

India:

First Editorial from "Liberation"

NOTES

LIBERATION appears at a time when India is in the throes of an acute economic and political crisis, when the class struggle within our country and outside grows sharper and sharper, when the imperialists and their stooges, aided by the Soviet revisionists, are waging a brutal, fascist war against the peoples in three continents. In India, the big bourgeoisie, big landlords and their masters, the US and British imperialists, are bleeding the people white. To deceive the starving, super-exploited people of this country the ruling classes seek to preserve the facade of parliamentary democracy and resort from time to time to the worst kind of chauvinism—a game in which revisionists and neo-revisionists have joined them. On the other hand, brutal, fascist attacks are being made on the working class and the peasantry and on the national minorities whenever they rise in revolt.

But the forces of liberation are marching from victory to victory all the world over. Seven hundred million Chinese people, who are in the van of the world-wide struggle for freedom, world peace and socialism, are building a socialist society with amazing swiftness. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has swept away from the minds of the Chinese people the thoughts and habits alien to socialism and ensured a future which will not tolerate reversion to capitalism as in the first socialist state of the world. The heroic Vietnamese people, applying correctly Mao Tse-tung's strategy and tactics of People's War, are dealing shattering blows to the most powerful of all imperialisms. The people of Southeast Asia have taken to the path of armed struggle against imperialism and its native stooges. Revolutionary storms are also blowing over Africa and Latin America. Within the USA, the citadel of world reaction, the Afro-Americans, supported by sections of poor whites, are valiantly fighting to break the age-old fetters of slavery. Here, in India, an unprecedented revolutionary situation is fast developing. The brave peasants of Naxalbari, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, have raised the banner of revolt against feudal oppression, against the rule of the reactionary classes. For the first time in India's history, the revolutionary peasant movement led by the working class has been able to smash a weak link in the feudal-

This article, entitled "Notes," is the first editorial of the new magazine, LIBERATION, published by the revolutionary communists of India who are in the process of building a real Communist Party based on Marxism-Leninism, the Thought of Mao Tse Tung.

The Naxalbari peasants under the guidance of the revolutionary communists have opened a new chapter in the revolutionary movement in India. Naxalbari, within a short time, has already become a symbolic term for people's revolution. It has caught the imagination of the struggling workers and peasants all over India. (See W.R. Vol. 1 No. 1, "Roundup of Armed Struggle in India.")

LIBERATION opens and closes its pages of its first issue with the following quotes from Chairman Mao Tse-Tung:

"Therefore, the united front, armed struggle and Party building are the three fundamental questions for our Party in the Chinese revolution. Having a correct grasp of these three questions and their interrelations is tantamount to giving correct leadership to the whole Chinese revolution."

Introducing "The Communist" (October, 1939)

"An erroneous leadership that endangers the revolution should not be accepted unconditionally but should be resisted resolutely."

comprador bourgeois-imperialist chain despite all the terror unleashed by the rulers. Naxalbari marks the beginning of a new era in India's history—the beginning of the end of the old regime of exploitation by imperialism and its parasites. The message of Naxalbari, the message of agrarian revolution led by the working class as the only path to complete national liberation and socialism, is spreading and dispelling from the minds of our peasantry and working class the gloom of despair and instilling into them a revolutionary consciousness and a revolutionary urge. Naxalbari has smashed the barrier, the barrier erected by revisionist politics to isolate the toiling people of India from the world revolutionary forces battling against imperialism and all reaction—in China, Vietnam, Burma and other countries. It is Naxalbari which has given the revolutionary working people of India their rightful place as

a contingent of the world revolutionary forces.

Naxalbari has also torn the mask off the neo-revisionist clique led by Ranadive, Namboodiripad, Sundarayya, and Co., and spells its doom. The perfidy of these neo-revisionist leaders like that of the Dangeites knows no limit. When the long-delayed social revolution is breaking out, they are acting as the last reserve of the reactionary ruling classes, which are now caught in the meshes of a deepening economic and political crisis. Hiding their real intentions under a cloak of left phraseology, they have discarded Marxism and stepped forward to defend the old hated regime, but the revolutionary forces will no doubt cast them into the dustbin of history and march forward towards People's Democracy and Socialism.

Liberation dedicates itself to the noblest of all causes—the liberation of the toiling people. It dedicates itself to the cause of the Indian Revolution and takes the pledge to wage an uncompromising fight against the imperialists and native reactionaries including the revisionists and neo-revisionists.

