

# NEHRU AND COMMUNISM: 2

AJOY GHOSH

*[The continuation of this important article by Ajoy Ghosh, general secretary of the Communist Party of India, appearing first in the weekly New Age of Delhi, deals with the internal situation in India, and is of particular interest in view of the elections in Andhra.—Ed., L.M.]*

THE shift that has come over in Pandit Nehru's foreign policy in the last two years is not the result of an accident. It is due to the growing strength of the democratic world and in the first place to the exposure of the myth of American military might in the battlefields of Korea. Its fiasco not only upset the calculations of U.S. imperialists themselves, but showed Pandit Nehru also how wrong his earlier assessments had been. On December 7, 1950, six months after the outbreak of Korean war, he had remarked in Parliament: 'The democratic nations may win the war—mind you, I have little doubt that they will'. The failure of the American arms naturally helped to break the illusions of many, including Nehru, in the strength of the imperialist powers.

Secondly, these years have shown to all, particularly the Asian countries, that the threat to their freedom comes not from the democratic countries like China and U.S.S.R., but entirely from the imperialist countries. As early as January 1, 1949, Pandit Nehru himself had to refer to the treacherous attack of the Dutch on Indonesia:

We confess with sorrow that the attitude of some Western Powers has been one of tacit approval or acceptance of this aggression. There is a Western Union of which Holland is a member. What does that Union stand for? Money has flowed from the Western Union.

In the current year itself, two documents signed by two neighbouring countries reveal in a flash as to who is the enemy and who is the friend of free peoples of Asia. While Pakistan has signed the Arms Pact with U.S.A. selling off her sovereignty, India has signed the Chou-Nehru Declaration proclaiming the Five Principles guaranteeing peaceful co-existence on the basis of respect for the very sovereignty which America threatens to grab. And now with the Manila Treaty, the game is open and unashamed.

Thirdly, the tremendous growth of anti-British and anti-American sentiments in our people and the welling up of the urge for peace

and revulsion against war are factors of no mean significance. It is the democratic and peace movement in the country, in which the Communist Party also plays its part, which has helped to foster this urge, and it is Pandit Nehru's party and Government which have from time to time frowned upon it.

Nevertheless, it is this movement against war-mongering imperialists among our people which has contributed substantially in bringing about a shift in our foreign relations and making India a world power today. The fact of India becoming a world power is something about which every Indian is proud, the more so the Communists, for it has come along the path which they, at times single-handed, have fearlessly advocated. We, therefore, support this change and have no hesitation in recognising it. We trust that Pandit Nehru should also not hesitate to recognise this obvious change that has come over the very policy he directs.

Pandit Nehru has combined his praise for China with his attacks on the Indian Communists. Why is it so? To some extent it is the first shot in the coming election battle in Andhra. It is there that the corrupt, crisis-ridden Congress is facing a powerful challenge from the Communist Party. And as it is nearly time for Pandit Nehru to give tongue to his own Congressmen in Andhra, his latest vitriolics against the Communists might be setting the line that he wants his followers to take up in Andhra.

But that is not all. There is something more basic which makes Pandit Nehru launch this vicious attack on the Communist Party precisely at this time. The opening of the window into People's China and the closer liaison that is growing between India and the U.S.S.R. have revealed to our countrymen in growing numbers the phenomenal developments that have taken place in those countries, and is inevitably provoking in the minds of many of our people that question as to the path of development that we should follow in our own country, the social changes which alone constitute a firm basis for the uplifting of our country.

These new vistas have already startled the organs of Big Business, for they bring into relief the invidious contrast between the fast tempo of development in the once-backward China and the snail-speed progress in India accompanied by chronic suffering faced by millions. And it is through such appraisals that the people rapidly get a clear understanding of the correct path of development. The most conscious of them get increasingly drawn towards Socialism—towards the all-conquering ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin

—which alone point the way towards freedom, prosperity and happiness to the toiling masses. It is this dangerous development that Pandit Nehru wants to prevent. Hence it is that he combines his praise of China's achievements, which can no longer be denied, with denunciation of Marxism, which in his opinion is outmoded. That it is this very 'outmoded' Marxism which showed China how to overcome her age-old backwardness and grow into a mighty power with a rapidity which has amazed the whole world—this, he wants to make out, is a fact of no importance. As this argument becomes less and less convincing, louder and louder grows Pandit Nehru's denunciation of Marxism. Pandit Nehru has spoken in praise of the historic Long March of the Chinese Communists. But let it not be forgotten that it is precisely at the time of the very Long March that Chiang Kai-shek repeatedly attacked the Chinese Communists, branding them as bandits.

And this is the age-old tactics of all those who have to fight Communists and democrats. Ho Chi Minh, who could not but impress Pandit Nehru, was also dubbed a bandit by Bao Dai. And the Malayan Communists and patriots who are relentlessly fighting against British domination were denounced by Pandit Nehru himself in 1949. The Communists all over the world are used to this term of reproach, which their opponents hurl at them as they cannot crush them nor scare them into submission. Even in our national movement, it is the British Government and their stooges who used such terms of reproach against the Congress leaders themselves. So, when Pandit Nehru attacks us for indulging in violence, we do not think it necessary to go into any argument over it. The experience of these seven years since independence has proved to our countrymen who resorts to violence and who has to face it.

