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Remembering Com. T.N.

Oct. 1980



September Nine

Another September Nine approached us as an yearly reminder that Comrade Mao-Tsetung is no more among us for blazing new trails of revolutionary advance and enthusing our spirits.

September Nine, 1976 marked the onset of a new phase in the development of international communist movement wherein it faces a unique challenge of passing through an ideological political trial-fire. Henceforth, for some time to come, it will have to map out its revolutionary course, in any case tortuous, without having the benefit of an international Marxist-Leninist authority's guidance. No doubt, it has the peerless compass of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tsetung thought, for ascertaining the direction to be followed still, sailing the heavy seas depends, to a large extent, on the helmsman.

Comrade Mao-Tsetung put great reliance on the revolutionary masses of people of all lands and the correct revolutionary line. In the early sixties when international opportunism headed by the revisionist leading clique of the CPSU was rampant in the international communist movement and looked quite formidable, Mao-Tsetung reposed great confidence in the fledgling of the international Marxist-Leninist movement and exhorted it to dare the storm. Under his inspiring leadership, it did dare and beat back the revisionist offensive. Similarly, inside China he invoked the blooming revolutionary forces for disposing of the rot that had set in the CPC and the proletarian state of China and exhorted them to dare the tide and bombard the bourgeois Head Quarters. Under his inspiring leadership, they did dare and beat back the counter-revolutionary bourgeois onslaughts of renegades Liu-Shao chi, Lin Piao and Teng-Tsiao Ping and kept the flag of the dictatorship of the proletariat flying for two decades.

Dispelling all pessimistic views, Mao Tsetung proclaimed to the world that international opportunism, including the revisionist usurpers of proletarian state-power, are paper-tigers, doomed to bite the dust, and that Marxist-Leninist forces, howsoever weak they may be for the moment, are destined to triumph over their class-enemies, sooner or later.

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The International Character of the October Revolution

ON THE OCCASION OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The October Revolution cannot be regarded merely as a revolution "within national bounds." It is, primarily, a revolution of an international, world order; for it signifies a radical turn in the world history of mankind, a turn from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world.

Revolutions in the past usually ended by one group of exploiters at the helm of government being replaced by another group of exploiters. The exploiters changed, exploitation remained. Such was the case during the liberation movements of the slaves. Such was the case during the period of the uprisings of the serfs. Such was the case during the period of the well-known "great" revolutions in England, France and Germany. I am not speaking of the Paris Commune, which was the first glorious, heroic, yet unsuccessful attempt on the part of the proletariat to turn history against capitalism.

The October Revolution differs from these revolutions *in principle*. Its aim is not to replace one form of exploitation by another form of exploitation, one group of exploiters by another group of exploiters, but to abolish all exploitation of man by man, to abolish all groups of exploiters, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to establish the power of the most revolutionary class of all the oppressed classes that have ever existed, to organize a new, classless, socialist society.

It is precisely for this reason that the *victory* of the October Revolution signifies a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical destiny of world capitalism, a radical change in the liberation movement of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and the forms of organization, in the manner of life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of the exploited masses throughout the world.

That is the basic reason why the October Revolution is a revolution of an international, world order.

That also is the source of the profound sympathy which the oppressed classes in all countries entertain for the October Revolution, which they regard as a pledge of their own emancipation.

A number of fundamental issues could be noted on which the October Revolution influences the development of the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

1. The October Revolution is noteworthy primarily for having breached the front of world imperialism, for having overthrown the imperialist bourgeoisie in one of the biggest capitalist countries and put the socialist proletariat in power.

The class of wage-workers, the class of persecuted, the class of the oppressed and exploited has *for the first time in the history of mankind* risen to the position of the *ruling* class, setting a contagious example to the proletarians of all countries.

This means that the October Revolution *has ushered in a new era, the era of proletarian revolutions in the countries of imperialism.*

It took the instruments and means of production from the land-lords and capitalists and converted them into public property, thus counterposing socialist property to bourgeois property. It thereby exposed the lie of the capitalists that bourgeois property is inviolable, sacred, eternal.

It wrested power from the bourgeoisie, deprived the bourgeoisie of political rights, destroyed the bourgeois state apparatus and transferred power to the Soviets, thus counterposing the socialist rule of the Soviets, as *proletarian* democracy, to bourgeois parliamentarism, as *capitalist* democracy. Lafargue was right when he said, as far back as 1887, that on the morrow of the revolution "all former capitalists will be disfranchised."¹

The October Revolution thereby exposed the lie of the Social-Democrats that at the present time a peaceful transition to socialism is possible through bourgeois parliamentarism.

But the October Revolution did not and could not stop there. Having destroyed the old, bourgeois order, it began to build the new, socialist order. The 10 years of the October Revolution have been 10 years of building the party, trade Unions, Soviets, Co-operatives, cultural organizations, transport, industry, the Red Army. The indubitable successes of socialism in the U.S.S.R. on the front of construction have clearly shown that the proletariat *can* successfully govern the country *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully build industry *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully direct the whole of the national economy *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully build socialism in spite of the capitalist encirclement.

Menenius Agrippa, the famous Roman senator of ancient times, was not the only one to uphold the old "theory" that the exploited cannot do without the exploiters any more than the head and other parts of the body can do without the

stomach. This "theory" is now the corner-stone of the political "Philosophy" of Social Democracy in general, and of the Social-Democratic Policy of *Coalition* with the imperialist bourgeoisie in particular. This "theory," which has acquired the character of a prejudice, is now one of the most serious obstacles in the path towards the revolutionization of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt this false "theory" a mortal blow.

Is there any further need to prove that these and similar results of the October Revolution could not and cannot fail to exert an important influence on the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries ?

Such generally known facts as the progressive growth of Communism in the capitalist countries, the growing sympathy of the proletarians of all the countries for the working class of the U.S.S.R. and, finally, the many workers' delegations that come to the Land of Soviets, prove beyond doubt that the seeds sown by the October Revolution are already beginning to bear fruit.

2. The October Revolution has shaken imperialism not only in the centres of its domination, not only in the "metropolises." It has also struck at the rear of imperialism, its periphery, having undermined the rule of imperialism in the colonial and dependent countries.

Having overthrown the landlords and the capitalists, the October Revolution broke the chains of national and colonial oppression and freed from it, without exception, all the oppressed peoples of a vast state. The proletariat cannot emancipate itself unless it emancipates the oppressed peoples. It is a characteristic feature of the October Revolution that it accomplished these national-colonial revolutions in the U.S.S.R. not under the flag of national enmity and conflicts among nations, but under the flag of mutual confidence and fraternal rapprochement of the workers and peasants of the various peoples in U.S.S.R., not in the name of *nationalism*, but in the name of *internationalism*.

It is precisely because the national-colonial revolutions took place in our country under the leadership of the proletariat and under the banner of internationalism that pariah peoples, slave peoples, have *for the first time* in the history of mankind risen to the position of peoples that are *really* free and *really* equal, thereby setting a contagious example to the oppressed nations of the whole world.

This means that the October Revolution *has ushered in* a new era, the era of *colonial* revolutions which are being carried out *in the oppressed countries* of the world in *alliance* with the proletariat and *under the leadership* of the proletariat.

It was formerly the "accepted" idea that the world has been divided from time immemorial into inferior and superior races, into blacks and whites, of whom the former are unfit for civilization and are doomed to be objects of

exploitation while the latter are the only bearers of civilization, whose mission it is to exploit the former.

That legend must now be regarded as shattered and discarded. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt that legend a mortal blow, by demonstrating in practice that the liberated non-European peoples, drawn into the channel of soviet development, are not one whit less capable of promoting *a really* progressive culture and *a really* progressive civilization than are the European peoples.

It was formerly the "accepted" idea that the only method of liberating the oppressed peoples is the method of *bourgeois nationalism*, the method of nations drawing apart from one another, the method of disuniting nations, the method of intensifying national enmity among the labouring masses of the various nations.

That legend must now be regarded as refuted. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt that legend a mortal blow, by demonstrating in practice the possibility and expediency of the *proletarian internationalist* method of liberating the oppressed peoples, as the only correct method; by demonstrating in practice the possibility and expediency of a *fraternal Union* of the workers and peasants of the most diverse nations based on the principles of *voluntariness and internationalism*. The existence of the union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is the prototype of the future integration of the working people of all countries into a single world economic system, cannot but serve as direct proof of this.

It need hardly be said that these and similar results of the October Revolution could not and cannot fail to exert an important influence on the revolutionary movement in the colonial and dependent countries. Such facts as the growth of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples in china, Indonesia, India, etc., and the growing sympathy of these peoples for U.S.S.R., unquestionably bear this out.

The era of tranquil exploitation and oppression of colonies and dependent countries *has passed away*.

The era of liberating revolutions in the colonies and dependent countries, the era of the awakening of the *proletariat* in those countries, the era of its *hegemony* in the revolution *has begun*.

3. Having sown the seeds of revolution both in the centres of imperialism and in its rear, having weakened the might of imperialism in the "*metropolises*" and having shaken its domination in the colonies, the October Revolution has thereby put in jeopardy the very existence of world capitalism *as a whole*.

While the spontaneous development of capitalism in the conditions of imperialism has passed—owing to its unevenness, owing to the inevitability of

conflicts and armed collisions, owing, finally, to the unprecedented imperialist slaughter—into the process of the decay and the dying of capitalism, the October Revolution and the resultant dropping out of a vast country from the world system of capitalism could not but accelerate this process, undermining, bit by bit, the very foundations of world imperialism.

More than that. While shaking imperialism, the October Revolution has at the same time created—in the shape of the first proletarian dictatorship—a powerful and open *base* for the world revolutionary movement, a base such as the latter *never possessed* before and on which it now can rely for support. It has created a powerful and open *centre* of the world revolutionary movement, such as the latter *never possessed* before and around which it can now rally, organizing a *united revolutionary front of the proletarians and of the oppressed peoples of all countries against imperialism*.

This means, firstly, that the October Revolution inflicted a mortal wound on world capitalism from which the latter will never recover. For that very reason capitalism will never recover the “equilibrium” and “stability” that it possessed before October.

Capitalism may become partly stabilized, it may rationalize its production, turn over the administration of the country to fascism, temporarily hold down the working class; but it will never recover the “tranquillity”, the “assurance,” the “equilibrium” and the “stability” that it flaunted before; for the crisis of world capitalism has reached the stage of development when the flames of revolution must inevitably break out, now in the centres of imperialism, now in the periphery, reducing to naught the capitalist patch-work and daily bringing nearer the fall of capitalism. Exactly as in the well-known fable, “when it pulled its tail out of the mud, its beak got stuck; when it pulled its beak out, its tail got stuck”

This means, secondly, that the October Revolution has raised to such a height the strength and importance, the courage and the fighting preparedness of the oppressed classes of the whole world as to compel the ruling classes to reckon with them as a *new*, important factor. Now the labouring masses of the world can no longer be regarded as a “blind mob”, groping in the dark and devoid of prospects; for the October Revolution has created a beacon which illumines their path and opens up prospects for them. Whereas formerly there was no *world-wide* open forum from which the aspirations and strivings of the oppressed classes could be expounded and formulated, now such a forum exists in the shape of the first proletarian dictatorship.

There is hardly room for doubt that the destruction of this forum would for a long time cast the gloom of unbridled, black reaction over the social and political life of the “advanced countries.” It cannot be denied that the very

existence of a "Bolshevik State" puts a curb upon the dark forces of reaction, thus helping the oppressed classes in their struggle for liberation. It is this that explains the savage hatred which the exploiters of all countries entertain for the Bolsheviks.

History repeats itself, though on a new basis. Just as formerly, during the period of the downfall of *feudalism*, the word "Jacobin" evoked dread and abhorrence among the aristocrats of all countries, so now, in the period of the downfall of *capitalism*, the word "Bolshevik" evokes dread and abhorrence among the bourgeois in all countries. And Conversely, just as formerly Paris was the refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising *bourgeoisie*, so now Moscow is the refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising *proletariat*. Hatred of the Jacobins did not save feudalism from collapse. Can there be any doubt that hatred of the Bolsheviks will not save capitalism from its inevitable downfall?

