

## CHAPTER II

### Conditions in India under Bourgeois Rule

21. With the state-machinery, devised by imperialism for the purposes of exploitation and oppression of the Indian people, in their hands, the political leadership of the Indian bourgeoisie proceeded to give this state the shape of a Bourgeois Democratic Republic, by concocting a constitution which is a mixture of features borrowed from various capitalist states. In spite of previous pledges of the national liberation movement that the constitution of free India would be evolved out of the requirements of Indian life and in keeping with the genius of the Indian people, the constitution, as actually framed, is a product of unprincipled eclecticism fumbling about in a mess of outdated bourgeois ideas and outlandish phraseology.

22. This constitution is a typical product of bourgeois constitutional pedantry in the epoch of decaying capitalism. Completely bankrupt in respect of any originality, utterly devoid of any creative capacity or intellectual fertility, the Indian bourgeoisie have not been able to produce a single new idea in constitution-making. Their efforts to improve upon the concepts of revolutionary bourgeois democracy have only produced a number of pompous phrases, without any practical significance. Unable to make a single straightforward pronouncement on principles, they have produced the most long-winded



constitutional document in the world, full of reservations and complications, evasions and circumlocutions. It is a notable fact that this constitution has already been amended seventeen times, and there is every likelihood of its being amended again and again. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the bourgeoisie to keep to a fixed constitution even of their own making.

23. As it stands today this constitution is unique among bourgeois-democratic constitutions in its decided bias against fundamental civil rights and liberties of citizens. Pretentious declarations about fundamental rights in one part of the constitution are nullified by autocratic powers reserved for the executive in other parts. There is also a distinct bias against regional autonomy and a strong bias for a unitary state instead of a federal union of autonomous states.

24. Under the constitution power is said to belong to the people to be exercised through their elected representatives. But there is no provision of the right to recall. Under the existing conditions, elections are a farce—the right to seek election being really open to only those who can afford to pay the huge costs of electioneering, and votes being freely bought and sold.

25. Above all, bourgeois right of private property is made sacrosanct under the constitution, while the toilers' right to employment, essential for their bare existence, is relegated to a mere 'Directive Principle' not justiciable in any court of law.

26. The constitution also makes provision for Emergency Powers for the executive which practically suspend the constitution. Recent experience has shown that no real emergency is required for a declaration of emergency by the executive and the executive may continue the state of emergency as long as it pleases.

### **Economic Policy of the Congress Government**

27. The constitution is in fact a political record of the capitalist relations of production from which the parliamentary democratic superstructure of the state draws its sustenance and which it seeks to maintain and protect. In this epoch of dying capitalism and advancing socialism the bourgeois political leaders find it extremely difficult to delude the toiling masses through any open advocacy of capitalism or open hostility against socialist ideas. That is why they now pretend that socialism is their objective too. They claim that their economic planning is a step towards socialism and that their so-called Public Sector is socialistic in character.

28. Planned economy would appear to be different from the anarchy of capitalist private enterprise. But everybody realizes now that planning by a capitalist state is planning to maintain the fundamental anarchy of capitalist economy. This planning does not seek to remove the contradiction between the forces of production and the existing relations of production ; on the contrary, it seeks to maintain the capitalist relations of production by means of economic actions of the state in addition to the political and police actions.



29. In the present-day world unrestrained private enterprise, *laissez faire* in the old sense, has no place in advanced capitalist thinking. The growth of giant monopolies and international combinations, and the international organization of the capitalist world market, have thrown this old idea out of the capitalist system. Now the capitalist state, as the managing agency of the capitalist system and as the instrument of the whole capitalist class, has to intervene in the economy. Capitalist planning is a developed form of this kind of state-intervention.

30. The aims of capitalist planning in a backward country like India can be described as fourfold. First, the state, acting on behalf of the entire capitalist class, seeks to keep the competition between private capitalists within bounds ; its function is to protect the interests of the class as a whole as against the specific interests of individual capitalists. It brings certain specified sectors of the economy under its control so as to make these sectors serve the interests of the capitalist class, and prevent any particular capitalist from securing private monopoly control of these sectors ; transport, power, roads and communications are examples of this kind of state intervention in the economy.

