Match Co.	(1941)	500,000	
	(1947)	1,400,000	900,000
Bird's Investments	(1941)	3,000,000	
	(1947)	4,400,000	1,400,000
Indian Aluminium Co.	(1944)	13,650,000	
	(1947)	20,000,000	6,350,000
Indian Rubber Mfrs.	(1941)	621,050	
	(1947)	1,655,970	1,034,920
Parry & Co.	(1946)	3,658,120	
	(1947)	5,000,000	1,341,880
Muir Mills	(1940)	3,000,000	
	(1947)	6,000,000	3,000,000
Madura Mills	(1940)	8,751,240	
	(1947)	17,502,480	8,751,240
Buckingham & Carnatic	(1944)	11,054,100	
	(1947)	19,978,000	8,923,900

The above, of course, excludes industries such as jute, tea, mining, etc. It is based on figures of paid-up capital for engineering, chemical and some textile miscellaneous companies as given in Kothari's *Investors' Encyclopaedia* and includes companies which have mixed shareholders, (i.e., Indian and foreign). But, despite its limitations, the above table serves to illustrate that substantial amounts of foreign capital have been invested here recently in the form of 'further issues' by foreign concerns. This is also indicated by a list of foreign firms which were given permission to increase their capital issue during 1947 and 1948 and as reported in *Capital*.

Name & Objects of company	Consent given to further capital issue of (in Rupees)
Indian Oxygen & Acetylene Co.	1,800,000*
A. F. Harvey Ltd., Madura (Merchants & Mfg. Agents)	3,000,000*
Larsen & Toubro (Importers of machinery)	3,000,000
Western India Match Co.	7,700,000
Dunlop Rubber Co. (India) Ltd. (Tyres, etc.)	(1947) 5,000,000 (1949) 5,000,000*
Silvertown Lubricants (India) Ltd.	750,000
Chloride and Exide Batteries (Eastern) Ltd.	(1949) 1,485,000
Associated Battery Makers (Eastern) Ltd.	(1949) 4,985,000

\* Bonus Issue

Of special note is the recently announced (fully subscribed) issue of £1,420,882 (June, 1949) by the Calcutta Electric Supply Co., which represents no less than a 30 per cent rise over its paid-up capital as at 1947. And thereby hangs an interesting story... With the end of the war, heavy replacements of machinery, wires and cables which were

long overdue, were deliberately held up because of the talk in the air of the Calcutta Electric Supply Co. being taken over by Government. Meanwhile, behind the scene negotiations over compensation were dragged out. Ultimately, when by the end of last year it became quite certain that the Calcutta Electric Supply Co. would not be touched, and in the background of vociferous assurances to foreign capital, this cent per cent British company has found it safe to considerably raise its capital issue.

The substantial increases of capital issue announced by this and other foreign firms, particularly during the last two years, plainly demonstrate once more that India remains a most profitable field of exploitation by foreign capital.

## VI. DIRECTION OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT

We come finally to the question of foreign capital being instrumental in developing basic and heavy engineering industries in India. This is supposed to be the unanswerable argument in favour of allowing foreign monopolies to invest in India—the high degree of technical skill involved in setting up such industries necessitates (we are told) the ‘cooperation’ of foreign capital.

Once again, it must be clearly stated that in the stage of monopoly capitalism, in the stage when the productive capacity of imperialist countries has outstripped the limits of the internal market, foreign capital seeks fields of investments which do not compete with the basic industries at ‘home’; foreign capital seeks such fields of investment as open up new markets, make available cheaper raw materials etc.; it does not ‘develop’ in the backward countries basic and heavy industries which would render the latter self-sufficient and independent of the monopolies of the imperialist countries who desperately need new markets. Such are the reasons which have prompted the consistent opposition by the imperialist countries at recent ECAFE conferences towards all proposals to establish heavy engineering industries in the colonies. Their stress has been: irrigation—to lower food costs and raw material costs; communications—which obviously do not compete with home industries but rather provide a market for their locomotive building and automobile industries, while opening up larger areas for markets, etc.; mining and extractive industries for minerals, etc.

Leontyev in his study on American expansionism has

quoted valuable evidence of the direction of U.S. foreign investments:

“According to data for the end of 1940, American foreign capital investments in the extractive industries amounted to more than 2,000 million dollars and in the manufacturing industries to less than 200 million dollars. Yet in the U.S. proper, the relation was seven times more capital invested in manufacturing industries than in extractive ones...”

The same trend is noticeable in U.S. foreign investments in 1947.

“Last year,” says an article in *Capital* (November 11, 1948), the net total of 636 million dollars invested directly abroad was the largest on record... The bulk of this investment was made by the petroleum industry—about 455 million dollars (in Latin America and the Middle East).”

Thus, about 72 per cent of the entire foreign investments of U.S. monopolies in 1947 went into the extraction of oil.

An examination of the trend of foreign investments in India during the period 1928-29 to 1945-46 will reveal a similar pattern. (*Table A*)

Banking, Loans and Insurance—which do not represent investments in manufacturing industry—show a rise of 19.13 per cent during the period; Miscellaneous trading and manufacturing — that is, light industries and trading firms which by no means represent heavy industry—also show a rise of 21.26 per cent; Mills and presses show a 13.17 per cent rise, while the most spectacular rise of foreign investment is noticeable in (‘key’ industry indeed) — Breweries and Distilleries (166.66 per cent)! Agencies—whose function is to sell products of foreign monopolies—likewise show a huge rise, of 70.13 per cent.

On the other hand, those which can be called heavy industries show the smallest rise and even a falling off in foreign investment. Thus, chemicals and allied trades register a decline of 22.28 per cent; Iron, Steel and Shipbuilding record the insignificant rise of 6.39 per cent; Engineering does indeed show a rise of 15.34 per cent, but as is well-known, British-owned engineering firms in this country have confined themselves to bridge-building, construction work, manufacturing of wagons, signal equipment, etc., and servicing of machinery. Only recently, British engineering firms reached the high water mark of their achievement in India—assembling India’s first road-rollers!

If we turn to *Table B*, we can compare the volume of

foreign investment in different branches—examine which branches of Indian economy account for the bulk of foreign investments. In 1928-29, as will be observed, Mining and Quarrying accounted for the largest share in the total of foreign investments in India—23.3 per cent. Banking, Loan and Insurance companies came next with a share of 21.3 per cent. Transport and Transit account for ten per cent and various light industries and trading concerns for 11.2 per cent of the total paid-up capital of foreign concerns at work in India. We see, therefore, that banking, insurance, extraction of minerals, communications and various light industries absorb, between them, over 65 per cent of the total volume of foreign investment.

Chemicals—a basic industry—attracted even less foreign capital than tea and rubber plantations and accounted for a meagre three per cent of the total investments. Iron, Steel and Shipbuilding also accounted for a very small percentage—6.4 per cent. As for Engineering, we have already noted that this represents at best light, constructional engineering; hence, the figure of 11.7 per cent against Engineering does not reflect the development of really basic engineering industry.

And what has been the progress achieved by foreign capital in the two decades since 1928-29? What actual proof do we find to bear out the loud claims of foreign monopolies and their Indian apologists that foreign capital is instrumental in developing basic industries in a technically backward country? The figures for 1945-46 in *Table B* will reveal that in course of nearly two decades, the progress towards basic industries, under the aegis of foreign capital, is exactly nil. The relative share of Chemicals has fallen; that of Iron Steel, Shipbuilding is static; Engineering has absorbed a higher percentage of total investment by 1945-46 but is considered by foreign capital to deserve no more attention than miscellaneous trading and manufacturing concerns, for each of these branches accounted for 13.8 per cent of the total foreign capital invested in 1945-46. The major portion of foreign investment still flows to Banking, Mining, Light industries and Transport.

By its very nature, foreign capital, capital exported by the monopolies of imperialist countries, cannot—and in fact has not—'developed' basic and heavy engineering industries in India.

An analysis of India's machinery imports for 1948-49, as quoted by the *Eastern Economist* (July 1, 1949), offers additional proof that those who supply us the machinery—the monopolies of the advanced countries—have endeavoured

to restrict their machinery exports to the traditional lines: textile machinery, generators, boilers, etc.

Total Imports of Machinery	(in crores of Rs.)	76.65
Locomotives	.. ..	1.07
Engines (gas, oil, steam)	.. ..	8.76
Electrical Machinery (i.e., generators, etc.)	.. ..	12.75
Boilers	.. ..	3.65
Mining Machinery	.. ..	1.04
Refrigerating Machinery	.. ..	1.31
Sewing and Knitting Machinery	.. ..	1.94
Typewriters	.. ..	1.14
Machine Tools	.. ..	4.04
Cotton Textile Machinery	.. ..	9.14
Jute Textile Machinery	.. ..	2.68
Other Textile Machinery	.. ..	3.24
Agricultural Machinery	.. ..	2.53
Oil crushing; paper mills; pumping; rice & flour mill; saw mills; tea and sugar machinery	.. ..	6.09
Other machinery	.. ..	19.02

Compared to prewar imports, the only new item is agricultural machinery (tractors, etc.). Far and away, the most important item is textile machinery of various kinds which is obviously of no relevance for building up heavy industry. Machinery for generating and distributing electric power forms an important element but is no indication that heavy industries are being set up. On the contrary, the one item which does relate essentially to heavy industry—machine tools, needed for manufacturing machinery—is about the same in value as typewriters and sewing machines!