The era of the "stability" of capitalism *has passed away*, carrying away with it the legend of the indestructibility of the bourgeois order.

The era of the collapse of capitalism *has begun*.

4. The October Revolution cannot be regarded merely as a revolution in the sphere of economic and social-political relations. It is at the same time a revolution in the minds, a revolution in the ideology, of the working class. The October Revolution was born and gained strength under the banner of Marxism, under the banner of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the banner of the Leninism, which is Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Hence it marks the victory of Marxism over reformism, the victory of Leninism over Social-Democratism, the victory of the Third International over the Second International.

The October Revolution has brought into being an impassable chasm between Marxism and Social-Democratism, between the policy of Leninism and the policy of Social-Democratism.

Formerly, *before the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat*, Social-Democracy, while refraining from openly repudiating the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat but doing nothing, absolutely nothing, to bring nearer the realization of this idea, could flaunt the banner of Marxism, and it is obvious that this behaviour of Social-Democracy created no danger whatever for capitalism. Then, in that period, Social-Democracy was formally taken as identical, or almost identical, with Marxism.

Now, *after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat*, when everybody has seen for himself *to what* Marxism leads and *what* its victory may signify, Social-Democracy is no longer able to flaunt the banner of Marxism, can no longer coquet with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat without creating a certain danger for capitalism. Having long ago broken with the spirit of

Marxism, it has found itself compelled to discard also the banner of Marxism; it has openly and unambiguously taken a stand against the offspring of Marxism, against the October Revolution, against the first dictatorship of the proletariat in the world

Now it has had to dissociate itself from Marxism, and has actually done so; for under present conditions one cannot call oneself a Marxist unless one openly and devotedly supports the first proletarian dictatorship in the world, unless one wages a revolutionary struggle against one's own bourgeoisie, unless one creates the conditions for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one's own country.

A chasm has opened between Social-Democracy and Marxism. Henceforth, the *only* bearer and bulwark of Marxism is Leninism, Communism.

But matters did not end there. The October Revolution went further than drawing a demarcation line between Social-Democracy and Marxism; it relegated Social-Democracy to the camp of the direct defenders of capitalism *against* the first proletarian dictatorship in the world. When Messieurs the Adlers and Bauers, the Welshes and Levis, the Longuets and Blums abuse the "Soviet regime" and extol parliamentary "democracy," these gentlemen mean that they are fighting and will continue to fight *for* the restoration of the capitalist order in the U.S.S.R., *for* the preservation of capitalist slavery in the "Civilized" states.

Present-day Social-Democratism is an *ideological support* of capitalism. Lenin was a thousand times right when he said that the present-day Social-Democratic politicians are "*real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class,*" that in the "civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" they would inevitably take "the side of the 'Versaillese' against the 'Communards'."²

It is *impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to Social-Democratism in labour movement.* That is why the era of dying capitalism is also the era of dying social-Democratism in the labour movement.

The great significance of the October Revolution consists, among other things, in the fact that it marks the inevitable victory of Leninism over Social-Democratism in the world labour movement.

The era of the domination of the Second International and of Social-Democratism in the labour movement *has ended.*

The era of the domination of Leninism and of the Third International *has begun.*

November 6—7—1927.

[From PROBLEMS OF LENINISM]

Notes.

1. Paul Lafargue, "On the Morrow of the Revolution."
2. Lenin, "Preface to the French and German Editions," Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.

The Significance of Combatting International Opportunism of Teng-Hua Brand

Socialist China has changed colour. A counter-revolutionary revisionist gang has seized leadership of the CPC and state power from the hands of proletarian revolutionaries by pulling off a military coup. For the time being, the proletarian revolutionary line and forces associated with Mao Tsetung have suffered defeat. The renegade Teng-Hua leading clique of CPC which now rules China has clamped a bourgeois dictatorship over the broad masses of Chinese people. The revisionist rulers of China are now set upon a course of systematically demolishing all the achievements of the socialist revolution of China and restoring capitalism there in the name of accomplishing "The Four Modernisations."

The counter revolutionary course adopted by them in running the domestic affairs of China has found expression in their line and conduct at international level. Having discarded the path of socialist development, of self-reliance, they hanker after finance capital, sophisticated technology and expertise of imperialist countries in order to rush along the bankrupt path of capitalist development. To propitiate the lords of international monopoly capital for this purpose, they have made their political, economic and ideological offerings.

Politically, they strive to paint the ugly face of western imperialism, and its leader U.S. imperialist superpower, in agreeable colours to save it, and its various lackey reactionary regimes, from the wrath of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world. Also, they lend the political and military weight of China in favour of western imperialism and its lackey reactionary forces worldwide to supplement the prowess of U.S. imperialist superpower in its sharp contention with the rival superpower, U.S.S.R. imperialist superpower, for world domination.

Economically, they are giving a shot in the arm of crisis-ridden international monopoly capitalism by laying bare to its rapacious tentacles the labour-power, natural resources and vast market of China.

Ideologically, they serve world imperialist system the way none of its instruments other than opportunism can serve. And that is, by caricaturing Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought, and sowing confusion and dissention in the international Communist movement—the reliable ideological and organisational weapons of international proletariat—so as to corrupt the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat and enfeeble its revolutionary blow directed

against the decadent world imperialist system. They try to displace proletarian internationalism with bourgeois national Chauvinism which they practise themselves and encourage others to do so. They promote economism in order to derail the global struggle for revolutionary transformation. They try to displace the Leninist conception of revolutionary tactics with bourgeois pragmatism free of all constraints of principle, so as to justify all acts of class-collaboration in the name of 'tactics.'

Thus socialist China, a great fortress of world proletarian revolution, today stands transformed into a citadel of neo-revisionism, a centre hostile to world revolution.

This grave development has serious international repercussions. Remaining true to proletarian internationalist outlook, we, in India, cannot afford to adopt an attitude of unconcern or casualness towards this development. It has a profound bearing on the development of our Organisation and revolutionary mass movement.

We should bear in our mind that every significant triumph or setback experienced by any of the contingents of the world proletarian revolutionary movement, and lessons drawn from it, influence all the other contingents in terms of material prospects as well as ideological clarity. Proletarian internationalism rests on the common fundamental interests, aims and fate of international proletariat.

Like Marxism, its opposite aspect *i.e.* opportunism, a form of bourgeois ideology in Marxist guise, is also an international phenomenon. Although opportunism may assume particular expression in a given country which demands a corresponding treatment at the hands of Marxist-Leninists situated there, its content and role is the same everywhere. On account of this, every local opportunist trend gets nourishment from international opportunism. That is why, opportunism can effectively be combatted only through concerted attack all along the front, locally as well as internationally. The practice of consistent struggle against local opportunist trends equips the Marxist-Leninist forces for discerning the concrete thrust of opportunism of any hue that comes to the fore at international level. On the other hand, the process of uncompromising struggle against the latter brings out the latent opportunist and vascillating tendencies within the ranks of Marxist-Leninists.

The tendency to evade bold confrontation with international opportunism is a pointer to the sagging revolutionary will of the Marxist-Leninist forces who exhibit it, and it works towards undermining the very proletarian revolutionary character of the concerned Organisation. Because, an Organisation that succumbs to this tendency would not only be turning its back to the obligations of proletarian internationalism but also paving the ground for opportunism to

flourish within its bosom and, ultimately, take it over. This is how this tendency itself happens to be an opportunist tendency.

One of the factors responsible for assisting a well-meaning Marxist-Leninist section or Organisation in falling prey to this opportunist tendency is the wrong notion, entertained by the leadership, concerning the method of struggle against opportunism. The leadership relies on a subjective assumption, for justifying its course, that it will be able to prevent the Organisation being overwhelmed by international opportunism, even without taking a clear-cut stand against the latter, that is, without involving and ideologically arming its ranks upto the primary level.

An effective struggle against opportunism requires not only the involvement of rank and file of the Organisation but, still more, of the revolutionary masses of the people led by it. This requirement cannot be fulfilled unless the Organisation comes out openly and boldly against opportunism and its chief protagonist in a particular period.

Another factor underlying the vascillation of certain Marxist-Leninist forces in India on this issue is their distorted notion of the principle and practice of proletarian internationalism. This distortion is not a recent phenomenon. It is one of the so many defective attributes inherited by the communist revolutionary movement of India from the olden-day communist movement. The circumstance that favoured the occurrence of this distortion was the incompetence and diffidence of the Party leadership, at national level, time and again seeking assurance of the correctness of its line from a greatly experienced Communist Party in power which happened to play at that time an outstanding role at international level. [Of course, it is quite legitimate and desirable for a Communist Party to learn from the experience of other fraternal Parties, especially, the rich experience of the victorious ones. But, it can properly learn only on the basis of its own grasp of the line and practice of revolution in its own land. Otherwise, it will not be able to find its bearings in the dynamic reality concretely confronting it.] That was the case, earlier, in relation to the C.P.S.U. uptill its degeneration, and, more or less, in relation to the C.P.C. afterwards, in the absence of international Communist Organisation.

The resultant distortion was that the obligations of proletarian internationalism were narrowly conceived mainly in terms of unflinching solidarity with the C.P.S.U. and the C.P.C. successively.

On account of such thinking, at the time of revisionist transformation of the C.P.S.U. at the hands of the renegade khrushchov leading clique, the minds of so many Marxist-Leninists were greatly exercised by the prospect of a break with the revisionist C.P.S.U. and their revolutionary will to confront the international opportunism of Khrushchovian hue was paralysed. The experience of that period

of great demarcation and realignment in the international communist movement showed that those who vacillated for long in drawing a clear-cut line of demarcation from khrushchovite opportunism, ultimately, landed in the mire of revisionism. The present situation is witnessing the occurrence of similar phenomenon in the great struggle against the latest version of international opportunism headed by the Teng-Hua revisionist clique of the C.P.C.

In the period of Great Debate, the opportunist leadership of great many Communist Parties used to brandish the sword of fake proletarian internationalism and the accusation of anti-Sovietism to scare the Marxist-Leninist ranks into vacillation in openly denouncing the khrushchov revisionist leading clique of the C.P.S.U.

Following the footsteps of their predecessors, the opportunist leaders of many communist revolutionary groups of India are now waving, in the same way, that rusty weapon of fake proletarian internationalism and accusation of being anti-China to cause vacillation among the Marxist-Leninist ranks in relation to the Teng-Hua opportunism.

Like their opportunist predecessors, they also trumpet fake proletarian internationalism in order to cover up their retreat from real proletarian internationalism. They attempt it by means of blurring the distinction between solidarity with a Marxist-Leninist Party, be it the C.P.S.U. or the C.P.C., which is an important part of our proletarian internationalist duty (but not the whole of it) and solidarity with a revisionist C.P.S.U. or C.P.C. which means deserting the proletariat as well as national revolutionary forces of all lands, particularly, the proletariat of Soviet Union or China, as the case may be.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate the conflicting demands made by these two conceptions of proletarian internationalism. Real proletarian internationalism prompts us to denounce and oppose Soviet invasion and occupation of Afganistan as well as the Vietnamese invasion and occupation of Kampuchia, and support the valient struggles for national independence of the Afgan and the Kampuchian peoples, while the fake proletarian internationalism prompts the revisionist bosses of CPI and CP(M) to hail the Soviet and Vietnamese aggressors, and denounce the just struggles of the Afgan and the Kampuchian peoples as "bandit activities" of reactionary forces aided and abetted by Western imperialism and China.

