

Unsolicited Confessions-Despicable Performance

Opportunists in North America Jump out to Rescue Their Indian Friends

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The following is a continuation of the article "Unsolicited Confessions — Despicable Performance" as serialized in PCDN. Previous portions of the article were printed in PCDN Vol. 6, Nos. 91, 92 and 93.

"IPANA opportunists continue with their mystification: "The occasion was particularly significant. IPANA had just concluded its three-day long first Annual General Convention. Delegates from as many as eleven IPANA organizations had participated in the convention from many fraternal organizations and observers from many fraternal organizations had participated in the Convention. It was a convention to consolidate IPANA's, resolve and to forge greater and greater unity among the patriotic Indians, and between them and the many progressive forces in North America, England and Europe. The convention was supported by numerous fraternal organizations and parties. The General Secretary of the Indian Workers' Association in Great Britain, who was unable to attend due to mounting racial tensions there, sent IPANA his speech and a strong message of solidarity." So "IPANA concludes their "success" story. "To this growing solidarity for IPANA and for the Indian people, the CPC(M-L) responded by drawing all its goons and thugs from all over Canada into Vancouver. The increasing position of the CPC(M-L) was to be checked by full-fledged fascist terror, similar to what Indira and her gang had to do in India." So, we ask, opportunist m's, if you enjoy such a "growing solidarity" then why all this fascist hysteria and slander against CPC(M-L)? Especially when the occasion was particularly significant when despite your public relations job, you singularly failed to mobilize any significant support from the East Indian community and as far as your "fraternal organizations and parties" are concerned, it is your own delusion that by getting together those who were always opposed to the armed agrarian revolution led by CP(M-L) under the leadership of Cagraze, Charu, Anurag, you are "gaining support" and "isolating" those who support armed agrarian revolution led by CP(M-L) as the key to unlock the people's democratic revolution. The number of "delegates," according to our information, the information gained by actually going right into the opportunist lair, is at the maximum 17. And the manner in which a "delegate" was selected can be grasped by the example of the sample of "chairperson" brother who went from Saskatoon. This individual has no politics except that of politics of being the brother of the "chairperson," that is he will carry out certain behests of the "chairperson." There is no support in the Indian community in Saskatoon and no function of "IPANA." The situation is the same with other "units." We have detailed information regarding the functioning of "IPANA" units all across North America, and especially in Canada. We are quite conscious of their "units" in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. The fact that they have no support from the Indian community is the reason why they created this provocation in Vancouver on August 14, 1976. Revulsion of just one of their provocations by IWM has caused them such fear that they are already panic-stricken. We say to these opportunist sirs, how about a deal? Why not leave CPC(M-L) alone and carry on with your own business with every regressive force? But, the opportunists are aware that reality is quite different. They are not alone. They are aided and abetted by CPC(M-L) and its many branches. CPC(M-L) is not isolated from revolutionary masses. CPC(M-L) is not afraid of the opportunists. On the contrary, it is the opportunists who are afraid of the growing influence of CPC(M-L). CPC(M-L) is developing bi-lateral fraternal relations with many revisionist and revolutionary parties and groups from all continents but most significantly, it is developing fraternal problems of social revolution in Canada. In one city, CPC(M-L) has small units in over thirty-five work places and it is currently building mass character branches as a prelude to the forthcoming historic Third Congress.

As far as East Indian groups are concerned, their influence is growing fast as well. The Indian groups which work together are as follows:

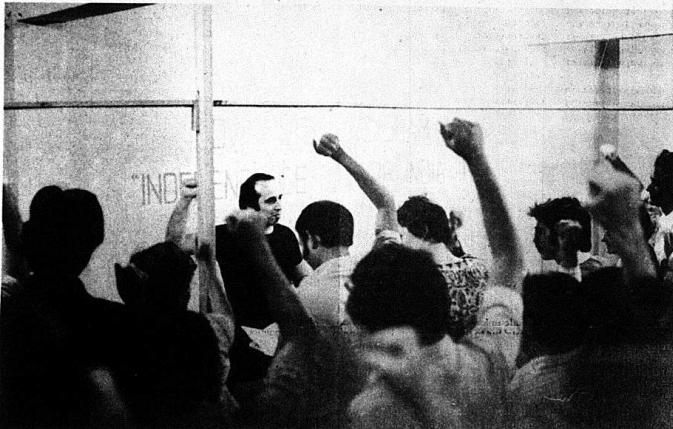
Hindustani Ghadar Party (Marxist-Leninist)—Organization of Indian revolutionaries abroad. It is the leader of all the other mass organizations. The mass organizations are Indian Workers' Movement, the mass organization of Indian workers resident abroad founded in 1971; Indian Progressive Study Group, a mass organization of the Indian intellectuals abroad; and East Indian Defence Committee, the mass organization of the Indian community in Canada. CPC(M-L) exercises total organizational control even though the most militant and self-sacrificing members come from HGR(M-L) and its mass organizations. Through the work of HGR(M-L) and its mass organizations, it politically and otherwise influences EIDC and other organizations of the Indian community. As far as units of HGR(M-L), IWM and IPGS are concerned, we have a greater understanding of their activities. Because of the formation of these units of Indian organizations, HGR(M-L) is dealing with a problem concerning the Indian revolution. A highly successful conference on Indian State and Revolution was held in Montreal from August 22 to September 1. The content of this conference is now being concentrated into a book which should be available to our readers by the end of October 15, ten days before the next conference on State and Revolution, to be held in Toronto from December 24 to January 2, 1976. Furthermore, thousands of dollars are being collected to support our comrades who are delaying death and overcoming all difficulties and are organizing armed agrarian revolution. The enthusiasm of the Indian people for armed agrarian revolution is such that they are ready to engage in a struggle. They have donated all their savings for Indian revolution and on top of this provide part of their salaries every month. The enthusiasm of Indian revolutionary intellectuals is no less. Within less than a year, over seventy intellectuals have come from the Northeast of the U.S. to engage in CPC(M-L) discussions as to what they should do in Indian revolution. Many more want to come but the comrades of HGR(M-L) are engaged in too much work, and the process is actually somewhat slowed because of it. Hundreds of Indian revolutionaries have engaged Comrade Bains in discussions concerning their participation in the Indian revolution all across Canada. It is this mass support for HGR(M-L), IWM, IPGS and the defence organization of the community, EIDC, which is driving the opportunists of "IPANA" into such a frenzy.

As for the vile accusation that IWM mobilized all its "goons" etc. from all over Canada, it is a straightforward concoction as well. IWM had a mass demonstration, a picket and a demonstration against the reactionary meeting on August 14 in Toronto. The same night, a mass meeting was held in Montreal and a picket and a demonstration were held in Ottawa on August 15, 1976. (see photos 14-17). On the contrary, as "IPANA" which had collected all their "goons" from all over North America and even then their number did not exceed 17 in their "convention" and the number of those attending in their provocation against IWM on August 14, 1976 was far less. The entire East Indian community ignored their "demonstration" as well as "rally" in the evening. The opportunists were left talking to one another.

As far as the question of solidarity is concerned, let us tell the opportunist sirs what we think of solidarity. Solidarity is a class question. It is not independent of classes. Opportunists of all countries are in solidarity with one another, while the Marxist-Leninists are in solidarity with one another. The opportunists are looking at the question of solidarity very superficially in order to



14. A demonstration of over two hundred strong was organized in Ottawa by IWM to picket the Indian High Commissioner's Office and to demonstrate outside the Soviet socialist-imperialist embassy and the embassy of the U.S. imperialists on August 15, 1976. The photo shows demonstrators militantly demonstrating in front of the office of the Indian High Commissioner.



