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Editorial

Soliciting the Ruling Classes,  
Dismembering the Working Masses

The Indian bourgeois political scene is at present fully overcast with the approaching general elections. All the parliamentary political parties are now preoccupied with various moves and counter-moves for buttressing their respective electoral prospects and for undermining those of their rivals. Obviously, the two electoral fronts of the ruling class political parties, led respectively by the Congress(I) and the Janata Dal, are playing the central role in this political game of intrigue and denigration of each other and in the deception and manipulation of the common people. The newspapers, radio and television are operating as active combatants in the no-holds-barred propaganda-war going on between these electoral fronts.

The increasingly vehement and vituperative nature of their respective campaigns clearly indicates that both of the contending electoral fronts -- and those sections of the ruling classes that are behind these political platforms -- find the stakes quite high in the losing or the gaining of central governmental power. What is at stake is not merely the usual power of political-economic patronage, conventionally associated with the hold on central government, but instant fortunes involving hundreds of crores of rupees.

The running feud between two big business houses, the Reliance group and the Bombay Dyeing group of companies, is a striking case. It manifests the enhanced significance of

the central government authority in influencing intra-ruling class conflicts. In the Bombay Dyeing chairman's statement to this year's annual general meeting of share-holders, it is brought out how the central government's discriminatory policy towards that company regarding a single item of the required raw-materials, Paraxylene, results in pruning the company's profits by Rs 45 crore per year and indirectly benefiting its competitor by Rs 180 crore per year. This magnitude of financial advantage or disadvantage to the concerned "parties", that is involved in the biased operation of the central government authority in the matter of a single item of industrial raw-materials, provides an inkling of the extraordinary financial stakes in the full-scale operation of that authority. No wonder that, of all the lines of manufacture, "manufacturing of government" is turning out to be the most profitable one.

Of course, the institutions of State power continue to play their role as reliable watchdogs in protecting the general class interests of the big bourgeoisie and the big feudal land-owners vis-a-vis the working masses of Indian people. But these institutions have been gradually cracking, in recent years, under the strain of intensifying contradictions among the various sections of the Indian ruling classes and their imperialist patrons. In facing the partisan conduct of the central executive authority in the intra-ruling class conflicts, most of the State-institutions are often found ineffective or compliant. So, the central financial institutions (various finance corporations, banks and insurance companies etc) and the administrative institutions (the C.B.I., the Enforcement Directorate etc) may go far out of their way to promote or hurt the interests of one "party", depending on whether that one has a hold on the central government authority or its rival has it. That is why, one of the major themes of

opposition party propaganda, as well as of a section of intellectual publicists, happens to be "the imperilled sanctity and credibility of various State-institutions".

It is interesting to observe the contradictory ends being served by the ongoing "subversion of democratic constitutional structures of State power".

On the one hand, they project this issue as an indictment of the Rajiv government: The unbridled conduct of central executive authority is made out to be an outcome of the selfish pursuits of Rajiv Gandhi or the small clique of political scoundrels around him, rather than as a necessary consequence of the sharpened conflicts among the ruling classes. In this way, the extent and gravity of the crisis engulfing the Indian economy and State -- hence the accelerated degeneration of State institutions -- are sought to be obscured from public attention and comprehension.

On the other hand, the very acuteness of the crisis and of the conflicts drives them to wash the dirty linen of State functioning in public and so to highlight, with all the resources at their command, the sordid reality of the 'hallowed' edifice of their so-called democratic State. In this way, contrary to their intentions, they objectively contribute to the growing public disgust with these institutions. Following the provincial legislatures, the governorship, the presidency, the parliament, the judicial commissions the CBI and the Comptroller and Accountant General etc, the latest institution that was made to shed its ornamental plumage is that of the Army General Staff. The Bofors gun may or may not prove its deadly striking power in the battlefield; it surely demonstrated that power in shooting down many a big reputation, including that of the Army General Staff for its professional uprightness!

### Appeal addressed to ruling classes

The other major theme, rather the main theme, of the current propaganda-war between the two electoral fronts of ruling class parties is "the security" of the country or of the Indian State. The Congress was quick to adopt this as its main electoral plank. In one form or the other, the security of the country has been its pet tune for a long time. The Janata Dal and its National Front somehow muddled through, finally to arrive at this slogan. Lately, the leadership of the opposition front has been at pains to stress that the main slogan of the opposition is actually that of national security. The National Front chairman, N.T. Rama Rao, could be seen labouring, last month, to produce an explanation of how "Rajiv Hatao" (remove Rajiv) was never the main slogan of the Front but that of the BJP; the Front's was "Rajiv Hatao Desh Bachao" (remove Rajiv for the sake of country's security). V.P. Singh, the "crusader" against corruption at high places, could also be seen clarifying the thrust of the opposition campaign by stating that the real issue was not corruption but national security.

What emerges, in a striking fashion, out of the din and fury of this election-eve political atmosphere is this: the issue of the Indian State's well-being, whether in the form of security of the State or the integrity of various institutions of the State, constitutes the main political content and central axis of the whole propaganda campaign, on the part of both the major electoral fronts of ruling class political parties.

### Broad masses dealt with at different plane

At a cursory glance, the above feature of the current electoral conduct of the ruling class parties may seem strange. For, an electoral plank such as the integrity of State institutions has

little appeal for the vast majority of the Indian working people, ie, for the overwhelming majority of voters. Even if the broad masses of the working people may not be politically aware of the inimical class character of these State institutions, their living experience makes them feel the alien character of these institutions. Naturally, they have no sense of belonging to these State institutions and, hence, no concern for the plight of these institutions. The ruling class politicians are not oblivious to this reality. The point is that, in real political terms, both of the two electoral fronts are not addressing the vast majority of Indian working people. The political propaganda campaign, with the fore-mentioned political electoral planks, is addressed essentially to the ruling classes and the upper crust of the middle classes. The vast majority of the Indian people, the working people, are being addressed separately, at a different plane -- not as a constituency of "mainstream" politics.

There, both of the two electoral fronts of ruling class parties, are essentially banking on the skillful handling of the sectarian communal divisions -- particularly the religious communal divisions -- among the people. These sectarian communal divisions already have been mainly nurtured by these very political parties of the ruling classes. Having first ensured, in their respective manners, that they are on the safe side of majority Hindu communal sentiment, both of the two electoral fronts are now vying with each other to woo the minority Muslim communal sentiment. In this, the National Front leadership was greatly helped by the timely guidance in electoral real-politik by the 'Marxist' chief-tain, E.M.S.Namboodiripad: He warned the National Front leadership against overtly allying with the BJP lest the Muslim minority communal constituency should get estranged from them.

So, there is now a clear breach in the

parliamentary political process. The ruling class political parties have underscored the reality of even formal marginalisation of the vast majority of Indian people from the parliamentary political process. The ruling class political parties are in their natural element of political hypocrisy vis-a-vis their own class so far as they are projecting (in their electoral political campaign) the respective concerns of the various sections of ruling classes in terms of common concerns of the ruling classes as a whole. But, as regards the broad masses of Indian people, the conduct of these electoral fronts is principally that of electoral manipulation, while the aspect of parliamentary political hypocrisy has been relegated to an insignificant status.

Indeed, the conduct of the whole electoral campaign by the ruling class parties on the basis of the political marginalisation of the broad masses of working people, is an act of great effrontery towards the democratic sense and status of the broad masses of Indian people. However, the people can give a fitting reply to this political insolence of the ruling class parties by snubbing their manipulative overtures and ensuring the further marginalisation of these parties from the mainstream of real people's politics -- viz, from class struggle.

#### ELECTION PREPARATIONS

September 15, 1989: The official death toll in the communal clashes at Kota (Rajasthan) rises to 16. September 12-18: Communal clashes in Mehsana, Kaira, Sabarkantha, Ahmedabad, and Panchmahals districts of Gujarat. September 29: At least 30 killed, 200 injured in Badaun (U.P.) rioting over Urdu issue. September 29: Firing and curfew in Mhow (U.P.) October 1: Toll in Khargone (M.P.) riots rises to 4. Riots also erupt in Ratlam (M.P.), Indore tense. October 15: communal riots in Indore claimed at least 20 -- the unofficial toll is 50 -- and left, 100 injured in four hours.....



#### What We Must Learn from Comrade TN

Comrade Tarimela Nagi Reddy -- "TN" to his comrades -- passed away thirteen years ago, July 28, 1976. His contribution to the formulation, defence and development of the communist revolutionary line are invaluable. But one particular aspect of his leadership is of immense significance for all communist revolutionaries today.

That is, his method of political analysis and his approach of linking theory with practice.

Comrade TN had an integral political-ideological concept and approach towards all revolutionary work; and he excelled in practising it. In analysing any political development or situation, sticking to the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, proceeding from the current development of and interrelation between fundamental contradictions, ascertaining the particular form of conduct of different political forces in relation to them, ascertaining the actual state of affairs of the revolutionary force and working out not only practical tasks but also the concrete forms of revolutionary activity with regard to them, -- all this he did in a manner that not only corresponded with, but was also easily identifiable with, the long-term interests of the movement and the strategic goal of the revolution. It is on the basis of this strength that Comrade TN showed exemplary revolutionary optimism, unshakable conviction in and assertion of the line, and resolute confidence in the organisation. All of which made him a constant source of cheer and inspiration for all comrades.

Today, when pragmatism in political conduct and cynicism in spirit are swaying many a leadership and rank-and-file of communist revolutionaries, it will be a fitting homage to Comrade TN to resolve that we will imbibe and strive to develop this particular aspect of Comrade TN's role.

Below is a part of the letter, written by Comrade TN in September 1975, to the then Secretary of UCCRI(NL). In this part of the letter he elucidates his impressions and views on the "Emergency". Though it is not a finalised or full-fledged article, we can see in it TN's integral political-ideological approach. We have slightly enlarged the original to make it more legible.

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This emergency came as a bolt from the blue so far as I am concerned. Even though I could see the growing contradictions within the ruling class, I did not expect the final political burst in the form of a small 'coup' from the most powerful leader of the ruling group. It was certainly the most well planned and well executed political manoeuvre. What I hear is that, not even the cabinet was aware of what was taking place till they were summoned on 26<sup>th</sup> to endorse the 'fait accompli'!

All the contradictions seemed to have reached the saturation point.

1. uncoordinated political manoeuvres of various groups were slowly being mobilised into one political mainstream under the leadership of J.P. His slow extension to Bengal, U.P., Punjab, Haryana and Gujarat in the main from his base in Bihar and his trials to secure a foot hold in the South - his tour in Andhra, T.Nad, Kerala and Karnataka had certainly an effect on the Ruling group which began to show cracks. Even though visible signs of inner cracks were very

few, loosening of the organisation was clearly evident in each state. Every disgruntled group was taking courage to show itself up in some form or other (as in the case of Gujarat 2.P. election). It looked as though the Allahabad judgement, and the defeat of the congress in the Gujarat elections was pushing the various disgruntled groups and parties into one main stream. The situation became very critical. Even the cabinet seems to have shown cracks. The contradictions of the ruling class had reached the bursting point. The quick steps the P.M took has temporarily quietened the situation.

2. The contention between the great powers is growing fast. The South Asia has slowly become area of intense power struggle. Soviet Revisionists want to make India its base for expansion to contain China and to gain hegemony in South Asia and Middle East over America. The creation of Bangla Desh in 71 and absorption of Sikkim by India in 74 looked like a success for the expansionist diplomacy of Soviet Imperialists. But again the bubble has burst in Bangla

Desh. So, South Asia - in particular India is (or has) becoming the cock-pit of struggle for hegemony of the two super powers. And the intensification of the struggle in the ruling class has also the impact of this struggle of the super powers for hegemony.

3. One aspect of this period should be kept in mind. In 1969 when the party in power split, there was the growing strength of the Revolutionary peasantry in action. Naxalbari, Srikakulam, the peasant areas of upsurge in W. Bengal, Bihar, U.P., and Andhra was the main growing force to contend. But due to the treacherous betrayal of the revolution by the rank madness of adventurous leadership, today the revolutionary forces are in a difficult position organisationally to take advantage of their intensified contradictions within the ruling class. The revolutionary upsurge of the peasantry is now at a low ebb - added to the betrayal of adventurist policy, the subtle carrot & stick policy of the ruling party has had its effect to benumb the minds of the people temporarily. This difference between 1969 and 1975 should be noted.

4. The betrayal of the CPI and its role as a storm trooper of the congress is the

most sickeningly dangerous aspect of the political life. They have openly begun to support every anti-people and antidemocratic stand of the govt. Immediately with the clamping of the emergency they gave up their so-called movement for the implementation of the land reform - They came out in support of the 20 point programme which has nothing to do with either abolition of landlordism or even an iota of anti-imperialism - They supported the anti-strike posture of the govt for greater production, as though it was the working class which was responsible for the failure of full capacity production so far - They have supported 'no demand in the increase in wages' policy to the utter satisfaction of the management both of foreign and domestic capital. The total abolition of freedom of the press and organisation, the complete ban on mass activity, and the total extinction of any kind of civil liberty - all these have come as god sent gifts to these scoundrels to parade as progressives and organise anti-fascist conventions to beguile the masses. On each and every one of their slogans, we should come out to brand them as no better than an SS to the Nazis.

