

SECRET

Stage IV - Operating Action

What shall we do?

General Comment:

The NIS as at present organized and the files of OIR do not provide adequately the detailed type of operational information called for under most of the headings in Stage IV. In so far as the data is not available at present in the files of operational officers in State and USIA, either in Washington or in the field, a special effort will have to be made to collect data required. The material included below comes largely from the NIS. Given more time OIR could provide general answers to most of the questions unanswered below which would be a further elaboration of the data provided in Stages II and III, but which would not be sufficiently detailed to meet operational requirements.

SECRET

SECRET

- 2 -

- A. What are the strengths and weaknesses of communist influence in each of the (perhaps selected) infiltrated groups?

Effectiveness of communist propaganda.

Considering the relatively small size of the Communist Party of India and the small number of foreign personnel in charge of the propaganda efforts of the U.S.S.R. and its satellites, communist propaganda has been remarkably prolific and effective. In the 1951-52 elections the Communists succeeded in polling 4.5% of the vote for the central legislature and in capturing 4.7% of the seats.

The effectiveness of communist propaganda may be traced to five major factors. First in importance is the communist's adroit selection of vulnerable targets. The communists have directed their appeals to all groups which oppose or are critical of the government; to the growing body of the general public who are disappointed with the lack of improvement in economic welfare since independence; to the groups who are demanding regional reorganization; to the cultivators whose hopes of land reform are being fulfilled slowly or who resent the government's compulsory grain procurement system; to the laborers with hopes of better wages and greater security of employment; and above all, to the college students, for whom job prospects are extremely uncertain, and to the large numbers of primary and high school teachers and newspaper employees, who are in a position to influence public opinion and who have serious financial difficulties. The second factor favoring communist propaganda is the fact that most of it is drafted and disseminated by Indians. All of the newspapers and most of the books and pamphlets are written by Indian Communists or fellow-travellers so that the ideas presented appear as Indian ideas, the comment on internal and international events is from an Indian perspective, and the arguments are directed to appeal to Indian points of view. A third important asset is the form in which communist material is made available. Publications are brought out in an attractive but inexpensive form and are priced at such low rates as to be within the reach of all but the poorest groups. Fourth, Communist organization at the village level and the presentation of communist propaganda both in direct conversation and in indigenous folk form makes it particularly accessible and persuasive to rural audiences. The bulk of India's rural population is only indirectly reached by publications and since independence has tended to be neglected by the village level of Congress Party organization which has been largely diverted by the demands and attractions of office holding. Finally, communist propaganda has benefitted by exploiting certain common Indian fears and suspicions of the West which range from dislike of materialism and distrust of capitalism to fear of the power of the West and the danger of a third World War.

Communist propaganda can be expected to enjoy these advantages for some time to come. Nevertheless, certain developments are beginning to limit seriously the effectiveness of communist propaganda in India.

SECRET

Soviet

SECRET

-3-

Soviet expansion in Europe since World War II, particularly the domination of Czechoslovakia and the successful revolt of Yugoslavia, have created distrust and fear of Soviet tactics and objectives. The emergence of Communist China as a unified power of military significance, while it has aroused some curiosity and admiration, has also aroused Indian fears as to China's future intentions, particularly since the Chinese occupation of Tibet. The successes of the CPI in the Indian elections of 1951-52 and its open and bitter attacks against the Congress Party have provoked sharp retaliation from the latter and denunciations of the Communists for their subservience to a foreign power. Even some of the opposition parties whose support has been courted by the Communists have become increasingly suspicious of Communist objectives and offers of cooperation. The tendency to distrust the domestic and international communist movements has been encouraged by certain positive gestures of Western goodwill, such as the substantial U.S. grain loan and the offers of technical aid made in 1951. Since mid-1951 the more educated segments of Indian public opinion have demonstrated a noticeable tendency to subject the Communist propaganda line to a more critical scrutiny.....

#### All-India Peace Council.

The all-India peace movement is closely allied to the international communist peace campaign which is directed by the World Congress of Partisans of Peace. Resolutions of the Indian sub-section of the World Congress are, with minor exceptions, indistinguishable from those of the international body. However, the world peace movement has in India certain special advantages, which the communists fully exploit. Among these are the pacifist aspects of Hinduism, popularized by Gandhi, the desire of most Indians to remain aloof from international controversies, and the latent Indian suspicion of the motives of the Western powers -- a survival from colonial days. Thus the communist peace offensive, which emphasizes the "peaceful desires of the common people everywhere" and pretends to approach the problem of peace from an objective point of view, but which actually promotes a propaganda campaign against "Anglo-American foreign policy," has had some influence in India. Nevertheless, communist efforts to collect large numbers of signatures for their Peace Pledge have met with little success.

The All-Indian Peace Council, established originally under the auspices of the communist-controlled All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), organized the first All-India Peace Congress on November 24, 1949. This first Congress, held in Calcutta was attended by 3,000 delegates who reportedly represented 250 mass organizations, with industrial and agricultural workers comprising 75% of those present. Delegates from the U.S.S.R., Indonesia, Burma, and China were also invited, but all of these delegations were prevented from attending, either by their own governments or by Indian missions abroad. The Congress adopted a "Statement of Peace" and elected a permanent All-India Peace Committee.

In October 1950 an All-India Peace Convention was held, ostensibly to adopt a report to the second World Peace Congress and to elect delegates

SECRET

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SECRET

-4-

to represent India at the Congress. The convention elected a Preparatory Committee headed by Dr. M. Atal for the second All-India Peace Congress. The Preparatory Committee met monthly in early 1951 and through its powers of co-optation increased its membership from an original 14 to approximately 80. The March meeting of the committee endorsed the Five Power Peace Pact Appeal and urged Prime Minister Nehru to invite the five Great Power leaders to hold a peace conference in Delhi.

When the Government of India refused to revise its decision to ban the holding of the second All-India Peace Congress in Delhi in the spring of 1951, the Communists' Preparatory Committee decided on an All-India Peace Convention in Bombay. The convention, which was held May 11-14, 1951, divided into four commissions on Organization, Indo-Pakistan Relations, Colonies and Wars on Asian Soil, and Cultural and Economic Cooperation. The convention dissolved the 80-member Preparatory Committee and reconstituted it as the All-India Peace Council, which was to include representatives from all the states, the total membership not to exceed 150. The following officers were elected: president, Dr. S. Kitchlew; vice presidents, Dr. M. Atal, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Pritaviraj Kapoor, Prof. Kosambi, and Sardar Gurbuksh Singh; and secretary, Krishan Chander. The convention decided to hold the second All-India Peace Congress in Delhi in September 1951.

At about the same time the convention was held, the Statement of Policy of the Communist Party of India was published. In it the basic purposes of the Indian peace effort were given:

One of the key tasks that faces us in defence of the people is the building of the peace movement. We have to bring it to the active consciousness of the masses that the ruling classes, in order to preserve their power, will ever be ready to embroil us, the people, in a war, so that we may give up our war against them ..... We must fight for a pact of peace between Pakistan, India and Ceylon, for banning of the Atom Bomb and for reduction of armaments and military budgets. The peace movement must be made real to the masses in terms of their own problems of land and bread, work and wages and prosperity for all.

The peace movement must mobilize widest opposition to the colonial wars waged by British, French, Dutch and American imperialists in South East Asia and prevent all direct and indirect support to these imperialists given by the present Indian Government.

In June 1951 the newly appointed Peace Council held a "Peace in Korea Day" meeting. Three resolutions were passed which: 1) urged the

SECRET

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SECRET

-5-

Government of India to support the demand for withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea; 2) protested the refusal of the Government of India to give permission to J. O. Crowther, British scientist and prominent fellow-traveller, to come to India; 3) protested the intervention of the British Government in the internal affairs of Iran.

At its July 1951 meeting in Bombay, the Peace Council discussed the organization of sectional conferences including an All-India Conference of Women for Peace, an All-India Cultural Conference for Peace, and a Preparatory Committee, to discuss India's representation at the International Economic Conference in Moscow sponsored by the World Peace Council. The Council also:

- 1) Appealed to all major political parties to make the issue of peace among nations one of the major planks in their platforms;
- 2) Called on the Government of India to call a conference of the powers concerned in the Korean dispute to press for a settlement which would insure withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the right of all people to determine their own affairs;
- 3) Denounced the Anglo-American resolution in the UN concerning Jammu and Kashmir and urged settlement of the issue on the basis of the wishes of the people of the state without recourse to arms, and deplored the decision of the United Nations to send Dr. Frank Graham to the area as mediator in spite of India's opposition to the Security Council resolution.