31. Secondly, the state seeks to build up an industrial base for capitalism by investment of funds obtained through heavy taxation of the entire people. The so-called Public Sector never enters into any serious competition with private enterprise, but rather helps private enterprise by providing cheap power, transport, and other requisites for industry at the cost of the people. Basic industries that do not show a

high profit rate or quick returns but are indispensable for development of capitalist enterprise, are taken care of by the state. The people provide the capital, the capitalists reap the lion's share of benefits.

32. Thirdly, the state through its investments and controls, seeks to hold in check the chronic crisis of capitalist economy. Deficit financing creates artificial purchasing power in a shrinking market and helps to keep the economy going for a while. Severe restrictions on foreign imports and high tariff-walls help the native capitalists to evade the perils of competition and thrive at the cost of the consumers. State construction programmes provide a ready market for many enterprises. Heavy foreign borrowings and grants-in-aid are poured into the economy to keep the wheels moving. The edge of an impending crisis is blunted by distributing the impact in depth and extent.

33. Fourthly, by means of its investments in construction, and expenditure in so-called welfare activities, the state seeks to keep the masses in a state of enchantment about the existing capitalist order. The constructions and industrial undertakings provide palliatives to the enormous problem of unemployment, by providing employment to some people for some time, and creating illusions in the mind of others. Dregs of the heavily increased supply of money trickle down to certain sections of the toiling people, and create feelings of sudden affluence in the upper layers of the petty-bourgeoisie as well as isolated sections of the toilers. Reformist illusions and dreams of coming prosperity are bolstered up for a time.



## Food and Agriculture

34. The results of the Congress plans, however, can no longer delude the bulk of the toiling people. "The rich have become richer, and the poor poorer"—that is the unambiguous and unanimous verdict of the masses on these plans. Things have come to such a pass that even some leading Congressmen find it difficult to pretend that all is well in the country. Facts that have recently been brought to public eye show that more than two-thirds of our people try to keep their flesh and bones together on an average daily income of 19 paise; that consumption of proteins and other essential food have decreased for the lower income groups in our country to a level even lower than the already poor level of pre-independence days. One should add to these the horrible state of affairs in the utterly inadequate hospitals, schools and colleges; the loathsome conditions of housing for the poor, the hovels that keep growing around every city and town; the ever-rising prices of all articles of daily use; the ever-growing number of people depending on reliefs and doles; the mounting burden of starvation and semi-starvation that is breaking the back of a whole generation of people. And one must add the untold million of rupees that find their way into the hidden hoards of a few, the rising profits and dividends, the millions of rupees plundered in a day's work by the speculators, the skyscrapers and air-conditioned palaces of the rich, the fabulous expenditure in their festivities. No amount of economic theorization can persuade the people to forget these facts that cry out in their own experience.

35. The Government has now practically given up all pretensions of solving or even appreciably reducing the pressure of the unemployment problem within the life time of the present generation; it has also given up the pretensions about solving the acute food problem. Unable to bring about a long overdue agrarian revolution, intent on strengthening and enriching the landlords and rich peasants with a view to secure its own social base, it keeps tinkering with the problems of agricultural production. Tall phrasemongering about 'Grow More Food', 'Japanese Method of Cultivation', 'Irrigation', 'Fertilizers', 'Rural electrification', 'Rural reconstruction', 'Community Projects', 'Bloc Developments' etc. has produced nothing very much more than a harvest of words, and left the country in a situation worse than ever before. Capitalist trade has entrenched itself in the grain market, and the government has become not only an idle spectator of, but even an active conniver at the deadly profiteering of the capitalist traders and their hangers-on. When the poorer peasants come to sell their produce at the end of the harvesting season, prices of foodgrains go down; the price of milled grains remain high; and the prices of foodgrains shoot up when the poorer peasants become buyers instead of sellers in the grain-market. The traders, speculators and mill-owners make high profits both ways. The peasants suffer, children go without food, and the Government keeps coining more phrases and shibboleths, more empty promises and warnings that convince no one. The Government gibbering of statistics about food actually aggravates the situation quite often.



