SECTION ONE

WAR AND POST-WAR PERIOD
SECTION I

WAR AND POST-WAR PERIOD

A

CYCLONIC TEMPO OF HISTORY

DYNAMICS OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT

The years of intra-war and post-war period have been crowded with momentous events. Decades of history have been compressed in the history of the years of this period. The economic basis and the political and social superstructure of the societies of a number of countries have experienced sharp changes and, in some instances, even transformations. The social world of man has become a theatre of a multitude of accentuated contradictions, sharpened antagonisms and resultant intensified conflicts between nations, classes and social systems. A global war threatens humanity with atomic devastation and even total extinction. Side by side with this, however, historically progressive social forces are also triumphantly advancing scoring victories and guaranteeing to save humanity from a suicidal catastrophe.¹

History has been moving at a cyclonic tempo since the outbreak of the Second World War. The Indian people, too, have been drawn in the orbit of this historical tide. They have travelled through great social, economic and political changes during this period.

Since the theme of our work is recent trends in Indian Nationalism (and not a history of India), we will briefly study its dynamics and the vicissitudes it has experienced during the intra-War and post-War periods. We will survey the changes in the relations of various classes and socio-economic groups comprising the Indian Nation, the changes in their relative strengths and their mutual struggles. We will also discuss how far the basic democratic tasks of Indian Nationalism such as national emancipation, termination of Imperialist economic exploitation, the creation of an indepen-

¹ Refer numerous publications of U.N.O. and UNESCO
dent and balanced national economy, the liquidation of the feudal and zamindari relations, the solution of the problems of nationalities and national minorities, civil liberties and others have been accomplished.

The history of Indian Nationalism, as surveyed in the earlier work Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, has been the history of the struggles of the various social classes constituting the Indian Nation such as the national bourgeoisie, the proletariat, the peasantry (peasant-proprietors, tenants and land labourers), urban and rural middle-classes and ruined artisans and handicraftsmen, feudal princes, semi-feudal landlords and others as well as of the interaction of the Indian Nation with other nations of the world. The historical resultant of those struggles and interactions provide movement to Indian society at a given moment.

Before we locate and assess the significant developments in Indian society during the War and post-War period from the standpoint of further evolution of the Indian Nationalism, it is essential to survey and evaluate the world developments during that period. This is because the Indian society is an integral part of the world society, a part which interacts with other societies and feels the impact of those societies on it as well as exerts influence on them too. The historical movement of Indian society is the product not only of the interplay of internal social forces but also of the forces of the international world and their impact on Indian society.

For a scientific understanding of Indian development, it is vitally necessary to survey and study the world development during the intra-war and post-war periods since Indian development has been taking place within the matrix of world development.

SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War was the product of an amalgm of inter-imperialist antagonisms on one hand and the antagonism between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union on the other. It was a mixed war, a war between two coalitions of imperialist states (Britain, France, the U.S.A. and others vs. the three Axis Powers viz. Germany, Italy and Japan) on one hand and one of these coalitions of imperialist states (Axis Powers) and the Soviet Union on the other. It happened that one coalition of the belligerant imperialist states was composed of anti-democratic fascist imperialist states and the other formed of democratic imperialist states.
The fundamental cause of the antagonism between the fascist and democratic groups of imperialist states lay in the fact that the former group needed expansion as a result of the necessity of their capitalist economies, needed to have colonies where the surplus products of their industries could find monopoly or near-monopoly markets and which could also serve as reservoirs of raw materials for those industries and, further, serve as spheres of investment of surplus capital which could not be profitably invested at home. At that given moment, a substantial part of the global economic territory was controlled or owned by other rival imperialist powers viz. Britain, France, Holland, the U.S.A. and others. This was the genetic cause of the antagonism which led to war among the two coalitions of the above-mentioned imperialist states. The cause was fundamentally economic and explained the aggressive behaviour of the Fascist-Imperialist states.

When the democratic imperialist states—Britain, France, the U.S.A. and others—defended themselves against the aggression of the fascist states, they were basically defending their already existing privileged position in the world economy, their substantial control and possession of the major portion of the economic territory of the world, their colonies. While Britain, France, Holland and other states were owners of empires, the U.S.A., though not a colonial power, had due to its formidable economic strength been establishing increasing economic domination over the world.

The war between these two coalitions of imperialist states was, therefore, an imperialist war, a war for the violent seizure of colonies and economic territory held by one coalition and for forcible retention of these by the other.

There was another feature distinguishing the one coalition from the other. It lay in the fact that the form of state in Germany, Italy and Japan was anti-democratic and fascist while that in Britain, France, the U.S.A. and other associated countries, democratic.

Hence while democratic imperialist states, when they defended themselves against the assault of Fascist-Imperialist states, were also defending incidentally the democratic form of their states and general democratic liberties in their lands (however, curtailed, crippled, distorted and counterfeit due to the prevalence of capitalist social relations) against the would-be conquerors, viz. Fascist-Imperialist states.