S. I hear that the Marxists are facing extinction from serious differences. Their party

has been functioning without a programme and a policy different from the revisionists with the result that they are functioning only on the basis of compromises of various groups within their party and outside their party - mainly on the basis of regrouping for elections. Their total support to Indira Gandhi at the time of the split in the Congress in 1969 and again at the time of East Pakistan crisis in 1971 in the name of supporting progress as against reaction - a totally false posture - has now led a powerful section within their party on the same old logic to come out in support of false and hybrid programme of Indira Gandhi. This only shows that parliamentary anti-congressism without a fundamental anti-federal and anti-imperialist programme leads one into dangerous logic - leads them into soft surface of the slippery inclined plane forcing them inevitably and unavoidably into revisionist betrayal. We should brand this group as such. But it is my opinion that we should be soft with others and our dialogue with them should be firm in principles but soft in tone.

7.

b. There is one feature which should be noted with care. The aid from World Bank and other Western powers, is flowing into India as never before. The most important factor is that the aid now is to the rural sector. World Bank has almost doubled its aid this year in comparison to 1974-75. What does it signify actually? Their penetration in depth to somehow or other to allow Indira Gandhi to tide over the present economic difficulties, at a time when one section of the ruling class is fighting bitterly to replace her, has very great significance. That is why I feel that with all her leaning to USSR, she has very carefully maintained her stance towards West also. Even the West is yet only trying to replace her - if possible - or bend her towards them by keeping their strings all over and extend further to tighten them. But all this to take place silently, without upsetting the political apple cart as in Bangla Desh. The stakes are high - and naturally the tactics are carefully drawn. Our education of the people in relation to imperialist exploitation is yet on an extremely low key and we must intensify our study and propaganda to that end. It is one of our important tasks since the imperialist contradictions will intensify.

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The creation of anti imperialist nationalism towards total confiscation of imperialist capital - to educate people on various kinds and methods of exploitation taking every single known example in our lives is an immensely important task. We must take serious note of the fact that there is not a single item of anti imperialist task in the so-called 20 point programme. The loud talk of self reliant economy - with greater loans and extensive foreign investments! - is the harshest joke on the people of India.

7. On the question of so called land reform our propaganda should be concrete exposure of the reverse move of the ruling class, buttressed by the shameless support of the CPI. For ex: quite a number of landlords during the recent period have diversified their economy into various other fields - such as trade, small factories like rice mills, groundnut factories, cinema theaters, contractors (not of the small village type), Rented house property and so on. Their income from these is very important and a growing feature. There are other highly placed officials in large numbers of landlord families. In such a situation if lands of those are not touched, then the question of land distribution becomes

a force. Such examples as these must be enumerated to explain the farcical nature of the land reforms.

To take one more example: Temple lands are not a small feature of our economy. There are lakhs of acres of fertile land owned by the biggest of the landlords - the 'Almighty'. The latest news is that these lands are going to be sold by auction - landed property to be turned into monetary property. If these lands don't become the property of the landless, then the question of land distribution is only an eye wash.

By taking concrete examples as these in our propaganda we will be able to organise the peasantry into action. 'Take law into your own hands since there is no other way to abolish landlordism' - should be the main slogan. But this cannot take concrete shape unless and until concretised local slogans are consistently propagated along with general slogans.

There is a talk of formation of committees to quicken the implementation of the so-called land Acts. This is nothing but asking the landlords to distribute their own lands! The formation of such committees is nothing new. We must concretely expose this slogan. Lenin had castigated the formation of such committees when such a question was raised in Duma,

and he countered that slogan with another - 'The committees of landless labour' to implement the law of land reforms. Every Village will elect Land Reform implementation committees, consisting of only landless labour and to be elected by only the landless labour. This slogan, given by him sometime in 1907 during a debate in the Duma on the question of land reforms, became a concrete exposure of the so-called land reform measures of Czarist 'progressives'!

I have here taken up only a few examples to show how then our day to day slogans we can educate and slowly organise the rural poor on certain concrete issues of day to day nature in the process of our work among the rural masses. Our process of exposure of Revisionist scoundrels should at the same time help the rural poor with concretised slogans for his understanding and for implementation.

8. Every aspect of 20 point programme has to be factually bombarded to smithereens. There is such a hullaballoo of bombastic propaganda of smashing the network of snuggling. But what actually is happening is nothing but a wick fight on the tinges

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on the periphery of the problem. With increasing foreign aid, growing commercial loans, and penetration of imperialist private capital — all strengthened by all powerful foreign banks, the drain on foreign exchange in all its multi-dimensional forms — legal and illegal — is the fundamental problem. The interests of foreign and collaborationist Indian monopolies demand that the illegal smuggling activities be put an end to, in the interests of their skinning the cream. With increased attack on smugglers, the govt has liberalised imports on the delicious plea of export promotion — "primarily to finance import of goods which go into current consumption as a price stabilising operation", "the tendency of the beneficiaries will be to import items which cater to elitist demand and maximise their profits regardless of the claims of national economy" (I.E., editorials 15 and 16 July 1975) —, thereby liberalising to an extent legal and semi-legal smuggling in the interests of the 'organised' sector of the economy. The World Bank has been insisting on liberalised imports as an incentive to exports — "The idea is that exporters will be allowed to import, raw materials, intermediates, equipments and other goods not necessarily to meet import content of their own exports but to sell them at a handsome price by

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exploiting their shortage and the premium they enjoy in the home market" — and naturally this kind of 'legal' smuggling must necessarily to an extent enter the 'illegal' smuggling. This process is nothing but jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

Or take the example of firing of so-called corrupt and inefficient officers. There is nothing new in this: when Ayub Khan came to power, in the name of cleansing the society and administration of corruption, nepotism and black marketing, he took very stringent action (to temporarily remove and divert the attention of the people) on certain officials, merchants and smugglers. It was later proved that his regime was the most corrupt and immoral. The history of 'quick money' and 'super profit' society is a history of corruption. The manipulations of multinational companies all over the world is full of very high class corruption — now being under congressional probe in USA, some very interesting examples are being published. The corruption has permeated into the nervous system of not only administrative machinery but into the very political life of the various parties of the ruling class. From

The very lowest of the political cadres - at the village level - to the topmost of the political leaders, this has become a way of life. As a matter of fact a new cadre of corrupt youth of the lowest caste is now being reared and groomed. The new so-called plans for the development of so-called backward classes and areas are nothing but vehicles to create a new corrupt, loyal intermediaries from the village level. Regular exposure of this feature - in a sense creation of 'labour aristocracy' - is extremely essential. From top to bottom corruption is being institutionalised consciously. Therefore this feature should be studied closely from village level and with great care should be exposed. This growing feature is going to be one of the great hindrances to the movement. My experience in my own district has been quite a shock.

9. The one feature which gives me great confidence is the singleness of purpose of our own group. During all these critical years, I am happy and a little proud, that we maintained our political line at all twists and turns. Our unity got strengthened during the course of this struggle - against the adventurism of charu group, against the disruptionist CP group, in our struggle for the unification of the revolutionary groups, during the course of taking up Andhra separatist movements, and the so-called J.P. upsurge. We never wavered.

The most critical period was when CPI(M) got temporary international recognition. I am convinced more than ever that our united fight - sometimes a rear-guard action - has given a qualitative change to the movement in general. We as a group have maintained a political, organisational cohesion as no other group could 20.12.75

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UNITY-STRUGGLE-UNITY FOR SEATS

"Even before a formal electoral adjustment could take place amongst the opposition parties, the two major left parties, Indian People's Front (IPF) and CPI, have entered into wordy clash over sharing of seats in the forthcoming Lok Sabha elections.

"With the announcement of the chairman of IPF Nagabhusan Patnaik to contest 15 Lok Sabha seats in Bihar, the Communist Party of India came heavy on the IPF describing it as an effort to ensure the victory of Congress.

"Patnaik disclosed that...IPF was prepared to have dialogue with any party, barring communal parties like EJP. He said, 'however we will give first preference to the left parties, as our main aim is to give a left-ward shift to the Indian polity. Where the IPF has no option, it would even support a combined opposition candidate including the BJP to rout the corrupt Congress'.

"For some time the two parties, have had discussions on contesting the elections jointly. But the main problem has been the common seats claimed by them. The CPI had won the Jehanabad and Nalanda seats in the last elections. But this time the IPF has staked its claim. The IPF considers these two seats as their base. The differences could not be sorted out. Meanwhile, the IPF held its national conference in Arrah in Bihar and decided to contest 15 seats, including these two.

"However, in order to work out a policy, by which the two parties could come closer and ensure the victory of their candidates, the leadership of IPF and CPI met in Patna to sort out differences....

-- Indian Post, 2/10/89.

## Our Approach to the Employees' Agitation

(Note: The Punjab state committee of the CCRI has issued a booklet on the upsurge of the employees taking shape there. The booklet analyses the struggle for better pay, allowances, etc, by placing it in a broad socio-political frame; it poses the concrete problems being faced, or which are going to be faced, by both the trade union movement as well as the revolutionary democratic forces involved; it suggests remedies and concrete steps both in the immediate context of the trade union struggle and its success as well as from the broader revolutionary perspective; and, it does all this in the light of the fundamental revolutionary line, and, more specifically, in the light of the political observations and the general and specific directions of the December 1988 political Resolution of the CC, CCRI. We are publishing here an abridged version of the booklet, hoping it will be useful to our comrades in other states. -- Editorial Board.)

.... For quite some time, an acute unrest and resentment amongst the employees of Punjab has been manifested in various forms. The employees of the lower and middle layers of the intermediate class -- the electricity workers, Markfed workers, health employees, PWD employees, roadways workers, and school teachers etc, are on the path of organised struggles. What is unique this time is that the higher layer of the intermediate class, too -- doctors, engineers, college teachers, education officers, and judicial officers -- are on the move, and are struggling. The indefinite strike by doctors continued for more than a month. Declarations have also been

made by veterinary doctors and engineers about going on an indefinite strike. The electricity workers and roadways workers are in the midst of preparations for their second one-day strike. In several other departments, this protest and unrest is being reflected in the forms of pen-down strike, work-to-rule, rallies, demonstrations, and putting on black badges, etc. On the whole, the popular unrest of the employees has become a serious headache for the government.

The root cause of the employees' unrest is the rapidly increasing cost of living.... Owing to increasing economic stringency, the workers and lower layers of employees are being forced to make a bigger cut in their necessities of daily life. This circumstance sharpens their resentment and unrest. The living standard of the middle layer of the intermediate class is falling because of the increasing cost of living as well as decreasing incomes, while the higher layer of the intermediate class is finding it very difficult to maintain its established social status...

Of course, the immediate cause of this employees' upsurge happened to be the report of the Third Pay Commission. The entire masses of the employees had high hopes about this report. They hoped that as the general elections are approaching, the Congress rulers at the Centre would not venture to annoy the employees of Punjab and would be quite liberal in the pay revisions. But this report, which appeared some two and a half years after scheduled date dashed all hopes of the masses of employees. Thus the pent-up resentment and unrest blazed and encompassed, apart from all categories of Punjab employees, the lower category of officers, too.

In placing high hopes in the government, the employees had based themselves on the normal thrust of the electoral politics; but they had not taken into account the fact that the crush of the all-round acute economic crisis has

greatly restricted the use of this tactic by the ruling classes of India. In fact, the exploiting ruling classes are sliding off the entire burden of the prevalent crisis onto the working masses. In case of the workers and employees, this is experienced in the form of an erosion of their salaries....

### Pay Revision

Maintaining its loyalty towards the ruling classes, the Third Pay Commission, has, through its recommendations for pay revision, defrauded the workers and employees. Basing itself on manipulation of the statistics, it boasts of: full neutralisation of pay erosion caused by rising prices, new allowances and reliefs, and furthermore of a 10% overall increase in the pay. But the reality is quite to the contrary....

....Seen as a whole, the present pay-pattern being implemented by the government legalises, rather than neutralises, the pay erosions caused by the increasing cost of living. It does so by pruning minimum wage (fixing it at Rs 750, ie, Rs 300 less than even the minimum for the centre and its public-sector enterprises); by reducing the rate of annual increments; and by discontinuing various allowances. It also has a biased approach towards the administrative and civil authorities, as against the professional experts. Thus, on the whole it represents the economic-political interests of the ruling classes and runs counter to the economic interests of the workers, employees, professional experts, scientists and intellectual sections....

### Reaction and Opposition

#### -- A Welcome Phenomenon

Realising the anti-employee nature of these pay revisions, the reaction and opposition being put up by the employee-sections is really significant....

Apart from being a class struggle in content,

the upsurge of the employees has a great objective political significance because of the circumstances prevalent in Punjab in which it is emerging, developing and affecting the whole atmosphere.... No doubt, the people of Punjab have frustrated the designs and attempts of the communal-fascist gangs to incite communal riots, and of the ruling class parties to perpetrate the communal rift. Even so, the current upsurge of the employees is a powerful process, establishing and strengthening the class/secular basis for the common interests and fate of the people, stalling the process of division on communal lines and particularly undoing the effects of communal ideology. It is a severe blow to the politics of the fascist forces and to the ruling class parties' politics of dividing the people. Indeed, this employees' upsurge is the first shower of rain washing away the mist of State terror hanging over Punjab.... This upsurge of the employees -- emerging despite the deployment of State terrorist gangs at every step, and despite the black laws imposed to strangle all civil and trade union liberties -- is an active process washing away the effects of State terror and suppression....