36. The Government has talked a great deal about land reforms, and has sought to pass off the abolition of zemindaries as a great radical measure of reform. In fact, the abolition of zemindaries has not brought about any redistribution of land that can have significance for agricultural production. The agricultural proletariat was never intended to be beneficiaries of the measure ; but even the poor peasantry have not received any benefit ; some of the middle peasants, and the rich peasants on the whole have been benefited, no doubt, but absentee landlords continue, *Benami* holdings have increased, the burden of paying compensations for liquidating zemindari rights has to be borne by the peasantry, and the stranglehold of wholesale traders and owners of Jute, Sugar, Rice and Flour mills on the agricultural sector of the economy has been strengthened.

37. Modern large-scale farming, one of the ways of increasing production and improving the conditions in the countryside, has not developed appreciably, although capitalism has made considerable headway in agriculture. Bourgeois capital is characteristically indifferent to social needs, and speculation and quick profit at high rates are drawing the bulk of capital available for investment. Even the government, eager not to alienate the vested interests in agriculture, is not keen on developing large-scale state farming with modern mechanized and scientific methods.

38. The land-question has another aspect that is being entirely overlooked. The government has carefully avoided the question of fixing ceilings on urban landholding. The price of urban land, land for household purposes, has shot up everywhere to fantastic

levels. Speculation in urban land-holdings and land-holdings around industrial townships has made it extremely difficult for the poorer people to live in towns and cities.

### Industry & Trade

39. In industry, the policies of the government enrich the bourgeoisie in all possible ways and help the growth of monopolies and interlocked companies. Production is determined only by considerations of profit for the proprietors, and machines are left idle or only partly utilized as and when required by profit-considerations. Shortages are created and maintained so as to ensure profiteering and black-marketing. Even the government has to admit that the rate of growth is far below the requirements, and the heavily increased state expenditure has not been able to induce the private capitalists to invest the greater bulk of their surplus in socially necessary enterprises. The so-called climate for increased investment by private capital seems to be unattainable by the government, in spite of the extraordinary privileges and facilities offered to the capitalists.

40. Monopolistic conditions prevailing in the market and combinations of capitalists and traders enable the capitalists to increase the prices of goods by leaps and bounds. At the same time they do not feel that there is any need to improve the quality of the goods ; on the contrary, the quality deteriorates in this sellers' market. From foodstuff and medicines to building materials everything seems to be adulterated, and very few things are produced according to standard specifications. No wonder that Indian trade has not earned much reputation abroad.



41. Dishonesty and corruption have spread in every sphere of social life, and the capitalist class is truly anti-social in this respect. The burden of direct taxes is shifted by them to the shoulders of the real producers and consumers. While the people in general cannot escape from the heavy burden of indirect taxation and have to bear the brunt of direct taxes too, the capitalists and traders go on evading taxes and amass huge fortunes in secret hoards. Channels of foreign trade are widely used for accumulating money in foreign countries and illegally acquiring hoards of foreign currency. Smuggling, under-invoicing, dishonest transactions of various kinds are all being employed by the bourgeoisie in their boundless greed for money and privileges procured by money. It is not surprising that the bourgeois leaders' sermons to the people about austerity, honesty, and self-sacrifice evoke only contemptuous laughter.

### **Workers' Conditions**

42. On the other side of the social picture, real wages of the industrial workers keep dwindling. Benefits secured by the workers through trade union struggles are more than off-set by the ever rising cost of living, and the increase in money-wages is countered by the steep fall in the value of the rupee. The increased productivity of labour has not brought a commensurate rise in wages. The changing social atmosphere compels the workers to seek additional income ; and over-time work, additional part-time work, etc. have become essential for them. Exploitation has been intensified, and continuous hard

labour for many hours has become a feature of the workers' life. Indebtedness is very wide-spread, not only among the poorer peasants but also among the workers and employees in towns, industrial townships and urban institutions. The greater part of the nation is living on its future income and expectations of future income.