Propaganda in which Pandit Nehru has indulged this time too has tried to make out that the Indian Communists have no moorings among our people and they carry out the 'dictates of Russia and China'. It seems as if Pandit Nehru this time has been caught in the toils of his own propaganda: elated by the mighty ovation he received all over China and the friendly gestures from the Soviet Union in appreciation of his stand for peace, he seems to have almost come to believe that Indian Communists as a result would automatically come over to him, no matter what his policy is towards the masses of their own country. If Pandit Nehru has any such delusion, he is grievously mistaken. He should get rid of it once and for all.

The attitude of a Communist Party towards the Government of the country, or for the matter of that towards any party, is determined by the attitude of the Government towards the interests of the masses. And this is as much true of the Communist Party of India as of any other Communist Party in the world. Loyalty to the ideology of Marxism and loyalty to proletarian internationalism teaches us, as it teaches Communist Parties in other countries, (including the Communist Party of China that Pandit Nehru has praised) to be loyal to the masses of our own country, to serve them fearlessly, to oppose their oppressors and enemies. It is this test that impels us to stand by the millions of evicted kisans and thousands of workers threatened by rationalisation and to show them how to struggle for their very basic needs. It is this which brings them among the newly-astir ranks of the employees. Above all, it is this test that makes us supporters of the present shift in Nehru's foreign policy, and, at the same time, determined opponents of his Government, in the main, and the spearhead of the movement which strives to replace it by a Democratic Government. . . .

While Pandit Nehru gets our whole-hearted support for every one of his moves for peace and against imperialism, he has to realise that the praise he has got from the democratic masses all over the world is not for the Preventive Detention Act or the suppression of the peasantry—these might have won him bouquets in the U.S.A. and Britain—and it is precisely these very measures which the Communists also fight.

Further, the Communist Party realises that the capacity of a country to pursue a foreign policy vigorously along progressive direction depends on the strength of the economy, the condition of the masses and the extent of mass support a Government enjoys. It is precisely on these counts that Pandit Nehru's internal policy hampers, for it operates against the extension of democracy and does not improve the condition of the people. These shackles imposed on our masses—on the working class and peasantry—hit at precisely those very forces inside the country that alone can guarantee the carrying out of the mission of peace and democracy, and brings new succour to those very reactionary elements in our midst who are anxious to take India back to the imperialist tutelage.

Therefore, what is paraded as a paradox in a stand of support to the peaceful aspects of Pandit Nehru's foreign policy and relentless fight against the reactionary policies internally is nothing but a really consistent line of strengthening the forces of peace, freedom and democracy both at home and abroad. Pandit Nehru has complained

that China has unity while India lacks it. He should know why there is unity in China. Because the people there are united to sweep away the obstacles that stand in the path of China's advance towards the happiness of the masses, Chiang Kai-shek, despite his talk of unity, could not preserve it because he was anxious to preserve those very things which prevented the improvement of the lot of the people.

Today, inside Pandit Nehru's own party there is disunity and he has to run hither and thither to solve internal Congress crises. Let him ponder why it is so. The mass of the people cannot be united behind a policy which seeks to perpetuate the atrocious exploitation of the foreign and Indian vested interests. There can be no unity in the land if you keep up landlordism and suppress peasants' struggle. There can be no unity so long as monopolists go scot-free and British capitalists continue their loot, while you threaten workers with rationalisation.

Pandit Nehru is never tired of deriding the Communists for their alleged inconsistencies, for the contradictions in their position. If he thinks over the matter coolly he will see that it is he who is guilty of inconsistencies, it is his policy that is full of contradictions. He condemns the designs of U.S. imperialism but does not reject the aid whose avowed aim is furtherance of these very designs. He denounces the S.E.A.T.O. but refuses to break with British imperialism which is one of its main sponsors. He praises the achievements of the Chinese People's Republic but denounces the ideology which made these achievements possible. He takes a number of measures which help the cause of peace and freedom but pursues a national policy that weakens and shackles the very forces that are the true defenders of peace and freedom. These contradictions and inconsistencies, as the Communist Party has many times pointed out, are not accidental. They follow from the class character and class policy of Pandit Nehru's Government.

Pandit Nehru's denunciation of the Communist Party will not make us withdraw our support from those measures of his Government which go to strengthen the cause of peace and of Indian freedom. We shall not merely continue to support them but strive to build the broadest unity behind them and for their implementation. We know that these measures are the results of events and movements of world historic importance in bringing about and developing which we too, together with other patriots and democrats, have played our role. They are the result of the collective efforts of us all—of those who cherish freedom, democracy and

peace. Hence our duty and our task to further strengthen the unity of the people behind these measures, implement them and carry them forward. Nor will Pandit Nehru's denunciation of the Communist Party scare us to line up behind his Government whose policy in the main continues to be a policy against the interests of the people. Loyal to the cause of the masses, loyal to the ideology of Marxism and to the cause of peace, freedom and democracy, we of the Communist Party of India shall unflinchingly strengthen the movement of our people for freedom and peace, democracy and a better life. Ultimately it is the masses that shall decide.

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