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# Liberation

## ● SOVIET STRANGLEHOLD OVER INDIA

● WHOSE VICTORY ?

● REACTIONARY GOVT.'S CRIME AGAINST THE MIZOS

● GIRIJANS LEARN WARFARE THROUGH WARFARE

● ON ARMED PEASANT STRUGGLE IN BIHAR

● STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIALISM IN BRITAIN

● CAPITALIST RESTORATION IN USSR

● SOVIET REVISIONISTS EXPLOIT EAST EUROPE

Chun Bose

LIBERATION

Notes : ... 3

- Whose Victory ?
- A New Crime of Reactionary Indian Government  
Against the Mizo People
- An Act of Treachery

The Revolutionary Girijans Are Learning  
Warfare Through Warfare—*Special Correspondent* ... 15

Revolutionary Armed Peasant Struggle  
Of Mushahari Region—A Review ... 17

Soviet Revisionists Step Up Capitalist  
Reorganisation of Economy—*Peking Review* ... 21

Soviet Revisionist Clique Openly Promotes Free  
Management of Land—*Peking Review* ... 27

Soviet Revisionists : Salesmen of Reactionary  
Western Culture—*Peking Review* ... 33

How Soviet Revisionists Use the "CMEA" To  
Plunder and Exploit East European People  
—*Peking Review* ... 40

Soviet Revisionism Carries Out Social-Imperialist  
Economic Exploitation In India—*Peking Review* ... 46

Soviet Social Imperialism's Stranglehold  
Over India—*NISHAD* ... 50

Struggle Against Racialism—*J. Joshi* ... 80

India's Comprador Bureaucratic  
Capital Fattens Itself ... 87

Editor-in-Chief :  
Sushital Ray Chaudhury

*If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs.*

—MAO TSE-TUNG

## NOTES

### WHOSE VICTORY ?

In West Bengal the ruling classes have changed horses in mid stream. Their old favourite, the Congress Party, is now old and disabled : more than twenty one years of indescribable poverty and wretchedness, of cruel deception and disappointment, has exposed before our people the real character of the Congress Party—the political agents of the imperialist powers, the feudal class and the comprador-bureaucrat capitalists. Today when the people's illusions about the Congress have been shattered and their anger and hatred towards it are intense, when the ruling classes are faced with a political and economic crisis the like of which has never been seen before, the ruling classes have knocked together a coalition of various reactionary parties, groups and individuals to replace the Congress and carry on the same work that the Congress had been doing. This 'United Front' led by the neo-revisionists is the answer of the ruling classes to the challenge thrown out by the people. This 'United Front' is a conglomeration of various parties, besides individuals, that call themselves communist and socialist as well as those that pride themselves on fighting communism. This is a strange medley the sole purpose of which is to confuse the masses and stem the tide of agrarian revolution.

So, to replace one set of discredited agents by another not so discredited, a costly farce—the farce of the mid-term election—has been staged. The Congressmen as well as the revisionists of all hues have acted their parts well in this farce. With their rant and bombast in innumerable meetings they tried to make it appear as a life and death struggle between the progressive and the reactionary forces.

There was a deluge of leaflets, pamphlets and posters—all preaching the virtues of the kind of 'democracy' that prevails in India and promising various sorts of relief to the people. The entire bourgeois press tried to whip up the enthusiasm of the people and convince them that by casting their votes they would shape the destiny of this crisis-ridden State. Though strange, some of the papers owned by Congress bosses carried on a campaign in favour of the 'United Front' while others, far from being perturbed at the prospect of its victory, adopted an attitude of neutrality.

At the time when this huge farce, full of sound and fury, was being enacted for deceiving the masses, another drama, grim and earnest, was being played. Here the sharp conflict was between the two lines, the two roads—between revolution and counter-revolution. Communist revolutionaries had for the first time called upon the people to scrap parliamentarism, to boycott elections and to advance along the road of revolution under the banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung. The ruling classes immediately sensed the danger and talked of imposing penalties on those who would refuse to play the parliamentary game. They made very elaborate police arrangements to see that the game was not disturbed. For the purpose they did not consider the State's police force adequate enough. Arrests of political workers who were exposing the sinister character of the farce, styled as the mid-term election, were being made from time to time under the P.D. Act and sometimes the arrested political workers were being labelled as anti-social elements. In the week before the election, the police swooped on our workers: several hundreds were arrested and several hundreds more were being hunted after to make 'democracy' function!

The sham communists and socialists were no less alarmed. Those disguised agents of reaction, particularly Ranadive, Sundarayya, Promode Dasgupta, Jyoti Basu

and Co.—the most vicious of them all—vainly tried to isolate the communist revolutionaries by calling them the 'agents of the Congress.' All the counter-revolutionaries from the Congress and the Jana Sangh to the sham communists and socialists joined hands to fight the communist revolutionaries—each in his own way.

After the farce had been staged, the Government-owned radio, the bourgeois press and Promode Dasgupta, Jyoti Basu Co. rushed to congratulate themselves on the outcome of it. So wrote the *Jugantar* in its leading editorial of Feb. 11, entitled " 'Well Done,' People of West Bengal! "

"Those in the palace in Delhi, whose sleep is disturbed from time to time by the events in West Bengal, may now feel relieved of their anxieties." (Translation ours)

Almost all the bourgeois papers have gone wild in hailing the victory of the 'United Front' headed by the neo-revisionists. In its leading editorial of Feb. 13, named 'Now Waves the Banner of the New', the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* wrote:

"It is the democratic principle that the machinery of the government shall run according to the mandate of the people. That mandate cannot be flouted. All must respect that mandate...There is today a break in the history of two decades—a new chapter has opened with the march of the victory of the new. This marks the beginning of a vast change in the history of this State. This change was somewhat foreshadowed two years ago. Today, its path, free from impediments and wide open, stretches far. That change reflects and gives expression to the unfulfilled desires of the people." (Our translation)

The *Jugantar* was even more ecstatic. On Feb. 14 its Staff Reporter wrote:

"That moment—5:30 P. M. on Feb. 13—when Jyoti Basu, the Commander-in-chief of this victorious campaign, left the poll-counting centre at Barrackpur to appear before the heaving, restless ecstasy, will perhaps go down

in history as the turning-point—marking the end of this campaign as well as the beginning of a new order in Bengal." (Our translation)

Or the same day the *Jugantar* wrote in its editorial:

"West Bengal is different. Here the red has triumphed through the ballot-box. There is no trace of blood in it. The people do not believe in blood-shed, they have faith in the red. The last election is proof of this faith." (Our translation)

All this sounds almost like mockery. But why are the organs of the exploiting classes so jubilant? What makes them so bold and fearless? It is clear that all these mouthpieces of the comprador-bureaucrat capitalists are trying hard to pass off a counterfeit coin as a genuine one, a filthy counter-revolutionary manoeuvre as a victory of the people.

On Feb. 14, the *Patriot* reported:

"Meanwhile, Birla House is believed to have advised several industrial and commercial organisations under its influence to drop their plans for a brief closure of the stock market and businesses to create an artificial situation of panic and instability....."

"The business houses are believed to have been told to adjust themselves to the new situation."

No, it will be just the reverse. It is the 'new' situation that will adjust itself to the needs of the business houses.

In a Bengali pamphlet named "Why Should You Vote For the United Front?" Jyoti Basu said:

"It is the Congress propaganda that we shall forcibly take away the land and property of individuals. Never. The United Front government carried on administration for nine months. Was the property of a single individual touched? No, it was not done." (Translation ours)

Jyoti Basu gave the same assurance in clearer terms to the foreign and domestic reactionaries immediately after his election. According to a report in the *Statesman*, Jyoti

Basu, addressing a public meeting in his home constituency on Feb. 14, 'said many business men had rung him up yesterday and today and had wanted to see him. If they accepted the legitimate demands of the workers, the business men had nothing to fear....The new Government was ready to help big business men to get their orders sanctioned by Delhi. They might even collaborate with foreign firms.' So under the new regime big business will flourish, foreign monopoly capital will thrive, yet the legitimate demands of the workers will be protected! Openly, shamelessly, these neo-revisionists are treading the path of class collaboration, the path of treachery to the working people.

These counter-revolutionaries are attempting the impossible—the task of making the present system based on the cruellest exploitation work. Imperialists and all other reactionaries are now pinning their hopes on the 'United Front' headed by the sham communists. On Feb. 14, the London Times expressed the belief that the success of the communists can provide a more stable government to West Bengal. But these hopes will soon be belied. Through class struggle our people will learn more about these vicious enemies of theirs, the last reserve of the reactionary ruling classes. Today, the politics of armed struggle are the growing force, the politics of parliamentarism, reaction and counter-revolution are the dying force. Whatever the reactionaries of various hues may say, the spectre of Naxalbari is haunting India.

#### A NEW CRIME OF REACTIONARY INDIAN RULERS AGAINST THE MIZO PEOPLE

The reactionary Indian rulers of New Delhi, who are daily incurring ever newer blood-debts to the Indian people, have now gone one more step farther in intensifying their bloody suppression of the fighting Mizo people. Not

content with their criminal act of forcing tens of thousands of Mizo people into concentration camps, the ferocious Indian oppressors have now launched a new campaign—the so-called “second phase” to extend these concentration camps to herd additional tens of thousands of Mizo people into them.

Ever since 1947, when they received the right to rule the country on behalf of the imperialists and their Indian henchmen, the Congress rulers have consistently followed the British imperialist policy of oppressing the many nationalities. In fact, India is today a vast prison-house of nationalities. The relentlessly increasing exploitation and oppression by imperialism, feudalism and comprador bourgeoisie have made the life of the nationalities and tribes intolerable and one of unending misery, and have resulted in their rapid loss of rights and means of livelihood.

The Mizos are a most exploited people. According to socio-economic surveys conducted by the Assam government itself, the burden of usurious debt is heaviest on the Mizos—about Rs. 132 per year on the average for every Mizo family. Before the partition the Mizos had a normal trade relation with the neighbouring areas which now constitute part of East Pakistan. The partition completely cut off this trade; this and the lack of a suitable alternative market, which to this date has not been created, have most severely affected the normal economic life of the Mizo people.

In 1966, the Mizo people, following the example of the neighbouring Naga people, rose arms in hand against their oppressors—the Indian reactionary rulers. This armed struggle of the Mizo people immediately filled the hearts of the revolutionary Indian people with enthusiasm and won their moral support. At the same time, this just armed struggle of the Mizo people dismayed the reactionary Congress rulers. Infuriated, they immediately

launched a most brutal armed suppression campaign against the Mizos. The entire Mizo area was given over to the army for suppressing the armed struggle of the Mizos with utmost brutality. The reactionary blood-thirsty Congress bosses of New Delhi openly declared that they would suppress the Mizo people's struggle “in a month.” However, in the face of the determined armed struggle of the Mizo people all the calculations of these reactionary political bosses and their corrupt military top brass went wrong.

After 1962 the reactionary Indian troops were specially retrained for fighting “anti-guerrilla warfare” against various nationalities and sections of the Indian people who dare to rise up in revolt to overthrow their oppressors and exploiters. But faced with the roused Mizo people these mercenary troops, so carefully nurtured by the reactionary Indian rulers and their foreign neo-colonialist masters, proved merely ‘banana-leaf’ soldiers. Even bourgeois papers had to admit openly that the casualties inflicted by the Mizos on the reactionary troops were four or five times heavier than those suffered by the Mizos. Far from being suppressed, the just armed struggle of the Mizo people flared even more vigorously. What is more, the fighting Mizo people were able to extend their operations into Tripura and to establish links with the fighting Naga and Kuki peoples. The Mizo fighters closely assisted the Reangs of Tripura in wiping out an outpost of Indian mercenaries at Vangmun, killed seven of them and seized a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. They also established their own administration in the Jampui Hill area in Tripura.

Stricken with fear at the growing might and influence of the Mizo people's struggle, the reactionary Indian rulers adopted the most brutal and vicious measures to suppress it. In early 1967 the reactionary Indian troops began to build the so-called “progressive and protected villages” (PPV) on either side of the road joining Silchar

in Assam with the two towns Aijal and Lungleh and forcibly uprooted tens of thousands of Mizo men, women and children from their villages and herded them into these "regrouped" or "protected" villages. According to newspaper reports, about 60,000 Mizos were thus forced into 18 such PPV's, which are nothing other than wired off concentration camps guarded by troops. Foreign press reports state that these PPV's have been modelled on the lines of the "strategic hamlets" built by the US imperialist aggressors in Vietnam. It may be noted that the Indian rulers, ferocious enemies of the Indian people, adopted this brutal fascist "regrouping" of villages in the past also against the people's armed struggles in India—a method which the British imperialists applied against the Malayan people's liberation struggle and which the US imperialist aggressors have perfected in Vietnam. The Nehru government first applied this method in 1948 in Telangana to suppress the armed peasant struggle there and later, in 1963, against the brave Naga people to suppress their armed struggle for national liberation.

With all their terror and concentration camps and the murderous "kill all, burn all, destroy all" policy, a policy which the U.S. imperialists are pursuing in Vietnam, the Indian reactionaries have not been able to isolate the fighting Mizos from the broad masses of the Mizo people. The bourgeois press reports have to admit that the Mizo fighters are regularly receiving money and other material support from the Mizo population of Aijal—the administrative centre of the Mizo Hills District and now the main base of the reactionary Indian troops engaged in the suppression campaign. Such support is received not merely from the interior villages but even from the thousands of Mizos who are forced to live in the concentration camps—the so-called PPV's. This has further enraged the Indian rulers. In May last year the chief of staff of the Indian army, Kumarmangalam visited the PPV's and

praised their 'efficient' functioning. Within a few days of this visit the Indian reactionary rulers announced a most inhuman measure to subdue the Mizos—the food ration for the 60,000 inmates of the PPV's was completely stopped!

However, the Mizo people's armed struggle has continued to deal powerful blows at the reactionary Indian troops. Only a few days ago they wiped out an Indian army outpost. On February 4, they, along with the fighting Kukis, ambushed a party of the Manipur Rifles near Matbang on the Imphal-Dimapur road. A few days before that, a combined group of Mizos and Kukis forcibly took away the interpreter of the sub-deputy collector of Aijal, on the Imphal-Tamenglong road. Shortly before this, they had overrun an outpost of the so-called "village volunteer force" and captured six army rifles.

Infuriated at their repeated failure to suppress the raging flame of the Mizo people's armed struggle against oppression, the reactionary Indian rulers have now undertaken to step up their repressive measures against the brave Mizo people. That is why they have launched this "second phase" of building additional PPV's and forcing about 50,000 more Mizos to leave their hearth and home and land "voluntarily" and live in these "regrouped" villages. Thus about half of the total Mizo population of 215,000 will be put in concentration camps. With this, they openly boast of cutting off completely all the connections of the Mizo people with neighbouring areas like Tripura and other fighting people—the Nagas and the Kukis. To put it simply, this is nothing but a monstrous plan to encircle the courageous Mizo fighters on a big scale, to starve them of food and cut off support from the Mizo masses, and finally to annihilate them. This appears to be the final stage of the preparation for launching a new large-scale bloody suppression campaign against the Mizo people.

The reactionary Congress rulers must know that this new crime of theirs against the oppressed Mizo people will not go unpunished. The Indian workers, peasants and other toiling people who are daily being killed and maimed and oppressed on an increasing scale by the Indian rulers, fully support the just armed struggle of the Mizos, the Nagas and the Kukis and other oppressed nationalities against oppression and for liberation. Indeed, the Indian people realise that the struggle of the Mizos, Nagas, Kukis etc. is directed against the reactionary Indian ruling classes and their masters—the US imperialists and the Soviet revisionists, and as such, constitutes an important support for their own struggle for liberation.

