

# Unsolicted 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 "Unsolicted Confessions — Despicable Performance" as serialized in PCDN. Previous portions of the article were printed in PCDN Vol. 6, Nos. 91, 92, 93 and 94.

"Indian" People's Association was established in early 1972 by an individual who was previously connected with HGP (M-L). The same individual was one of the "founders" of "Indian People's Association in North America" in late June of 1975. The reasons why this individual established an organization in 1972 and then again in 1975 "IPANA has never explained the reasons and it has never clarified why there was a necessity to build such an organization. Let us present the reasons why the "I" People's Association and later "IPANA were founded.

Of all aspects of an organization, its politics are decisive and it plays the leading role in determining what kind of organization it is and why it is organized. The same is true of "IPANA and "IPANA. Politics are the commander. Why did the so-called Marxist-Leninists of "IPANA not join HGP (M-L)? Because their politics are opposed to the politics of HGP (M-L). This is the reason which "IPANA tries to mystify. The politics of HGP (M-L) are to support the politics of CPI (M-L) which are the politics of armed agrarian revolution, the politics of people's democratic revolution. The politics of "IPANA are the politics of Satyanarain Singh revisionism, the politics of opposing armed agrarian revolution, the key to unlock the people's democratic revolution. But how does "IPANA make these opposite political lines? "IPANA pretends that it also stands for politics of "people's democratic revolution" and its differences with HGP (M-L) are that the latter is "dogmatic and sectarian" and it is supporting "a narrow, sectarian and already irrelevant political line." That is their differences are with the style, the form while the content is the same. This is the confusion-making of "IPANA.

HGP (M-L) does not stand for the same content of people's democratic revolution as "IPANA and there are deep class differences between the line of HGP (M-L) and the line of "IPANA. But if "IPANA clearly comes out to oppose people's democratic revolution then it will lose whatever support it may have in the Indian community. "IPANA puts up a front that it also "supports" people's democratic revolution in India. In actual theory and practice, "IPANA is opposed to the people's democratic revolution.

When this Khrushchovite revisionist in Montreal whom we call the leader of the "left"-sloganeering front of Khrushchovite revisionism, split from HGP (M-L) he concocted various objections to style and form. His degeneration went in this manner. First he attacked CPC (M-L) and carried out hysterical propaganda that "there is no freedom of criticism" in CPC (M-L). Then he formed the secret "Afro-Asian Latin American Group (Marxist-Leninist)" (Z1) in November of 1971 in opposition to CPC (M-L). By this time, he stated that because he was Indian he was only interested in the Indian revolution and that he did not wish to work with CPC (M-L) or work for Canadian revolution. He put up a front that he wanted to work with HGP (M-L) and its mass organizations but not with the CPC (M-L). Within a short period, he announced that he couldn't see the necessity of any organizations of patriotic Indians abroad and that anyone who supports Indian revolution should either go back to India or support it on an individual basis. By the beginning of December, 1971, it became clear that he was conspiring and that the Party should take disciplinary action against him. CPC (M-L) first suspended him from the Party and later expelled him.

This Khrushchovite revisionist carried no principled struggle inside the Party. He carried out the opportunist line of splitting to the extent that by early December, he even saw no necessity of carrying out any discussion in important issues outstanding between the Party and him. Taking this opportunist stand, he began his splitting activities. He first split Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Movement and formed Afro-Asian Latin American Solidarity Committee. Some of his associates formed Quebec Revolutionary Student Movement (MREQ) by splitting from the fringes of Quebec Student Movement. Another opportunist and a nazì associated with him had already seized control of the bookstore on Amherst Street through legal manoeuvre and produced a few issues of a newspaper called Red Quebec, organ of Quebec Workers Movement. The founding of the "Indian" People's Association in the winter of 1972 was part of the splitting trend carried out by this Khrushchovite revisionist and his associates.

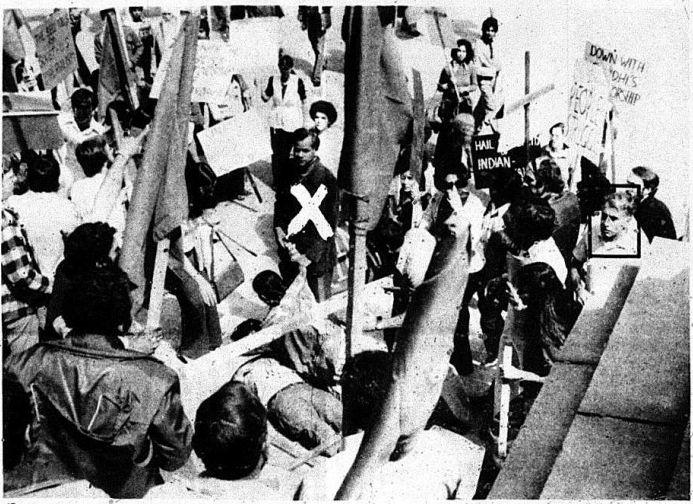
He gave no political reasons for splitting. He carried out gutter politics which he carries on to date. But comrades associated with the Party took up some of the Khrushchovite revisionist's line of splitting through Solidarity, journal of the Afro-Asian Latin American People's Solidarity Movement, which he produced illegally in October of 1971 and the other in Third World Solidarity, organ of his splintist organization. Comrades vigorously criticized and repudiated these lines for the purposes of developing principled opposition to this revisionist. True to the opportunist line on gutter politics and did not reply to any of the serious criticisms.