Liberation sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the great Chinese comrades, the valiant Vietnamese comrades, the brave comrades in Burma, Thailand, Laos, Indonesia, Ceylon, the U.S. A and all other countries, who, guided by the thought of Mao Tse-tung, Marxism-Leninism of our era, are fighting relentless battles for national liberation, world peace and socialism.

"Marxists" as Defenders of Parliamentary Democracy

In a circular dated October 17, 1967, to all Party units, the Polit Bureau of the CPI (M) says:

"These events (the "attempted coup" of October 2 in West Bengal and the diabolical plans of the Chief Minister working secretly with the Congress Government at the centre to massacre five thousand political workers and throw into prison a few thousand more) show to what lengths the ruling classes are prepared to go in their desperate attempts to get over the deep economic and political crisis in which they are now caught. They are prepared to attack the very basis of parliamentary democracy to save their hated rule."

The PB has again raised "the slogan of mid-term elections for a fresh verdict of the people" and urged "all Party units to continuously hold meetings and demonstrations throughout the country, to rouse public opinion and the democratic forces to these dangers that are threatening the very fabric of parliamentary democracy and rally their support to defend it."

It is interesting to recall that the same slogan, the slogan to strengthen Parliamentary institutions and to extend democracy, was raised by the CPI during the election campaign in 1962—before the split (cf. Election Manifesto of the CPI, 1962).

Parliamentary democracy of which both the Dangeites and "Marxists" are so enamoured, is, as every Marxist knows, the organ of the dictatorship of the exploiting classes over the toiling people. Engels said that "the contemporary representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labour by capital." "A democratic republic," added Lenin, "is the best possible political shell for capitalism, and, therefore, once capital has gained control of this very best shell (through the Palchinskys, Chernovs, Tseretelis & Co.), it establishes its power so securely, so firmly, that no change, either of persons, of institutions, or of parties in the bourgeois-democratic republic, can shake it.

"We must also note that Engels very definitely calls universal suffrage an instrument of bourgeois rule." (State and Revolution)

It was the British imperialists who planted Parliamentary democracy on the Indian soil as the organ of the imperialist-feudal dictatorship over the toiling people of India. When the British handed over political power to their Congress agents, this ready-made organ of class-rule was adopted unaltered by the new ruling classes—the comprador-bourgeoisie and the landlords. The Central Legislative Assembly of the British colonial days, elected by the propertied and privileged classes, was given the high-sounding name of the Constituent Assembly and served as the Parliament of the Sovereign Republic until the early months of 1952. The facade of parliamentary democracy has served the reactionary ruling classes well and the revisionist leaders of the CPI have all these years shared and instilled, to quote the words of Lenin, "into the minds of the people the wrong idea that universal suffrage 'in the modern state' is really capable of expressing the will of the majority of the toilers and of ensuring its realization."

Now that the various contradictions—between imperialism and the people, between feudalism and the peasantry, between the bourgeoisie and the working class—have been growing sharper and sharper, the reactionary ruling classes of India are finding it increasingly difficult to preserve the facade of parliamentary democracy. They are ready to scrap the parliamentary institutions whenever there arises a threat to their regime of oppression and exploitation and whenever they are unable to rule in the old way. So when the people are again and again rising in revolt against the bourgeois-landlord

state, when a vast wave of struggle for land and food and national liberation, of which Naxalbari is only the prelude, is about to sweep the country—the reactionary ruling classes have pressed their last reserve, the neo-revisionists—Namboodiripad, Ranadive, Jyoti Basu, Sundarayya and Co.—into the battle to save their hated rule. Faced with a fast developing revolutionary situation, these neo-revisionists have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and joined the counter-revolutionary camp. By waving the banner of parliamentary democracy they indeed seek to defend the joint dictatorship of the comprador-bureaucratic bourgeoisie and landlords. Their campaign in defence of parliamentary democracy and their call for mid-term elections are nothing but a clever ruse to screen from the people the sharp social contradictions, to divert their attention from the urgent revolutionary tasks of developing peasant struggles under the leadership of the working class on the Naxalbari line and to paralyse the revolutionary section of workers and peasants. But their attempt is doomed to fail. Despite their left phraseology they can hardly conceal their true character—the character of unashamed lackeys of the ruling classes.

