



Contents of the Statement of S.A.Dange
in the Court of the Additional Sessions
Judge, Meerut Conspiracy Case, Meerut.

What I Believe in

Part I

The Phenomenon of Social Growth and the Class
struggle in the foreign countries, from which
Marxism is derived.

- Section 1 The birth of classes and rise of Capitalism-
Imperialism Para 1- 32/PP 1-101
P.2106
- Section 2 The class struggle of the Proletariat
against Capitalism in the period of the
1st & 2nd International Para 33- 45/PP 101-176
P.2154
- Section 3 The Russian Phase of the Class struggle,
from 1905 to 5 Year Plan. Para 46- 66/PP 177-326
P. 2191
- Section 4 The Direction of the Class struggle in
the Parliamentary Countries. Para 67- 72/PP 327-361
P. 2268

<u>No. of pages</u>	<u>PART I</u>	<u>Name of Heading.</u>
10	<u>Section 1</u>	1. Our object not the same as alleged by the Prosecution.
11		2. Fundamental Proposition of the Communist Manifesto.
14		3. Communism is neither German, Russian nor English.
15		4. Our aim - to replace world Capitalist Economy by a world system of Communism.
16		5. Existing system not eternal.
17		6. Its characteristics - Monopoly of the means of production.
19.		7. Monopoly brought about by force.
19		8. Capitalism civilises - Why then Rebel?
21		9. We appreciate progress under Capitalism
22		10. What makes it now incompatible with progress - nature and society - the process of production.
24		11. Technology, the material measure of progress.
26		12. Instruments determine ideas and classes - Their lay out - they produce a working class after their own image.
30		13. Instruments distribute men.
32		14. Distribution of Capital determines distribution of products.
34		15. Change in technology changes social structure.
35		16. The Superstructure - State, religion, art, etc.
38		17. Ideology.
41		18. Economy and other factors of social life - their relative importance - the view of the Indian bourgeoisie.

- 45 19. Marxism is concerned with changing the basis of economy, not merely the super-structure.
- 48 20. Dialectics.
- 49 21. Causes of the conquest of India as given by the Maratha historians - they are not causes but the description of symptoms and after effects.
- 52 22. Why Indian peasantry first fought against Moghal feudalism and then became cold - class oppression restored by their Marhatta feudal leaders.
- 55 23. The work of the British bourgeoisie - overthrow of feudalism.
- 57 24. The bourgeois revolution of 1793 - the role of the peasantry.
- 64 25. Productive forces developed and changed society but did not abolish classes - crises begin.
- 68 26. Development of British Capitalism - expansion of colonies - Capitalism becomes Imperialism.
- 72 27. Meaning of Imperialism - its five qualities.
- 75 28. Imperialist wars - a necessity, not a policy - results of last war - decline of Britain.
- 81 29. Rationalisation - increase in production - latest crisis.
- 86 30. Communist view of crisis - fetishism of commodities - contradiction of productive forces and production relations.
- 91 31. Monopoly of wealth, cause of crisis - monopoly in Britain, U.S.A. and France - share of wages in national incomes.
- 97 32. Distribution to be socialised - who will carry it out - Marxism is the theory of this - six deductions and three results.

- 101 Section 2 33. The early Proletarian Movements up to
Chartism.
- 109 34. Continental Movements - the Communist
League - 1848 Revolutions - The League
disbands - the Cologne Trial.
- 114 35. British Unions - 1st International -
Statutes.
- 119 36. The period of the First International -
American Civil War - Marxist address to
Lincoln, British workers' attitude then
and now.
- 127 37. The Paris Commune.
- 133 38. We stand by the Commune - the French
bourgeoisie killed the French Workers'
Commune.
- 137 39. The Commune and its decrees.
- 144 40. What did Marxism learn from the Commune?
- 149 41. Close of the First International period -
factions in the First International -
growth of the State machine - decline of
Blanquism and Anarchism - International
Congresses - literature of Communism -
works of Marx and Engels.
- 155 42. Founding of the Second International - its
period - The 1914 war and the Second
International.
- 161 43. What it did when war actually broke out -
the role of the Labour Party - the vote
for war credits in Germany.
- 166 44. Attitude of Communists to war - Lenin's
slogans - the work of Leibknecht and Rosa
Luxemburg - the perversion of Lenin's
slogans by the Social Democrats.
- 172 45. Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences -
proposal of founding the Third Interna-
tional - the Russian Revolution.
- 177 Section 3 46. Early Russian developments till 1905.
- 182 47. Rise of various parties - Economists,
Anarchists, Social Democrats etc.