This fact helped these states to camouflage their war aim as
one of 'defence of democracy' though their basic objective was to
retain their predatory hold over colonies challenged by the fascist
invaders.

CHARACTER OF WAR

The war between these two coalitions of states was a war between
'Have-nots' and 'Haves', between those who had subjugated in the
past and were exploiting numerous colonial peoples and those who
did not possess colonies but schemed to expropriate those who
possessed them.

The 'defence of democracy' as the declared aim of democratic
imperialist states was only a masquerade to disguise their real aim
of retaining their colonial possessions (in economic or political
sense) against their violent seizure from fascist imperialists. It is
proved by the fact that these states during the war period did not
voluntarily concede democratic freedom to their colonial subject
peoples, did not willingly liquidate their empires, did not of their
own accord give up their economic exploitation of backward
peoples.

There is nothing inherently peace-engendering or anti-war-like
in democratic imperialism. In fact democratic imperialist states
have warred among themselves in the past for the hegemony of the
world and, mainly through wars, built their colonial empires.

It was only an accident that during the war, one group of
belligerent imperialist states happened to be democratic, the other
fascist. It was not this secondary difference that brought them
into collision. The basic cause of the war was the inexorable
economic need of German capitalism for expansion, for conquest,
for the violent seizure of large areas as its economic territory. The
war will and the war programme of the Nazi state were the sub-
jective expression of the need of expansion of German monopoly
capitalism. So with the capitalism of Italy and Japan also.

Nazi Germany, the leader of the Axis powers, planned to
implement its need for predatory expansion, not only at the ex-
pense of democratic imperialist powers but also at the expense of
the Soviet Union. When Nazi Germany invaded the latter, it was
a war of fascist imperialist intervention. The Soviet Union was
not defending, in the war against Nazi Germany, any colonial
empire since it did not possess any. The Second World War, in
this case, was a war of pure self-defence on the part of the Soviet
Union, however one may approve or disapprove of its pact with Nazi Germany before the invasion.

It may be noted here that the wars of the colonial peoples against all imperialist powers, fascist or democratic alike, as well as the wars of the peoples of the European countries against the foreign fascists after the latter had occupied and enslaved their countries, were democratic wars, wars of national emancipation.

COST OF THE WAR

It is not necessary for our purpose to follow the progress of the war during its various phases. After initial victories of alarming dimensions the fascist powers suffered a decisive defeat. Japanese imperialism, the armed forces of which had advanced up to the frontiers of India, was finally defeated and sued for peace immediately after the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The armies of Nazi Germany which victorious marched as far as Stalingrad and Moscow were stopped there and rolled back up to Berlin by the Red Armies. Fascist Italy, too, sustained a final defeat and capitulated.

Thus the three fascist imperialist powers were eliminated.

World War II proved more devastating and destructive than World War I. According to authoritative estimates while World War I claimed about 30 million dead and mutilated and cost about £35,000 million, World War II was responsible for about 41 million killed only (both military and civilian casualties) and cost £223,000 million.²

FAR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II

The consequences of World War II were momentous and far-reaching. The political physiognomy of the world was considerably altered. The relations and relative strengths of nations, classes and different social systems experienced profound changes. A number of powerful states either disappeared in the limbo of history or lost their previous formidable strength. New property relations ousted old ones in a number of countries (countries of East Europe, China) in varying degrees. Old classes bound up with old forms of property vanished with the supercession of old

2. Refer R.P. Dutt: The Crisis of Britain and British Empire
property forms. New anti-capitalist states came into being in East European countries like Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Yugoslavia and East Germany, which set as their objective the establishment of a socialist society and which, in pursuance of that objective, in varying degrees, abolished feudal and capitalist forms of property and, thus, eliminated classes bound up with those forms of property. As a result of these changes, the political and economic territory of world capitalism further contracted resulting in intensified struggles among capitalist groups over the diminished world market and sources of raw materials. History, further, presented the spectacle of the emergence of the colossus of a single capitalist power, the U.S.A., which has been increasingly dominating almost all other capitalist powers, some of them ancient and with traditions of world eminence like Britain and France, in the economic and, hence, also in the political sphere.

The process of the transformation of the world picture does not stop there. Mighty national liberation movements with scope and militancy exceeding those of such movements in the pre-World War II period broke out in a number of colonial countries compelling ruling imperialist powers to concede political independence to them (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos, Indonesia and others).

Further, the new and hitherto unawakened nations of Africa and other continents have been for the first time drawn in the orbit of national liberation movements.

The urge for freedom and equality has never reached such heights before as in the intra-war and post-war periods.

B

CHANGED SOCIAL LANDSCAPE

The world picture has been so tremendously transformed in this period that it requires a great mental effort to realize fully the magnitude and depth of the transformation. This is because man living in the social world, which exists on a global scale in the present epoch, is himself inevitably caught in the torrent of events of world historical significance, in the whirlpool of history agitated as never before. To have a full comprehension of the fateful significance of the pregnant events which have broken out during recent years, one requires to step out of the socio-historical pro-
cess by means of a subjective acrobatic and visualize it in all its rich complexity, rapid dynamic and kaleidoscopic diversity.