15. A meeting to denounce the sham "Independence Day" of India was held in Montreal on August 14. The photo shows a comrade from the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) vigorously leading

deceive the people. This is their class nature. Opportunists are very glib and now that they can call themselves "Marxist-Leninists" as well and then attack the genuine Marxist-Leninists for the purposes of creating confusion. As far as India is concerned, the genuine Marxist-Leninists are those who are raising the bright red banner of Naxalbari, of armed agrarian revolution, of people's democratic revolution, even higher. We are united with these Marxist-Leninists, with their ideas, thoughts, their line, programme and action of armed agrarian revolution, the key to unlock the people's democratic revolution, while the opportunists are isolated from their ideas, thoughts, line and action. Opportunists have hoisted their yellow flag of class-collaboration, "restoration of democracy" etc. They are a temporary and superficial phenomenon, a counter-current, while we are the lasting and the main current. Indeed, when they claim that we are isolated from them and their "parties and organizations" they are very correct. We are isolated from the yellow flag of class-collaboration and capitulationism. And they are isolated from our cause. We wish them luck in their isolation and we even give them a little push in their endeavour, but they must not look towards us for mercy. They must go down in history as champions of the yellow banner on their own. We are very happy with our isolation from them.

"IPANA opportunists declare that "CPC(M-L) has only exposed itself and has further isolated itself from progressive people." Thank you, opportunist sirs for your observation. We would like to be further isolated from those with whom you are "united." Good luck! This was amply demonstrated at IPANA's public meeting on the evening of the 14th of August, when speaker after speaker solidly denounced the fascist tactics of CPC (M-L) and Indian revolution. While IWM was isolated from its enemies. This is another delusion of "IPANA." They organized this provocation against IWM with prior consultation and in collusion with those whom they call "speaker after speaker." First off the enemies of CPC(M-L), IWM and Indian revolution got together to organize this cause forward to "IPANA" as their willing tool and then they came forward to "express" militant solidarity with themselves. Excellent proof of CPC(M-L)'s isolation from its enemies! There was no proof in the evening of August 14. In another rally, organized by IWM, over three hundred people (close to two hundred of whom were East Indians) militantly came forward to support IWM and Indian revolution. While IWM was isolated from its enemies. "IPANA" was isolated from the people it claims to represent. This is the real cause of the desperation on the part of "IPANA."

"IPANA" now let us deal with what "IPANA" is all about politically. Here, we analyze each sentence of the next paragraph one by one in a series. "IPANA is engaged in the noble task of mobilizing support for the struggles of the Indian people for a New Democratic India." A straightforward lie. According to "IPANA, bourgeois democratic revolution in India has already taken place. There is one ruling class of big bourgeoisie and landlords in India, according to the "IPANA. New democratic revolution is bourgeois democratic revolution of the new type, a revolution led by the proletariat. This revolution has not exhausted itself in countries like India, but is the order of the day. In a country which is semi-feudal and semi-colonial like India, the national bourgeoisie is incapable of completing the bourgeois democratic revolution. It is more afraid of revolution than of imperialism and feudalism. So it betrays the revolution. Only the proletariat can bring bourgeois democratic revolution to completion. This anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolution, the bourgeois democratic revolution of a new type is part of world

the denunciation of the dark role of the big landlords and foreign dependent capitalists, Soviet social-imperialist and U.S. imperialism.

socialist revolution. "IPANA does not stand for that. There are two questions concerning analysis of concrete conditions and the character and motives of forces of Indian revolution which differentiates Marxism-Leninism from revisionism and other forms of opportunism. Number one is the character of the Indian state. Is it independent? Did India win "independence" on August 15, 1947? The second question concerns the character of agriculture in the countryside. Is the relations of production in the countryside of feudal character or of capitalist character? The question boils down to this. Is feudalism the social basis on which imperialism is based in India? Is the main contradiction between the people of India and imperialism, or is the main contradiction between the bourgeoisie and proletariat? Are the motives forces of social revolution in India the relations of production in the countryside? (10) Why did the proletarian and its Party, or are the motive forces something else? Should Indian revolution follow the general path of Chinese revolution, that is fortifying the countryside and then take over the cities or is the general path something else? These are fundamental questions on which "IPANA" has taken the same position as the revisionist Communist Party of India and the other revisionist Communist Party of India calling itself "Marxist", that is CPI and CP(M). Both consider India to be an independent country and that India is going along the path of "independent national capitalist development". Now let us see what "IPANA" opportunists state on the question. The "political resolution" of "IPANA" states: "Although the (India) attained political independence in 1947 after a prolonged and arduous struggle by her people against British colonialism, this independence did not fulfill the genuine economic, political and cultural aspirations of her people." (11) Why did this "independence" not fulfill the genuine economic, political and cultural aspirations of her people? "IPANA" opportunists cannot explain.

