

CHAPTER VI

International Situation & Tasks of the Indian People

161. The Indian struggle for liberation is an integral part of the world struggle of the toiling masses and the enslaved peoples, and we cannot hope to achieve our goal without doing our share of the fight on the world scale. The enemies of the people are organized internationally, and have built up various agencies and combinations that operate all over the capitalist world. The capitalist rulers of one country do not hesitate to come to the aid of other capitalists threatened by mass struggles, and imperialist intervention is a danger against which all people's struggles have to take guard. Destruction of this source of attack on our life and efforts to live is, therefore, an obvious task for us. We must therefore, undertake and unhesitatingly support actions that weaken imperialism.

American Imperialism

162. In this regard, we must concentrate our attack on American imperialism, which is the main imperialist power today. The misdeeds of American imperialism are all too well known, and there is a considerable amount of popular hatred against American imperialism in India, as in many other countries. But American agencies

are actively operating in India and a veritable network of propaganda and espionage has been built up. The ruling class is naturally inclined to American imperialism, and it has to depend on the USA for financing its economic plans and food-supply, and military aid as well. Some of the big newspapers serve as mouthpieces of American imperialism. In these circumstances, we must never permit any complacency or slackening in our campaigns against American imperialism.

163. We must constantly remind our people of the enormous profits that American imperialism made out of the Second World War; we must remind our people how the American imperialists brandished their atomic weapons over the head of the rest of the world; we must remind our people how they built strategic military bases all over the world in their effort to encircle the socialist camp; how they plotted and conspired against the socialist states; how they built their military organizations like NATO, CENTO, and SEATO in Europe, West Asia and East Asia; how they intervened in the internal affairs of almost every country; how they coaxed and cajoled, bribed and bullied the smaller countries; how they destroyed the people's chosen government in Guatemala by open aggression; how they committed aggression against Cuba; how under their overlordship the peoples of South Korea, South Vietnam or Laos have never known peace or security; how they manipulate governments into and out of existence in these countries and many Latin American

countries ; how they supply arms to their puppets and increase tension between nations ; how they destroyed all shreds of civil rights in their own country under the notorious McCarthy ; how they humiliated and degraded the Japanese people under the rule of MacArthur ; how they vitiated the air and the water of large areas of the world by their nuclear explosions in criminal disregard of the lives of Asian people ; how they sought to threaten Egypt ; how they tried to blackmail Ceylon and Indonesia ; how they interfere in Cambodia ; how they continue to deny the Chinese People's Republic their rightful place in the UNO ; how they continue their attacks against Cuba, against North Vietnam ; how they landed their marines in Lebanon ; how their armed fleets roam the high seas and disturb the coastal waters of many countries as a constant threat to peace and to nations' right of self-determination ; how they continue helping the fascist regime in Spain, Portugal and South Africa ; how they revive and bolster up Nazis and fascists in Germany, and encourage revanchist ambitions of the war-criminals ; how they finance and help and directly intervene in support of the hated Tshombe in Congo ; how they continue to oppress their own poor, and particularly the coloured people.

164. The working class in India must be ever watchful against American imperialism, and ever alert to organize campaigns of the broadest kind against all its misdeeds.

Other Imperialist Powers

165. While concentrating its fire against American imperialism, the Indian working class at the same time must not overlook the misdeeds of other imperialist states. For example, British imperialism still continues its games in Africa and Asia, and the Indian bourgeoisie often acts as its broker on many issues. The regimes in South Africa, Angola, South Rhodesia, Mozambique, are supported by British imperialism ; although the British government expresses its disapproval of the racist policies of these regimes, these formal expressions of disapproval are utterly hypocritical ; British companies operate in these countries, British capital draws huge profits from these areas, and they even invest heavily in arms production for these regimes. British imperialism also constantly seeks to divide and disrupt the African liberation struggle ; the reactionary leadership and governments in a few newly liberated countries of Africa act as agents of British imperialism, and all the weapons of propaganda are employed by the British imperialists against the progressive leaderships and governments of the African states which are preparing for an uncompromising struggle for liberation of the African countries still held under imperialism.

166. As in India, the present policy of British imperialism is to transfer power to capitalist and reactionary regimes in those countries where it can no longer maintain its direct rule. In East Asia it is playing the same game.

167. Similar activities of French or Belgian or Dutch or other imperialists must be exposed, and the Indian working class must actively join world-wide anti-imperialist campaigns and render all possible help to the peoples fighting for national liberation.