- 186 48. Lenin opposes them - "What is to be done?"
- organisation of professional revolutionaries.
- 193 49. Social Democratic Party organisation -
the Zubatov Unions - January 1905 -
tactics of the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks
- announcement of the Duma.
- 198 50. Lenin and the boycott of the Duma..
- 201 51. The October General Strike - December
Rising - reaction- participation in the
Duma - the liquidators.
- 211 52. Stolypin's Agrarian Reforms - revival of
trade - strikes begin - parties during
reaction - isolation of bourgeois
parties - Bolshevik and Menshevik
divisions - philosophical struggle - the
problems of bourgeois revolution and the
peculiarity of the Russian Revolution.
- 221 53. Russia joins war - the crisis - the
February overthrow - Provisional Govern-
ment and the Soviets - Lenin's return.
- 227 54. The First Soviet Congress - Coalition
Government - July Demonstration -
Kornilov March - Masses turn Left -
Percentage of the Bolsheviks in the
Soviets - Lenin urges Soviets to take
power by peaceful revolution - then calls
upon Bolsheviks insurrection - Peasant
Congress and compromise with the Left
Socialist Revolutionaries.
- 235 55. Land Decree - Brest Peace - Sabotage of
the petty-bourgeoisie - Dispersal of the
Constituent Assembly.
- 244 56. What is International in the Russian
Revolution - tendency to partial acceptance
of Leninism - Lenin shows four specific
conditions of the Russian Revolution -
Leninism is not mere application of
Marxism - the eleven points that enriched
Marxism - Indian tendency to reject
certain points - accept whole or reject
whole - no non-party attitude.

- 254 57. Bolsheviks and Red Terror - how it arose - causes of Allied hatred of the November Revolution - the wild stories against the Soviets - Anarchism of the Bakuninist Anarchists - casualties in Petrograd fighting - no restrictions on political parties except the bourgeois - intervention in Civil War - the S.R. rising and attempt on Lenin's life - Red Terror instituted - Kautsky's books and Lenin's answer to him - formal democracy and dictatorship.
- 263 58. The difference between the economic and political content of bourgeois and proletarian revolutions - did Bolshevism introduce Socialism after October 1917 - October was not a Socialist revolution.
- 270 59. Economic developments and nationalisation - decline from March to November 1917 - arrested by the October Revolution - decline during the civil war.
- 277 60. Decline and war Communism - breakdown of economy - cessation of civil war - currency - agricultural production and wages.
- 283 61. Introduction of NEP - alliance with the middle peasantry - educative functions of the dictatorship.
- 286 62. Restoration of economy without foreign loans - scissors' crisis - solution by lowering cost etc - results as at the 14th Congress, May 1925 and 15th Congress, December 1927 of the C.P.S.U. regarding industry and agriculture.
- 292 63. Construction problems - whence to bring Capital - pre-revolutionary Russia built on foreign Capital - socialist rationalisation - Party Congress discussions to increase industrialisation - collectivisation of agriculture - premature scheme of the opposition - two deviations and the real equilibrium between town and country.
- 296 64. Indices of growth - rates of development high but not so the level of development - comparisons - areas under Soviet & collective farms - Distribution of National Income - wages - hours - no. of workers.

- 300 65. Preparing for war - anti-Soviet Propaganda - Indian bourgeoisie joins in - Paris International Chamber of Commerce on the causes of the world crisis - the Indian professors repeat them - Is Soviet dumping one of them - Litvinoff's reply.
- 312 66. India's trade with the Soviet - adverse balance of Britain - favourable balance of U.S.A. - India's gain of three crores suppressed in official statistics - Government Report and the Soviet Union Year Book - Indian bourgeoisie does not see its own interest - the petty bourgeois attitude - want of technicians in the U.S.S.R. - migration from U.S.A. - the fate of inventors under Capitalism and under the Soviet - wages of technicians - beauty under Socialism and Rama Nand Babu.
- 327 Section 4 67. Experience of Russia exceptional or general - will it be the same in parliamentary countries.
- 329 68. The German rising - murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg - Republic with a Social Democratic Government - the conclusion from it.
- 337 69. The period of proletarian revolutions - revolutions in the smaller countries - France, the classical land of class struggle comes out as the hangman of revolutions - results of these revolutions.
- 341 70. The lesson of the British experience - struggles on the railways, coal mines etc. - the results of Commissions - Triple Alliance - fall in wages - unemployment.
- 347 71. British workers tried two weapons - Labour Government and the General Strike - the achievements of the Labour Government - its fall.
- 352 72. The Coal Crisis - the Samuel Commission - Government preparations and T.U.C. bungling - secret conversations - Soviet help refused - British experience confirms Russian experience - the vote can not stop attack on wages - that the general strike without a revolutionary party has no use - Leninism derived from history.