All-India Progressive Writers' Association.

The All-India Progressive Writers' Association (AIPWA) was founded in April 1936 as a group of left-wing writers supporting the movement for independence. Originally this group looked for inspiration to the communists and to the socialistically inclined literati of the West, primarily because of their anti-imperialist philosophies. Following the legalization of the CPI in 1942, however, CPI members exerted increasing influence in the group and at the 4th Annual Conference of the AIPWA held in Bombay in May 1943 it was resolved to translate and propagate progressive foreign writings -- specifically, recent Soviet and Chinese literature. The AIPWA also resolved to organize literary and cultural circles among industrial workers and peasants in order to link itself with Indian folk literature and arts, and pledged itself to cooperate with the Indian People's Theatre Association (see below). The Communists soon gained complete control of the group but continued to exert a wide influence among nationalist and progressive elements by the

SECRET

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SECRET

-6-

generalized nature of their appeal. Among the objectives of the organization as set forth in its constitution in 1946 were 1) to produce and translate literature of a progressive nature; 2) to fight against cultural reaction and in this way to further the cause of Indian freedom and social regeneration; 3) to bring literature and art into closest touch with the people and realities of life; and 4) to develop an attitude of literary criticism which would discourage reactionary and imitative tendencies and encourage the spirit of progress.

Among the founders of the "progressive" writers movement in India was Syed Sajjad Zahir (until mid-1951, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Pakistan). Prominent among the present members of the AIPWA are Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Krishan Chander, Ali Sardar Jafri, Ehtisham Husain, Khwaja Ahmad Abbas, and Ismat Chughtai. While some of the leaders of the group, notably Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, are not CPI members, they are fellow-travelers who have been active in India in such communist ventures as the "peace movement."

The members of the AIPWA are generally prolific writers and include a number of talented poets, short story writers, novelists, essayists and playwrights. Some of them, such as K. A. Abbas, Krishan Chander, Rajendra Singh Bedi, Ismat Chughtai, and Majruh Sultanpuri have also been active in the Indian film industry, writing screen plays, dialogues, and lyrics. Some AIPWA members also write plays for the Indian People's Theatre Association. Since the beginning of the "peace movement" in India, members of the AIPWA have participated in cultural programs presented at peace congresses, conferences, and meetings. On these programs AIPWA members have rendered their own works -- often poems and songs dealing with the struggle for peace. While most of the members of the AIPWA are not even nationally known, some of the leaders have substantial literary reputations in India and a few are known internationally, through the translation of their works into foreign languages.

No detailed information on the current organization of the association is readily available, but in 1946 the AIPWA had provincial branches in Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and Bombay and local branches in Lahore, Bhopal, Hyderabad City, Mangalore, and Gauhati. The AIPWA probably maintains all of these branches at the present time with the exception of that at Lahore which is now a branch of the All-Pakistan Progressive Writers' Association. Other branches may also have been opened.

The work of the association is directed by an executive committee elected at the annual conference. The chief sources of income are

SECRET

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SECRET

-7-

subscriptions, donations, and money raised through literary functions. Most of the work appears to be financed through donations from the CPI. The AIPWA publishes at least four literary journals: Parichaya (published in Calcutta in the Gengali language), Naya Sahitya (published in Bombay in Hindi), Naya Adab (published in Bombay in Urdu), and Abhidya (published in Vijayarada, formerly Bezwada, in Telugu). These periodicals have been banned by the government from time to time, but appear intermittently.

### Indian People's Theatre Association

The People's Theatre Movement, which originated in the U.S.S.R. and was successfully tried in Spain and China, first made its appearance in India in 1941 when a workers' theatre group was started in Bangalore. In March 1942 the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA) was formed. Anil de Silva, Professor Daruwala, and Anant Kanekar were among the first officers of the organization.

The IPTA specializes in producing and presenting communist propaganda plays. The first play staged by the organization was entitled Dada and was presented on May Day 1942 to the mill workers of Bombay. Since then many plays have been written and translated and many songs composed for the IPTA. Many of the plays, such as Bastu Vita (Birthplace) by Digin Banerjee, journalist on the Calcutta Anand Bazar Patrika, and Mabhumi (Our Land) have been banned by state or city governments. In addition, some of the organization's branches have been suppressed and a number of its members arrested and jailed under Public Safety Acts.

In 1946, the IPTA entered the motion picture production field with a full length documentary feature film entitled Dharti ke Lal (Children of the Earth) which dealt with famine in Bengal. While this is the only film the organization has produced, some of its members, like David Abraham, who became president of the Association in mid-1951, are well known film artists, who exert considerable influence in the Indian film world.

The IPTA has branches throughout India -- in Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Bombay, Madras, Delhi, and the Punjab. All of these branches have cooperated with the All-India Peace Council and its provincial peace committees. IPTA groups have been on hand at almost all peace congresses and conferences to participate in the cultural programs that are part of every such event. In addition, the association periodically sends groups of student-actors on tour to stage so-called "progressive" plays in the villages, frequently depicting the sufferings of under-privileged groups, or attacking the domination of landlords, money lenders or police officials. Such groups often travel with a simple portable stage. The movement has attracted a small group of college students and graduates, but has not developed any large popular following to date.

SECRETAll-India

SECRET

-8-

All-India Friends of the Soviet Union

With headquarters in Bombay and branches in Bombay, Calcutta, Lucknow, Lashkar, Jamshedpur, Muzaffarpur, Madanpalle, Nellore, Amritsar, Ahmadabad, and Wardha, the All-India Friends of the Soviet Union (AIFSU) is the Indian equivalent of Soviet friendship societies found throughout the world. It was started in 1942 and was sponsored by a group of persons including such prominent people as Mrs. Vijayalakshimi Pandit, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarojini Naidu, and Professor H. N. Mukerjee. Only Mukerjee is still active in the organization. At the time that the AIFSU was launched, Congress Party leadership was hopeful of Soviet support for the demand that Indian independence be included as one of the Allied aims in World War II. Following the imprisonment of the Congress Party leaders in the fall of 1942, however, the AIFSU became completely dominated by the communists. In 1950 the general secretary was R. N. Jamshekar, who has been in Prague since 1947 where he is reported to act as the European representative of the CPI. The secretary is Ravi Mohan Bakayya.

The AIFSU plays an important part in the distribution of Soviet and communist books and periodicals. One of the first objectives of a newly formed FSU branch is the opening of a library and reading room. The libraries are stocked with both locally produced and imported communist literature. The TASS news bulletins in English and the various Indian languages are also on hand. Anyone is allowed to use the reading room but only members may take books out of the library. Persons obtaining literature are encouraged to organize reading circles. The AIFSU itself publishes a monthly journal in English called the Indo-Soviet Journal and FSU branches not only keep copies of it in their libraries, but also send FSU members on house-to-house sales campaigns. Probably no more than 1,500 copies a month are sold to members and others.

The AIFSU also plays a key role in the noncommercial exhibition of films produced in the U.S.S.R., Communist China, and the Soviet satellite countries. The first Soviet film to come to India was the Childhood of Maxim Gorky presented to the AIFSU by the Soviet All-Union Society for Cultural Relations Abroad (VOKS), in 1944. With the arrival of this film and the opening of an Indian branch of Asia Films of China, a firm engaged in the distribution of Soviet films, the AIFSU launched its program of showing communist films through FSU branches. In addition to sponsoring communist films, the AIFSU also agitates against the commercial showing of anticommunist films.

The AIFSU also organizes exhibitions of photographs, pictures, posters, and books. Many of the exhibitions relating to the U.S.S.R. are received from the Rumanian-Soviet Society (ARIUS) while some are also obtained from VOKS. The AIFSU also produces local material for display in the numerous exhibitions which it sponsors. The exhibitions are customarily presented in connection with the Soviet celebration of some special day or week such as "Gorky Day," "Peace Week," "33rd Anniversary of the October Revolution," "Lenin Day," and "International Children's Day."