Dealing with the international questions, he straightforwardly advanced the Khrushchovite thesis that "Negotiations and war form a dialectical unity of opposites" (Z2) and on the organizational questions, he advanced the revisionist thesis of broadening the base. In fact, he has been carrying out the organizational line of splitting directly linked with the Soviet Union, especially ZAP, the MFLA and slandered all other national liberation organizations. The only activity he carried out was dishing out personal slanders and mystifying political issues in order to gather some support from various isolated individuals.

While, on all other issues, the political line of opportunism he followed was crystal clear, including shamelessly becoming a sidekick of reactionary black nationalism, on the question of India he still pretended that he supported CPI (M-L) and the revolutionary leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar. In the summer of 1972, he returned to India and took up a temporary job and carried out gutter politics against HGP (M-L). From the time of July, 1972 to the late summer of 1974, when he returned from India, he steadily degenerated into supporting opportunist positions. In June of 1973 he "offered" "self-criticism" for his splintist activities in India in front of some of the leading comrades of CPI (M-L) and promised to desist from this path. But, finding the international climate suitable for developing revisionism further, he jumped in to carry out his anti-CPI (M-L) activities in 1975. Returning to "IPANA into "IPANA was part of this activity. By the time this outfit was established, he viciously and viciously slandered the revolutionary leadership of Comrade Charu Mazumdar, who was assassinated by Indian reactionaries in July, 1972, and took up the mission of causing maximum confusion about the revolutionary struggle in India. He now takes an opportunist line on all national and international questions. This is why "IPANA is such a darling of international opportunism. He was a participant in the August 14th provocation against NMM. (see photo 12)

Thus, beginning with the splitting in 1971, refusing to carry out principled struggle, dishing out all sorts of personal slanders, and participating in gutter-politics has become the main line of this revisionist cur. Encouraged by international opportunism over the years, he thinks that he can carry on in the same old fashion without staunch opposition. But, while he has been degenerating from one level to the other, we have not stood still. We have moved forward, have overcome several weaknesses and shortcomings and have developed stronger theoretical and revolutionary struggle. We gave it for-fort to this revisionist when we repulsed his provocation in Vancouver, and we have given him tit-for-tat in the past when we resolutely organized people on the basis of politics of armed agrarian revolution and of people's democratic revolution.

In conclusion, it is clear why there is a split between this revisionist



11. ... and us and what is the basis of this split. We repeat that the basis of this split is politics. HGP (M-L) supports the politics of armed agrarian revolution while he is opposed to it. As far as the other two "founders" of "IPANA are concerned, neither of them were resolute supporters of armed agrarian revolution at any time and they united with this revisionist when he threw away his mask of supporting armed agrarian revolution. One of the "founders" (see photo 11) actually has been the vicious opponent of CPI (M-L) led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar while the other (see the individual in the square in photo 12) is a notorious slanderer of Stalin and a Trotskyist. Together, these individuals hatched this organization called "IPANA for the purposes of further opposing armed agrarian revolution, the key to unlock the people's democratic revolution. Thus, the differences between us and them are fundamental and there is no basis of unity whatsoever. Knowing this, this gang of opportunists did not approach HGP (M-L) when they founded this organization. But, at the same time, they put on false airs that they are for "unity" of the Indian people.

They have used various tricks and subterfuges over the year to mystify these differences and try to suggest that the differences are one of style, etc. But they have miserably failed in this endeavour as well. One of the tricks they use is that they are a "mass" organization while we are not and that we are "sectarian" while they are for "unity" of different "Marxist-Leninist" groups in India, etc. Can there be a mass organization which has counter-revolutionary political line but still calls itself a mass organization? To call an organization a genuine mass organization, we must analyze whose interests it serves. If it serves the basic interests of the masses, then it is mass, otherwise it is not. A communist party is the highest form of mass organization of the proletariat. Why do we say that? We say this because it serves the fundamental interests of the masses to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat to establish dictatorship of the proletariat in order to build socialism. There are other mass organizations of the proletariat as well. Of course, the bourgeoisie also builds so-called "mass" organizations of the proletariat in order to oppose the basic interests of the organization mass is whose class interest it serves. "IPANA is an organization to serve the interests of a section of the Indian ruling classes, the section which is opposed to Mrs. Gandhi.