### Expose the Anti-People Character of the State

For long, the trade union movement of Punjab has been under revisionist and opportunist leaderships. That is why it is not armed with the correct and concrete understanding about the anti-people character of government in general and the possible machinations it might adopt in the present struggle in particular....

It is the responsibility of us communist revolutionaries to make them conscious of the anti-people anti-employees character of the government. We have to show clearly and concretely how this government represents the imperialists and the Indian ruling classes and how, for the sake of exploitation by the imperialist and

ruling classes, it denies legitimate remuneration for the labour of workers and employees. We have to show how, for the sake of suppressing the struggles of the workers and employees for their rights, it devours trade union rights, imposes black laws, and does not hesitate even to deploy the military for suppressing and crushing the struggles of workers and employees.

In the present context, it needs to be shown clearly how the ruling classes are entangled in an all-round economic crisis. The ruling classes, through their government, are throwing the weight of this crisis onto the people. Eroding the real wages and incomes of the workers and employees (through increasing prices and by legalising the pruning of their salaries) is only one part of government policy. In the present circumstances, avoiding concessions and reliefs to the workers and employees is in fact an indispensable need of the government. So, in these present circumstances, the government can be forced to give something only if the employees' struggles are so mature and powerful -- in terms of their pervasiveness, momentum, and class-political content -- that suppressing and crushing these struggles would pose before the ruling classes the risk of having to pay an unbearable political price.

In the initial stage of the struggle, we should make the struggling employees conscious and vigilant about the dual policy of the government.... The government appeals, on the one hand, for resolution of the issue through dialogue and for presentation of the case before a committee constituted to remove anomalies; while, on the other hand, it threatens "no work, no pay", service breaks, and enforcement of the detention act for the maintenance of essential services.... So, the employees should be made to comprehend the importance of getting prepared and girding their loins to resist such a possible forked attack by the government.

### Smash Narrow Sectional Boundaries, Build Common and Broad Struggle Platform

Owing to the infection of reformism, there is a tendency among the employees of Punjab to give primacy to narrow sectional interests above their collective interests. Every section demands maximum economic concessions for itself rather than projecting the common and basic demands of the employees as a whole. As a result, despite the basic commonness of the demands, in actual practice these demands are neither presented nor projected as common demands.... Thus, each struggle -- though objectively a part of the struggle of the employees as a whole -- turns out to be a struggle of this or that specific section.

Moreover, owing to opportunist politics, the employees' movement in Punjab is afflicted by another serious malady. Viable organisations have not been built on the principled basis of "one trade, one union". Rather, different opportunist political forces have formed different political platforms....

This split and rift in the trade union movement has given birth to another problem. It is that there is not a single trade union which is in a position to play the pivotal role in rallying other trade unions around itself....

Such a state of the trade unions is the weakest aspect of the current employees' struggle. Yet, there is one positive aspect too -- viz, the fighting mood and eagerness among the general masses of employees, which is becoming a pressure on the respective leading teams, in favour of struggling and building struggle-oriented platforms. We, especially the revolutionary activists in the trade unions, should further intensify this pressure being exerted by the general masses of the employees, and make it more effective. For this, the employees should be made to feel that without

unifying their strength into one it is not possible to resist the onslaught of the State....

So it is highly essential to make the masses of employees vigilant and conscious that in their present struggle and in the situation shaping in the country, the struggles being carried out on narrow sectional lines will not be able to hurt the government in any way, will not be able to get anything from the government, and will not do any good to the employees. Advancing in the direction of building one union in one section on the sectional basis, the masses of the employees should move forward towards building a common struggle-centre for the determined pursuance of their common demands.... For this, while taking up the demands of that specific section, the entire employee sections should be rallied on the basic demand of a master pay-scale. Mutual differences, doubts and objections can be resolved with a flexible approach and some consensus formula can be evolved. A similar consensus formula, in the present circumstances, could be a master pay-scale on the basis of the central pattern....

... The principle of "one trade, one union" should be implemented.... Applying this correct general direction in the obtaining conditions the following immediate steps can be suggested: Different parallel and section-based unions concerning one trade should build a common platform on the basis of common demands. Stepping further, a common platform of all trade unions in one government department, board, or management should be formed and then, above all, an attempt should be made to build a broad struggle-platform of all the employees of Punjab....

The opportunist leading teams of the different trade unions, afflicted with narrow sectional prejudices, can be a major obstacle in the process of immediately forming a broad platform at the Punjab-level. Apart from this, the attitude, emanating from narrow sectional tendencies,

of remaining an indifferent or silent spectator of the struggles of other sections can also be a big hindrance. For the sake of removing such obstacles and hindrances, the struggling employees should be mobilised, from right now, for carrying out support-actions and for developing fraternal ties. Mutually supporting actions such as this, will not only constitute the initial steps towards building broad employees' unity, but will also provide encouragement to the struggling employees as well as become a shield against the repressive and victimising steps of the government. In case such support and solidarity activities are not feasible in the initial stages at the state level, they may be initiated at the district, tehsil or city-centre level....

Even if there is no Punjab-level common platform for struggle immediately,... a hartal or struggle in any other form on a day fixed by co-ordinating at the level of different unions would not only truly reflect the unity and solidarity of the employees, but it would also jeopardise the government, as its administrative machinery can not suffice to deal with such a broad action on a single day.... For the employees of the departments capable of causing direct economic loss to the government, such co-ordinated activities are even more essential.

Another hindrance to building a common struggle platform may be this: there may be some organisations whose leaderships may be infamous among the employees because of their servile attitude towards the government, their anti-employee activities, and their imposing of unprincipled splits on the established organisations; but they may have a consolidated impact on the employees in some small centre or area, or they may have scattered and sparse impact in a bigger area. In normal conditions, we keep such leaderships out of the pale of joint activities -- in accordance with our policy of

isolating and ousting them from among the employees through directly and thoroughly attacking their anti-employee activities and policies.... But in the changed context of the employees' upsurge, this policy should be applied in a changed manner. Now, instead of isolating them through direct attacks and ideological-political exposures, a mass pressure from below should be built against these leading teams, in order to make them participate in the struggle so as to make it more broad and comprehensive. Leading teams who refuse to join the struggle would lose their hold as soon as the struggle acquires momentum and sharpness, while the leading teams joining the struggle will also soon feel shaky and the chances of their reneging from the struggle and prostrating before the government are plenty... The only condition for letting such leading teams join the common struggle-centre should be that they must have some mass base and there should be eagerness for struggle.

#### Prominent Demand of the Hour:

#### Determined Militant and Prolonged Struggles

....The words of the governor of Punjab, in connection with the doctors' hartal continuing for more than a month, that: "Hartal may go on for a year, but it can not go on for ten years", show that even the longer struggles, being carried out in conventional forms do not become any headache for the government.... Rallies and dharnas etc, of course, are means of mobilisation but they are not forms of struggle wielding acute pressure,....If anything can mount immense pressure on the government, it is this: After making determined preparations for a prolonged struggle, obtaining the maximum mobilisation through conventional forms, initiating the process of co-ordinated activities, and through this process building the common platform of broad employees-unity, an advance is made towards paralysing for some time the entire functioning of the government. Only a common and prolonged

en masse hartal of the employees of the entire government and semi-government departments, ie, a general strike, can pose to the government the risk of great political loss and compel it to yield....

So, keeping in view the immediate concrete context of the present circumstances as well as the strategic perspective of a developing favourable revolutionary situation in face of the sharpening crisis, all revolutionary activists should convince the workers and employees about the importance and effectiveness of determined, militant, and prolonged struggles; and they should prepare them for them. Making use of rallies, dharnas, mass casual leaves, etc, as forms for mass mobilisation, adopting the forms of co-ordinated hartals and mass gheraos of heads of different departments and other high officers of governor-rule, the struggle should be advanced in the direction of a general strike....

#### Raise Voice for Democratic Rights

....For the sake of tackling and suppressing the struggles of the workers and employees, the government has not only trimmed the trade union rights obtained by workers through struggles, but also has imposed black laws to prohibit trade union activities as such. When such black laws are enforced in the course of the struggle acquiring momentum and sharpness, the people's voice is bound to be raised in opposition to these black laws and for the restoration of trade union rights. That way, too, the struggle which has an economic content also gets a great potential for acquiring democratic-political element. But revolutionary activists should not rest content with this spontaneous process. They should, from the very outset, make the employees vigilant and conscious about the anti-people character of these repressive laws. If these repressive laws are enforced, the employees should be found mentally prepared and mobilised

for the necessary resistance.

Besides the immediate context, from the strategic angle too, the ranks of employees should be provided with awareness that, with the further intensification of the economic-political crisis in the country, far more struggles of workers, working masses, and other oppressed people are going to emerge, heat up, and become fierce. These struggles of the exploited classes are going to advance towards people's armed revolutionary struggles. In that situation, the ruling classes will, for the safety of their rule, resort to fascist oppression/repression to suppress and crush these struggles; and the marginal democratic rights and liberties of the people will be snatched away and trampled upon. So, in the emerging situation in the country, the struggle for defence and acquisition of democratic rights is going to have special and basic significance for all oppressed people -- including workers and employees -- in the development and expansion of their just struggles. Thus, the struggle for democratic rights should also become an important ingredient of the employees' struggle.

#### Oppose Communalism

....For quite some time, communalism has been a continuing challenge to the class organisations of various sections in Punjab. Communal fanatic elements have stained their hands with the blood of several employees and trade union leaders. In the name of tackling communal terrorism, State terrorism has not only been coming down heavily on the people but is also misnaming its own terror as the fight for defence of life and property of people and their liberties.... The government and opportunist parties may present the employees' upsurge as an obstacle to such governmental activity and may accuse the struggling employees of thus objectively serving the fanatics' terrorism by engaging the government

in their own struggles.

No doubt, the trade union movement of Punjab has been successfully protecting its class/sectional unity against the onslaught of communalism; it has been continuing the anti-communalism fight in various forms; and some of the trade unions, by organising opposition from correct revolutionary standpoint, have played a solid role in the anti-communist struggle. During the current struggle too, employees' organisations should determinedly oppose communalism and communal fanatic forces from the point of view of continuing their fight against communalism, thus deflating the accusation of the government and opportunist political parties about the consequence of the present struggle. And they should do this, above all, from the viewpoint of their own basic enmity with communalism.

....In the conditions of there being no uniform understanding among the employees' organisations about the significance of this issue (viz, the fight against communalism) and about the importance of opposing it, it should not be made a condition for the building of the common struggle-platform. But, under the temptation of having broad unity of employees, organisations formed on the basis of communalism should not be allowed to join this common platform. In fact, looking at organisations based on communalism as fragments of a disintegrated trade union movement is to strike at the very roots of the established and accepted understanding about the class-sectional basis of trade unions. Our revolutionary activists should remain fully alert in this respect, and should not fall prey to liberalism in any form.

#### Mobilise Peoples' Support

....In this struggle with the government, whichever side -- the government or the employees -- whosoever wins the support of the masses of the people in general, will surely get the upper

hand in the struggle. Realising the importance of this aspect, the government has already engaged its Public Relations department and other propaganda bands to mislead the people about the employees' struggle, whereas the employees, generally, are not laying necessary stress on this aspect.... The revolutionary activists should pay special attention to making the employees realise the importance of winning over the people's support for this struggle. They should be urged to go to the people, explain their case, and expose the misleading and diversionary propaganda of the government. Along with this, the revolutionary activists -- especially the non-employee activists -- should take the initiative to mobilise mass support. Solidarity and support committees should be organised by motivating the organised sections of the non-employees, the other class/sectional organisations, and democratic elements. Through these committees maximum people's support should be mobilised. They should work with the realisation that the non-antagonistic contradiction between the employees and the people -- which the ruling classes and the government wish to utilise in their own favour and against the employees struggle (in fact against the revolutionary democratic movement) by giving it an antagonistic colouring -- can be tackled and can be solved in a non-antagonist manner and from a revolutionary stand-point only by the revolutionary democratic force.

The solidarity committees, constituted by sections of the people, can play the role of bridging the schism between the people and the employees. Revolutionary activists can, through these committees, expose the false propaganda too. They can concretely show the people that the economic crisis prevalent in the country, the poverty and misery of the people, and the rapidly rising cost of living, are all caused by the pro-imperialist and pro-ruling class policies

of the government. Revolutionary activists can show that the present demands of the employees for wage increases are just and that the argument of the government that fulfilment of these demands implies imposition of new taxes on the people is misleading and wrong.... Revolutionary activists should boldly take up the task of unity between the people and the employees in the context of this struggle as well as in the perspective of building up the united front for the revolutionary movement.

