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## СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

|   |    |
|---|----|
| <i>Черешнева Л.А.</i> «Феномен Кералы», или «красное правительство» в штате Республики Индия .....  | 7  |
| <i>Вилисов М.В.</i> «Силовое поле» международных отношений российской науки: между Западом и Югом.....  | 16 |
| <i>Вантеевский М.М.</i> Роль антиколониальной риторики в социально-политической антиутопии XX века .....  | 42 |
| <i>Матюнков Е.С., Лунин А.Е.</i> Современная специфика формирования национально-государственной идентичности как части политической социализации..... | 57 |

## CONTENTS

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <i>Larisa A. Chereshneva. “The Kerala Phenomenon”, or the “Red Government” in the State of the Republic of India.....</i>                            | <i>7</i>  |
| <i>Maxim V. Vilisov. “The Power Field” in International Affairs of Russian Science: between “The West” and “The South” .....</i>                     | <i>16</i> |
| <i>Makar M. Vanteyevsky. The role of anti-colonial rhetoric in the social and political dystopia of the 20th century .....</i>                       | <i>42</i> |
| <i>Yegor S. Matiunkov, Andrey Ye. Lunin. Contemporary peculiarities of the national identity formation as a part of political socialization.....</i> | <i>57</i> |

## **«ФЕНОМЕН КЕРАЛЫ», ИЛИ «КРАСНОЕ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВО» В ШТАТЕ РЕСПУБЛИКИ ИНДИЯ**

**Лариса Александровна ЧЕРЕШНЕВА**

профессор Липецкого государственного педагогического университета  
им. П.П. Семенова-Тян-Шанского,  
398020, ул. Ленина, 42/2, г. Липецк, Российская Федерация  
E-mail: [larisa-chereshneva@rambler.ru](mailto:larisa-chereshneva@rambler.ru)  
ORCID: 0000-0002-1491-4968

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**Аннотация.** Сегодня коммунистическое движение в мире изучать почти перестали. Это крайность, такая же, как его апологетика или отрицание. История Коммунистической партии Индии в первые десятилетия ее независимости представляет научный интерес для объективно-критического анализа, так как связана с переломными моментами развития этой восточной страны: с борьбой против британских колонизаторов, международным коммунистическим движением в ходе Второй мировой войны, обретением суверенитета и государственным строительством.

Как относились коммунисты Индии к политике премьер-министра Джавахарлала Неру и его правящей партии – Индийского национального конгресса? Менялось ли это отношение за годы его правления? Удалось ли коммунистам завоевать симпатии индийцев и показать себя не только на баррикадах, но в управлении, каждодневной муниципальной работе? Полезны ли были коммунисты для своего народа?

«Феномен Кералы», нахождение коммунистов у власти на уровне штата актуальны для изучения демократического развития постколониальных мультикультурных обществ. Основываясь на документальных материалах Национального архива Индии и опубликованных источниках, автор приходит к выводу, что отказ от насильственных форм борьбы и переход к парламентским методам, несмотря на все допущенные ошибки, позволили Коммунистической партии Индии стать влиятельной партией и внести свой вклад в развитие индийской демократии на всей территории федерации.

**Ключевые слова:** Индия, правительство Неру, Коммунистический интернационал, Коммунистическая партия Индии, всеобщие выборы в Индии 1957 г., Керала, Э.М.Ш. Намбудирипад.

## **“THE “KERALA PHENOMENON”, OR THE “RED GOVERNMENT” IN THE STATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

**Larisa A. CHERESHNEVA**

Professor of Lipetsk State Pedagogical P.P. Semenov-Tyan-Shansky University,  
398020, 42/2, Lenin Street, Lipetsk, Russian Federation  
E-mail: [larisa-chereshneva@rambler.ru](mailto:larisa-chereshneva@rambler.ru)  
ORCID: 0000-0002-1491-4968

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**Abstract.** Today, the communist movement in the world has almost ceased to be studied. This is an extreme, the same as his apologetics or denial. The history of the Communist Party of India in the first decades of its independence is of scientific interest for objective and critical analysis, as it is associated with turning points in the development of this eastern country: the struggle against the British colonialists, the international communist movement during World War II, the acquisition of sovereignty and state-building. The freedom of India was achieved in 1947, was accompanied by the sectarian division into two states – India and Pakistan, and cost many human sacrifices. In the 1950 s, multiparty India adopted a constitution, became a republic, a federation of states, with a strong center and autonomous administrative units.

How did the communists of India feel about the policies of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and his ruling party, the Indian National Congress? Has this attitude changed over the years of his rule? Has the Communist Party of India managed to win the sympathy of Indians and prove itself not only on the barricades, but also in management and daily municipal work? Were the communists useful to their people? The “Kerala phenomenon” of communists in power at the state level is relevant for studying the democratic development of postcolonial multicultural societies. Based on the documentary material of the National Archives of India and published sources, the author concludes that the rejection of violent forms of struggle and the transition to parliamentary methods, despite all the mistakes, allowed the Communist party of India to become an influential party and contribute to the development of Indian democracy throughout the federation.