The day of reckoning is fast approaching when the heavy blood debts incurred by the reactionary ruling classes of India and their US and Soviet masters will be fully and finally settled, interests and all. The new crime of the Congress *badshahs* of New Delhi against the Mizo people is bound to arouse deep indignation and anger among the Indian people, and intensify their hatred against their oppressors. The mighty blows of the aroused Indian people will surely smash the oppressive and deeply hated ruling classes of India and their masters, who oppress both the Indian people and the various nationalities.

#### ANOTHER ACT OF TREACHERY

The "Marxist" leaders have again stabbed the anti-automation struggle in the back. On the one hand, they continue to mouth militant slogans against automation, they declare their total opposition to automation, but on the other hand, *in practice*, they sabotage the anti-automation struggle again and again. The "Marxist"-led Kerala government declared their support to automation in their memorandum to the National Commission on Labour. The "Marxists", together with the Dangeites, betrayed the

anti-automation struggle of the courageous LIC employees by withdrawing their strike and surrendering to the authorities. Now they have committed another act of treachery to the interests of the white collar employees. About the middle of January, a tripartite agreement on the electronic computer was signed by the Management of the Durgapur Steel Plant, the "Marxist"-led Hindusthan Steel Employees Union and the West Bengal Government's Labour Department. The first and most important term of the agreement is :

"The Union hereby undertakes to make the employees perform all the duties allotted to them as per rules and orders of the Management and to work on all jobs relating to the Computer, on the assurance given by the Management that there will be no retrenchment of the staff on this account. The Management, on its part, will keep the Union informed as and when new jobs are put on the Electronic Computer ; "

"The Union does also hereby assure on behalf of the employees that they shall maintain office discipline and decorum and shall not indulge in any unlawful activities."

It may be recalled that last October the Management of the Durgapur Steel plant installed an electronic computer while relying on the police to deal with the resistance of the employees. To counter this resistance a lock-out was imposed in the Finance and Accounts Department on November 5.

Now the "Marxist"-led Union has withdrawn all opposition to the Computer and has, instead, placed all its services at the disposal of the Management so that the working of the Computer is smooth! As the watch-dog of the Management it will see to it that 'all jobs relating to the Computer' are performed by the employees, 'office discipline and decorum' maintained, and 'unlawful' activities stopped. In return, the Management has given them the assurance that there will be no retrenchment of staff. Of

what worth is this assurance ? In the past similar assurances were given only to be violated. When rationalisation was introduced in the fifties, profuse assurances were given by the India Government and the industrialists to ensure need-based wages for the workers. The need-based wage remained a mirage all these years and, last year, on the eve of the token strike of the Central Government employees, the very principle itself so solemnly agreed to before was scoffed at by the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi herself. The main problem now before the imperialists and comprador-bureaucrat capitalists is how to instal computers and how to start working them smoothly in order to shift the burden of the economic crisis on to the shoulders of the white collar employees and to earn super-profits. For them the services of the trade union bosses who can make the employees bow to the wishes of the ruling classes are now very necessary. The "Marxist" leaders, as is evident, are helping the Government and the ruling classes in carrying out their plan.

Employees must know that if computers are installed, retrenchment cannot be prevented. Man and machine shall be unable to co-exist.

This agreement signed by the "Marxist" trade union bosses has been hailed by the employers. The Indian Press Agency reported :

"From total opposition to agreement with guarantees of job security in the event of computerisation, signified by **this first ever agreement of its kind in India's industrial relations history, denotes a positive attitude being displayed by the trade unions, and will be welcomed by the employers.**" (Indian Press Agency News Jan. 27, 1969). This surrender on the part of the employees is the inevitable result of the policy of class collaboration that the revisionists and neo-revisionists are pursuing. Only by fighting this policy of class collaboration and working for agrarian revolution the workers and employees can overthrow this regime of starvation and oppression and build a new life for themselves and for the peasantry.

## In Srikakulam

# The Revolutionary Girijans Are Learning Warfare Through Warfare

From Our Special Correspondent

Srikakulam, [ January 30 :—In these parts of the ancient hills of the Eastern Ghats one can feel and hear the rumblings of a thunderstorm. It is already shaking, and, in some places already beginning to tear out, the roots of the old social structure based on incredible exploitation and cruel and bloody oppression. The habitation of the so-called "Girijans" or the hill people—the *Jatapus* and the *Shavaras*, as the two main groups of tribal people inhabiting these hills are commonly called by the plains-people—extends beyond the Andhra border into the hilly jungles of the neighbouring Orissa State. For decades they have been systematically robbed of the fertile tracts of land which they owned in the plains, by the cunning land-grabbing usurers who came from outside, with the direct aid and support of the 'laws' and the gun of the state machine. They have, with pitiful persistence, gone to courts, but whatever the 'law' of the reactionary state gave them was invariably snatched away by the guns of the hounds of the same state—the police, and the remorseless grip of the blood-sucking usurping usurers on the life of these simple folk—tightened ever more.

For the first time now, these oppressed tribal people have been able to put up really effective and sustained resistance against their exploiters and the oppressive state power because they are now led by the Communist revolutionaries guided by the all-conquering thought of Chairman

Mao. Inspired by the glorious struggle of the Naxalbari peasants and learning from their experience the Girijan masses, in increasing numbers, helped by the Communist revolutionaries, are more and more solidly rallying round the revolutionary banner of Chairman Mao's thought and are enthusiastically implementing the same in practice to overthrow their exploiters and oppressors.

During the period from December 20, 1968, to January 30, this year, no less than 29 reactionary armed policemen, including one circle-inspector and one sub-inspector were killed in action by the heroic Girijan guerrillas. How has it been possible for these revolutionary peasant guerrillas to defeat the repeated attempts of the reactionary armed police force, who are a thousand times better equipped, trained and armed than them, to encircle and annihilate them? This is precisely because the Girijan peasant fighters are trying to follow closely the teachings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and are "learning warfare through warfare." Though their experience in carrying out this sort of revolutionary armed struggle is at present, not much, yet they seem to have firmly grasped the truth of Chairman Mao's great teaching that **"all reactionaries are paper tigers."**

It is reliably learnt that the daring, courage and determination displayed by the revolutionary peasant fighters have brought about demoralisation and gloom in the ranks of the reactionary police. There are instances when the rank and file members of the police force, frightened and demoralised, refused to advance against the guerrillas. Things have come to such a pass that the policemen are refusing to advance unless officers accompany them. Faced with such a situation, the reactionary police have thought out a vile trick to detract from the growing prestige of the revolutionaries and sow confusion among the peasant masses. These bloodthirsty hounds are deliberately and

(Continued on page 85)

## Revolutionary Armed Peasant Struggle of Mushahari Region

A Review by Bihar Comrades

*Following is the full text of a resolution adopted by the Bihar State Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries :*

The Bihar State Co-ordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries hails the revolutionary peasant struggle in the Mushahari region of Muzaffarpur district and sends its warmest greetings to the militant peasantry for standing heroically in face of brutal counter-revolutionary terror of the State and the landlords and for conducting sustained armed resistance under the leadership of Communist revolutionaries.

This revolutionary struggle of about 10,000 peasants, landless and poor, covering more than 12 villages is an extension of the Agrarian Revolution initiated in Naxalbari under the banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung—Marxism-Leninism of the present era. The struggle of Mushahari peasantry also confirms that all the oppressed countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have been transformed into the epi-centre of the world revolution and that everywhere in this region an unprecedented revolutionary upsurge exists. The Mushahari struggle following as it does in the wake of a series of armed struggles by the peasantry in various parts of the country from Telangana and Srikakulam in the south to Lakhimpur Kheri in the north has delivered devastating blows to the myth assiduously propagated by the revisionists and the neo-revisionists of our country

that objective and subjective conditions for launching armed struggle do not exist in India. This struggle has driven another big nail into the coffin of the bankrupt parliamentary path preached ad nauseam by the high priests of revisionism and neo-revisionism in India. It has provided another practical example showing that the path blazed by Naxalbari is the only correct path that Indian people must follow for their emancipation from the bondage of imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital.

A careful analysis of various aspects of this struggle shows that there cannot be a Chinese Wall between the economic and political struggles provided the struggle is led to its logical conclusion and is not artificially held back and confined within the four walls of economism and legalism. The struggle of the Mushahari peasantry was initiated on economic issues but it could take a qualitative leap towards political struggle because by continuous propaganda the mass line of agrarian revolution came to grip not only the minds of the revolutionary cadres but also a substantial section of the mass of poor and landless peasantry and the mass line could take root in the minds of the peasants as they continuously fought on all the issues, whether small or big, that affected their lives.

The critical review of this struggle demolishes the theory preached by some so-called revolutionaries that armed struggle cannot and must not take place in the plains where the terrain is not favourable. It proves again that the real iron fortress for the revolutionaries is people and that an awakened people serves the revolutionaries in the same way as the sea serves the fishes.

The very fact that thousands of revolutionary peasants escaped from the attempted encirclement of the police and remained concealed within a short distance from the area under police cordon shows how people act as a reliable shelter for their valiant vanguard.

The Mushahari struggle was fought and is still being conducted with the help of traditional weapons. Armed with these weapons the brave peasantry has been fighting hard and repelling the attacks made repeatedly by the State and the landlords. The Mushahari struggle proves that it is not the weapons but the men who decide battles. The granite unity forged among the peasantry, their political consciousness and their perseverance in armed struggle are the surest guarantees for winning victory.

Another feature of this struggle has been that peasant masses have invariably shown the utmost initiative in planning and executing the tasks at each stage of the struggle and have shown remarkable capacity for organisation and resistance. Had it not been for the initiative of the mass of peasantry of this area, the struggle would not have developed into an armed political struggle against the State within such a short period and within such a small territory with very unfavourable terrain.

However, the most decisive factor in this struggle has been that the local unit of Communist Revolutionaries has always stood at the head of the movement and boldly led it through thick and thin. This was possible because the whole local unit is composed of landless and poor peasants who are firm believers in the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The local unit has been able to exercise its hegemony at all stages of the struggle as it has self-critically analysed its errors and drawn appropriate lessons from them.

Now, as the struggle further develops, serious ideological, political, organisational and technical preparations must be made to take it to the second stage. These tasks are arduous and hard work is necessary. The State Co-ordination Committee considers it necessary to point out that the task of further consolidation of the Kisan Sangram Samiti and organising new ones must be undertaken while at the same time conducting an energetic political campaign of our mass line. The State Co-ordination Committee also

directs the local unit to concentrate its efforts on fighting back the combined offensive of the landlords and their goondas at this stage while not losing sight of the reactionary state power even for a moment. Another task that needs immediate attention is rapidly broadening the base area and winning the mass of the peasantry for revolutionary struggle.

With the fulfilment of these tasks, the State Co-ordination Committee is confident that the Mushahari peasantry can act as an instructive example for the whole of Bihar. Further development of this struggle would ignite the powder keg and ultimately the feudal land relations would be destroyed giving Bihar, particularly, North Bihar, a direction towards a liberated area and a People's Liberation Army.

The State Co-ordination Committee exhorts all the comrades to draw lessons from this heroic armed struggle and launch struggles on similar lines in their own areas. The Committee also appeals that a serious solidarity movement in support of the fighting Mushahari peasantry should be launched and the lessons of the struggle disseminated among the peasants in all parts of Bihar.

The Committee is confident that the peasants are bound to win and the feudals are bound to fail provided Mao Tse-tung's thought grips their minds. Let us enable the peasantry to assimilate the thought of the Chairman.

## Soviet Revisionist Renegades Step Up Capitalist Reorganization of Economy

THE Soviet revisionist renegade clique recently has stepped up the implementation of the "new economic system." It is making a big noise about applying the capitalist principle embodied in this "system" to every aspect of economic life. Modelling it after the economic system of the Western capitalist countries, this clique is carrying out a drastic top-to-bottom reorganization of the entire managerial system in the national economy so as to intensify the exploitation and enslavement of the Soviet labouring people.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique started to implement on a large scale the "new economic system" centred around the capitalist principle of profit-seeking at the beginning of 1966. This "system" now has been put into operation in 18,000 industrial enterprises, 9,000 transport, agricultural and service trades enterprises, hundreds of thousands of business establishments, and numerous building enterprises.

To further promote the "new system" the Soviet revisionists recently made a big fanfare about it in the press, saying that "the first stage of economic reform, the stage of exploration, is over" and from now on a "new stage of reform" will begin. For this, they held a 4-day "All-Soviet Economic Conference" in Moscow in mid May this year, which was attended by 5,000 persons. The conference decided to "apply the new system to the entire sphere of the national economy" in 1969 and adopt a series of corresponding measures for a new and more drastic reorganization in the managerial system of Soviet industry and the entire national economy so as to form a complete capitalist managerial system from top to bottom.

### Applying Profit Principle to All Sectors of Enterprises

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique decided that with the so-called "new stage of economic reform" now in operation, the "new system," first of all, is to be further implemented in different enterprises and the main principles of this "system"—"profit in command" and "material incentives"—are to be promoted all along the line in the enterprises, from workshops, shifts and work teams down to individuals.

The Soviet revisionists not only advocated the "transfer of marketing and profit indexes of products to all production workshops;" they also set out to introduce "business accounting" in auxiliary workshops and even in some work sections and teams and various offices of an enterprise. Even more absurd is that they also want to introduce "business accounting in shifts and work teams and with individuals;" in other words, they want to use rubles as a bait to make the broad masses of Soviet workers and employees create greater profits for the new capitalists in the Soviet Union.

To increase the interest of the leading members of the enterprises in drafting "stringent" plans for making super-profits, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique decided to change the innumerable bonuses and "economic incentive funds" promoted in enterprises in the past into a unified measure for drawing "fixed" shares from profits. It also decided to turn the original practice of drawing shares from planned profits into drawing shares from actual profits. That is to say, the leaders of enterprises are guaranteed a certain proportion of profit shares no matter how the profits are made. Prompted by such "material incentives," the leaders of enterprises, like vampires, will naturally exploit and fleece the working class in the most brutal way.

### Setting Up Managerial System in National Economy According to Monopoly Capitalist Blueprints

Meanwhile, under the pretext of "making the methods of leadership in various enterprises and departments completely suit the demands of the new system," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique decided to effect a drastic reorganization of the national economy, primarily the system of leadership in industrial departments, according to the blueprints of monopoly capitalism during the so-called "new stage of economic reform."

This renegade clique recently has been frantically publicizing the setting up of large-scale regional and departmental "joint enterprises" as the first step in this drastic reorganization. Waving the signboard of "socialism," these new-type capitalists shamelessly publicized the idea that, while drafting plans for establishing such "joint enterprises," they "should utilize" the "organizational chart" of U.S. monopoly capital. In reorganizing the Soviet economic system and establishing large-scale "joint enterprises," they say, "the experiences of the development of management in the capitalist countries should not be overlooked."

It is no accident that this renegade clique set up so-called "joint enterprises" in the Soviet Union by following the example of Western monopoly organizations. In the Soviet Union today, profit is the main yardstick for measuring an enterprise's "contribution" and the decisive factor in determining the fate of an enterprise. The capitalist law of free competition, under which the strong survive and the weak perish, is operating in the fierce scramble for profits. This will naturally lead to the phenomenon of big enterprises swallowing up small ones which is inherent in the capitalist system. At the "All-Soviet Economic Conference" in May, N. K. Baibakov, Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and others openly encouraged the big enterprises with huge profits and favourable conditions to incorporate medium and small-

scale enterprises and, on this basis, to set up what they called large-scale "joint enterprises."