U.S. Government and the Role of "Marxists"

It is worth recalling a formulation of this treacherous clique. After they had joined the coalition governments in West Bengal and Kerala, the West Bengal Committee of the CPI (M) made the following declaration in a communique entitled "W. B. State Committee Reviews Elections, Charts Immediate Tasks" (People's Democracy, April 16, 1967):

"Further the (UF) Ministry is formed on the basis of a conglomeration of fourteen parties with different policies and ideologies and they are united with the aim of serving the people's interests. It has to function on the basis of a non-class outlook." (emphasis, Liberation). What a gem of a Marxist formulation! Can there be any "non-class outlook" in a class-ridden society? In the name of "a non-class outlook" the treacherous leaders of the party of the working class surrendered the proletarian outlook, proletarian politics, to the outlook and politics of the exploiting classes represented by the Bangla Congress and the like. So they never hesitate to join hands with other reactionaries to hunt and shoot down brave peasants and peasant women trying to break the shackles of feudal exploitation and throw hundreds of others into prison. They even outdo other counter-revolutionaries in vilifying the revolutionaries of the Party who are leading the struggle of the peasants. They share responsibility for a food policy which

denies food to the people and enables the jotedars and blackmarketeers to reap a harvest of gold out of the misery and suffering of the people. They have not also hesitated to fire upon and murder workers.

After October 2, the vile surrender has become more and more glaring though the renegades seek to cover it up with militant slogans. "We do not want strikes and lock-outs. We seek an amicable settlement of labour disputes," commented the Deputy Chief Minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu (CPI-M) after the Cabinet meeting." (The Statesman, October 6, 1967.) More than 60,000 workers lost their jobs in West Bengal during the first six months of the coalition government; there is lock-out in several large factories and industrialists are insisting on more retrenchment of workers but the "Marxists," who have done little to defend the workers, go on prating of conciliation, arbitration and industrial peace. Their policy has encouraged G. D. Birla to praise Namboodiripad and to declare, "I am very happy in Kerala. I do not mind the Communists running the Government there." (The Statesman, October 24, 1967.) In answer Jyoti Basu, Polit Bureau member, CPI (M), said: "The West Bengal Government acknowledged the fact that efforts should be made to harmonize relations in industry. It had therefore decided to meet industrialists and trade union leaders soon." "Mr. Jyoti Basu," The Statesman's Staff Reporter added, "felt the trade union leaders were partly responsible for the present state of affairs. While recession played its part, in 'a few cases' labour might have demanded 'too much' and 'in many cases employers wanted to teach labour a lesson.'" (The Statesman, October 24, 1967.) Is this the voice of a Marxist or of a flunkey of the bourgeoisie?

"Mr. Harekrishna Konar, CPI-M Minister for Land and Land Revenue, told reporters informally after the meeting that in the struggle between jotedars and bargadars on the land front, there would in future be much less of the 'impatience and childishness' displayed by certain sections of the peasantry from time to time in the past... He also said that he would urge the Cabinet to utilize military personnel in the coming procurement drive if such a need arose." (The Statesman, October 6, 1967.) On the one hand, the Government of Jyoti Basu and Harekrishna Konar are bringing units of the Central Reserve Police, setting up police camps in the villages and perfecting the state machine to drown in blood any struggle of the share-croppers and landless agricultural labourers for food and land: on the other hand, Mr Konar and his men are trying to sabotage the struggle from within in the face of attacks from the jotedars and their Government. "As

Secretary of the Krishak Sabha," reported the Statesman on October 20, 1967, "Mr Konar had also issued circulars to his organization's units asking Sabha workers to impress upon the bargadars the need for avoiding clashes with jotedars who might try to use force to take away paddy from the fields. The Sabha should organize its workers so that bargadars could deposit their produce at panchayat khamars. Thereupon BDOs and JLROs should be requested to distribute paddy, after thrashing, among bargadars and jotedars." (emphasis Liberation.) To quote Lenin, "Revolutionary-democratic phrases to gull the rural Simple Simons, bureaucracy and red tape for the 'benefit' of the capitalists—that is the essence of the 'honest coalition.'" (State and Revolution).

