

Performance Opportunists in North America Jump out to Rescue Their Indian Friends

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The following is a continuation of the article "Unsettled Confessions — Despicable Performers" as printed in PCDN. Previous portions of the article were printed in PCDN, Vol. 6, Nos. 92, 93, 94 and 96.

Z. Now we come to the concluding portion to explain how "IPANA operates. There are various honest people in the Indian community who are extremely upset by the conflict taking place between HCP(M-L) and IPANA, especially in certain parts of the U.S. and in Britain. These honest people would like all Indian patriots and revolutionaries to be united in one force against our common enemies. Now, the issue is, there must be someone who is opposed to this unity. Who is this individual or which group is hell-bent on dividing the Indian patriotic forces resident abroad? HCP(M-L) on the one hand, and the honest people working in support of the group which is the cause of the split in the patriotic Indian abroad. The group is "IPANA and the individuals are the three "founders" of "IPANA and the "Secretary General of the Indian Workers Association of Great Britain." It is they who are the cause of the split in the patriotic Indians resident abroad. This split is further nurtured in the Indian community and encouraged by the opportunists in India. HCP(M-L) over the past eight years to unite the progressive and patriotic forces resident abroad in support of people's democratic revolution in India. HCP(M-L) has strived for over eight years to unite the entire Indian community in Canada and elsewhere against racist attacks. This work of HCP(M-L) was first being subverted by the "Secretary General" of "IWA(CB)" when he exposed to the agents to carry out this activity into Canada. Most notorious of these agents was the "Canadian Party of Labour", an anti-Chinese, anti-Communist organization to carry on the split activities. This "Secretary General" later joined hands with the Khrushchovite revisionist splitters in Montreal and others to carry on this activity. HCP(M-L) vigorously denounces these split activities of this "IPANA group. HCP(M-L) calls upon all the progressive and patriotic Indians to defeat the line of splitism carried out by these individuals and this group and vigorously unite all the progressive and patriotic Indians resident abroad against the fascist state of big capitalists and big landlords in India.

In order to end the genuine progressive and patriotic forces of a revolutionary tool to end the fascist state of big capitalists and big landlords of individuals, we present here the method of operation of "IPANA. It is extremely timely to bring about this exposure.

2. "IPANA states in one of its "convention documents" entitled "Political Report" that "for IPANA to successfully carry out this task, it has to deal with two erroneous trends." (40) What are these trends? There are some who continue to believe that the fascist dictatorship is a temporary phenomenon and that it is possible to bring India back to the pre-June 26, 75 days. This view reflects lack of understanding of the real nature of the crisis faced by the Indian ruling class which could not maintain the facade of "parliamentary democracy" and yet survive. However, this trend recognizes that the struggle against fascist dictatorship is important and immediate task. The trend of the struggle is to be conscious and patient effort on our part will clarify understanding on the real nature of the fascist dictatorship." (41)

3. "There is another erroneous view prevalent among some compatriots — this view holds that "national emergency" has not introduced any major change in the Indian politics, that the enemy of Indian people has not become further isolated and that the struggle against fascist dictatorship is not an immediate struggle. An organized expression of this view is divisive, ignores the main task and fails to isolate the main enemy. A defeat of this seriously erroneous trend is essential for a successful building of the broad united front against fascist dictatorship and consequently for a long-range support for the New Democratic Revolution." (42)

Here is an excellent self-exposure of the "IPANA opportunists. These erroneous trends are the ones that are the cause of the split among the Indian compatriots abroad. One trend is the bourgeois trend, the trend that the "national emergency" should be lifted and "democracy" restored. This trend is full of illusions about "democracy," etc. but still is a genuine trend. "IPANA is opposed to this.