Again, real proletarian internationalism would prompt us to hail the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle of the Iranian people, and denounce the despotic, lackey regime of the Shah and its patron U.S. imperialism as well as the renegade Hua Kuofeng who rushed to Iran to boost up the sagging morale and image of Shah's regime in the thick of the massacre of insurgent Iranian patriots. On the contrary, the fake proletarian internationalism of the opportunist leader-

ship of many communist revolutionary groups of India would prompt them to hail Hua's trip to Iran as a further demonstration of China's unflinching support to Third World regimes-in-distress, and opposition to the sinister moves of the "more dangerous" super power to displace the "declining" super power by means of fomenting disturbances in the latter's spheres of influence. And they would secretly wish the subsiding of Iranian turbulence lest the Soviet social-imperialism should fish in the troubled waters of the Persian Gulf.

Similarly, real proletarian internationalism would prompt us to denounce Sadat's brazen betrayal of the cause of Arab peoples, especially, the Palestinian people struggling against aggressor Zionist state of Israel, and his shameful grovelling before the arch-Zionist Menachem Begin, under the baton of his new-found master U.S. imperialism. On the other hand, the fake proletarian internationalism of these opportunist leaders would prompt them to hail Sadat's 'Camp David peace initiative' as marking the ascendance of forces of independence and peace in Egypt and a welcome setback to the hegemonic plans of Soviet social-imperialism in the Middle East.

Similar instances can be available in abundance, at home and abroad, which would invariably show the opportunists of various hues ranged along with one or the other superpower and its reactionary lackeys, against the Marxist-Leninists, proletarian and national revolutionary masses. And everywhere they will be found camouflaging their desertion to the enemy with the flag of fake proletarian internationalism.

Hence, the Marxist-Leninists of India must treat all talk of proletarian internationalism, unaccompanied by a staunch struggle against international opportunism, as sheer humbug.

At this juncture, the international opportunism headed by the renegade Teng-Hua leading clique of the CPC has come to the fore as the principal target of the ideological offensive of international Marxist-Leninist movement. Consequently, those Parties and Groups who do not demarcate themselves from Teng-Hua opportunism lose their claim to be treated as Marxist-Leninist Organisations. Nevertheless, a distinction should be made between such ardent champions of Teng-Hua opportunism as the renegade S.N. Singh clique of the CPI (M.L.) and certain Marxist-Leninist forces who are still vascillating or have temporarily, been duped by the Teng-Hua clique through hypocritically flaunting its allegiance to Mao Tsetung Thought. While the former should be denounced and routed, efforts should be made for some time to win over the latter through ideological struggle. At the same time, mere denunciation of Teng-Hua opportunism should not be deemed enough for considering a Party or Group to be Marxist-Leninist. Past experience teaches us that, generally, not all opposition to a certain opportu-

nist current does emanate from a correct ideological and political standpoint ; an opportunist platform can be attacked from another opportunist platform.

A cursory glance at various Organisations who, at present, denounce Teng-Hua opportunism, reveals that many of them conceal their "left" opportunism under the militant posture of crossing swords with the right opportunism spear-headed by the renegade Teng-Hua clique of the CPC. In this spectrum of "left" opportunist hues, two shades are quite prominent in India : One comprising of those whose main thrust is directed against the revolutionary personality and thought of Mao Tsetung rather than against the present revisionist leaders of China ; and the other comprising of those who formally uphold Marxism-Lennism-Mao Tsetung thought while stubbornly clinging to late Charu Mazumdar's discredited line and practice with the semi-terrorist policy of "annihilation of class enemies" at its core. The former, an insignificant force in India, is being patronised by the Hardyal Bains clique of 'the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist)' on behalf of the PLA ; and the latter's specimen can be found in the CPI (M.L.) faction grouped around the fortnightly paper "MASS LINE". A differentiated approach should be taken in struggling against these. The one that openly attacks the revolutionary practice and thought of Mao-Tsetung should be openly refuted and defeated, while the other should be subjected to a patient ideological criticism with a view to retrieve those healthy sections who have not become incorrigible. But, necessary struggle against these "left" opportunist trends must not divert us from mainly concentrating our ideological blows at Teng-Hua opportunism.

In order to accomplish our present main ideological task of thoroughly exposing and vanquishing the international opportunism of Teng-Hua brand, upholding Mao Tsetung thought as an integral part of Marxism-Leninism, and deepening our grasp of the theory and practice of proletarian revolution in all the stages of its development, we must delve deep into the mode of manifestation of Chinese revisionism under the conditions of dictatorship of the proletariat, and the causes underlying its temporary triumph over the Marxist-Leninist forces reared and trained by Mao Tsetung, the great Marxist teacher of our times.

30.8.1980

The Turmoil in North-Eastern Region

While there is great turmoil across the land resulting from the intensification of basic social contradictions of Indian society, the discontent and struggles of small nationalities and tribal peoples against the discriminatory and oppressive policies of Indian reactionary ruling classes are also fast spreading.

The whole of North-Eastern region of India is in agitation. The simultaneous accentuation of social and national contradictions is turning it into an explosive area. For this reason, this region happens to assume special significance both for the counter-revolutionary strategic planning of the Indian reactionary rulers and their imperialist masters, and the revolutionary strategic planning of the Marxist-Leninist forces leading the people's democratic revolutionary movement of India. The reactionary Indian rulers, due to their class character, are incapable of winning the confidence of these nationalities and furthering the process of voluntary national integration. On the contrary, they are responsible for alienating these nationalities and driving them into a collision course. At the same time, despite having enormous striking power and reactionary political experience at their command, they could not and will not succeed in enforcing 'peace' in this region.

An important social factor that frustrates the counter-revolutionary plans of Indian rulers, is the lack of any significant social stratum, among the local population, having vested interests in perpetuating the subjugation of the people of its nationality by the Indian ruling classes. It is so because of the fact that even the stunted, distorted capitalist development, occurring within the confines of semi-feudal semi-colonial Indian society, did not promote a privileged stratum of new-type of landlords, merchants, contractors and bureaucrats from among the local peoples of this region, unlike other relatively advanced regions of the country. Such a social stratum which assists and participates in the economic exploitation and administration of the region by the Indian big bourgeoisie and imperialism, is constituted, in this case, by the "outsiders" the elite of some advanced nationalities, mainly Bengalis.

No doubt, the major political parties of Indian ruling classes, holding in turn the central governmental power, have been able to create their lobbies among local opportunist parliamentary politicians but the latter do not have an effective social base of support for their politics of collaboration with the central rulers. So, these opportunist politicians without incurring the displeasure of Indian ruling classes seek to gain popular support by making occasional noises about the

grievances of the local people and reiterating false promises of carrying out certain reformist measures for the betterment of the local people. With the progressive intensification of the contradiction between these oppressed nationalities and the Indian ruling classes, the true faces of these cliques of local opportunist politicians are increasingly getting exposed among the struggling masses of the people and their capacity for misleading and pacifying the agitated people is vanishing.

On the other hand, the communist revolutionary movement of India has not yet been able to strike deep roots in this region. Due to the extreme underdevelopment of the region, the proletariat has not emerged on the scene as a significant social force. Among the not so numerous workers employed in tea-plantations as well as in some collieries or oil-fields, the major section is recruited from outside the region. This circumstance adversely affects, to an extent, the unity and organisation of masses of workers and their capacity to exercise significant influence on the struggles of the local people against national and social oppression.

The peasantry, mostly tribal, is quite numerous and potentially, the main social base of the national and democratic revolutionary movement. In some parts of the region, for instance Tripura, it has a revolutionary tradition of anti-feudal struggles. But, the betrayal of the peasant struggles by the revisionist bosses of the CPI and CPI (M) as well as the latter's continuing social-chauvinist approach towards the problem of national oppression of these people has been responsible for estranging even those sections of the peasantry who used to look upto the communists for leadership.

As the situation presently stands in the region, the petty bourgeois educated youths have emerged as the most active force spearheading the people's struggles against national oppression. The main current among this force is that of disillusionment with all the traditional political parties and resort to mass struggles for achieving its objectives, on its own initiative by-passing these political parties.

With the diminished political credibility and initiative of the central rulers and their local minions, they increasingly rely on the repressive administrative measures. Under these repressive conditions, the mass struggles of the people led by the petty bourgeoisie, are developing into armed resistance. In the wake of these struggles assuming more militant forms, the carrierist elements in the petty-bourgeois leadership are being supplanted by radical elements.

The obtaining situation furnishes favourable opportunities for the communist revolutionary forces of India to fraternise with the struggling people of these nationalities, win over the petty-bourgeois leadership of these struggles and, thus make these struggling nationalities valuable reserves of the people's democratic revolutionary movement of India under the leadership of proletariat.

The reactionary ruling classes of India while mainly relying on the

repressive organs of the state in dealing with the mounting struggles of these disaffected nationalities, subject them to the old colonialist-policy of "divide and rule". They incite and exploit internecine conflicts among various ethnic, linguistic and religious communities inhabiting this region. Such situations as generate contradictions among various sections of the people are wilfully created or allowed to develop by the ruling classes. If be the case of unceasing encroachment of land and other means of subsistence of the tribal people by the well-to-do plainmen or "outsiders," or that of inordinate influx of refugees from Bangladesh, or that of rigging up or giving free rein to some sectarian organisations allegedly for the protection of the interests of minorities living in the region but actually to pit them against the movements of the natives in order to divert the edge of these movements from their real target—the oppressive rule of Indian reactionaries and imperialists.

Hemmed in by such complicated situations, the petty bourgeois nationalism of the leadership of local people's struggles is prone to go off the track and succumb to parochial sentiments and thus, inadvertently, play into the hands of the foxy Indian rulers who miss no opportunity for creating mutual prejudices and bad blood among the people of these oppressed nationalities and that of other parts of the country.

Communist revolutionary forces of India, especially its sections belonging to these oppressed nationalities, have the right to criticize the small-nation narrowness as expressed in the thought and practice of the petty-bourgeois leadership of these nationalities, and stress the indispensability of the unity of broad masses of the Indian people as a whole for vanquishing the common enemy, namely, the ruling big bourgeois-feudal alliance in league with imperialism. But, *this right to criticize stems from their unequivocal support for these nationalities' right of national self-determination*. And all the professions of one's support for the right of national self-determination are phoney if they do not imply the right of these nationalities to secede from the state of Indian Union. The fact that communist revolutionaries are desirous of voluntary union of all nationalities in a new democratic state of India and that secession is not in the interest of small nationalities, does not entitle any force other than the concerned nationality to decide for or against secession. The idea of secession loses all popular appeal once the conditions of national oppression and mistrust that generate and sustain it are eliminated. Resolute and candid proclamation of support by the communist revolutionaries of India for the right of all nationalities of national self-determination, including the right to secede, lays the preliminary basis for dispelling national mistrust, promoting class solidarity of the working masses of all nationalities, and exercising a restraining influence upon secessionist tendencies of the oppressed nationalities.

Earnest support on the part of Communist revolutionaries for the right of

national self-determination should find concrete expression in combatting by word and deed, the notional chauvinist current frantically fanned by Indian reactionary rulers well assisted by various revisionist and social-democratic parties of India, by raising the false flag of 'national integration' and the bug-bear of 'separatism' in order to malign the struggles of these nationalities and turn the people of other states against these. Communist revolutionary forces should see to it that necessary criticism of erroneous tendencies that find expression in the struggles of these nationalities does not take precedence over the prime task of combatting the evil wind of national chauvinism or unwittingly provide grist to the latter's mill. Whatever be the limitations or lapses of these struggles waged by these nationalities, those political organisations who show themselves up as the apologists of repressive designs and acts of Indian reactionary rulers directed against the struggles of these nationalities or remain indifferent to such repression, do not deserve to be treated as genuine democratic forces what to speak of their credentials as genuine communists.