If we revert to the sections in this article on new enterprises where capital has of late been invested, we find that the old pattern continues. Production of bicycles, confectionery, tyres, batteries, electric lamps, sports goods, etc., constitute the branches to which, generally, foreign capital has turned in the last two-three years. Similarly, the further issues of capital of foreign-owned concerns are the most substantial in the light industries field—in concerns relating to electric supply, textiles, batteries, tyres, matches, agency business and (the one exception) aluminium, a key industry.

(a) It was clear by the end of the war that the increased ambitions of the Indian bourgeoisie could not be satisfied by permitting it to set up only textile and jute mills or sugar refineries as in the past. Indian capital, whose whole-hearted collaboration was necessary if the foreign monopolies were to continue their sway in India, had to be given some scope for investing in new engineering and

heavy industries. Recognising that some development in this direction had to be permitted in order to buy over the Indian bourgeoisie, *foreign capital has endeavoured to limit it to the simpler and secondary branches of heavy industry.*

A leading figure in the Federation of British Industries (FBI) outlined foreign capital's streamlined postwar policy with regard to new industries in the colonies thus; Speaking at an Export Conference of the FBI in late 1946, Col. H. B. Rigall (a member of the FBI Grand Council) said that inevitably the Dominions and other countries abroad would tend increasingly to produce for themselves.

"It is rather for Britain," said Rigall, "to encourage them (the Dominions, etc.) by providing technical knowledge and manufacturing technique to make general purposes equipment for themselves which they are capable of making, while we push on with the manufacture of the higher grade and more complicated products in which our technical skill can be used with the greatest advantage..." (Capital, December 12, 1946)

Thus, with the benign cooperation of foreign capital, India is now to 'produce' light Diesel engines, small electric motors, textile machinery, boilers, road rollers, automobiles and perhaps, tractors and steam locomotives. One looks in vain for other industries which are the true hallmark of an advanced and really independent economy—heavy electrical equipment manufacture; production of modern type locomotives such as Diesel electric and electric locomotives; aircraft manufacture; manufacture of machinery for industries other than merely textile; a diversified heavy chemicals industry (and not merely production of fertilisers); the manufacture of steel alloys, etc.

The fundamental fact is that foreign capital has conceded only the manufacture of lighter types of machinery and the simpler types of engineering products, while retaining the monopoly of manufacture of basic equipment and 'more complicated' products. A recent comment in *Capital* organ of British Big Business in India, also bears this out:

"India is assuming increasing importance in Britain's overseas electrical trade. British firms are now concentrating on developing subsidiary organisations here which in the short term might seem detrimental to British interests. It is felt, however, that if Indian consumers can be increasingly interested in electrical appliances, there will be an increased demand for electrical generating and distributing machinery." (Capital, August 18, 1949)

No doubt, foreign capital is developing backward India when Osler & Co. set up a branch to make lamps and appliances (heaters, kettles) so that with the increased consumption of electric power in India, the heavy electric industry of Britain will find a wider market for their generators, transformers, etc.! No doubt, the Indian branches of the giant British electric monopolies—GEC, AEI—are satisfying Indian aspirations by producing ceiling fans and switch-gear! But where is one concrete piece of evidence that the altruism of foreign capital has extended to complete manufacture in India of the basic electrical equipment—the generators and turbines themselves?

(b) Secondly, even while foreign monopolies are setting up some heavy industries in partnership with Indian capital, they are taking good care to see that *the stage of assembly—as distinct from complete manufacture—is as protracted as possible.*

The basic components are to be imported from the 'home' factories of the foreign monopolies and then assembled in the Indian plant; only some minor components will be manufactured here. Being in supreme technical control, the foreign monopolies can, at any moment, paralyse these 'Indian' heavy industries by withholding technical secrets and the basic components. In the meantime, the process of 'assembly' can be dragged out indefinitely.

For instance, under the terms of the deal for making Hercules cycles in Madras, assembly from imported parts will be carried on for *five years* before manufacture is commenced. Presumably, even a bicycle is much too complicated a machine for the 'backward' Indian worker or technician to understand before that period!

General Motors (India), a subsidiary of the worldwide American trust, has been established at Bombay for about 20 years. Its net contribution to 'developing' the automobile industry in India has been the assembly of automobiles from 'completely knocked down' (ckd) condition, and—at last — the manufacture of batteries!

The strategy of foreign monopolies in limiting the genuine development of new heavy industries which they are starting in semi-colonies was plainly outlined by Lord Nuffield, the British automobile magnate. Questioned about the opening of the first Morris plant in Australia, he explained that the Australian company would not affect the running of his 63 factories in Britain. The U.K. factories would produce the main car parts which would be sent to Australia to be welded, assembled, and receive the finishing touches.

This clear and succinct formula — welding, assembly and finishing — describes perfectly the nature of work done at the Hindustan Motors (Calcutta), five years after the Birla-Nuffield deal was signed. First hand enquiries elicit the information that, if all goes well, in a year from now, the rear axle will be manufactured here! When the basic component—the engine—will be manufactured here nobody even speculates upon. And Hindustan Motors is reputed to be the 'best-equipped' automobile plant in this country!

Consider, again, the case of the much-trumpeted locomotive plant at Chittranjan. Work has been going on for well over two years on this project but recently, a high railway official, when approached for a photograph of the plant, frankly admitted that the picture would show only bricks and mortar. Negotiations with foreign experts to supply equipment and 'know-how' have not yet achieved any results. In October, fresh consultations were held with representatives of British locomotive trusts. This is how a British Tory paper unwittingly reveals the real intentions of these well-meaning foreign gentlemen:

"Leading locomotive markets in Britain are going to help Indians establish their plant (at Chittaranjan)... They will also supply the key personnel needed to get the plant going... British companies know that by exporting their 'know-how' they will lose orders in the end. But it will take years before the Indians can build all the locos they need..." (Daily Express, October 10, 1949)

The sentence which we have emphasised above furnishes clear evidence that our good friends from abroad, once entrenched in key technical positions, will retard progress to the utmost. Meanwhile, the market of the British locomotive trusts will not really be affected for, instead of the completely assembled locomotive, basic parts will be imported and then assembled in India.

"British makers are taking the chance that by helping Indians to get their own industry going they will retain a big stake in the market." (Ibid)

Indian aspirations are 'satisfied' and the British monopolies retain their market and profits—all at one stroke. And even this little—the assembly from imported parts — has been yielded under the lash of competition from rival American monopolies...

"If they (the British makers) refused this assistance, it is more than likely that Indians would call in the Americans." (Ibid)

Doubtless, wheels, axles and half a dozen other items will be manufactured locally and we shall be asked to sing praises of foreign capital which has assisted in producing this 'Hindustan' locomotive. Such is the narrow horizon of every new basic industry being set up under the aegis of the Anglo-American imperialist monopolies partnered by the Indian bourgeoisie. Such is the plain truth about the trump argument of the Indian bourgeoisie in favour of foreign capital—that it 'helps' to make us economically strong and self-sufficient.

## VII. FURTHER SELL-OUT TO FOREIGN CAPITAL

Nehru's visit to the USA has convinced the hard-boiled American businessmen that there wasn't going to be any more fancy talk about 'nationalisation' and about 'control' of foreign enterprises.

Preceding his visit, the Government of India, replying to a memorandum of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, had unequivocally declared:

"The policy of the Government of India was to allow foreign capital to come in to operate freely in the industrial field... Every attempt must be made to secure the maximum possible influx of foreign capital in the shortest possible time... The Government of India categorically declared that permission to retain a majority of non-Indian interest in the ownership and effective control in some cases could not ipso-facto be considered as detrimental to the interests of the country. The Government did not therefore propose to insist on majority control by Indians in the formative stages of industries, irrespective of all other considerations." (The Hindu, September 19, 1949)

Nehru assured the American capitalists that 'Communism was being dealt with', that 'fair' profits were guaranteed to foreign investors, that 'India welcomed foreign capital'. The U.S. monopolies declared themselves satisfied.

The *New York Times* was reported by PTI as stating editorially that it was 'gratifying' to find Pandit Nehru had given the guarantees sought by U.S. investors. The net result of Nehru's visit with regard to foreign capital was summed up by PTI quoting American experts, as "preparing the way for speedy participation of American venture capital to develop Indian industry."

In Britain, too, effusive praise was being lavished on Nehru's industrial and labour policy by the spokesmen of the trusts. Addressing a meeting of the shareholders of the British-owned Calcutta Tramways Company, in November in

London, its Chairman said that if he had a large sum of money to invest he would be delighted to invest it in India. His remarks, we are told by Reuter, "were applauded by shareholders". (*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, November 10, 1949)

Official figures are now being released to show the increasing influx of foreign capital into India. With bold headlines saying **LARGER FOREIGN INTEREST IN INDIAN INDUSTRY**, a despatch from the special representative of the *Statesman* in Delhi reports:

"Last year's foreign investments in Indian industry amounted to Rs. 4.48 crores out of a total industrial investment of Rs. 5.14 crores. This year's total capital is already Rs. 16.96 crores." (*Statesman*, November 25, 1949)

Krishna Menon, India's High Commissioner in Britain, testified on November 29, at a meeting in London that there was more investment of British capital in India than for a long time.