The second trend is the proletarian trend, the trend that the overthrow of "fascist state of the big landlords and big capitalists" is absolutely necessary and that the immediate task is to complete the people's democratic revolution. "IPANA is opposed to this as well. So "IPANA is neither in support of the bourgeois trend, nor in support of the proletarian trend. True to their petty bourgeois class character they are dashing in between, back and forth. When they meet the traitor, bourgeois trend, they are "supporting" it, "revolutionary" credentials and pontificate that this view reflects a lack of understanding of the real nature of the crisis faced by the Indian ruling class which could not maintain the facade of "parliamentary democracy" and yet survive. "IPANA has stolen all the slogans of this trend which centre around "defeat the dictatorship of our people by big capitalists and big landlords" and "to end class exploitation of our people by big capitalists and big landlords" (43) in order to confuse the patriotic and honest bourgeois democrats about the real nature of the crisis faced by the Indian ruling class. This confusion is generated by talking the nonsense that this process is "irreversible" and that the state of the big capitalists and big landlords will not and cannot use "the facade of 'parliamentary democracy' and yet survive" again. The example of the people's democratic revolution is not an immediate struggle, but a long-range struggle. The "IPANA opportunists are "supporting" it, "revolutionary" credentials and pontificate that this view reflects a lack of understanding of the real nature of the fascist dictatorship."

But, their attitude towards the proletarian trend is entirely different. They are blocked by it and extremely panic-stricken, since it is the emerging and ever-lasting trend. So, what attitude do they have towards this trend? First, they try to steal its slogans. For example, in their "political resolution" they pay lip service to the slogan of "people's democratic revolution. So they state: "The lessons learned and the experience gained from all the struggles that have occurred in India of all sections of the India people — organized and spontaneous, economic and political, of workers and peasants, those led by the working class and those led by other classes apply demonstrate that the victory in the struggle depends on the building of a broad united front of the patriotic and honest bourgeois democrats with the worker-peasant alliance as its base, and led by the working class party with the peasantry as the main force." (46) If this is the case, then what is the problem? Why not go ahead and give the slogan that armed agrarian revolution should be organized to build the worker-peasant alliance in the course of armed struggle, etc.? But after pretending that they "understand" the correct political resolution, they present their counter-revolutionary position that the "present stage of the struggle of our

people in India is New Democratic Revolution in order to establish an independent sovereign People's Democratic India. The features of this revolutionary struggle are:

1. to defeat imperialist domination of our country and to win genuine independence;
2. to defeat the dictatorship of the ruling class comprised of big capitalists and big landlords and to win genuine democracy for the broad masses of our people; and
3. to end the class exploitation of our people by big capitalists and big landlords." (47)

And finally, "it is of utmost importance for all of us living in North America to actively support these just struggles of our people in India, with its main focus on the struggle against the fascist dictatorship." (48) So here they have completely confused and mixed the two separate and distinct tasks, one task of the proletariat to "establish an independent sovereign People's Democratic India", that is, the establishment of the "people's democratic dictatorship" under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party, with the task of the bourgeois democrats to fight against encroachments on their rights within the semi-colonial set-up.

This is called confusion-making and splitting of the first order. Being petty bourgeois, they insisting all the pretences of the bourgeoisie and being a disintegrating class, they hope to carve a position for themselves in revolution. But it does not work. On one hand, the bourgeois trend curses and swears at them and tells them to get out of their way; on the other hand, the proletarian trend curses and swears and tells them to get out of the way. Like cornered rats, they are left with no other way out. This is the plight of "IPANA opportunists."

They slander the proletarian trend with their utter nonsense that this trend does not believe "that the enemy of Indian people has not become further isolated and that the struggle against fascist dictatorship is not an immediate struggle." If the proletarian trend does not believe in this then why is the entire programme of people's democratic revolution "proletarian trend"? "IPANA opportunists are opposing the people's democratic revolution against "fascist dictatorship." In fact, people's democratic revolution is the only political programme to concretely end the fascist dictatorship. But "IPANA has given up under the hoax that "the struggle against fascist dictatorship is clearly the main one in the present time and linked with the three aspects of the struggle." (49) This nonsense has been repeated over and over again.