The question of independence of India is examined by "IPANA" very superficially. The question of genuine independence of India is to distort reality to the maximum. To call this "independence" of the new type has been completed or not. Neither was 1947 the conclusion and consummation of the bourgeois democratic revolution of any type nor has the bourgeois democratic revolution been completed since. India remained a neo-colony of former feudalism remained the social base in the countryside. Anti-colonial revolutions like the ones which were necessary in India, are actually revolutions to solve the agrarian question, the land question in the countryside. Did the ruling classes of India which took power in 1947 sort out the agrarian question? No, they aggravated it further, and the agrarian question has become more acute.

The transfer of "power" from the British colonialists to the Indian National Congress took place amidst the carnage of partition of the country, trampling under foot the rights of various nationalities and in the midst of massive national betrayal of the Indian people and betrayal of the interests of the peasantry. To call this "independence" is to distort reality to the maximum. What was the class composition of the Indian National Congress to whom the British "colonialists entrusted "power"? Just to name a few names of the ministers, for example, Sardar Baldev Singh, defence minister of India, a feudal Raj Kumar Amrit Kaur, another feudal lord. The British handed the colonial state to two classes of people which it groomed during its long period of colonial rule in India. These classes are the big bourgeoisie, the comprador and bureaucrat capitalists, and big

landlords. It is these classes which were the closest allies of the British and were more afraid of the Indian revolution than of the British. It is these classes which were entrusted with political power after the direct British colonial rule in India. These classes are also the sworn enemies of the Indian people. Internationally, they are allied with imperialism and social-imperialism and at their service, and nationally they viciously exploit and slaughter the Indian people, especially the peasantry. The conservation of colonial and semi-feudal rule in India into semi-colonial and semi-feudal under indirect British rule was the only way the British colonialists could hang onto India and this was a great anti-Indian betrayal and treachery on the part of the Indian ruling classes. The leadership of the Indian National Congress represented the interests of the comprador and bureaucrat capitalists and big landlords and the interests of the British and other imperialist powers.

This is how *Liberation*, a revolutionary journal of the Indian people which represented the line of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) after it was founded in May, 1969 writes about 1947. Under the militant title, "The Shackles of 1947 Must Be Smashed!"

"Twenty two years ago the contradiction between the Indian people and British imperialism became so acute that it erupted into an unprecedentedly violent revolutionary storm which swept through the country. A most significant thing was that, for the first time in 90 years after the Great Revolt of 1857, masses of soldiers, navies ratings and air force men openly participated in revolutionary activities against their hated imperialist oppressors. This fact completely changed the character of the movement in two important respects. 1) The National Congress led by the Right-wing reactionaries, Gandhi-Nehru-Patel-Rajendra-Prasad-Rajagopalachari, became unable to keep the upper hand over their contractor and 2) the British imperialists were not only deprived of the help of this clique through which they used to disrupt the people's movements from within, but they also became militarily to suppress the roused people from without. The situation of the government was completely favourable for the Indian people and extremely dangerous for the imperialists. The common fear of the impending revolution brought the imperialist and the reactionary Congress leaders, representing the feudal and reactionary bourgeois interests, together. Jointly they set about opposing and slowing back the revolutionary tide. When the people were fighting heroic battles in the cities and many rural areas against the ferocious blood oppression by the British and eagerly working for their overthrow, Nehru, Patel and other reactionary Congress leaders looked the people openly and obediently joined the so-called Interim Government as apprentices under British viceroys (Wavel). (11) This article fully exposes the kind of "independence" which was granted to the Indian National Congress and the role of revisionism. We reproduce the entire article as an appendix to this article.