"IPANA is trying to suggest that a mass organization is either above class interests or it has various tendencies. This is a fraud. It does not matter how much "IPANA claims that it has various tendencies in itself, the basic point is that the political analysis of India on which it is based for this reason it is an organization dedicated to opposing the politics of armed agrarian revolution, the key to unlock the people's democratic revolution. It is this political analysis "IPANA 25. "IPANA writes in the next paragraph of their leaflet: "People cannot be deceived for too long." We whole-heartedly agree with this statement of "IPANA and we hope that "IPANA never forget that. People cannot be deceived for too long. In this portion we further expose "IPANA's deception. First, we will take up all the other lines which "IPANA peddles and in section 26, we will show that their line is the line of S.N.S. revisionism and that it is impossible for "IPANA to hide it.

Continuing on the erroneous revisionist thesis that India "attained independence" in 1947, "IPANA states that: — The state machinery in India has also served the interests of classes other than the big capitalist-landlord class. — The constitution of India guaranteed (before the 'national emergency') basic democratic rights; but in practice these have been denied to the people. — After the promulgation of the 'national emergency', these rights have been taken away. With the 'emergency', the Indian state is tending towards 'full-fledged' fascism. The proclamation of the 'emergency' is a "step" in that direction. — The declaration of the 'emergency' in India is a turning point in the history of India. "The struggle against fascist dictatorship is a task of prime political importance. — "Fight of the democratic rights is central to the overall struggle of the people of India." Let us elaborate: "IPANA opportunists state: "Although the Indian constitution formally guarantees certain basic democratic rights, the large majority of Indian people have been consistently denied these rights in their day-to-day lives." (emphasis ours) (23) "Mrs. Gandhi's government ... withdrew what little democratic rights the people of India have so far enjoyed ... the judicial system, the law and order machinery, and other administrative apparatuses have largely tended to serve the interests of this class (the 'propertied' class) ... (24) — We demand the restoration of genuine democratic and constitutional rights of her (India's) people." (emphasis ours) (25) "The promulgation of the 'state of emergency' on June 26, 1975 accompanied with the forcible suppression of all political opposition and the formal withdrawal of the basic rights of the people is thus only a continuation and culmination of the anti-democratic nature of the government." (26) "Mrs. Indira Gandhi's government promulgated a 'national emergency' ... and withdrew what little democratic rights the people of India have so far enjoyed ... a naked and ruthless dictatorship has been arbitrarily and arrogantly introduced. Articles 14, 21 and 22 of the Constitution have been suspended, thus denying the fundamental rights of Indian people to judicial protection ... As patriotic Indians, we view these developments with great alarm as a prelude to a full-fledged fascist dictatorship in our homeland." (27) "The mask is finally off and the 'largest democracy in the world' is well on its way to become a one-party, if not a one person, dictatorship" (28) "Mrs. Indira Gandhi, besides spreading illusions about democracy, etc., completely mask the class nature of the 'democracy' which existed in India before June 26, 1975 and which exists today. This democracy was and is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the big capitalist and big landlord classes, in alliance with imperialism and social-imperialism. This dictatorship of the exploiting classes is the state and its machinery, which was groomed under British colonialism. Its role is to serve imperialism and social-imperialism and at the same time, exercise dictatorship over the vast majority of the people of India including certain sections of the national bourgeoisie, and viciously exploit and slaughter the Indian people. When "IPANA opportunists blather about the 'Indian constitution formally guaranteeing certain basic democratic rights', they are directly serving the propaganda of imperialism and social-imperialism that "democracy" is above classes and that there is such a thing as democracy in general which is cherished and loved by all classes. If there was any doubt about this

counter-revolutionary notion, then the following quotation from the "chairperson" amply clarifies the line:

"True democracy — allowing fullest participation to all members of a society in all aspects of life — is not possible in a class society." But "true democracy" actually is the fear of class society. There is no true democracy of the bourgeoisie which serves the capitalist class and exercises dictatorship over the proletariat and there is true democracy of the proletariat whereby the proletariat has democracy, and dictatorship is exercised over the capitalist class. And when the entire historical period of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is ended, then classless society is ushered in. With the withering away of the classes, the state also withers away and then there is no democracy, true or false as there is no longer any need for the state. "IPANA opportunists are pastmasters of trickery. On the one hand, they create illusions about "basic democratic rights", the judicial system, the law and order machinery", etc. On the other hand, they put forward this thoroughly idiotic notion that "true democracy" is "not possible in a class society". The fact of the matter is that "true democracy" is only possible in a class society; but it serves one class or classes and suppresses the other or others.