Struggle for World Peace

168. The struggle for world peace is an important part of the world struggle against imperialism. Imperialism inevitably tends to war, and production and export of armaments, destruction through war, and imperialist seizure of bases and colonies are essential features of imperialism. Imperialism actively continues its war plans against the socialist camp, and intervention and aggression against socialist states and anti-imperialist democratic governments are part of the imperialist policy. Wars and war-mongering are requirements of imperialist economy.

169. On the other hand world opinion has been roused against the dangers of war and warmongering in the context of modern weapons of mass annihilation. Starting with the desire for peace, it is now possible to mobilize various sections of people all over the world in the struggle for peace, strengthen and develop the anti-imperialist content of the struggle for peace, and isolate the imperialists. The movement for peace is a very important movement of our time.

170. But we have seen in India that the movement for peace, if conducted under the hegemony

of bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois pacifism, gets isolated from the masses and mass struggles, loses its anti-imperialist content, and degenerates into a platform of pious speech-making. In India, particularly, the peace movement has been allowed to become an appendage to the foreign policy of the Congress government. It can no longer be doubted that much of the protestations of bourgeois pacifism in and around this movement are completely hypocritical and cannot stand the test of trials.

171. The movement for peace, to be genuine and effective, must be conducted under the hegemony of the working class. This does not mean that the working class should adopt sectarian policies in the peace movement; hegemony of the working class cannot be obtained ready-made, it has to be established through a course of patient and persistent ideological struggle, through ceaseless efforts to educate the elements from other classes regarding the tasks of the peace movement. The working class must not refuse to work with other classes in the peace movement, but it must continuously put forward its own ideas and proposals, and never adopt tailist policies.

172. In the struggle for peace the demand for full disarmament must now become the rallying point of millions of people. The demand for full disarmament is a challenge to capitalism and the peace movement may become an immense instrument for exposure of capitalism through this demand.

173. Settlement of international disputes through peaceful negotiation, recognition of the right of nations to self-determination, opposition to foreign intervention, development of economic and cultural exchanges and co-operation between nations, are important principles of the peace movement that must be upheld by the Indian working class.

174. Particularly important in the present situation is the principle of settlement of international disputes by peaceful negotiation. This principle, long violated by imperialism, was put forward by the socialist states and a long campaign had to be carried on before the imperialist powers agreed to negotiate on certain issues when forced by circumstances. But besides being a necessary corollary of the principle of co-existence of states with different social systems, this principle has now wider significance in the changed picture of the world. Many new states have now emerged as a result of the retreat of imperialist rule from many parts of Africa and Asia. Boundaries of some of these states are inherited from the arbitrary division of regions and countries by imperialism. In Africa, for example, the borders drawn by imperialism, militate against ethnical, economic and natural boundaries. Border disputes between newly liberated countries have thus become a potential source of danger to the unity and solidarity of the peoples against imperialism. Such border disputes must be settled through peaceful negotiations, and chauvinist attitudes must not be allowed to create serious difficulties for the peoples involved.

Policy of Neutralism

175. As against imperialism, the Indian working class should unhesitatingly support the nationalist-neutralist governments of many newly liberated countries. In so far as neutralism prevents certain capitalist states from directly going over to the military organizations of imperialism, neutralist policies should be encouraged, and attempts to change such policies in favour of open alliance with imperialism resisted. It would be a mistake to underestimate the value of neutralism in the present world situation. But at the same time the working class must always be on guard against unqualified confidence in neutralist policies. Neutralism can remain genuine only if the anti-imperialist struggle is intensified, and the logic of struggle narrows down the possibilities of an alliance between imperialism and the nationalist leadership of the country concerned. Intensification of the contradictions within the capitalist world, which is a result of the capitalist system, should be helped, not hindered. Neutralism, which is one of the manifestations of these contradictions, loses its positive content if the contradiction between the imperialist powers and the underdeveloped and newly liberated countries is allowed to settle down.

Forms of Struggle against Imperialism

176. In this connection, it has become imperative for the Indian working class to dissociate very clearly from the views of the Indian bourgeoisie and their government regarding the form of struggle

against imperialism in Africa, Asia or Latin America. This question has become of immediate importance in such countries as South Africa, Angola, Mozambique or South Rhodesia. All avenues of peaceful development of the anti-imperialist struggle in these countries are blocked by the imperialists and the white racialist minority regimes who employ all the notorious fascist methods. Even the Christian pacifist section of the leadership in these struggles are being compelled by actual events to admit that peaceful methods are not open to them. The spokesmen of the Indian bourgeoisie, who speak in the name of the Indian people, however, continue to preach pacifism to the African peoples.