So, it can be seen that this opportunist "IPANA is neither in support of the bourgeois trend which is fighting against "fascist dictatorship" nor in support of the proletarian trend which is fighting for people's democratic revolution. Organizations like "Indians For Democracy," etc. are part of the bourgeois trend while HCP(M-L) is part of the proletarian trend. "IPANA opportunists are raging in between, neither supporting nor knowing what to do. Is HCP(M-L) against the bourgeois trend? Is HCP(M-L) opposed to cooperating with the bourgeois trend in opposition to the common enemy? HCP(M-L) will cooperate with the bourgeois trend in so far as it is genuinely against the fascist dictatorship, while it will keep its independence in struggle, educate the proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeois and middle class, and carry out the work of carrying out bourgeois illusions and oppose it and refuse to cooperate with it in so far as it is opposed to the people's democratic revolution. "IPANA has concocted a position which is neither of people's democratic revolution nor of the bourgeois trend and is advancing the sinister S.N.S. revisionist thesis of pre-new democratic regime, the "regime of Parties and Democratic unity," the "transitional" regime in between the democratic and fascist dictatorship.

Now to digress for a moment. According to "IPANA opportunists, "the features of this revolutionary struggle" (meaning "New Democratic Revolution") are:

1. to defeat imperialist domination of our country and to win genuine independence;
2. to defeat the dictatorship of the ruling class comprised of big capitalists and big landlords and to win genuine democracy for the broad masses of our people; and
3. to end the class exploitation of our people by big capitalists and big landlords."

These are not the features of "New Democratic Revolution." There are other features of "New Democratic Revolution":

1. To end imperialist domination, and
2. To end feudal exploitation

To bring this about, the state of the big capitalists and big landlords has to be overthrown through a violent and protracted revolutionary civil war. There are four enemies of the Indian people crushing the vast majority of the Indian people. These are: bureaucrat and capitalist imperialism, revisionism, imperialism, and social imperialism. Of these, the main internal contradiction is between the vast majority of the Indian people and feudalism and the main external contradiction is between the vast majority of the Indian people and imperialism, social-imperialism and its agents. The basis of change is internal. Imperialism and social-imperialism and their agents are based on their parasitic, parasitic, parasitic and semi-feudal exploitation in the countryside. So the Indian revolution will not advance unless this main contradiction between feudalism and the majority of the Indian people is completely resolved. Resolution of this contradiction necessitates an anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution with the formation of people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat and its Party. Once this analysis is clear, it is clear that the bourgeois trend is "imperialist" and "main" struggle, then social imperialism is thrown out of the window. This is precisely what "IPANA has done.

Is there a basis of struggle against "fascist dictatorship"? Yes, there is, this is the main struggle! Yes, it is the main struggle but it is waged in two ways by two classes. The bourgeois trend wages it by opposing the "fascist regime" through mobilization of all bourgeois democratic elements, and the proletarian wages it through armed agrarian revolution. Under the hoax that the struggle against fascist dictatorship is "main" and "immediate," etc. the "IPANA opportunists are creating a gulf between bourgeois democrats and the proletarian revolutionaries who have the same enemy at this time. This is their sinister activity. They are trying to peddle the opportunist view that armed agrarian revolution organized by the proletariat and its party and the struggle against fascist dictatorship organized by the bourgeois democrats are in contradiction with one another. So, on one hand, they oppose the bourgeois democrats; on the other hand they oppose proletarian revolutionaries. During this period, both the bourgeois democrats and the proletarian revolutionaries have a common enemy and there is a strong basis of unity and cooperation between them. "IPANA opportunists are opposing this cooperation by telling the bourgeois democrats that the removal of "facade of 'parliamentary democracy'" is "irreversible," thus struggle for the removal of the "changes" imposed by Mrs. Gandhi on June 26, 1975 is futile. At the same time, it opposes the people's democratic revolution and is telling the proletariat to become the tail of the bourgeois counter-revolutionary "fascist regime." This is the sinister and counter-revolutionary nature of "IPANA.