43. Absolute impoverishment of the toiling people is an obvious fact of the Indian situation. The increased spending by some sections of the toiling people, the hunger for commodities and amenities that induces a crazy rush to the market, increased spending on certain commodities by curtailing essential requirements in other directions, create a misleading picture, and this is often used by the government as evidence of prosperity of the people. No one denies that some people have become prosperous. But the bulk of the toilers have become really poorer. Many have lost their possessions, many more are in the process of losing theirs. The number of people depending on selling their labour-power for a living is increasing. These are the people, again, who have to bear the actual burden of the huge number of unemployed and semi-employed people. The state gives no unemployment relief ; the sons and relatives of the rich never face unemployment ; it is the poor father who has to support his unemployed son.

### **Civil Rights**

44. In this land of indescribable poverty and sufferings of the people, the government of the bourgeoisie never fails to employ the most ruthless measures for



violent suppression of toilers' movements. Political workers opposed to the Congress regime and leading the toilers' struggles are often held in detention without trial ; large numbers of people are often held as under-trial prisoners in connection with mass movements without any clear and specific charge for weeks and months ; the provision for holding people in custody pending trial or for investigation is really used for illegal short-term detention without trial. Lathi-charge, tear-gassing, and firing upon unarmed people are regular occurrences in India. People are tortured and beaten up while in police-custody. No public enquiry is held into police violence, inspite of repeated demands raised by the people.

45. In every capitalist country civil rights remain rights on paper, unless the people fight for them. Bourgeois society in practice recognizes rights of only those who have the money to pay for them. Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of association, freedom of movement, etc, are meaningless for those who cannot find the money to hire halls, own newspapers, pay for travelling, etc. But in India even the limited civil rights of bourgeois society are seriously curtailed and interfered with. The executive interferes with the freedom of the press, not only through such anti-democratic laws as Security Acts and Defence of India Act, but also through the compulsory requirements of "Declarations" and "Registration" of newspapers and periodicals, and police-inquiries and inevitable delays in these connections. Freedom to hold public meetings is circumvented in many cities by the requirements of obtaining prior police permission

for using loud-speakers. Subscribers to political periodicals opposing the government are harassed and threatened by the secret police. Thousands upon thousands of workers in state undertakings and institutions are prevented from participating in any political activity on pain of losing their employment. They are even asked to work as informers against their relatives who may be politically active, and may be penalised for anti-Government political activity of their near relations or dependents.

46. The mass circulation newspapers and periodicals, owned by the bourgeoisie, and mostly owned by a few companies and individuals operating on a chain basis, and liberally financed by government advertisements, suppress news of toilers' movements, carry on false propaganda against the toilers' organizations, and seriously curtail the people's right to express their views and to organize public opinion. The bourgeois government has indeed fulfilled the expectations of British Imperialism in these respects.

### **Foreign Policy**

47. In its foreign policy the Congress Government has behaved according to the class interests of the Indian bourgeoisie. For some time after the transfer of power, its foreign policy was a mere continuation of the policy of the Government of British India. Thus, it followed and still follows the policy of not recognizing the government of East Germany. Contrary to all previous declarations it remained and still remains a member of the British Commonwealth.



48. As the Congress government began to feel its way in world politics, the specific interests of the Indian bourgeoisie, as distinct from the interests of British and American Imperialism, began to come to the fore, and the Congress government sought to evolve a foreign policy of its own. The Indian bourgeoisie realized that, in spite of the imperialist war-mongering and lying propaganda about "Menace of World-Communism" there was no danger of the world capitalist system facing an armed attack from the socialist camp, and that if the adventurists in the imperialist camp could be held in restraint for some time, a period of 'peace' could be obtained. This 'peace' was necessary for the Indian bourgeoisie at that time because they were looking forward to capturing the East Asian market left open by the collapse of Japanese imperialism, the retreat of American imperialism from the greater part of the area, and the collapse of the French and Dutch empires of the Far East. "Peace" in this area was a condition for the expansion of Indian export-trade ; in a war-situation Indian trade could not hope to secure the market against American war-exports. The Indian bourgeoisie also hoped for a large market in China, liberated from the shackles of the military-feudal rule of the Chiang Kai Shek clique under American imperialist paramountcy. Relations of good-will with the new Chinese People's Republic, and an absence of large-scale war-operations in the area were required for the fulfilment of these ambitions of the Indian bourgeoisie. Thus, the specific class-interests of the Indian bourgeoisie were at variance with American policy in this area.