The same year as *Liberation* carried this article, the revisionists of CPI held their so-called Eighth Congress. This congress repeated the revisionist thesis on the character of the Indian state. The revisionists state in their political resolution: "The basic features that characterize the economic and political developments in our country since the last Congress of our Party centre on the fact that the socialist path of development pursued by the congress rulers during the 20 years of Indian independence has entered the phase of a acute crisis, engulfing the whole country in its ruinous all-pervasive consequences." (12)

When the Marxist-Leninists organized their Eighth Congress in May of 1970, they pointed out in their Programme of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist): "The country was partitioned amidst communal carnage and the Congress leadership representing the comprador bourgeoisie and big landlords, was installed in power while the British imperialists stepped into the background. The sharp independence of 1947 was nothing but a replacement of the old colonial semi-feudal set-up with a semi-colonial and semi-feudal one." (13)

Now "IPANA" opportunists are hell-bent on revising the analysis of CPC(M-L) and supporting revisionism. But, in this, they are not only failing to go through, for example, they write that India "attained independence in 1947", then they call it "independence" and call India "neo-colonial". In their next sentence they state "Neo-colonialism replaced colonialism". But, dear sirs, you have just told the world that India "attained independence" and then you get afraid of your self-exposure and add the sentence "Neo-colonialism replaced colonialism". But this covering up job on our part is very clumsy as you constantly propagate the counter-revolutionary line that the Indian people did gain some "fundamental" and "democratic rights". Now let us leave this issue of independence alone for a moment and analyze the next issue.

Which class is the ruling class in India? The ruling classes are the classes of big bourgeoisie, the comprador and bureaucrat capitalists, and big landlords. The two classes make up the ruling classes of India. Because the bourgeois democratic revolution has not taken place in India, the national bourgeoisie is weak and it vacillates between supporting the proletariat and foreign imperialists and the people and nation of India. The national bourgeoisie is not part of the ruling classes in India.

In all their references to the ruling classes in India, the "IPANA" opportunists are talking about one ruling class, the class of capitalist class. This is a revisionist line. The ruling classes in India are of both town and country, the industrial and commerce and the hinter. The political resolution of "IPANA" states: "With the active collaboration of the class (emphasis ours) of big landlords and capitalists..." (14) This is not a typing error or a slip of the pen but a conscious revisionist line to mislead the people. It is repeated time and time again. Right from its very first issue to its last issue, "IPANA" origin is full of this Trotskyist trash. We present the following examples to illustrate the point:

a. The very first article of their mouth-piece says: "Therefore the emergency measures are to be taken as further desperate acts by the ruling bourgeoisie and the 'new' rural landlords to consolidate their hegemony over the people of India..." In conclusion, Mrs. Gandhi's government has taken these dictatorial steps in an attempt to consolidate the rule of the big bourgeoisie and the new landlords." (15) This word "new" simply tells the entire Indian people that the "IPANA" opportunists, the feudal relations of production in the countryside have already been transformed into capitalist relations and the "new" landlords, the capitalist landlords, in place of feudal landlords, have come into being. This is a straightforward Trotskyist analysis.

b. They repeat the same in their issue number 5: "The Indian ruling class (our emphasis) has embarked on the path of fascist dictatorship." (16) Further, in the same issue, "The emergency was declared because of the acute struggle between factions of the ruling class itself and between the ruling class and the people." (17) "IPANA" opportunists are not only lying to the people but they are also lying to the people's class dominant section of the ruling class representative Mrs. Gandhi and supported by Soviet social-imperialism" and "... has not gone against the present ruling class." (18)

c. Finally, "IPANA" admits in a round about way that it follows the Trotskyist analysis of a straightforward manner. In their issue number 5, page 7, the following words are written in black and boldface: "The same time, all countries which are ruled by capitalists are not fascist dictatorships. And India too was not a fascist dictatorship before June 26, 1976." Thus, "IPANA" opportunists are very astute that India is a "neo-colonial" capitalist state ruled by the capitalist ruling class. This coming back to the "new" ruling class in India, the "IPANA" engaged" which is "mobilizing support for the struggles of the Indian people for a New Democratic India." This "noble task" is not so noble after all. If India "attained independence" in 1947 and if there is one ruling class, that is the capitalist class, then India has already completed the bourgeois democratic revolution and the bourgeoisie has taken power.