25. In order to carry out their sinister activity of splitting the patriotic and progressive forces, they have concocted the thesis that "To build support for the struggle are not identical with the slogan of 'unite the patriotic and progressive forces in the struggle.' What does this actually mean? It means that anyone who is mobilized, mobilizes the "people to actually participate" in the people's democratic revolution by carrying out vigorous propaganda for the line of armed agrarian revolution, collecting funds, organizing actual cadres to go back, is interfering with their nefarious plan to "build support" for their line of liquidating the people's democratic revolution. Second it means, which is actually the main task, that "IPANA is a secret conspiratorial group organized under the hoax of "uniting the broad section of the people" to peddle the S.N.S. revisionist line. So these conspirators have divided their tasks into

two parts: "to build support for the struggle" (that is, the line of the "broadest section" and "actually participate in the struggle"), that is, the line of "uniting the patriotic and progressive forces in the struggle" for S.N.S. revisionism. So, on one hand, under the hoax of "uniting the broadest section," they are pushing their revisionist line of opposing the bourgeois democrats and under the hoax of "actually" participating "in the struggle," they are opposing those who are carrying out propaganda for building HCP(M-L) — the main organization to support the people's democratic revolution. So they are opposing the bourgeois democratic propaganda and paralyzing those who want to earnestly carry it out and they are stopping those people who want to take up the cause of people's democratic revolution and of socialism and communism by joining HCP(M-L). This is the sinister mission of these opportunists.

Then in order to fool the people, "IPANA opportunists write: "IPANA was founded on the recognition that the task of overseas Indians is to support the programme of New Democratic Revolution and not any particular organization or group in India." (50) This is the soul and trickster nature of these opportunists further. They have saved time and again that the "main" and "immediate" struggle is against the "fascist regime". If this is the case, then why establish "IPANA" (on the recognition that the task of overseas Indians is to support the programme of New Democratic Revolution...)? The reason they did that is to fool the people and cause confusion because if they had simply organized the "broadest section" for the purposes of opposing armed agrarian revolution, simple bourgeois democrats who, no doubt, would have made a definite contribution against the "fascist regime". But they could not parade themselves as "Marxist-Leninists" and "genuine" at that. And as far as the latter part of the sentence, "not any particular organization or group in India", goes, this is mystification of the first order. It is true that they are not organizing to support any particular organization or group, but this does not tell the entire story. They failed to tell the real story. Let us tell it for them. They are organized to oppose "particular organizations" (and groups), those who are following the "sectarian and already irrelevant political line", that is the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) led by the proletarian revolutionary line of Comrade Lenin. They are organized to oppose the "revisionist" line of all contingents of CP(M-L) who are participating in armed agrarian revolution to unlock the people's democratic revolution as their main task. So, the "IPANA" opportunists are very clever, since the line which they are following is precisely the line of S.N.S. revisionism and other opportunists calling themselves "Marxist-Leninist". To say "IPANA" is not organized to support any particular organization or group in India is part of the opportunist line of deception and cover. When S.N.S. and the Khrushchovite revisionist in Montreal split from the CP(M-L), they advocated that only split in good for "revolution". Since this line went bankrupt, they have now taken up the slogan of "unity" to oppose the armed agrarian revolution in India. So, first split in 1971 to oppose armed agrarian revolution in India and now "unity" to oppose people's democratic revolution in India. This is their main mission and they use various subterfuges to accomplish their task.