According to the plan of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the "joint enterprises" to be set up in the Soviet Union now will be something like a combination of trusts and concerns in the capitalist countries in Europe and the United States. These "joint enterprises" will have considerable power in the allocation of financial resources and in the management of the enterprises under their control. Apart from managing the production of the affiliated enterprises, they will conduct many other activities such as sales, supplies, scientific research and designing, and so on. The Soviet revisionist press reported that the "joint enterprises" in general will include all the enterprises set up by a certain economic department in a region, or in a union republic, or in a large economic area. Later, with experience accumulated, the "joint enterprise" will be enlarged to cover the whole country. The establishment of an all-Soviet "joint enterprise" will, in effect, assume the functions hitherto exercised by the general bureaux administering various industrial departments. The ministries of industry in the Soviet Union will exercise control over the enterprises through the medium of the "joint enterprises."

When the general management bureaux under a ministry is gradually reduced to the status of a "departmental joint enterprise," every industrial ministry, as a state administrative organ set up by the Soviet revisionists, will undergo further changes in nature and functions. Thus, a three-stage economic system—ministry, joint enterprise and enterprises—based on the blueprints of Western monopoly capital will form a new administrative system of state monopoly capital in the Soviet Union.

#### **Stepped-Up Extraction of Profits : Free Sale and Purchase of Means of Production**

In this drastic reorganization, the Soviet revisionists will make further changes in relations between the state

and the enterprises, turning such relations into something for undisguised distribution of profits. Baibakov pointed out at the "All-Soviet Economic Conference" that it was necessary to set up a "new form of financial relations between the enterprises and the state." According to this so-called new form, the state controlled by the Soviet revisionists will concern itself less and less with production in the enterprises. They will simply allot money in the form of appropriations or loans to the monopoly capitalist groups at all levels and to their affiliated enterprises. In return, the monopoly groups and their enterprises will hand over part of their profits as "payment to the fund," or as interest. Thus, the state controlled by the Soviet revisionists will degenerate into a big capitalist boss pure and simple. It will earmark large sums of money for an enterprise and give it a free hand to make money. The state will receive interest in proportion to its capital investment. The enterprise will thus be turned into a "company" jointly run by the state and the heads of monopoly capital groups at all levels. The parties concerned will divide the profits among themselves and jointly exploit the working class.

In the "new stage of economic reform," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique has also decided to vigorously institute a system of free sale and purchase of the means of production, making this practice one of the basic measures for reforming the national economy and bringing about all-round capitalist restoration.

#### **Soviet Revisionist Renegades' Outrageous Action Brings on Awakening of Soviet People**

The so-called "new economic system" proposed by the notorious arch-renegade Khrushchov and implemented by his faithful followers Brezhnev and Kosygin and their gang in the past two years has enormously strengthened the bourgeois dictatorship over the broad masses of labouring people by a handful of the privileged stratum

represented by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique. It widens the gap between the rich and the poor and aggravates class differentiation with every passing day.

Stimulated by the principle of management in which profit dominates everything, such phenomena as benefiting oneself at the expense of others, profit-hunting, free competition and anarchy in production, all of which characterize the capitalist system, prevail in all branches of the Soviet national economy even more seriously than before. The chaos in the national economy which started in Khrushchov's time has become more aggravated. Even the Soviet revisionist renegade clique itself had to admit that "a series of extremely complicated and acute problems have emerged" in the national economy since the implementation of the "new economic system." Now that the clique wants to further develop the "new system" in every aspect such outrageous action will only make the Soviet people and the people of the world see the real features of these diehard renegades in the Kremlin more clearly.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."** The broad masses of the Soviet people who are suffering under the restoration of capitalism will certainly rise up to smash the rule of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and bring the Soviet Union back into the orbit of socialism.

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## Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique Openly Promotes Free Management of Land

**New evidence of its crime in all-round restoration  
of capitalism in agriculture**

**T**HE Soviet revisionist renegade clique recently has drawn up a document called "Draft Principles of Land Legislation" to meet the need of promoting capitalist free competition in agriculture and developing the kulak economy. On a number of fundamental questions, this draft legislation emasculates and tampers with the basic principles set forth by the great teacher of revolution Lenin on the nationalization of land. It stipulates that land in the rural areas, which was all nationalized after the October Revolution, may be freely transferred or rented in disguised form, allows large-scale extension of plots for private use and encourages capitalist free management and so forth. This is another serious step taken by the Soviet revisionist renegades to bring about an all-round restoration of capitalism in Soviet agriculture and new criminal evidence of their betrayal of the October Revolution and socialism.

### **Sabotage of Land Nationalization and Socialist Agrarian Relations Is Formalized by Law**

Following the victory of the Great Socialist Revolution in 1917, the Soviet Government proclaimed the policy of abolishing private ownership of land and the carrying out of land nationalization. This policy was personally formulated by the great Lenin, founder of the first socialist state in the world. It was one of the most important results of

the October Revolution. Later, during the period of Stalin's leadership, the Soviet Union promulgated a series of laws, decrees and decisions safeguarding and developing state ownership of land and socialist agrarian relations. Since the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's usurpation of Party and state power in the Soviet Union, it has brought about capitalist restoration in the country, turning the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. As a result, there was a fundamental change in the class content of the socialist state ownership of land which had originally existed in the Soviet Union. Today, 50 years after the October Revolution, the Soviet revisionist renegades, Brezhnev, Kosygin and company, have openly deprecated some of the fundamental principles in the agrarian laws promulgated when the Soviet Union was under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin as being "outmoded" and incompatible with "the demands of the times." The so-called "Draft Principles of Land Legislation" worked out by the Soviet revisionist renegades last June have formalized, by state law, their sabotage of land nationalization and socialist agrarian relations which were realized after the October Revolution.

**Land Freely Transferable and Rentable So Long  
As It Is "Compensated" For**

It was explicitly laid down in the land laws promulgated by the Soviet state after the October Revolution that private ownership of land would be abolished for ever, and that selling, renting or "transfer of land in any other form" would be prohibited. Later, to guarantee the successful development of the collective farm system and to ensure that land nationalization, which was an important gain of the October Revolution, would not be tampered with, the Soviet Government adopted other resolutions to prohibit any redividing, buying, selling, and renting of collective farm land, and to strictly restrict the transfer of any part of

such land to other users. Nevertheless, the "Draft Principles of Land Legislation" recently dished out by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique provide that "an agricultural unit" may "transfer part of its arable land to another agricultural unit for permanent use;" that it may also transfer part of the arable land given it by the state to "the collective farms, state farms or other agricultural units which need such land for temporary use," while the "agricultural unit which uses this tract of land for a given period of time" must "compensate" the original land-user "commensurably with the period of the use of such land." Expressed in ambiguous and round-about language, these provisions actually mean that the "collective farms" and "state farms" in the Soviet Union today can freely transfer and lease land among themselves, provided they are given certain "compensation." What is this if not a betrayal of the October Revolution?

**Clandestine Division of and Encroachment Upon  
Public Land and Advocating Land Utilization  
According to Capitalist Profit-Making Principles**

After usurping the leadership of the Soviet Party and state, Khrushchov tried in every possible way to encourage and foster the growth of a private agricultural economy and sabotage and break up the original collective farm economy and state farm economy. Brezhnev, Kosygin and company have gone even further in this respect since their assumption of power. As soon as they came to power, they adopted a series of decisions to further encourage the development of the "house-side plots" (plots for private use) and privately owned cattle. With their support and encouragement, the clandestine division of and encroachment on the land of the "collective farms" and "state farms" and the free expansion of "house-side plots" have become ever more serious in the rural areas in many union republics of the U.S.S.R. in the last few years. Never before

have the private economy and rural capitalist forces grown so virulently.

The "Draft Principles of Land Legislation" stipulate that not only "collective farm" members and "permanent workers on state farms" may own "house-side plots," but such plots would be given to "teachers, doctors and other experts working and living in the countryside," to "workers, functionaries, pensioners and the disabled living in rural areas," to "maintenance personnel of traffic and communication lines and main pipe-lines" and to "personnel working on forest plantations and in afforested areas and state-run sapling gardens."

According to the relevant decisions on land adopted by the Soviet Party and Government in Stalin's time and the provisions of "The Model Regulations of an Agricultural Artel in the Soviet Union," the state's public land permanently used by the collective farms is inviolable and "to expand the total acreage of house-side plots by reducing collective farm's public land is forbidden." But, stimulating private economy to meet the need of expanding the private "house-side plots," the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique has now openly annulled these restrictions of the past and explicitly laid down in the "Draft Principles of Land Legislation" that the "collective farms" may allot public land for increasing the total acreage of "house-side plots." Thus, the clique has gone a step further in its perverse actions of developing private economy and sabotaging collective economy in the last few years.

In the name of "making rational use of land," the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique discards the socialist agricultural planning system and encourages capitalist free management in agriculture. To meet the needs of the privileged stratum and new kulaks in the countryside in carrying out capitalist management, the clique furiously attacks the socialist agricultural planning system as "bureaucratic" and "unnecessary." It advocates that "collective farms" and

"state farms" should "develop production in those branches of agriculture which yield maximum profits." And now, the clique is making further efforts through the "draft" to preach the utilization of land according to the capitalist principle of profit-making.

#### **Rampant Capitalist Forces, Aggravated Class Differentiation, and Wild Cheers From the New Kulaks**

It is no accident that the Brezhnev-Kosygin clique has cooked up such "Draft Principles of Land Legislation." In the last few years, this gang of renegades has feverishly promoted the "new economic system" centred around the capitalist principle of profit-making in all branches of the Soviet national economy and implemented the so-called "economic reform." Like the industrial and other economic sectors, agriculture, which is an important branch of the national economy, falls deeper and deeper into the abyss of capitalism. In the vast rural areas in the Soviet Union, capitalist forces have never been more rampant, and class differentiation is being aggravated daily. The revisionist "Draft Principles of Land Legislation" were drawn up by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique precisely to bring the capitalist restoration in agriculture a step further and to serve the interests of the handful of the privileged bourgeois stratum and the new kulaks in the countryside.

Therefore, the moment this "draft" appeared in the Soviet press it was warmly received by the handful of the privileged stratum and new kulaks in the rural areas throughout the country. They shouted that this will "solve by an entirely new method many problems" arising in the relations of land ownership, that this is a "more accurate and fair way" in resorting to "material incentives" in agriculture, and that this "fully conforms to the spirit of economic reform which is now being carried out" and so on. All this shows the kind of stuff of which the "Draft Principles of Land Legislation" is really made up.

### The Soviet People Will See Through the Renegade Features of the Soviet Revisionist Clique More Clearly

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out that "disguised counter-revolutionaries conceal their true features by giving a false impression. But since they oppose the revolution, it is impossible for them to cover up their true features completely." As soon as the "Draft Principles of Land Legislation" of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique were made public, many Soviet working people saw through its reactionary nature. A worker in a Soviet agricultural organization pointed out: The "Draft Principles of Land Legislation" have in fact provided that "land should have its price and this price should find expression in the change of its users." This means the "restoration of price-forming factors which operate in a society of private ownership of land" and it undermines state ownership of land. A cadre on a collective farm noted that the series of articles on the "transfer of the use of land" in the "Draft Principles of Land Legislation" in fact negate state ownership of land. He added that the provision in the "draft" that "the user of land should use the land rationally" is "incompatible with the planned targets." Doing so means free management of the land.

It is certain that the Soviet revisionists' "Draft Principles of Land Legislation" will provide the Soviet revolutionary people with material for learning by negative example and enable them to see through more clearly the true renegade features of Brezhnev, Kosygin and their ilk who are out to destroy the fruits of victory of the October Revolution.

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## Soviet Revisionists : Sordid Salesmen of Reactionary Western Culture

—Hung Tsin-Ta and Nan Hsueh-Lin

SO-CALLED "Western culture" is nothing but imperialist culture, which is most reactionary, decadent and vicious. With the imperialist system heading for total collapse, its culture, like the sun setting beyond the western hills, resembles a dying person who is sinking fast. Since Khrushchov and his successors came to power, they have gone all out to carry out "cultural co-operation" with U.S. imperialism and thrown the door wide open to "Western culture", which has thus found a new market in the Soviet Union. Amid the fanfare of their all-round counter-revolutionary collaboration, a new sinister deal was made between the Soviet Union and the United States in July—the Soviet-U.S. cultural exchange agreement for 1968-69 signed in Moscow.

This agreement covers many fields, ranging from science, technology, literature, art, education, medicine and physical culture to the exchange of "artists," "experts," periodicals, exhibitions and films, and so on. More than 20 departments are involved in the exchange of visits by "experts" alone.

If the United States only "made a breach" in 1958 when the arch-renegade Khrushchov signed the first "cultural agreement" with it, then today, ten years later, when the sixth "cultural agreement" has been signed, the world's most reactionary, decadent and vicious "Western culture" has flooded the Soviet Union like the muddy water rushing through a breached dike. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique's efforts to go in for "wholesale Westernization" have earned it the plaudits of its master. U.S. imperialist chief Johnson gleefully declared in a speech that no other period in history has

been "more productive in promoting co-operation between our two countries."

Let us see how "productive" Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation" is at present.

Not only has Soviet revisionist literature become increasingly decadent under the impact of Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation," but the most reactionary and rottenest American literature has been translated and published in large quantities in the Soviet Union. The chief editor of the Soviet revisionist *Literaturnaya Gazeta* confessed in a statement that American novels were the best sellers in the foreign book market in the Soviet Union.

Disguised as "cultural co-operation," degenerate Western music, commercialized jazz, has become the rage in the Soviet revisionist musical, dancing and theatrical world. Rock-'n-roll, the twist and other similar vulgar dances are performed more madly than before. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique has not only spent big sums of money to invite night club jazz bands from the West to perform in different parts of the Soviet Union, it has also sent its own musicians to take part in "international contests" so as to learn from Western jazz bands. As a result, various weird-named American and British jazz bands have performed in the Soviet Union. Last December 12 [1967], the Soviet revisionist Central Television Station started a monthly series of lectures on "Jazz Music, Yesterday and Today" in its fourth programme. In these lectures, American commercialized jazz was unctuously described as "real music" and "sacred music" and was lauded as helping to "understand the world." Disgusting "jazz music festivals" have been held in Moscow and six other Soviet cities this year to give such vulgar music a big boost. And as before, the Soviet revisionist clique has given the green light to performances of many vulgar American plays on the Soviet stage.

As a result of Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation", Soviet

revisionist screens have been turned into an instrument for publicizing "Western culture." As it did previously, this clique has spared no efforts to lavish praise on American films through its newspapers and magazines, and it has printed many books to publicize these reactionary American films. Moreover, in January this year (1968), the Soviet revisionist Central Television Station began obsequiously introducing American film stars to its viewers. The Soviet revisionists, in effect, have handed over a large part of the Soviet screen to Hollywood. S. K. Romanovsky, Chairman of the Soviet Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, admitted that often "there are several hundred copies of American films being shown in our country." Even this cannot satisfy the Soviet revisionist clique. The new "cultural agreement" explicitly provides for "the widest possible distribution" of American films.

Under the signboard of "cultural co-operation," the Soviet revisionist clique has thrown the door wide open to the Voice of America, an instrument of U. S. imperialism, for opposing communism, China, the people and revolution. The notorious V.O.A., as former U.S. President Kennedy said, is an "arm" of the U.S. Government. But the Soviet revisionist clique loves it as dearly as flies love muck. As far back as soon after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., the clique began to intermittently stop jamming V.O.A. broadcasts to the Soviet Union. Later, an agreement was reached between the Soviet Union and the United States under which the former formally and completely stopped jamming and provided facilities for V.O.A. transcription programmes to be broadcast in the Soviet Union. After Brezhnev and Kosygin came to power, they gave the V.O.A. the go-ahead signal, allowing it to be heard all over the country. With great exultation, the U.S. press said that in content, form and technique, the Soviet revisionist radio and television programmes had been "radically reformed" after the fashion of the West.