Briefly put, the following are the principal features of the changed social landscape of the world during this period:

1. Changed positions of various imperialist powers.
2. Emergence of new independent national states out of old colonial subject countries and their problems and struggles.
3. Emergence of a number of non-capitalist states in Eastern Europe and China and their interrelations among themselves and relations with the Soviet Union.
4. Dynamic interrelationships between all these categories of countries providing the basic theme of the great drama of social life today.

EMERGENCE OF THE U.S.A. COLOSSUS

First we will briefly survey the changes in the imperialist world, the changes in the position and strength of the principal imperialist powers, after the end of the Second World War, and the changes in their mutual relations.

As mentioned before, the three powerful imperialist states—Germany, Italy, Japan—were eliminated as independent imperialist powers as a result of their defeat in the War. Germany was even dismembered. But in spite of their victory, other imperialist powers except the U.S.A. emerged from the war economically, politically and militarily considerably weakened. Their empires were in crisis, their financial and economic strength ebbed seriously, and their military power greatly declined.

American Imperialism emerged from the War as the most powerful imperialism in the world in the economic, political as well as the military spheres. It stands today as an unchallenged titan in the capitalist world. "As in the first world war, so in the second world war, the United States intervened once again as the last of the major belligerents to draw the maximum profits in return for minimum burdens . . . . other countries were devastated, overrun or blitzed. The United States was immune. Other countries emerged economically and financially impoverished and weakened. The American monopolists made gargantuan profits, totalling according to official records, 52 billion dollars or £ 13,000 million after taxation. They increased the productive power of their plant by one half and accumulated capital reserves of 85
billion dollars or £ 21,250 million. This vast expansion of accumulated capital and productive power sought outlet after the war and led to the drive for American world expansion which has been so marked a characteristic of the post-war years."

Since the end of the war, American capitalism, which, as a result of the rapid growth of its productive capacity and accumulation of capital, requires larger and larger economic territory, is penetrating not only Asiatic, African and other colonies of the older imperialisms but also imperialist countries themselves, including even Britain and France. American finance capital has been invading colonies, semi-colonies and under-developed new countries and is increasingly dislodging other imperialisms in the trading and financial spheres.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AS GUARDIAN OF WORLD CAPITALISM

American Imperialism has been prompted by three principal considerations when it renders economic aid as loans and in other forms to a number of countries both imperialist and colonial. First, it needs an outlet for its surplus product and surplus capital. Secondly, the War had undermined the national capitalist economies of a number of countries (including Britain and France) to the point of collapse. The collapse would have resulted in the cessation of production processes which would have threatened social revolutions in these countries. These social revolutions could only be socialist or communist revolutions in the era of declining capitalism. American imperialist capitalism could hardly be expected to greet such a perspective and consummation. As the only solvent and powerful capitalism in the contemporary epoch it assumed the role of the guardian of the world capitalist system. It went to the rescue of the bankrupt and derelict imperialisms of Britain, France and other countries and rendered decisive aid through Marshall and other plans to them thereby saving them from collapse in the post-war period.

As John Gunther, the eminent author remarks: "It is my honest belief that if American aid were withdrawn from Greece the Greek Government could not survive ten days. Nor could the Governments of France and Italy survive more than a few weeks or months."

3. Ibid., pp. 121-122
Thirdly, American capitalism gives economic and other aid to a number of countries for strategic reasons also. It is to protect capitalism against the oncoming tide of socialist revolutions, to prevent the national and colonial revolutions which have been breaking out with great frequency from further developing, and, again, to create a chain of strategic anti-communist bases encircling the socialist countries, bases to be used in the event of a war with them. It itself is also making formidable preparations for a war with the Soviet Union. With its stupendous economic resources, the U.S.A. has built up a powerful military machine. It is spending about a hundred times the sum which it was spending on armaments in the pre-war period. Assuming the role of the guardian of the world capitalist system it has been establishing numerous military, naval and air bases all over the world. In a number of cases it is making such a condition precedent (either overtly or covertly) to the granting of economic aid to other countries. It also directly supplies armaments to some countries for strengthening them as military bases. The capitalist governments of these countries, partly due to their own fear of socialist and communist revolutions in their own countries and partly due to the pressure of the U.S.A., have been not only increasing their armaments but also consenting to the proposal of the U.S.A. to permit it to establish such bases in their own countries. The growing threat of a new world war between the capitalist world and the socialist world led by the Soviet Union is prompting them to agree to such proposals of the U.S.A. The Nato, the Seato, the Baghdad and other pacts indicate this trend.

One significant consequence of the dependence of Britain and other countries on the U.S.A. has been the strengthening of the latter’s position in the U.N.O. The U.S.A. exerts pressure on the states economically dependent on it and gathers their support for its policies. It threatens to withhold assistance and thereby secures their political votes in the U.N.O. Though relatively strong states like Britain may, on occasions, resist this pressure, they have generally to take into account the fact of their economic and strategic dependence on the U.S.A.