"IPANA opportunists carry on with their mystification and lying: "The understanding founding principle of IPANA (that is, the line of the "broadest section" and "actually participate in the struggle") that there exists the objective need to build a broad united front support for the broad based programme of the Indian people for liberation, a programme on which all revolutionaries are united and in implementing which the unity amongst revolutionaries can be strengthened. It is to single out one organization or group as the "broadest section" is to promote one organization or group over others and in particular promoting those aspects of which differences exist between various revolutionary groups, namely the tactical lines for the victory of the New Democratic Revolution, is to objectively prevent the unity and serve the cause of division amongst the revolutionaries in India. It is the line of development support for the "National Emergency" Revisionist line rather than one particular organization or another would permit and not prevent the resolution of differences amongst revolutionaries and achievement of unity amongst them." (51) There are several points to be made about this. First, "IPANA is committed to mobilize the "broadest section of people" against the "fascist regime". Why is it worried about the "broadest section" and "unity" of these "revolutionary groups" and all this? The fact of the matter is that neither is it an organization of the "broadest section" against "fascist regime" nor is it a Marxist-Leninist organization in support of CP(M-L) and people's democratic revolution. It is an organization of hodge-podge hurriedly put together like the making of sand dunes in a storm in order to oppose the "broadest section" and "unity" of these "revolutionary groups" as well as that of building genuine organizations of the "broadest section of people" like the East Indian Defence Committee. This is why "IPANA" has to present itself as "Marxist-Leninist" to some and "non-Marxist-Leninist" to others. The main purpose remains: disrupt the work of HCP(M-L), IWM, IPSS and EIOC as well as the work of genuine bourgeois democrats who want to oppose the "fascist regime". This is why "IPANA opportunists shrink so much

about being "genuine," "progressive," "patriotic," "unifiers," etc. "IPANA's double-talk is further exposed when they state: "The convention recognized that the base of the people who are willing to unite and can be united against fascist dictatorship is wider than those who can be united, at this stage, in support of New Democratic Revolution" (52) This is the mission of the democratic bourgeoisie or bourgeois democrats. Has far "wider" support than the mission of the proletariat. Here, "IPANA opportunists are totally opposed to the New Democratic Revolution" and very clearly present two "broadest sections" against "fascist dictatorship" having "wider" support; and against "the New Democratic Revolution" having lesser support. Here, the mission of the bourgeois and the proletariat is totally confused. It is the mission of the Indian bourgeoisie to establish "bourgeois democracy" while the mission of the proletariat is to establish people's democratic dictatorship through people's democratic revolution under its leadership and its Party. Workers, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie including intellectuals will benefit by the people's democratic revolution. This revolution which will profit over 95% of the Indian population, according to the "IPANA opportunists has less "wider" support than the struggle against the "fascist regime," which will merely profit a section of the ruling classes and a very tiny minority of the national bourgeoisie. It won't profit anyone else.

Thus, through this concoction, they oppose the people's democratic revolution as well as the struggle of the bourgeois democrats against the "fascist regime". This is why these individuals are split and disorientated in the Indian community. Their slogan of "broad based alliance" is the slogan of disrupting the support both for people's democratic revolution and the struggle against the "fascist regime", as well as causing maximum confusion in the revolutionary ranks and opposing the HCP (M-L) and its mass organizations.

As far as the "General Secretary of Indian Workers Association (Great Britain)" and his disruptive activities are concerned, we will just make a few remarks. "Solidarity message" was issued by "IPANA opportunists, the "General Secretary" states that "there are some pro-revolutionaries who in their wisdom do not see wood for the trees and refuse to help us in the important work of mobilizing support against the fascist dictatorship in India." (53) The "General Secretary" concludes: "This does not deter us." This is a reference to those comrades who are supporters of HCP (M-L) in England. For years, the comrades have tried to establish working relations with this "General Secretary". For years, this "General Secretary" has stood against cooperation. Now when an increasing number of Indians are seeing through this "General Secretary" he has the gall to issue this nonsense that they "refuse to help us". He, like "IPANA" is enthusiastic to unite even with open reactionaries while refusing to cooperate with the people's democratic revolution. His open comrades' long speaking in mass meetings and calls their supporters of CP(M-L) in order to cause maximum confusion. Our differences with this "General Secretary" are fundamental but are not the ones he is talking about.