Soviet revisionism's television is the same as its radio. Last year, the Soviet revisionist clique racked its brains making a television newsreel called "Chronicle of Half Century" in the name of "celebrating" the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution and "reviewing" the history of the Soviet Union over the past half century. On the one hand, the newsreel frantically attacks China; on the other hand, it nauseatingly advocates "Soviet-U.S. friendship" to curry favour with its master. A good number of shots of Soviet revisionists embracing and kissing Americans were produced to show Soviet-U.S. "friendship" and "co-operation." The coming to power and the death of U.S. imperialist chief Kennedy were shamelessly played up as a "big event" in the Soviet Union and brought into this television film. The commentary flatters Kennedy as a "clear-headed" and "practical" man and sadly "mourns" his death.

It is also under the camouflage of Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation" that the decadent way of life of the Western bourgeoisie penetrates the Soviet Union everywhere. Not long after the latest agreement, a so-called "Soviet fashion design show" was held in Washington. On display were "outstanding fashions" by Soviet revisionism's "top contemporary designers," including so-called "space age" fashions and "revolutionized" clothing designed by "the Soviet Union's best-known avant-garde designer" who copied the cowboy pants and miniskirts of the West. Characteristic of the fashion show were the marked trends of "Westernization" which won praise and applause from the revisionist clique's U.S. master and which were cheered as "inspiring." The Soviet revisionists also put on dog shows in Moscow similar to those in New York and London and went so far as to make this thing fashionable. All this is the height of rottenness.

To speed up the "Westernization" of the Soviet Union, the Soviet revisionist clique is becoming more and more

open in utilizing "international tourism" to attract by all possible means "tourists" of all descriptions from the Western capitalist countries, allowing them to spread the dissipated Western way of life in the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionists also announced that more than one hundred cities in all fifteen union republics would be opened to up to a million pleasure-seeking foreign bourgeois gentlemen and ladies coming to the Soviet Union. In addition, the Soviet revisionists are developing "cultural co-operation" with U.S. imperialism in a big way so as to surrender completely to the latter and bring on a wholesale "Westernization" of the Soviet Union through such channels as setting up "night clubs," free "distribution" of the U.S. magazine *America*, holding rotating U.S. exhibitions, introducing American experience, exchanging students, commendation of scholars, sponsoring pen clubs and reprinting the articles of the reactionary U.S. press etc.

The above-mentioned facts are but a few examples of this "co-operation." All these "fruits" fully show that since the confidential Glassboro talks by the chieftains of Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism in June 1967, U.S.-Soviet counter-revolutionary collaboration has shown striking development. It has developed from the earth and under the sea to the sky, from the "hot line" contact between the White House and Kremlin to the opening of the New York-Moscow direct airline, and from political, economic and military fields to the cultural realm. Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism have entered into an out-and-out counter-revolutionary holy alliance.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." The large-scale importation of "Western culture" by the Soviet revisionist clique today is utterly to serve the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the comprehensive Soviet-U.S. counter-revolutionary

collaboration, in other words, to serve its counter-revolutionary revisionist political line. So-called Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation," like their collaboration in the political, economic and military fields, is the product of the capitulationist line of "peaceful coexistence" carried out by the Soviet revisionist clique of renegades, and it is a big betrayal of the people of the Soviet Union and of the world.

Why is Soviet-U.S. "cultural co-operation" carried out so unscrupulously and so feverishly in this period? The U.S. magazine *Newsweek* in its July 15, 1968, issue admits outright that Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism "have often found themselves undergoing many of the same internal and external stresses and strains in the rapidly changing world of the 1960s." What are these "internal and external stresses and strains?" First of all, in this period, under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao himself, China has victoriously unfolded the great proletarian cultural revolution which deals a heavy blow to imperialism, revisionism and reaction. The announcement of victories in the hills of the Truong Son Range, the war drum sounded on the Equator, the red flag fluttering in the Pu Pan Mountains, the roar of the raging tide along the Mississippi River, and the revolutionary storm in West Europe and North America...all these converged into an irresistible revolutionary torrent which has rapidly breached the dam of Soviet-U.S. global counter-revolutionary collaboration. The drastically deepening political and economic crises in imperialist countries headed by the United States have become an incurable disease. Modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist clique as its centre which is disintegrating daily, is in a shaky state. Such an excellent revolutionary situation naturally means "stresses and strains" for U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionist clique. It is in these days that they have to depend on each other to bolster up their tottering bourgeois dictatorships

and use decadent "Western culture" as a talisman in a vain effort to stem the surging tide of the world revolution and save them from being drowned in it.

Our great leader Chairman Mao wisely points out: **"The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was created by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has now been usurped by revisionists, I would advise comrades to remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and of Party members and cadres are good, that they desire revolution and that revisionist rule will not last long."** It can be asserted that the Soviet people who have a glorious revolutionary tradition will by no means tolerate their country being ruined by the Soviet revisionist renegades in such a way. No matter how reckless and unbridled their outrageous acts, the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists can never change the law of historical development, nor can they hold back the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union and the world over. U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism together with their treasured decadent "Western culture" will eventually be buried by the people of the Soviet Union, the United States and the whole world.

—From *Peking Review*, No. 44, 1968.

## How Soviet Revisionists Use the "CMEA" to Plunder and Exploit East European People

To hoodwink the people of Eastern Europe and the world's revolutionary people, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is carrying out criminal acts of neo-colonialism under the signboard of "defending the interests of the socialist community." This clique long ago degenerated into a bunch of social-imperialists. Regarding Eastern Europe as its sphere of influence, it has made a number of countries there its source of raw materials, outlets for capital investment, and commodity markets on the pretext of "international socialist division of labour," "production specialization," "cooperation in production," "economic integration," etc. The "Council for Mutual Economic Aid" ("CMEA") is a tool of Soviet revisionist social-imperialism for controlling the financial and economic lifelines of several East European countries and plundering and exploiting their people.

### So-Called "Production Specialization" Means Colonization

All out for "production specialization" within the "CMEA," this revisionist renegade clique has laid the foundation for a colonial or semi-colonial economy in a number of East European countries. The so-called "production specialization" means that one or several "CMEA" member countries specialize in producing one product to meet the needs of other members. This entails "a division of labour" in which the Soviet Union concentrates on producing machinery, equipment and other industrial products while other member countries are confined to producing food, farm products and minerals. Hungary,

for instance, supplies 32.3 per cent of the Soviet wool imports, 57.7 per cent of canned vegetable imports and 46 per cent of medicinal raw material imports. Bulgaria provides the Soviet Union with large quantities of tobacco, fruit, vegetables and other foods. The 1966-70 long-term trade agreements concluded by the Soviet Union with Hungary and Bulgaria explicitly says that Hungary should supply the Soviet Union with 670 million rubles' worth of agricultural products and other consumer goods and Bulgaria should supply it with 325 million rubles' worth of agricultural products. Czechoslovakia, which is comparatively developed industrially, is even the main supply source of pitch, uranium, pipes and raw materials for making tyres for the Soviet Union. The raw materials supplied to the Soviet revisionists by the Czechoslovak revisionist clique in 1965 reached 38 per cent of the total value of Czechoslovak exports to the Soviet Union, or 349 million rubles. Along with this, the Soviet revisionist leading clique dumps large quantities of industrial products into these countries to block them from developing their industries. Not only have industrially undeveloped East European countries become the markets for Soviet industrial products, even Czechoslovakia is no exception. Every year it has to purchase from the Soviet Union large amounts of various types of machinery, means of transportation and complete sets of industrial equipment. In fact, these countries have become sources of raw materials and commodity markets for Soviet revisionism.

In the name of "production specialization," the Soviet revisionists have led several East European countries to a lopsided economic development. Here, Czechoslovakia provides a typical example. Bowing to the baton of the the Soviet revisionists, who control 67 per cent of the national economy of the country, the Czechoslovak revisionist renegade clique has developed its industry one-sidedly with the result that agricultural production has dropped

drastically, and its agricultural output is still below the pre-war level. Output of food-grains in 1964 went down by 40 per cent as compared with the pre-war peak. Since it does not make full use of its domestic resources, the Czechoslovak revisionist clique always depends on imports from the Soviet Union for mineral products. As a result of the damage from "production specialization," Czechoslovak industrial output once decreased and technical levels sunk. Machinery and equipment imported from the Soviet Union occupy a more and more dominant position in the Czechoslovak national economy.

"Production specialization" has enabled the Soviet revisionists to control the foreign trade of other member countries of the "CMEA," thereby making them greatly dependent upon the Soviet Union. The Soviet revisionists control over 35 per cent of Czechoslovakia's exports of heavy industrial products. Concerning Czechoslovakia's imports, they control 95 per cent of its oil, 65 per cent of its iron ore, 50 per cent of its copper and 99 per cent of its wheat. The extent of their control over Hungary's exports is shown by these figures: 79 per cent of lifting and transport equipment, 82 per cent of food industry equipment, 68 per cent of telecommunications equipment, 79 per cent of ships and floating equipment and 60 per cent of medicines. Concerning Hungary's imports, they control 85 per cent of the crude oil, 92 per cent of the oil products, 95 per cent of the iron ore, 97 per cent of the pig-iron, 91 per cent of the sulphate fertilizers, 77 per cent of the power and 73 per cent of the timber. The foreign trade of these countries has thus fallen into the clutches of the Soviet revisionists who manipulate and influence those countries' foreign trade policies at will.

#### **East European Countries Turned Into Processing Plants in the Name of "Co-operation in Production"**

In the name of "co-operation in production," Soviet social-imperialism has turned other member countries in

"CMEA" into plants processing raw materials which it exports to them in order to control production in their iron and steel, shipbuilding, chemical, oil, textile and other industries. The major portion of the industries of several "CMEA" member countries, such as the oil and chemical industries of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Poland, is controlled by the Soviet revisionists.

Most of the East European countries' raw materials are supplied by these revisionists. The materials they supply are processed into finished products which are then taken back to the Soviet Union and re-exported to the East European countries at high prices. In this way, the Soviet revisionists ruthlessly exploit these countries. Over 56 per cent of Czechoslovak raw material imports in 1964, for instance, came from the Soviet Union while 50 per cent of the machinery, 80 per cent of the rolling equipment, over 50 per cent of the light industrial equipment and 100 per cent of the ships and related equipment—all made in Czechoslovakia—were transported to the Soviet Union. In addition, while Czechoslovakia processes various types of industrial parts for the Soviet revisionists, such as carburettors and other parts for motor cars, it imports motor cars and different kinds of industrial equipment from the Soviet Union. Hungary exports bauxite to the Soviet revisionists' plants and imports the finished product—aluminium—at high prices from them. These facts forcefully expose the predatory nature of "co-operation in production."

#### **Large Quantities of Unsalable Goods Labelled "Aid," "Loans" and "Technical Co-operation" Exported at High Prices**

Soviet revisionist social-imperialism also uses "aid," "loans" and "economic and technical co-operation" to export huge sums of capital to the member countries of the "CMEA." The total amount of "loans" by Soviet

revisionism to Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland and other member countries reaches some thousands of millions of rubles. It should be pointed out that Soviet revisionism's so-called "aid" and "loans" to the "CMEA" member countries are not in cash but are unsalable products and equipment sent to these countries at exorbitant prices in the guise of "aid" and "loans." For example, according to the 1966-70 five-year plan, Soviet revisionism, in the name of "aid," will send large amounts of complete sets of factory equipment to various East European countries. In this period, Soviet revisionism will ship Hungary complete sets of equipment for 30 factories.

#### **East European People Ruthlessly Exploited and Plundered Through Unequal Exchanges**

Trade between the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and other "CMEA" members has always been unequal. Not only does Soviet revisionism force these countries to buy its unsalable goods, but it ruthlessly exploits the East European people through exchange at unequal values. By raising the value of the ruble, it pushes up the prices of exports to "CMEA" members and reduces the prices of imports from them. Making use of the fact that these countries lack raw materials, it gets a large amount of industrial goods in return for a small quantity of raw materials, thus openly plundering the cheap labour power of the people of these countries. For example, a machine from Czechoslovakia, which could be exchanged for 520 tons of iron ore with other countries, is exchanged with the Soviet Union for only 140 tons of iron ore; rolling stock gets only 1,300 tons of oil from the Soviet revisionists whereas it could be exchanged for 3,400 tons of oil in other countries. With control over the industries of the "CMEA" member countries, Soviet revisionism callously slashes the prices of industrial goods these countries export to the Soviet Union. For example, a DP 1600-type lathe from

the German Democratic Republic sold to the Soviet Union can fetch only 15,000 rubles although the former could get 20,000 rubles if the lathe were sold to other countries; a GFL 400 x 300 milling machine sold to the Soviet Union gets 6,000 rubles but it could get 9,000 rubles from other countries. The Soviet revisionists sell oil to Italy at 1.31 U.S. dollars a barrel, to Japan at 1.26 U.S. dollars and to West Germany at 1.27 U.S. dollars but they sell oil to the East European countries at 2.61 U.S. dollars while the price per barrel for Hungary is as high as 3.04 U.S. dollars. The price of the atomic reactors which the Soviet revisionists have sold to some East European countries is five times higher than the international market price.

#### **Trampling on the Sovereignty of Other Countries in The Name of "Economic Integration"**

In the name of "co-ordinating" the plans for the national economies of the various East European countries, Soviet revisionism has gone to great lengths to force "economic integration" and "super-state" "departmental organization" on the "CMEA" members, ruthlessly interfering in their internal affairs and trampling on their sovereignty. After the collapse of the fallacy of "inter-state economic complexes," which was trotted out in 1964, the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the end of 1966 again manipulated the "CMEA" to pass a so-called "agreement on departmental organization" as a means to control the member countries. According to this agreement, a whole series of "super-state" departmental organizations were to be established to regulate the production, sales, distribution, supply of raw materials, etc., of the various "CMEA" members. These countries have thus in fact been turned into dependencies of Soviet revisionism. The revisionist ruling cliques in Eastern Europe betrayed the interests of the people of their countries by capitulating to Soviet

*(Continued at the foot of page 47)*

## Soviet Revisionism Carries Out Social-Imperialist Economic Exploitation In India

UNDER the pretext of giving "economic assistance," the Soviet revisionist renegade clique is cruelly exploiting the Indian people and plundering India's rich resources. Its behaviour in India is practically the same as that of U.S. imperialism, thereby fully exposing its real social-imperialist nature.

### U. S. "Aid" and Soviet "Aid"—Tweedledum And Tweedledee

U.S. imperialism has been supplying India with so-called surplus food-grains, and as a result has gained control of the country's economic lifeline. The U.S.-controlled "aid-India consortium" annually examines the planning, budget and policies of the Indian Government to judge whether they are in accord with the interests of U.S. imperialism. Soviet revisionism has also provided the Indian Government with loans, equipments and technicians to build some government-run factories. As to the Soviet-"aid" industrial enterprises, the Soviet revisionists maintain exclusive command over them, from the planning stage to the installation of equipment and the supply of raw materials. They have even stuck their noses into the management of these enterprises, and actually control some. Thus, many of India's important industrial departments have been put under the control of the Soviet revisionists. Recently, they openly pulled India's next "five-year plan" into the orbit of their own planning system. In this way, the investments, disposition and management of India's government-run enterprises are controlled by the Soviet revisionists.