The Indian constitution was drawn under the supervision of the British colonialists by a handful of people representing the interests of the big capitalist and big landlord classes. It was a constitution of a neo-colonial India. It is a pure concoction on the part of the "IPANA opportunists to suggest that anyone else other than the ruling classes were given any rights. All the repressive laws that have been used by the Indian reactionaries against the Indian people have their origin in British colonialism's direct rule. The Indian reactionaries took over the entire state machinery of the British colonialists and have made it even more repressive. There was nothing "unconstitutional" about the "emergency". The constitution gives the right to use the "emergency" to the ruling classes. This complete denial of the rights of the opportunists that there were some "democratic" rights guaranteed to the Indian people under the constitution. The so-called "freedom of speech", etc. were mere embellishments designed to deceive the people and which could be constitutionally withdrawn at any time. The barbarous system of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation oppressed the vast majority of the Indian peasantry before June 26, 1975 and still does so. How could anyone talk about "democratic" rights under these circumstances unless he believes that August 15, 1947 was the completion of the bourgeois democratic revolution of the old type led by the national bourgeoisie. The "IPANA tricksters make a feint in that direction but don't quite say it!

Without providing any theoretical justification for their opportunist "theses", the "IPANA opportunists just start shouting, indulge in ranting and raving and empty rhetoric. Their gem that the "struggle against a fascist dictatorship is a task of prime political importance" is an excellent example. What should the people do under "fascist dictatorship"? People should fight it. Fantastic theoretical analysis which has "prime political significance"!! What is the "prime political significance" of this fantastic theoretical analysis? It is that "IPANA opportunists are ordinary bourgeois liberals who would like to "restore democracy" in India of the kind which existed before. They have no grasp whatsoever either of the reasons why Mrs. Gandhi brought about these changes on June 26, 1975 nor do they grasp the stage of revolution in India. They are promoting the line of "restore democracy" in opposition to the line of people's democratic revolution.

What attitude should people have towards the June 26, 1975 incident? First, we must have class analysis of the incident. This incident resulted from a vicious dogfight in the ruling classes of India, on the one hand, and the necessity of further repressing the rising revolutionary tide, on the other. The external factor was the vicious contention between the two superpowers. Secondly, the class nature or class composition of the Indian reactionary state did not change after June 26, 1975. Feudal and semi-feudal exploitation continues unabated in the countryside. The barbarism of the feudalists carries on in the countryside and the evil genie is committing untold crimes against the people. The big capitalists and big landlords, in the service of the imperialist and social-imperialists, are still the ruling classes. The stage of revolution is still the people's democratic revolution. As has been pointed out by the Eighth Party Congress of CPI (M-L), there is a necessity to build a Democratic Front of all revolutionary classes but this Democratic front can only be established in the course of armed struggle. "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 in some parts of the country." But "IPANA opportunists are opposed to this correct line of the Party and they are spreading illusions about "democracy" amongst the people.

"IPANA opportunists are opposing the people's democratic revolution under the demand for "the restoration of genuine democratic and constitutional rights" under the slogan "isolate and defeat the fascist dictatorship". Furthermore, they are opposing the building of the Democratic Front under the hoax of "uniting with the broadest section of people against the present regime." The issue here is: Who is the leader of the people's democratic revolution? The proletariat or the bourgeoisie? With all their slogans, "IPANA announces "democratic revolution" is to be the leader of the "people's democratic revolution". "IPANA opportunists are opposing the people's democratic revolution to base itself "IPANA opportunists are opposing their rhetoric, verbiage without any substance. "The broadest section of the people." But, opportunist sins, what is this "broadest section of people"? "IPANA does not explain. The granite rock on which the democratic front is to be established is the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat. How will this alliance be established by advancing the revisionist line of "uniting with the broadest section of people"? This alliance cannot be established on the basis of this demand. Only a bourgeois "democratic" front can be established on the basis of this demand, and it will have no strength whatsoever to fight "fascist dictatorship" but only spread illusions about "democracy".