### Firmly Grasp the Class-Political Angle

While playing an active role in the employees' struggle, the revolutionary forces should keep a firm hold on their class-political angle. In this struggle, especially in its initial phase, the middle and upper sections of the intermediate classes are seen to be more zealously active. The class character of these sections is such that when they are excessively restless and pent-up, they rise like a flame; but because of their vacillation and lack of determination and stamina, neither can they maintain the consistency and militancy of the struggle on their own, nor can they steadfastly confront the State repression. They come to terms for small or petty concessions and feel temporarily satisfied. That is why, rather than concentrate our attention on the attractive activities of these layers, we should concentrate primarily on those employees who in the nature of their work and economic social status are more akin to the industrial working class. On account of their eagerness, determination, steadfastness, and militancy in struggle, these sections are capable of becoming exemplary and vanguard sections in setting the direction of prologed and militant struggles, in maintaining their sharpness, and in determinedly resisting State repression. These sections also provide the boost and the backing for the middle and upper layers to

persist in struggle. Full of class hatred for the exploiting system, these sections show more eagerness and capacity to grasp revolutionary democratic politics. That is why, on the whole, these sections are of basic importance for the revolutionary-democratic forces.

Apart from these, we should deploy part of our energy in those employees' organisations which possess, or are capable of possessing, from the mass-political angle, a prominent placing and prestige in the trade union movement itself....

In this struggle, a new and unique phenomenon is the adoption of the path of struggle for their own demands by the lower category of officers of the different departments. If these lower-level officers by virtue of being the lower layer of officialdom have an oppositional attitude towards workers and employees, they also represent (since officialdom as such is the upper layer of the intermediate class) the disintegration and economic degeneration of the intermediate classes caused by the onslaught of the crisis. Thus, the dual economic social status of this lower layer of officialdom become the basis of its dual character as well....

Revolutionary democratic activists should provide awareness to the employees about the dual character of this layer, projecting its class-limitations, the importance of winning them over to the struggle, as well as the aspect of its opposition to towards the employees. There should be no let-up in the struggle against the anti-employee activities of this layer. On the whole, the policy of achieving unity through struggle should be adopted towards this layer.

....Struggle and propaganda from trade union platforms for the acceptance and establishment of revolutionary orientation and policies should be carried on by remaining within the sphere of trade union politics and within the norms of the concerned organisation.... For the propagation

of our party's policies, we must use our party platforms. The result of ignoring the distinction between the trade union platform and the party platform is tantamount to not only erroneous and harmful usage of the trade union platform, but also to devaluing and obliterating the role of the party platform -- negating its specific importance.

#### Deploy the Strength Skilfully

....Since we are a relatively small force, the prudent and skilful deployment of our strength in this struggle, acquires utmost importance. Even with a small force we can provide a nucleus capable of pushing the struggle ahead and in the correct direction, providing it momentum and sharpness, and carrying it out as a prolonged and militant struggle....A small force can play an effective role only by acquiring a firm footing in a small and compact area. There, basing itself on its concentrated and unified strength and determined pursuance of its correct revolutionary policies and struggle-tactics, it can play a leading role in building model struggle-centres. These struggle-centres should be exemplary in ensuring the emergence of struggles, in uniting the employees' strength into one force in building common struggle-platforms, in setting the stage for employee-people unity, and in overall mobilisation and propagation.

Grasping the basic importance of building the model struggle-centres, different revolutionary forces working in that specific area should remain ever-ready for combined efforts by arriving at the minimum common understanding, because even the total combined strength of the revolutionary forces is far too short as compared with the capacity of reformist-opportunist forces. The already splintered capacity of the revolutionary groups, gets further weakened by mutual dissensions and rivalry not related to

the issue at hand. This only benefits the opportunists; whereas, on the whole, the unified strength ensures the expansion and extension of the revolutionary groups. In the areas where two or more revolutionary groups have influence, special attention should be paid to building common struggle-centres, through combined effort.

These struggle-centres can become, through practice, outstanding centres for the corroboration of our correct revolutionary policies. In these struggle-centres, apart from extending, expanding, and strengthening our concrete political influence, we will be able to extend so as to bring our struggle-centres in proximity to each other's also....

#### March Ahead on Revolutionary Orientation Breach the Vicious Circle

....No doubt, revolutionary struggle policies are exceedingly important for making the struggle a success. But most important is the dissemination of revolutionary democratic awareness among the employee sections by integrating it with the issue in hand, so that the employees may be able to comprehend the rootcause of the concerned issue and develop their struggles in the direction of its basic remedy.

Therefore, the revolutionary democratic forces while showing the justification of the employees' demands should make them clear and conscious about the phenomenon of high prices operating underneath, and especially about the exploitation of the Indian people by the imperialist forces and ruling classes through increasing prices, and the patronage given to this exploitation by the anti-people economic policies of the government.... High costs, struggle for petty concessions, again higher prices, again struggle: this is a vicious circle in which the employees' struggles remain embroiled. Such embroiling of the workers and employees in this vicious circle is in the

interests of the ruling classes. It is also a cunning move of theirs in order to provide an outlet, time and again, for the pressure of resentment and unrest among the workers and employees..

So the real meaning of the struggle for wages and allowances lies in developing it into an anti-high-prices struggle; mobilising determined opposition to the anti-people economic policies of the government serving the imperialists and exploiting ruling classes; initiating a struggle on the common issue of high prices involving all people (including the employees) being tormented and crushed by high prices -- especially the unorganised working masses, workers, and peasants; and in forging broad people's unity as well. But this is possible only if the employee sections come out of the above-stated vicious circle and turn towards a permanent solution of the problem and make efforts for that.

Getting workers and employees to come out of this vicious circle, is the responsibility of the true revolutionary forces. For decades the reformist-revisionist gangs had kept the employees trapped in this economist circle. For purging the trade union movement of this malady of economism, the revolutionary-democratic forces should direct and prompt the struggles of workers and employees erupting on economic issues--of course, maintaining their own distinctness so as to explain what is needed politically for rooting out this malady. Therefore, utmost effort should be made to turn the economic struggles of employees into anti-imperialist struggles on the issue of high prices, and to make them a part of the fight for smashing the very system based on imperialist-feudal exploitation, establishing, instead, the system of true People's Democratic Dictatorship.

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## May Day Report:

### Uniting the Workers, Exposing the Splitters

In our deliberations about May Day celebrations we decided that, while projecting our political understanding during the May Day campaign, its one aspect should be particularly emphasised. This is the aspect of unity and solidarity of trade unions under the influence of different political forces. There was one particular reason for such a decision. In the period preceding the May Day campaign there was an upsurge of the state government employees. The release of a pay commission report evoked a protest movement among state government employees against the most unsatisfactory recommendations of the pay commission. After years of stagnation in most sections of government employees, almost every section was on the march to get satisfactory pay-revision. The objective need for joint struggles and solidarity actions was asserting itself sharply. This was so because, on the one hand, no employees' union was in a position singlehandedly to get its demands fulfilled, and on the other hand, much common ground emerged for joint struggles and solidarity actions. The state government and the revisionist trade union centres were trying their best not to let employees' unions respond to this objective need. The particular political push behind such behaviour of the revisionists (CPI and CPM) in Punjab is their opportunist thinking that struggles of the people against the state government will weaken the fight against Khalistani terrorists since such struggles divert the attention of the state government which is waging a

war against Khalistani terrorism. We, on our part, were trying to project and propagate this objective need in the form of a political direction, very much required for the employees' movement to get its demands fulfilled. Therefore, in the May Day campaign, we also wanted to drive home this message of unity and solidarity in a wider political context.

It was decided that, along with propagation of this objective political need of unity and solidarity among various sections of people, we should try our best to realise every possibility of demonstrating it practically in the May Day celebrations. So we decided on the following steps: (a) we should approach other communist revolutionary groups to issue joint statements, leaflets, wall posters, etc in the name of political organisations to project our common May Day message; (b) the editor of our mass political paper should approach other revolutionary democratic mass papers to publish a joint May Day editorial or a joint May Day statement of editors; (c) on the level of mass organisations, our mass leaders should approach all other pro-people mass organisations under the influence of other political forces (including CPI and CPM) to organise joint May Day platforms on the city or town level. All the participant organisations should sort out the minimum common political understanding which is to be projected from such joint platforms, while their individual maximum political understandings could be projected from their own separate platforms, (d) if any where organisation of a joint platform is not possible, various mass organisations should demonstrate together towards the end of their separate May Day functions. Only a few common slogans may be chosen to be raised at such joint demonstrations. If even this is not possible then all the organisations should conclude their May Day functions at the same time so that concurrent dispersal from various

functions of slogan shouting masses may leave a comparatively massive and collective impact on the town or city.

In the following, we describe three from among the May Day campaigns under our leadership in different centres, so as to highlight particular features of our efforts towards the end of building up working class solidarity and of exposing the treacherous and divisive leaderships in the working class movement.

#### Implementation

"A" is an industrial city. We have a known mass organisation of industrial workers there and some influence among railway workers. A representative meeting of various mass organisations was called on April 12 at the initiative of our mass leaders to organise a joint May Day platform. This meeting was attended by representatives of industrial workers, democratic rights organisation, electricity workers, roadways workers, railway workers, textile workers, telephone employees, C.M.C. hospital employees. Apart from us, the other trade union centres to which these mass organisations belong are AITUC and HMS. It was decided that, after holding their separate May Day functions, all the organisations would organise a joint demonstration where commonly decided slogans would be highlighted. A wall poster was published in the name of all the above organisations, giving the call: "Celebrate May Day Jointly". CITU had refused joint celebrations from the very beginning. Further, within few days of the above decision, the higher authorities of AITUC and HMS too backed out. There were clear indications of a difference of attitude of the upper leaderships of AITUC and HMS from the local representatives of mass organisations attached to these trade union centres. Most of the latter were inclined towards joint activity with us but the former were totally averse to it. Some organisations

linked to AITUC, especially those of telephone employees and hospital employees, tried to persuade the AITUC leadership for joint May Day demonstration; but they felt helpless in the face of the intervention by the CPI's district leadership. In spite of this, these organisations assured a token participation in the joint demonstration. One of their leaders expressed their own inclination saying that while they wanted to stick to the earlier decision they could not afford to get expelled from the party (CPI) on this issue. Similarly, the local representatives of the HMS assured token participation in the joint demonstration in spite of the decision to the contrary by their higher leadership.

A propaganda campaign was initiated by our organisation of industrial workers, a week before May Day. A troupe of about 50 workers and some students organised a flag march in an industrial area; organised shows of street corner plays in the two big squares of the city; organised a rally and song-and-music programme in a park. Again, on 30th April, a troupe of about 100 workers demonstrated through half a dozen industrial areas. A group of 35-40 workers with flags in their hands entered a wrestling show where about 500 spectators greeted them with enthusiastic slogans commemorating May Day martyrs. Women activists related to the democratic rights organisation organised meetings of women in some localities.

On the morning of the 1st of May, slogan-shouting groups of workers emerged from various industrial areas and gathered at the office of their union. After a brief flag-hoisting ceremony, hundreds of workers marched on a 4-5 km route through the city to reach the venue of the main function of May Day. After preparatory gate-meetings and meetings in colonies, a group of 70-80 railway workers organised a torch-light procession for 3-4 hours in the railway colonies

on the night of April 29. On the morning of May 1, after the inauguration of their new office and flag ceremony, a detachment of about 250 railway workers and employees demonstrating through the railway colonies reached the venue of the joint function.

In this joint function, thus, about 800 people, comprising railway workers, industrial workers, telephone employees, roadways employees, Nepali workers, democratic rights activists, women and students, held an impressive and spirited rally. After the rally they marched about 3 km before concluding their May Day celebrations near the bus stand.

Before reaching this destination the demonstration passed by another May Day function being held by the CITU leadership. When the demonstrators reached a point near the CITU function, the organisers of that function stopped their proceedings and began to give revolutionary slogan calls from the stage -- in order to warm up their audience against any possible disruption by the approaching "rival" demonstrators and in order to generate a preventive atmosphere against any possible dominating impact of the comparatively massive demonstration on their own small gathering. But the leaders of demonstration, instead of throwing themselves into a competition of slogan-shouting with the organisers of the CITU function, stopped calling out slogans and led the demonstration instead into positively answering the slogan-calls being raised from the stage of the CITU function. They thus implied that they had come near the CITU function not with the motive of rivalry or disruption, but with a feeling of solidarity with the audience of the function.

"B" is a little town. Before coming to the narration of May Day celebrations there, it is worth mentioning the tussle that had been going on for a month or so between our comrades and the pro-CPI-CPM trade unionists on questions of

organising a solidarity committee and solidarity actions in support of the then on-going struggles of government employees -- especially that of the Punjab doctors. In this town, there is only one mass organisation under our leadership (organisation of technical workers of the electricity board); we also have some links (not very strong) in the leadership of two other mass organisations (also related to the electricity board). Our organisation of electricity workers gave a call to organise a solidarity committee and solidarity actions in support of the struggling doctors. Trade unionists belonging to revisionists (CPI, CPM) opposed this move of ours, directly and indirectly, and succeeded in sabotaging three successively called meetings of the representatives of various mass organisations of employees intended for organising a solidarity committee.

In this tussle of 30-40 days, our correct policy and the persistent propaganda and persuasion campaign by our comrades bore fruit. Revisionist trade union leaders were isolated and pressurised to join the solidarity committee comprising about 20-21 mass organisations. Most of these organisations are either under the direct leadership of revisionist, or were loosely attached to their trade union centres. One organisation of fourth-class employees of a department is linked to INTUC. The leader of this organisation said to our comrades that though he is a Congressman yet he is against the government's attitude towards employees' demands and he supported our direction of joint struggles and solidarity actions.