The sell-out to foreign capital in the field of key industries is now reaching alarming dimensions. Even Steel, it seems, that most basic of basic industries, is to be handed over to the tender mercies of the foreign monopolies. Dr. Mukherjee, who visited Nagpur in November in connection with the proposed steel plant to be set up in the Central Provinces, hinted that the "possibility of foreign capital participating in this venture is not excluded". (*Free Press Journal*, November 5, 1949)

It is not for nothing that Eugene Black, President of the World Bank, has given the all clear signal to the Anglo-American monopolies—"India is a good risk," he has certified. Foreign capital had nothing to fear.

The deals mentioned above are mostly Indo-British deals; and the foreign investments mentioned above are mostly British. British capital had already had a stranglehold over Indian economy. Through the Indo-British deals British capital seeks to strengthen its strategic position in Indian economy by bringing the Indian capitalists.

But a still more menacing development is taking place since the end of the war, and especially since the establishment of Nehru's "free" India; and that is the entry of American capital—the most blood-thirsty capital—on the Indian scene.

American capital in its drive to exploit and subjugate the world, and to find new avenues for investment in backward countries like India, is trying to get a complete grip over Indian economy and enslave and subjugate the people of India.

The Indian capitalists, ever ready to barter the freedom

and independence of their country for the sake of paltry profits have been wooing, appealing and grovelling before the Americans to come and invest in India; have been offering one concession after another to make India an inviting dish to satisfy the profit-hunger of the American monopolists.

The American monopolists are waiting for the complete and open surrender on the part of India. They have already secured the assurance that there would be no nationalisation; they have the guarantee of good profits and guarantee of exports of these profits; guarantee of no discrimination between them and Indian concerns—which means putting the Indian concerns at a disadvantage. But they are waiting for all these guarantees and many others to be embodied in a trade treaty.

Nonetheless they have not allowed the grass to grow under their feet. In the last year they have perhaps invested or offered to invest more capital in India than the British have done.

In 1949 the U.S.-controlled International Bank agreed to advance a total loan of 41 million dollars including 34 million dollars for rehabilitation of the Indian Railways. The terms and conditions attaching to this loan completely unmask the exploiting monopolists who want to keep India economically backward and coin profits out of her backwardness, and suppress her people. As Dyakov, the Soviet commentator, puts it:

"India provides a striking example of the real nature of U.S. assistance. Earlier this year when the question arose of a U.S. loan to India, the U.S. Ambassador to India Loy Henderson asked for definite guarantees.

"In the first place the U.S. capitalists investing in India were to be guaranteed the possibility of drawing and exporting their profits in dollars. He also asked for an undertaking that the U.S. investors would be fully compensated in the event of the enterprise in which they had sunk their capital being nationalised.

"The every same conditions as those put forth by Henderson were stipulated by the commission of the International Bank, which, as is known, is U.S. controlled. Moreover, it demanded guarantees of India's political stability, and this is not a mere coincidence. Does it not show whose interests the U.S. Ambassador to India is serving? In a word it means that the democratic national liberation movement of India will be combated more intensely.

"The Government of the Indian Union agreed to these conditions, and in August 1949 in order to please the U.S. monopolies the Constituent Assembly passed a law prohibit-

ing the confiscation of any private property without full compensation to the owner. Prior to this, even Nehru, the Prime Minister of the Indian Union, declared repeatedly in his official statements that U.S. investors would be guaranteed suitable profits and the right to export their profits to the U.S. in dollars.

"The loan which the Indian Government received from the U.S. through the International Bank was made on the condition that it be used for agriculture and transport.

"The idea of putting this restriction is perfectly obvious. The U.S. capitalists have granted these loans on the condition that not a dollar of them goes to industrialise India. This fact alone, that the U.S. opposes the industrial development of the backward countries, reveals the predatory nature of their plans for 'aiding' these countries.

"It is as clear as daylight to everyone that it is essential to industrialise a country if a base is to be provided for the national development of the backward countries in the direction of economic and political independence and complete emancipation from colonial oppression.

"U.S. intelligence agents posing as specialists and experts have wormed their way to various committees dealing with problems connected with India's economy. Thus very valuable information concerning India's economy falls into the possession of U.S. agencies. Nehru's visit to America and the negotiations he has entered into for the signing of a treaty of friendship, navigation and trade will have the effect of making India more subservient politically and economically to the U.S.

"This is evident from the speeches Nehru made while he was there. In his address at the Foreign Press Club in New York he assured U.S. businessmen investing capital in India that they would have reliable guarantees and that they would have complete freedom of action.

"Such are the prospects held forth by the U.S. programme for technical assistance to India. U.S. imperialism is playing on the fact that Britain is economically dependent on the U.S. to gain a hold on the biggest member of the so-called Commonwealth of Nations and to gradually edge out the former rulers of India. Under the guise of executing their plan of technical assistance the U.S. monopolies are not only turning India into their raw material appendage but are trying to make it the principal base for aggression and in their preparation for a new war in Asia.

"The reactionary home policy being pursued by the Indian ruling circles, the repressive steps against the workers, peasants and other progressive democratic organisa-

tions are directly linked with the implementation of the U.S. programme for aid to underdeveloped areas. The U.S. imperialists are trying to stamp out the democratic movement in India in order to turn that country into a base for reaction in South-east Asia, as a gendarme of the U.S. in the Pacific".

What is the interest of U.S. monopolists in rehabilitating Indian railways, apart from profits? Dyakov says:

"A good portion of the loan granted" will go "in restoring and developing the very railways which are either strategically important or which make it more convenient for transporting raw materials. Importing railway equipment and rolling stock without promoting the whole engineering industry cannot, of course, solve India's railway problem.

"The railways will have a chance merely to resume more or less normal traffic which the foreign imperialists need. It will give them the opportunity to pump out cheap raw materials and send them a flood of their own manufactures."

In its eagerness to secure exclusive possession of India's resources, the American monopolists are attempting to oust their British rivals—so that India could be exploited by them alone. To quote Dyakov:

"The deepening economic crisis in the capitalist world is causing the struggle for markets between the monopolist circles in various countries to sharpen. We have an illustration of this in the competition between British and U.S. businessmen to supply railway equipment and rolling stock to India.

"During the Second World War the railways of India fell into a very sad state due to the ruthless way they were exploited. For the whole six-year period of the war the British colonial authorities made no capital repairs at all to the tracks and no extra rolling stock was supplied. Certain sections of the track were pulled up, add the rails used in the construction of military strategic roads. Sometimes they were even dispatched outside the country. The railway lines that were working were overloaded to the extreme. The result was that the railway system quickly deteriorated and both rolling stock and track were ruined.

"The biggest hindrance to the restoration of the railway system is the policy of the ruling circles inside the country who are keeping India as an agrarian and raw material appendage of Britain and the United States. Another hindrance is the fact that there is no engineering industry in India, the result of 200 years of British colonial rule.

"The present fight that is going on between Britain and the United States to supply railway equipment to India weighs definitely in favour of the U.S. monopolies. Britain's exports of railway material are falling off. U.S. businessmen are squeezing out the British partners with whom they shared colonial plunder. In February this year, the U.S. had orders for 303 railway engines from India; Britain, only 190. Certain of the Canadian firms which have received big orders for railway equipment for India are also controlled by the U.S. monopolies.

"British influence in India is being undermined by the U.S. monopolies through the International Reconstruction and Development Bank. Only recently the Bank granted a loan of 34 million dollars to India for reconstruction and development of Government railways. Through this loan U.S. capital is inching its way further and further into Indian economy, especially into those branches that are of strategic importance, and all this will heighten the exploitation of the masses of Indian working people.

"In easing out their British rivals from strategically important business of economy railway transport, the U.S. businessmen have their own mercenary imperialist aims in view. Those aims are to have easier access to the sources of raw materials they need to have greater opportunity for exploiting the Indian people and for converting the country into a vantage ground in combating the national liberation movement in South-east Asia.

"This struggle between Britain and the U.S. to supply railway equipment to India is a struggle between two robbers and it can only have one result. The Indian people will find the regime of colonialist exploitation intensified.

"Only if the colonialists are driven off and there is a truly democratic transformation of the country, can there be a real opportunity of solving the most important economic problem, including that of railway transport. Only democratic transformation can make the railways of India a lever in the development of national economy and an improvement in the wellbeing of the broad masses of the people."

American capital is everyday making it plain that it wants untrammelled right to loot and plunder India; that it is not satisfied with making loans to the Government but wants to directly invest in concerns in India.

The bourgeoisie had tried hard to make its needs for foreign exchange for purchase of capital goods, etc., through the medium of State loans, where the rate of interest is fixed and is relatively low, and where control which goes with

the loan operates less directly. It has been given the blunt retort that if it were serious about acquiring sterling or dollars for industrial projects, it should make the political and economic climate of India healthy for direct investment by foreign capital. Thus in reply to the many pleas for a Marshall Plan for Asia, Truman's answer has been a curt admonition to encourage the flow of private U.S. capital to 'develop' backward areas. The World Bank, on which such high hopes were placed, has, after two years and many 'investigations', condescended to grant two loans totalling 41 million dollars for the purchase of tractors and locomotives as against the original application of 100 million dollars—a clear hint that if India wanted more dollars she should open her doors wide to private U.S. investors. The British monopolies have achieved the same result by the niggardly releases of India's Sterling Balances so that sterling requirements for new industries should arrive in the form of investments by the British monopolies.