Part II

- 361 Section 1 73. Role of the individual in the Indian conquest negligible - conquest of superior social groups by the inferior - British not inferior - our standards applied to them are subjective and therefore wrong - no return to pre-British era.
- 366 74. Has Britain civilised us? - introduction of industries - feudalism not destroyed - degeneration of revolutionary slogans - 1857, fight of a revolutionary class under reactionary leadership - what we would have done in 1857?
- 371 75. Do we deplore British conquest? - effect of it - first Company loot - reasons for Crown control in 1858 - British Imperialism expands from the Indian base - commercial and legal forms of loot - why British writers expose British doings in India - sum total of the results of British rule.
- 378 76. Our reasons and policy of national struggle - gains of the British bourgeoisie from India - what loss our independence will cause to them - the basis of some of our resolutions.
- 384 77. All classes here tend to gain from independence - question of revolution raised by whom? - the state of British Imperialism - is it democracy or dictatorship - the apparatus of force - its costs - force matched against whom?
- 391 78. Share of the cost of the machinery of force in the total State expenditure - Dictatorship begins to assume constitutional forms - consolidation of the bourgeoisie - association of the feudal class in its work.
- 397 79. Development of the radical bourgeois and petty bourgeoisie - the influence of 1905 - attitude of the Dictatorship - evolving into a constitutional autocracy - difference between our "Democratic Dictatorship" and their "constitutional Dictatorship".
- 401 80. The formula of August 1917 - the hoodwinking inquiry - 1919 Reforms - wide basis of class alliance.

- 405 81. Enfranchisement does not give power to the bourgeoisie over the machinery of force - voted and non-voted budgets - certification by the Viceroy - 73 years of progress - Dictatorship the same.
- 409 Section 2 82. Attitude of the bourgeoisie - early Home Rule demand - loyalty to the Empire in the war boycott of the first Assembly - Swaraj Party and the second Assembly - Difference between their entry in the Assembly and that of the Bolsheviks in the Duma - wrecking the Dictatorship by the constitutional vote.
- 416 83. No-changers and Left liquidators not comparable and not correct - opposition gives way to cooperation and acceptance of office - by 1926 Indian bourgeoisie participates in the rule of Imperialism completely.
- 418 84. Simon Commission - repression and turn to the Left - revival of boycott fails - the talk of "action" of the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C.
- 422 85. Indian bourgeoisie and British Imperialism ask us to follow the constitutional example - what classes sit there? - legislation according to their interests - legislative gains of ten years - temporary policy of protection - Royal Commissions and Committees.
- 430 86. The Tariff Board and war policy - steel, chemicals etc - other big branches of production not in the hands of the Indian bourgeoisie - still their attitude to labour and peasant legislation hostile - success in furthering their class gain through the legislatures very poor - hence transference of the struggle outside the constitution and amongst the people.
- 437 87. The economic struggle even of the bourgeoisie necessarily becomes political - examples of the control of the Imperial Bank & Chartered Bank - deposits policy - refusal of further liberalisation of the Dictatorship forces the bourgeoisie into opposition.

- 443 88. Does it then lead to the revolution? - the idea of bourgeois independence - Canada and Britain as examples - is separatism a mere sentiment or a material objective necessity?
- 450 89. The nature of workers' and peasants independence as found in our programmes - can we not postpone the class struggle for a time till we have overthrown Imperialism - there is no rule for bourgeois development like that of England or Japan for our bourgeoisie - hence the class struggle is forced to the front.
- 454 Section 3 90. The bourgeois programme regarding removal of the poverty of the masses - the main points of the problem - the drain of wealth - high land revenue - debts - absence of rural banking - adverse currency.
- 460 91. The state of the Punjab peasantry as an example - what does increased productivity lead to? economic holdings will only displace two million peasants in the Punjab - where to find place for them?
- 465 92. Moneylenders - rural banking is money-lending - our fundamental problem - who swallows the surplus?
- 468 93. Stratification of the peasantry - concentration of land in the hands of the rich owners - where is the lost purchasing power locked? - an example under Batai cultivation in Lyallpur.
- 475 94. How landowners were imported in the colony to form a bulwark for imperialism - their increasing numbers - cause of peasants' indebtedness - capitalist rule and break up of village communes into individual holdings - money rent.
- 481 95. Effect of money economy as we read it - crops brought under the rule of the capitalist exchange market - the demand for reduction of land revenue and its meaning.
- 486 96. The land revenue in India - The two systems - what does our support to the demand for reduction of land revenue mean?

- 494 97. The class struggle inside the anti-Imperialist struggle in Bardoli - the Dublas and Dharalas - what it means in U.P. & Bengal? - rents and the feudal class - Indian bourgeois interest opposed to feudalism.
- 508 98. Pandit Jawahar Lal's opinion - his welcome to landowners - even if feudalism is substituted by capitalism - expropriation of the peasantry through the capitalist market remains.
- 516 99. Some utterances on the complete ruin of the peasantry and its inability to pay rent due to fall in prices - examples from U.P., Bengal, the Punjab and Karnatic.
- 524 100. The bourgeois intellectual will object to deduce from this that the bourgeoisie through its prices machinery expropriates the peasant.
- 533 Section 4 101. The position of the petty bourgeoisie - incapable of revolutionary struggle - not being a class it uses caste - the bankruptcy of their programme with regard to the masses - gives way to our programme.
- 544 102. The class of small traders and artisans - their programme of charkha revival - why we have disliked it?
- 554 103. The material conditions of the working class which force it into class struggle, economic and political.
- 564 104. Inciting class war - models of class war and other questions.
- 568 105. "Outside connection" - the unnecessary part of the indictment.