In the days to come, the struggles of various nationalities of the North-Eastern region against national oppression—ranging from full fledged insurgency of Naga and Mizo people, and the incipient insurgency of the Manipur people to the protest movements of the people of Assam, Tripura, Meghalaya and Arunachal Pardesh—are going to acquire more intensity and sweep. Because of the lack of revolutionary consistency on the part of petty-bourgeois leadership of these movements and the overwhelming disparity between the contending forces (the force of a small nationality pitted, in isolation, against the mite of a big unified Indian state), these movements often experience the setting in of an ebb-tide when a section of the leadership exhibits vascillating and compromising tendencies. Nevertheless, the contradiction that propels the movement does not abate and gets progressively intensified with the march of time. As a result, the vascillating section of the leadership is either forced to sift itself or repudiated by the revolutionary masses of the people in struggles. And these movements move ahead with renewed vigour.

Still, the ability of these movements successfully to hold their ground in a protracted trial of strength with a powerful and ruthless enemy and take a new leap forward towards victory is contingent upon the successful tackling of two crucial problems by their respective leaderships. Firstly, they have to bring into full play the enormous potential force of their peasant masses in order to secure an inexhaustible source of man-power for the liberation army and lend tenacity to the armed resistance. This can only be achieved by paying serious attention to the land-question, so vital to the peasants and promoting their agrarian revolutionary struggles. Secondly, they have to break the isolation in which the struggles of these

nationalities have been proceeding ever since the time of inception of these struggles. In order to achieve this end, they have to make common cause with other revolutionary forces operating countrywide for overthrowing the autocratic and chauvinist state of the Indian reactionaries, seek to co-ordinate the struggles of their respective nationalities with one another and the on-going struggles of the broad masses of Indian people in other parts of the country. Thus, the Indian reactionary rulers can be deprived of their present advantageous position wherein they can fall heavily upon these insurgent nationalities one by one without having to face the wrath of the people of other parts of the country on account of this.

By themselves, the petty-bourgeois leadership of these struggling nationalities won't be able to tackle these two problems successfully. These can be tackled only with the assistance of the proletariat of India rendered through its political vanguard, the communist revolutionary forces of India. Only the latter, on account of their consistent proletarian internationalist out-look, can act as a bridge between these struggling nationalities and the struggling masses of the people in other parts of the country.

(Continued from page 1)

The current arduous phase of the development of international communist movement is going to reveal the mettle of the revolutionary successors to the proletarian cause inside China and else-where nurtured under the influence of Mao-Tsetung's revolutionary thought and practice.

September Nine, like a stern debtee, pays an early call on the Marxist-Leninists lest their vigilance and effort slackens and exhorts them to show to the world that revolutionary optimism of Marxist-Leninists is not at all make-belief to keep themselves in spirits during trying situations but an outlook derived from the cognition of objective laws of social development.

On September Nine of the year 1980, we renew our resolve dauntlessly to uphold the revolutionary legacy of Mao-Tsetung, fight international opportunism of Teng-Hua brand as well as of other hues to its grave and contribute our mite to the advancement of world proletarian revolution.

Long live Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought !

—Sept. 12, 1980.

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

In October 1979, an important meeting was held between Bob Avakian, Chairman of the central committee of the RCP, USA, and Jorge Palacios, a founding member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and a member of the Secretariat of its central committee. These discussions on a widerange of subjects marked the beginning of formal relations between our two Parties.

Since that time, and in accordance with the agreements reached during that meeting, representatives of the central committees of the PCRCh and the RCP, USA have continued to hold discussions on many topics, including especially the crisis in the international movement and the struggle for unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle. Through the course of this process a unity of views has been achieved on many questions, including :

1. Opposition to the counter-revolutionary coup in China which overthrew the dictatorship of the proletariat and replaced it with the rule of a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The new revisionist rulers are, with breakneck speed, dismantling socialism and undoing the accomplishments of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of Mao Tsetung and subjugating the masses once again to exploitation and all the misery typical of capitalist society. Internationally the new ruling Chinese bourgeoisie is capitulating to imperialism, which at this time is taking the form of integrating China into the sphere of Western imperialist exploitation and hitching China onto the U.S.-led war bloc. The revisionist usurpers have concocted the "Strategic theory of the three worlds" and tried to pass off these tarnished revisionist theses as the work of Mao-Tsetung. They have even repudiated the polemics against Khrushchevite revisionism. They are trying to spread capitulation and betrayal around the world.

2. The need to wage a vigorous defence of the great contributions of Mao Tsetung to the science and practice of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution in the face of the attacks on his line from all quarters. Mao Tsetung developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism in the fields of making revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries; the theory of people's war and military affairs; political economy and socialist construction; literature and art; Marxist philosophy; and, most important, the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tsetung led the struggle in the international

communist movement against modern revisionism and developed a thorough critique of the latter. Mao Tsetung, at the head of the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, unleashed and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which, for ten years, prevented the restoration of capitalism in China, further revolutionised the socialist society, trained revolutionary successors who to day are fighting for the revolutionary overthrow of the new capitalist ruling class in China, and left precious and vital lessons for the world proletariat. For all these reasons the attacks on Mao Tsetung are, in fact, attacks on Marxism-Leninism and must be treated as such.

3. The Soviet revisionists remain mortal enemies of the revolutionary proletariat. Under no circumstances can Marxist-Leninists abandon the struggle against them or the revisionist parties with whom they collaborate and generally lead. All forms of opportunism, including Trotskyism, Castroism, "focism," and social democracy must continue to be fought.

4. The recognition of the growing danger of a third world war. The deepening crisis of the Western imperialist countries and that of the Soviet bloc states is forcing all the imperialist powers to seek a new, more favourable (for themselves) division of the world. The two imperialist super powers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, are heading up rival imperialist blocs to prepare for a new imperialist war that looms more menacing every passing day.

Our parties condemn recent acts of aggression by the imperialists and those linked to them including the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the U.S. interference in Iran. In this light, the Chinese invasion of Vietnam and the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia must also be opposed.

An inter-imperialist world war could break out soon and there is a very great likelihood that it will break out in the next ten years unless it is prevented by revolution. In the face of this the proletariat must step up its revolutionary struggle, fight against imperialist war preparations, and prepare so that if revolution is not able to prevent a war it will be in a position to turn an inter-imperialist war into a war against the imperialists and their collaborators.

5. Not only is the development of the objective situation creating more fertile ground for revolutionary struggle in various countries, but there are actually growing revolutionary movements in many countries at the present time, and already within the last few years reactionary regimes in such places as Iran, Nicaragua and elsewhere have been overthrown or powerfully shaken by mass revolutionary struggle. While, as yet, none of these struggles have advanced to the stage of actually achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, they clearly indicate the potential for this, in both the colonial (or neo-colonial) and dependent countries and in the imperialist countries themselves.

6. The need to carry out a thorough discussion and summation of the experience of the international communist movement, the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. This is necessary, in particular, to achieve a deeper understanding of revisionism so as to better combat its pernicious influence and to continue and deepen the struggle against it even in our own ranks.

7. The urgent need for the ideological, political and organisational unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world. Such unity will only come about through bitter ideological and political struggle against opportunism; no good will come from trying to hide or obscure differences, still less by treating major questions of demarcation as irrelevant or mere topics for sterile academic debate.

8. Proletarian internationalism requires the active struggle to overthrow one's "own" reactionary ruling class; the full support for the struggle of the proletariat, oppressed masses and oppressed nations throughout the world; and support for socialist countries where they exist or may be established—all toward the goal of achieving the historic mission of the international proletariat.

On the basis of these common views the PCRCh and the RCP, U.S.A. have jointly undertaken bold and serious steps to further the process of unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninists on a world scale. It is the view of both parties that while the crises of the international movement is deep and the dangers are menacing, the possibilities for revolution, in each respective country and in the world as a whole, are greater still. With this perspective both of our parties pledge to fight to their full capacity for the defence of Marxism-Leninism and the contributions of Mao Tsetung, for the victory of the revolution and the advance to communism throughout the world.

July, 1980.

Signed.

Central Committee,

Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile

Central Committee,

Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

Polish Workers Rise in Revolt

The month of August brought good tidings from Poland, an East-European social-capitalist country under the domination of Soviet social-imperialism. The shipyard workers of the Baltic Coast in the north and the coalminers of upper Silesian region in the south shook the revisionist Polish regime by powerful strike action.

As has been the case in the past, this time also the Polish workers, tossing aside the official trade union bureaucracy, dared to move on their own initiative, throwing up a struggle oriented leadership from among their own ranks. They resorted to their tested method of struggle, that is, initiating struggle on a burning economic issue as a stepping stone to unleash a serious political engagement with the oppressive regime.

In the face of united workers determination, the revisionist rulers were forced to eat their words that they won't negotiate with the "non-recognised" Action Committee of shipyard workers. Even after having got to show the tail in the first round and rush to Head-quarters of the Action Committee situated at the main port of Gdansk for holding negotiations, the crafty Polish rulers tried to derail and split the struggling workers by offering to concede all their economic demands, if the workers would drop their political demands. But, the revolutionary masses of the workers scornfully rejected this sugar-coated poison and directed their leadership to keep the political demands in the forefront. The political demands included the release of political prisoners, revision of censorship law, the right to strike, the right to form trade unions independent of officially-sponsored trade unions and no victimisation of strikers.

The heroic Polish workers, undaunted by the threats of bloody suppression, stuck to their guns for seventeen days till they brought the Geirek regime down to its knees and got their main demands conceded. The successful strike action took its customary political toll in terms of a major shake-up of govt. and party leadership. Unable to ward off his own down-fall through sacking a number of ruling Politbureau members and govt. ministers, the revisionist Chief Geirek got himself unceremoniously kicked out of the seat of power. He went down the way his predecessor Gomulka had to go in a similar workers upsurge in 1970 which resulted in Geirek's ascendance to power.

It is a significant victory of the Polish working class that should exhilarate and inspire the proletarian revolutionaries of all lands.

It was not simply an important battle between the working class and the neo-bourgeois ruling class of Poland ; other interests and forces too were involved in it.

This upsurge of the Polish workers, like the earlier ones in the year 1956, 1970, 1976 expressed the deep resentment among the broad masses of the people of Poland against the exploitative and oppressive Soviet dominated Polish regime. It signalled that the doom of Soviet social-imperialism and its Polish collaborators is fast approaching. Moreover, it is likely to prompt the revolutionary masses of the people of other East European countries, suffering under similar oppressive regimes, to follow the trail blazed by it. That is why, the Kremlin bosses were alarmed at this political action of the Polish workers and were anxious to get it snubbed at the hands of the repressive organs of the Polish state. Their dismay and anger at the victory of Polish workers comes out unmistakably through the comments of their official media.

On the other hand, U.S.-imperialism as well as its European imperialist allies had its own axe to grind in encouraging the Polish turmoil. It was anxious to see the social-imperialist grip over Poland weakened so that it may gradually take Poland away from the Soviet orbit and under its own wings. Its main levers for this purpose inside Poland are the influential clergy and most of the dissident intellectuals who were directly or indirectly supporting the strike struggle of the workers. A section of the leadership of the striking workers has also leanings towards and connections with the western powers. But, the influence exercised by the western powers and their agencies on the course of the workers' struggle was a limited one. They wanted a controlled and curtailed movement to serve the promotion of bourgeois liberal forces in Poland which look up to decadent capitalist societies in the west for inspiration. The prospect of advance of a politically conscious working class movement in Poland taking the destiny in its own hands is as frightening to western imperialists as to the Soviet social-imperialism. That was why the Polish church expressed concern for the stability of Gierk's regime and counselled moderation to the strikers; and the Western media repeatedly stressed the danger of Soviet military intervention to scare the workers into cutting short their political confrontation through a quick compromise. Spurning the 'friendly' advice of these imperialist vultures, the revolutionary masses of the Polish workers, with the Gdansk shipyard workers in the forefront, dared to struggle and win.