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for proletarian socialist revolution. It follows from their own "analysis" and blind assertions that the national bourgeoisie has completed the bourgeois democratic revolution in India and the time has now come to organize the proletarian socialist revolution. But "I" PANA being thoroughly fascist and trickster in nature, won't say it straight out, so it has to use the phrase "struggles of Indian people for a New Democratic India". As we have pointed out before, a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country like India has not yet completed its bourgeois democratic revolution. From the time of the first world war, there has been no successful bourgeois democratic revolution of the old type anywhere (with Turkey being the only exception) and no national bourgeoisie has been able to lead these revolutions. This is the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on the question of anti-fund and anti-imperialist revolutions in countries like India. The proletariat has to lead the peasantry in an armed agrarian revolution thus creating conditions for the smashing up of the state of the big bourgeoisie and landlord classes and install a new state, the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat. This is a prelude to establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying out the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. "I" PANA has abandoned this Marxist-Leninist line in support of trotskism. This is why they are sneaking in their trotskist analysis of the state of India but have not yet plucked up courage to openly say that they are opposed to people's democratic revolution. But on that front as well, under the hoax of opposing the line of "war of annihilation of class enemies" and following "all forms of struggle", they have abandoned the armed agrarian revolution. This is a super-rightist position under the garb of "left"-sounding phrases. Thus, now we can see how they are "engaged in the noble task of mobilizing support for the struggle of the Indian people for a New Democratic India."

21. In the absence of any revolutionary strategy and tactics, that is, because they are opposing armed agrarian revolution, the correct revolutionary strategy and tactics of the people's democratic revolution, they are reduced to empty demagogic outbursts. The following sentence is an excellent example of this. "We know that it is going to be a long and protracted struggle, and will need a strong unity of all progressive and democratic people." What does this sentence mean? Does it set out strategy and tactics for people's democratic revolution? No, on the contrary, it merely acknowledges certain facts of life, it delves in truism. There is nothing of substance in it. Lenin describes this kind of thinking in this manner. "These phrases are, at one and the same time, the cover and expression of two things: first, their underlying 'idea' is imperialist Economism, which is just as ugly a caricature of Marxism, and just as complete a misinterpretation of the relationship between socialism and democracy, as was the late and unlamented Economism of 1894-1902."

"Second, we have in these phrases a repetition of Alexinsky methods." (18)

Lenin further explains what these "Alexinsky methods" are: "At the 1907 London Congress the Bolsheviks would dissociate themselves from Alexinsky when, in reply to theoretical arguments, he would pose as an agitator and resort to high-falutin, but entirely irrelevant, phrases against one or another type of exploitation and oppression. He's begun his shouting again, our delegates would say. And the shouting did not do Alexinsky any good." (19)

Lenin concludes this by pointing out that "He has no reply to the theoretical questions and arguments expounded in the theses. Instead, he poses as an agitator and begins shouting . . . Alexinsky methods can lead to no good." (20)

This is precisely the case with "I" PANA opportunists. We will show later on how these opportunists are "just as ugly a caricature of Marxism, and just as complete a misinterpretation of the relationship between socialism and democracy as was the late unlamented Economism of 1894-1902" and that they resort to shouting and "high-falutin, but entirely irrelevant, phrases" when they should be providing replies to "theoretical questions and arguments expounded in" their theses.

22. Their next phrase further presents a one ruling class analysis of India. "At a time when the ruling class of big capitalists and big landlords, faced with ever-deepening crisis and backed by the two imperialist superpowers, particularly by Soviet social-imperialism, has resorted to outright fascist dictatorship, it is all the more necessary to unite all broad sections of the Indian people in order to isolate and defeat the fascist regime." Besides repeating the incorrect one ruling class analysis the "I" PANA has resorted to shouting again. There is nothing whatsoever of value in what they say. There is an irrelevant phrase about uniting all "broad sections" of the Indian people in order to isolate and defeat the fascist regime" but this phrase also speaks volumes about their "New Democratic India". They clearly are against the "fascist regime" but not against the state of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlords and there is not a word about the people's democratic revolution that is the line of smashing up the state of the big bourgeoisie and the big landlords and establishing the state of people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat. The "I" PANA opportunists are past-masters in trickery. First, they advance the erroneous analysis that India "attained independence" in 1947 and the theory of a one ruling class state. The logical consequence of this analysis would be a proletarian socialist revolution. But no, the reactionary essence of the "I" PANA opportunists becomes very clear when they state that they are against