The beneficiaries of either U.S. "aid" or Soviet "aid" are none other than the handful of big blood-suckers—the

bureaucrat-comprador capitalists and the big landlords who trample on the people. U.S. dollars and Soviet roubles are making them grow fat and propping up their tottering rule. On the other hand, the broad masses of working people are more and more cruelly exploited by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, and their existence becomes more and more miserable.

When the U.S. imperialists lend money to the Indian Government they stipulate that 80 to 90 per cent of these loans must be used to buy U.S. goods. The Soviet revisionists likewise stipulate that every cent they lend to the Indian Government must be spent in the Soviet Union. The U.S. imperialists brazenly demand high interest on their loans to India—from 5 to 7 per cent. On the surface, the Soviet revisionists' loans to India only require an interest of 2.5 per cent. But in fact, prices of the commodities they sell to India are 20 to 30 per cent higher than on the world market and these are poor quality commodities. Thus the Soviet revisionists' loans are also usury which cruelly exploits the Indian people.

U.S. imperialism invests in India's private enterprises, communications and transports and other departments and

*(Continued from page 45)*

revisionism and allowing it to control their countries' economic lifelines.

In a nutshell, under the neo-colonialism pushed by the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, many countries in Eastern Europe have been reduced to colonies and protectorates of Soviet revisionism and have to suffer all its plunder and insults. But this cannot last long. Soviet revisionism's aggressive actions are gradually awakening the oppressed East European people and stimulating them to rise up in revolutionary struggle against Soviet revisionist social-imperialism and its agents.

—From *Peking Review*, No. 48, 1968

uses these to squeeze high profits out of the Indian people. Soviet revisionist exploitation is effected through lending money to the reactionary Indian Government for government-run enterprises; the Indian Government then squeezes the Indian people through taxation to repay the debt to the Soviet revisionists. Management of these government-run enterprises is poor; they operate much below capacity, and losses are big. Losses in 1966-67 amounted to 10 million U.S. dollars as a result of the stockpiling of unsold stocks alone. In the end, these losses will all be made up by the blood and sweat of the masses of the working people of India, making their burden heavier.

Built with Soviet revisionist "aid", the Bhilai Steel plant is one of the four government-run steel plants in the hands of the Indian bureaucrat-capitalist class. The Soviet revisionists sold very bad quality refractory materials to this plant. Consequently, for every ton of steel the Bhilai Steel Plant produces, it uses up double or even quadruple the amount of refractory materials that steel plants in the Soviet Union requires. The dozens of diesel engines the Soviet revisionists dumped into this plant are crude and badly made. Their maintenance cost is six times that of standard ones. The Soviet revisionists buy up the products of the Bhilai plant at a low price and then sell them to other foreign countries at a handsome profit.

Under the management of the Soviet revisionists and Indian bureaucrats, the Soviet-"aided" Heavy Engineering Corporation at Ranchi, which represents a capital investment of over 20 million U.S. dollars, has only been able to produce an output value of one million U.S. dollars in its seven years of operation; this represents an enormous waste.

Like U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism exploits the Asian and African countries through unequal trade, buying cheap and selling high.

Making use of the opportunity offered by the crisis in

India's jute industry this year, Soviet revisionism, together with U.S. and British imperialism, forced the Indian Government to sell jute to it at lower prices. The Soviet revisionists forced India to cut its export duty on every bale of jute by 30 per cent before they would conclude a long-term purchase deal. At the insistence of the Soviet revisionists, the Indian Government had to lower the price of steel sold to the Soviet Union by 10 to 20 per cent. The losses are shifted in one way or another on to the Indian labouring people by the reactionary Indian Government.

#### **Soviet-U.S. Collaboration in Dividing up India Intensified**

Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are now ganging up more closely to energetically expand their respective spheres of influence in India. They are speeding up their plunder and division of India between themselves. U.S. imperialism specializes in dumping grain and other agricultural products on India, in controlling India's communications, transport and electric power departments, and investing in privately-run fertilizer and chemical industries. Soviet revisionism controls the iron and steel, machine-building, power and other heavy industries of the Indian bureaucrat-capitalists. The U.S. imperialists had agreed to build a government-run big steel plant in Bokaro, but since the United States and India failed to reach agreement on the conditions, the project was taken over by the Soviet revisionists.

Despite the Soviet revisionists' efforts to cover up the essence of their "aid" to India, more and more revolutionary Indian people have come to see the real nature of this social-imperialism. The Indian revolutionary journal *Liberation* correctly said: "How can Soviet 'aid' be disinterested when the Soviet revisionists have seen to it that the Soviet economy is based on the profit motive? If economic relations in the country are ruled by the

(Continued at the foot of page 51)

## Soviet Social-Imperialism's Stranglehold Over India

—Nishad

**I**N this article we propose to point out certain aspects of the exploitation of the Indian people by the revisionist ruling clique of the USSR which is guided by the motive of personal profit.

The 51st Anniversary of the Russian Revolution found some peculiar celebrants. The *Statesman* carried a special supplement in which Duncan Brothers, JK Organisation, etc. vied with one another to hail the "Great October Socialist Revolution". Either the imperialists and their compradors have changed quite radically or the Soviet State, established by the Bolsheviks led by Lenin, has ceased to be an enemy of those who hold much of mankind in bondage.

In India, the "friends of the Soviet Union" have sedulously built up a myth which in its simplest form is as follows :

The Soviet Union, in order to save India from the clutches of US, UK and West German imperialism, in order to lay the economic foundation of the progress out of which socialism will be born, in order to strengthen the patriotic, freedom-loving national bourgeois of India and to enable them to overcome the pressure of the U. S. imperialists, in order to build up a strong public sector which will counterbalance and, later, command the private sector, is giving us *aid* without strings.]

... Somehow the general feeling is that USSR's aid is *real* aid. It does not have to be paid back, at least in the near future. Also there is no interest and, of course, the whole thing is for India's benefit; therefore, there can be no question of profit-making. Facts have little to do with this carefully-prepared tale of "noble and

selfless friendship." In actual practice, India has to pay interest on the Russian loans—between  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum. The loans have to be repaid and the repayment period is shorter than that of even some US loans. As at 31 March 1967, Russia was India's third largest creditor, next only to US & UK and the second largest recipient of annual repayment of principal and interest. In 1967-68 US got Rs. 142 crores, and the USSR 53 crores<sup>1</sup> In fact, for every Rs. 100 of "aid" received from USSR in 1967-68, India paid Rs. 125 during the year—i.e. aid received was Rs. 42 crores and repayments came to Rs. 53 crores (*Indian Express* 19.4.68). This was on account of trade. Besides this, India paid more than Rs. 47 crores for defence supplies.

Before examining the various aspects of USSR's presence in India, we must recall certain facts about USSR's present ruling clique, its state character and world-wide dealings. [For the sake of brevity these are itemized.

1. Without entering into a detailed discussion on the present occasion, we must state that we are convinced that the Soviet State and Party are led by a class which is motivated by private profit—the new bourgeoisie. This class controls the State and Party machinery and the centralised means of production. The internal rule

(Continued from page 49)

principle of buying cheap and selling dear, can the economic relations with a foreign country be guided by principles of an opposite character?" This analysis hits the nail on the head. It shows clearly that since Soviet revisionism has restored capitalism at home, it will certainly engage in imperialist plunder abroad. This social-imperialist behaviour by the Soviet revisionists will certainly evoke strong opposition from the Indian people and will meet a shameful defeat.

(From *Peking Review*, No. 45, 1968)

of this class is characterised by the exploitation of the working masses of the Soviet Union.

Grinding the people under the dictatorial jackboots of the army and the police, the bureaucracy and the courts, the new bourgeoisie of the USSR maintains and extends its privileges. The external policy of this class must of necessity consist, on the one hand, of collaboration, co-operation and conciliation with the US and other imperialists and, on the other, of exploitation of the under-developed nations.

What follows in this article is derived from this premise and is also intended to substantiate it.

2. There are those who point at the state ownership of the major means of production in the USSR and claim that, therefore, USSR is a Socialist state. They forget that the state is an instrument of class rule and before deciding the character of a state one has to see which CLASS is in COMMAND.]

It is precisely because of the massive centralisation of the forces of production and distribution in Russia; it is precisely because of the vast state machinery (always an instrument for suppression of one class by another) built up for the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat over 15 nationalities and a territory 8 times the size of India; it is precisely because of the size of the big and powerful Party which is run by a group of revisionist bureaucrats, that the question of Soviet social-FASCISM and IMPERIALISM has arisen. For when such vast centralised forces of production, state and party machinery are seized by the new bourgeoisie, by a class that is basically anti-proletariat, anti-people and chauvinistic, a qualitative change is bound to occur; and without going through the slow stages of nascent capitalism, free competition, finance capital, monopoly, imperialism, etc., the state becomes a fascist-imperialist state.

3. There are some who identify the Soviet betrayal of its

people and the peoples of the world as the faults of Khrushchev, the individual. They forget that Khrushchevism has been more ardently and efficiently applied after the removal of Khrushchev in October, 1964. Here are some facts:

(i) (Soviet) Ambassador Dobrynin spent 45 minutes with LBJ reaffirming a "better, more efficient form of Khrushchevism to both the Russians and the world at large", when the Kosygin-Brezhnev clique removed Khrushchev. (TIME: 23 October 1964)

(ii) New Deal for Russian Farmer—freedom is given to the Soviet farmer to fix his own prices. If he charges higher prices, according to a Soviet Trade official, he should NOT be called a profiteer since "he produces by his own labour." The new decree also promised the Soviet farmer 50% higher prices for state procurement and a lower rate of tax on NET (previously it was gross) income. Thus, rich peasants are allowed full scope for further enrichment. (LINK: 27 June 1965)

(iii) Private Farmers in Russia Get Fresh Support—New support has been voiced for farmers cultivating private plots, often attacked here as remnants of the bad old days which should be eliminated under Communism, reports A.P. The magazine *Voprosy Ekonomiki* (Questions of Economics), put out by the prestigious Academy of Sciences, carried an article hailing the private plots as useful for the economy and good for the farmers' working habits. "They help give people a business-like grasp of their job, diligence and a feeling of responsibility, as well as other qualities needed in collective farming," the article said. It noted that the plots yield agricultural products which "are often not obtainable from Government-controlled farms, or at best scarce and of poor quality.....The private plots, which make up only 3.2% of total acreage cultivated, account for 63% of the output of potatoes and eggs, 41% of the

vegetables and a percentage of meat and milk. The article maintained that the State, instead of taking a negative attitude, should actively support private farming. (*Statesman*, 7 Jan. 1969)

(iv) Libermanism—450 factories ordered to plan on the basis of consumer demand. "Now Brezhnev and Kosygin have done what even Khrushchev did not dare to do." The profit motive was to be practised with a vengeance. (*LINK* 31 January 1965)

4. Having established a better, more daring and efficient "Khrushchevism," the Soviet leadership continued to cooperate with US imperialism and to betray the struggles of the oppressed peoples. Some recent examples :

(i) **The Arab-Israel War—1967** : For the first time the Moscow-Washington hot-line was used for serious diplomacy. This "serious diplomacy" consisted of a call by Kosygin on 5 June, 8 a.m. (just after Israeli aggression) in which he assured LBJ that Russia WILL NOT enter the conflict. The line was used again after the Arab defeat and Israeli occupation of parts of UAR, when Kosygin informed LBJ that Russia would accept UNCONDITIONAL ceasefire. (*Time* : 16 June 1967). Thereafter, for a whole week the Russian leaders threatened and warned Israel. This fooled no one. The treachery of the Russian leaders and the humiliation of the Arabs were climaxed at Glassboro, USA, where Kosygin met Johnson to cut up the Middle East cake and wallow in "the spirit of Holly Bush." During his walks on Wall Street and family sessions with LBJ, did Kosygin remember the thousands of bleeding Arabs being napalmed and machine gunned? He certainly chose to forget that, during those very hours of camaraderie, US bombers flew their daily murderous missions over North Vietnam.

(ii) **Aid to Latin American Dictators** : Even Fidel Castro, who has made Cuba wholly dependent on the "aid" from the Soviet revisionist renegades, had to condemn

publicly their aid to the Latin American stooges of U.S. imperialism : "Recently a high level Soviet delegation was in Bogota (Colombia) to sign a commercial, cultural and financial treaty with the Colombian Government,— The same government which is combating Communist guerrillas in the mountains and arresting their leaders in the cities."

"Whoever helps the oligarchies where the guerrillas are fighting is assisting in suppressing the revolution." (*New York Times* March 1968)

(iii) **The Gold Crises** : The Dollar was under attack of speculators. Capitalism was eating its own tail! Devaluation of the Dollar would have dealt imperialism a terrible blow. But the Soviet leadership did nothing to put pressure on the Dollar. Inaction in combat sometimes amounts to treason. This was one such case.

(iv) **Americans Are Buying Russian** : According to the *New York Times*, USSR is to-day, US's biggest supplier of chromium, platinum and titanium. This last is used specifically for supersonic planes and missiles. All three metals are 'strategic' materials and their export to USSR from USA is forbidden. But Moscow turns the other cheek so much so that in spite of a 25% ad-valorem duty, the Russian metals turn out to be cheaper than the Japanese. Moscow's meekness is profitable, particularly since it is Vietnam which feels the punch of the supersonic bombers.

(v) **Vietnam** : In 1964 Russian leaders repeatedly tried to make the North Vietnamese and the NLF surrender to the U.S. To serve their treacherous aims they repeatedly put forward the slogan : 'Unity in action in Vietnam.' Every time the US proposed a conditional bombing pause, the Russian leaders tried to pressurise North Vietnam into accepting the US conditions. Now the battlefield victories of the Vietnamese have exposed the clayfeet of U S imperialism and Soviet revisionism. Yet even now the Russian leaders are at their game, trying to sap the fighting will of the people of Vietnam by playing up

the peace talks and playing down the fighting even though the U.S. imperialists have continued their bombings, attacks, napalm and chemical warfare.

(v) **Czechoslovakia** : This is perhaps the finest example of U.S.-Soviet collusion in dividing the world into respective spheres of influence. First, the Soviet leaders invited LBJ to Moscow 24 hours before the invasion. As the invasion got underway, Ambassador Dobrynin called on LBJ to do the necessary liaison work. The result : the U.S. "strongly condemned" Soviet action and also announced its inability to do anything. The nature of this "condemnation" is apparent from the fact that the U.S. Government continued to grant licenses to U.S. companies exporting goods to Russia. For example, La Salle Machine Tools Co. were allowed to export equipment to be used by the FIAT plant in Russia. Similarly, Buckbee Mears Co. were allowed to export colour TV manufacturing equipment. (*Business Week*, 21 September 1968)

5. In Europe, the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union have done everything to unite with and aid the capitalist states, and knuckled under every restriction imposed by second rate powers like Britain; on the other hand, they have used every opportunity to bully and exploit the East European States. [The following illustrate the sort of economic relationship the U.S.S.R. leadership is building with Western Europe.

#### **Retail Sale of Petrol in U.K. :**

This is done through a British-managed, Russian-owned company—Nafta (GB) Limited. The company operates 150 petrol pumps and sells NON-Russian oil (since import of Russian oil into U.K. is banned.) In order to attract more customers, Nafta uses pretty female attendants wearing "see-through blouses and micro skirts" in its petrol pumps. (*Business Week* : 20 July 1968 ; U.S. business comment on the above is most revealing. All this is good, they feel,

because (a) the Russian market will be opened to U.S. goods and (b) once Russians realise the profit in the U.S. way of selling, they shall apply it in the USSR.)