The opportunist trade union leaders of some imperialist countries are greatly publicising whatever little help they might have rendered to the struggling Polish workers from selfish considerations of furthering the cause of their imperialist masters to the detriment of the rival social imperialists. They have less to say about the concrete help rendered by them and more to rant about the solidarity actions they were planning to organise in case the Polish authorities resorted to repressive measures against the strikers. One such action they now say, would have been the refusal to handle Polish cargo at their ports. Of course, this publicity is meant to win applause from the

masses of workers under the influence of these trade unions. Still, contrary to the wishes of these opportunist leaders this publicity is serving international proletarian movement well in so far as it suggests to workers of all lands the course to be really followed by them in line with their fine revolutionary traditions of such international solidarity actions in the past.

The experience of this political action of the Polish workers is worth studying on the part of international proletariat, in particular, the proletariat of developed capitalist countries. It has practically confirmed the Marxist-Leninist view that not only is revolutionary mass action feasible even under the conditions of a social-fascist regime but also that the Bolshevik weapon of political strike and the struggle-born workers committees as its vehicle are quite relevant and effective in the present period. No doubt, the innumerable workers committees which sprang up in the recent upsurge of Polish workers as well as in the earlier ones in the year 1970 and 1976 were not the organs of insurrection, like the Soviets, for the obvious reason that the Polish workers movement has yet not reached that stage of its development but these committees were the precursors of future Soviets.

The revolutionary consciousness and steadfastness displayed by Polish workers in this strike movement indicates the presence of Marxist-Leninist elements in the local-level leadership. Although the evolution of a Marxist-Leninist Organisation is yet not conspicuous, it may get crystalised in the impending serious confrontations of the restive masses of the Polish workers with the state apparatus. This development, when consummated, shall mark the beginning of a new leap in the working class movement of Poland. In not a distant future, the working class of Poland may well achieve the glorious feat of demonstrating how to organise and operate a Marxist-Leninist Party under the conditions of a social-fascist state. Amen !

Sept. 7, 1970

Turkey Goes Under Military Rule

A military junta comprising of top commanders of Turkish armies has taken over governmental power in Turkey toppling the Suleman Demiral regime, abolishing the parliament and imposing Martial Law throughout the country.

Turkey has been gripped by acute economic and political crisis for the last two or three years. Western powers led by U.S. imperialism to whom the lackey reactionary ruling classes of Turkey mortgaged the country economically, politically and militarily, pumped in huge amounts of finance capital in recent years in a vain attempt to mitigate the economic crisis and bolster the lackey Turkish regime.

On the dictate of their imperialist masters, the Turkish rulers had encouraged the violence of fascist and chauvinist forces against the left, democratic and patriotic forces so as to terrorise and subdue the widespread social discontent and mass struggles of the people, and keep the country a safe hunting ground for imperialist exploitation and a handy military post. The revolutionary masses of the Turkish people with the TKP (M.L.) in the vanguard took the course of waging tit-for-tat struggle by getting organised for militantly resisting the attacks of reactionary gangs patronised by the ruling classes. Contrary to the wishes of the Turkish reactionaries, their resort to fascist techniques, far from cowing down the struggling people, led to a greater political turmoil.

The combative mood and actions of the revolutionary masses of the people, the intensifying internecine dog-fights of various cliques of the ruling classes, and the political bankruptcy of the major ruling class political parties in misleading and pacifying the people, caused panic among the domestic reactionary ruling classes and their chief patron—U.S. imperialism. An additional factor causing some headache to U.S. imperialism came into operation with the stepped-up activity of the Islamic fundamentalists of Turkey in the wake of Iranian Revolution, who were partly responsible for ousting the foreign affairs minister, Erkman, owing to the pro-western, pro-Israel and anti-Iranian stance of Turkish foreign policy. All these developments led to a situation wherein the reactionary political system of Turkey stood paralysed. The staging of this military coup is a desperate attempt on the part of the Turkish reactionary ruling classes and their imperialist masters to extricate themselves from this confounding situation.

The import of Turkish developments can properly be appreciated only in the context of the present international situation pregnant with war and revolution.

While the crisis-ridden imperialist powers, especially the two superpowers, are frenziedly pursuing the counter-revolutionary course of war and aggression dictated by the imperatives of inter-imperialist contention for seizing from each other maximum number of markets, sources of raw-materials and spheres of influence, the oppressed people of various lands are straining to throw off their backs the burden of national and social oppression. The spectre of these spreading revolutionary struggles of the oppressed people, ranging from mass protests, mass upheavals to armed resistance, is haunting the imperialist powers and their reactionary lackeys. The two imperialist superpowers—Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism—are running hither and thither like wounded beasts for mending the constantly erupting breaches in their imperial fortifications. They are reinforcing rabid reaction at home and abroad to enforce social peace in their backyards so as to be able to more effectively confront each other in an imperialist war.

The Turkish developments constitute just a part of this internationally unfolding drama of overlapping currents of war and revolution. In Turkey, the main culprit happens to be U.S. imperialism as well as its domestic lackeys. The staging of the military coup shows that they could no more take risk of prolonged political instability in this strategically situated arm of the NATO war-structure. The news item concerning the coup, as carried by the bourgeois papers, leave one in no doubt about the underlying motive of this counter-revolutionary move and the forces against whom its sharp edge is directed. It reads in part as follows :

“General Sahinkaya returned from a weaklong visit to U.S. earlier this week.”

“The commanders announced over the state radio that the take over was aimed at preventing, ‘possible civil war in this key North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) member on the Soviet border.’”

“informed sources said patrols were moving into shanty town areas of Istanbul in search of extremists.....”

Sept. 14, 1980

The Farce of Court Trial

A disturbing news from China is afloat in bourgeois papers. The Chinese Government is going to enact a court trial of the four prominent proletarian revolutionary leaders of China within a few days.

The four revolutionary leaders, namely, Comrade Chang-Chunchiao, Comrade Yao-Wenyuan, Comrade Wang Hungwen and Comrade Chiang Ching, are well known figures in China and abroad. They constituted, under the leadership of Comrade Mao-Tsetung, the central leading core of the proletarian revolutionary forces within the CPC and the revolutionary masses of the Chinese people. They assisted Comrade Mao-Tsetung in initiating and successfully carrying forward the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China. In the crucial days, after the passing away of Comrade Mao-Tsetung, they strived to ensure the supermacy of Mao-Tsetung's proletarian revolutionary line in the party and resist the revisionist onslaught of Teng-Hua gang against the Party, state and the socialist revolution of China.

While they were, ideologically and organisationally, preparing the revolutionary masses of the Chinese people for the impending battle against the revisionists, the restorationist forces within the top layers of the Party and the PLA joined hands to stage a counter-revolutionary coup-de'tate. The four leaders were arrested alongwith their staunch supporters. The armed resistance of the revolutionary forces, deprived of central leadership and co-ordination, was suppressed for once and thousands of revolutionary cadres were subjected to a witch-hunt and persecuted. Many a comrades lost their lives, notably comrade Mao-Tun, a nephew and trusted assistant of Mao-Tsetung, whom Mao-Tsetung entrusted with his personal papers, and who died fighting to save those papers from the clutches of the renegade Hua-Kuo-feng. Eversince, the four leaders have been in jail.

Although the Teng-Hua gang, in control of the leadership of the Party and the state, could temporarily defeat the proletarian revolutionary forces led by The Four and break their organisations, it could not scrub their profound ideological political influence off the minds of the revolutionary masses of the Chinese people. This fact is borne out by the official Chinese propaganda wherein revisionist chieftains frequently bemoan that the influence of "ultra-left" thinking is still "fairly widespread" among the people. It is there inspite of an all out propaganda campaign full of distortions, plain lies and meanest kind of character assassination directed against The Four. Like a hard bone, The Four are stuck in the throat of the revisionist rulers of China. Despite the bitter hatred harboured by the latter for these revolutionary leaders, they could not be summarily done away with because of the apprehension of likely political repercussions among the people. Hence, this farce of a court trial is being staged.

The whole show is meant to provide a legal coating to political persecution so as to make it look less repugnant to the Chinese people. More than this, it is meant to project abroad the image of a liberal regime and to reassure Western monopoly bourgeoisie that bourgeois jurisprudence has struck roots in China as a pillar of nascent capitalist system.

All sensible political persons who have witnessed with disgust the spate of calumnious propaganda against The Four spewed out by Chinese official media all these years, are not going to be taken in by this hoax of a court trial. The revisionist rulers of China have proved their capacity for stooping to any mean depths in concocting wild allegations against the defeated revolutionaries. Now they will be persecuted on the basis of a rehash of all these rotten lies.

The Teng-Hua revisionist gang is already guilty of so many crimes committed against the Chinese people. Taking advantage of the usurped political power, it is in a position today to inflict punishment on the proletarian revolutionary leaders of China. But, let it be warned that by committing this outrageous act, it will be drawing near the day of revolutionary reckoning when the proletarian revolutionaries of China as well as of other lands shall surely settle all accounts with this pack of bourgeois scoundrels.

—Sept. 5, 1980

Without Comment

CPC on Yugoslav revisionist clique

THEN.....

“U.S. imperialism and its NATO partners have spent several thousand millions of U.S. dollars nursing the Tito clique for a long time. Cloaked as “Marxist-Leninists” and flaunting the banner of a “Socialist Country,” the Tito clique has been undermining the international communist movement and the revolutionary cause of the people of the world, serving as a special detachment of U.S. imperialism.

It is completely groundless and out of keeping with the facts to assert that Yugoslavia is showing “definite positive tendencies,” that it is a “socialist country”, and that the Tito clique is an “anti-imperialist force.”

Certain persons are now attempting to introduce the Yugoslav revisionist clique into the socialist community and the international communist ranks. This is openly to tear up the agreement unanimously reached at the 1960 meeting of the fraternal parties and is absolutely impermissible.

Over the past few years, the revisionist trend flooding the international working-class movement and the many experiences and lessons of the international communist movement have fully confirmed the correctness of the conclusion in the Declaration and the Statement that the revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement at present.

However, certain persons are openly saying that dogmatism and not revisionism is the main danger, or that dogmatism is no less dangerous than revisionism, etc. What sort of principles underlies all this?

Firm Marxist-Leninists and genuine Marxist-Leninist parties must put principles first. They must not barter away principles, approving one thing to day and another to-morrow, advocating one thing to day and another tomorrow.”

[From :—*A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement*].

“In these circumstances, the attitude every Marxist-Leninist Party should take towards the Tito clique is no longer the one it should take towards a fraternal party or a fraternal country, nor should it be that of winning the Tito clique over, but it should be one of thoroughly exposing and firmly combating

this gang of renegades. The 1960 Statement has given its clear conclusion on this point."

"The facts prove that our position with regard to the Tito clique conforms with reality, is a principled position, and is in accord with the common agreement of the meeting of the fraternal parties in 1960. On the other hand, the leaders of the CPSU have tried in a thousand and one ways to reverse the verdict on the Tito clique, which testifies to their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, their abandonment of the 1960 Statement, and their rendering of assistance to the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in deceiving the people of Yugoslavia and of the whole world....."

[From :—*Is Yugoslavia Socialist Country ? (Third comment on the open letter of the central committee of the (CPSU) Sept. 26, 1963)*

.....AND NOW

To our great sorrow, Comrade Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and President of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, passed away. The Yugoslav peoples have lost their great leader, the international communist movement an indomitable and seasoned veteran, the cause of world peace and human progress a renowned activist, and the Chinese people a respected old comrade-in-arms. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the State Council of the People's Republic of China and the entire Chinese people, we express with immense grief our deepest condolences and sincere sympathy to you, to the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Assembly and the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and all the peoples of Yugoslavia. In these days of your national mourning, the Chinese people share your grief and stand closely by you.

Comrade Tito was a great Marxist and outstanding proletarian revolutionary. He devoted his whole life to the Yugoslav peoples' noble cause of national liberation and the building of socialism and rendered it immortal service.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia, headed by Comrade Tito, integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the realities in Yugoslavia, created the socialist self-management system suited to the conditions of Yugoslavia and established a powerful nation-wide defence and social self-defence system. Comrade Tito made creative endeavours and led the Yugoslav peoples in firmly

defending Yugoslavia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, advancing its cause of socialism, and turning the poor and backward old Yugoslavia into a prosperous and strong socialist country based on national unity and fraternity, thus contributing valuable experience to the international communist movement.