**Keywords:** India, Nehru Government, Communist International, Communist Party of India, Indian general election of 1957, Kerala, E.M.S. Namboodiripad.

The Communist Party of India (CPI), established in the 1920 s, had gone through a long and contradictory development path by the mid-1950 s: the struggle against British colonialism and, after the British left, against the Nehru government. The CPI was in opposition to



the bourgeois-democratic ruling Indian National Congress (INC), a party that played a crucial role in the country's national movement towards independence under the leadership of respected leaders Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru. The CPI operated under the auspices of the Communist International, and after its dissolution, the structures of the international communist movement, under the influence of the Communist Party of the USSR and the Communist Party of China [People's "Warrior", 2014]. Following the Comintern, it criticized the Indian bourgeoisie and the INC for cooperating with Great Britain, preserving capitalism and private property in the country, and for repressions against communists [Documents on History of the Communist Party of India, 1976].

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Indian communists began to use the "revolutionary experience" of the Chinese Communist Party, organizing or supporting peasant uprisings, creating workers' and peasants' guerrilla groups, seizing property and land from landlords, waging a real war against the Nehru government. The largest movements were in Telangana, Tebhaga in Bengal, and the creation of the Red Army in Kashmir [Chereshneva, 2018, p. 351–357]. Since the early 1950s the party received instructions from Moscow to switch to peaceful, parliamentary methods and launched a restructuring of its tactics, began to conduct socially oriented propaganda of communism, the elimination or restriction of private property through compensation and redemption by the state, and reforms in the interests of the poorest segments of the population. Moscow recommended that the CPI forget about the "immediate revolution", soften its harsh rhetoric against the Nehru government, and seek an alliance with other "progressive forces" to finally oust colonialism [NAI, file N 88, R@T, p. 113]. The armed struggle was finally curtailed, and in 1951, the leader of the "moderates", Ajoy Ghosh, was elected as the new General Secretary. He had to set a course to create a united democratic front and support the progressive transformations of the Nehru government.

The CPI has begun preparations for participation in the upcoming general elections, paying attention to the task of winning the votes of the people during the campaign. At the same time, the CPI pointed out on its forum that "while in fact universal suffrage for the adult population was enshrined in the Constitution of India, and it can and will be used by the people, to declare that only elections in accordance with this Constitution can put an end to landlord-capitalist rule in this coun-

try and imperialist rule over the lives of its citizens is a deception.” [Adhikari, 1971, p. 112]. The new CPI Program was adopted at the All India Conference [Documents on History of the Communist Party of India, 1976, p. 959, 970–971]. According to it Ajoy Ghosh and his associates emphasized that “our revolution is a democratic revolution, the core of which is the agrarian revolution... This revolution must take place under the leadership of the working class and its party, in alliance with the peasantry and all anti-imperialist forces, including the national bourgeoisie.” [Documents on History of the Communist Party of India, 1976, p. 970–971; see also: Kutsobin, 1985].

The popularity of the CPI in society began to grow, and the results of the 1957 Indian general election were an impressive phenomenon from the point of view of political history. The ruling INC further strengthened its position in the country, managing to gain 47.8% of the vote and receiving 361 deputy mandates in the People's Chamber of Parliament (Lok Sabha). The CPI took the second place at the national level, receiving 8.9% of the vote and 27 seats, respectively [Sinha, 1968, p. 290]. The election results showed a significant increase in the influence of the Communists among the Indian electorate, and a shift in public opinion in the country. However, an even more unique feature of the 1957 election campaign was the victory of the leftist forces led by the Communist Party in Kerala.

Kerala, a state located in South-Western India, was a densely populated area with more than 13 million inhabitants. Being supporters of democracy in their understanding and at the same time declaring the preservation of time-tested “correct” traditions in Kerala, promising the people “life, as in Russia and China, under communism,” the CPI leaders gathered numerous supporters into the ranks of the party. Using the fact of the visit of Russian leaders N.S. Khrushchev and N.A. Bulganin to India in 1955 [NAI, file N 1(156). EUR/55, p. 1–7], the CPI tried to convince people of the expediency of voting for the Communists, for the prosperity and well-being of the people. In Kerala, the Communists were most successful in rallying the majority of the population around them.

The reasons for the success of the leftist forces in Kerala were a number of factors. The overpopulation (654 people per 1 square km) typical of this state was affected. The state ranked 1 st in the country in terms of literacy rate: 69.2% compared to the Indian average of 36.2%, but it also led in the number of unemployed among the states of the country (mainly people with secondary and higher education). Kerala was the last in terms of per capita income [Nilov, 1987, p. 22]. A significant number of educated