Only alliance between agrarian revolution will the worker-peasant foundation of people's democratic revolution. This will form the basis of the Democratic Front. The CPI (M-L) points out the following points: "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 with the rich peasants while neutralizing the bourgeoisie and 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." Further, the "small and middle bourgeoisie, businessmen and bourgeois intellectuals are vacillating and unstable allies of the democratic revolution. They will now support the revolution as an only ally of the proletariat." "The revolution. Their dual role is the revolution arises because of their contradiction as well as unity with the enemies of the revolution." But, according to the "IPANA opportunists, because of the declaration of "national emergency" of June 26, 1975, the people's successful revolution is either the order of the day nor will any of the landless and poor peasants and the middle peasants and big landlords. And there is no possibility of a Democratic front of all the revolutionary classes under the leadership of the proletariat. The Communist Party of the Philippines in Asia. The Communist Party of the Philippines declared his fascist dictatorship on September 22, 1972. Did the Communist Party of the Philippines disband its New People's Army and begin a campaign for "restoration of genuine democratic and constitutional rights" on the basis of the unity of the "broadest section of people"? On the contrary, the Communist Party of the Philippines intensified its armed struggle as well as established a Democratic front which is leading the campaign against the fascist Marcos dictatorship.

The two factors, the armed struggle, and the mass struggle against the fascist Marcos dictatorship, complement one another and are indispensable for completing the people's democratic revolution. The Filipino people resident abroad are gloriously executing their patriotic duty by concentrating this propaganda and agitation against the fascist Marcos dictatorship which is of tremendous assistance to both the armed struggle led by the NPA under the leadership of the Party as well as the Democratic Front. This mass propaganda and agitation is, in no way, contrary to the needs and requirements of the armed struggle in the Philippines. "I" PANA opportunists, on the other hand, are carrying out reactionary sectarian politics on the question of propaganda and agitation against Mrs. Gandhi's dictatorship, pledging never to unite with others. At the same time, they are creating harmful illusions about "restoration of genuine democratic and constitutional rights". Thus, it can be seen that they are opposed to:

1. people's democratic revolution in India,
  2. establishment of People's Democratic Front in India, and
  3. carrying out mass propaganda and agitation against fascist Gandhi dictatorship by uniting with all who are doing the same.
- The "I" PANA opportunists are the greatest splitters of all broad fronts and they are notorious in uniting with their "fraternal parties and organizations" which are carrying out the same splittist activities.
- On the question of two superpowers, the "I" PANA opportunists have also joined the opportunist band wagon in declaring that "the Soviet Union — has emerged as a dominant force in the Indian subcontinent. Therefore, opposition to the fascist emergency is at once opposition to the dominant section of the Indian ruling class and at the same time to the presently dominant foreign imperialist power in India." (29) On this question as well while CPI (M-L) formulates "the basic task of the Indian revolution" as the "overthrow (of) the rule of feudalism, comprador-bureaucrat capitalism, imperialism and social-imperialism", the "I" PANA opportunists split from this analysis and their basic task (during this period, of course) is "opposition to the dominant section of the Indian ruling class and the same to the presently dominant foreign imperialist power in India." (30) And who is the "dominant section of the ruling class" and the "dominant foreign power"? "The Indian big capitalists and landlords represented by Mrs. Gandhi for the time being emerged victorious. And with this the Soviet Union emerged as the dominant foreign power." (31)

This is the "analysis" you like on which they have based their entire "strategy and tactics". Of course, anyone who disagrees with them and opposes their revisionist nonsense become agents of the "Moscow-led Communist Party of India". Very nice arrangement between CPI and "I" PANA revisionists, indeed! One calls CPI (M-L) the agent of "Moscow-led Communist Party of India" because it is opposed to U.S. imperialism and the other calls them agents of CIA because it also opposes the Soviet social-imperialist! Now, what is the "theoretical" basis of "I" PANA opportunists?

"What is reactionary in one context may play a progressive role in another, and that which plays a progressive role today, may turn out to be reactionary tomorrow. The line of 'fighting all reactionaries at once' leads to an incorrect understanding of the total situation as a process and hence is bound to lead, on the one hand, to a division among the oppositional trends, and on the other, to strengthening the hand of the reactionary ruling class. This is a central point in our work to build the support for the struggle in India. Consequently, the choice is clear. Does one follow the self-elevating and sterile intellectual path of proving oneself more revolutionary than another or one enters into the serious, practical and complex task of uniting all those who are ready to unite on the basis of a common programme to oppose fascism in India. This position emerges from IPANA's struggle for an all-sided analysis and from its political programme. In this spirit let us renew our dedication and intensify our efforts in order to help bring about the defeat of our enemies and assure the victory of the people of India." (32) This is nonsense raised to the highest pitch. It is the reflection of the absolute isolation of "I" PANA from anything real in this world. It is also the reflection of the desperation and frenzy that has overcome "I" PANA.