DECLINE OF BRITAIN AND FRANCE

Britain and France, though victorious in the war, emerged with their economic and military strength considerably weakened. They
became dependent on the American titan for financial help to renovate their shattered economies, resulting in their political subordination to the latter also.

This however does not signify that the inter-imperialist contradictions have been eliminated. Rooted in the very competitive character of the capitalist economy, these contradictions continue to function but within the framework of the fundamental unity of all imperialist powers, now become more necessary due to the threat of the extending and deepening colonial revolutions, the sharpening socialist class struggles in the metropolitan countries, and also due to the increased strength of the socialist world which now envelopes one third of the world.

NATURE OF CONFLICTS AMONG IMPERIALIST POWERS

The inter-imperialist conflict, however, moves strictly within the limit of the unity of all imperialist powers confronted by a common danger.

The inter-imperialist conflict has expressed itself in various domains, political, economic and others. It manifests itself in the world of trade where imperialist rivals struggle over markets, sources of raw materials and zones of capital investment. For instance, American capital has been trying to displace British capital in countries like India and other Asiatic countries, in Canada and Latin American countries, in European and African countries, even in Britain herself. Due to the superior economic strength of the U.S.A., the general tendency is towards the increased aggrandisement of American capital in various parts of the world. Their different and conflicting economic interests often prompted the imperialist powers to adopt conflicting attitudes and policies towards socialist countries like China and others in the political field. Hongkong is extremely valuable to Britain from the standpoint of trade. Hence in striking contrast to the U.S.A. which has maintained uncompromising opposition to the recognition and admission of the Peoples Republic of China into the U.N.O., Britain has recognised the latter and supports its inclusion in the World Assembly. Different interests of various imperialist powers result into their divergent policies over problems emerging in the international world. For instance, the U.S.A. compelled Anglo-French powers to wind up their military aggression against Egypt over the Suez Question. Inter-imperialist rivalries find expression also in their
conflicting policies in the countries of the Middle East and South-East Asia.

There has also been divergence of views and hence of policies among the imperialist powers regarding the problem of the methods of combating anti-imperialist and socialist forces which are threatening capitalism in various parts of the world. Their different policies regarding this mainly spring from their respective different outlooks determined by their sectional capitalist interests. Thus the U.S.A., Britain and France have their own conceptions as to how to fight the socialist bloc or colonial revolutions.

Each imperialist power tries to displace the other from its control over a country and instead instal itself in that country. For instance, the countries of the Middle East became the arena of such struggles between Britain and the U.S.A. When the awakened Arab nations eliminated the British grip over some of these countries and thus when 'a power-vacuum' was created, the U.S.A. tried to fill up such a vacuum.

**STRATEGY OF IMPERIALIST POWERS**

The general strategy of the imperialist powers in countries, in which their direct or indirect political domination is slipping away, is to reach compromises with them on the basis of their relinquishing the political grip over them but retaining their economic interests (e.g. safeguarding of British and other foreign capital in India, British-owned oil resources in Iraq and others). Such compromises take numerous politico-economic forms.

The attitude of the imperialist powers to colonial peoples whom they ruled range between two extremes, one provided by French imperialism in Algeria where it is engaged in ruthlessly crushing the national liberation struggle of the Algerian people and the other by Britain which gave independence to India while retaining its invested capital in the country through an agreement.

Generally the imperialist powers, while abandoning their political grip over the colonial countries over which they rule, try to perpetuate their economic and strategic hold over these countries. They also transfer power to the feudal and capitalist classes of these countries relying on them as class allies in the struggle against the socialist countries and world socialist movement. The economic weakness of these classes, generally make them dependent upon and politically servile to the imperialist powers.
COLONIAL WORLD DURING POST-WAR PERIOD

We will now survey the main features of the colonial world composed of undeveloped and under-developed countries during the post-war period.

CATEGORIES

The countries of the colonial world can be divided into two categories: one that of the countries which achieved political independence, the other that of those which are not still independent and are generally engaged in carrying on struggles of national emancipation. There are also newly awakened peoples of many countries of Africa, Latin America and also other continents which have been, for the first time, drawn into the orbit of large-scale anti-imperialist colonial revolutions.

Further some of the countries which achieved independence have taken to the road of development on socialist lines (China, North Korea, Viet Nam and others) while the others have been advancing on the road of capitalist or state capitalist development.

Also some of these countries (India, Ceylon, Burma, Egypt, Pakistan and others) won independence as a result of the new strategy of the ruling imperialism viz. that of giving up its political hold over those countries and transference of power to the indigenous bourgeois classes but on the basis of an agreement safeguarding its capital invested in those countries.

But in countries like China, the indirect imperialist domination and the indigenous puppet government were eliminated by means of an armed struggle of the people led by the Communist Party.

