

V. IMPERIALIST PRESSURES ON INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

With increasing maturity and mass penetration, the national movement was confronted with problems of foreign policy and had to develop an approach to international problems. It began with a desire to make India's case known abroad, extended to expression of solidarity with other peoples struggling for freedom and reached final shape as militant anti-imperialist internationalism.

A great role was played by Pandit Nehru in the development of this correct international outlook. The CPI from as early as the middle of 1920s had never ceased to point to the interna-

tional context of the anti-imperialist freedom struggle in our country. It is of importance to remember that the very same rightwing elements in the Congress who opposed even the mention of socialism also took up arms against this attention to international problems and the militant anti-imperialist approach to the world.

This approach of the national movement was carried forward into the new conditions of an independent India. In the very first years after independence the Congress leadership and its government adopted a foreign policy which bore the imprint of British pressures and inclined towards the Western imperialists. This was the period when Vijayalakshmi Pandit abjectly stated that India in the UN voted together with the West on an overwhelmingly greater number of issues. This was the time when a huge fuss was made of the Commonwealth ties and when even Pandit Nehru declared that India had naturally more ties with the West. These were the days when India voted in favour of UN intervention in Korea and backed the British war in Malaya.

Of course, even in those days there were other elements in the foreign policy of the government. India was among the first to recognise the People's Republic of China right from 1949. Nehru took the initiative to urge Stalin and Truman to do something to end the conflict in Korea. India did not join any military bloc. Nevertheless, a decisive shift is noticeable roughly approximating to the time when in economic policy a new orientation towards an industrial base begins to take shape, i.e., 1954-55. The Panchsheel Agreement with the People's Republic of China and the Bandung Conference are clear landmarks.

What brought about this shift? The CPI Programme gives a clear answer to this problem. The programme of the national bourgeoisie to develop India as an independent capitalist country sharpened the contradictions between it and the neo-colonialist ambitions of the imperialists. The existence and sharpening of this contradiction testified to the persistence of the anti-imperialist role of the national bourgeoisie even after it became the ruling class in India. Yet by itself this would not have suffi-

ced to induce the shift since the inherent tendency of the national bourgeoisie to compromise with imperialism was a strong countervailing force.

Of decisive significance in this connection was the emergence of the new epoch with the world socialist system becoming the decisive force determining international developments and the weakening of imperialism on a global scale. The strength of the world socialist system, its capacity to rebuff imperialist intervention against the newly-independent states and to offer material assistance for the development of their national economies, provided the essential context within which the anti-imperialist potential of the national bourgeoisie was able to manifest itself in confrontation with a weakened imperialism.

The weakening of imperialism was not only in relation to the advance of the world socialist system but also vis-a-vis the great upsurge of the national-liberation movement, especially in the Afro-Asian continents. The 1950s saw a virtual collapse of colonialism in these two continents and the emergence of something like 60 new independent states.

Finally, cognisance has to be taken of the peace-loving, anti-imperialist sentiments of the Indian people which exerted pressure on the Congress leadership and its government.

A reiteration of these factors making for the new turn in India's foreign policy is of more than mere historical interest. It points to the objective roots of this policy and also to the forces that have to be developed and united to make this policy unassailable.

Next, the Programme gives a categorical answer to the question: what is the character of the policy that came into being after the shift? It is, in the main, a policy of peace, non-alignment, and anti-colonialism. It is, generally speaking, an anti-imperialist, national and progressive foreign policy beneficial to the Indian people and helpful to the world as a whole. It is a foreign policy which, as a whole, the CPI supports and defends.

This categorical formulation is diametrically opposed to the viewpoint of the rival Communist Party which sees India's foreign policy as essentially a play between two camps and as often, objectively speaking, facilitating the aims of imperialism. It is equally opposed to the concept, also peddled by the rival

Communist Party, that India's foreign policy is under the decisive influence of imperialism.

India's foreign policy, the CPI Programme holds, places our country firmly in the peace zone, i.e., that vast majority of states acting in alliance with the world socialist system to thwart the war-drive and neo-colonialist aims of all imperialisms, especially US imperialism.

India's stand on the question of nuclear weapons, her active role in the struggle for general disarmament, her support to the Arab and African resurgence, her firm opposition to South African apartheid, her liberation of Goa, her persistent support to China's representation in the UN, her refusal to join any of the imperialist war pacts, her acceptance of the Belgrade and Cairo declarations—these are only a few examples picked at random to prove the absolute correctness of the formulations of the Programme.