Then came May Day in town "B". The union of technical workers of the electricity board again gave a call for joint celebrations of May Day by all organisations of workers and employees. Revisionist trade union leaders of the area were again opposed to this move of our comrades. But defeated and humiliated in the

previous tussle, they were feeling weak in the struggle against our trade union comrades. So this time they called for help from one of their bigwigs, a trade union leader of a nearby big town. Our comrades organised a meeting represented by 16 mass organisations to consider the issue of joint celebration of May Day. This revisionist trade union leader, along with his 20 followers, came to attend this meeting although neither he nor his followers belong to any of the mass organisations of town "B" or its surrounding area. After some informal chat, the organisers of the meeting (our comrades) requested the outsiders (the revisionist trade union leader and his followers from the nearby town) to leave so that formal proceedings of the meeting might be initiated. These uninvited participants refused to go out, saying that they were all comrades and had nothing to discuss separately and secretly, that they should all sit together to sort out things collectively.

Our comrades left the issue, sensing that struggle over this issue then may not be useful for the real objective of this meeting. Initiating the discussion on the agenda of the meeting, our comrades explained their proposal that all the pro-people mass organisations of workers and employees of the area should unite on one platform for May Day celebrations. They proposed that, for sorting out the minimum common political programme to be projected from the joint platform, each participant would have to make some concession in the form that he would not project those points of his political understanding which are in basic contradiction with the politics of the other participant organisations. Revisionist leaders tried hard to divert the discussion by asserting the correctness of their revisionist politics. They refused to make any concession and thus frustrated the attempts of our comrades for joint celebration of May Day. After this, two May Day platforms emerged in the

town, one led by our comrades and the other by the revisionist leaders. The revisionists started a denigration campaign against our comrades. In this tussle between two May Day platforms, our comrades had won over 11 mass organisations and only five had remained with the revisionists. Being isolated, and seeing the danger of public exposure of their weakness of mass influence in the case of two parallel May-Day functions, they had to agree to the proposal of joint May Day celebration. So, as a result of the victory of our comrades, a joint May Day function was held -- which was well attended and which left an inspiring revolutionary influence on the masses of the town.

"C" is a town in an area which had been a stronghold of the CPI for a long time. The CPI leader of the area had won three Assembly elections from this constituency. So this party also dominates the trade union politics of the town. Now, for few years, a bitter struggle has been going on between our trade union leaders and those belonging to the CPI. In spite of this situation, the trade union platform of the town supporting us circulated a letter to the active members of all the mass organisations of employees and workers to celebrate May Day jointly. This letter and propaganda and persuasion campaign of our comrades evoked a positive response among the rank and file of the mass organisations attached to the revisionist trade union centre of the town.

This unexpected development had worried the revisionist leaders much and they geared their machinery to counter this tendency of joint activity with our comrades. In the first round their local trade union leaders organised meetings of all their trade union activists and sympathisers to dissuade them from joint May Day celebrations. Finding themselves unsuccessful in this campaign they called for the area leader of the CPI (ex-MJA). This leader is known for

his disinterest in party work of mass mobilisation and propaganda except for his own election campaigns. But he was very active in the persuasion (in fact pressurisation) campaign of his party for separate May Day celebrations. Normally the revisionists never care for any sort of propaganda and mobilisation as a part of their May Day celebrations. Usually their May Day function in this town used to be a mere formality. But this time, being in severe competition with our trade union platform, they spared no effort in their propaganda and mobilisation campaign. The town presented a spectacle of election days. Wall posters, wall writings, stickers and banners of both sides could be seen everywhere in the town. Our comrades decided to make a video film of the May Day function. The revisionists got wind of this decision. Next day they were howling on the public address system in the town that they are going to make a video film of their May Day function. Thus they had tried to allure the people to attend their May Day function for being photographed in the film. On May 1, they had summoned their district level trade union leadership for canvassing and transported a few truckloads of persons from other areas to make their May Day show massive.

Though the attendance in their May-Day function was bigger than the function organised by our supporters the revisionists were on the defensive. They did not attack our trade union platform in their speeches of the function, because our comrades were successful in projecting their positive image in the hearts of a sizeable section of the ranks of mass organisations attached to the revisionist trade union centre. A few mass organisations, moreover, formally broke away from this centre and decided to join our trade union platform. Some other trade union activists, formally under the leadership of revisionist, conveyed to our comrades that in fact they were in favour of joint celebrations

but that they could not prevail upon their leadership. In two small-scale factories, workers were divided. A section of them attended the function of the revisionists and the other section went to our side though they were formally under the leadership of revisionists.

Apart from uniting various mass organisations of an area or a town on a single May-Day platform, we had also thought that after short May Day functions at various town-centres the masses from these centres should gather at a bigger common centre to project their massive strength in a collective May Day function. But this idea could not be implemented. Instead of this, five May Day town committees (each containing 3-4 to 11-12 mass organisations) issued a joint May Day poster to project the spirit of unity and solidarity of the people of these five towns and areas. Similarly, with our initiative, five mass revolutionary papers (supporting the lines of five different revolutionary groups) published a joint May Day message. This was the first joint activity of so many mass revolutionary papers supporting different political lines. Apart from this, a joint wall poster was released by our political organisation and the Punjab unit of C.T.CPI(ML). A leaflet was issued by our political organisation which covered all the aspects of our political understanding and which compensated for the concessions made by our mass organisations to join May Day platforms. A special May Day supplement was issued by the mass political paper supporting our line.

Once again, we have seen concretely through our May Day campaign that a strong urge for joint struggles and activities is prevalent in the organised sections of workers and employees. The opportunist political forces are consciously keeping them divided for their own narrow and selfish political interests. These opportunists can be isolated if the urgent need for joint struggles is projected correctly and effectively.

They have no political arguments to counter the correct direction of joint struggles and they invariably fall back upon a denigration campaign against revolutionary forces. Although the trade union movement is dominated by revisionist parties, their grip over trade union activists and ranks is very weak. A section of these activists is attached to the revisionist parties because of some petty personal gains while another bigger section is there because of the weakness or absence of alternative revolutionary centres of working class. By developing such revolutionary centres of working class which may consistently follow the correct trade union policies and effective tactics, the revisionist trade union centres can be easily shaken and demolished.

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#### WHERE EVEN CONGRESS-I FEARS TO TREAD

Where no other party could spring to the defence of Punjab's most notorious police officer, the well-known CPI leader of Punjab and editor of the Punjabi CPI daily, Jagjit Singh Anand, has this to say:

"With Gobind Ram in command, the streets of Batala regained their old hustle and bustle. Shops remained open till late night...."

"And then the story of excesses against Gurmit Kaur and Gurdev Kaur broke out...."

"....Political parties of the Right and Left excelled each other in denouncing Gobind Ram."

"All this hue and cry led to the transfer of Gobind Ram from Batala. Even this did not satisfy his persecutors. They demanded his exit from Punjab."

"....Let us not forget that both Chaman Lal and Gobind Ram belong to the ranks of those who gave battle to the terrorists to safeguard the unity and integrity of the country. And the political parties that have consciously sacrificed their best leaders

and cadres in this noble cause should not lose sight of the fact that today they stand on the same side of the barricades as conscious public servants who have risked their all and made no less sacrifices are standing."

-- Indian Express, 6/10/89.

#### *Pepsi Project*

### Compradors Alone Could Argue This Case

This year, on "Baisakhi" day, the foundation stone was laid for the first plant of Pepsico in Sangrur, a district of Punjab. The entire project has three partners. The biggest, Pepsi International, has a share of 40 per cent. The remaining 60 per cent share is equally distributed between Voltas and the state-owned Punjab Agro Industrial Corporation. The new company is to establish an agro-research centre, a potato and grain processing unit, a fruit and vegetable processing unit, and a soft drink concentrate manufacturing unit. It claims it intends to consume 5,000 tonnes of potatoes, 25,000 tonnes of grains and 80,000 tonnes of fruits and vegetables while processing and manufacturing soft drinks, pop-corn, potato chips, fruit concentrates and so on, for local and foreign markets. Fifty per cent of its production will be pop-corn and potato chips and 25 per cent will be soft drinks.

The American-based Pepsi International is the second largest multinational dealing mainly in soft-drinks -- after Coca-cola. Pepsi has a 15 per cent share of the world market. Today it operates in 150 countries with a total work force of 2.25 lakh workers. India is part of the "remaining" uncovered world. Pepsi's annual turnover is over \$10 bn (Rs 16,500-crore).

With such economic might it also exercises political clout. The former American President Richard Nixon reportedly took much help from Pepsi in getting elected, and thereafter Pepsi even succeeded in establishing its plants in the Soviet Union. Pepsi has also been notorious for

aircraft, anti-armour ammunition and test range instrumentation."

Apart from this -- and especially since 1985 when India signed memorandum of understanding with the U.S. on hi-tech -- the U.S. has opened up to India a great deal of "dual-use" technology -- ie, technology (particularly in computers and electronics) that has both military and civilian uses. In 1987 alone the U.S. approved 4,690 licences for sale of controlled items of hi-tech to India, with a total value of \$826 million. Almost half of India's imports from the U.S. are in this department.

If the reader glances back at the description of missiles, and the additional computer and electronics equipment and knowhow required to convert rockets into missiles, he will see what a crucial role such technology must have played in the design, on-board instrumentation, ground instrumentation, flight-path testing, internal guidance, and tracking of the Agni.

V.S. Arunachalam (the all-powerful head of DRDO, Secretary of Defence Research, and Scientific Adviser to the PM) admitted in the context of Agni, "One of our major weaknesses is components. We have missed the silicon revolution. When the world went into microprocessors and jumped from large-scale integrated circuits to very large-scale integrated circuits and sub-micron technologies, we had been left far behind. Most of the components (for missiles) we need in electronics we have to import and that is a very big liability." (Frontline, 10-6-89) So much for India's ability to independently fabricate a missile -- it cannot even make such essential components!

But this is to understate the extent of foreign technology involved. The Agni project involved not only what goes into the missile, but even the work to be done before that stage. In the very design phase of Agni, various equipment had to be employed which is unlikely

to have been manufactured independently in India (the land which enters into technical collaborations for even push-button telephones): a six-axis motion simulator to test missile components; an ultrasonic wind tunnel where models are tested upto four times the speed of sound; "computer assisted design" computers (CAD/CAMS) which, by enabling the designer to "draw" his design on the computer, save a huge amount of time and infuse precision; an analogue computer associated with the motion simulator, which is used to programme the simulated flight path. Between 1983 and 1987 alone there have been 37 foreign collaborations by Indian companies for computers. (For example, an advertisement by HCL computers for CAD/CAMS states that "in addition to frigates, they (CAD/CAMS) have helped develop rocket engines for our space effort, rotors for our aircraft, and circuit boards for our radars." The hardware for these CAD/CAMS the advertisement claims, "is more than amply supplied with systems made under licence from the world no.1, Apollo Hewlett-Packard". Hewlett-Packard is one of the biggest defence contractors in the U.S.)

Between 1985 and 1988 the Government has cleared over 750 collaborations with the U.S., U.K., France, West Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, and other countries for the import of technology in electronics. Two more recent examples: Hewlett Packard is now establishing a joint venture in India in which 40 per cent of the equity will be held by itself, 20 per cent by Blue Star Ltd, and 40 per cent by the Indian public. It will produce electronic instrumentation for use in "defence, aerospace, and telecommunications". Similarly, Honeywell, another major U.S. computer military equipment firm, recently announced that it is "pursuing a number of military programmes in co-operation with the Indian government".)

Another example: it is claimed that 60 work centres, laboratories, universities and production centres in the private and public sectors

are participating in the design and manufacture of the missiles in the Integrated Guided Missile Development Programme (IGMDP). (This in itself reveals how much of 'civilian' research and development is actually intended to serve the military.) But most of the more sophisticated computers used by, for example, scientific establishments, are imported. The Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, which imports much of its most sophisticated electronic and computer equipment, has been thoroughly involved in the programme; much of the work on the IGMDP is done in a defence laboratory also in Bangalore. The Indian Institute of Science is also to be a recipient of the much-discussed U.S. super-computer. None of this can be unknown to those who sell India such equipment.

As Frontline (10-6-89) reported: "The U.S. had also agreed, as part of the Indian requests in the mid-1980s for technology, to provide electro-optical instrumentation for the National Test Range in Baliapal, Orissa. The equipment is already in place and was used to track Agni. The U.S. must also be aware that many of the computers sought by Defence Research and Development Organisation and supplied by the U.S. would be used for the Integrated Guided Missile Programme (set up in 1983, and including Agni). With its sophisticated intelligence network, the U.S. probably had full knowledge of the Indian programme."

The Director of DRDL and head of the Agni programme, Abdul Kalam, declared: "We were thrilled that the multiple tracking system networked with the Interim Test Range at Balasore was a success." (India Today, 15-6-89).

In fact, the CIA chief recently told a U.S. Senate panel that after the Agni launch, the U.S. was contemplating cutting off supplies to India of state-of-the-art U.S. technologies such as missile guidance; is this not an admission that such technologies have been supplied to India by

the U.S.?