PROBLEMS BEFORE THE RULING CLASSES
OF NEW INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES

The ruling capitalist classes of the new independent countries have been endeavouring to build prosperous capitalist economies in their countries. Since these economies have been backward due to their free development having been obstructed by imperialism and, further, existing in the phase of declining world capitalism, the ruling capitalist classes have been confronted with formidable difficulties. They have to rely substantially on foreign financial
aid in the form of capital, capital goods and technicians. The main features of their economic policy are state planning, partial nationalisation and launching of new state-owned enterprises since private capital is too weak, and by imposing heavy economic burdens on the mass of the people in the form of heavy taxation, deficit financing and others. Due to the insuperable difficulties inherent in the historical situation, the national private and state-capitalist economies of these countries have been developing inharmoniously, through periodic ebbs, truncketedly and, above all, on the basis of the increasingly declining standards of the people, thus resulting in the shrinkage of indigenous market. Foreign market is extremely limited, is even shrinking for these countries due to intensified rivalry among competitors.

In spite of the adoption of a number of agrarian reforms by the bourgeois governments, the agrarian economies of these countries do not show any appreciable progress. This is due to a number of obstacles such as primitive technique, land fragmentation, colossal indebtedness of the peasant population, overpressure on agriculture, survivals of feudal remnants, lack of alternative occupations to ruined artisans and dispossessed agriculturists, un-economic holdings and others. Polarization of classes has been advancing in all these countries. This is evidenced in the increasing discontent among the lower and middle strata of society and resultant sharpening of class and other social conflicts. The spectre of socialist and communist revolutions is haunting the ruling classes in these countries.

In none of these countries feudal remnants in the national economy, social institutions, and the consciousness of the people have been completely dissolved. Local and regional particularisms, caste and communal divisions—the product of a feudal and colonial past—retard the process of a healthy national advance.

The ruling national bourgeoisies of these countries are endeavouring their best to build up a progressive national economy comprising an independent (through the development of heavy industry) and highly advanced industry and flourishing agriculture on a capitalist basis. But as we have observed in the chapters of the earlier book, in the epoch of the decline of world capitalism, it is not possible to create such a prosperous national economy on a capitalist basis. The productive forces of industry and agriculture of these countries can develop freely and harmoniously only on the basis of socialism (not to be confused with controlled
or state capitalism), on the basis of the social ownership of the means of production and structural planning on a national scale. The political pre-requisite for this is transfer of state power from the vested interests to the working people.

TRENDS OF DEVELOPMENT IN UNDER-DEVELOPED INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES

Before these nations won independence, there emerged and developed a national united front of different classes and social groups to eliminate the foreign domination. Even class struggles moved within the framework of this national united front. But after the nations became free, these class struggles inevitably arising from the class structure of the existing society became sharpened and aggravated. The foreign domination which united various classes in a common front against itself no longer existed. Further, due to the backward character of the capitalist economy the national bourgeoisie has no economic means to buy off the discontent of the people. These backward independent countries have been suffering from the evils of insufficiently developed capitalism as also those of feudal economic and social survivals. These countries have, therefore, become theatres of intensified class struggles. These class struggles have been further reinforced by various types of regional, communal and other sectional struggles.5

After the end of the Second World War, due to the heightened tension of the historical situation, two power blocs came into being in the international world viz. the imperialist capitalist bloc headed by the U.S.A. and the socialist bloc headed by the Soviet Union though socialist Yugoslavia remains outside the latter bloc. The new independent countries of the post-war period try to manoeuvre between the two blocs and secure economic, political and strategic aid from both the blocs. However, due to the fact that the capitalist class is in power and shapes foreign policies of those countries, they are afraid of internal revolutionary outbreaks of the masses whom they need to exploit more intensely and, further, because of their decisive economic dependence on aid liaison with the imperialist-capitalist bloc, they basically lean towards the latter. As Professor D. R. Gadgil has observed, "Most areas which are today underdeveloped have, in recent past, been under the influ-

5. Refer to U.N.O. and UNESCO publications on social tensions as well as works of Prof. W.M. Ball, Rupert Emerson, Kahin and others
ence, direct or indirect, of the highly developed capitalist countries. Among them there are not instances of rapid economic development."  

Another characteristic of the new independent countries is that almost a state of permanent political disequilibrium prevails in varying degrees in those countries. This is due to a number of factors such as a backward economy, phenomenal poverty of the population and resultant almost chronic social and class conflicts, also due to the massive corruption and scandalous inefficiency characterizing the administrative machinery. Further, there also exists an organic corrupt liaison of private capital and state machinery at varying levels poisoning the entire moral climate. The capitalist classes in these countries, by the very logic of their weak class position, resort to unscrupulous methods in production, management, securing of licences, in trading operations, in budgeting, in evading taxation and in elaborating a complicated structure of blackmarketing and fraudulent accounting. The capitalist state, which is elaborated to perpetuate and develop the capitalist economic order in these backward countries, has to condone, ignore or even indirectly permit these nefarious but inevitable processes of the capitalist social order. Nay, a peculiar liaison between the class and its competing sections on one side, and the various echelons of the administrative hierarchy (including even the ministerial groups) on the other, emerges corroding and poisoning the entire body politic of these countries. Further, as the capitalist class as well as its state controls and shapes the economic policies, the polity, and the social, intellectual and aesthetic culture of the people, they vitiate all these domains of the social life. When under the impact of these conditions the political disequilibrium becomes so aggravated that it either threatens to disintegrate the existing society itself or evokes a likely revolutionary overthrow of the same, the ruling class throws off the democratic mask, discards democratic forms of class rule and instals its naked military class dictatorship. The historical tendency in most of these countries headed by the bourgeoisie is towards this transformation (Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and others).