SECRET

Lectures



SECRET

-9-

Lectures form an important part of many FSU activities. Talks are presented by outstanding communists and fellow-travelers from abroad as well as from India. Among prominent foreign lecturers have been D. N. Pritt, member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and Mrs. Jessie Street, president of the Australian-Russian Society.

The AIFSU, as a communist front organization, naturally participates actively in many of the activities sponsored by the CPI or its fronts. It has assisted women's organizations in the celebration of International Women's Day, sponsored a Southeast Asia Women's Conference, promoted the Soviet-Cine Art Festivals held in 1950 in Bombay and Calcutta, and has been extremely active in the "peace movement."

#### India-China Friendship Associations

In October 1950 an India-China Friendship Associations (ICFA) organizing committee was formed in Calcutta with Satyapriya Banerjee, an AITUC leader, and Promode Sen Gupta, a prominent worker in the "peace movement," as prime movers. The association was formally inaugurated in February 1951. A number of communist intellectuals are among the members of the Executive Committee: Satyen Bose (professor and scientist), Manik Bannerjee (novelist), Probodh Sanyal (editor), Satyendra Nath Majumdar (editor), O. C. Ganguli (art critic), and Probodh Bagchi (professor of Chinese studies at Shantiniketan). Professor Tirpurari Chakravarti was elected secretary of the association. He is a member of the CPI, professor of Chinese studies at Shantiniketan, and a proprietor of New Publishers which is subsidized by the Chinese Consulate General in Calcutta. This enterprise is the sole sales agent of all Chinese Communist publications.

A meeting to organize an India-China Friendship Associations branch in Bombay was convened in that city early in 1951 under the auspices of a number of influential communists and fellow-travelers. Among these were Devaki Pannikar (daughter of the Indian Ambassador to the People's Republic of China), Mulk Raj Anand (member of the AIPWA and the All-India Peace Council), R. K. Karanjia (editor of Blitz), Anil Biswas (member of the All-India Peace Council), Aruna Asaf Ali (former socialist leader expelled for her communist sympathies), and M. D. Japeth (president of the Indo-Israel Association). The association was formally inaugurated on May 15, 1951. Similar associations have been inaugurated in Dehra Dun (July 7, 1951) and in Patiala (July 1951), where Tarachand Gupta, president of the PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union) State Journalists' Association was one of the organizers. It is probable that similar associations are being started elsewhere.

The published objective of the ICFA is to foster friendship between India and Communist China. In attempting to do so the various branches of the association organize lectures and discussions, publish and distribute literature, arrange goodwill missions, and entertain Chinese

SECRET

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SECRET

-10-

visitors whom they place in contact with Indians and Indian institutions. Membership in the ICFA is open to all, and every effort is made to attract persons of divergent political beliefs. Control of the association, however, is entirely in the hands of CPI members or sympathizers. It is believed that the Chinese Embassy and Consulates not only provide it with literature, films, exhibitions, and speakers, but also contribute financial support.

### Others

In addition to the above communist-controlled organizations there are a number of others among which the largest and most important are the All-India Kisan Sabha, representing peasants; the All-India Trade Union Congress; the Democratic Youth League; the Mahila Atma Raksha Samiti (Women's Protective Association), which is active among women workers and refugees; and the All-India Students' Federation. Besides these organizations, all of which have branches and affiliates throughout the country, there are numerous others, representing various socio-economic or political groups such as youth, labor, women's, student, untouchable, professional and cultural, which are infiltrated or controlled by communists.

### Organization of labor

Primary Organizations -- Although only a small percentage of the Indian labor force is unionized, India's position as the world's eighth largest industrial nation, and the country's vast industrial expansion program will probably open the way for stronger and more politically active labor unions. At the end of March 1949, there were 3,150 workers' and employers' organizations registered in India under the Indian Trade Unions Act of 1926. At least 3,000 of these were workers' organizations. There were, in addition, an undetermined number of labor organizations not registered under the act.

Of the approximately 3,000 registered labor unions, 1,813 or about 60% reported a combined membership of about 1,915,000 workers. At least a third of the railway employees were unionized. The states of Bombay and West Bengal, with the more important manufacturing centers and the large terminals of land and sea transportation are the greatest strongholds of organized labor in India, but the states of Madras and Uttar Pradesh also are important centers. Most officials of the relatively large unions are high officials of political parties, from which they presumably receive a large portion of their income for services currently rendered in both the political and labor fields. A number of the outstanding labor leaders are in the legislatures of the central and state governments. Among these, Khandubhai Desai and Hariharnath Shastri are members of the Union Parliament, while Deven Sen and Suresh Chandra Banerjee are members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. Apart from their formal party differences, most of the officials of the larger unions in India are proponents of a socialist state

SECRET

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SECRET

- 11 -

and are intellectuals rather than laborers. As a result of the poverty and general illiteracy of the people, leadership in the labor organizations has come predominantly from above and outside rather than up from within the unions.

Federations -- The majority of primary labor organizations in India belong to federations of unions, usually supported by one political party. The largest and most inclusive federations which affiliate to themselves unions from all over India and from every industry are the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS), and the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC). Proposals for "united fronts" and even organizational unity are heard in India from time to time. In 1951 the Communist Party in India appeared to deemphasize its previous policy of direct action and violence and to favor a united front with other groups. This approach is now being followed by the AITUC which has, in the Labor Relations Bill and the Trade Unions Bill now before the central legislature, a major issue upon which to unite a great segment of organized labor.

- (1) INTUC -- the Indian National Trade Union Congress, or the Rashtriya Mazdoor Kangres (National Labor Congress) as it is also known, is the largest federation of labor organization in India. It is organized primarily by industry, with its strongest representation in manufacturing, transportation, and agriculture. At the end of October 1950 it claimed a membership of 1,106 unions representing 1,434,258 employees.

INTUC is sponsored by the Congress Party and follows the party's principle of conciliation and arbitration in preference to strikes; the failure of the machinery set up by the central and state governments under various enactments to bring about speedy and satisfactory settlements of trade disputes has drawn the strong criticism of that organization. The INTUC, however, does not hesitate to criticize the Congress Government for its slowness in setting up effective labor legislation. Through the government's recognition of the INTUC for representation on all labor committees, moreover, its affiliates are able to participate in the formulation of national policy.

On the international level, INTUC is associated with the ICFTU and has taken the lead in organizing an Asian Federation of Labor, which is expected to be reorganized at the regional ICFTU conference in Karachi, on May 28-31, 1951.

SECRET

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SECRET

-12-

- (2) AITUC -- the All India Trade Union Congress was the largest federation of labor organizations in India prior to the founding of the INTUC in 1947. Like the INTUC, the AITUC is organized chiefly by industry, with its main strength reportedly in textiles. In the early part of 1951, however, AITUC could claim a membership of only 729 unions representing 706,194 workers as compared with INTUC's 1,106 unions with a combined membership of 1,434,258. AITUC, now communist-controlled, has affiliates in all parts of the country, but Bombay and West Bengal are its strongholds. Among some of the larger communist-led unions affiliated with the AITUC are the Girni Kangar, Bombay, and the South Indian Railway union.

Holding top positions in the AITUC for several years have been S. A. Dange, S. S. Mirajkar, C. Chettiar, S. S. Yusuf, Manek Gandhi, Shanta Mukhurji, and K. N. Joglekar. The last two are members of the Forward Bloc, while the others are Communist Party members. Many of the communist leaders of AITUC have been jailed by various state governments for their disruptive activities and the AITUC has operated in the last two years with only a small staff. With most members in prison or "underground", meetings of the Working Committee and the General Council have been scheduled infrequently and have been poorly attended.

No more than twelve of the delegates attending the last General Session of the AITUC were non-communist; the rest were communists or communist sympathizers. That the session was a communist affair is clearly indicated by the content of the numerous resolutions passed by it. A resolution, conveying the greetings of the AITUC to the people of China "on the eve of his historic success against the reactionary Kuomintang forces and their mates, the American imperialists" was made by a Working Committee member who stated that the victories scored by the Liberation Army in China heralded the "dawn of freedom" of the Southeast Asian countries. (44-24)

The Hind Mazdoor Sabha is about the same size as AITUC. At the end of December 1950 it claimed a membership of 464 unions representing approximately 703,000 workers, chiefly from the manufacturing, particularly cotton textiles, and the transportation industries. Also present in the organization are a group of Trotskyites, communists, and the left-wingers who go under the name of Bolshevik-Leninists. Among the latter is Anthony Pillai. R. S. Ruikar, who was president of HMS until he left the organization early in 1951 to join the United Front with the communist AITUC was a member of the Forward Bloc party.