With every new approach made by the bourgeois Government, the American Government or other spokesmen of monopoly capital demand openly that India's resources be mortgaged to America. Thus when Nehru attempted to negotiate a loan of one million tons of wheat he was told to hand over India's manganese and mica production, Manganese is a strategic war material used in tempering steel; while mica is essential for electrical goods. American monopolists thus want to lay their hands on India's strategic materials and monopolise them for stockpiling for purposes of war. They want to draw India into the war economy of the Anglo-American bloc with India asked to produce raw materials and cannon fodder. Besides this they demand that India must openly join the Anglo-American bloc against the Soviet Union, China and other countries of Asia. With the rout of Chiang Kai-shek they seek to make India their war base and demand suppression of all democratic movements in the country. They thus demand open enslavement of India.

The Indian capitalists are daily surrendering to this attack of American capital, thus opening the country to the most brutal exploitation. For the capitalists are prepared to betray the people into the hands of the American monopolists, sell the independence of their country for the sake of their profits, for the sake of a few crumbs from the American table.

Need one wonder why India's capitalists 'voluntarily' joined the British empire—euphemistically called the British Commonwealth? The bonds created through joint exploitation of the Indian people, the bonds of Indo-British

deals have proved more powerful than the interests of the country and the freedom and independence of the people. Before the money-making power of these bonds, the humiliation and oppression of the last two hundred years is forgotten and the Indian capitalists consider themselves free to collaborate with the British in strengthening the chains of slavery and intensifying the exploitation of the people. It is through these bonds that Nehru finds himself in the company of Malan in the Empire Conference — Malan, the Indian-baiter, the oppressor and persecutor of Indians in South Africa.

The delicate ties between Indian and American capital that are being created through the Indian Ambassador in Washington are again proving more powerful than the interests of the country, than the freedom of the people. They have torn off the mask of neutrality in foreign politics and reveal that on every vital issue India's representatives at UNO side with the Anglo-American war bloc. It is a strange neutrality that supports at the UNESCO meeting the American plan for exploitation and enslavement of backward areas including India but rejects the Soviet plan for free development of the economy of backward countries and for all help to them without attaching any conditions encroaching on national sovereignty. It is neutrality indeed which rejects the Soviet proposals for peace, for destruction of atomic weapons, including atom bombs in possession of the USA; but supports the Anglo-American war proposals in the name of peace, proposals which allow USA its stockpile of atom bombs.

It is these new ties that explain the fact that while the USA is exploiting the Kashmir issue against the interests of the people of Kashmir, India and Pakistan—the representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments are to be found in the American camp; the fact that the Indian Government recognises the Bao Dai Government, the puppet of the French imperialists, while it does not recognise the People's Government of China headed by Mao Tse-tung; and finally, the fact that Nehru's Government does not protest against direct and indirect American support at UNO to South Africa, to its policy of racial persecution of Indians, but at the behest of American imperialists protests to the People's Government of China against alleged ill-treatment of an American Consul.

These same ties explain why every effort is made to build economic and trade ties with Britain and America, while there is no attempt to build any broad economic relations with the Soviet Union. How can camp followers of

the imperialist camp think of building economic relations with the Socialist Soviet Union though this might be in the interests of the people of India?

There need be no surprise however about this alliance of the Indian capitalists with American and British capitalists against their own people, against the democratic and Socialist forces in the world. The capitalist class always places its selfish interests above the interests of its country and people. Lenin had pointed this out when he wrote: "the general alliance of the imperialists of all countries lying at the basis of the capitalist economic alliance, an alliance which is natural and inevitable for the defence of capital which knows no fatherland, has proved by many of the biggest and greatest episodes in world history that capital places the preservation of the alliance of the capitalists of all countries against the toiling people above the interests of the fatherland, of the people and everything else."

### CONCLUSION

(i) The volume of foreign investment is growing — inevitably resulting in a heavier 'drain' of the products of the Indian toilers' labour, in their more intensified exploitations and the sharpening of the struggle between the working masses and imperialism, that is, the foreign monopolies

(ii) The pattern of foreign investment is now unmistakably in collaboration with the Indian bourgeoisie. Foreign capital is being guaranteed a safe and secure future for exploitation by taking in as partners the Indian capitalists and the bourgeois State. The struggle against the tyranny of capital becomes a struggle against this common front of the exploiters—of the foreign monopolists and Indian landlords, feudal Princes and capitalists, which is directly and aggressively defended by the Indian bourgeois State.

(iii) The prospect for the Indian masses is not rising living standards through transformation of our feudal, colonial economy into an advanced, industrialised one. Petty progress in the setting up of light and secondary industries, the entrenching of foreign monopoly interests in key branches, the handing over of technical control of the entire economic structure to foreign capital—such are the 'gains' in return for which the Indian bourgeoisie and their State have agreed to offer every facility to foreign capital, and tie our economic future—and inevitably, our internal and foreign policy—to the Anglo-American monopolies.

(iv) Against this treachery, against this plan which will retain in essentials the colonial economy of India, against

this prospect of renewed and more intensified exploitation by the combined front of foreign monopolists and Indian capitalists and feudalists, the working masses must be consolidated into a solid fighting camp, fighting against national enslavement to Anglo-American imperialists and for the real independence of the country; fighting against the war-plot of the foreign monopolists and Indian ruling circles which seeks to make India the war-base against the USSR; fighting for a policy of peace in alliance with the Soviet Union, China and the other countries of People's Democracies; fighting to replace the present Government of imperialist-bourgeois-landlord alliance by a People's Democratic Government which alone can guarantee real independence and open the way to end all economic misery and exploitation.

TABLE 'A'  
PAID-UP CAPITAL OF COMPANIES AT WORK IN (ALL) INDIA  
BUT REGISTERED ELSEWHERE

Description	In £ (000)							1928-46 Change		
	1928-29	1932-33	1936-37	1939-40	1942-43	1944-45	1945-46			
1. Banking, Loans, Insurance ..	(173) 156,189	(166) 171,508	(169) 140,639	166,691	164,767	(156) 161,411	(154) 163,238	(159) 186,068	+	19.13%
2. Transport & Transit ..	(46) 73,533	(47) 68,813	(50) 73,309	(46) 77,368	(41) 68,230	(45) 85,496	(40) 77,640	(41) 77,640	+	5.58%
3. Public Services Cos. ..	(10) 12,838	(13) 46,866	(10) 47,546	(9) 37,358	(9) 8,853	(9) 8,853	(9) 8,853	(9) 8,853	-	31.04%
4. Chemicals & Allied Trades ..	(12) 22,286	(12) 25,186	(13) 19,130	(14) 20,046	(13) 17,419	(13) 17,419	(12) 17,320	(15) 17,320	-	22.28%
5. Iron, Steel, Ship-building ..	(20) 47,431	(19) 57,268	(20) 52,912	(19) 50,610	(18) 50,465	(18) 50,499	(18) 50,499	(18) 50,465	+	6.39%
6. Engineering ..	(47) 86,461	(54) 89,089	(52) 93,212	(48) 99,479	(52) 99,801	(53) 99,801	(53) 99,801	(56) 99,801	+	15.34%
7. Agencies (in- cluding Manag- ing Agencies) ..	(22) 1,875	(23) 1,570	(19) 543	(21) 3,195	(21) 3,190	(22) 3,190	(23) 3,190	(23) 3,190	+	70.13%
8. Miscellaneous Trading & Ma- nufacturing Cos. ..	(173) 82,522	(182) 82,743	(177) 116,813	(180) 115,639	(172) 113,019	(179) 111,134	(175) 100,175	(178) 100,068	+	21.26%

Description	1928-29	1932-33	1936-37	1939-40	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46	1928-46 Change
9. Mills & Presses ..	(20) 3,605	(22) 37,809	(18) 4,499	(17) 4,054	(17) 4,080	(17) 4,080	(17) 4,080	(17) 4,080	+ 13.17%
10. Planting Cos. ..	(228) 31,552	(228) 33,061	(229) 33,285	(220) 31,068	(215) 30,097	(209) 30,858	(204) 30,699	(199) 30,071	- 4.37%
11. Mining & Quarrying ..	(44) 170,984	(46) 197,078	(42) 127,124	(35) 125,532	(34) 124,416	(36) 125,459	(36) 125,459	(36) 125,377	- 26.67%
12. Breweries & Distilleries ..	(1) 600	(1) 1,600	(1) 1,600	(1) 1,600	(1) 1,600	(1) 1,600	(1) 1,600	(1) 1,600	+ 166.66%
13. Total: All Companies ..	(867) 733,065	(901) 830,625	(882) 729,108	(850) 751,353	(827) 708,609	(837) 719,164	(823) 701,114	(834) 723,091	- 1.36%

(Source: Annual Report of Joint Stock Companies at Work in India. Figures for 1943-44 onwards are provisional. Figures in brackets indicate number of companies. Item 13 is the grand total and includes companies not listed in this table.)