7. Refer to the works of Ball, Kahin and others
EMERGENCE OF THE SOCIALIST BLOC

During the post-World War period, the prevailing capitalist economic systems and capitalist political regimes were eliminated from all East European countries including Yugoslavia as well as from China. Excepting in Yugoslavia and China, this transformation was brought about not by indigenous proletarian revolutions as in Russia in 1918, but by the Soviet Union, mainly by means of its Red Army which had occupied those countries in the process of its victorious struggle against Nazi Germany. The Soviet Union set up new communist states headed by the respective national communist parties in those countries which, with the military and political support of the Soviet Union, abolished capitalism and landlordism in those countries and substituted socialist property forms in varying degrees.

Thus the Soviet Union accomplished, by military bureaucratic methods, the socio-economic transformation of the societies of these countries and created communist states led by national communist parties in that zone.

Having originated in this manner, these communist regimes inevitably became subservient to the Soviet Union and, to varying extent, their economies and foreign policies were subordinated to those of the Soviet Union. In brief the East European countries became satellites of the Soviet Union.

In contrast to this development, in Yugoslavia and in China, the overthrow of the capitalist regimes and the creation of new socialist property forms were brought about by indigenous mass revolutions led by the respective communist parties of those countries. Consequently, the new communist regimes which were established there have been independent of Moscow and pursue their independent domestic and foreign policies.

ITS SIGNIFICANCE

As a result of the overthrow of capitalism in all these countries, world capitalism lost new areas to socialism during the post-World War period. Due to the new socialist property forms, the national economies of all those countries made rapid advance which was reflected in the amazing increase of the social, political and military strength of the socialist world.

As Professor Gadgil observes, "The largest numbers of recent
cases of development of underdeveloped areas are within the communist block of countries."

The correlation of forces between the capitalist world and the socialist world has been thus continuously shifting in favour of the latter resulting into the ever-sharpening conflict between declining capitalism and advancing socialism. This has unfolded the threat of a third world war fought with deadly nuclear weapons for mankind.

**BUREAUCRATIC DEFORMITIES**

All these socialist states are characterised by bureaucratic deformity. They are not based on socialist democracy which was visualized as a higher form of democracy than bourgeois democracy i.e. the formal democracy prevailing in the democratic capitalist countries. On the admission even of prominent communist leaders like Khrushchev, Mikoyan and others, for decades constituting the Stalin Era, there was rampant in the Soviet Union and East European countries a regime of bureaucratic terror under which individual liberty was ruthlessly suppressed and people shot and imprisoned on a mass scale.\(^8\)

Further, the most powerful member of the socialist bloc, viz. the Soviet Union has been dominating other socialist states and also adopting pressure to coerce independent communist Yugoslavia to submit to its domination.

Within the individual communist countries including Yugoslavia and China, the communist regimes are based not on socialist democracy but on the negation of individual liberty and socialist democratic freedoms. The incarceration of Djilas, an outstanding communist leader, for differences of views eloquently demonstrates that socialist democracy is non-existent even in Yugoslavia. The fate of the "Hundred Flowers" in China also reveals the same reality.

**MAJOR TENSIONS IN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES**

Thus even the socialist bloc is not a harmonious entity but is suffering from deep contradictions and conflicts. The principal

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9. Refer to the speeches made in the Congress of C.P.S. Union
among these contradictions are as follows:

(1) Within each socialist country the contradiction and the resultant conflict between the people and the ruling bureaucracy expressed through popular discontent which constrained the Soviet Union leadership to relax to some degree the bureaucratic oppression of the people, which also exploded into the Poznan Revolt in Poland, workers' uprising in East Germany and in a classical heroic form in the Hungarian Revolution.

(2) The contradiction and the resultant conflict between the Soviet Union and the satellite states dominated by the former. All revolts in the various East European states mentioned above were directed not only against the indigenous bureaucratic regimes but also against the Soviet Union which maintained those regimes and actively intervened on their side when the peoples of those countries revolted against them. The peoples of those countries feel the pressure of national oppression at the hands of the Soviet Union.

(3) The contradiction and the resultant conflict between the Soviet bloc countries and Yugoslavia expressed through almost uninterrupted economic, political and even military (through staging frontier incidents) pressure exerted by the former led by the Soviet Union on the latter. The objective of this pressure has been to compel independent communist Yugoslavia to join the Soviet bloc and accept the domination of the Soviet Union in the domain of domestic and foreign policies.

