

Sham is sham, and the mask must be stripped off.

Mao Tse-tung

# India's "Non-Congress Governments" On the Rocks

by OBSERVER

**I**N India's sharpening class struggle, the so-called "non-Congress governments" which have been loudly puffed up and paraded by the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party are bankrupt politically—and have been for quite some time. Recently, the reactionary ruling clique, seeing that the one in West Bengal had outlived its usefulness, curtly ordered its dissolution and sent large numbers of troops to Calcutta to put down the people's resistance struggle in that state still more directly and ruthlessly. And so the bubble surrounding the "non-Congress governments" has been burst.

What goes by the name of "non-Congress government" is merely a device of India's big landlord class and big bourgeoisie for collecting together revisionists in the Indian Communist Party, the Dange renegade clique and reactionary politicians of all descriptions to hoodwink the people. Congress rule, which represents the interests of the big landlord class and big bourgeoisie, has been going through a deepening crisis.

The storm of the people's struggle against hunger and tyranny is sweeping one place after another. The whole of India has been gripped with panic. In these circumstances, the ruling clique used the "4th general elections" last February to put up the signboards of "non-Congress governments" in Kerala, West Bengal and several other states in order to maintain its reactionary rule.

After they had obtained a job or two from the reactionary Indian Government, E.M.S. Namboodiripad and other revisionists in the Indian Communist Party did their utmost to glorify the "non-Congress state governments" of Kerala and West Bengal as "people's governments" and as "examples of peaceful transition." But as they sang the beguiling song of "peaceful transition" at the top of their voices, the storm of revolutionary armed struggle burst out in the countryside. Under the strong impact of the peasants' armed struggle in Naxalbari, this pack of renegades and scabs who wore the mantle of "non-Congress government" officials at once revealed their true colours.

The record of these so-called "non-Congress governments" in the six months or so since they were installed has fully exposed their reactionary nature.

Whether in Kerala or in West Bengal, the "non-Congress governments" most ruthlessly suppressed the people's revolutionary struggles. They have, on dozens of occasions, sent police to crack down on workers struggling against the capitalists and peasants fighting eviction by the landlords. This gang of renegades and scabs are piling up one blood debt after another to the workers and peasants in the towns and cities of Kerala and in the jungles of West Bengal.

Whether in Kerala or in West Bengal the "non-Congress governments" zealously protected the interests of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie; they did not dare touch the feudal landlords and bureaucrat-comprador capitalists in any way. Namboodiripad and his like were generous in their promises to safeguard the interests of the Birla financial group in Kerala and willing to provide favourable conditions so that Indian monopoly capital could fleece the Indian working people still more pitilessly. The two state governments brazenly whitewashed the phoney land reform of the Congress Party in the countryside and upheld the deep-rooted feudal rule of the landlord class, while the broad masses of peasants were left groaning under brutal oppression and exploitation as before.

Both these "non-Congress governments" followed a treacherous policy of fraternizing and currying favour with U.S. imperialism. They went on their knees before Washington for "aid" and counted on U.S. grain to relieve their famines. They opened the doors wide for the penetration of imperialist monopoly capital and even publicly took up the cudgels for and opposed the expulsion of the U.S. "Peace Corps" which engaged in spying activities.

Hard facts have proved that the so-called "non-Congress governments" presided over by the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party were out-and-out lackeys of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, murderers of the revolutionary people, and flunkies of imperialism. Facts have also proved that the Indian revisionists' "theory of peaceful transition" is a 100 per cent counter-revolutionary fraud.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."**

Namboodiripad and Co. were even shameless enough to swear that "the Communists would not take to arms so long as parliamentary democracy and elections continued in the country." They blatantly declared that if "non-Congress democratic coalition governments" of the Kerala type could be "spread to other states and on an all-India basis," it would be possible to effect a "peaceful transition" to "socialism." This is open betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

India's entire state apparatus is in the hands of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, and every state government is only part of this apparatus. Namboodiripad himself admitted that the "non-Congress government" "is bound to carry out the same policy as is laid down by the Indian government [the central government]." Without seizing power and smashing this old state apparatus, it is nothing but a pipe dream to try to realize "peaceful transition" by organizing "non-Congress governments" in one state after another under the dictatorship of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie.

Lenin once said that "as long as the old bourgeois, bureaucratic state apparatus remains intact," "under all sorts of 'coalition' cabinets that include 'socialists,' . . . these socialists . . . in reality turn out to be either a useless ornament of or a screen for the bourgeois government, a sort of lightning conductor to divert the people's indignation from the government, a tool for the government to deceive the people." Is it not true that the so-called "non-Congress governments" advertised by Namboodiripad and his like are just tools in the hands of the big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie in India?

It is absolutely preposterous for the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party to blatantly praise India's "parliamentary democracy and electoral system" and hope that socialism can be achieved through such "democracy." There is no "democracy" in such a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country as India. In order to cover up their despotism, the Indian big landlord class and the big bourgeoisie have put up a shabby facade of parliament and elections for the sole purpose of serving their reactionary politics. Facts have proved that they may hand out a few parliamentary seats, if need be, and allow the setting up of one or two "non-Congress governments" to serve as their tools; but they will unhesitatingly kick out their lackeys the moment they no longer serve a purpose. The take-over of the Kerala government in 1959 and the recent dissolution of the West Bengal "non-Congress government" are telling illustrations.

The revisionists in the Indian Communist Party have undertaken to benumb the revolutionary will of the people, prevent them from rising up in revolution, and sabotage their revolutionary struggles with the fallacy of "peaceful transition" and the setting up of "non-Congress governments" which are completely in the service of the reactionary ruling clique. There is no difference between their counter-revolutionary, revisionist line and that of the Dange renegade clique. Despite their efforts to disguise themselves as opponents of the Dange renegade clique, the revisionists in the Indian Communist Party of whom Namboodiripad is a representative are nothing but twin brothers of the Dange renegades.

Today, the peasants' armed revolution and the struggle to seize land with Naxalbari as the banner are breaking out in many parts of India. The armed struggles of the Nagas and the Mizos persist and are grow-

ing stronger. The revolutionaries of the Indian Communist Party and the broad masses of the revolutionary people in the country, having repudiated the Dange renegade clique, are now waging a sharp and irreconcilable struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pursued by Namboodiripad and his kind. In their tortuous struggle, they are in the course of discovering the correct road which will lead their revolution to victory. This is the road charted by Chairman Mao, i.e., under the leadership of the political party of the proletariat, to arouse the peasant masses in the countryside to wage guerrilla war, unfold an agrarian

revolution, build rural base areas, use the countryside to encircle the cities and finally capture the cities.

We are convinced that the 500 million Indian people, under the guidance of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and led by a revolutionary Party armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, will wage a protracted struggle, surmount all difficulties, overthrow the reactionary rule of the imperialists and their lackeys in India, and win final victory in their revolution.

*("Renmin Ribao," December 5.)*