Does the Programme support all aspects of India's foreign policy, does it hold that it is consistently anti-imperialist and progressive? It does not. India's foreign policy suffers from inconsistencies, vacillations and weaknesses. The refusal to recognise the German Democratic Republic, because of West German imperialist blackmail, is a case in point. Even worse is the marked failure to take a consistent and firm stand against the neo-colonialist conspiracies and aggressive actions of the imperialists, e.g., in the Congo, Vietnam and Malaysia. In the recent period, the refusal to support the liberation struggle in Vietnam and call for an end to US aggression is a glaring defect and weakness of foreign policy.

It is a fact that India, under Congress rule, is lagging behind the more radical of the Afro-Asian states, like the UAR, Ghana, Algeria etc. It has lost the old position of pioneer and initiator of non-aligned, Afro-Asian moves for anti-imperialist unity to solve the problems confronting the world. This is the result of the pressures of imperialism, which constantly works to deflect and to undermine the foreign policy of India. It is due to the influence of the monopoly circles and the remnants of feudalism who wish to give this policy a pro-western orientation.

These forces play upon the inherent tendency of the national bourgeoisie as a whole to compromise with imperialism, to hesitate from taking decisive anti-imperialist positions at moments of crisis. These weaknesses and these anti-national forces received a big fillip with the Chinese aggression in October 1962. The transgression of the borders of our country by a socialist state gave a field day to the imperialists and their allies in India. The progressive foreign policy faced its most severe test. The memory of the frantic drive to bring India under US tutelage, under cover of talk of the defence of India against China, is still fresh in the minds of the people.

A fierce class struggle raged in India in those days on the question of foreign policy. Basically the same forces that had brought this foreign policy to life fought and overcame the forces of imperialism and right reaction. At a most difficult time for the destiny of India the national democratic forces, aided by the understanding and support of the majority of the socialist and Afro-Asian states, inflicted a defeat on imperialism and its allies. The repudiation of the VOA deal, the refusal to accept the US 'air umbrella', the support to the sovereignty of Cuba, the persistence in the demand that China be admitted to the UN and so on is evidence enough. In addition we have the endorsement by the government of the Cairo declaration, the decision to actively participate in the next Afro-Asian conference and the stand on the exclusive, peaceful utilisation of nuclear power.

The imperialist-inspired and backed aggression by Pakistan against our country posed yet another serious challenge to the foreign policy in its fundamentals. That challenge, too, was successfully met. Not only were the aggressors defeated but the imperialist conspiracy smashed. Thanks to the noble role of the Soviet Union, a great achievement for the general line of the national foreign policy was secured through the Tashkent Declaration.

One of the great achievements of the Indian people's long anti-imperialist struggle has been preserved intact. It is a policy which has won India moral prestige and brought it immeasurable material benefit. It is a policy which is essential for the

rapid fulfilment of the pledge of national rebirth. It would be criminal complacency, however, to imagine that the battle is over once and for all. The imperialists and their Indian allies have not given up the fight. In particular they bank upon blackmail on the question of Kashmir and the continuing antagonistic posture of China to continue their pressure for the reversal of the present foreign policy.

The working class and its Party, going forward to the accomplishment of the task of building the national democratic front, see as one of cardinal duties the defence of this foreign policy and the purging of its weaknesses. Already on this issue a broad measure of national-democratic unity has been achieved, greater in recent times than ever before and far more than on any other issue. This augurs well for the nation and its future.

VI. NATIONAL DEMOCRACY AND NON-CAPITALIST PATH

The ruling class in India has placed the country on the road of independent capitalist development and continued its compromise with imperialism and feudalism. It has shown itself incapable of solving the basic problems of national regeneration, of completing the essential tasks of the national-democratic revolution.

Their own painful experience has convinced the vast masses of our country that the capitalist path is the road of poverty, exploitation and slow rates of growth. Living in an epoch when socialism has immensely increased its power of attraction, they feel that a path other than the capitalist path must be found for the solution of the problems of national development and the people's welfare.

At the same time the Indian monopolists, the feudalists and semi-feudalists, backed by imperialism, are seeking to use the inherent contradictions of the capitalist path to subvert the