Government Attitude and Policy -- The government's attitude toward labor is paternalistic and socialistic. There is a real desire to improve working conditions and provide basic social security. There is also a great distrust of the unions as qualified agents to effect such improvements. Yet, because the party in power is keenly aware of the importance

SECRET

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SECRET

-13-

of the labor vote in the first general election scheduled under the new constitution for the fall of 1951, its agents have tried to avoid unnecessarily antagonizing the unions. India's Labor Minister, Jagjivan Ram, an "untouchable", again and again has stressed the theme of labor as a "partner" in industry, and has reminded the unions that it was the government which, by amending the Trade Union Act, compelled employers to recognize and to negotiate with trade unions.....

The central government is more favourable to labor than are the state governments, which are more open to opposition from employer groups. This results in the loose implementation of labor laws passed by the central government." (44-19-26)

#### Other radical leftist parties

Between the Socialist Party and the Communist Party are a number of small radical leftist splinter parties, most of which are located in West Bengal. Virtually all of these parties combine some elements of communist or socialist ideology with a virulent nationalism.

Bengal's political history reveals a paradoxical combination of conservatism, docility, and adaptability with a strong and respected tradition of radical idealism, anarchism, and revolution. Bengal's nationalist anarchist movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the forerunner and inspiration of the radical Forward Bloc movement which developed within the Congress Party under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose in the late 1930's. The Forward Bloc's advocacy of the use of violence in the struggle for independence constituted a direct challenge to the Gandhian principles then being followed by the party and resulted in the ejection of Bose and his supporters. During World War II Bose, who escaped to Germany and then proceeded to Japan, helped organize Indian soldiers captured by the Japanese in China, Malaya, and Burma, together with a number of Indians in Southeast Asia, into an Indian National Army (INA) with the objectives of winning Indian independence with Japanese military support. Bose died in an airplane crash in Indochina in the fall of 1945 but the British brought a number of the INA officers to trial. This move was generally unpopular in India and particularly in Bengal where Bose was regarded as a hero. As a result most of the defendants were simply denied the right to return to the regular Indian Army and a number of them subsequently became active among left wing splinter groups, particularly in Bengal.

In addition to a revolutionary and extreme nationalist tradition, India's radical left wing groups exhibit to a marked degree the same tendency towards political splintering which is increasingly becoming a characteristic of general Indian political organization. Personal rivalries and conflicts over ideological differences -- often over relatively minor points -- have caused a successive splitting of the left, resulting in the formation of a multitude of groups, none of them individually very strong.

Since independence various leftist leaders have attempted to unite some of these groups or to provide an effective basis for their cooperation. Although

SECRET

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SECRET

-14 -

most of them can on occasion cooperate on a political issue, as demonstrated in the 1950 elections in Howrah, West Bengal, a full united front of all leftists has proved impossible. One of the main issues contributing to leftist division during the past few years and thwarting efforts at unity has been disagreement over cooperation with the CPI.

Parties prepared to cooperate with the CPI

United Socialist Organization of India -- The USOI was launched on October 30, 1949 as a result of the efforts of Sarat Chandra Bose, younger brother of Subhas, to enhance his own political influence by achieving a union of as many leftist groups as possible. Sarat Chandra Bose left the Congress Party in 1947. Since Sarat had been earlier associated more with the moderate than with the radical elements in the nationalist movement, and it was surmised that his departure from the Congress Party was in resentment over not being offered a Cabinet or equally important post in the government. While serving as one of the lawyers provided by the Congress Party to defend the INA prisoners he had built up his political reputation, and when he returned to West Bengal in 1947 he began to take up leadership among the leftists in the name of his brother Subhas. Sarat first attempted to organize the leftists by launching the Socialist Republican Party which he apparently hoped would have such broad popular appeal that it would attract not only all of the Forward Bloc and the INA, but the support of most of the other leftist groups as well. The Socialist Republican Party, however, turned out to be little more than another leftist party and the preference of most leftist groups for the retention of their individual identities led Bose eventually to organize the USOI, which he envisaged as an organization in which all leftist groups would be represented and through which they would cooperate on policy matters. Both the Socialist and Communist parties as well as all the smaller parties of the left were invited to participate. At the time, the CPI was following a policy which excluded cooperation with any other party. The Socialists expressed an interest but refused to join as long as the CPI was being invited. A number of the minor leftist parties, however, cooperated in forming the USOI. On the death of Bose in the spring of 1950 the presidency of the organization passed to General Mohan Singh, a prominent leader of both the Forward Bloc and the INA.

The USOI is a loose working arrangement of the Socialist Republican Party, Forward Bloc (Marxist), Revolutionary Socialist Party, Bolshevik Party of India, Revolutionary Communist Party (Das Gupta group), and Socialist Unity Center. Other political organizations such as the Workers' and Peasants' League, United Trade Union Congress, the West Bengal branch of the All-India United Kisan Sabha, and the Indian National Army also belong. The object of the coalition continues to be the avoidance of conflict among leftist groups and the maintenance of a united opposition to the Congress Party. In addition to supporting the candidates of its constituent parties in the last election the USOI ran some of these under its own name and also supported some independents. The main features of the USOI's program include: socialized ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange; severance of the Commonwealth tie; abolition of landlordism without compensation; and incorporation into the state of West Bengal of all contiguous Bengali-speaking

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areas. The decision of the CPI to cooperate with other leftist groups has posed a problem. Some elements in the USOI claim that the CPI cannot be trusted in view of its earlier policy, and are wary of direct communist participation in their organization, but the majority appear to favor cooperation.

Socialist Republican Party of India -- The SRPI has perhaps 10,000 to 15,000 members throughout India, but is largely concentrated in West Bengal and Bihar among middle class and industrial labor groups. When this party was founded by Sarat Chandra Bose it included the Forward Bloc and the INA, who retained their individual identities, and a miscellaneous group of moderates and leftists, who resented the partition of West Bengal and looked to Bose's leadership to launch an effective challenge to the Congress Party. The SRPI never became strong and with the death of Bose, the Forward Bloc and INA group proceeded to function quite independently and a number of members drifted away, leaving only a central core of party organization and some admirers of Subhas Chandra Bose. The party has retained close ties with the Marxist wing of the Forward Bloc and like the latter has shown a willingness to cooperate with the CPI in an anti-Congress "united front." Jyotish Joardar is General Secretary and the SRPI's representative on the organizing committee of the USOI. Other leaders include Jitendra Nath Ghosh and Arunanshu Bhowmik, secretary of the SRPI Students' Union.

The party retains the same basic objectives laid down by Sarat Chandra Bose at its founding but there has been some modification in emphasis. His program included: 1) the complete independence of India, free from British or any other foreign ties, 2) the ending of autocratic rule in the Indian princely states, 3) the abolition of landlordism and the complete repudiation of rural debts, and 4) the reunion of India and Pakistan on the basis of a Union of Socialist Republics based on linguistic groupings. Since 1949, when Bose decided to organize the USOI, the party has tended to play down its own particular ideology in favor of cooperating in a united front of leftists and nationalists directed against the reactionary forces in the Congress Party. The SRPI continues to oppose the partition of the subcontinent and to favor the severance of commonwealth ties and the formation of an Asian bloc under Indian leadership.

The All-India Forward Bloc (Marxist) -- The Forward Bloc was founded in the late 1930's as a militant nationalist wing within the Congress Party by Subhas Chandra Bose. Following the ejection of the group from the Congress Party in 1940, it continued to advocate the achievement of independence by direct methods, including the rise of violence.