CHINA'S UNIQUE FEATURES

China occupies a unique position in the world socialist camp. The communist party of China captured state power without the aid of the Red Army of the Soviet Union and through the revolution of the Chinese masses which it led. China, hence, is independent of the Soviet Union (though closely affiliated to it) and pursues its own independent domestic and foreign policies. China is too big and mighty for the Soviet Union to adopt towards it the same coercive methods which the latter uses against Yugoslavia for constraining it to surrender its independent initiative in the sphere of its domestic and foreign policies.

The communist regime in China too is not based on socialist democracy but on the bureaucratic suppression of the views even of those who are communists but who suggest different methods
and policies to build a communist society in China or defend the communist state. In all communist countries the bureaucratic ruling groups have claimed that they alone are infallible interpreters of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. In the Soviet Union the purging of the opposition continues even after the death of Stalin as revealed by the fate of Beria, Malenkov, Bulganin, Kaganovich and others.

In spite of these bureaucratic deformities and resultant conflicts within the countries of the Socialist bloc, they have made enormous economic and social progress. This conclusively demonstrates the superiority of the socialist economic forms (however distortedly they might be operating) over the capitalist economic forms. The Soviet Union has grown, within a few decades, into a titan of amazing technological and economic strength and that too in spite of the great ravages of war experienced by it during the World War II.

FUTURE TRENDS IN SOVIET BLOC

Due to the emergence of such historical factors as the formidable social and economic advance in the socialist countries, the further advance of the national liberation struggles of the subject peoples and the victory of the Chinese revolution, the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are feeling an irresistible urge for freedom from their bureaucratic regimes. This unfolds the perspective of greater struggles of the peoples of these countries for socialist democracy and for more normal development of productive forces unfettered by bureaucratic distortions.

FUNCTION OF COMMUNIST PARTIES OUTSIDE THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

It must also be noted that the communist parties of the countries comprising the non-communist world are looking to the communist party of the Soviet Union (and now sometimes to the communist party of China) for political and ideological guidance. Generally, they shape their policies to suit the exigencies of the current foreign policy of the Soviet government. When the political strategy embodied in the foreign policy of the Soviet government is to win over the national bourgeoisies of specific countries on the side of the Soviet Union, the communist parties of those countries
formulate class collaborationist lines. They do not derive their policies and programmes from the objective situation prevailing in these countries, from the needs of development of the socialist movement there.

In general, the foreign policy of the Soviet government is based on the subordination of the international class struggle to the requirements of the defence of the Soviet Union as conceived by the ruling communist party of the Soviet Union.

CONTEMPORARY WORLD SCENE

The movement of the contemporary world society is the resultant of the interplay of a number of contradictions and consequent conflicts, viz. those between the capitalist world and the socialist world; the capitalist classes and the working classes in capitalist countries; imperialist powers and colonial peoples; bureaucratic regimes and the peoples in various socialist countries struggling for socialist democracy; also between imperialist powers struggling to oust one another from economic areas; between feudal classes, the capitalist classes and the toiling masses in all backward countries; also between socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and others.

The antagonism between the capitalist world headed by the U.S.A. and the Socialist World headed by the Soviet Union dominates the world situation today. It represents the conflict between the two qualitatively different social systems, the capitalist and the socialist. The social world has been polarized into two distinct blocs.

There exist weak and backward nations in various stages of capitalist evolution. Each bloc is endeavouring to win over to its side these uncommitted nations.

World capitalism is historically outmoded and is in a state of increasing crisis. Its main condition of existence viz. profitable market is progressively shrinking. Vast areas of the world have been lost to it due to the victory of socialism in a number of countries during the post-war period. The necessity of continuous expansion (of markets for increasing products, larger and larger volumes of raw materials for its developing industries, more extensive area for the investment of its surplus capital) is inherent in capitalism. Even the most powerful capitalist country viz. the U.S.A. has been able to maintain its stability in the post-War period
by evolving such devices as switching on a considerable part of its productive power in the sphere of armaments, stupendous financial and armament aid to other countries (thus providing outlet for its surplus capital), curtailing agricultural production and others. Capitalism in advanced countries feels suffocated by the very amazing development of its productive forces. The economic territory for world capitalism is also further shrinking.

While the debacle of world capitalism is being daily aggravated, the countries of the socialist world, though characterised by an acute bureaucratic deformity in their political superstructures, are making phenomenal economic progress. This is basically due to the new economic foundations viz. the social ownership of the means of production rather than their bureaucratic regimes which only distort this advance. The social ownership of the means of production makes universal and structural planning possible.

C

U.N.O.: ITS ROLE

ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Numerous attempts have been made during the post-War period to overcome or soften the antagonisms of the world social systems. The U.N.O. was conceived and created for this very purpose, for resolving all conflicts through the technique of negotiations, arbitration of disputes, moral pressure of the majority decisions of the U.N.O. and others. The U.N.O. represents an attempt to solve all conflicts in the international world by peaceful means, by the organized moral authority of a world organization. In spite of this, the antagonisms of the world system continue to persist, nay, have been aggravated. Local wars and other forms of conflict continue to break out.