177. The Indian working class must firmly declare that the question of forms of struggle has to be decided by the actual participants in the struggle, and it is the bounden duty of all people against imperialism to support wholeheartedly the anti-imperialist struggle in whatever form it is waged. The Indian working class must also declare that the struggle must not stop, it must adopt new forms according to changed circumstances and when peaceful paths are not available, the African people have every right to organise armed insurrections and armed struggles. To suffer the inhuman destruction of people's lives and honour without protest, without resistance,—to tolerate the savage imperialist order without working for its overthrow—to refuse to take arms for the protection of women and children and whole nations against armed bandits—is the worst dishonour that a man can inflict upon himself.

178. This holds true also in respect of the relation between the Fascist imperialist regimes and the independent African states. It is the duty of the African states and all newly liberated countries to oppose with all their might the fascist regimes. They must aid and support the liberation struggles inside countries like South Africa, Angola, South Rhodesia, etc. by all possible means, including armed attacks on these regimes as and when required by the liberation struggle. The principle of peaceful co-existence must not be distorted to mean toleration of these inhuman regimes. The Indian working class must fully support all military actions undertaken by African states against the imperialists.

179. The Indian working class must also fully support those measures of the government of underdeveloped countries which weaken the economic domination of the imperialist powers in these countries. Of particular importance in this respect are the measures of nationalization of important industries, banks and installations owned by foreign capitalists. In many newly liberated countries imperialism had to withdraw even before a national bourgeoisie that could take over from imperialism had been developed ; in some of these countries, the concrete situation compelled the new state to take over the industries and installations owned by the imperialists. Such measures are opposed by the imperialist powers, who wish to retain their economic and military bases, even though they cannot retain their political rule. Elimination of these bases of imperialism being a

requirement of the final success of the Indian liberation movement, the Indian working class must support those governments which undertake these actions against the imperialists, and resolutely oppose all forms of imperialist intervention against these governments.

180. In this connection, the Indian working class must also oppose all opportunist actions of the Indian bourgeoisie which seek to make profits out of such tensions. For example, sugar is being exported to the USA in place of the sugar from Cuba, the USA having planned to throttle Cuba by stopping import of Cuban sugar. In some African states, as well as in some Asian states, Indian settler capital may be affected by the nationalization measures aimed against imperialism ; in such circumstances, the Indian working class must not allow chauvinist feelings to distort the true picture, and must boldly declare that the workers and toiling people in the other countries are nearer to them than the few businessmen and capitalists of Indian origin.

The Socialist Camp

181. In the international struggle against imperialism, the Indian working class must naturally look to the strength of the socialist camp as its own strength. Unity and solidarity of the socialist camp, increasing prosperity and strength of the socialist states, and correct national and international policies of the socialist states are important requirements for the assured victory of the toiling

people and the enslaved peoples everywhere. If the socialist states are weakened, if the development of the economy of any of them is slowed down, if relations between the socialist states are not developed on correct basis, if differences of opinion between the socialist states lead to serious dissensions and disruption of relations, if, above all, any socialist state fails to fulfil its international task and begins to help imperialism instead of opposing it, or even adopts a neutralist role, then the cause of the toiling people all over the world is injured.

182. Therefore, the Indian working class must resolutely oppose all imperialist manouvreings against any socialist state, must uphold the cause of the socialist states against imperialism and capitalism, counter all imperialist and capitalist propaganda against socialist states and socialism, and build up fraternal feelings of solidarity with the people of all socialist states.

183. The Indian working class must also oppose all trends and tendencies that disrupt the unity of the socialist camp. It must clearly oppose all trends that weaken the revolutionary content of socialist ideology. It must oppose all manifestations of Great Nation Chauvinism within the socialist camp. Racialist attitudes, bourgeois nationalist attitudes, imperial revivalist attitudes, and capitalist propensities which survive and come to the surface from time to time in socialist countries must be opposed. The Indian working class must remember that even inside the socialist countries, the

struggle against capitalism has not achieved its final victory, and there can be no simple uninterrupted course of continuous advance in these countries until socialism is established all over the world, or at least until all possibilities of capitalist intervention are completely eliminated.

184. In this connection it has now become obligatory on the part of the Indian working class to state its views regarding the principal differences between the views of the Soviet leadership and those of the Chinese leadership.