Comrade Tito was a statesman enjoying a high prestige in the contemporary world. He consistently upheld justice in international affairs and actively supported the liberation struggles of oppressed nations and peoples. He was one of the principal founders of the non-aligned movement, worked to strengthen its unity, uphold the purposes of the non-aligned policy and keep to the orientation of opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism.

Showing consistent concern and sympathy with the Chinese people's revolutionary struggles, Comrade Tito worked with great zeal to safeguard and develop the friendship between the peoples of China and Yugoslavia. The historic visit he paid to China in 1977 at the advanced age of eighty-five despite the fatigue involved in such a long journey carried the friendly relations and cooperation between our Parties, countries and peoples to a new stage, the stage of their all round and sustained development, and exerted a great impact on contemporary international life. The Chinese people deeply admire and respect Comrade Tito for his political far-sightedness, his dedication to the fight for the truth and his noble communist qualities and breadth of vision. His passing has evoked immense grief in the hearts of the Chinese people.

Eternal glory to esteemed and beloved Comrade Tito .

[From :—The condolence message sent by Hua Guofeng, chairman of the CPC and Ye Jinying, chairman of the standing committee of NPC of PRC.]

Worker's Movement in Ludhiana

A Union with a difference

General Introduction

Ludhiana, the biggest industrial town of Punjab, has roughly over 2 lacs of industrial labour force. Over half of this industrial labour, mainly unskilled, is a migratory force coming from U.P. and Bihar and locally known as "Bhaias". A major portion of the skilled labour force is from Punjab and is drawn mainly from the rural peasant families. Increasing indebtedness of the peasantry, scarce job opportunities in the rural areas and several other factors are resulting in the stratification and alienation of the ruined peasantry and in a big exodus of the alienated peasant masses towards the cities in search of some kind of job.

Ludhiana, one of the major industrial towns of Northern India and a big export market is distinct for the production of hosiery goods, woolen garments and textiles, cycles and sewing machines and machine tools. Industrial goods worth over Rs. 150 crores, mainly cycles and hosiery products, are exported every year. It has innumerable industrial shops and enterprises, the biggest one's employing 3 to 5 thousand workers. But a bulk of the industrial force is scattered in small scale and cottage industries employing 5 to 50 workers. These small scale and cottage industries are mainly ancilliary units producing spares and parts for the big enterprises on contract basis or on cash basis. More than two-third of the entire labour force is concentrated in hosiery, woolen and steel works.

Working Conditions of Workers

This sprawling city of pelf and poverty presents a sad spectacle as far as the working class is concerned. The entire working class in general is cursed to live a life of misery and degradation. Worst exploited and suppressed are especially the migrated labourers. The life is really a hell for them.

Inside the factories, the working conditions are altogether inhuman. Generally, attendance is not marked on the authorised registers. Hence, such workers have no job security and are denied legal benefits. Wages are not paid in time. Majority of the workers are paid less than Rs. 200 p.m. which is much below the lawfully specified minimum statutory wage of Rs. 252 p.m. for an unskilled worker. Facilities like yearly holidays, festival holidays, a weekend off, bonus and other service benefits are totally out of question. In case of accidents, causing serious wounds, no compensation or medical treatment is provided, instead, the worker is sure to be thrown out of job. In summer seasons, there are no fans in the foundry shed burning like hot furnace and the workers get scorched and perspire all the while attending to their jobs. Still cruel is the treatment of the factory managements towards workers who continue to rebuke or threaten the workers with or without any pretext. Whosoever dares speak up against this

insolent behaviour is immediately thrashed up by the goondas employed and reared by the management and shunted out of the factory, most of the times, without clearing accounts. Being unorganised, the worker has no other go except tolerating all these indecencies and indignities or go out of job.

Out of the factory, in their homes, the plight is still more miserable. Seven to ten workers are huddled together in a small dungeon type hutment of some labour ghetto where there are no light, water or sanitation provisions. Stinking filth and garbage and nauseating squalor alongwith buzzing swarms of flies and mosquitos make them the real wretched of the earth. Epidemics like malaria, cholera and worms continuous'y plague their diseased bodies. Worst still, the landlords and the local toughs rob them of whatever little they are left with.

This wretched plight of theirs, full of abuses and indignities, in and out of the factory, is largely due to their totally unorganised state. Not that there are no unions in this industrial city. On the contrary, quite a lot of them claim to be active among the industrial workers. All the major TU centres like INTUC, AITUC, CITU, HMS, BMS etc. are there in the field but scarcely had any of them ever tried to organise them let alone ameliorate their living and working conditions. None of the aforesaid TU centres, whether under the tutelage of revisionist parties (like AITUC, CITU) or the bourgeois parties (like INTUC, HMS, BMS etc.) seems to be serious in organising the workers. They have neither regular and effective membership, union branches or committees nor they hold meetings or conferences. No instance of organised propaganda by them on any vital issue facing the workers has come to one's notice in the recent past. To think about in terms of raising the political consciousness of the workers, organising them or preparing them for long drawn-out class battles or ultimately for the proletarian seizure of state power, on their part, is mere wishful and futile. Actually, such expectation from these trechorous renegades to the working class is sheer stupidity on one's part. What to talk of launching struggles on economic and political issues with clear class perspective, they do not even engage in militant economism. Spontaneous militant eruptions of the working class are adroitly peddled on to a class collaborationist course end up with some sort of deal with the capitalist owners or in a legal feud in the labour court.

A number of these trade unions have set up elegant offices which functions as labour lawyer's shops. Any worker after paying an initial fee of Rs. 3 to 5 can assign his case to be fought in a labour court to these TUs. Extra expenses are charged for stationary, legal fee, travel expenses etc. After the settlement of the case, whatever the worker gets, one tenth of that is taken by the union. In most of the cases, these trade unions reach some sort of agreement with the management in the conciliatory stage of the legal feud and the trade union leaders

go out of their way in counselling the workers to accept it. Some trade unions even get some bribe from the managements to hush up the cases leaving the worker to lurch.

A Ray of Hope

On the otherwise glooming labour horizon of Ludhiana, there is still a silver lining in the dark clouds and it is shining more and more with every passing day. This silver lining is being emitted by a revolutionary labour organisation "Moulder and Steel Worker's Union" (MSWU) which is active, as is evident from the name itself, among the foundry and steel workers. After portraying the above-narrated labour scene the manifesto of the MSWU outlines the purpose of forming such a union in following words :

"This consistent and conscious endeavour of pulling out the workers from the quagmire of despondency and frustration, organising them as a class, making them consciously realise the real power and significance of their class, struggling for ameliorating their living and working conditions, establishing a fighting bond with various other struggling sections of the toiling masses and advancing, step by step, for establishing proletarian power through joint struggles of the entire people is what is called MSWU."

Founded with the initial participation of mere two dozen workers in Jan. 1972, foundry workers (whose total strength hardly exceeds two thousand) constituted its main field of operation but soon afterwards, its activities and influence were extended among the steel workers as well. No doubt, it is a small emerging and developing force in relation to the labour force in steel industry as well as with total labour force, yet it has successfully outstamped, in a few years, all the lackey trade unions of the revisionist and bourgeois parties with their decades of 'activity and achievements' and has attained the dominant position among the foundry and steel workers and has emerged as an impressive organisation in this industrial centre. The MSWU with solid force in hundreds and influence extending among thousands is a source of great inspiration for the working masses and they cherish high hopes.

Beginning with taking up preliminary issues like ensuring timely wages, clearing up of dues, regular attendance marking and improving of working conditions, it went in for launching struggles on many other significant issues. During its nine years of tumultuous life, it has waged many a heroic battles, weathered many a storms and has won many impressive victories. Apart from winning innumerable victories like dues clearances of workers worth thousands of rupees, getting in time wages, wage increases, bonus, holidays and improvement of working conditions attendance marking and against the high handed behaviour of factory owners, other notable ones include the abolition of contractor system in majority of the foundries and the prestigious "Partap Foundry" struggle which, starting from this foundry, escalated into a major confrontation involving all the foundries.

It goes to the credit of MSWU that not even a single worker from Ludhiana or the nearby towns agreed to work in this foundry unless the MSWU leaders were taken back on work. The conscious workers spat on all the enticements of the owners to allure the workers and factory remained closed for 318 long days.

Another landmark in the history of MSWU was the 1974 fiftyfive day long Aero workers struggle. The owners of Aero factory wanted to deprive the workers of their earlier victory of 20% wage increase and 13% bonus and forced the workers to struggle. Lock out was declared in the factory rendering 30 workers jobless. The efforts of the owners to lift lock-out for workers without the MSWU leaders was scornfully rejected by the conscious workers. This militant struggle of the workers, braving all police lathicharges, beatings, arrests and economic hardships went on unabated and drew the attention of almost all the organised sections of Punjab. It was a show of unprecedented mobilisations and fraternal support in the recent history of working class struggle in Punjab. Although the Aero workers could not attain final victory in terms of immediate demands on account of imposition of fascistic emergency, it highly enhanced the prestige and influence of the MSWU. As a result of this struggle, the factory could not function for many months to come.

Distinguishing Features

What demarcates MSWU from other trade unions is not its expanding influence or its handsome achievements in a relative shorter span of activity but its altogether different understanding and approach towards the labour problems as revealed thro' its various activities, struggles and standpoints.

In sharp contrast with other opportunist trade unions, enmeshed neckdeep in the quagmire of economism and legalism, woefully dreaded of all agitational forms and always on the look out to diffuse the workers just anger against the factory owners, attempting to reduce each and every struggle of the workers to a legal battle in the labour court, the MSWU is a struggle-oriented organisation of the industrial workers, committed to defend and champion all-round interests of the workers, whether inside the factory or out of it, in all suitable forms and ways. It is an organisation, engaged in revolutionary trade-unionism, making workers conscious of the need to overthrow this exploiting system all the while fighting for their immediate day-to-day economic as well as other demands to improve their living conditions.

The very first lesson of the MSWU to the working class draws a clear demarcation line from other opportunist unions. All other trade unions, with their sole reliance on arbitration and conciliation and advocacy of the ideology of non-violence and pacifism, muddle the consciousness of the working masses about their relationship and nature of contradiction with the capitalist class, the MSWU has all along and consistently emphasised thro' its various publications and propaganda that capitalists as a class are the blood-suckers of working class and

howsoever benevolent and mild-mannered any individual capitalist might appear he "never allows any encroachment on his profit. To whatever extent and in whatever way possible, they invariably exploit the workers." The only reliable shield for the working class, against the onslaught of the capitalist class, is their unity and strong organisation. Struggle—influencing, irreconcilable and persistent struggle—is the only dependable weapon in the hands of working class with which they can safeguard and enhance their interests.

Whenever confrontation between the workers and the management is not solved on the negotiating table, the other trade unions, instead of stepping up and intensifying the struggle vie with one another infervne appealing to state administration or the labour deptt. to intervene in the interests of workers. They muddle the class consciousness of the workers by portraying the state administration as neutral. The MSWU, on the other hand, entertains no illusions about the character of state administration and its impartiality. Summing up the Aero Worker's struggle, while pinpointing the various forces ranged against the workers, a document says, "Although the factory owners, officials of labour and distt. administration and opportunist organisations of various hues were, from the beginning, sabotaging our organisation thro' various mean and deceptive means but in the Aero workers' struggle, their anger and labour-enmity knew no proportions." Utilizing its own experience as well as the incidents of mass massacres of the working class by the state police and the anti-labour laws of the state, it has exposed the so-called neutrality of the state and its labour departments. It is the only organisation in Ludhiana which launched wide propaganda compaigns against the anti-labour laws like various bonus enactments, Industrial Relations Bill, Minimum Wages Act, Compulsory Deposits etc. to educate the workers and mobilised them in protest meetings, demonstrations and rallies.