49. Again, in their effort to retain the good-will of the African peoples and the newly emerging African states, the Indian bourgeoisie often found themselves in opposition to the policies of British and French imperialists.

50. Basing themselves on the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie, the Congress Government found it profitable to pursue a policy of formal neutralism between the imperialist bloc and the socialist camp, and a policy of opposition to the imperialist powers on specific issues while supporting the imperialists on some other. This policy, particularly the campaigning for world-peace, earned it prestige in a war-weary world ; this policy also helped the government to continue bargaining with the imperialist powers in matters of trade and aid. It obtained help from the socialist countries, too, who were right in encouraging the neutralist policy to grow and spread, helping a number of weaker national capitalist states to stay away from military alliances with the big imperialist powers.

51. But the policy of the Congress Government was not based on far-reaching principles, and was marked throughout by vacillations and compromises. Although the Indian bourgeoisie was interested in removing the monopoly control of the imperialist powers from the African continent, it considered revolutionary methods of anti-imperialist struggle undesirable for its own interests, and the mouthpieces of the Indian bourgeoisie and their government sermonized the African people about 'non-violence' to nauseating extents. Even now the Indian bourgeoisie's support for the anti-imperialist struggle



in Africa is half-hearted and full of reservations. The Congress government is unable to exert any effective pressure on its imperialist friends for a real economic sanction against the barbarous fascist regime in South Africa ; it is unable to do anything substantial against the imperialist rulers of Angola, South Rhodesia, or Mozambique. On the other hand, it is doing nothing to support the armed struggles of the peoples in these areas with supply of arms and materials. In Congo the role of the Congress Government has been that of an agency of the imperialist cartel organized by American, British, French and Belgian companies and governments. The proud record of Indian troops in many areas of the world was trashed by the dastardly murder of Patrice Lumumba which the presence of Indian troops could not prevent.

52. The essentially bourgeois nationalist basis of the Congress Government's foreign policy became self-evident as soon as the Indian bourgeoisie began to feel the pressure of competition in the market which it had hoped to acquire for itself. Extension of Chinese trade in Eastern Asia, and the growing Chinese influence over the anti-imperialist struggles in this and other areas, called for a shift in its foreign policy. China now began to appear not only as a rival for leadership in Asia, but also as a potential menace to the Indian bourgeoisie. Grounds of conflict with the Chinese People's Republic began to develop rapidly. A fresh wave of anti-communist propaganda was started. Reactionary parties and groups openly indulged in talks of a war against China over the question of Tibet and

the unsettled border dispute between the two countries began to assume the character of a conflict. The basic weaknesses of Indian economy in the meanwhile drove the Congress government to greater and greater dependence on aids from the U. S. A. A strong trend away from neutralism and towards an open formal alliance with the imperialist powers developed within the Indian bourgeoisie and their political representatives. This trend became very powerful indeed as a result of the armed clashes in the border region between India and China.

53. The bourgeois leadership, however, soon found that it would be not to their interest to come under direct command of the imperialist powers. The imperialists were not very accommodating, and they were also not keen on India ceasing to be a neutral. They had by this time recognized the value of a neutralist India for their own interests. They now prefer the Government of India to remain as a neutral and exert some influence, particularly against China and generally in moderating anti-imperialism, in the blocs of Afro-Asian and neutralist states, instead of losing all influence by directly lining up with the puppet regimes of the imperialists.

54. The more far-sighted section of the Indian bourgeoisie also realize that their own specific interests in respect of division of the world-market would not be served by direct subservience to the imperialist powers. Imperialist monopoly control and restrictions in many commodities and many



channels of trade in the world-market had subjected the Indian bourgeoisie and their government to great difficulties and hardships in the past ; the expanding economy of the USSR and the socialist countries had now made it possible for other countries to assert some of their own interests as against the big imperialists ; the Indian bourgeoisie could now partly bargain on its own terms in some matters taking advantage of the competition in the world-market between the capitalist countries and the socialist countries. For purposes of such bargaining, too, an open formal alliance with the imperialist states would be a mistake on the part of the Government of India.