the "fascist regime" and not against the state of the Indian ruling classes. In other words, after putting forward the line that India has become "independent" and that the bourgeois democratic revolution has been completed, the task then is to go back to the paradise of "bourgeois democracy" by isolating and defeating the "fascist regime". If there was any doubt about their trickster nature as well as their straight rightist line, the next sentence eliminates that altogether. "A struggle against the fascist dictatorship is thus part of the struggle for New Democratic Revolution." We are not given any inkling as to what their "New Democratic India", "New Democratic Revolution" is but "I" PANA opportunists have already finished their argument by adding "thus". We do not believe that this sentence follows from the previous one nor that the serious theoretical question of the content of struggle against fascist dictatorship and the content of people's democratic revolution has been sorted out. They have merely linked this theoretical question off with a dodge and with the addition of the word "thus". We tell these "I" PANA opportunists that it will require more than "thus" to get out of their theoretical difficulties.

Finally, "I" PANA concludes, "With this understanding, we have consistently followed the line of uniting with the broadest section of people against the present regime." What is this "understanding"?

- India is an "independent" country.
- India is ruled by a ruling class of big capitalists and big landlords.
- India has gone from "democracy" to "outright fascist dictatorship".
- ... unite all broad sections of the Indian people in order to isolate and defeat the fascist regime."
- That is the reactionary ruling classes of India should return to "democracy".

This line is a straight forward line of the Indian big bourgeoisie and big landlord classes and appeals to the bourgeois democratic illusions and prejudices it spreads amongst the people. It is the line of a section of the ruling classes at this time which is in vicious struggle with another section of the ruling classes led by Mrs. Gandhi. It is a straight forward line of surrender of people's democratic revolution to the big bourgeoisie and big landlord classes and the line of deceiving the people. It is very "courageous" of "I" PANA to come out with this line as they have always denied it when it was pointed out to them that they are following it. Thus, it is clear, that with this "understanding" "I" PANA has taken up the "noble task" of causing confusion and splitting the Indian community. But "I" PANA opportunists have always been thieves trying thief and thus in the next paragraph they attack IWM for "accusing" them, to split the Indian community.

23. "I" PANA opportunists carry on with their lying assertions, "While following a dogmatic and sectarian line on the Indian revolution, CPC (M-L) and its fronts have accused IPANA of causing a 'split' in the Indian Community. Is it necessary to say that such distortions of reality are a characteristic of fascism? Who splits the community? Those who call for unity or those who carry sectarian slogans and practice goon-squad politics on the streets of North America." First, "I" PANA opportunists characterized the line of CPI (M-L) (they are just using the name of CPI (M-L) for confusion-making as CPC (M-L) has no line other than the line of its fraternal party CPI (M-L) as "narrow, sectarian and already irrelevant political line" and now they characterize it as "a dogmatic and sectarian line of the Indian revolution". But what is this line? This is the line of the Eighth Party Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). According to this line,

- India is not an "independent" country,
- India is semi-feudal and semi-colonial,
- the ruling classes are the comprador and bureaucrat capitalists, and big landlords,
- the stage of the Indian revolution is people's democratic revolution,
- the organizer and leader of the people's democratic revolution is the proletariat led by its revolutionary vanguard CPI (M-L),
- the main force of revolution is the peasantry,
- the key to unlock the people's democratic revolution is armed agrarian revolution,
- the following points from the Eighth Party Congress of CPI(M-L) further illustrate the line of people's democratic revolution. (We will reproduce this political programme of the Eighth Party Congress of CPI(M-L) as an appendix.)

"27. Therefore, the basic task of the Indian revolution is to overthrow the rule of feudalism, comprador-bureaucrat capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism. This determines the stage of our revolution. It is the stage of democratic revolution, the essence of which is agrarian revolution.