These lackeys of the big landlords and the bourgeoisie claim that by continuing in the UF Governments they are strengthening the Party, building mass organizations and extending the party's mass-base, and thus preparing for the revolution to come. That the claim is hollow is not difficult to prove. How can you strengthen a Communist Party by repudiating Marxism-Leninism, making fascist attacks on the revolutionaries within the Party and by preaching bourgeois ideology? How can you build mass organizations by siding with the reactionary classes in class-battles and firing upon workers and peasants? How can you prepare for the Revolution by opposing class struggles and destroying and disrupting the Party and mass organizations? Naxalbari has torn the mask off them and made it possible for a genuine Communist Party, rid of their influence, to emerge.

These neo-revisionists contend that by clinging to office they are providing relief to the people. It is utter revisionism to hold that in this era of rapid disintegration and decay of the capitalist system it is possible to offer relief to the basic masses in a semi-colonial country like India without bringing about any changes in the relations of production and the character of the State. They deliberately ignore what Lenin said:

"The entire history of the bourgeois-parliamentary, and also, to a considerable extent, of the bourgeois-constitutional, countries shows that a change of ministers means very little, for the real work of administration is in the hands of an enormous army of officials. This army, however, is undemocratic through and through, it is connected by thousands and millions of threads with the landowners and the bourgeoisie and is completely dependent on them. This army is surrounded by an atmosphere of bourgeois relations, and breathes nothing but this atmosphere. It is set in its ways, petrified, stagnant, and is powerless to break free of this atmosphere. It can only

think, feel or act in the old way. This army is bound by servility to rank, by certain privileges of 'Civil' service, the upper ranks of this army are, through the medium of shares and banks, entirely enslaved by the finance capital, being to a certain extent its agent and a vehicle of its interests and influence.

"It is the greatest delusion, the greatest self-deception of the people, to attempt, by means of this state apparatus, to carry out such reforms as the abolition of landed estates without compensation, or the grain monopoly etc. This apparatus can serve a republican bourgeoisie creating a republic in the shape of a 'monarchy without a monarch,' like the French Third Republic, but it is absolutely incapable of carrying out reforms which would seriously curtail or limit the rights of capital, the rights of 'sacred private property,' much less abolish those rights. That is why it always happens, under all sorts of 'Coalition' cabinets that include 'socialists' that these socialists, even when individuals among them are perfectly honest, in reality turn out to be either a useless ornament or a screen to divert the people's indignation from the government, a tool for the government to deceive the people. This was the case with Louis Blanc in 1848, and dozens of times in Britain and France, when socialists participated in Cabinets. This is also the case with the Chernovs and Tseretelis in 1917. So it has been and so it will be as long as the bourgeois system exists and as long as the old bourgeois, bureaucratic state apparatus remains intact." (Lenin: One of the Fundamental Questions of Revolution, Collected Works, Vol. 25, pp. 367-368.)

Soviet "Aid" to India

According to a message from Moscow, dated October 13, 1967, about half of the "aid" of one billion roubles (Rs 825 crores), which the Soviet Union promised in July last year to grant India for 1966-70, will be channelled into industry. At a Press conference in the Soviet capital, Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, India's Minister for Industry, declared that "the development of the Indian engineering industry was 'inseparable' from Soviet 'aid.'" He has worked with Soviet officials to arrange co-operation in the field of engineering and "the signing of an appropriate agreement is expected later."

It may be of interest to know that the loan the USSR has agreed to grant for 1966-70 far exceeds Soviet economic "aid" to this country during ten years of Khrushchov's premiership. Another interesting thing is that Soviet "aid" is increasing at a time when US "aid" is declining. In its lust for world domination US imperialism has so overstretched itself that for

the last few years it has been faced with a severe balance of payments crisis. This crisis caused mainly by overseas military expenditures, foreign "aid" programmes (90 per cent of which are tied to exports) and private capital investment in foreign countries is forcing the US government to reduce its foreign commitments. It is chiefly through foreign military and economic "aid" that the US imperialists maintain their neo-colonial regime in the underdeveloped countries of the world. But the mounting costs of their aggressive war in Vietnam and of the massive military build-up in Southeast Asia make it increasingly difficult for them to pour as much "aid" in countries like India as is needed by reactionary regimes to survive. That is why, imperialist "aid" to these regimes is being supplemented on an increasing scale by Soviet "aid".