At any rate, the supposed American displeasure at Agni was very superficial. The latest U.S. Defence Secretary's annual report emphasises: "We are continuing to develop our security co-operation with India, the region's pre-eminent power, through training visits, technical exchanges, attendance at exercises and service conferences, sales of material, and technological assistance for a variety of defence production projects." Prominent among the latter are the Light Combat Aircraft and certain systems for the Main Battle Tank. K.C. Pant's recent visit to U.S. defence establishments (including some which the U.S. advertised as particularly top secret, and never displayed before to Indian eyes) generally re-affirmed the close co-operation in the armed forces with the U.S.

#### Indirect assistance

There are mysterious bits of information provided by the Government. It was declared in the Lok Sabha that "only 10 per cent of Agni was imported. This raises two questions: first, what was imported, and from whom? After all, the components that were directly imported by the Defence Ministry not only must have been unavailable in India but must have clearly been open to military uses; the seller, too must have been aware of this. Thus the sale would have constituted tacit assistance to the Indian missile programme. Secondly, what about indirect imports (ie, imports made by Indian companies who produce systems for the Agni)? These are evidently not covered by the Government's declaration.

Apart from this, there are other areas which we can hypothesise about, but for which no firm information is yet available. For example, we are told that 30 per cent of the components of the ASLV-2 (which failed in July 13, 1988) were bought from Indian firms, and a similar but undeclared percentage for the Agni. Who are these

Indian firms with such advanced technology? There is virtually no Indian firm in the field of high-technology which does not have foreign collaborations. For example, the engineering firm Larsen and Toubro, which has collaborations with various foreign firms, has been manufacturing rocket cases for the space programme and, reportedly, for Agni. Since the materials required for missile and rocket casing are subjected to enormous pressure and heat (upto 3000 degrees Centigrade), they are unlike the materials used for any other customer of Larsen and Toubro. Since it is unlikely that L&T developed the requisite technology on its own, it would probably have required a separate, fresh foreign collaboration for this purpose alone. The foreign collaborator and the country approving the sale of such technology to L&T (India) would be perfectly aware of the end-use. But this would not be considered as part of the foreign exchange component of Agni, but rather that of L&T. (During September 1987 to March 1989 alone, L&T's foreign exchange expenditure was Rs 112 crore -- a figure only surpassed among private sector firms by Reliance.)

Similarly, Siemens AG, the West German firm, is one of the major suppliers to the West German armed forces: it supplies electronic equipment for tank, vessels, helicopters, aircraft, and rockets/missiles. Siemens AG moreover has collaborations for electronic equipment with Indian firms who also supply electronics equipment to the Indian armed forces: Bharat Electronics Ltd (BEL), Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd (BHEL), Electronics Corporation of India Ltd (ECIL), Gujarat Communications Electronics Ltd, and West Bengal Electronics Development Corporation (Webel). Siemens's collaborations with these firms may be of a 'dual-use' nature -- ie, they may have military applications. As we mentioned earlier, at least 50 per cent of the cost of sophisticated military hardware today is in

electronics and computers. But of course such indirect involvement by a West German firm in Agni would be shown as "indigenous" effort. Thus we have BEL advertisements which declare that "our defence electronics equipment keep the nation alert and secure.... We are also actively involved in...India's space programme..." And we have Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd, a company with continuous string of 54 collaborations between its inception in 1964 and 1988, and a company which since the late 1970s has tied itself to a string of collaborations with Siemens AG, now announcing (on 21-9-88) that it is "diversifying into defence electronics". A grand claim, for a company which is not able to sell the power equipment it manufactures to even the Indian power industry.

#### In sum

In sum, despite the paucity of available information, the claim of the "indigenous" nature of Agni carries no weight. A rocket (the SLV) developed under the aegis of foreign space agencies is modified with foreign computers, testing equipment, electronics, and casing materials; it is fired and then tracked by imported tracking devices. This is the story of Agni.

It is true that Agni is not the full-fledged import of a missile from any single imperialist power. It is unlikely to be so, given the present correlation of strengths of various imperialist powers in India. But the entire project of Agni is one of many-sided dependence. Agni is only as indigenous as the Indian comprador bourgeoisie.

We should also remember that even this heroic effort of the Indian comprador class is not so reliable. It is true that, after two unexplained bungled attempts, Agni was fired, that it took off, and that it dropped somewhere in the Bay of Bengal. But the Government mysteriously refused to disclose the exact spot where it dropped. Why

Given the enormous precision of satellite photographs taken by the US and USSR and even by West European commercial firms who rent facilities on satellites and sell the information quite openly and legally, what is the secrecy involved in where the Agni fell? It may be part of the Government's deliberate cult of secrecy, about all defence matters, which is intended to inculcate irrational acquiescence in the public mind. But it is also quite possible that the Indian Government, until it buys that information or obtains it from an imperialist power, may not even know where the "embarrassingly accurate" missile fell.

In fact, the SLV rocket, on which the Agni is based, and the ASLV, which it resembles, have had sorry history. Out of the four SLV launches and two ASLV launches by ISRO, two SLV and two ASLV launches have failed. Despite elaborate departmental enquiries, there is as yet no clear explanation for these failures, particularly of the ASLVs. (Despite this, the programme for the even more ambitious PSLV steams ahead!) This 66 per cent failure rate is the highest among the countries that report their launches. Agni succeeded on the third attempt; but that is no guarantee of what will happen next time. The fact that a nuclear-armed Agni will eventually be aimed from Balasore, Orissa, at Pakistan, should send a shiver up the spines of not only Pakistanis, but of all the North Indians under its flight path.

For all their breast-beating declarations, that Agni is an indigenous project and that (in Rajiv Gandhi's words) "technological backwardness leads to subjugation", the Indian missile-makers have been trying desperately for further foreign collaborations for the Agni. An attempt to get a super computer from Japan (which can help in designing missiles) was turned down; a licence to import from the U.S. a Combined Acceleration Vibration Climatic Test System (CAVCTS, or "shake

and bake" device), to test the ability of missiles to resist heat and pressure, is now in question; an agreement with France for liquid fuel rocket engine technology is apparently going to be substituted by the French with something less clearly in violation of the Missile Testing Control Regime. But at any rate, it is clear to the Indian ruling classes that fake anti-imperialist rhetoric is not by itself going to get them their latest desired toy -- a reliable missile that can massacre civilian populations in neighbouring countries. For that capability, they will have to hold someone's hand.

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#### ADVANCING PEOPLE'S WAR IN PHILIPPINES

December 26 (Reuter): "Communist rebels in the Philippines say they are aiming to take power within ten years and worsening economic conditions will help them do it... The outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines marked the 20th anniversary of its founding yesterday, asserting that even backing for the government from the United States would not stop the ultimate victory of communism. 'There is no way the United States can defeat a resolute protracted people's war in the Philippines' the party said in a statement distributed to the press..."

March 27 (Kyodo): "The chief of the military arm of the banned Community Party of Philippines said yesterday that leftist guerillas had survived the all-out war ordered by President Corazon Aquino. Rolando Kintanar, chief of staff of the New People's Army (NPA), said rebels had continued to expand and claimed that they had slain 128 troopers and militia-men, including several officers in Visayas region."

April 9 (UPI): "The jailed leader of the outlawed Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) has said that rebels control most of the country's villages and are gaining strength despite setbacks in their war against the Manila government... 'outside Metro Manila, in the 63 provinces, we already control most of the villages, except probably those close to the capital', he said."

## Teaching by Negative Example

Lest some people still have some illusions about the present-day Chinese Communist Party and the State, the Chinese revisionists demonstrated their true character once again in May-June this year. This time, only more nakedly and brutally. On June 3-4, 1989, the ruling revisionist autocracy in China proved to the people of China and of the world that it is as shameless and ruthless as any other autocracy in the world, murdering and terrorising the masses of the people -- even in settling scores with its own dissenting faction that had staked its claim to governmental power by fanning an outright reactionary "Democracy Movement".

### Despotism of Revisionist Autocracy

However much the Deng clique may quibble about the figures of the dead, put out by the foreign press, they cannot erase the fact that they cold-bloodedly massacred large numbers of people on June 3-4, 1989. First they admitted that: "Because there were numerous onlookers and students some were knocked down by vehicles, some were caught up in crowds, and others were hit by stray bullets. During the riot more than 1,000 of the people were wounded and more than 100 died." (Beijing Review, June 26-July 2, 1989). Later they raised this figure to over 200 dead and more than 3000 wounded (Beijing Review, July 17-23, 1989). It is obvious that they will never come out with the actual figure. However, according to the Chinese Red Cross sources, the casualties were "no less than 2,600 people killed and 10,000 injured" (Frontline, June 10-23, 1989).

After this bestiality, the Chinese people will never forget that under the autocratic rule of the Deng revisionists the "People's Liberation Army" has transformed itself into its opposite. While under the leadership of Comrade Mao, the CPC and the Chinese State had never employed the PLA to suppress civilian disturbances. In fact, there were no such disturbances then as are seen now. Even during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, when millions of people held rallies and demonstrations in their struggle against certain capitalist roaders in power, the PLA, far from suppressing the people, protected them. The PLA under Comrade Mao was a shining example before the whole world for its integration with the people. But today the PLA had turned into a mercenary and anti-people force.

Again, under Comrade Mao's leadership, CPC's first principle in suppressing counter-revolutionaries was: "As a general rule, before passing a death sentence, (to) refer the case to the masses and consult democratic personages" (Main Points of Resolution of the Political Bureau, February 1951.) Such was the mass approach and the confidence in the masses that the CPC had, even in the earliest phase of its coming to power when it was facing a fierce counter-revolutionary onslaught inside China and was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with American imperialists in Korea. But now, within a fortnight of the June 3-4 massacre, the Deng-Li Peng clique, in the name of quelling a "counter-revolutionary rebellion", subjected scores of "rioters" to summary trials and sadistic executions. Most of those thus executed were ordinary people -- in Deng's words, "unreformed elements" or "dross and dregs of society". The actual ringleaders, whom the clique charged for leading the "counter-revolutionary rebellion", are left scotfree to enjoy the patronage of imperialist embassies. The ruling clique is on the hunt for more "rioters". It is continuing its harrassment and

terrorisation of people, through arrests and persecutions in thousands, by announcing rewards for turning over the "rioters", by forcing "neighbourhood committees" to collect information on the participants in the unrest, by drastically cutting down recruitments to government jobs, by cutting down enrollment in universities by more than 30,000 etc.

Such is the despotism of the Chinese revisionist rulers that one need not be surprised if the news items that appeared at the time are true: "Chinese troops had to fire on pro-democracy protesters...because the security forces had insufficient teargas and no rubber bullets or water cannon, the Premier Li Peng told an American visitor" (Reuter). And, "A Chinese judge confirmed last week that the family of each victim (executed) would be billed for the cost of the bullet -- 1 Yuan, worth 27 cents" (News Week, July 3, 1989).

#### Mass Anger Against the Regime

More than anything, the tyrannical acts of Chinese regime show its desperateness in the face of total alienation from the people -- apart from the fact that tens of thousands, sometimes hundreds of thousands, of people had occupied Tiananmen Square for two months and participated in massive demonstrations in defiance of the regime. The mass anger against the regime is evident from what the Chinese rulers themselves put out to justify their acts: "in the several days of the rebellion, more than 1,280 military vehicles, police cars and public buses were wrecked, burned or otherwise damaged.... During the same period, arms and ammunition were stolen. More than 6,000 martial law soldiers, armed police and public security officers were injured and the death toll reached several dozens." (Beijing Mayor's speech -- Beijing Review, July 17-23).

"From June 4 to 8, a total of 49 railway lines

were put out of action for nearly 350 hours...."

"In Shanghai, nearly 100 armed police and firemen were injured on June 6, by a mob...." (Beijing Review, June 26-July 2 ).

Such large-scale destruction of the military and government outfit cannot be the handiwork of a handful of conspirators. It is the result of the people's pent-up frustration with the oppressive conditions under the revisionist rule and the result of the mass fury against the repression let loose by the regime. If the people were to be on the side of the Chinese government, it would not have been possible for a handful of reactionary elements to sway the people in their favour.

During Mao's lifetime, the CPC faced many an attack from bourgeois Rightists. But CPC was never afraid of them, and always isolated and defeated them by mobilising wide masses of people into "Great Debates" and anti-Rightist campaigns. Always it was: "We should not be afraid of disorder or of being unable to extricate ourselves", and "which class really benefits from this slogan of speaking out, airing views and holding debate in a big way and writing big character posters? In the final analysis, the proletariat, not the bourgeois Rightists". (Mao, volume 5, page 503). Such revolutionary confidence, optimism and faith in the masses is alien to revisionists.

Today, for Chinese revisionists, "Airing views and holding debates and writing big character posters" are anathema. They cut a sorry figure and reveal how much they are alienated from people when they say: "The main difficulty in handling this matter lay in that we had never experienced such a situation before, in which a small minority of bad people mixed with so many young students and onlookers" (Deng to PLA Commanders on June 9, Beijing Review, July 10-16, 1989). Deng reveals another fact when he says: "I believe that after serious work we can win the support of the great majority of comrades

within the Party" (ibid). As of today, leave alone the majority of people, even the majority of the CPC members are not rallied against the reactionary "Democracy" movement.