TABLE 'B'

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF DIFFERENT BRANCHES  
OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN INDIA

Description	Paid-up capital 1928-29 (₹ 000)	Percentage of total paid-up capital	Paid-up capital (1945-46)	Per- centage of total paid-up capital
1. Banking, etc ..	156,189	21.3	186,068	25.7
2. Transport & Transit ..	73,533	10.002	77,640	10.7
3. Public Service Cos. ..	12,838	1.7	8,853	1.2
4. Chemical and Allied trades ..	22,286	3.04	17,320	2.3
5. Iron, Steel, Ship- building ..	47,431	6.4	50,466	6.9
6. Engineering ..	86,461	11.7	99,801	13.8
7. Agencies (including Ma- naging Agencies) ..	1,875	.2	3,190	.4
8. Miscellaneous Trading & Manufacturing Cos. ..	82,522	11.2	100,068	13.8
9. Mills & Presses ..	3,605	.4	4,080	.5
10. Planting Cos. ..	31,552	4.3	30,071	4.1
11. Mining & Quarrying ..	170,984	23.3	125,377	17.3
12. Breweries & Distil- leries ..	600	.08	1,600	.2

(Source: Annual Report of Joint Stock Companies at Work in India. The percentage figures have been calculated on the basis of the grand total shown in Item 13 in Table A. In this table, too, all classes of companies have not been included.)

## MESSAGE OF GREETINGS FROM COMRADE B. T. RANADIVE TO COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG

**F**OLLOWING is the text of the message of greetings sent by Comrade B. T. Ranadive to Comrade Mao Tse-tung on October 12:

“Dear Comrade Mao Tse-tung,

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India I send you and through you to the people of China, our warmest greetings on the occasion of the formation of the People's Government of China. The formation of the People's Government signalises the final victory of the Chinese people against the enemies and enslavers of China — the American imperialists and the clique of Kuomintang reactionaries. This great and historic victory seals the doom of foreign imperialism and its national agents on the continent of Asia, and opens the prospects of the immediate liberation of the peoples of Asia. It changes the balance of forces on a worldscale and constitutes a decisive turning point in the world struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism. In liberating themselves the people of China have inflicted a decisive defeat on the common enemy of the peoples of the world—American imperialism—and have advanced the cause of world liberation.

The toiling masses of India feel jubilant over this great victory. They know it hastens their own liberation. They are inspired by it to fight more determinedly and courageously their battle for ending the present regime and establishing the rule of People's Democracy.

I wish to assure you and through you the people of China that the Nehru Government which pursues a policy of hostility to the Chinese people and still continues its recognition of the bankrupt Kuomintang Government, does not represent the wishes and the will of the people of India. The over-

whelming majority of the Indian people decisively stand for friendship and cooperation with the great Chinese people. The Nehru Government on the other hand follows the dictates of the Anglo-American imperialists, who wish to build India as a bastion of reaction against China. The Anglo-American imperialists carry on their nefarious conspiracies in Nepal and Tibet under the cover offered by the Nehru Government. Thus the Nehru Government is directly advancing the game of the enemies of the Chinese people.

I wish to assure you and through you the people of China that the Communist Party of India will unmask all the anti-Chinese intrigues that the Nehru Government might hatch under the dictates of the American imperialists and rally the people to defeat them.

The Central Committee of our Party has asked me to convey their special tribute and greetings to Comrade Chu Teh and the members of the Chinese Liberation Army who have upset all imperialist plans by their quick military victories. The great military skill of Comrade Chu Teh and his associates and the valour, courage, and self-sacrificing spirit of the members of the Liberation Army confounded the American advisers of Kuomintang and shattered all hopes of prolonged resistance by Kuomintang forces.

The Central Committee of our Party salutes the great Communist Party of China and its leader Mao Tse-tung on the occasion of its historic and world-shaking victory. The victory scored by the Communist Party of China is the victory of Marxism-Leninism, of the Stalinist Line. The Communist Party of China and its great leader Mao Tse-tung have demonstrated once more the invincible power of Marxism-Leninism.

And finally allow me, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, to congratulate you on the occasion of your election as the President of the People's Republic of China.

**LONG LIVE COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG!**

**LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA!**

**LONG LIVE THE FIGHTING UNITY OF THE CHINESE AND INDIAN PEOPLE!**

## COMRADE MAO TSE-TUNG'S REPLY TO COMRADE B. T. RANADIVE

**C**HAIRMAN Mao Tse-tung, on October 19 sent the following telegram to B. T. Ranadive, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, whose greetings were received here recently:

"Dear Comrade Ranadive,

I have received your telegram of greetings dated October 12. I thank you very much for your warm greetings to the People's Republic of China and the Communist Party of China. The people throughout China feel glad and proud to read in your telegram the fraternal friendship of the revolutionary Indian people. The Indian people is one of the great Asian people with a long history and a vast population; her fate in the past and her path to the future are similar to those of China in many points. I firmly believe that relying on the brave Communist Party of India and the unity and struggle of all Indian patriots, India will certainly not remain long under the yoke of imperialism, and its collaborators. Like free China, a free India will one day emerge in the Socialist and People's Democratic family; that day will end the imperialist reactionary era in the history of mankind.

Best wishes for the victory of the unity and struggle of the patriotic people of India!

Long live the fraternal unity between the Indian and Chinese people!

(Sd.) MAO TSE-TUNG,

Chairman of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party of China

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE INFORMATION BUREAU OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

*(During the second half of November, a meeting of the Information Bureau was held in Hungary attended by the following representatives.*

*From the Communist Party of Bulgaria: Comrades V. Tchervenkov, V. Poptomov; Rumanian Workers' Party: Comrades Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, J. Chishinevski, A. Moghoros; Hungarian Workers' Party: Comrades M. Rakosi, A. Gero, J. Revai, J. Kadar; United Workers' Party of Poland: Comrades J. Berman, A. Zawadski; Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks): Comrades M. Suslov, P. Yudin; Communist Party of France: Comrades J. Duclos, E. Fajon, G. Cogniot; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: Comrades R. Slansky, S. Bastovansky, L. Kopriva, B. Geminder; Communist Party of Italy: Comrades P. Togliatti, E. d'Onofrio, A. Cicalini. The meeting heard the following reports: Comrade M. Suslov—"Defence of peace and the struggle against the warmongers"; Comrade P. Togliatti—"Working class unity and the tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties"; Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej—"The Yugoslav Communist Party in the power of murderers and spies".*

*Having exchanged opinions on these reports, the delegates reached complete agreement of views and unanimously adopted corresponding resolutions.)*

### **I. Defence of Peace and Struggle against Warmongers**

**H**AVING discussed the defence of peace and the struggle against the warmongers, the representatives of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Rumanian Workers' Party, Hungarian Workers' Party, Polish United Workers' Party, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), French Communist Party, Italian Communist Party and the

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia unanimously reached the following conclusions:

The events of the past two years fully confirm the correctness of the analysis of the international situation given by the first meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties in September 1947.

During this period two lines of world policy took shape even more clearly and sharply:—the line of the democratic anti-imperialist camp headed by the U.S.S.R., the camp waging a persistent and consistent struggle for peace between peoples and for democracy; and the line of the imperialist, anti-democratic, camp headed by the U.S. ruling circles, the camp whose main object is forcibly to establish Anglo-American world domination, to enslave other countries and peoples, to destroy democracy and to unleash a new war.

Moreover, the aggressive character of the imperialist camp continues to grow. The ruling circles of the United States and Britain openly pursue a policy of aggression and preparation for a new war.

In the struggle against the camp of imperialism and war, the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism have grown in number and strength.

The further growth of the might of the Soviet Union; the political and economic consolidation of the People's Democracies and the fact that they have taken the path of building Socialism; the historical victory of the Chinese people's revolution over the combined forces of home reaction and U.S. imperialism; the formation of the German Democratic Republic; the consolidation of the Communist Parties; the growth of the democratic movement in capitalist countries and the tremendous scale of the movement of the partisans of peace—all these signify a considerable extension and consolidation of the anti-imperialist, democratic camp.

At the same time the imperialist, anti-democratic camp grows weaker. The successes of the forces of democracy and Socialism, the maturing economic crisis, further sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism, the sharpening of the external contradictions of this system are all evidence of the increasing weakening of imperialism.

The change in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favour of the camp of peace and democracy evokes fierce anger and rage among the imperialist warmongers.

The Anglo-American imperialists hope, by means of war, to change the course of historical development; to solve

their external and internal contradictions and difficulties; to consolidate the position of monopoly capital and to gain world domination.

Aware of the fact that time works against them the imperialists feverishly and hastily hatch various blocs and alliances of reactionary forces to realise their aggressive plan.

The entire policy of the Anglo-American imperialist bloc serves the aim of preparing a new war. It finds expression in frustrating a peaceful settlement of relations with Germany and Japan; in completing the dismemberment of Germany; in turning the Western zones of Germany and also Japan occupied by U.S. troops into centres of fascism, revenge and springboards for the realisation of the aggressive plans of this bloc.

At the service of this policy is the onerous Marshall Plan and its direct continuation — Western Union and the North Atlantic Military Bloc aimed against all peace-loving peoples; the unrestrained armament race in the United States and West-European countries; the swelling of military budgets and the extension of the network of American military bases.