"28. It, however, is not the old type of democratic revolution but a new type of democratic revolution. People's Democratic Revolution, as it forms a part of the world socialist revolution, ushered in by the Great October Revolution and as such, it can be successfully led by the working class alone and by no other class. The working class is the most revolutionary class and the most organized advanced detachment of our people.

"29. This revolution will establish the dictatorship of the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie and even a section of the small and middle bourgeoisie under the leadership of the working class. They together constitute the overwhelming majority of the Indian people. It will be a state guaranteeing democracy for 90 per cent of the people and enforcing dictatorship over a handful of



16.



16. & 17. IWM in Toronto picketed a meeting organized by some reactionaries to "celebrate" "independence day" on August 14. Over one hundred Canadian and immigrant workers participated in the picket. Photo 16 shows comrades of IWM vigorously picketing the meeting where an "emissary" of Indira Gandhi was to deliver a

"message". Inside the meeting hall, various patriotic Indians and their friends repeatedly stood up and denounced the fascist government of Indira Gandhi, and Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism. Photo 17 show the reactionary police assisting agents of Indira Gandhi by forcibly ejecting the comrades from the meeting.

enemies. That is why it is People's Democracy.

"30. The main force of the democratic revolution led by the working class is the peasantry. The working class fully relies on the landless and poor peasants and firmly unites with the middle peasants and even wins over a section of the rich peasants while neutralizing the rest. It will be only a tiny section of the rich peasants that finally joins the enemies of the revolution. The urban petty bourgeoisie and the revolutionary intellectuals of our country are revolutionary forces and will be a reliable ally in the revolution.

"31. The small and middle bourgeoisie, businessmen and bourgeois intellectuals are vacillating and unstable allies of the democratic revolution. They will now support, then oppose and sometimes even betray the revolution. Their dual role in the revolution arises because of their contradiction as well as unity with the enemies of our revolution.

"32. Thus, in order to carry the democratic revolution through to the end it is necessary that a Democratic Front of all these classes is built up under the leadership of the working class.

"33. This Front, however, can only be built up when worker-peasant unity is achieved in the course of armed struggle and after Red political power is established at least in some parts of the country."

The "I" PANA opportunists have split from this line. This is the reason why we call them splitters. As far as appeals for unity are concerned, each class gives appeals for unity. The reactionaries want to unite their forces and revolutionaries want to unite their forces. So they issue appeals for unity. When you split from the line of armed agrarian revolution, you become historical splitters and it does not matter how much you issue appeals for "unity" or characterize the correct Marxist-Leninist line as "narrow, sectarian and already irrelevant political line" or "dogmatic and sectarian" etc.

Further your moral peep about "Is it necessary to say that such distortions of reality are characteristic of fascism?" Yes, it is very necessary to say that because it is you who practice this fascism. Marxist-Leninists are clarifiers while fascists are mystifiers. You are mystifiers since neither do you present your opportunist political line in a straight forward manner nor do you explain the Marxist-Leninist political line of CPI (M-L) which CPC (M-L) supports. As a result, you cause confusion. Where ever you go, it is you fascists who create mysteries, tell lies and spread slanders against us. So it is very "necessary to say" that your "distortions of reality are a characteristic of fascism".

You demagogically raise the question, "Who splits the community?" Here is our answer. The issue of who splits the community is not obscure and it is not up for debate. It is you who split from the line of CPI (M-L) and it is you who fraternize with the arch splitter Satyanarain Singh. You have split from the correct Marxist-Leninist line on people's democratic revolution and you are going down in history as splitters.

The "I" PANA opportunists present two supposed camps in struggle, "those who call for unity" and "those who carry sectarian slogans and practice goon-squad politics on the streets of North America." This division is also made to cause confusion as it is HGP (M-L) which has, for over eight years, given the slogan for unity on the basis of correct political line and has worked hard to accomplish it. On the contrary "I" PANA opportunists are merely splitters and it is they who are using the "goon-squad politics on the streets of North America." The provocation against IWM is an excellent example. There are other examples too.

24. At this point, we will digress and give the entire sordid history of the splitter activities of "I" PANA opportunists.

TO BE CONTINUED IN PCDN VOL. 6 NO. 96