#### **Collaboration :**

Italy's biggest monopolist, "Fiat", has built a motorcar plant at Togliattigrad—450 miles west of Moscow costing 800m dollars (Rs. 600 crores). Many of the machines are actually U.S.-made. Socialist consciousness so pervades the U.S.S.R. today that police had to be called in when the first Fiat was exhibited in Moscow's Italian Industrial Fair. Prospective customers had overrun attendants in a rush to get on the waiting list. Surely, workers or farm labourers did not take part in this rush. It was the members of the privileged class—the exploiters of the Russian people—who were responsible for these disgusting scenes. (*Business Week* : 21 September 1968)

6. Finally, there is the Soviet leadership's role in the underdeveloped world. [One of India's Soviet-patronized intellectuals<sup>2</sup> wrote recently : "If there should be a meaningful competition between the capitalist and socialist economic systems, the Soviet theatre of operation must be the underdeveloped regions." (*Mainstream* : 21 December 1968, p. 29)]

In the last few years Soviet investment in the underdeveloped regions (politely called "aid") has risen from practically nothing to 3500 million Roubles (i.e. Rs. 2800 crores.) Soviet trade with these regions has increased by 60%, from 272 million Roubles (Rs. 217 crores) to 1744 million Roubles (Rs. 1395 crores).<sup>3</sup>

Who is benefitted by this "aid" ? Certainly the ruling classes rather than the common people. 3 out of every 4 South Americans live under a military dictatorship (*Time*, 27 December 1968). Every state in Africa, except Guinea and Tanzania, is under military dictatorship or under anti-people, pro-imperialist single party rule. Of the 14 non-socialist states of Asia, 5 are American puppets or

neo-colonies of the U.S. (Japan, Thailand, South Vietnam, South Korea and Philippines), 4 others are monarchies where the state does not even attempt to have any democratic pretensions (Cambodia, Iran, Nepal, Afganistan), at least two are nakedly neo-fascist states where the Army is in power (Burma and Indonesia). In ten of these states the Communist Party is banned. In everyone of these states except Japan and Ceylon, the people have started armed struggle against oppressive regimes. Whom does Soviet aid help in these countries? Does it "encourage revolutionaries and puncture the arrogance of reactionaries?" Is this the path charted out by the Great October Revolution, by Lenin and Stalin?

We conclude this section with two quotations which sum up the agony and shame of those who love freedom and socialism at the great treachery of the Russian leadership.

"The fundamental result of the activities of the Khrushchev-Brezhnev regime in its 15 years of existence is the creation of the exploiting clique which represents the interest of the bourgeoisie and is based on the merging of the upper strata of the intelligentsia with the top persons in the Party and Government Organisation who are divorced from the people." (Leaflet of the Stalin Group of U.S.S.R., *Peking Review* : 25 October 1968.) . . .

["The dance of treachery continues to be performed by the Soviet revisionists whose main partner is U.S. imperialism. Both are the worst and the most dangerous enemies in the world." (Albania's 'Zeri i Popullit'; *Peking Review* : 16 August 1968.)]

## II

The first Indo-Soviet trade pact was signed in 1953. The Rupee was accepted as the currency of trade and a list of exportable and importable goods was drawn up.

The Rs. 65 crore credit for purchase of Soviet machinery for the Bhilai Steel Plant in 1955 made the Soviet role in the Indian economy significant.

Thereafter, Soviet investment in India has been extensive and strategic :

1956 OIL drilling and FARMING.

1957 Rs. 60 crores credit for HEAVY ENGINEERING.

1958 Second Trade Agreement: India agreed to buy Rs. 150 crores of Soviet machinery in the next five years.

I.I.T., Bombay established by Soviet finance.

1959 Agreement about DRUGS, CHEMICALS, SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS factories to be set up with Soviet machinery. A further sum of Rs. 179 crores given as credit for purchase of Soviet machinery between 1960-66.

1960 More projects in the COAL MINING, POWER GENERATION, PRECISION INSTRUMENTS, ELECTRICAL MACHINERY, OIL industries taken up.

1961 More POWER, OIL, COAL projects.

1962 Russian ARMS begin to come to India in sizeable quantities.

1963 Further Russian investment in COAL, OIL, POWER and FARMING.

1964 Rs. 24 crores credit for purchase of Russian machinery for ELECTRICAL MACHINERY Plant.

Third Trade Agreement.

1965 Bokaro STEEL. Rs. 166 crores of 'aid'.

1966-67 More ARMS 'Aid'.

1968 Dinesh Singh announced that India will buy SHIPS and a NYLON plant from USSR.

The Soviet aid projects<sup>4</sup> are most highly concentrated in the heartland of Hindu, Hindi Jingoism—U.P., M.P., Rajasthan, Gujrat and now Bihar, i.e. the States where reaction is strong and democratic movements are very

weak. Before dealing with trade, however, we should deal with a subject which is of interest to Indo-Soviet trade. India is the biggest buyer of Soviet arms. Whatever trade surplus India earns is wiped out as her rulers buy more and more Soviet helicopters, guns, ammunitions, bombers, submarines etc. The Arms deals are shrouded in mystery and we do not know any details. But we do know :

(a) That Soviet sale of arms to India is based on the rabid anti-China hatred fanned by USA and USSR leadership.<sup>5</sup> Already 3 MIG plants are operating and the Soviet revisionist leading clique is trying to get the Andamans as a naval base ;

(b) That the business thrives on the sharpening sub-continental balance of terror between India and Pakistan and, therefore, tangentially, between Hindu and Muslim communalism. (In this context, one finds it alarming that in a questionnaire published by *Soviet Desh*, Dewan Chaman Lall asks the Indian readers to remember the common "ARYAN heritage of Indians and Russians." The Dewan as well as Soviet Desh forgets that more than half of India's population have nothing to do with Aryan heritage and that this heritage, in the final analysis, is the heritage of conquest and subjugation. But it adds up to make a complete picture with the geographical distribution of Soviet 'aid' as well as with the communalism that lurks below the secular surface of the so-called 'communist parties' of India ;

(c) That the Soviet arms are used by the ruling classes to equip the standing army. Lenin said : "A standing army is used not so much against the external enemy as against the internal enemy." (*Collected Works*, Vol. X p. 38.)

To the Indian ruling class *the people* are the "internal enemies." In other words, the Soviet Union, fiftyone years after the October Revolution, is helping to arm India's comprador and feudal ruling classes so that they might

oppress the Indian people and surrender India to imperialism. This is the deliberate policy of the present leadership of the Soviet Union.

It is not in India alone that the Soviet leadership is building up the props of a ruling class which is submissive in its external relations and oppressive in its internal policies. Three years ago a million communists were butchered in Indonesia by fascist gangs set loose by the government. Yet here is Soviet policy with regard to Indonesia :

"The Soviet Union intends to continue strengthening its all-round cooperation with Indonesia. Their people have always highly valued her anti-imperialist policy. They (USSR) consider that **every people must itself choose** the ways and forms of its social and national development." All India Market Report, Nov. '68, an issue completely written and produced by *Soviet Land*.)

#### Trade

India's exports to Russia consist chiefly of traditional commodities. 'Traditional' is a polite way of saying 'colonial.' These commodities are the same as those extracted by the British colonialists. This is a trade in which India scrapes her bowels to feed the industries of the imperialist nations while Indian industry languishes with huge idle capacity.

The imperialists have always plotted to continue this character of the Indian economy—a seller of cheap raw materials, a mobiliser of cheap labour,<sup>6</sup> a buyer of "sophisticated" goods. To justify this plunder, this deliberate policy of preventing the development of a poor country, the British and American imperialists put forward the theory of specialisation and "international division of labour." We find the same theories being put forward in the 21st Congress of the CPSU and being echoed by V.I. Smirnov, USSR Trade Representative in India (in

AIMR—Nov..68—Trade between India and USSR ) In the same article, Smirnov, analyses Soviet Imports from India.

### The Character of Soviet Imports

As % of Total Soviet Imports from India.

	1954-58	1959-63	1965	1966
Raw Jute	—	1	3	4
Sacks	5	9	18	22
Jute Packing Cloth	4	5	6	6
Raw Wool	12	8	5	3
Raw Hides & Skin	16	8	7	13
Cashew Nuts	6	7	8	10
Tea	28	26	21	12
	71	64	68	70

Soviet Union also imported large quantities of oil cakes, spices, tobacco, vegetable oils and cotton waste. British imports from India in the hey-days of her colonialism was not very much different. In 1967-68, the Soviet import pattern did not change.

### Indian exports to USSR as percentage of the Total export of each commodity 1967-68<sup>7</sup>

Iron ore	17%	Raw Hides & Skin	75%
Spices	37	Raw Wool	57
Oil cakes	73	Raw Jute	96
Tobacco	16	Vegetable Oil	47
Coffee	58	Cotton waste	53

This trade cannot help the Indian people. It helps the British, American monopolies and the comprador big bourgeois of India. For, it is the businesses owned by these enemies of the Indian people which have a stranglehold on the trade in the commodities listed above.

The future promises to be the same: *Economic Times* of 25 December, 1968, reported that India has agreed to

supply Rs. 160 crores worth of mica, coir and jute goods, cotton, hides and skin and 200,000 tonnes of rolled steel to USSR in 1969-70.

Impelled as they are by the profit motive the Soviet leaders also try to profiteer on CURRENCY deals. India's trade with Russia is in Rupees. Therefore, any surplus of Indian exports to USSR over its imports from USSR, merely leave in its hand a balance of Rupees which cannot be used for buying goods in *any country other than USSR* and the East European countries. Thus India becomes a *captive buyer*. The larger the surplus the more goods must India buy from USSR and East European countries. Rupee Trade by itself is not a bad thing. But in the hands of those to whom the profit motive is most important, it becomes a double-edged saw. A surplus is created by extraction of raw materials which is then liquidated by forced sale of arms and manufactured goods. Soviet leaders have taken advantage of the Rupee DEVALUATION forced upon India by the US—they raised the prices of all equipment and other goods. (When the Indian government asked USSR for concessions given by other East European countries, the Soviet leaders refused. They argued that their prices were lower. This was disproved—e.g. Soviet tractors cost twice as much as Czech. But facts did not prevail, the higher prices remained. (*Economic Times*, 1 June 1968).

Then there is the phenomenon of **Switch Trade**. That means Russia buys goods for Rupees from India, it also buys these very cheap. Then by switching labels the goods are sold in Europe for dollars as "Made in Russia." Thus India loses profits and dollars; also from a long term view, India loses a market. Russia gains all three and, with the dollars, is able to trade more freely with US etc. To continue this criminal practice, the USSR ruling class has often used political pressure to flout existing Indian rules, e.g. Coffee Board was forced

to allow export of a variety of coffee whose export was otherwise banned.

Machine Tools, Cotton goods, all items, have fallen victims to the vicious practice. (*Hindu* 3.1.69) In UNCTAD II, India formally protested against this cut-throat trade. (*Journal of Industry & Trade* Sept. '68, p. 1107)

The plans of the Soviet leadership for earning more profits in the future are coming into the open. These consist of:

(a) More adjustments "to take care of" the devaluation of the Indian Rupee, which means simply devaluation.

(b) Revision of old "rough and ready prices." "Prices will have to be negotiated for each item in terms of prevailing world standards." In short, a price increase.

(c) Limited multilateralisation. By this, trade deficits are liquidated through third countries, e.g. if India's exports to Russia are more than imports from USSR, then the USSR will liquidate its debt to India by paying or exporting goods to a third country (say: USA or Germany or Canada) with whom India might have a trade deficit. This will allow:

(i) greater collaboration between USSR and USA, etc. and

(ii) allow them, together, to squeeze India out by alternating deficits and surpluses.

Exploitation of India's vast storehouse of cheap, skilled labour is the third aspect of USSR's trade and 'aid' in India. Our ancient heritage of cottage industries and modern heritage of colonial industry added to the great poverty of the working masses have given India this "resource" which all the imperialist countries are very keen on using. The following proposals have been advanced by Soviet and Czech officials for various types of collaboration industries all of which will take advantage of Indian resources but yield more profit to the Soviet ruling clique.

(a) **Branch Industries**: where the Indo-Soviet factories, using Soviet machinery and raw materials, will make goods which are to be sent back to Russia. This will also help in the exploitation of the Soviet people, since it will increase unemployment in the USSR.

(b) **Export Industries**: Indo-Soviet collaborations shall produce goods exclusively for export to third (under-developed) countries.

(c) **Third country Joint Ventures**: to be set up in those countries by Indo-Soviet ventures. This has already been agreed to between India and Czechoslovakia.

A classic example of exploitation of India's resources and labour is provided by the much publicised wagon order<sup>8</sup> from USSR. 54,000 85-tonner steel wagons are to be ordered from 5 major wagon-makers of Eastern India. Deliveries are to be effected over the next 6 years. Certain other facts about this order are not so well publicised. These are:

(a) The major wagon-makers of Eastern India are either British-owned Braithwaite, Bridge & Roof, or owned by the comprador big bourgeoisie—Indian Standard Wagon & Burn belong to Martin Burn, Texmaco to Birla and Jessops is owned by Mundhra and managed by the Government of India. Burn and Texmaco have already retrenched workers. This order will not help the workers. It will, however, help the crisis-ridden capitalists of India.

(b) The Government of India is expected to subsidise the export since the price being paid by USSR does not leave a satisfactory margin of profit. Thus a further burden will be placed on the masses. (See *Ananda Bazar Patrika* of 25.1.69)

(c) The wagons must be made of steel of special tensile strength since they shall operate at sub-zero temperatures. This steel (about 5-7 million tonnes) will have to be imported. USSR does not have a surplus of this steel. Japan, which has a surplus, will be the supplier

and will have to be paid in Dollars though the Russians will pay for the wagons with Rupees. This order, therefore, aims at using India's cheap skilled labour and also at passing Soviet Russia's dollar burden on to the Indian people.

There are inherent contradictions within this situation of naked exploitation of the Indian people. These contradictions will destroy the exploiters.

(a) As the people's struggles sharpen all over the world and particularly in India, the size of the cake will be far too small for *amicable* division between the US and the USSR ruling classes.

(b) The natural urge towards monopoly felt by all who have the bourgeois way of thinking will break out into antagonistic proportions as each of them tries to make India his very own preserve. We see glimmerings of this clash in the statements and actions of each camp. The Soviet-patronised intellectual says: The Soviet Union has now developed *all* technologies and India can get *all* her needs from the USSR (*Mainstream*, 21.12.68). The US-patronised economist wants the USSR to buy industrial goods so that India can export (and US can buy) raw materials for Dollars (*Economic Times*, 12.12.68). Both the US and the USSR ruling classes are greedy of India's raw materials and cheap labour.

Yet precisely this contradiction unites the US and the USSR ruling classes into becoming the **biggest enemies of armed agrarian revolution in India**. Such a revolution is bound to disturb the present profitable patterns of trade and deny US and USSR ruling classes their accustomed pools of cheap labour. Such a revolution must, therefore, rapidly assume the character of a direct struggle against foreign exploiters.

#### Projects :

"All big projects undertaken with Soviet assistance were built under turnkey arrangements." Indians had

very little to do with the planning of the projects. The Indians were expected to carry out orders and supply rupees for the local costs. (It has been found that the arrogance and superiority complex of the Soviet technicians, their taste for luxury living, their exclusion of the 'blacks' are not less than those of the Americans or the British or the Germans.) This 'turnkey' procedure has two evil effects :

(a) Many of the projects have little or no relation to Indian needs; for example, the Surgical Instruments factory at Madras produced 246,000 instruments last year, of which only 10,000 could be sold. An NCAER survey showed that this plant's products have no market in India. Now the plant is to be completely "reoriented" (i.e., some more Russian machinery must be bought) and a delegation has left for the Middle East to sell the materials lying unsold.