The fact of the matter is, right from the beginning, what the Deng clique clearly perceived and was worried about was, the eruption of the mass discontent into a mass revolt under conditions of a bitter fight between two revisionist and reactionary cliques for power. That is the actual reason for declaring the student protests as a "turmoil" which involved a threat to use force to suppress them; that too is the reason for declaring martial law on May 20, and for letting loose a reign of military terror on June 3-4. All the time, while the ruling clique was incapable of -- rather was opposed to -- rallying the people to expose the reactionary character and designs of the leaders of the "Democracy" movement, these administrative coercive measures actually added fuel to the rising anger of the people against the oppressive conditions under the existing revisionist rule. And now the ruling clique turns around and says that a few "bad elements" and "plotters" had utilised these coercive measures to spread rumours and rouse the antagonism of the students and people towards the government.

#### Counter Revolution vs. Counter Revolution

The fact is, most of the reactionary leaders, whom the ruling revisionist clique accuses of brewing and leading a "counter-revolutionary rebellion", are their own kinsmen. The Beijing Mayor's report (on behalf of the State Council to the NPC Standing Committee on June 20) on "Checking the Turmoil and Quelling the Counter-Revolutionary Rebellion" (Beijing Review, July 17-23) confirms this.

Fang Lizhi, who is accused of organising a "Neo-Enlightenment Saloon", "Democratic Saloon" etc, and of raising slogans to establish a

Western-type "Democracy" and "human rights" in China in collusion with the foreign-based reactionary organisation "Chinese Alliance for Democracy", was the first Vice-President of the Chinese University of Science and Technology and a leading member of the CPC till 1986-87.

Yan Jiqqui, who has now defected from China and, based in Paris, is organising an international "Front for a Democratic China" to promote Western democracy and human rights in China, was a top aide of Zhao Ziyang the now deposed Secretary of CPC.

Chen Yizi, who is accused along with Bao Tong (secretary to Zhao Ziyang) of leaking the party secrets to stir up nationwide mass strikes for a "life and death struggle" (instead of hunger strikes and peaceful sit-ins) and who is now associated with the above mentioned "Front for Democratic China" was the director of the Political Reform Research Centre of the Party Central Committee (of CPC). His associate Gao Shan was the deputy director of the same Centre.

Many others like Chen Ziming, Ge Yang, Su Shaozhi etc, who are accused of campaigning to "reverse the verdict on the fight against bourgeois liberalisation" and for rehabilitation of Hu Yaobang, were the directors or such other key figures in the higher educational and research institutions.

Above all, Zhao Ziyang, who is accused of having "unshirkable responsibility for the shaping up and development of the turmoil" had been hand-picked by Deng to be the Premier for over 10 years and Secretary of CPC.

Thus the top leaders who led or abetted the "turmoil" are none other than a dissenting faction of the ruling autocracy. This "turmoil" (according to the Deng clique) or the "Democracy movement" (according to the imperialists and their Chinese henchmen), is not aimed at overthrowing the Chinese autocratic State as such. It is only aimed at replacing the mask of "Four

Cardinal Principles" ("Keeping to the socialist road and upholding the people's democratic dictatorship, leadership by the Communist Party, and Mao Zedong Thought" which the Deng clique still employ to deceive the people) with the mask of bourgeois "democracy" and "multi-party system". In this, the dissenters were utilising the growing disaffection among people -- students in particular -- towards the Deng clique. This disaffection is mainly urban based. By and large the peasantry did not participate. Mainly, the confused and misled student community and sections of aggrieved urban working population were drawn into it. The various twists and turns and ups and downs of the movement show the leadership's links with various contending imperialist powers and with the feuding factions of CPC itself.

This so-called "Democracy movement" is anti-communist, reactionary and counter-revolutionary. By way of providing political-ideological leadership, Fang Lizhi and others -- the Chinese Sakharovs who are sold to Western imperialists -- peddled (through organisations such as, "Democratic Saloon", "Federation of Autonomous Students Unions in Colleges and Universities" etc) ultra-reactionary bourgeois theories such as:

"Attempts at socialism and their failure constitute one of the two major legacies of the 20th century";

"Socialism had completely lost its attraction and there was the need to form political 'pressure groups' to carry out 'reforms' for political democracy and economic freedom";

"Whether there is any rationale now for Socialism to exist" and "whether Marxism-Leninism fits the realities of China"; "we have been under a communist system for 40 years and we are still living in hell";

Two of China's prominent dissidents, Yan Jiaqi (an academic, former head of the department of

Political Science at the Academy of Social Sciences and an adviser of Zhao Ziyang) and student leader Wu'er Kaixi, who fled the repression in Peking, consider that students and intellectuals have a determining role to play in their country's development. "The Chinese Communist Party, which has a fundamentally peasant character, must become intellectualised," said Wu'er. "Students are the people's driving force." They had succeeded in mobilising 1.1 billion Chinese, including workers, even if the latter "have no very clear idea of democracy".

Earlier this year the same Fang Lizhi had addressed an impromptu meeting of students in Beijing University, where he had argued that the orthodox Marxist notion of Proletariat as the revolutionary class was outmoded and obsolete: intellectuals constituted that class now.

By way of providing an Economic Programme they criticised the revisionist economic policies of the 13th Congress of CPC, as leading to "stagnation". Through a "declaration on private ownership at an early date... greet a new future for the Republic". Fang revealed the emerging reactionary class alliance when he expressed the "hope that entrepreneurs, as China's new rising force, will join force with the advanced intellectuals in the fight for democracy".

Thus, in economic terms and in the immediate context, this movement denoted a developing contention between the still dominant bureaucrat capitalists and the developing private capitalism, though both are aligned with imperialist capital. The "entrepreneurs" who have flourished under Deng's policies till now, seem to have grown envious of the CPC and the government officials -- the bureaucrat capitalists -- who are monopolising all avenues of pilfering, profiteering, hoarding, blackmarketing, nepotism etc. The "advanced intellectuals" who, pampered by Deng, have not only acquired higher learning with imperialist aid but also have lapped up

imperialist culture, are seeing butterfly dreams of becoming masters of the universe by breaking off from the mediocre revisionist bureaucrats' controls. These forces can achieve their aims only with greater dependence on the imperialists and social imperialists.

However, as part of their own drive, the reactionary leadership of this so-called "Democratic movement", have fully laid bare the rampant factionalism, bureaucratism, corruption and nepotism of the ruling clique. They have sought to gain credence for their anti-communist theories by projecting these evils of the revisionist CPC as those of a Communist Party and its rule. In the same attempt, and in order to utilise the mass disaffection towards the regime, they intertwined their anti-Communist theories with some slogans directed against the Deng clique: "Down with Deng Xiaoping"; "the man who should not die has passed away (reference to Hu Yaobang) while those who should die remain alive (reference to Deng)"; "decaying men administering affairs of the State"; "autocrats with concentration of power"; "a party of conspirators"; "not to follow the old disastrous road of non-procedural change of power as in the case of Khrushchev and Liu Shaoqi"; "non-procedural change of power as in the 'Cultural Revolution' will no longer be allowed in China" (these last two in the context of the ongoing faction feud between Zhao Ziyang clique and Deng-Li peng clique); "an organisation on the verge of collapse"; "dissolving the incompetent government and overthrowing autocratic monarchy"; "abolition of Chinese Communist Party and adoption of the multi-party system"; etc.

At the same time, according to the Deng clique itself, the reactionary Fang and Co, when the wind was going against them (after the "Democracy movement" was declared a "turmoil" by the ruling clique), changed their slogans to: "support the Communist party", "support Socialism", "support

the Constitution", etc. They also changed, "down with dictatorial rule" etc to "oppose bureaucracy, oppose corruption, oppose privilege" etc. The reactionary leadership of the movement thus has no basic difference with the present revisionist autocratic Constitution and State of China. Their opposition to the revisionist CPC is only with regard to its name and not to its content. They used the 'Communist' label of CPC to discredit Marxism-Leninism and Socialism by highlighting the crudities of the present regime.

This ploy, of using the utterly hypocritical label worn by the revisionist autocrats to discredit the very idea of a Communist Party, of dictatorship of Proletariat, and of Socialism, was orchestrated internationally by imperialists and all other reactionaries to whip up anti-Communist frenzy throughout the world. During May-June 1989, the imperialist and reactionary press, including in India, produced article after article, each spicier than the last, in denouncing Marxism-Leninism and Socialism. They surreptitiously drew absurd parallels between the actions of the present revisionist autocratic regime in China and those of the proletarian regimes headed by Stalin and Mao.

Perverved imaginings were produced in print to project the massive but misled demonstrations of the people against the Chinese regime as the final proof of the failure of Communist theory and practice. The imperialists were so thrilled that the Voice of America, the government-run radio network, extended its programme in Mandarin (Chinese language) to 11 hours a day. It started beaming the service's first TV news programme via satellite to about 2,000 dish antennas in China, most of which are at military installations, "to make sure the Army, a major player in the power struggle, gets an accurate account of what is going on" (according to VOA director, News Week, June 19).

The deluded ambitions of the imperialists and their reactionary henchmen will not bear fruit. Their attempt to parade the dead corpse of bourgeois democracy as an alternative to proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat is bound to fail.

Far from proving the failure of Marxism-Leninism, the events in China, by negative example, prove the continuing validity of Marxism-Leninism. They prove how correct was Mao's theory of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They prove the correctness of the verdict of the great proletarian cultural revolution on Deng and his ilk. They prove that the so-called "Democracy movement" is only a logical extension and a variant of Deng's counter-revolution.

It is Deng's policies which had driven the people, in the absence of an organised proletarian revolutionary leadership, into this movement, though only to give vent to their frustration and anger.

#### Deng's Counter-Revolution and Growing Mass Unrest

The Deng clique, after capturing power following the death of Mao, subverted Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It replaced Mao's cardinal theory -- "class struggle is the key link" -- with the theory of productive forces ("the principal contradiction...is that between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of social production"). In the name of increasing production, they tore every fibre of socialist economic policies pursued under Mao's leadership. Step by step they established capitalist economic policies and the market-oriented economy with profit as the motto. With this, the Deng clique dragged China deep into the web of foreign finance capital. Year after year, they promoted the policy that "some people get rich first, then we will have the other people get rich".

What is seen in China today is the social, political and economic crisis of the capitalism that was established there in the past decade.

After dismantling the communes and the collective production teams, and beginning with introducing "individual responsibility system", the Deng clique has now fully restored private agriculture, in the guise of the State leasing the land to the individual peasants for 30 years (renewable, and with hereditary rights, right to sell, and right to hire farm labour). Along with this, about 13% of rural households were officially designated as "specialised" on the grounds of "efficiency", and given preferential treatment for allocation of material inputs and technical services. Now, those with capital and official connections "parlay their control over means of production into family incomes in excess of 10,000 yuan a year. Those without them are sunk to bare subsistence levels" (William Hinton). Inspired by the "get rich" slogan and the profit motto, the enterprising farmers switched from grain production to cash crops, leading to a steep fall in grain production and food shortages. Rich farmers and traders control over 50% of the food trade, and hoarding and speculation have become the order of the day. There is drastic cutback in rural secondary education. While there is growing rural unemployment and underemployment, the pauperised are driven to urban areas to earn a living by any means possible. It is these people that Deng calls "dross and dregs of society", who resorted to rioting and rebellion.

Private enterprise in other sectors was encouraged, too, mainly in transportation, trade and services. Such units reached the number of 11.64 million by 1984. Though their share is still a meagre 0.2% of the national output, they spread the culture of private enterprise and petty production throughout the country. On the other hand, State-owned industry has been transformed into a haven for profit-making for the

managerial class. State, Party and worker controls over them were removed. This policy began in 1978.

By 1984, all of industry was brought under "responsibility" profit system with the goal of "a full capital and labour market and distribution by supply and demand". Under this, the managerial class is given unlimited powers to expand or close down or diversify production, and to hire and fire labour, depending entirely on the profit potential.

Meanwhile, with a new "labour contract system" the workers were denied job security, fringe benefits, and welfare provisions, which they had been enjoying till then. The workers' right to strike was removed from the Constitution in 1982 and the workers were placed at the mercy of managerial mandarins. The Free-Trade Zones, established with much fanfare, have been a fiasco. Instead of attracting foreign investment and generating export earnings, they have become a drain on the country's foreign exchange. And they have become centres of corruption. Faced with appalling working conditions, low wages, rising prices, job insecurity etc, the workers have been increasingly resorting to strikes.

Factories dropped production of cheap everyday items because of low profitability. Shortages increased. "According to official statistics, 210 out of 506 industrial commodities and 55 out of 141 agricultural products could not be produced in large enough quantities to meet demands" (Beijing Review, June 12-25, 1989). Prices were decontrolled and fixed according to the "law of supply and demand". "By 1987, the market set the prices for 65% of agricultural goods, 55% of industrial products, and 40% of raw materials" (Kolko, Monthly Review, April, 1988). Food prices alone rose by 50% in May 1985. In 1988, China's overall "retail price index rose by 18.5%" (Beijing Review, June 12-25, 1989). In Beijing, prices "have risen 95.5% in the

last five years" (*ibid*, August 14-20). Petty capitalist traders exploit the people with price-gouging, hoarding, corruption and speculation. China, which did not have a single dollar of foreign debt a decade ago, now owes imperialist countries over 42 billion dollars.