55. The differences between the Soviet government and the Chinese government, which grew very sharp during 1962-64, gave additional grounds for neutralist manoeuvrings on the part of the Government of India. The revisionist leadership of the Soviet government, and the general emphasis on non-revolutionary methods in the pronouncements of the Soviet leaders, made it possible for the Congress government to cultivate very friendly relations with the Soviet government ; they could even find some common grounds with the Soviet government as against China. Thus, the peculiarities of the world situation made it possible for the Congress government to hobnob with some governments of the socialist camp and some imperialist powers at the same time.

56. The Government of India is now pursuing a neutralist policy with strongly marked opposite trends towards an alliance with imperialism and against such an open alliance. This policy, a policy of turns and twists, of abrupt advances towards and retreats from complete subservience to the big imperialist powers, is a reflection of the position of the Indian bourgeoisie in the world situation today. On the world scale, the position of the Indian bourgeoisie corresponds in some respects to the position of the petty-bourgeoisie, and its foreign policy reflects the vacillation and unstable neutralism of the petty-bourgeoisie caught in the world conflict between dying capitalism and advancing socialism.

57. But this analogy is only partly applicable. The Indian bourgeoisie is also engaged in a historical conflict against its own proletariat at home, and the developing intensity of the class war in India is bound to have its repercussions on the foreign policy of the bourgeois government.

58. This neutralist policy of the Congress Government must be sharply distinguished from the neutralism of certain national democratic states. Neutralist policy in general reflects the contradiction between the different national groups of capitalists and the contradiction between the bourgeoisie of underdeveloped countries and that of advanced capitalist countries. In certain national democratic states the neutralist foreign policy also reflects the heterogeneous class-composition of the leadership ;



the bourgeois democratic elements in the leadership exercise an influence away from an alliance with socialist camp, while the proletarian elements exercise an influence towards a firm alliance with the socialist camp. In so far as the socialist camp serves as a protective shield for these states against foreign imperialist intervention, and in so far as the growing contradictions of imperialism lead to the imperialist states' indulging in interventionist activities, the possibility of a number of nationalist democratic states finally going over to the socialist camp cannot be ruled out. But such a development of their foreign policy should be accompanied by important changes in the composition of the leadership as well as the social and political relation of forces inside these countries.

59. It will be a mistake to consider the foreign policy of the Congress Government of India as a neutralist policy of this kind. The Congress Government is neither engaged in any serious conflict with imperialism, nor likely to fight imperialist intervention of a serious nature. It would be equally mistaken to consider the Government of India as a mere lackey of foreign imperialism. It has its own specific interests which distinguish its foreign policy from that of the big imperialist states. The proletariat, however, must not harbour any illusions about this foreign policy, while it must be able to utilize any opportunity offered for intensifying the contradictions between the Indian bourgeoisie and the imperialists.

60. While pursuing a policy of neutralism between the imperialist bloc and the socialist camp, the Congress Government also sought to build up good relations with the neighbouring states and the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa in general. The popularity earned by the Indian National Liberation Movement helped the Congress Government in this effort, and for some time India was looked upon as a respected and reliable friend in most of these countries. But capitalism does not strengthen unity or friendship among nations; on the contrary, it breeds conflicts. As the contradictions of world capitalism deepen, and contradictions develop between Indian capitalism and the other capitalist groups or between Indian capitalism and the national democratic struggles in these countries, differences and disputes between the Government of India and the governments of some of these countries begin to develop. It cannot be said that the Congress Government has really built up a lasting friendship with the neighbouring states or with most of the Afro-Asian states.

### **Relations with Pakistan**

61. Pakistan has always been a sore spot of Indian foreign policy. When India was divided into two capitalist states in 1947 it was clearly foreseen by far-sighted people that the relations between these two states would be one of frictions and clashes. Two large capitalist states, born through a conflict that amounted to a civil war, could hardly be expected



to foster friendly relations with each other. It was also foreseen that capitalist rulers would utilize the conflict between the two states, and even engineer new grounds of conflict and stir up mass hysteria, in order to divert the attention of their people from the capitalist crisis at home. The history of the subsequent years has amply confirmed these views.