This policy also finds expression in the refusal of the Anglo-American bloc to prohibit the atomic weapon despite the fiasco of the myth of U.S. atomic monopoly, and in whipping up war hysteria by all means.

This policy determines the entire line of the Anglo-American bloc in the United Nations Organisation, a line aimed at undermining UNO and making it a weapon of U.S. monopolies.

The policy of unleashing a new war by the imperialists found expression also in the conspiracy exposed at the Rajk-Brankov trial in Budapest, the conspiracy organised by Anglo-American circles against the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union with the help of the fascist, nationalist, Tito clique which has become an agency of international imperialist reaction.

The policy of preparing a new war means, for the mass of the people in the capitalist countries, the continuous growth of an unbearable tax burden, the growth of poverty of the working people alongside a fantastic growth in the super-profits of the monopolies which wax rich from the armament race.

The growing economic crisis brings even greater poverty, unemployment, starvation and fear of the morrow to working people in the capitalist countries.

At the same time the policy of war preparations is

bound up with continuous encroachments of ruling imperialist circles on the elementary rights and democratic liberties of the mass of the people; with increased reaction in all spheres of public, political and ideological life; with the application of fascist methods of reprisals in relation to progressive and democratic forces of the peoples.

By these measures the imperialist bourgeoisie seek to prepare the rear for a predatory war.

Thus, similar to the fascist aggressors, the Anglo-American bloc prepares a new war in all directions:— military-strategical measures, political pressure and blackmail, economic expansion and enslavement of peoples, ideological stupifying of the masses and intensified reaction.

The U.S. imperialist chiefs draw up their plans of unleashing a new world war and of gaining world domination without taking into account the real correlation of forces between the camp of imperialism and the camp of Socialism.

Their plans for world domination are even more groundless and adventurous than those of the Hitlerites and the Japanese imperialists.

The U.S. imperialists obviously overestimate their strength and underestimate the growing power and organisation of the anti-imperialist camp.

The present historical situation differs radically from the situation in which World War Two was prepared. Under the present international conditions it is incomparably more difficult for the warmongers to realise their sanguinary designs.

“The horrors of the recent war are too fresh in the minds of the people, and the social forces standing for peace are too great for the Churchill disciples of aggression to overcome them and turn them towards a new war.” (J. Stalin)

Peoples do not want war and hate it. They are increasingly realising into what a horrible abyss the imperialists try to plunge them.

The tireless struggle of the Soviet Union, the People's Democracies and the international working class and democratic movements for peace, freedom and independence of the peoples and against the instigators of war, meets daily with increasingly powerful support from the broadest strata of the population in all countries throughout the world.

Hence, the development of a mighty movement of the partisans of peace. This movement, rallying in its ranks over 600 million people, is growing and extending, embracing all countries of the world and drawing into its ranks ever new fighters against the menace of war.

The movement of the partisans of peace shows clearly that the masses of the people are taking the work of defending peace into their own hands, thus demonstrating their unbending will to uphold the cause of peace and prevent war.

However, it would be erroneous and harmful for the cause of peace to underestimate the danger of the new war now being prepared by imperialist Powers headed by the United States of America and Britain.

The enormous growth of the forces in the camp of democracy and Socialism should not give rise to any complacency in the ranks of genuine champions of peace.

It would be a profound and unforgivable delusion to think the danger of war has diminished.

Historical experience teaches that the more hopeless things are for imperialist reaction, the more it rages and the greater danger of military adventures.

Only the greatest vigilance of the peoples, and their firm determination actively to fight by all means and ways for peace will secure the failure of the criminal designs of the instigators of a new war.

Under the conditions of the growing danger of a new war the Communist and Workers' Parties bear a great historical responsibility.

The struggle for a stable and lasting peace, for the organisation and consolidation of the forces of peace against the forces of war should now become the pivot of the activity of the Communist Parties and democratic organisations.

To carry out the great and noble task of saving mankind from the danger of a new war, representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties see the following as their vital tasks:

1. To work even more persistently to consolidate organisationally and extend the movement of the partisans of peace, drawing new sections of the population into this movement and making it universal.

Particular attention should be devoted to drawing into this movement trade unions, women's, youth, cooperative sports, cultural, educational, religious and other organisations, and also scientists, writers, journalists, cultural workers, parliamentary and other political and public leaders who act in defence of peace and against war.

Today the task of rallying all genuine peace supporters, regardless of religious beliefs, political views and party affiliations on the broadest platforms in the struggle for peace and against the danger of a new war threatening mankind, arises with particular urgency.

2. Of decisive significance for the further development of the movement of the partisans of peace is the ever more active participation of the working class in the movement, its consolidation and the unity of its ranks.

Therefore the paramount tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties is to draw the broadest sections of the working class into the ranks of the fighters for peace; secure firm working class unity, to organise joint action of various sections of the proletariat on the basis of a common struggle for peace and for the national independence of their countries.

3. Working class unity can be won only in a resolute struggle against Right-wing Socialist disruptors and disorganisers of the working class movement.

Right-wing Socialists like Bevin, Attlee, Blum, Guy Mollet, Spaak, Schumacher, Renner, Saragat, and reactionary trade union leaders like Green, Carey and Deakin carrying out a splitting anti-popular policy are the main enemies of the unity of the working class; they are accomplices of the warmongers and servants of imperialism who cover their treachery with pseudo-Socialist, cosmopolitan phrase-mongering.

While tirelessly fighting for peace, the Communist and Workers' Parties must daily expose the Right-wing Socialist chieftains as the worst enemies of peace.

It is necessary to develop and consolidate in every way cooperation and united action with basic organisations and with rank and file members of Socialist Parties; to support all genuinely honest elements in the ranks of these parties explaining to them the disastrous nature of the policy pursued by reactionary Right-wing leaders.

4. Communist and Workers' Parties should contrast the misanthropic propaganda of the aggressors striving to turn Europe and Asia into a sanguinary field of war with the broadest propaganda of a stable and lasting peace between the peoples.

They should ceaselessly expose aggressive blocs and military-political alliances (especially Western Union and the North-Atlantic bloc); they should also explain that a new war would bring untold disasters and colossal destruction to the peoples and that the struggle against war and for the defence of peace is the cause of all peoples in the world.

It is necessary to ensure that war propaganda and the preaching of race hatred and enmity between peoples made by agents of Anglo-American imperialism should meet with sharp condemnation by all sections of democratic public opinion in every country.

It is necessary also to secure that not a single statement by propagandists of a new war should be left unanswered by genuine supporters of peace.

5. New and effective forms of mass struggle for peace must be widely applied—forms which have completely justified themselves, such as peace committees in town and countryside, the signing of petitions and protests, the questionnaire widely used in France and Italy.

The publication and circulation of literature exposing war preparations; the collection of funds for the struggle for peace; the boycott of films, newspapers, books, journals, broadcasting companies, institutions and leaders propagating a new war—all these are vital tasks for the Communist and Workers' Parties.

6. Communist and working class Parties in capitalist countries consider it their duty to merge the struggle for national independence with that for peace, tirelessly exposing the anti-national treacherous nature of the policy of bourgeois governments which have become direct lieutenants of aggressive U.S. imperialism to rally and consolidate all democratic patriotic forces of the country around slogans of ending the shameful bondage expressing itself in servile subordination to U.S. monopolies and of returning to an independent foreign and home policy corresponding to the national interests of the peoples.

It is necessary to unite the broadest masses of the people in the capitalist countries to defend democratic rights and liberties, tirelessly explaining to them that the defence of peace is indissolubly linked with the defence of the vital interests of the working class and the working people; with the defence of their economic and political rights.

Important tasks confront the Communist Parties of France, Italy, Britain, Western Germany and other countries whose peoples the U.S. imperialists want to use as cannon fodder in realising their aggressive plans.

Their duty is to unfold with even greater energy the struggle for peace to frustrate designs of the Anglo-American warmongers.

7. Alongside the exposure of the imperialist warmongers and their accomplices, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union face the task of further consolidating the camp of peace and Socialism in the cause of defending peace and the security of peoples.

8. A considerable role in the realisation of their aggressive plans, particularly in Central and South-East Europe, is assigned by Anglo-American imperialists to the nationalist

Tito clique which is in the espionage service of the imperialists.

The tasks of defending peace and of combating the warmongers, demands the further exposure of this clique which has deserted to the camp of the inveterate enemies of peace, democracy and Socialism, to the camp of imperialism and fascism.

For the first time in the history of mankind an organised peace front has appeared, headed by the Soviet Union, the bulwark and standard-bearer of peace throughout the world.

Reaching out to ever wider masses of the people in the capitalist countries is the courageous call of the Communist Parties declaring that the peoples will never go to war against the first Socialist country in the world; against the Soviet Union.

During the war against fascism the Communist Parties were in the van of the popular resistance struggle against the invaders; in the postwar years the Communist and Workers' Parties are the front rank fighters for the vital interests of their peoples against a new war.

Rallied under the leadership of the working class, all opponents of another war—people of labour, science and culture—are forming a powerful peace front capable of frustrating the criminal designs of the imperialists.

Upon the energy and initiative of the Communist Parties depends largely the outcome of the ever-extending titanic struggle for peace; on Communists, as vanguard fighters, depends above all, the transforming of this possibility of frustrating the plans of the warmongers into reality.