Bose's efforts to organize an Indian National Army in southeast Asia during the war and his subsequent death converted him into a nationalist hero. (He is frequently referred to as Netaji, his title of leadership with the INA.) At the end of the war the Forward Bloc opposed the Congress Party

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-16-

and demanded the restoration of all Indian National Army officers and men to their former positions in the Indian army. In 1947 the Forward Bloc issued a program which in addition to its demands in behalf of the INA included the following: 1) complete Indianization of the army and the police, 2) strengthening of the army and the adoption of an extensive scheme of military training; 3) end of all cooperation with the United Kingdom, 4) formation of an Asian union to force the expulsion of Europeans and Americans, liberate the colonial areas, and work to prevent the suppression of Japan or Germany by the United States, the Soviet Union, or the United Kingdom, 5) cooperation of all leftist forces in opposition to the Congress Party, and 6) cultivation of the widest possible popular support through workers', peasants' and students' organizations.

A struggle for leadership within the Forward Bloc eventually resulted in an open split between Shilbadra S. Yagee and R. S. Ruikar in December 1948 over the question of seeking cooperation with the CPI. The majority of the party under the leadership of Shilbadra Yagee formed a Marxist wing which stressed the prime importance of cooperation among all leftist elements. This wing has played a major role in the USOI and in the United Trade Union Congress. Both the Marxist (Yagee) and Ruikar (or Subhasist) wings appeal to the memory of Subhas Chandra Bose and hold much of their program in common. Policies common to both groups include: 1) opposition to the Congress Party, 2) nationalization of industries, 3) abolition of zamindara (landlordism) without compensation, and 4) full civil liberties for all. In addition the Yagee group advocates labor's right to strike, the right of the civil population to carry arms and the need to prepare for a social revolution.

The Forward Bloc (Marxist) group polled almost one million votes in the election to the House of the People, but elected only one of its 24 candidates. In the state elections it fared somewhat better, electing 14 candidates as compared to 3 won by the Ruikar group. Of these 14 candidates, 10 are in West Bengal.

Another prominent leader of the Yagee group is General Mohan Singh, of the INA, who on his release following trial first organized the Desh Sewak Sena (Army of the Servants of the Nation) in the Punjab, and then became increasingly prominent in the Forward Bloc and the USOI. Other leaders include Colonel Gurbaksh S. Dhillon, also of the INA, Satyapriya Banerji, Debnath Das, Asoka Ghosh and Sushil Roy.

Revolutionary Socialist Party of India -- The RSPI, a self-styled Marxist-Leninist group which dates back to the 1930's, claims an active membership of between 2,000 and 4,000. In addition to a central core of 400 to 500 members in the Calcutta area there are affiliated branches in other parts of West Bengal as well as in Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and the Tamilnad areas of Madras and Travancore-Cochin. The party prides itself on its orthodox Leninism in contrast to the Stalinism of the CPI. Although it has been prepared to cooperate with the CPI on occasion, particularly in election alliances directed against

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-17-

the Congress Party, it is keen to retain its own identity. It was active in the United Trade Union Congress with the express purpose of counter-ing both the socialist influence of the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and the com-munist influence of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Like all other leftist groups the party has concentrated on developing labor, peasant, and student organizations. In addition to its activities in the United Congress, it has cooperated with the Kisan Sabha (Peasant Organization) in Uttar Pradesh, is attempting to revitalize the organization of the de-ceased peasant leader, Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, and is cooperating with the Ruikar wing of the Forward Bloc in directing the All-Bengal Students' Congress.

The RSPI advocates the inauguration of a Socialist state, liberation of colonial areas and a union of Asia directed against Western imperialism. In view of its small size the party made a fair showing at the polls in the 1951-52 elections to the House of the People. It received 400,000 votes and elected 2 of its 8 candidates to the central legislature. In the state elections it elected one of its candidates in Uttar Pradesh, cooperating with the USOI in the Bengal elections and with the CPI in the Tamilnad area of Madras.

The present leader of the party is Jogesh Chandra Chatterji. Other prominent personalities include: Tridib Chaudhri, Kesav Prasad Sharma, Thakur Maribans Singh, Ramen Roy, and Kanten Nair.

Socialist Unity Center (SUC) -- The SUC is a small faction which seceded from the RSPI in favor of closer cooperation with the CPI. As a result it has become a thoroughgoing communist front organization. The SUC has a relatively small active membership of perhaps 1,000 to 2,000 with a few thousand ad-herents. Most of its support is among students, refugees, and labor in the Calcutta area, among oil-field workers in Assam, and coal-field workers in Bihar and Orissa. The party's General Secretary is Sibdas Ghosh. Other im-portant leaders are Subodh Bannerjee, editor of Ganadeshi, the party newspaper, Mikar Mukherji, and Sukomal Das Gupta, General Secretary of the SUC's Students' Bureau.

Revolutionary Communist Party of India (Das Gupta Group) -- The RCPI is a Trotskyite party dating back to the early days of communism in India. The expulsion of Trotsky and his followers from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union led to a division among the Indian communists with one group sympathizing with Trotsky and opposing Stalin's theory of a two-stage revo-lution. This group centered among Bengalis in Calcutta, who organized them-selves as the Bolshevik-Leninist Party (BLP). The party gained strength among migrant Bengalis in Assam in the early 1930's. It supported Bengali expansion in Assam through strong arm methods directed against the Assamese. These tactics were defended on the grounds that the Assamese were supporting British power and that the only hope of organizing the nationalist struggle in this corner of India lay in large immigrations from Bengal and the develop-ment of a militant Bengali movement.

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During the late 1930's, when the CPI was following a "united front" policy and supporting the Indian nationalist movement, the BLP cooperated with the CPI. With the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact, however, relations between the two parties were once again strained. During the early part of World War II, when Indian demands for British guarantee of independence were gaining in strength, the BLP changed its name to the Revolutionary Communist Party of India (RCPI) and began to organize acts of sabotage with the announced objective of forcing the British to agree to India's independence and of thus converting the war in India from an "imperialist" to a "people's" war.

Following independence the RCPI split in 1948 over the question of the continued use of violent tactics. The extremists under Pannalal Das Gupta advocated "violent tactics for the overthrow of the Congress Party Government" which it blamed for the partition of Bengal and for selling out to reactionary "big business" and landlords. While the activities of this faction have been somewhat obscure in the past few years, it appears to have been cooperating with some militant elements in the Bharatiya Jan Sangh to exploit the discontent of refugees from East Pakistan and to have organized some border incidents, presumably to serve as a warning to East Pakistan. It has also been particularly active in Assam where it has continued to organize disaffected Bengalis in the now largely Assamese Congress Party government of the state and also has attempted to organize the Tribals of the bordering hill areas against the Assamese of the valley and their government. During this same period, 1948 to 1951, the CPI was also following a policy of violence and subversion directed against the Congress Party government. Despite the ideological differences between the CPI and the Das Gupta faction of the RCPI the latter appears to have cooperated closely with the CPI in efforts to whip up discontent among the Tribals of Assam and to elude the government's military countermeasures. The Das Gupta group is essentially a terrorist organization in the militant nationalist tradition of Bengal. Although the group has defied communist discipline and resisted past CPI efforts at control the CPI can be expected to continue to cultivate and utilize the activities of this group in connection with the CPI's own undercover program of sabotage and subversion.

The Das Gupta wing of the RCPI claims a membership of 10,000 and although it is the larger faction within the party, it probably has an active membership of less than 2,000. It polled only 26,000 votes in the 1951-52 elections and none of its candidates were successful. In addition to Das Gupta its prominent leaders include: Hena Ganguli, reported to be second in command of the terrorist wing; Dr. Jyotirmy Gupta, leader of the party's medical squad; and Khagen Barbarua, believed to have led the RCPI's terrorist campaign in the Tribal areas of the Sibsagar district of Assam in later 1950.

Bolshevik Party in India -- The BPI is a Trotskyite communist party which claims to follow a more "correct" communist line than the CPI itself. Originally part of the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, it split from the parent group to form the Labor Party of India and finally adopted its present name in 1941 when it accepted the principles of the Fourth International. The

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party is small, less than 1,000 active members, but has some support among the Bengal jute mill workers. The party ran a candidate for the House of the People in the 1951-52 elections, who polled almost 26,000 votes but was unsuccessful. Major emphasis of the party has been on revolutionary activity and it attempts to influence other groups to adopt violent tactics. In 1950 party leaders attempted to incite strikes and sabotage in the Calcutta area as a protest against what it termed Western intervention in Korea. Leaders of the party include Sisir Roy, General Secretary; Ranen Ghosh, Assistant to Roy; Biswanath Dubey, Secretary; and Dukhi Ram and Sudhir Dutta, press agents.