62. Partition of the country itself created enormous problems for millions of people. The uprooted refugees became a sore point of recriminations between the two states. Relations were also embittered at one time over the river-waters that flow from one country to another or between the two countries. The problems created by incursion of Pakistan-backed forces into Kashmir and the subsequent accession of Kashmir into India still remain a major ground of animosity between the two countries. None of the various governments that came to hold office in Pakistan during these years has shown any praiseworthy attitude in these respects. Nor can it be said that the Government of India has been able to solve these problems to the satisfaction of all concerned.

63. Imperialism always takes advantage of differences between the weaker and smaller states, and its role has not been different in this case either. Pakistan, for many years, remained openly allied to the imperialist states ; American imperialism poured huge amounts of money into Pakistan in military aid and associated deals. Imperialism at that time was using Pakistan for exerting heavy pressure on the Government of India with a view to compel India to

change her neutralist policy. In the disputes between India and Pakistan, particularly in the Kashmir dispute, the imperialist powers always backed Pakistan against India ; even the fact of Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir was by-passed in the United Nations ; it must be said that the Congress Government was also not very forthright on the question in their eagerness not to displease their imperialist friends.

64. But Pakistan soon learned to take even greater advantage of the "cold war", and began blackmailing the imperialist powers with threats of quitting the military alliances, and seeking aid from the socialist countries. At the time of the Sino-Indian conflict in the border region, Pakistan found it profitable to court friendly relations with China although the Pakistani rulers had all along been vociferous in pointing to the so-called "Communist Menace". This opportunism brought some results for Pakistan. The imperialist powers exerted immense pressure on India now for a settlement of the Kashmir dispute with very large concessions to Pakistan. This imperialist pressure regarding Pakistan was an important reason why the Congress Government found it undesirable to become a complete lackey of the imperialist powers.

65. However, the relations between India and Pakistan remain embittered. One could neglect this conflict between the two groups of rulers, had it not been that the people often have to suffer immense losses and hardships as a result of this conflict. Anti-Indian campaigns in Pakistan turn into anti-Hindu



campaigns, and the Hindu citizens of Pakistan are made the victims ; this generates retaliatory attacks on the Muslim citizens of India. The toilers' struggles in India, the democratic struggle of the people in Pakistan, both suffer the consequences of such outrageous and inhuman campaigns. A source of great danger for the people in both the countries is thus maintained.

### Relations with other neighbours

66. The Congress Government's relations with Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia—three of our most important neighbours with whom we have many common ties in history, tradition and culture,—are not of the best. Protracted negotiations for settlement of the dispute with Ceylon over the question of Stateless Persons of Indian origin in Ceylon have yet to bear fruit. This is a source of trouble for the Ceylonese people's struggle against imperialist holdings in Ceylon, and also a likely source of trouble for the Indian toilers' struggles. The Burma Government's measures of nationalization have not been favoured by Indian capital invested there. The relations with Indonesia were particularly embittered, and continue to be so, for a variety of reasons.

67. It also appears that the Indian settlers in Kenya, Tanganyika and such other newly independent countries of Africa may become a source of difference between the Government of India and the governments in these countries.

68. It is true that the Congress Government is not alone responsible for all these disputes and differences, and sometimes it is helpless against the growing contradictions of the capitalist world. But we must note that Great Nation chauvinism and Big-Brother attitude of the officials of the Government of India, and their British orientation, along with the sermoneizing habit of the Congress leaders, repel many of the countries which are natural friends of India.

69. These defects of the personnel, as well as the grounds of disputes and differences between India and her neighbours and potential friends, spring from the common source of the capitalist system.

70. The efforts of the Congress Government to maintain capitalism have thus produced miseries for our people, loss of friends abroad, and a very uncertain and unstable situation which is deteriorating in every direction. These mounting problems tend to converge in a general crisis in which economic and political factors intermingle and reinforce the momentum of the impending collapse.