The forces of democracy and the partisans of peace are greatly superior to the forces of reaction.

The job is now to raise to higher levels the vigilance of the peoples in relation to the instigators of war; to organise and rally the broad masses of the people for active defence of the cause of peace for the sake of the vital interests of the peoples, for life and liberty.

## **2. Working Class Unity and Tasks of Communist & Workers' Parties**

**T**HE preparations for a new war carried out by the Anglo-American imperialists, the crusade of bourgeois reaction against the democratic rights and the economic interests of the working class and the mass of the people call for intensified struggle of the working class to maintain and

consolidate peace and to organise a resolute rebuff to the warmongers and the onslaught of imperialist reaction.

Unity in the ranks of the working class is a guarantee of success in this struggle.

Postwar experience shows that the policy of splitting the working class movement forms one of the priorities in the arsenal of tactics applied by imperialists to unleash a new war; to suppress the forces of democracy and Socialism and drastically to reduce the living standards of the mass of the people.

Never before in the history of the international working class movement has the unity of the working class, both within individual countries and on a world scale, been of such decisive significance as at the present time.

Unity of the working class is essential to safeguard peace; to frustrate the criminal designs of the warmongers; to foil the conspiracy of the imperialists against democracy and Socialism; to prevent the establishment of fascist methods of domination; resolutely to rebuff the crusade of monopoly capital against the vital interests of the working class and to secure an improvement in the economic conditions of the working masses.

The realisation of these tasks can be achieved, above all, on the basis of rallying the broad mass of the working class, irrespective of party affiliation, trade union organisation or religious convictions.

Unity from below — such is the most effective way to consolidate all forces of the workers to defend peace and the national independence of their countries and to defend the economic interests and democratic rights of all working people.

Working class unity is attainable despite the opposition of the leading centres of those trade unions and parties headed by splitters and the enemies of unity.

The postwar period has been marked with big successes in eliminating the split in the working class, and in rallying the general democratic forces; successes which were expressed in the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Federation of Democratic Women, the World Federation of Democratic Youth and in the convening of the World Peace Congress.

Unity successes find expression in a consolidated C.G.T. in France, in the creation of a united trade union federation in Italy (C.G.T. of I.) and in the militant actions of the French and Italian proletariat.

In the People's Democracies historical successes in working class unity have also been won: united working class

parties, united trade unions, united cooperatives, youth, women's and other organisations have been established.

This working class unity has played a decisive role in the successes achieved in the economic and cultural advance in the People's Democracies; in securing the leading role of the working class in the State and in a radical improvement in the material welfare of the working masses.

All this shows the tremendous desire of the working people to consolidate their ranks and shows the real possibility of creating a united working class front against the combined forces of reaction—from the U.S. imperialists to the Right-wing Socialists.

U.S. and British imperialists and their satellites in European countries strive to split and disorganise the proletarian and the people's forces generally, pinning especial hopes on the Right-wing Socialists and reactionary trade union leaders.

On the direct orders of U.S. and British imperialists, the Right-wing Socialist and reactionary trade union leaders split the ranks of the working class movement from above, seeking to destroy united working class organisations created in the postwar period.

They tried to destroy the World Federation of Trade Unions from within; they organised splinter groups such as "Force Ouvriere" in France and the so-called Labour Federation in Italy, and they now try to prepare the formation of a disruptive international trade union body.

Similar attempts to split the workers were also made by leaders of Catholic organisations in individual countries.

The characterisation of the treacherous activity of the Right-wing Socialist leaders as that of most rabid enemies of working class unity and accomplices of imperialism—a characterisation made at the first meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties—has been fully confirmed.

Today the Right-wing Socialists appear not only as the agents of the bourgeoisie of their own countries, but also as agents of U.S. imperialism, turning the Social Democratic parties of European countries into American parties and into direct weapons of U.S. imperialist aggression.

In those countries where Right-wing Socialists are in the Government (Britain, France, Austria and the Scandinavian countries), they emerge as ardent champions of the "Marshall Plan", "Western Union", the "North Atlantic Agreement" and of all other forms of U.S. expansion.

These pseudo-Socialists perform a foul role in persecu-

ting the working class and democratic organisations which defend the interests of the working people.

Sliding further down the path of betrayal of the interests of the working class, democracy and Socialism, and having completely abandoned the Marxist doctrine, these Right-wing Socialists today appear as champions and advocates of the predatory ideology of U.S. imperialism.

Their theories of "Democratic Socialism" and of the "Third Force", their cosmopolitan ravings of the need to give up national sovereignty are nothing but an ideological cover for the aggression of U.S. and British imperialism.

The so-called Committee of International Socialist Conferences (COMISCO)—miserable offspring of the Second International which rotted alive — has become a rallying point for the most rabid disrupters and disorganisers of the working class movement. This organisation has become an espionage centre in the service of the British and U.S. intelligence services.

The unity of the working class can only be won in a resolute struggle against these Right-wing Socialist disrupters and disorganisers of the working class movement.

## II

**T**HE Information Bureau regards as the cardinal task of the Communist Parties a tireless struggle to unite and organise all forces of the working class in order to render a powerful rebuff to the insolent claims of Anglo-American imperialism to frustrate its calculations on a new world war; to safeguard and consolidate the cause of peace and international security, to doom to failure the onslaught of monopoly capital on the living standards of the working masses.

In the present international situation it is the duty of the Communist Parties to explain that if the working class does not secure unity in its ranks it will deprive itself of the most important weapon in the struggle against the growing danger of a new world war and against the onslaught of imperialist reaction on the living standards of the working people.

While waging an irreconcilable and consistent struggle in theory and practice against the Right-wing Socialists and reactionary trade union leaders; and while ruthlessly exposing them and isolating them from the masses, the Communists must patiently and persistently explain to the rank and file Social Democratic workers the entire significance of the cause of working class unity; draw them into an active struggle for peace, bread, and democratic liberties and pursue a policy of joint action to achieve these aims.

A well-tryed method to effect the unity of the working class is the unity in action of its various detachments. Coordinate joint actions at individual enterprises, in whole branches of industry, on a town, district, national and international scale; mobilise the broadest masses to fight for their immediate and most easily understood demands and thus help establish permanent unity in the ranks of the proletariat.

Working class unified action from below may find expression in the establishment of peace committees in factories and offices; in the organisation of mass demonstrations against the warmongers; in joint actions of workers to defend democratic rights and improve their economic conditions.

Particular attention in the struggle for working class unity should be devoted to the mass of Catholic workers and working people generally and to their organisations.

When doing this it should be borne in mind that religious convictions are not an obstacle to unity of the working people, especially when this unity is needed to save peace.

Concrete joint actions in the sphere of economic demands and the coordination of the struggle by class trade unions and Catholic trade unions, etc., can provide effective means of drawing Catholic workers into the general front of the struggle for peace.

The most important task of the Communist Parties in each capitalist country is to do everything in their power to secure trade union unity.

It is of great importance at present to draw workers who are not professionally organised into trade unions and into active struggle. In capitalist countries such workers constitute a considerable section of the proletariat.

If the Communist Parties get down to real work among the non-organised workers they will secure great successes in achieving working class unity.

The Information Bureau is of the opinion that on the basis of working class unity it is essential to achieve national unity of all democratic forces, to mobilise the broad masses of the people for the struggle against Anglo-American imperialism and reaction at home.

Of extreme importance is the day-to-day work in the mass organisations of the working people; women's, youth, peasant cooperative, and other bodies.

The unity of the working class movement and the consolidation of all democratic forces is essential not only to solve the daily tasks of the working class and of the working people; it is essential also to solve the cardinal issues con-

fronting the proletariat as a class leading the struggle to abolish the power of monopoly capital, and to reorganise society along Socialist lines.

On the basis of successes achieved in creating unity in the ranks of the working class movement, and in the consolidation of all democratic forces, it will become possible to develop the struggle in the capitalist countries for the formation of governments which would rally all the patriotic forces opposing the enslavement of their countries by U.S. imperialism; governments which would adopt a policy of a stable peace between the peoples, put an end to the armament race and raise the living standards of the working people.

In the People's Democracies the task of the Communist and Workers' Parties is to consolidate even more the working class unity which has been attained and the unity of trade union, cooperative, women's, youth and other organisations.

The Information Bureau believes that further successes in the struggle for working class unity and the consolidation of democratic forces depend, above all, on the improvement of the entire organisational and ideological work of every Communist and Workers' Party.

Of outstanding significance for these Parties is the ideological exposures and irreconcilable struggle against any manifestation of opportunism, sectarianism, and bourgeois nationalism and the struggle against the penetration of enemy agents into Party ranks.

The lessons arising from the exposures of the Tito-Rankovic espionage clique urgently demand that the Communist and Workers' Parties should heighten revolutionary vigilance to the maximum.

The agents of the Tito clique appear today as the most rabid disruptors in the ranks of the working class and of the democratic movement; disruptors carrying out the will of the U.S. imperialists.

It is necessary, therefore, resolutely to combat the machinations of this imperialist agency wherever it tries to be active in the working class and democratic organisations.