Indian National Army -- The INA is an organization of former members of the army organized by Subhas Chandra Bose in World War II to achieve the liberation of India with Japanese aid, primarily organized to assist its members and protect their interests. It is politically significant because a number of its leaders revere the revolutionary tradition of their former leader Subhas Bose and because they have been active in cooperating with elements in the leftist movement. Among its members are General Mohan Singh, Colonel Dhillon, and Debnath Das, who have already been mentioned as prominent in the Forward Bloc (Marxist) and the USOI. In addition there are several politically active leaders who advocate close cooperation with the CPI, notably Promode Sen Gupta -- active in the Bolshevik Party of India -- J. K. Banerji, and Bela Mitra.

Peasants' and Workers' Party -- The Peasants' and Workers' Party is a radical leftist party that is neither Bengali nor associated with the USOI. Organized in 1948, the Peasants' and Workers' Party is located principally in the Maharashtra region of Bombay and Hyderabad. The party's membership is estimated to be less than 1,000 but this is because membership is largely confined to actual organizers who are recruited for their readiness to work for party ideals, and who are expected to volunteer most of their services and exist on a subsistence allowance. The party's program is designed to appeal to those labor and peasant elements who have been active in labor and peasant movements of the past and who were prepared to engage in sabotage against the British during World War II and to organize independent local governments in defiance of the established authorities. Accordingly this program is a non-Brahman, leftist-reform, intensely nationalistic program, advocating provincial reorganization on a linguistic basis, the formation of a Peasants' and Workers' government, and opposition to Western imperialism, including withdrawal from the Commonwealth.

The party is one of the largest of the radical left parties; it polled around a million votes in the elections for the House of the People, won two seats in the central legislature, and 26 in the state legislatures -- 14 in Bombay, 2 in Madhya Pradesh, and 10 in Hyderabad. The party accepts Marxism but opposes accepting the guidance of the CPI, preferring to retain its own identity and to make its own decisions on policies and tactics. In 1950 the party decided to accept the Cominform directive to organize the struggles of workers and peasants but split over the question of the use of violence. The

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bulk of the party under the leadership of S. S. More favored peaceful methods of organization. Although it opposed cooperation with the CPI in 1950 when the latter was following a policy of violence, in 1951 it welcomed the CPI's change in policy and endorsed the CPI's election manifesto, so that for the present at least this group is prepared to cooperate with the CPI. However, a small element of the party under the leadership of Datta Deshmukh and Rana Patil resembles the Das Gupta group of the RCPI in its strong preference for violence. This group favored cooperation with the CPI in 1950 and has been sharply critical of the CPI's shift in tactics in 1951. Nevertheless this wing would probably be prepared to cooperate with the CPI in any underground program of subversion and violence. The Deshmukh group is called the Kisan Kamgar Party and won 3 seats in the Bombay legislature.

Leftist Parties opposed to cooperation with the CPI

Forward Bloc (Ruikar or Subhasist) -- This branch of the Forward Bloc is weaker than the Marxist wing, but it polled 140,000 votes in the 1951-52 elections and succeeded in getting three of its candidates elected to the state legislatures in West Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, respectively. Although the Ruikar group are opposed to the Congress Party government and share much the same social and political objectives as the Marxist wing, including the objection to Commonwealth ties, they are highly nationalistic and oppose any organizational cooperation with the CPI. Ruikar, the General Secretary, stated in an interview early in 1951 that he was opposed to dictatorship of both the Soviet Union and CPI variety and that he rejected the Marxist materialistic interpretation of history. Active membership of the party, which is largely concentrated in West Bengal and the adjoining states of Bihar and Orissa, is estimated at less than 1,000. In addition to Ruikar some of the more prominent leaders include: Leela Roy and her husband, Anil Roy; Professor Kanailal Bhattacharji, Secretary; Ajit Biswa, and Subodh Ghosh.

Revolutionary Communist Party (Tagore Group) -- This group, under the leadership of Soumyendranath Tagore broke with the Das Gupta wing of the party when the former advocated resort to terrorist and violent tactics in 1948. It is suspicious of Soviet intentions, is anti-Stalinist and believes in a nationalist type of communism. It is the smaller wing of the party with an estimated active membership of less than 1,000 in Assam and Bengal, but it has some influence among intellectual circles.

National Synthesis Party (NSP) -- The NSP is extremely weak, having been founded only in 1951 in Calcutta. It is primarily controlled by a few disciples of Subhas Chandras Bose, who are opposed to violence and are primarily nationalists. It has cooperated with the Tagore group of the RCPI and the Ruikar group of the Forward Bloc. The party leaders are Satyaranjan Bakshi and Tulai Charan Goswamy.

Radical Humanist Party -- M. N. Roy, well-known ex-Communist, heads this small party which has some following in intellectual and white collar circles. Roy is a bitter critic of the Congress Party and advocates a special type of communism with a strong emphasis on humanism. Opposed to the theory of revolution he favors trying to goad government, public opinion, and the

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-21-

middle class into providing the basis for a strong society and into inaugurating reforms within the existing structure of government. Alert to the imperialist objectives of the Soviet Union and to its tactics of working through local communist groups, Roy advocates close Indian friendship with the United States.

### The Communist Party at the Polls

The party put on quite an impressive publicity and intensive electioneering campaign in 1951-52 elections. This together with CPI's effective exploitation of a certain general dissatisfaction with the record of the Congress Party government appear to have been the major factors that contributed to the CPI success. Much of the vote must be considered as a protest vote against the Congress Party rather than a conscious choice of the communist platform. Not hampered by concern over fulfilling its program the CPI promised immediate solutions to a number of major problems: larger food rations, free distribution of land, increased housing facilities, and prompt dismissal of all grafters. Secondary factors included the united front effort and other electoral alliances which gave valuable aid in some instances. The Communist Party also gained a few seats because of support lost to the Congress by the splintering of the vote.

In view of the general features of the CPI campaign it is not surprising that the party's major successes were in south India where regional sentiments are the strongest and where corruption and strife within the Congress Party were reinforced by the particularly stringent food position, and in Hyderabad and Malabar where the same factors were reinforced by the burdensome system of land tenure. In Bombay, Punjab, and PEPSU the CPI's moderate endeavors met with little success and in the rest of India the party is not yet politically important.

The CPI success in the Warangal and Nalgonda districts, the Telinganda (Telugu-speaking) part of Hyderabad, was particularly important as this area was the center of communist terrorism between 1948 and 1950. In some of this region the CPI had forcefully redistributed land and successfully established "parallel governments," substituting their own appointees for local officials. The CPI victory was particularly disappointing to the Congress Party as governmental efforts to liquidate the communist rebels were believed to have been generally successful and it had hoped that communist terrorism had alienated the people. This hope was not borne out and in one constituency a communist leader was elected to the House of the People with the largest vote percentage of any constituency in India. There is evidence of some coercion by the communists but it is impossible to tell how important this was to their electoral success.

In the State of Madras the Communist Party gains were principally in Andhra, Kerala (Malabar Coast), and the Tanjore area of Tamilnad -- three areas that are quite widely separated and well-differentiated from each other economically, culturally, and politically. The Communist Party fully supported the local demand for the formation of a new state of Andhradesa, exploited the popular dissatisfaction with the Madras state administration, which had

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-22-

been widely criticized for its grain procurement program and accused of extensive corruption, and put on an intensive grass roots campaign. Party workers visited every rural area, personally interviewed a great number of people, made innumerable speeches, and on the day of the election saw to it that their supporters went to the polls. On the Malabar coast the CPI has a fairly long history of sustained political effort under the leadership of A. K. Gopalan, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPI, and the party won support for its advocacy of a Kerala state for the Malayalam speaking populations. In Tamilnad the CPI was not able to form a large united front but did get an election alliance with the anti-Brahman, sectionalist Dravidian Federation, which did not enter separate candidates in the election. Of the 13 successful Communist Party candidates to the Madras Assembly from Tamilnad, 10 were officially supported by the Dravidian Federation.