"What is reactionary in one context may play a progressive role in another, and that which plays a progressive role today, may turn out to be reactionary tomorrow." Here, the world is entirely mystical and out of control of "I" PANA. Anything could happen. Tomorrow Mrs. Gandhi may turn into Buddha and fairies may take over India! Anything, anything is possible!! But, opportunist sirs, it is absolutely wrong to suggest that what "is reactionary in one context may play a progressive role in another, and that which plays a progressive role today may turn out to be reactionary tomorrow" as it lulls people to sleep and creates illusions about the nature of classes and class struggle. It is not true that what "is reactionary in one context may play a progressive role in another", take, for example, the role of Chiang Kai-shek. He was reactionary, vis-a-vis anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in 1927 and he remained so to his dying day. This is the class character of a comprador. He was anti-communist in 1927 and remained so to his dying day. What you are utterly confusing is the role of the Communist Party. You are mixing things up. When the Communist Party of China gave the slogan of

united front with Chiang Kai-shek against Japanese invasion, they did not give the call because Chiang Kai-shek would play a "progressive" role. On the contrary, it was the necessity of arousing the entire nation against the Japanese nation which led to the CPC to give the call for the national united front against Japanese imperialism. Chiang Kai-shek, even during the period when he agreed to fight the Japanese imperialists, never ceased nor gave up his dreams of exterminating the communists. He remained a reactionary. Chiang Kai-shek did not play a progressive role during this period nor any other period. For the purposes of consolidating his own reactionary positions he was forced to "oppose" Japanese imperialism. It was the Communist Party of China which was progressive and remained so all the time. The "I" PANA opportunists are creating most harmful illusions on this. They are handing over the leadership of anti-fascist struggle to the agents of U.S. imperialism, so they have concocted this spurious thesis.

Here is their further dodge: "The line of 'fighting all reactionaries at once' leads to an incorrect understanding of the total situation as a process and hence is bound to lead, on the one hand, to a division among the oppositional trends, and on the other, to strengthening the hand of the reactionary ruling class." First of all, the issue is not of "fighting all reactionaries at once" but of fighting reactionaries, that is, fighting the reactionary state of the big capitalists and big landlords. That is the issue. "I" PANA has given up that fight. They are not fighting the reactionary state of big capitalists and big landlords but the "fascist regime". Thus they are in alliance with those who also are fighting the same "fascist regime", that is, the section of the big capitalists and big landlords which does not have the government even though their state still is in existence. In doing so, the "I" PANA opportunists have thrown social revolution out of the window and have pinned their entire hopes on a section of the ruling classes which will bring an end to the "fascist regime". This is the issue. In order to confuse this matter, "I" PANA opportunists have totally obscured who is leading the struggle and how it is going. As far as tactics are concerned, CPI (M-L) has no faith whatsoever that the national bourgeoisie can lead the struggle against the "fascist regime", not to speak of having any faith in a section of the big capitalist and big landlord ruling classes. The struggle against the fascist state can only advance with the growth and development of armed agrarian revolution. During the development of this struggle, if certain "reactionaries" are not opposed to it and do not take active part in supporting it, CPI (M-L), of course, will take definite measures not to antagonize them. But the attitude towards them will be determined on the basis of the attitude they take towards armed agrarian revolution. Furthermore, concentrating attacks, of course, comes under the realm of military tactics. No military commander will dash everywhere fighting all "reactionaries" irrespective of the material conditions. "I" PANA, by raising this issue, is completely obscuring the nature of the struggle. Finally, their metaphysics: "the line... leads to incorrect understanding of the total situation as a process" is their further self-exposure. They do not begin from the real world. What is the real situation? What is the position of the proletariat and what are the class alliance of forces? They do not begin from there. Instead, they push their metaphysics: "line... leads to!" But where did this "line" fall from? Only then can we see where it is leading. Chairman Mao teaches: "... our enemies are all those who are in league with imperialism — the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia attached to them. The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat. Our closest friends are the entire semi-proletariat and petty bourgeoisie. As for the vacillating middle bourgeoisie, their right-wing may become our enemy and their left-wing may become our friend — but we must be constantly on our guard and not let them create confusion within our ranks." (33) But "I" PANA opportunists believe that even "the warlords, the bureaucrats, the comprador class, the big landlord class and the reactionary section of the intelligentsia", etc. can become "friends" as classes and play "progressive" roles sometimes.

They have raised this as "the central point". This is their unsolicited confession. The central point for them is not the completion of the people's democratic revolution but whether or not the section of the big capitalist and big landlord ruling classes that is aligned with U.S. imperialism is a "friend" at this time. This further exposes their own utter confusion-making. By diverting the issue from dealing with the question of how to fight fascism, they created this diversion whether or not a section of the ruling classes is a "friend" and, they completely confused the entire issue. How should fascism be fought? Fascism should be fought by carrying out armed struggle, building a democratic front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups and carrying out vigorous mass campaigns against fascist dictatorship in India and abroad. We should have no hope whatsoever that "reactionaries" will ever change their nature. We must organize social-revolution on the basis of our own efforts.