(b) For repair and servicing as also for replacement, we have to buy from the Soviet Union. These projects, therefore, give the USSR a **captive market**.

It is said that, "India's public sector is largely a Soviet creation."<sup>9</sup> And what a powerful, strategic and profitable creation (for the Soviet leadership) it is :

#### USSR in the important sectors of Indian Economy<sup>9</sup>

##### The capacity installed by Soviet Collaboration as a percentage of total installed capacity

Power Generation	25%	Oil Refining	84%
Power Generating Equipment	70%	Coal Mining	10%
Oil Extraction Capacity	80%	Coal Washing	15%

Not one of these projects makes a profit. Most of them operate at a loss. It is impossible to arrive at an exact figure, but the accumulated loss of the Soviet 'aided' projects (like those of the US 'aided' projects) is bound to

run into hundreds of crores. Since Morarji Desai or Birla has not become poorer over the years we must conclude that it is the people of India—the working masses—who have had to bear the burden of this 'aid.'

Two other important aspects of these projects need to be known.

(a) These projects have given scope to the Soviet leadership for concrete combination with US and other imperialists. There are numerous cases where the Soviet Union and the old imperialist countries are "jointly helping India." We give some of the instances :<sup>10</sup>

#### (i) Collaboration with West Germany

\* Bharat Aluminium—which will have aluminium plants at Korba and Koyna. Hungary is the other partner.

\* Bharat Heavy Electricals—USSR and Czechoslovakia are here collaborating with Krupp of West Germany, Sweden and France.

\* Nyeveli Lignite Corporation—where USSR has put up the power station for a fertilizer plant to be built by West Germany and Italy and a briquetting and carbonisation plant built by W. Germany.

#### (ii) Collaboration with U.S.A.

\* National Coal Development Corporation—Poland, UK and France are also in this game which involves an extremely valuable raw material.

\* Indian Oil Corporation—This is a superb example of the imperialists cutting up India the better to chew it. USSR and Rumania have put up the refineries, Mobil of USA make the Mobil Blending Plant, the pipelines were planned by Bechtel Corporation, USA and built by SNAM of Italy (which is really an US outfit). The "Indianized" front presented by the Indian Oil Organisation is nothing but a gigantic bluff on the Indian people.

\* Oil and Natural Gas Commission—The task of

surveying has been divided up—Russia to do it in some areas, USA to do it in other areas, Italy and France are involved in the drilling operations.

In the course of these oil 'aids' both US and USSR have managed to sell large quantities of oil and equipment to India.

#### (iii) Other Collaborations

With UK : Mining and Machinery Corpn. (with Poland).

With Japan : National Instruments (with Hungary)

Heavy Engineering Corpn. (with Czechoslovakia).

(b) The Soviet and East European 'aid' is not all meant for India's so-called public sector. The comprador big bourgeois of India has also received a lot of help from 'socialist' Soviet Union.

The tie up of the "revisionist but socialist" world (as the CPI(M) would have us believe) with India's big business should be known. We therefore, list them below :<sup>10</sup>

#### Czechoslovakia :

Sri Ram Group : Usha Flour & General Mills.

Birla : Hindustan Aluminium (where Kaiser of USA is the major collaborator and EXIM and AID are major financiers).

Walchand : Walchandnagar Industries (collaboration with FIAT of Italy).

#### Hungary :

Tata & Khatau : Associated Cement Co.

Tata : New Swadeshi Mills

Chettiars ; Chettinad Cement.

#### East Germany :

Birla : Electrical Construction & Equipment Co.

Birla Jute Mills.

**Poland :**

Aminchand Pyarelal  
Biju Patnaik's Kalinga Industries.  
Escorts Limited.

**USSR :**

Ramkishan Kulwantri  
Bajaj : Mukund Iron.

In order to lubricate the relationship between India's big business and the revisionist rulers of the USSR, an Indo-USSR Chamber of Commerce is being organised. K. Nestov, President of USSR Chamber of Commerce, held talks with Indian businessmen in this regard.

A feature of 'aid' is exposed by a news item : Hungary boasted of being the first big buyer of Indian machinery when it bought Rs. 7 lakhs worth Aluminium filters from M/s. Dorr Oliver of Bombay. But Dorr Oliver, Bombay is a wholly-owned subsidiary of Dorr Oliver, USA : And Dorr Oliver, India uses huge quantities of imported materials in its 'indigenous' manufactures. Therefore, this transaction only made India pay in dollars for goods for which Hungary paid in Rupees. Similarly USSR's sympathy for India's compradors does not denote any desire to free them from the clutches of US or UK. It means that behind the shield of the Indian comprador the Russian revisionists and the U.S. monopoly will join hands to fleece India.

**Soviet Specialists** are associated with almost all top level planning bodies such as the Central Water & Power Commission.

Finally, we must remember that the vast quantities of Soviet equipment and instruments have resulted in the setting up of numerous business organisations which are "sole agents," "exporters-importers," "service organisations" for the Soviet Agencies. This means that a whole batch of Indian businessmen are now dependent on the Soviet ruling clique for their income and existence.

Just as Indian compradors of the U.S. monopolists maintain the pro-US intellectuals, the Indian compradors of Soviet social-imperialist interests finance the pro-Soviet Indian intellectuals.

### **The Future—As the Soviet Revisionist Ruling Clique Wants It**

"Internationally, state monopoly capital battles fiercely for markets utilising the name of the state and its diplomatic measures and these serve as a useful tool for extending its penetration." (*Contemporary Problems of Leninism*)

The revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union have most profitably used the name of the "Socialist" Soviet State, and the natural confidence that this name arouses amongst the oppressed peoples.

With their penetration of the Indian economy, political structure, and the army, they have gained some hold over our social and cultural life. In each and everyone of these, the Soviet revisionist leadership tries to strengthen the roots of imperialism and revive colonialism in a new form. In pursuance of these disgusting but futile aims, the Soviet revisionist leadership has frequently pressurised the Indian Government to adopt policies which are against the interests of the Indian masses. The treacherous character of the Soviet leadership becomes apparent if we examine some of the "suggestions" regarding future policies, being put forward by the Soviet and Indian agents of the revisionist leadership of the USSR.<sup>11</sup>

### **On Industry—the ideas put forward are :**

(a) Since in "power generation, transport, coal and mild steel India stands on her own feet," "there is no urgent need for large investments in heavy engineering sector for sometime" (till 1975). "It is no use having

big investments at the cost of investments which provide present, though *limited*, satisfaction of current consumption needs".

What a peculiar proposal! We stand on our own feet in power generation when 9 out of every 10 villages remain in darkness! We stand on our own feet as regards transportation when 12-15% of the grain produced in our country is wasted due to inefficient and slow transportation (Ford Report)! And also, why such pity and consideration for the Indian consumer? Is this not born out of the profit motive? After all "current consumption needs" industries would be *exactly* suited to the neo-colonial character that has been decided for India by the US and the Soviet revisionist leadership. These industries would keep the people "happy" (i.e., lull them with toys in the same way as "current consumption needs" industries of Hawaii or Philippines), earn a lot of profits and open the way for import of Soviet goods. This last is most significant. With the slowing down of India's efforts at establishing heavy industry, the Soviet Union is worried about the future of its export of machinery to India. To serve Soviet leadership's interests, India must therefore import components, tools, industrial raw materials, sophisticated goods, petrol and oil, sulphur and small machines from Russia. (Incidentally, it should be remembered that under the present Indo-Soviet trade terms, no deferred payments or credits are available for these items.)

Such are the plans of the revisionist leaders of the Soviet Union and the conclave of neo-colonialists, who hold the Indian people in bondage.

The Soviet ruling clique's conspiracy is apparent from their plans about the Heavy Engineering Plant at Ranchi. The HEC is operating at a huge loss and at under-capacity, but so wonderful is our self sufficiency in heavy industry that it is now being proposed that "there is no reason to use HEC to full capacity since steel demand is such a

limiting factor." It is so much better to import machines from USSR. It is even better not to have any heavy industry at all!

The Soviet minister Skachkov had some interesting suggestions to make about the Bhilai Steel plant and other Soviet 'aided' projects running at a loss.

He wanted the "introduction of exacting standards of labour and management." In case of Bhilai he was even more specific. Like any American tycoon he said—"cut idle time, integrate production to sales orders," utilise scrap and "do something" about over-staffing. He also spoke of the high ash content of Indian coke and suggested import of high quality coke.

What Skachkov did not publicly say has been clearly expressed by a Soviet-patronised intellectual—"The policy is of the Government of India and the projects are managed by Indians. If together they have failed to come up to expectations the fault is ours, not that of the Soviet Union." Most excellent! Are non-Indians to manage the projects in the future? Or is this just another example of sickening sycophancy of the colonial intellectual, which earns him a chance to go abroad next year? Perhaps it is both.

### On Agriculture

Soviet revisionist leadership has done everything in their power to help bring mechanisation to Indian farming. Some will welcome this. But the 70% of India's population who are poor peasants or agricultural labourers cannot relish the prospect. Nor can the Soviet people, who, forty years ago, were fighting the kulaks. Mechanisation or other expensive innovations in agriculture in India today can only help the rich peasant, and the jotedar-cum-money-lenders of India. The Americans are also trying their best to build up the same classes through IADP. In times like the present, when India feels the child of

peasant revolution stirring in her womb, all counter-revolutionaries shall want the kulaks to be strengthened so that they can impose their murderous "stability" on India's rural areas (as in Tanjore on Christmas Day). This is precisely what the Soviet leaders and US imperialists are trying to do.

Besides the mechanised farms in Rajasthan (which state has the highest ceiling on land in India and the largest number of feudals), the USSR is also the biggest supplier of tractors to India and is now developing into a seller of fertilisers.

But much more dangerous is the change in basic patterns of land-ownership that the Soviet ruling clique wants to impose in India. Imperialists, for their own ends, pervert the bourgeois of a colony or neo-colony so that the bourgeois does not even carry out his normal democratic functions. This is what is being sought in India. In a recently published article, sponsored by *Soviet Desh*, the following opinions were put forward on Indian agriculture:

(a) "The present ceiling on land holding is one of the reasons for the failure of agricultural production in our country." Why? Because the ceiling is too low. Too low for what? "The business community has not yet been offered conditions favourable for their participation in the country's agricultural production." More important, each farmer must have more land to use modern implements. And who shall supply these? There is no reason "why our Government should not allow liberal import of so cheap and popular tractors from our friendly countries who are supplying on deferred payment basis?" No reason indeed! Particularly since the "friendly country"—USSR—needs a profitable market.

(b) Once the tractors—apparently 15 lakhs are required and we only have 50,000 to 60,000—arrive where shall they be used? The answer is simple: **RAISE THE CEILING ON LAND and FIX A MINIMUM.** "Even in Communist

countries the farmers have been given more free hand than in India." The author quotes Poland as an example where collectivisation and total state ownership have been "carefully avoided." In Poland the ceiling is 500 acres and no one can hold less than 100 acres. "Why cannot we (i.e. in India) raise the ceiling on land holdings to 500 acres and the minimum to 50 acres?" Since the quantity of total land cannot be increased, the total number of persons holding land must therefore be drastically cut down. Realising this and the fact that a huge number of landless peasants shall be added to the vast army of unemployed at present, the author also suggested that the agricultural labourers must be given a guaranteed minimum income. It should be most comforting for those rendered jobless by the tractor that 1 out of every 1 lakh of them would be getting a minimum guaranteed wage!

So even the superficial attempts at land reform made by the Congress are to be suppressed. For a country where 23% of the peasantry have no land, 50% have less than 5 acres and on the other hand 1% of the rural households have 16% of the land, a proposal like the one above means civil war. If the Soviet renegade leadership is looking to strengthen the counter-revolutionary forces through measures such as this, the Indian people will rapidly disillusion them. This then is the picture of the exploitation of India by the profit-mad, power-seeking Soviet ruling clique in collusion with the US and other imperialists. Yet, in this fact itself are buried the seeds of the force that shall smash the exploiters. In small pockets all over the land the peasantry is up in arms. The day is approaching when the whole land will be ablaze. Meanwhile, as the Duncans, Goenkas and Sinhanias of India felicitate the Soviet leadership, we shall remember that it is not the socialist system which is at fault. Like every development in the world, the progress of socialism shall be through dialectics, the course cannot be straight and unhindered but shall be

through struggle. From this progress the peoples of the world shall learn many positive and negative lessons. The Soviet revisionist leadership has taught us an important lesson—they have taught us hatred, contempt and ruthless animosity for revisionists and revisionism. But the Great October Revolution remains the bright common road for the progress of all mankind. [The Soviet Union was the first socialist state and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was founded by Lenin. Although the leadership of the Soviet Party and state has been usurped by the revisionists, we must remain firm in the conviction that the masses of the Soviet people and Party members and cadres are good, that they want revolution and that rule by revisionism will not last long. The Indian people shall remember this as they fight for freedom and socialism.]

### NOTES

1. Monthly Commentary on Indian Economic Situation—Indian Institute of Public Opinion, October 1967.

Debt outstanding to

US (including IBRD & IDA)	3220 Crores
UK	384 "
W. Germany	354 "
USSR	387 "

India's total foreign debt : 4297 Crores

2. A certain species of the Colonial Intellectual of India might repay a lot of study. In his most compromising, vacillating, ingratiating form, he is perhaps the most dishonest species of human beings. His loyalty is easily purchased by any foreign—white power thanks to the "craze for foreign" heritage left us by the British. He is the hardcore of the various lobbies that function in Delhi

and elsewhere. There is the American lobby, the British lobby, the Russian lobby and the rapidly growing German lobby. Poets, professors, experts, artists, generals, civil servants, Ministers, M.Ps., saints and super-patriots can be found in each lobby. There are also a few business executives. These lobbies have their own magazines (TIME or KROKODIL, SPAN or Soviet-Desh), their front magazines (Quest, Link, Mainstream), their own seminars and social functions. The intra-mural bickerings and merging of these lobbies, the behaviour patterns of this species of the colonial intellectual might answer a lot of questions about India's present state of affairs. (Frantz Fanon's "The Wretched of the Earth" is one of the few books that deal with this question.)

3. Ties of the October Revolution by Prof. Prokhov—All India Market Report (AMIR), Nov. 1968.

4. The Soviet projects in India, as also the projects of other imperialists, await closer analysis. [We give below a list of Soviet-'aided' projects for the general information of those who wish to pursue the subject.

Major Indo-USSR Projects (AIMR—Nov. 1968)

Steel : Bhilai, M.P.; Bokaro, Bihar.

Engineering : Heavy Engineering, Ranchi, Bihar; Coal Machinery, Durgapur, Bengal; Heavy Electrical, Hardwar, U.P.; Pump and Compressor Plant, Naini, U.P.; Central Electrical and Machinery Workshop, Korba, M.P.; Precision Instrument Plant, Kotah, Rajasthan; Mechanical Instruments Plant, Palghat, Kerala; Aluminium, Korba, M.P.; Koyna, Maharashtra; Also, Steel Foundry, Ball and Roller Bearing; Textile Machinery Plant; Hindustan Files.

Mining : Manikpur, M.P.; Banki; Kathara Washery, Korba Coal Project, M.P.; Surakachar.

Power : Nyeveli Thermal, Madras; Korba Thermal, M.P.; Orba Thermal, U.P.; Hardwaganj Thermal,

U.P.; Patratu Thermal, Bihar; Bhakra (Right bank) Hydro, Punjab; Mettur Hydro, Madras; Hirakud Hydro, Orissa; Balimela Hydro, Orissa.

Also thermal stations at Bhilai, Barauni, Koyali and Hardwar.