The same basic reasons of Congress division, and exploitation of regional and economic problems, and intensive campaigning are responsible for the Communist Party victories in Travancore-Cochin. In the state the party members filed nominations as independents and campaigned as the United Front of Leftists composed of the CPI, the Revolutionary Socialist Party, and the Kerala Socialist Party (not a part of the Socialist Party of India). Travancore-Cochin, with the highest density of population in India, faces especially acute food and employment problems. It regularly must import a substantial amount of its grain supply and the government's drastic cut of the ration as a result of the serious decline in grain production in 1951 was sharply resented. Furthermore the state's unusually high literacy rate gave the communists an opportunity to make extensive use of inexpensive propaganda materials, much of which was in local languages and brought in from outside India. It has been reported that during the campaign there was a prominent display of communist propaganda books and pamphlets.

The other centers of communist success were in West Bengal and Tripura. The Communist Party received about 11% of the vote and seats in West Bengal and but for the inability of the different leftist groups to unite the CPI would probably have done better. The Revolutionary Communist Party (Das Gupta group), the Revolutionary Socialists, the Forward Bloc (Marxist), and the United Socialist Organization of India -- all parties sympathetic to the Communist Party but not directly allied -- gained nearly a half-million votes and 15 seats in the West Bengal state legislature. The major source of CPI strength in Bengal lies in the party-controlled labor unions. The CPI's success in electing delegates to the Tripura electoral college\* is indicative of the communist threat in this isolated hill area strategically located near the Burma border.

The Communist Party strength in number of votes and seats won, ranging between 4.5% and 7% at both the center and in the states, is not large when compared with the Congress Party victory. However, the CPI electoral successes undoubtedly have been an important asset to inner party discipline

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\* Tripura, a "C" state administered by the central government, has no legislative assembly but its popularly elected electoral college participates in the indirect elections for the central Council of States.

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-23-

and the party's effectiveness as a united political force is greatly enhanced. An important percentage of Indian public opinion has leftist leanings. Out of about 92,500,000 votes cast in the elections to the state assemblies, approximately one-fourth were for parties to the left of the Congress Party, ranging from the Socialists to the CPI. Among this group the number of dissidents without settled political affiliations is sizable. The real danger is that the Communist Party with its greater organizing ability and its strong sense of destiny will become the focal point of most of the dissident elements. The strength of the party in Madras and Travancore-Cochin is such as to make stable governments difficult. Emergency rule of the states under Article 356 of the Constitution is possible but the CPI might then gain even greater support by casting the central government in the role of oppressor and by playing upon the distrust of state versus central government and the traditional friction between south and north. In the House of the People the number of seats controlled by the CPI is too small to handicap the passage of legislation, but as a number of the members are extremely vocal they are assured of the widest kind of hearing for their party views and propaganda and for their attempts to harass and embarrass the government. (53-13)

The Communist Party of India is still relatively small and is not in a position to oust the present government. Nevertheless, its vociferous exploitation of these bases of urban and rural discontent enabled it to score some impressive victories during the 1951-52 elections, particularly in South India. The CPI has been drawing its main body of recruits and organizers from the ranks of students and discontented middle-class elements, who in turn are used to exploit the broader situation of rural, urban or regional discontent. The grievances which the Communists exploit range from grain procurement, the quality and size of the food ration, and burdensome rents and terms of tenancy, to issues involving regional sentiment and pride. But in virtually all of these cases, the Communists have also been exploiting the lack of contact between Congress Party government officials and the ordinary citizen, particularly in rural areas. The present contacts between government officials and the rural public are still largely confined to land revenue and grain collection and the exercise of police duties, with the result that in the villages the government is still widely regarded as an outside force imposing its will on the public. (55-5)

Tenant grievances against the landlords have long constituted one of the most popular issues for political agitation in rural areas. Before independence the Congress Party took the lead in ventilating these grievances, but now that the Congress Party land reform program has begun to fall short of the highly optimistic expectations of pre-independence days the Communist Party is attempting to step in and organize the peasants. (55-3)

In the past Indian peasants have tended to accept poverty as their inevitable lot, but with improved methods of mass communication and the introduction of the right to vote, a change in the peasant attitude has become noticeable. The communist demonstration of the forcible redistribution

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-24-

of land, notably in the Telengana area of east Hyderabad, continues to harbor explosive possibilities. As opposition parties, particularly the communists, continue to expand their organizations in rural areas the situation can be expected to become increasingly critical, since the government is committed to proceed according to law but is facing serious difficulties in working out the necessary financial solution.  
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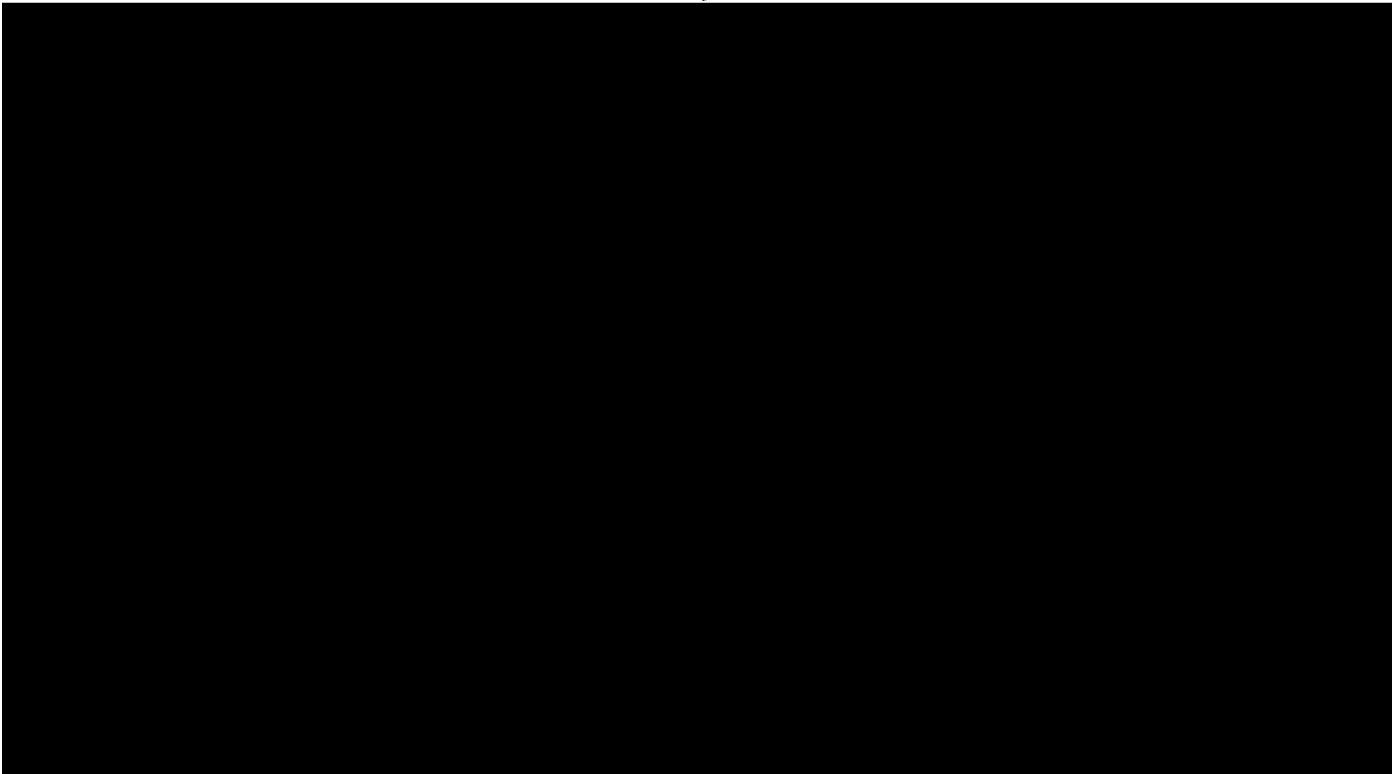


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Labor

One of the basic problems in India today is finding employment for the surplus population on the land. As jobs in city are not usually permanent. The workers tie to the villages, therefore, is essentially an economic one under a family rather than a state system of social security. Wage rates for the unskilled are at a subsistence level, if not below, in terms of the recent rapid increase in the cost of living. (64-3)