Soviet "aid" is usually hailed by reactionaries and revisionists of all hues as disinterested, generous and without strings. Is this praise really deserved? Is its nature really progressive—altogether different from that of imperialist "aid"? If it is progressive, it would have helped India to break the shackles of foreign capital and enabled her economy to develop along independent lines. But facts prove the contrary. In 17 years from 1948 to 1965, foreign capital investments in the private sector in India increased from Rs. 255 crores to about Rs 1000 crores and investments of private US capital from Rs 11 crores to Rs 250 crores (this includes the capital invested by the World Bank in the private sector). India's total debt to the US imperialists until the end of the last year amounted to about Rs. 5500 crores. For meeting the huge balance of payments deficit for keeping the wheels of her industry moving and for feeding quite a large section of the population, the reactionary rulers of India are chiefly dependent on the "bounty" of the US imperialists. India's reactionary ruling classes would not have survived so long but for this vast "aid" which has strengthened her neo-colonial fetters. As long as the Indian state is the state of big landlords and the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the mainstay of imperialism in the country, the question of independent development can hardly arise.

Marxism teaches us that from whatever source "aid" may be received, it goes to enrich and strengthen the ruling class at the expense of the toiling people. Even communists have been duped too long by the revisionist theory that Soviet "aid" can help India's economy to develop along independent lines despite the imperialist stranglehold over it. Far from attacking this stranglehold, Soviet "aid" has only strengthened it.

How can Soviet "aid" be disinterested when

the Soviet revisionists have seen to it that Soviet economy is based on the profit motive? If economic relations within the country are ruled by the principle of buying cheap and selling dear, can the economic relations with a foreign country be guided by a principle of an opposite character? It is absurd to think that Soviet "aid" is Socialist aid when capitalism is being restored in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet "aid" to India has only forged new shackles—of the neo-colonial kind—and is as "disinterested" and "unselfish", as the imperialist "aid." By using this weapon of "aid," the Soviet revisionists have extended their influence over India's ruling classes as the junior partner of imperialism. Today the Soviet Union occupies the third place in India's foreign trade and is the chief supplier of military hardware. The Soviet "aid," which India has so far received, has been invested in heavy industries controlled by Indian bureaucratic capital. The U.S.S.R. has been able to tighten her grip over some of the vital sectors of India's industry: she controls a fourth of the steel output, half of the oil refineries and a fifth of the electricity generated in India. She maintains a monopoly of the work of designs and supply of machinery and machine tools for the enterprises set up with her help. Let us take the example of the Bokaro Steel Plant now under construction. The Soviet rulers have refused to associate Indians with the work of designs and insist on having entire control over the steel works during the period of its construction.

Like the imperialists, the Soviet revisionists are forcing India to buy at high prices Soviet goods which are poor in quality. They also force India to spend the entire amount of "aid" on purchases in the Soviet Union: that is, the entire "aid" is tied to exports. It is also worth noting that the Soviet leaders exact prices for machines and machines-tools, which are 20 to 30 per cent higher than the prevailing international prices. That is why, the Economic Times commented that though the rate of interest on Soviet loans appears to be a mere 2.5 per cent, the actual rate which is quite high lies concealed in the exorbitant prices of the goods supplied by the Soviet Union. She has plans of building industries in India in collaboration with Indian capital and of exporting their products to the markets in Southeast Asia and Africa. These are only some of the ways in which the U.S.S.R. seeks to exploit the labour and resources of India and to control her economy together with the US imperialists.

The very pattern of trade between India and the Soviet Union is neo-colonial in character. The Soviet Union buys cheap from India primary or semi-processed products like jute, tea,

wool, leather and tobacco and sells to this country at high prices machines, machines-tools, tractors and other products of her industry.