After raising the "central point", they again raise another dodge: "Consequently, the choice is clear. Does one follow the self-elevating and sterile intellectual path of proving oneself more revolutionary than another or one enters into the serious, practical, and complex task of uniting all those who are ready to unite on the

basis of a common programme to oppose fascism in India." How does it follow from the "central point"? What follows from the central point is that "I" PANA should form an alliance with a section of ruling classes in order to oppose the "fascist regime". Then the "I" PANA opportunists vainly wish the discussion to end there so they can go ahead and form the alliance but it is clear that within their own motley crew they have those who "follow the self-elevating and sterile intellectual path of proving oneself more revolutionary than another" which is putting a full brake to their "common programme". It does not matter how many appeals are given to "renew our dedication", the "I" PANA opportunists are going to remain paralyzed with their own mental concoctions.

It is extremely noteworthy here that while "I" PANA is putting forth its bardshead that reactionaries, members of the ruling classes, may turn "progressive" and "play a progressive role", they see nothing positive in HGP (M-L), IPSG and IWM and its leadership. This means that the lines are clearly drawn between those who are forming united fronts with the reactionaries under the hoax that they are playing a "progressive role" and the politics of armed agrarian revolution, the key to unlock the people's democratic revolution. We, again, wish the "I" PANA opportunists good luck with their new found allies.

26. "I" PANA opportunists have their inspirer in Satyanarain Singh and we digress here to present the opportunist positions of Satyanarain Singh.

In dealing with Satyanarain Singh revisionism (S.N.S. revisionism), we will take up one central point and elaborate on it to expose S.N.S. revisionism, that is, what kind of regime S.N.S. is fighting for and who will be the leader of this regime. After the declaration of "national emergency" by Mrs. Gandhi, S.N.S. concocted a "programme". Point B of this programme reads: "This regime of Patriotic and Democratic unity may or may not be under the leadership of the working class or its party." (34) Here is the treachery of S.N.S. revisionism in its most ugly and naked form. Not only is it that his "regime of Patriotic and Democratic unity may or may not be under the leadership of the working class or its party" but the leadership of this struggle against fascist dictatorship will certainly not be in the hands of the working class and its party. S.N.S.' programme states: "Such regime of Patriotic and Democratic Unity can only come into existence through a protracted armed struggle under the banner of the broad united front." (35) This "broad united front" will include even the "opposition section of the ruling classes". S.N.S. programme states: "Actively build a broad based United Council of Action Against Fascism consisting of all classes, parties and groups subjected to the repression of the present fascist dictatorship including opposition section of the ruling classes. ... for the united struggle against repressive measures, against the suspension of Parliamentary democracy, the suspension of Fundamental Rights, arrests, the total censorship of the press, etc." (36) Finally, in order to lead the people, S.N.S.' programme states that during "the course of the struggle to build the broad united front of Patriotic and Democratic classes and during the course of the struggle for the full implementation of the agreed minimum programme, the working class and its party is bound to acquire the leadership of the front and so forward to achieve the people's democracy." (37)

Thus S.N.S. revisionism has abandoned the road of people's democratic revolution and has replaced it with the road of "United Council of Action Against Fascism" under the leadership of a section of the ruling classes in order to establish the "regime of Patriotic and Democratic unity". "I" PANA's slogan for struggle against the "fascist regime" is the same slogan, S.N.S.' revisionism is not for the smashing out of the reactionary state of the big capitalist and big landlord ruling classes. On the contrary, he is merely opposed to the "fascist regime" and his programme is calling for establishment of the "regime of Patriotic and Democratic unity" whose minimum programme will be: "the complete sovereignty to the people and complete independence of the country by ending all foreign exploitation, particularly the immediate and complete elimination of the exploitation of Soviet social-imperialism, and the exploitation of our people by the big bourgeoisie and landlord classes particularly the complete confiscation of all the properties of those traitors who support the Fascist Dictatorship of Indira Gandhi and Soviet social-imperialism, complete abolition of landlordism." Thus this so-called patriotic regime will preserve a section of the reactionary ruling classes and imperialists other than Soviet social-imperialists, while his "United Council of Action Against Fascism" will struggle "against repressive measures, against the suspension of Parliamentary democracy, the suspension of Fundamental Rights, arrests, the total censorship of the press etc." In other words, he will restore the reactionary state of the big capitalist and big landlord classes. This is total betrayal of the people of India and total capitulation to the reactionary ruling classes of India and to imperialism and social-imperialism.