Tenancy

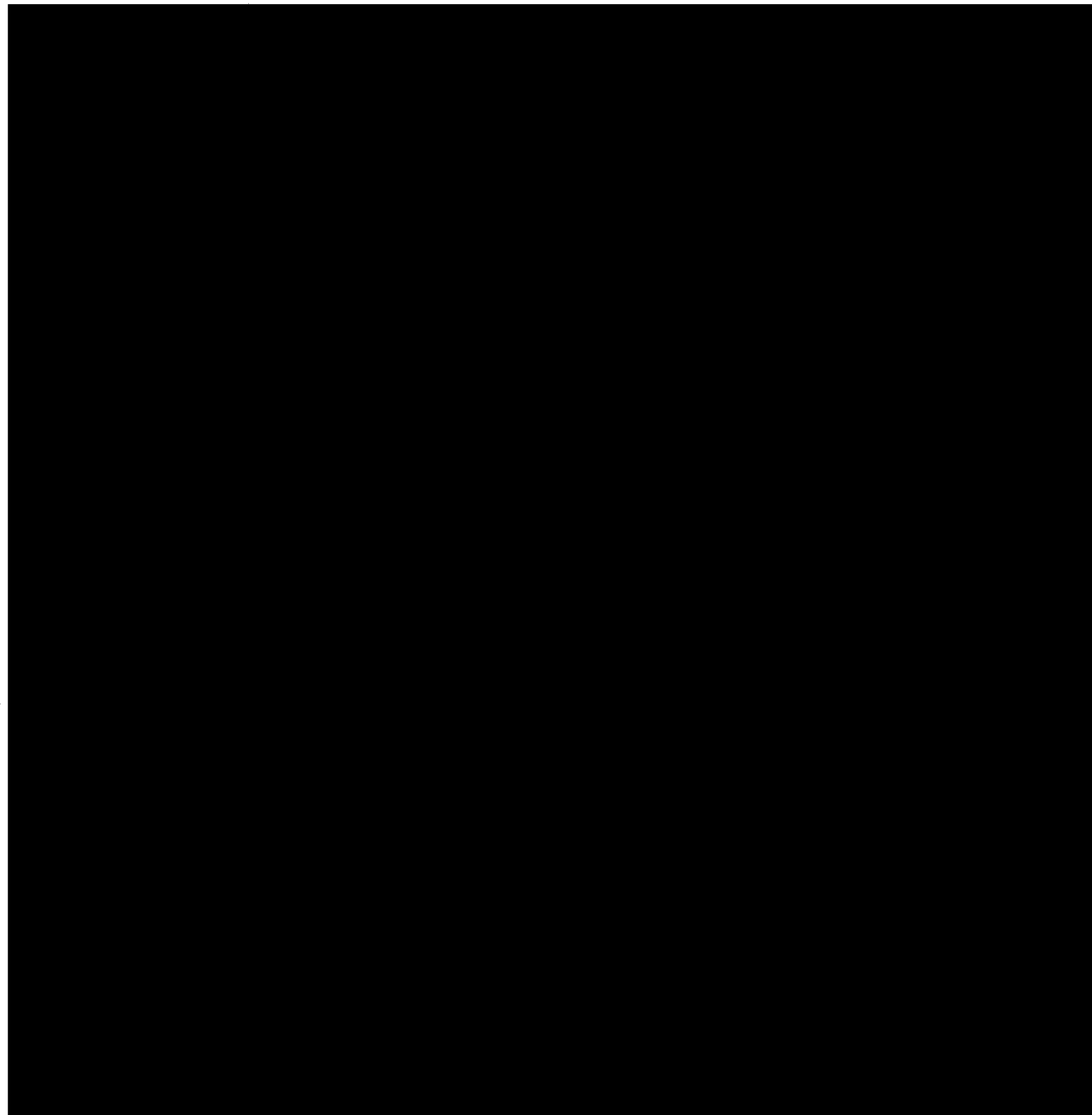
The increasing number of cultivators, along with India's land policy, has led to excessive fragmentation and small, scattered, uneconomical holdings. During political changes and upheavals the Zamindars (intermediaries between state governments and cultivators) and similar landlords acquired control and virtual ownership of much of the land, so that today the great majority of the cultivators do not own the land they till but are either tenants or landless laborers .....The government is also fostering land reform, chiefly in land-ownership. (61-3) Tenant cultivators and agriculture laborers constitute 68% of the total number of agriculturists. At least 12 of the 28 states in India are sponsoring legislature which has as the primary object the abolition of large landowners, the many tax collectors, and the many intermediary tenantholders. Reform is slow and as of July 1, 1952, Uttar Pradesh was the only state to go beyond legislation. (61-16,17)

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-27-

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The Government of India follows the policy of training Indian students in Great Britain to supplant British technicians. Efforts are being made to obtain telecom specialists from the United States. Technical training centers and schools for communication specialists are listed and number of students and location of each is given.

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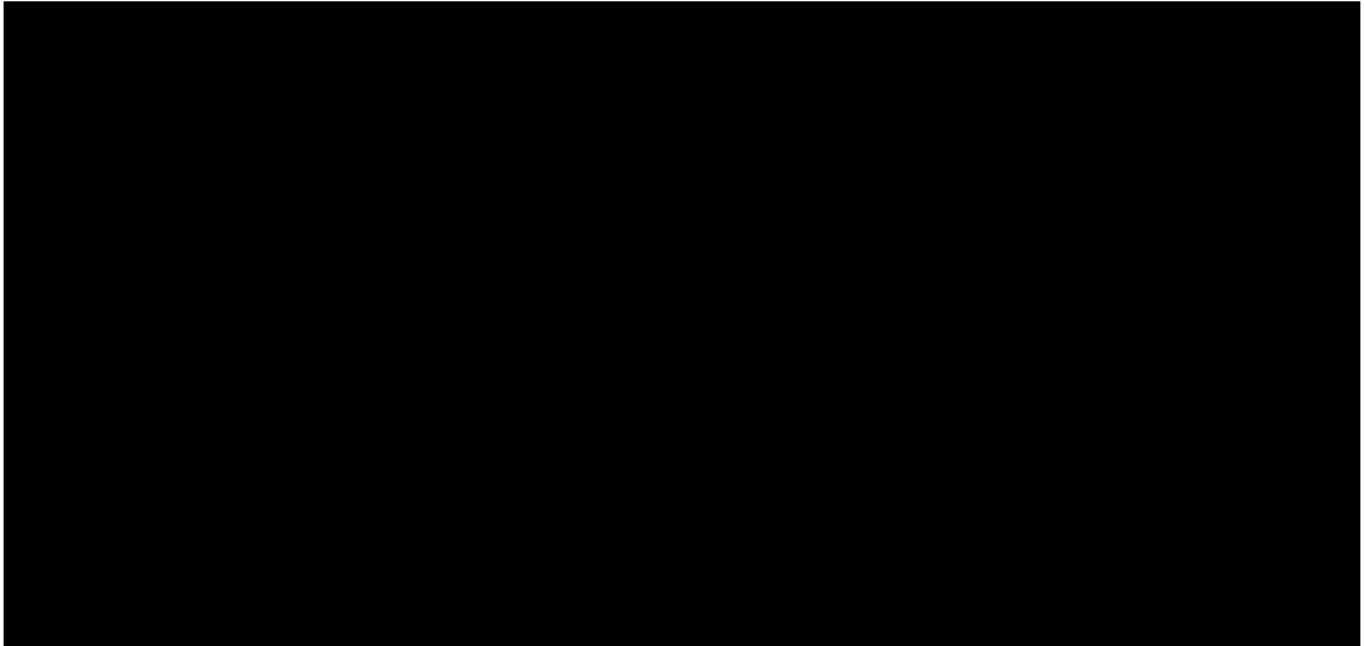
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-28-

India has an infant telecom industry employing about 20,000 workers. Large scale industrial training is conducted by the Government in the nearly complete telephone factory at Bangalore where about 70% of the 16,000 Government telecom employees produce and assemble components for automatic telephones. The major industrial facilities consist of three large P & T workshops, a Government owned automatic telephone factory, and five major privately-owned assembly plants for radio broadcast receivers. (38-5)

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