The line of HCP (M-L) is:

Oppose Fascist Dictatorship in India!

Support People's Democratic Revolution!

What do these slogans mean? The two slogans mean that HCP (M-L) stands both for the struggle against the fascist dictatorship and is enthusiastic to unite with all who are fighting against it. At the same time, the main task of HCP (M-L) is to organize support for people's democratic revolution. The "General Secretary" has two positions: confidant, nor do we consider the "broadest section" as a matter of choosing one over the other, or one more "immediate" than the other. This is the principal position of HCP(M-L). At this time, there can be a united front of the "broadest section of the people" but the work towards it must be carried out. The main work to establish unity of the "broadest section" is to mobilize the working class to support people's democratic revolution, establish HCP (M-L) branches, carry out propaganda and agitation about people's democratic revolution, collect funds and offer support for those who are organizing armed agrarian revolutions and sympathize and support those who are opposing the fascist dictatorship of Mrs. Gandhi. This is the only principled position. Everything else is straightforward opportunism.

HCP (M-L) holds that when demonstrators of Indians abroad are organized their all organizations which oppose the fascist dictatorship, and those which are supporting people's democratic revolution, should hold joint demonstrations with their own slogans as well as mobilizing all their friends. There should be no division on these questions. But "IPANA and the opportunists "fraternal parties and groups" are opposed to it. A good example of this is the attempt by various opportunists "groups" which are now "fraternal" to "IPANA to split the solidarity movement with the people of Spain in April, 1975. They arrogantly demanded from the Spanish comrades that they either should not include CP (M-L) and its "front" in their solidarity movement or the solidarity movement should be "solidarity" organizations, when the Spanish comrades refused, these opportunists did not join the solidarity committee. This is the style and behaviour which "IPANA is living to bring into the Indian community regarding solidarity with the people of India against the fascist regime. This shows who is split in the community.

TO BE CONTINUED

MACHINE ... from page 1

productivity from the workers. The existence of the reserve army of the unemployed also serves the interests of the monopoly capitalist class in furnishing fresh hands at any time when the conditions of the market require an expansion in industry. Then many thousands of unemployed find work, factories increase the number of workers, unemployment decreases, but the introduction of new, improved methods throws thousands of workers out the street again.

This struggle has been raging since the industrial revolution. Each new advance in technology has been accompanied by massive waves of unemployment and terrible suffering. Canada has been no exception to this law. Workers have been thrown out of the labour force and into the ranks of the unemployed repeatedly in the course of Canadian history. Recent examples are the railway firm and other railway workers whose jobs were eliminated, and the workers on other newspapers who have faced the same conditions as the *Journal* workers.

Under capitalism, new technology that will increase the profit level of the capitalist is introduced, and new technology that will not increase profit is ignored. This is why the thousands of Canadian workers continue to be maintained or killed on the job because the capitalists refuse to make those alterations necessary for the well-being of the workers, but which do not maximize profits. From the capitalist's point of view, to make these alterations would be quite useless and would increase the order socially under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the well-being, the livelihood of the worker is not sacrificed for the sake of profit. Instead of profit in command of production, revolution

is in command. Industry is developed to meet the needs of the people. New technology is encouraged to free the workers from tedious and backbreaking forms of labour, and to enable the undertaking of more production, not to throw the workers into the ranks of the unemployed.

In their struggle, the postal workers and the *Ottawa Journal* workers are confronting the greed of the monopoly capitalists who put profit before people. These workers are being made to pay by losing their jobs, so that the capitalist can further enrich themselves. The struggles of these workers to defend their livelihood are entirely just. The rich should be made to pay, not the workers.

End Item.

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**UPHOLD MARXISM-LENINISM
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