The critics have indicated a number of lacuna in the Constitution and the functioning of the world assembly. Some have remarked that the Great Powers have been armed with the undemocratic right of veto which helps them to negate the majority decisions when their respective vital interests are threatened. Further, such a big country as the People's Republic of China has been still excluded from it which reduces its effectiveness. Others argue that unless its decisions are backed with the power of phy-
sical enforcement there is no guarantee that the nation against which an adverse decision is given will accept and carry it out. They cite a number of instances to support their view.

In fact, the U.N.O. has hitherto mainly become the world arena of antagonistic social forces with often fundamentally conflicting interests, such as capitalist countries and communist countries, powerful capitalist countries and weak capitalist countries, one backward country and another (e.g. India vs. Pakistan, Egypt vs. Israel and others).

It is an utopian dream to persuade sovereign national states to surrender their fundamental sovereignty and accept the U.N.O. as a super-national sovereign world organization. On minor questions, they may, under moral political pressure, bow to the will of the U.N.O. but when vital interests are involved, they are hardly expected to carry out the decisions of the world body.

Further, interests and not abstract ethical or democratic norms usually guide the behaviour of the constituent nations comprising the U.N.O. In fact, the U.N.O. has become mainly a battleground for the struggle between the capitalist nations headed by the U.S.A. and the communist nations headed by the Soviet Union. Numerous small nations of the world, with a few exceptions only, are aligned to this bloc or that.

The conflicts between capitalism and communism, imperialist powers and subject colonial peoples, between imperialists themselves, are fundamental. This fact has rendered all well-meant efforts to eliminate conflict and establish peace in the world hitherto abortive.

Explosive points threatening wars have been only shifting: yesterday Korea, Viet Nam or Suez; today Berlin, Iraq or Ladakh. A number of countries at a given moment have been always in the grip of turmoil.

Both the capitalist world and the socialist world have their own varieties of tensions and struggles.

N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O. AND OTHER POWER COALITIONS

In addition to the U.N.O. which has the character of a world organization, there have come into existence, a number of limited coalitions of groups of states, political and military. These are the N.A.T.O., the Warsaw Pact, the S.E.A.T.O., the British Commonwealth, the Bagdad Pact, the Bandung Conference, the Afro-
Asian Block and others to serve the interests of the coalescing states. One peculiarity of these coalitions is that sometimes a state which is a member of one coalition which includes an imperialist power is simultaneously a member of another coalition which includes a subject nation whom that imperialist power dominates. For instance, India is a member of the British Commonwealth which includes imperialist Britain and is at the same time a member of the Bandung Conference and Afro-Asian Bloc which have among them member states like Malaya and others which are still under the subjection of Britain. This is due to the fact that the interests of nations (economic, political, strategic and others) are not uniform, are varied and, further, are immediate as well as fundamental. The economic and sometimes military dependence of weak states on imperialist powers explains in part this contradictory phenomenon. The capitalist world is based on inherent conflict among capitalist nations by the very competitive nature of the capitalist economy and, hence, while there will always remain a tendency to unite against the common danger of socialism among them, there also will perennially persist struggle among them in the economic and hence political and military domains. Self-expansion is the law of the living organism of capitalism. Hence there exist, through different permutations and combinations, various coalitions of capitalist states.

Some of these coalitions have mainly strategic objectives. For instance, the N.A.T.O., the S.E.A.T.O., and the Bagdad Pact on the imperialist side and the Warsaw Pact on the side of the Soviet Union, have been designed as a part of the advance preparations if the war breaks out between the capitalist and socialist states.

Earnest attempts have been and are being made to resolve peacefully the multifold conflicts which rend the contemporary world social system but the conflicts in fact have been hitherto only aggravated. Periodically this region or that region (the Middle East, the Chinese Mainland and the Formosa Zone, countries of Latin America, parts of Africa, South-East and even Europe) blazes up sometimes threatening the eruption of a catastrophic nuclear world war.

FUTURE PERSPECTIVE

World capitalist and colonial systems have historically been outmoded. This is revealed in the fact that a number of states have
declared as their social objective the establishment of a socialist society. Whether these countries have a confused conception of socialism and mistake state capitalism as socialism or not is beside the point. The fact that in an increasing number of countries, governments refuse to declare themselves as capitalist is the most eloquent admission of the fact that capitalism as a socio-economic system is historically outmoded.

The bureaucratic deformity characterizing the societies of the socialist countries, which are based on the socialist economic principle of the social ownership of the means of production, is alien to socialism. The struggles of the peoples of these countries against the bureaucratic regimes to remove this deformity are inevitable and have already started. However, in those countries the new social system higher than the capitalist system has emerged though with a deformity.

Since the colossal productive forces of modern human society have come not only in collision with capitalist economic relations but have a world character and therefore have come in collision with even national boundaries, the socialist society can and will be built only on a world basis enveloping entire mankind. It is difficult to visualise in very great details the road to this final objective.

Such is the picture of the world situation and the direction of its development through zigzags and even unpredictable turns.