Oil Refinery: Barauni, Bihar; Koyali, Gujarat.

Oil-Fields: Gujarat, Madras, Bihar, Assam, Punjab, West Bengal and the Bay of Cambay.

Communications: High power transmitter in West Bengal. This is specially meant for beaming propaganda at Tibet and other parts of China.

Agriculture: Suratgarh Central Mechanised Farm, Mechanised at Jetsar, both in Rajasthan, over a total area of 61,000 acres.

5 seed farms; 10 more mechanised farms are planned; 20,000 or more tractors.

Medical: Surgical Instruments, Madras; Antibiotics, Rishikesh, U.P.; Synthetic Dye & Drugs, Hyderabad, Andhra; Ophthalmic lenses, Durgapur, West Bengal.

5. We need only recall the talks held between Bali Ram Bhagat and Soviet Minister Firyubin where they "taunted" each other about "softening towards China." (*Statesman*, 24 September 1968)

6. With the advancement in the techniques of production, it is no longer necessary or economic for the world's capitalists to practise the old imperialism under which they carted iron, cotton, bauxite and coal to the metropolitan country and exported manufactured primary products back to the colony. The newly-developed intricate financial controls and modern techniques of production allow the modern imperialists to establish and control certain types of industries in the colonies and neo-colonies. They thus

- (a) make a profit on sale of capital equipment,
- (b) use the cheap labour available,
- (c) use the underdeveloped country as a base to

capture both the internal market and markets in other less developed lands, and

- (d) in the process, gain political hold over the country so as to be able to permanently stunt its economic growth and deny it true independence.

India is ideally suited for this sort of exploitation. Of course, there are contradictions deeply rooted in this system. The subject awaits study and analysis.

7. Article in *Mainstream*, 21 December 1968, by Balraj Mehta, a "pro-Soviet" intellectual (see note 2), writing in a pro-Soviet journal.

8. *Economic Times*, 12 December 1968 and 24 December 1968; details of the Wagon order have been taken from these issues. *Statesman*, 11 December 1968.

9. S. N. Machat in *Mainstream*, 21 December 1968—sample of his sycophancy! "With Soviet assistance we have carried out the basic industrialisation of our country." "We owe the Russians a great deal for our confident military posture today." See also note (2) for a general comment on this type.

10. Directory of Foreign Collaborations in India, Vol.1.

11. **On Industry**—We have depended upon three sources:

1. The various articles by Soviet academicians and Officials in *Soviet Desh*—produced AIMR November '68.
2. Reports on the Firyubin, Patolichev and Skachkov visits.
3. Articles by M/s. Machat & Mehta in *Mainstream*, 21.12.68.

#### **On Agriculture:**

1. Article by M.L.Kocher in AIMR—Nov, '68. Mr. Kocher is a Soviet comprador Indian. He is the Managing Director of Eharat Industries Ltd., which is the sole agent for import and servicing of Soviet tractors and earth-moving machinery in Eastern India. This sole agency and servicing of such equipment is the chief business of Mr Kocher's company. His views cannot be taken to be those of an individual only, particularly, because this particular issue of the magazine was sponsored by *Soviet Desh*.

## Struggle Against Racialism

*The following letter from Comrade J. Joshi, Secretary, Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain, will, we are sure, be of interest to our readers in this country. It describes the courageous struggle the coloured people of Asia, Africa and the West Indies are waging today against racialism and imperialism in Britain.*

1 Birch Croft, Erdington, Birmingham  
January 13, 1969

Dear Comrades,

Yesterday, some 7000 to 8000 people marched from Hyde Park to 10 Downing Street and from there to Rhodesia House on a March for Dignity. This was a march of black persons living and working in the UK and for the very first time Asians, Africans and West Indians had marched together, along with those members of the white community as are true friends of black liberation. Organised by the Black Peoples Alliance, formed in April, 1968 on the initiative of the Indian Workers' Association, this march was intended to expose the growing racist policies of the British Government as well to expose the complete lack of concern exhibited by the black Prime Ministers.

For months we had organised and mobilised our people and our efforts were truly successful. It may surprise some of our compatriots to find Asians calling themselves black but that is what we are and the sooner we get into the habit of thinking of ourselves as part and parcel of the black oppressed millions of Asia, Africa and the Americas the sooner will the schemes of divide and rule now being

practised in East Africa to divide Africans and Asians by Anglo-American imperialism be unsuccessful. The biggest enemy of black persons, facing racialism which is but one form of imperialist exploitation, is disunity. And when, over the last few years, we began to study Chairman Mao's thought seriously we realised that racial oppression like the oppression of the Afro-American working class by the US ruling class is in essence class oppression. It became obvious to us that Indians, Pakistanis, West Indians, Africans, all working in the same factories in Britain, were class brothers and linked by the growing wave of racialism now developing in Britain.

We do not know the extent to which Indian people at home realise the dangerous growth of racialism inside Britain. Since the number of black people from Asia, Africa and the West Indies, living in Britain, is very small by comparison with our own population—altogether we are about a million—it might be supposed that racialism here cannot be anything like the monstrous thing that exists in the USA. Perhaps not in extent but the important factor in politics is the **direction of events**, the trend. And in this respect racialism is growing in Britain because the imperialist basis of Britain's economy is cracking—the result of national liberation struggles throughout Asia and Africa as well as inter-imperialist contradictions. The fact is that for the first time the British imperialist base is showing severe cracks, which means that the British Labour Government cannot fool the working class with crumbs as it did in the past. Just when it seems evident that the workers here might follow their French and Italian brothers the Labour Government, aided by the Tories, have the convenient tool of racialism to divide the working masses; the white and black workers, if divided, provide the answer to monopoly capitalism's problems. And that is why Powellism, the most rabid form of racialism, is being given such prominence. It is hoped (a) that he will be able to

provide impending British fascism with the right brand of racist poison and (b) by comparison the subtle racialism of labour will not be attacked.

In actual fact Wilson's government implements what the Tories preach. The first restrictions on entry into Britain in 1962 were out and out racist as they did not exclude the Irish who form the largest majority of immigrants but restricted only the migration from the black Commonwealth—India, Pakistan and the West Indies. This was a Tory law which Labour was pledged to repeal. However, because racist candidates defeated some Labour people at the 1964 elections the Labour Government decided to do a 180 degree turn and instead of scrapping the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 went even further and through the White Paper of 1965 imposed a specific number on immigration from the Commonwealth. Since then only 8,500 vouchers are given to the Commonwealth of which 1000 are reserved for the Maltese. Contrast this with the free entry of aliens—people of Europe and North America—all white. The most recent act of utter racialism was the passing of the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act which was passed literally in a few days to stop the entry of Kenyan Asians who are legitimate British citizens, holding British passports.

Instead of a frontal attack on the Wilson government's racialism the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, who are after all puppets and stooges of Anglo-American imperialism, could only make a few noises and that too not in the direction of attacking imperialism. Britain's one aim is to blame the African and Asian governments while trying to sow discord between them. The puppets of East Africa and Asia, the Kenyattas, Gandhis etc., play along blaming each other.

Apart from this form of racialism and the attendant indignities inflicted on all of us when we come into Britain—wives, children, parents being treated like potential

criminals, being sent to prison if the immigration authorities are not satisfied with their documents etc.—is the rise in physical attacks upon us and our property. Indians, West Indians, Pakistanis, all are victims of hooligans with the police refusing to do anything. Instead, it is the police who go "nigger hunting", arresting black youths on nights and planting drugs etc. on them. The press, Saturday television etc. are racist, using all kinds of slanders against all of us to keep the propaganda boiling.

When British bourgeois democracy cracks up and the cracks are becoming more and more apparent with attacks on fundamental rights of workers like the recent threat to unofficial strikes etc., racialism will play a vital role. Already lumpen elements in the working class swallow myths that it is the black workers who are taking away their jobs, their houses etc.

For all these reasons it was felt that a united front of black workers could do a good job of not merely attacking racialism but also of developing that class consciousness and political understanding without which the liberation of our respective colonial and semi-colonial home lands is impossible and the liberation of this land where we happen to be living, driven out of our own homes by unemployment and starvation, cannot take place. The Black Peoples Alliance is such a militant united front.

Requiring some excuse for their own inaction and revisionism the CPI (M) crowd here have been slandering me and my comrades instead of attacking racialism. Their slogan of "black and white, unite and fight" is a meaningless revisionist concept to which our answer is "Black workers and white workers, struggle against your common enemy." We know that unity will come only through struggle. Our revisionists and neo-revisionists are essentially chauvinistic, not wanting to work with West Indians and Africans whom they call "backward." We, however, have realised that our best allies are among our own oppressed brothers

and sisters throughout the former British Empire and the present US neo-colonial empire. It will probably be no great surprise to you, dear comrades, to know that the glorious radiance of Chairman Mao's thought has been an inspiration for not only us from India but for our Caribbean, Pakistani, Nigerian, Zimbabwean and other brothers. Further, the glorious fight being put up by the Afro-Americans in the USA has had much effect.

Yesterday we walked, linking arms, Indians and Jamaicans, Nigerians and Pakistanis as well as young British youth—students and workers. We shouted slogans like "Long Live People's War," "Black Workers, Unite Against Imperialism," "Long Live Chairman Mao," "Tory and Labour Both Racist" and a very significant one "Elections are a fraud. Only People's War can save us", "Black Prime Ministers, Running Dogs of Imperialism" etc.

This has been a beginning. Our work here has only started but guided by the Chairman's thought we hope to succeed in (a) uniting the black peoples of Britain and thereby (b) helping the fight against British imperialism both abroad and here. Our work is not intended to exclude the white working class, the most advanced sections of which, as for example, the new CPB (M-L) are with us.

We feel you, who are helping to spread the flames of revolution in the motherland, will be interested to learn of our struggles here.

Yours fraternally,

J. Joshi,  
General Secretary, Indian Workers'  
Association of Great Britain.

( Continued from page 16 )

systematically setting fire to the villages, one after another, and are then spreading the lie that "the communist Girijans are burning down villages." By such dirty trick these despicable murderers hope to set the common peasants against the revolutionaries. But, to their utter dismay, the entire thing has back-fired, and the peasant masses, far from believing the cooked up stories of the police, have become still more infuriated with them and anger against and hatred for the police have grown more intense than ever before.

In a statement, the Communist revolutionaries leading the struggle have laid down the immediate aims of the revolutionary armed struggle of the Girijan peasants as :

- to take away forcibly from the feudal landlords hoarded foodgrains and other necessities of life; *war is not*
- to refuse to repay debts and loans; and *mentioned.*
- to overthrow the feudal landlords.

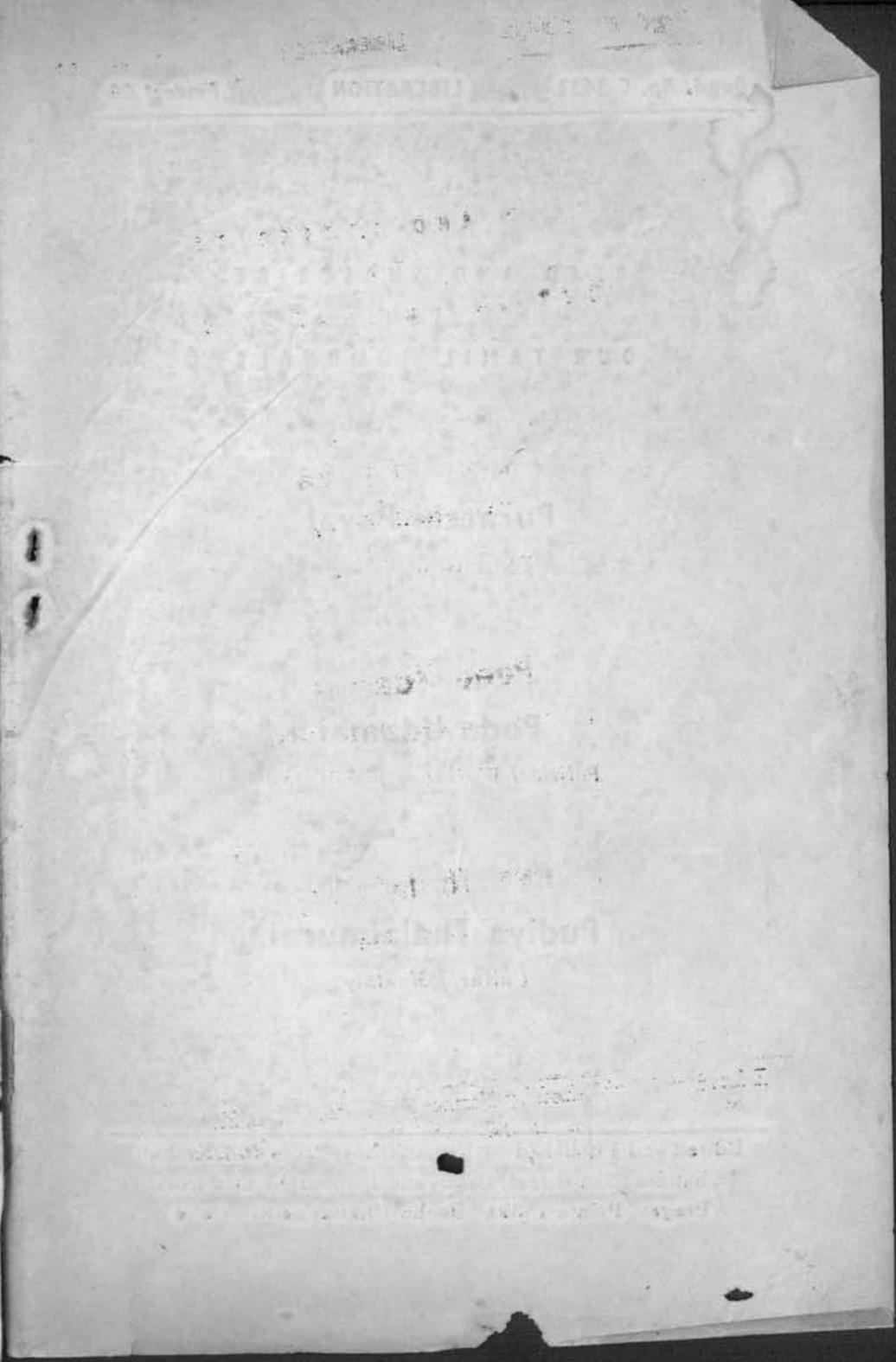
The statement further pointed out that anyone that dares to oppose the implementation of these tasks with arms, must be opposed with arms. Such is the indispensable fighting programme of the revolutionary peasants.

This remarkable and unprecedented revolutionary armed struggle of the Girijan peasants has brought a wave of new enthusiasm among all the progressive forces in the Srikulam district. Students have already started joining the struggle and there are clear indications that the teachers and others will join it soon. The struggle has forced everyone to take sides making it impossible for anyone to remain indifferent or neutral. This is proving particularly embarrassing for the wretched lot of pseudo-revolutionaries—the notorious Dangeites and the neo-revisionists. The twilight of political indecisiveness in which these double-dealers can trade their shady goods most comfortably has vanished, exposing their ugly features for all to see. The peasant masses are now clearly seeing



What is of interest is not merely the big expansion of these big business houses, but the manner, that is, HOW the expansion has taken place. Almost the entire expansion has rested on the Government's financial institutions like LIC, IFC, IDB, UTI, State Bank of India and also loans directly advanced by the Central and State governments. The US and other imperialist monopolists played a decisive role in boosting up their Indian agents. For instance, against the outstanding loans of the value of Rs. 191 crores in 1966-67, loans from imperialist sources obtained by the Birla group accounted for more than Rs. 67 crores.

*Chandrasekhar*



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