Who are the people in India? According to S.N.S. revisionism, anyone who is "opposed" to the Gandhi dictatorship is part of the people, including a section of the reactionary ruling classes. Who is the leader of this struggle against the Gandhi dictatorship? According to S.N.S. revisionism, it will be a section of the ruling classes. That is why he calls Jaya Parkash Narayan the "leader" of

"popular movement" etc. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that neither the national bourgeoisie nor petty bourgeoisie is capable of leading a people's democratic revolution, not to speak of "a section of ruling classes" leading it, which is itself allied with imperialism and social-imperialism, on one hand, and feudalism, on the other. Chairman Mao Tseung teaches: "The people's democratic dictatorship needs the leadership of the working class. For it is only the working class that is most far-sighted, most self-less and most thoroughly revolutionary. The entire history of revolution proves that without the leadership of the working class revolution fails and that with the leadership of the working class revolution triumphs. In the epoch of imperialism, in no country can any other class lead any genuine revolution to victory. This is clearly proved by the fact that many revolutions led by China's petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie all failed." (38) And S.N.S. is going to have a "section of the ruling classes" leading the "revolution".

The basic point about S.N.S.' revisionism is that first under the hoax of waging "all forms of struggle" it hit at the armed agrarian revolution and the "war of annihilation of class enemies." This was in 1971 when he split from the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) led by Comrade Charu Mazumdar. He issued his splittist document on November 7, 1971 exactly the time the Khrushchevite revisionist-professor in Montreal hatched a conspiracy against the Party and the Afro-Asian and Indian groups. Now S.N.S., taking advantage of the declaration of "national emergency", has hit at people's democratic revolution and replaced it with the struggle for the "regime of Patriotic and Democratic unity". This means that he has, openly abandoned Marxism-Leninism and has completely espoused revisionism. "I" PANA opportunists are followers of S.N.S. revisionism.

On other issues, S.N.S. has come forward to suggest that Soviet social-imperialism emerged as "the most powerful and main" enemy of the Indian people, exactly the same thesis the "I" PANA opportunists have advanced.

And what is the analysis of the revisionists of CPI? A document released after the "national emergency" authored by one of the revisionists states: "Another point to be noted in this context is the fact that in India, as elsewhere, the bourgeoisie is not a united whole. It has within itself a whole range of contradictions. In our context particularly we do have the contradictory interests of the bourgeoisie; one section does have anti-imperialist national outlook as opposed to the stand of the monopolistic section. What we see in our country today is that one section of the bourgeoisie is using the state power against the reactionary section of the bourgeoisie. This is a historical development, the parallel of which cannot be seen. This became possible only due to the changed balance of forces not only on the national plane but also on the international plane. Put simply, if the left and democratic movement in this country had not reached the present stage of its development and if India had not established its close bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries but had remained as before linked up only with the capitalist-imperialist world, we would not have witnessed this particular socio-political-economic phenomenon in our national body politics." (39) It is an excellent confession by this revisionist when he states that this "is a historical development, the parallel of which cannot be seen." Indeed, there is no "parallel" to this betrayal of the Indian masses. According to CPI revisionists, Mrs. Gandhi is "anti-imperialist" while according to S.N.S. revisionism Jaya Parkash Narayan is "anti-social-imperialist". The two are sycophants of the imperialist and social-imperialists and internal reaction. "I" PANA opportunists are in good company.

As far as the analysis of HGP (M-L) is concerned it believes that the S.N.S. revisionists are using the excuse of "national emergency" to hand over the leadership of the people's democratic revolution to a section of the ruling classes in order to betray it. HGP (M-L) considers imperialism, social-imperialism, bureaucrat and comprador capitalism and feudalism as the main enemies of the Indian people. The "national emergency" did not change this situation. The people's struggle against the fascist dictatorship can only advance by building the worker-peasant alliance in the course of armed struggle, building a democratic front of all revolutionary classes and revolutionary groups under the leadership of the Communist Party and developing the politics of armed agrarian revolution to unlock the people's democratic revolution. What Chairman Mao Tseung taught us holds true today: "A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party — these are the main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy." S.N.S. revisionism has given up all these weapons. S.N.S. revisionism has handed over the leadership of the people's democratic revolution to the bourgeoisie and betrayed it. "I" PANA opportunists support S.N.S. revisionism. They have split with the proletarian revolutionary line of CPI (M-L) and this is the reason why there can be no unity between them and HGP (M-L). They are afraid to explain this to the world. So they are using the red flag to oppose the red flag and creating provocations against HGP (M-L).