Goondaism is yet another problem for the workers. Most of the factory owners have employed and reared the goondas and deploy them against the class-conscious workers and labour leaders. In Ludhiana, there are professional goonda gangs patronised by influential persons and whenever a factory owner is in need, he can hire their services. Earlier, usually, the trade unions used to lie low or the individual labourers fought against them on their own. The MSWU not only boldly faced and repulsed their attacks but also equipped the ordinary workers with correct way out. One of its posters on this subject after describing various wrong approaches on this question reads as follows :

"Generally, leading core of the workers becomes the target of attack of this goondaism..... We should never forget that whereas goondas fight for the factory owners and their profits, the leadership fights for the workers and their interests. Therefore, the fight is not between the goondas and the leadership but between the factory owners and goondas on the one hand and workers and the leadership

on the other hand, i.e. a fight between two classes. Therefore, we should fight it out by organising ourselves as a class so that we may defend our interests, union and leadership and raise our living standard."

Equipped with this understanding the MSWU succeeded, to a great extent, in mobilising the workers and their families in repulsing these attacks.

In 1974, when the industry in the state was experiencing worst ever power, coal and steel shortage and severe industrial recession and slump in the goods market left the industry in doldrums, the factory owners resorted to large-scale retrenchment and attempted to shift the burden of crisis on to the backs of workers. Bonus, yearly increments and other benefits, previously availed by the workers, were either confiscated or denied for the new year. Intermittant power supply further slashed the meagre earnings of the workers as they were not paid for the breakdown period. Worst still, the workers had to remain in factories, waiting for the supply, almost 24 hours. The MSWU in Aero and other factories, in such a situation, adopting correct tactics, on the one hand, resisted all the attempts of the capitalist owners to cut the wages or lay down the workers and on the other hand, organised massive demonstrations to press upon the authorities for adequate and time-bound supply. It succeeded in Aero as well as many other factories, to make the owners pay for duty hours, supply or no supply and forced the power board to fix the supply timings. All other unions, sat helplessly and did nothing to mitigate the difficulties of the workers. It also waged bitter class-battles on many other demands and won them.

Whereas other trade unions remain confined to mere economic demands and in this case also never transgress the legal limits, the range of issues taken by the MSWU is far-wider. Besides emerging as a consistent champion of the economic interests of the workers, it also took various democratic issues ranging from the high handedness of the factory owners, goondaism, intimidation, threats and beatings of the migratory workers to police repression and often helped them in getting justice by mobilising the workers and locality people. It also took up such social welfare and relief measures as distribution of medicines during the epidemic break-out season. It mobilised workers to organise funds for the struggling workers in other factories and organised free kitchens for the starving families of the struggling workers. Such activities boosted the morale of struggling workers and the MSWU became an overall leader, and champion of the working people's interests and is endeared by them.

The MSWU, thro' its painstaking and consistent efforts, has educated the working masses under its influence in the fine tradition of class kinship and regard for the toiling sections. Whenever working brethren from other factories strike work for their legitimate demands, the MSWU and the workers under its influence are always the first to support it, not only by mere resolutions but by

participating in their actual struggle and giving whatever little material help they can. Such acts of class-solidarity impress the fighting workers too much and sharpen their fighting-spirit. When the struggling workers of "Partap Steel and Rolling Mills Amritsar" on their way to Chandigarh stopped at Ludhiana, nearly 150 workers under the flag of MSWU, enthusiastically welcomed them and staged a militant demonstration in support of their demands. It is significant to note that the MSWU came to know of their programme only a day before and could not mobilise all the workers under its influence. The AITUC, in whose guidance the Partap Mills struggle was going on, could not even muster 25 workers to express solidarity. The MSWU tried to convince the other trade unions to jointly protest against the police firing and lathicharge on workers of "Vardhman Spinning and Weaving Mills" led by INTUC and after their hesitation was revealed, it organised an anti-repression demonstration on its own. Similarly, it helped the fighting workers of Dhariwal which is more than hundred miles away from Ludhiana, contributed Rs. 105 as a token of fraternal help, issued a leaflet popularising their cause and organised a demonstration in their support. Numerous more examples can be cited.

Armed with revolutionary class perspective and conscious of the need of building broader unity, the MSWU has always tried to forge close links with other struggling sections and has inculcated among the workers under its influence the spirit of giving and taking fraternal support. It not only missed no opportunity of expressing solidarity with the workers of Ludhiana, union affiliations notwithstanding, but also consciously extended support to various other sections. Worth citing examples include the support extended to unemployed teachers' 85 day long memorable struggle, the policemen's agitation and various student struggles, especially during the murder of their most revered leader and democratic rights champion Com. Prithipal Singh Randhawa. The MSWU, popularised their (other sections) cause among the workers by publishing leaflets and posters, organised demonstrations and participated in their state-level demonstrations. It was because of this solidarity spirit and conscious attitude that various other sections responded immediately and enthusiastically whenever the MSWU was in need of their help. During its magnificent Aero struggle, various sections of people supported their demands and participated in their demonstrations. Youths of NBS from a farflong area reached in hundreds to participate in their demonstrations, a peasant organisation sent 50 mounds of wheat for running a free kitchen, fraternal employees and other organisations contributed nearly Rs. 4500 to their struggle fund. A 5000 strong state level demonstration of unemployed teachers converted itself into a solidarity demonstration with the fighting Aero workers. Various local panchayats, shopkeepers associations and students organisation-PSU-not only participated in their

demonstration but also met the distt. authorities on their own to press for an honourable settlement failing which they reiterated their resolve to jump full-scale in the struggle. Such a show of solidarity and fraternal support is rarely witnessed and is unique in many respects.

When political issues of wider national interest dominated the national scene, unlike many other trade Unions, it did not sit back or echo the official utterances blindly. It immediately responded and contributed its bit by mobilising the public opinion and making the workers politically conscious of the stakes involved and the role they need to play. In 1974, when Cong-CPI alliance, on the one hand, and the JP alliance, on the other hand, were misguiding the people to futher their respective narrow political interests, the MSWU, armed the workers with correct perspective and participated in the "Sangram Rally" organised jointly by the two youth organisations—PSU & NBS—and helped project a correct orientation and solvation programme for the crisis-ridden nation. It opposed the murders of Communist revolutionaries and other innocent people by the police in no uncertain terms and exposed the reality behind so called police encounters. Again, when fascitic emergency was clamped and all civil liberties and democratic rights were curbed by the Indra regime, instead of being duped by the holy pronouncements of the ministers, it not only not supported it but also laid bare its real anti-labour character, though on a low-key because of its weakened organisational state. Similarly on many other occasions, it seized every opportunity to educate the working class.

Style of Work

Another important aspect, which more than any other, demarcates the MSWU from other opportunist trade unions is its style of work. None of the other unions has regular membership, branches or elected bodies and they never consult the workers even on important issues. Life-long trade union leaders imposed by various political parties are unions unto them. In sharp contrast with these signboard unions, the MSWU is a codrebased union having regular membership and democratically elected bodies. All decisions regarding politics and important struggles are taken by the elected bodies and shared and discussed with the membership and general masses. Experience of the struggles is discussed and summed up after the struggle or at annual conference in which the participation of the ordinary workers is ensured by adopting suitable forms. Each and every issue is widely propagated thro' meetings, rallies, posters, hardbills and thro' the union organ. The importance that the MSWU attaches to propaganda can be measured by the fact that whereas other unions take out none or hardly one or two posters throout the year, the MSWU in a brief span of 5 months from May to September 79 issued 16 different posters and handbills numbering 49000 in Punjabi and Hindi. For all its activities, its reliance is not an individual leaders or their sacrifices but on rank and file workers whom it tries to mobilise in maximum possible numbers.

How the MSWU makes the workers conscious of various twists and turns of a struggle and ensures their participation is best illustrated by the handbills issued during Aero workers' struggle by the Aero factory committee of the MSWU. A few of the captions read as follows :

"Be vigilant, don't relax, the enemy is out to strike."

"The enemy even after being defeated never concedes defeat till his doom."

"The more we get organised, become mature, strengthened and powerful, the more bitter and frustrated enemy becomes resorting to ever newer tricks and attacks."

"Be aware, victories can turn into defeats."

"Get hold of yourselves, see thro' the enemy's evil designs. The enemy is out to impose fight."

"See through the evil designs of factory owners, get prepared for still bigger attacks."

Previously, the factory owners of Ludhiana used to beat or even murder the worker on a slight pretext without any fear of incurring the wrath of workers. Most of the times, not even a single protest demonstration held on such occasions. But this was not the case when the owners of a factory named "Mittal Alloys" cold-bloodedly murdered a U.P. labourer named Radhe Raman on the alleged pretext of theft case. As earlier, the owners in league with the police, attempted to dispose of the dead body silently but their attempts were totally thwarted by the workers led by the MSWU.

The number of workers in the factory where Radhe Raman was employed was less than 200. Moreover, the nature of the issue was such that no strong protests were expected in Ludhiana, keeping in view the earlier experience. But the MSWU took no time to take up this issue and started arousing and mobilising the workers.

The MSWU led workers thwarted all the attempts of the management-police combine to do away with the dead body, took it into their possession and a massive demonstration was organised. In order to mobilise ordinary workers and arouse their anger and indignation, posters and leaflets were published and rallies and mass meetings in the labour ghatoes were organised.

Meanwhile, the MSWU approached all other trade unions for a joint struggle against this heinous murder but their response was rather cool. On July 9, three days after the murder, another demonstration was organised. More than 2000 angry workers staged a militant rally in front of the factory demanding arrest of the factory owner in murder case. The police, in an eyewash attempt, ordered an enquiry.

Yet another attempt was made to persuade the other TUs to join the protest movement. But these renegades to the working class declined to join on the pretext of waiting for the enquiry report and post-mortem examinations. What was a clear case of murder in the eyes of ordinary workers; they hardly required an enquiry report to express their anger.

Another massive demonstration was organised on July 11 against the police failure to arrest the culprits. Nearly 2000 workers, their eyes red with rage, marched to the police station, fraternal people especially the students joined in big numbers. The MSWU leaders exposed the nature and motive of the police enquiry.

More and more workers were being drawn in the struggle. In order to scare away the workers and contain the growing protest movement, the police resorted to lathicharge and firing in the air on the workers militant demonstration on July 14. But the workers, instead of being intimidated, retaliated in self-defense, made the police hoodlums to flee and staged an angry demonstration. The effigies of the police and factory owner were also burnt. The distt. administration clamped prohibitory orders under section 144.

CITU, AITUC and other unions instead of protesting against the imposition of these ban orders made good out of it and on the pretext of prohibitory orders justified their staying away. CITU even went to the extent of accusing the MSWU of sabotaging the police enquiry. These revisionist renegades remained faithful to their masters even at the cost of being alienated from the workers. All hopes of united action were dashed to the ground and the MSWU exposed their treachrous role among the workers.

After the firing and lathicharge and imposition of prohibitory orders, situation took a new turn. The whole of industrial area was converted into a virtual police camp. Rallies, meetings etc. were banned. A new style of work for worker's mobilisation was the cry of the hour. The MSWU immediately switched on to a secret style of work. Door to door meetings, group meetings, whispering compaigns and other suitable forms were adopted. Secret preparations for an unannounced demonstration were on.

On July 19, all of a sudden, more than 500 workers, with red flags in their hands, appeared in the Ram Lila grounds. A militant rally and demonstration were staged. Before the police could muster enough reinforcements, everything was over. The police was caught unawares and the people as well as police were taken aback. Posters appeared on the walls next morning high lighting the demonstration and reiterating their resolve to continue the struggle. A magisterial enquiry was ordered.

Most of the leaders and leading activists of the MSWU being warranted,

indirect forms were used to continue the protest movement. A condolence meeting was held on 27th July in which large number of justice-loving people participated. The warranted MSWU leaders addressed the 2000 strong condolence gathering and the police could not dare arrest them. Another massive demonstration was organised on August 4.