The organisational and ideological-political consolidation of the Communist and Workers' Parties, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is the most important condition for a successful struggle of the working class, for the unity of all its ranks, for the cause of peace, for national independence of its country, for democracy and Socialism.

### **3. Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Power of Murderers and Spies**

**T**HE Information Bureau, consisting of representatives of the Communist Party of Bulgaria, Rumanian Workers' Party, Working People's Party of Hungary, United Workers' Party of Poland, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Communist Party of France, and the Czechoslovak and Italian Communist Parties, having considered the question: "The Yugoslav Communist Party in the power of murderers and spies", unanimously reached the following conclusions:

Whereas, in June 1948 the meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties noted the change over of the Tito-Rankovic clique from democracy and Socialism to bourgeois nationalism, during the period that has elapsed since the meeting of the Information Bureau, this clique has travelled all the way from bourgeois nationalism to fascism and outright betrayal of the national interests of Yugoslavia.

Recent events show that the Yugoslav Government is completely dependent on foreign imperialist circles and has become an instrument of their aggressive policy, which has resulted in the liquidation of the independence of the Yugoslav Republic.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Government of Yugoslavia have merged completely with the imperialist circles against the entire camp of Socialism and democracy; against the Communist Parties of the world; against the New Democracies and the USSR.

The Belgrade clique of hired spies and murderers made a flagrant deal with imperialist reaction and entered its service, as the Budapest trial of Rajk-Brankov made perfectly clear.

This trial showed that the present Yugoslav rulers, having fled from the camp of democracy and Socialism to the camp of capitalism and reaction, have become direct accomplices of the instigators of a new war, and, by their treacherous deeds, are ingratiating themselves with the imperialists and kow-towing to them.

The change-over of the Tito clique to fascism was not fortuitous. It was effected on the order of their masters, the Anglo-American imperialists, whose mercenaries, it is now clear, this clique has been for long.

The Yugoslav traitors, obeying the will of the imperialists, undertook to form in the People's Democracies political

gangs consisting of reactionaries, nationalists, clerical and fascist elements and, relying on these gangs to bring about counter-revolutionary coups in these countries, wrest them from the Soviet Union and the entire Socialist camp and subordinate them to the forces of imperialism.

The Tito clique transformed Belgrade into an American centre for espionage and anti-Communist propaganda.

When all genuine friends of peace, democracy and Socialism see in the USSR, a powerful fortress of Socialism, a faithful and steadfast defender of the freedom and independence of nations and the principal bulwark of peace, the Tito-Rankovic clique, having attained power under the mask of friendship with the USSR, began on the orders of the Anglo-American imperialists, a campaign of slander and provocation against the Soviet Union, utilising the most vile calumnies borrowed from the arsenal of Hitler.

The transformation of the Tito-Rankovic clique into a direct agency of imperialism, and accomplices of the warmongers, culminated in the lining up of the Yugoslav Government with the imperialist bloc at UNO, where the Kardeljs, Djilas and Beblers, joined in a united front with American reactionaries on vital matters of international policy.

In the sphere of home policy, the chief outcome of the activity of the traitor Tito-Rankovic clique is the actual liquidation of the People's Democratic system in Yugoslavia.

Due to the counter-revolutionary policy of the Tito-Rankovic clique which usurped power in the Party and in the State, an anti-Communist, police State—fascist type regime—has been installed in Yugoslavia.

The social basis of this regime consists of kulaks in the countryside and capitalist elements in the towns.

In fact, power in Yugoslavia is in the hands of anti-popular, reactionary elements. Active members of the old bourgeois parties, kulaks and other enemies of People's Democracy, are active in central and local government bodies.

The top fascist rulers rely on an enormously swollen military-police apparatus, with the aid of which they oppress the peoples of Yugoslavia.

They have turned the country into a military camp, wiped out all democratic rights of the working people and trample on any free expression of opinion.

The Yugoslav rulers demagogically and insolently deceive the people, alleging they are building Socialism in Yugoslavia.

But it is clear to every Marxist that there can be no talk of building Socialism in Yugoslavia when the Tito clique has

broken with the Soviet Union, with the entire camp of Socialism and democracy, thereby depriving Yugoslavia of the main bulwark for building Socialism and when it has subordinated the country economically and politically to Anglo-American imperialists.

The State sector in the economy of Yugoslavia has ceased to be people's property, since State power is in the hands of enemies of the people.

The Tito-Rankovic clique has created wide possibilities for the penetration of foreign capital into the economy of the country, and has placed the economy under the control of capitalist monopolies.

Anglo-American industrial-financial circles investing their capital in Yugoslav economy, are transforming Yugoslavia into an agrarian-raw materials adjunct of foreign capital.

The ever growing slavish dependence of Yugoslavia on imperialism leads to intensified exploitation of the working class and to a severe worsening of its conditions.

The policy of the Yugoslav rulers in the countryside bears a kulak-capitalistic character.

The compulsory pseudo cooperatives in the countryside are in the hands of kulaks and their agencies and represent an instrument for the exploitation of wide masses of working peasants.

The Yugoslav hirelings of imperialism, having seized leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, unloosed a campaign of terror against genuine Communists loyal to the principles of Marxism and Leninism and who fight for Yugoslavia's independence from the imperialists.

Thousands of Yugoslav patriots, devoted to Communism, have been expelled from the Party and incarcerated in jails and concentration camps. Many have been tortured and killed in prison or, as was the case with the well-known Communist, Arso Jovanovic, were dastardly assassinated.

The brutality with which staunch fighters for Communism are being annihilated in Yugoslavia, can be compared only with the atrocities of the Hitler fascists or the butcher Tsaldaris in Greece or Franco in Spain.

Expelling from the ranks of the Party those Communists loyal to proletarian internationalism, annihilating them, the Yugoslav fascists opened wide the doors of the Party to bourgeois and kulak elements.

As a result of the fascist terror of the Tito gangs against the healthy forces in the Yugoslav Communist Party, leadership of the party is wholly in the hands of spies and murderers, mercenaries of imperialism.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia has been seized by counter-revolutionary forces, acting arbitrarily in the name of the Party. Recruiting spies and provocateurs in the ranks of the working class parties is, as is well-known, an old method of the bourgeoisie.

In this way the imperialists seek to undermine the Parties from within and subordinate them to themselves. They have succeeded in realising this aim in Yugoslavia.

The fascist ideology and fascist domestic policy, as well as the perfidious foreign policy of the Tito clique, completely subordinated to the foreign imperialist circles, have created a gulf between the espionage fascist Tito-Rankovic clique and the vital interests of the freedom-loving peoples of Yugoslavia.

Consequently, the anti-popular and treacherous activity of the Tito clique is encountering ever-growing resistance from those Communists who have remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and among the working class and working peasantry of Yugoslavia.

On the basis of irrefutable facts testifying to the complete changeover of the Tito clique to fascism and its desertion to the camp of world imperialism, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties considers, that:

1. The espionage group of Tito, Rankovic, Kardelj, Djilas, Pijade, Gosnjak, Maslaric, Bebler, Vukmanovic, Koca Popovic, Kidric, Neskovic, Zlatic, Velebit, Kolishevski and others, are enemies of the working class and peasantry and enemies of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

2. This espionage group expresses not the will of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but the will of the Anglo-American imperialists, and has therefore betrayed the interests of the country and abolished the political sovereignty and economic independence of Yugoslavia.

3. The "Communist Party of Yugoslavia", as at present constituted, being in the hands of enemies of the people, murderers and spies has forfeited the right to be called a Communist Party and is merely an apparatus for carrying out the espionage assignments of the clique of Tito-Kardelj-Rankovic-Djilas.

The Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties considers therefore, that the struggle against the Tito clique—hired spies and murderers—is the international duty of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is the duty of Communist and Workers' Parties to give all possible aid to the Yugoslav working class and working

peasantry who are fighting for the return of Yugoslavia to the camp of democracy and Socialism.

A necessary condition for the return of Yugoslavia to the Socialist camp is active struggle on the part of revolutionary elements both inside the Yugoslav Communist Party and outside its ranks, for the regeneration of the revolutionary, genuine Communist Party of Yugoslavia, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the principles of proletarian internationalism, and fighting for the independence of Yugoslavia from imperialism.

The loyal Communist forces in Yugoslavia, who, in the present brutal conditions of fascist terror, are deprived of the possibility of engaging in open action against the Tito-Rankovic clique, were compelled in the struggle for the cause of Communism, to follow the path taken by the Communists in those countries where legal work is forbidden.

The Information Bureau expresses the firm conviction that, among the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia, forces will be found capable of ensuring victory over the bourgeois-restoration espionage Tito-Rankovic clique; that the toiling people of Yugoslavia led by the working class will succeed in restoring the historical gains of People's Democracy, won at the price of heavy sacrifice and heroic struggle led by the peoples of Yugoslavia and that they will take the road of building Socialism.

The Information Bureau considers one of the most important tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties to be an all-round heightening of revolutionary vigilance in Party ranks; exposing and rooting out bourgeois-nationalist elements and agents of imperialism, no matter under what flag they conceal themselves.

The Information Bureau recognises the need for more ideological work in the Communist and Workers' Parties; more work to train Communists in the spirit of loyalty to proletarian internationalism; irreconcilability to any departure from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and in the spirit of loyalty to People's Democracy and Socialism.

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