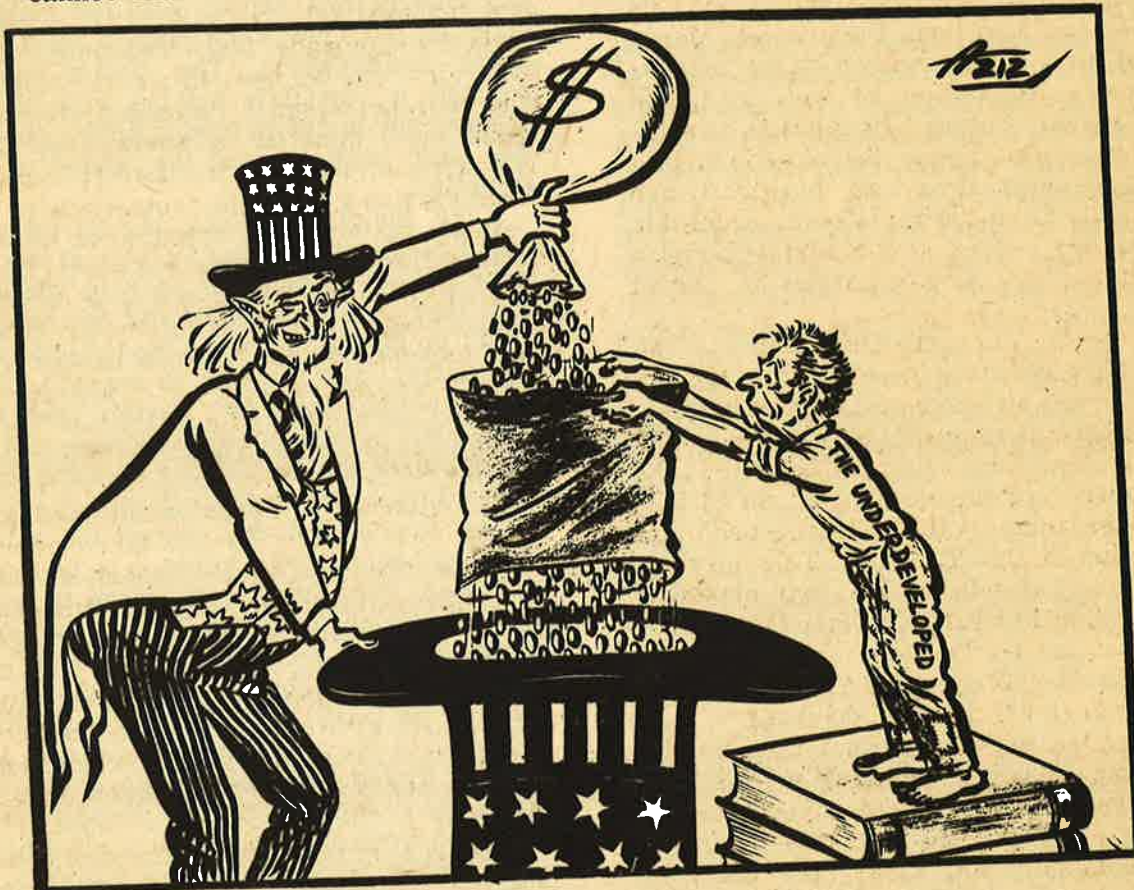
India is a typical example that shows how, by wielding the weapon of "aid," the Soviet revisionists seek to buy up the Indian reactionaries collaborate with US imperialists to maintain these reactionaries in power, do everything possible to prevent revolutionary developments and establish their domination over a foreign country jointly with the US imperialists.

It is the objective needs of capitalism, which the Soviet revisionists have restored in their country, that force them to collaborate with the US imperialists and build up their own neo-colonial empire. That is why in the name of "International Socialist Division of Labour," they have tried to stifle the economic development of the other socialist countries. To quote from the Progressive Labor of February-March, 1967, "'Under the International Division of Labour' the Soviet Union's allies supply food, raw materials and capital to the Soviet Union and, in turn, the Soviet Union force manufactured items on her allies." "In the final analysis," remarked the Times Review of Industry (February, 1964), "the COMECON members cannot maintain their development

without help from the U.S.S.R., and any possible aspirations to greater political independence on the part of the East European countries must be governed by this knowledge." The Soviet Union is building up a sphere of economic and political domination and, to quote again from the same issue of the Progressive Labor, "Like any other nation which is developing an economy based on private profit, the Soviet Union needs areas to exploit."

That is why, the Soviet revisionist clique is feverishly trying to prop up every reactionary regime on earth with economic and military "aid," to help the US imperialists to "contain" socialist China and to do everything conceivable to put out the flame of national liberation war. That is why, "The US," as The Broadsheet of October, 1966, said, "is no longer afraid of the Soviet Union's influence in India, and indeed counts on its help."

Because of the immense prestige that the Soviet Union still enjoys among exploited peoples, its revisionist rulers are as deadly enemies as the U.S. imperialists. Soviet "aid" is indeed a Trojan horse used by US imperialism to ensure their joint domination over India and countries like India.



U.S. "Aid"
by M.A. Aziz (Pakistan)