Although the workers failed to get the factory owner arrested due to political patronage of the high-ups and heavy bribes given to the police by the factory owner, he could not run the factory for a long period to come. It was a rare example of workers' determined struggle and massive mobilisation on any democratic issue. A more significant aspect of the struggle lay in the fact that the workers' whether Punjabi or migrated, joined the struggle in great numbers. In view of a sharp contradiction between the migrated labourers and local labour, and Radhe Raman being a migratory labourer, it was really to the credit of the MSWU that it brought both the native as well as the migratory labourers on a common platform against their common enemy. The students and other sections lent much support and this struggle further cemented their fighting bond.

Problems to be Solved

The MSWU is confronted with numerous problems which are yet to be solved. However, it is struggling for their solution while carrying out its revolutionary practice.

Most of the Punjabi workers are drawn from the rural peasant families. Their peasant background, whereas on the one hand, from a long-term revolutionary perspective, will provide the necessary link between the revolutionary worker's movement and the agrarian revolutionary movement of the peasantry, there on the other hand, it is posing serious problems from an immediate perspective. The peasant-turned-workers abound in petty-bourgeois and anarchic tendencies. They are not truly proletarianised elements and lack the qualities of working class like consistency, patience and co-operative spirit. Whenever problems crop up, instead of fighting unitedly, they make it their individual fight. Similarly, in long-drawn battles, they lose the revolutionary patience and resort to acts of adventurism. There are so many other problems arising from their peasant outlook. The MSWU is faced with the hard task of remoulding their class-out look.

In view of the revisionist leaders' total indifference towards joint struggles and united actions, the task of extricating the workers from the revisionist clutches and their pernicious influence, is still more complicated. Up till now, the MSWU has projected the revolutionary alternative thro' positively building and lauding revolutionary struggles on its own and propagating them in workers. It has also organised solidarity actions in support of their struggles and has also distributed revolutionary propaganda material among them. But still all this is from a distance and is inadequate. The MSWU needs to devise ways and methods to

better approach them so that the bankruptcy of these revisionist and bourgeois TU leaders and their class-collaborationist line be effectively exposed and they be exhorted to rally around the revolutionary line and leadership.

Establishing the regular units of the union and maintaining them is yet another problem. The factory owners, as soon as, come to know of the union activists, immediately refuse to take them on work. Even before the unit gets established and consolidated, it is demolished with the retrenchment of the activists. The MSWU, has tried to partially solve this problem by organising secret units but whenever a problem arises, the workers expect the union activists to lead them and once they come in the eyes of the management, they are immediately sacked and the union is not enough strong to repulse this attack. It is a major problem, which the MSWU will have to grapple with.

Uptill now, the MSWU has been able to correctly handle the contradiction between the migrated labour and the native workers and has been successful in drawing them in struggles against the common enemy. It has also contributed in bringing them closer and even in rallying them in each other's support. But the problem is far from solved and requires untiring efforts, skillful handling and revolutionary propaganda to make them see that they are not enemies and their real enemy is the capitalist class.

As compared to the total labour force in Ludhiana, the MSWU is still a small force. In view of the govt.'s repressive and anti-labour attitude and strong unity of the employers, quantitatively much greater and qualitatively much better mobilisation is required in future for winning struggles. It remains to be seen how the MSWU faces this and similar such tasks.

Press Statement

JANUARY

The Central Committee of the Unity Centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India (M-L) condemns in strongest possible terms the promulgation of the so-called 'National Security Ordinance,' which is nothing but a new name for the 'Maintenance of Internal Security Act.' The reactionary Indira regime has miserably failed to mitigate, much less solve, the genuine problems of the people of this country and they are, once again, on the move against this regime in one form or the other. In such a situation, this reactionary regime is left with no other go than relying more and more on repressive measures in order to maintain the much-wanted 'law and order' for the reactionary ruling classes of India and their imperialist patrons. Therefore, whatever the protestations and assurances of the rulers, the ordinance is bound to be used against the democratic forces and struggles.

We are sure that the democratic forces of India won't take it lying down. Basing on the consciousness and experience gained during the past years, they will definitely come forward unitedly and courageously to fight back this onslaught. The communist revolutionaries will work for promoting this consciousness and unity among working people so that a powerful movement is built against this onslaught of the ruling classes.

Sept, 28, 1980

Har Bhajan Sohi
Secretary, C.C. (P),
U.C.C.R.I. (M-L)

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of western imperialism. In some cases, namely Syria and Libya, they are rendering some sort of assistance too to Iran. On the other hand, most of the pro-west forces (with the exception of Israil) in the region and elsewhere are inclined in favour of Iraq against Iran.

Genuine Marxist-Leninist forces of all lands and other national revolutionary forces unambiguously stand by the side of Iranian people in their hour of crises. They demand the immediate termination of this conflict, unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Iranian territory and the settlement of their territorial disputes in a peaceful and fair manner. They condemn the machinations of the two superpowers for making this region a hotbed of tension and their imperialist contention.

The way various political forces are ranged or getting ranged in relation to the Iraq-Iran conflict and associated developments, it would be interesting to see how the apologists of Teng-Hua opportunism respond to the military adventure of the 'candidate anti-hegemonist' Iraqi regime, the shameless pleading of 'anti-hegemonist' Sadat for effective U.S. imperialist intervention in Iran for overthrowing Khomienec's rule and the aggressive posture of the 'declining' superpower in the Gulf region with the despatch of naval Armada !

Oct. 14, 1980.

Persian Gulf on Fire

The invasion of Khusestan, the oil-rich border province of Iran by the Iraqi armies has led to a war of attrition between these two neighbouring countries. The oil-wells and refineries on either sides have been made the special targets of air and artillery attacks by both of the combatants for the last three weeks or so. Their economies, mainly sustained by the export of oil, are getting seriously damaged and it will take years after the termination of this war for them to recover from this devastation.

Both the super-powers are maliciously warming their hands by the side of burning Iran and Iraq while hypocritically showing serious concern and axaiety due to this flare-up and flaunting their 'neutrality.' The small under-developed countries enmeshed in reigional conflicts have always been good game for these predators on the hunt for 'spheres of influence' and dependencies.

Notwithstanding the much-hawked-about unity of Third world countries, the so many reactionary regimes of these countries who wag their tails to get financial and military 'aid' from the imperialist powers, often exhibit expansionist tendencies in relation to their militarily weaker neighbourers. Throwing to the winds all their professsions pretaining to peaceful co-existence, non-alignment and anti-imperialism, they never miss the chance to act the bully towards the weaker neighbourers once they are assured of the active backing or connivance of one or the other superpower. In this way, they allow themselves to be used as instruments by the two superpowers in the latter's contention for world hegemony.

Earlier, it was the militarist Iranian regime of Shah Reza Pehlvi, beefed up as a strong counter-revolutionary regional power by U.S. imperialism for safeguarding the latter's interests and oil-supply-lines in this region, who bullied Iraq into an agreement by which Iran took over from Iraq the control of these islands near the strategic straits of Hormuz and partial control over the important Shat-al-Arab canal. At that time, Iraq was a sphere of influence of Soviet social-imperialism.

Now, it is the militarist Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussain who is playing the bully by taking advantage of the difficulties faced by the new nationalist Iranian regime of Ayatollah Khomeinee. The Iraqi regime, though having a "treaty of friendship" with Soviet Union, is gradually moving closer to the Western imperialist block led by U.S. imperialism. It has established links with and provided certain facilities to the Iranian counter-revolutionary elements in exile around whom a mercenary interventionist army is being rigged up by U.S. imperialism with the aim of overthrowing the nationilist Iranian regime at an opportune

moment. It is fraternising with such pro-West Arab states as Saudi-Arabia and Jordan.

Counting on the weakened military power of Iran and the beleaguered position of nationalist regime of Iran against which both the super powers and the reactionary pro-West Arab states are intriguing to tame, cow-down or overthrow it, Saddam Hussain under-took the military adventure forcibly to regain control of the three islands and Shat-al-Arab Canal and, if possible, the oil rich Khusestan whose predominantly Arab population resents the domination of Tehran rulers.

Saddam Hussain grossly under-estimated the prowess of Iranian people aroused and united in the national revolutionary struggle to overthrow the neo-colonial domination of U.S. imperialism and safeguard the initial gains of national revolution from being encroached upon by any of imperialist powers. The valiant and dogged resistance put up by the Iranian people, despite the limitations of their political leadership, against the superior military might of the invading Iraqi armies have upset the spurious calculations of Saddam Hussain, the various overt and covert abettors of his military adventure and the forecasts of so many bourgeois journalist who thought that the Iranian won't be able to withstand the assault of Iraqi ground forces for long without the help of one or the other super power. Playing into the hands of western imperialist powers, Saddam Hussain has landed himself in a quandry. Even if he succeeds in capturing some more Iranian territory by throwing more battalions into the battle field, he won't be able to consolidate his hold on it and will mortally be harassed by the Iranian armed forces and guerrilla fighters. He will definitely have to pay a heavy price for this misadventure and may very well lose his own throne.

Both the super powers, at present, are resorting to cunning manoeuvres to cash on the Iraq-Iran conflict. They are trying to create a situation of "no victory, no peace" for Iraq and Iran and seek to extend their influence over both of them taking advantage of their militarily and economically weakened positions resulting from a drawn-out conflict. They have set their vulturous eyes particularly on Iran which is boldly spurning their pressures and enticements.

U.S. imperialism has greatly increased its counter-revolutionary interference and military build up in the region under the pretext of safeguarding the supply-lines of oil. This so-called weakened and less dangerous super power has come out with a most provocative and aggressive move in sending a naval armada composing of the warships of U.S. imperialism and its other imperialist allies to the troubled Waters of the Persian Gulf.

Generally, the pro-Soviet forces in different countries are coming out with verbal support of Iran and condemnation of Iraqi military action and the intrigues

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Remembering Comrade Trimala Nagi Reddy

On July 28, 1980 fell the fourth anniversary of comrade T. Nagi Reddy's passing away. As that fateful day gets distanced with the passing years, the loss of comrade T.N. dawns upon our minds with ever more intensity.

This span of four years witnessed important developments in the communist revolutionary movement at international as well as national level. Notably, while we were still recovering from the shock of the demise of this precious comrade and leader of communist revolutionary movement of India, there occurred the Himalayan loss of comrade Mao Tsetung, the great teacher of international proletariat, and following that the loss of socialist China with the usurpation of supreme Party and state leadership by the counter-revolutionary Teng-Hua gang. Three years later, the unity centre of Communist Revolutionaries of India (Marxist-Leninist), the fruit of untiring efforts and struggle on the part of comrade T.N. more than any body else, experienced a split because a section of it could not withstand the tide of opportunism unleashed by the renegade Teng-Hua leading clique of the C.P.C.

In these difficult years, full of great tribulations and challenges for us, our thoughts repeatedly turn to the memory of comrade T.N., his capacity for calmly and determinedly standing up to all sorts of ordeals and steering our Organisation clear of all deviations along the revolutionary course determined on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the fundamental line of Revolution. Cherishing the memory of comrade T.N. today we deem it a matter of satisfaction that our Organisation has not failed his expectations as it holds aloft the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the correct fundamental line of Indian revolution, bequeathed to us by our departed leader, and is determined to smash all opportunist currents that confront it on the way to accomplish its task of carrying out People's Democratic Revolution of India through to the end to usher in a socialist, and ultimately communist society. His memory shall ever remain a great source of revolutionary inspiration and vigour for all of us in measuring up to new challenges thrown to us by various twists and turns of the revolutionary movement.



Com. T. Nagi Reddy

Organ of the CC(P), UCCRI (M.L.)

Published by :

Com. P. Chandra from Jyoti Printers, Paharganj, Delhi.

Price : Inland Rs. 3/-

Foreign \$ 1.5

275¢