With the "reforms" in industry and agriculture, and with the policy of "get rich first", the Deng clique laid the ground for ideas of "individual freedom" based on private property, the hallmark of "bourgeois democracy". It thus openly broke apart from ideas of having "both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind", based on socialist production relations.

With this the illusions about bourgeois democracy, which is obsolete both historically and in Chinese conditions, seem to have developed among some petty bourgeois sections of people -- among students in particular -- enabling the imperialist and reactionary forces to mislead them.

With their strategic policy of "opening up", the Deng clique facilitated invasion of China not only by imperialist capital and technology but also by imperialism's decadent culture. With the penetration by the capital and technology of different contending imperialist powers, different factions emerged in the CPC and in the State administration owing allegiance to different imperialist powers. These factions, while feuding among themselves for control over power, have been manipulating public opinion and unrest in the interests of their own factional fight and in the interests of the imperialist power with which they are allied. This is evident in the earlier agitations (opposing foreign economic invasion) being directed particularly against Japanese investments and trade and in the timing of the peak demonstrations of the recent "Democracy movement" to correspond with Gorbachev's visit -- indicating the play of

inter-imperialist contradictions in China.

Deng could achieve all this through persecuting thousands of Communist revolutionary cadre and through stifling the people's voice by striking out the "four great freedoms" ("speaking our freely, airing views fully, holding great debates, and writing big-character posters") from the Constitution in 1980. Red China, where people knew no shortages of items of mass consumption and where people were the masters of their destiny, was turned into a neo-bureaucrat-capitalist State under Deng. In this State while a few became rich overnight, the majority found life became miserable and suffocating. The bureaucratism, corruption, favouritism and nepotism have become so rampant among Party and State officials that the kith and kin of a number of top leaders -- including three of Deng's children -- have been involved in financial scandals. Such conditions confounded the students even more. They were faced, on the one hand, with rising hostel bills, lack of adequate educational facilities, and job insecurity and, on the other, with the lure of the Western way of life. They were fed on the "horrors" of the Cultural Revolution and on the virtues of "getting rich first". They grew restive.

Under the prevailing conditions of deprivation, various sections of people began to resort increasingly to protests and struggles against price hikes, low wages, bureaucratism, corruption and nepotism of the officials -- and for democratic rights. In particular, the student protests went to a pitch in 1985. They were directed against price rise, against corruption, and against Japanese economic invasion. Thus they were directed, to one degree or other, against Deng's economic policies. However, subsequently they were diverted into a political "reform" movement with initiation from Deng himself. While introducing elections to local congresses, students were encouraged to discuss "political

reform". Since then, "democracy" has become an undefined catchword for the student community.

It is against this background that the student protests, raising slogans against corruption and for "democracy", began in April 1989. In the absence of an organised proletarian leadership, the reactionary elements could divert the unrest into a reactionary "Democracy movement". The bitter factional fight within the CPC for power (between Zhao Ziyang who fell out of favour and the Deng-Li Peng cliques) and; as it appears, the contradiction between American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, facilitated and influenced it. Economic demands -- such as against price rise and unemployment -- and demands of workers were carefully avoided or side-tracked.

Nevertheless, apart from tens of thousands of students, large sections of urban people, including some workers, participated in this "Democratic movement". Different sections, including radical and revolutionary elements, appear to have joined protests, with their own demands and slogans. In fact, Deng lists "the remnants and evil elements of the 'Gang of Four' among those who resorted to beating, smashing" etc. Besides, in demonstrations commemorating May 4, 1919, there were diametrically opposite slogans -- some saying, "even after 70 years nothing is achieved" (thus denouncing the Chinese people's democratic revolution) and some saying "without May 4th there would not have been Chinese revolution" and hailing Mao. Notwithstanding the anti-Communist rhetoric of the reactionary leaders, there were singings of "the Internationale". This shows that the demonstrations and processions were not homogenous. For people who once enjoyed "Great Democracy" and who have not forgotten the days of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the demands to punish corrupt officials, oppose bureaucratism, for press freedom and for democratic rights, may

have appealed. Irrespective of the theories of the reactionary leadership, what was all pervasive was the pent-up frustration with and anger against the revisionist autocratic regime. It is this that scared the Deng clique into resorting to such tyranny and greater cunning.

#### Only More Cunning and Autocratic

Being a more experienced revisionist and reactionary conspirator than his proteges and present detractors, Deng Xiaoping knows that the conditions are not still ripe for an open renunciation of Mao's Thought and dictatorship of the proletariat. That is why, when faced with the contention for power by his own proteges and partners, particularly in conditions of raging mass anger against his policies of capitalist restoration, Deng licks Mao's boots and surreptitiously takes shelter under some of Mao's theories, which he has earlier denounced.

Once Deng denounced Mao's truly revolutionary organisational steps and the slogan "bombard the headquarters" as violation of party organisational principles and cultivation of "personality cult". He made a big show of "veterans making way for younger generation" through calculatedly "relinquishing of important posts by veterans". Yet now he reveals and justifies his factional role by proclaiming that the present victory against a "rebellious clique" is because "we still have a large group of veterans who have experienced many storms". In fact, Zhao Ziyang, the Secretary of CPC, blew Deng's lie when he revealed in a "first" public disclosure: "Comrade Deng Xiaoping's helmsmanship is still needed for the most important issues. Since the 13th National Party Congress, we have always reported to Comrade Deng Xiaoping and asked for his advice while dealing with the most important issues." (May 16 meeting with Gorbachev). Indeed, Deng has been the extra-Constitutional monarch.

Earlier, Deng had clearly dropped "taking

class struggle as the key link" and proclaimed: "class struggle no longer constitutes the principal contradiction...". Yet now, to save his skin, he characterises the storm that he faced as a "counter-revolutionary rebellion" aimed at overthrowing the Communist Party and the socialist system. Further, in a deceptive posture of being profound he pontificates: "This storm was bound to happen sooner or later. As determined by the international and domestic climate, it was bound to happen and was independent of man's will" (Beijing Review, July 10-16, 1989.).

Deng had ridiculed Mao's slogans "grasp revolution and promote production" and "keep politics in command". But now, while proclaiming the "crux" of the recent incidents as "basically the confrontation between the four cardinal principles and bourgeois liberalisation", Deng is forced to lament at least in words: "if there is anything amiss, it is that these (four cardinal) principles have not been fully implemented" (ibid). He goes on to point out how much he has talked about these principles and about the necessity to fight against "bourgeois liberalisation".

At one time Deng has ridiculed Mao's policies as "egalitarianism imported from other countries". In place of those policies, year after year the Deng clique peddled bourgeois slogans: "Get rich"; "to get rich is glorious"; "some must get rich before others". But now, in a seeming about-turn, Deng ordains: "Hard work is our tradition. Promoting plain living must be a major objective of education, and this should be the keynote for the next 60 to 70 years" (June 9, speech to army commanders, Beijing Review, July 10-16, 1989).

In fact, in the same speech, which is being paraded as a basic document by the CPC, Deng proves his cunningness in making these seemingly Marxist pronouncements. While asserting the basic line ("the general conclusion") of the 13th Congress as correct, Deng asserts his counter-

revolutionary objective: "What is important is that we should never change China back into a closed country"; "I should say our reforms and opening up have not proceeded adequately enough"; and "perhaps this bad thing will enable us to go ahead with reform and the open-door policy at a more steady, better, even a faster pace".

The formulation of the "general conclusion" of the 13th Party Congress of the CPC, as that of the earlier Congresses, is diabolic. It is referred to as, "one focus" and "two basic points". The "one focus" is defined as "making economic development the nation's central task". The "two basic points" are put as, "upholding the four cardinal principles and persisting in the policy of reform and opening up".

For anyone with even an elementary sense of Marxism-Leninism and of the principles of Socialism it will be clear that this "economic construction" with "the policy of reform and opening up" is the fountainhead of bourgeoisification of Chinese society. The "reform" is nothing but ensuring and promoting capitalist restoration in China. The "opening up" is nothing but serving imperialism. These two are the cornerstones of Deng's counter-revolution which have brought China to the present pass.

Not only for Marxists, but even for non-Marxists and anti-Marxists, it is a matter of commonsense that this "policy of reforms and opening up" and the "four cardinal principles" (Mao's Thought, Leadership of the Communist Party, Dictatorship of Proletariat, and the Socialist Road) are diametrically opposed to each other. Yet, Deng and the revisionist CPC, chant them in the same breath. For Deng and Co, mouthing the 'four cardinal principles' is necessary to deceive and discipline people. The policy of "reform and opening" is meant for capitalist restoration in China -- in the process serving imperialism.

This cunning is the particularity of

revisionist rule, not only in China but the world over.

We find that even after overthrowing the dictatorship of proletariat, revisionists do retain the label of Marxism-Leninism and Dictatorship of Proletariat. This is because, even after the overthrow of Proletarian Dictatorship, the people deeply cherish the ideals and memories of Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Revolution. Any open denouncing of them would make people rise in revolt. So the only way left for revisionists is to retain these labels till such a time as their revisionist and reactionary philosophy has seeped into the society at large.

More importantly, it would be suicidal for revisionists to allow even elementary and formal bourgeois democratic freedoms for open speech, a association and strike -- particularly for the people of the socialist land who have experienced or inherited, the experiences of revolutionary mass struggle. That is why they preach and practice autocracy in the form of an open dictatorship, but in the name of proletariat.

That is also the reason why we see people in the once-socialist countries, rallying even behind the formal and deceptive slogans of "free speech", "free press" etc, raised by openly reactionary bourgeois leadership; but only after becoming fully confident of the consolidation of capitalist relations of production and ideas, do the revisionists venture to renounce Marxism-Leninism openly and adopt openly reactionary bourgeois form of rule. (This is what we see in case of Poland, Hungary, Soviet Union etc). Meanwhile they keep raising slogans of fighting "bourgeois liberalisation". And this fight against "bourgeois liberalisation" by revisionist autocrats is actually directed against the people, directed against Socialism.

That is why Deng too ordains: "What is important is that we should never change China back into a closed country". The meaning is clear

viz, never to return to Socialism, never allow Socialism to return.

That the Deng clique's fight against "bourgeois liberalisation" is actually directed against people, is not a matter of conjecture nor of inference. Deng himself openly declares it:

"We all remember that in 1980, after the defeat of the Gang of Four, the National People's Congress adopted a resolution to delete from the Constitution the provision concerning the right of citizens to 'Speak out freely, air their views fully, hold great debates, and put up big-character posters'. Why did we do this? Because there was an ideological trend of liberalisation. If that trend had been allowed to spread, it would have undermined our political stability and unity, without which construction would be out of the question.

"Liberalisation itself is bourgeois in nature -- there is no such thing as proletarian or socialist liberalisation. Liberalisation by itself means antagonism to our current policies and systems and a wish to revise them." ("Remarks at the 6th Plenary Session of the Party's 12th C.C.", September 1986; Beijing Review, July 10-16, 1989.)

At another time, Deng roars: "With regard to those who practise bourgeois liberalisation and violate the law, it won't do not to deal with them seriously. Because what they go in for is nothing more than those practices left over from the 'Cultural Revolution', speaking out freely, airing their views fully, writing big-character posters, putting out illegal publications -- which, in fact, amounts to a form of turmoil. This gust of wind must not be allowed to blow." (ibid)

Here Deng reveals his real target and his mortal fear.

"Speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character

posters" were the forms of people's expression and involvement in the social process. These forms have developed in the course of anti-Rightist campaigns and struggles which the CPC had led ever since 1956 under Comrade Mao's leadership. Allowing, encouraging and practising them under the leadership of the Communist Party was established as "Great Proletarian Democracy". They were conclusively proved as the "form of waging mass struggle" best suited for the content of the current class struggle and for resolving contradictions among people: This form "brings socialist democracy into full play...on the basis of such democracy, centralism is not weakened but further strengthened, as is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat". This form is "best suited to arousing the initiative of the masses and enhancing their sense of responsibility" and it "benefits the majority of the people and helps them to remould themselves". "The basic thing is to have faith in the majority of the people, in the fact that the majority are good." (Mao, Volume V, pp 484-499).

But, renegades cannot have such faith in the majority of the people. Autocrats cannot invest people with "initiative" and "sense of responsibility". Every form of autocracy curbs democratic rights of people in the name of ensuring "production" and "economic development". And that is what the Deng clique is and is doing. It is mortally afraid that if the people are allowed these rights and invested with initiative and a sense of responsibility, they would throw Deng and his policy of restoring capitalism and serving imperialism into the dustbin of history. That is why he rightly characterises these rights of people as "antagonism to our current policies"

Deng is only more treacherous, more cunning. Presently, while imperialists and all other overt anti-Communists are projecting Deng rule as Communist Party rule to discredit Communist ideals and practice, the covert anti-Communist,

the Deng clique, is branding "proletarian socialist democracy" practised under Mao as "bourgeois liberalisation", in order to subvert Marxism-Leninism and socialist revolution. Thus the aims and interests of the overt anti-Communists and the covert anti-Communists are same. The tussle between them is only over the means or forms of achieving those aims and interests.

In fact, Deng tried to explain the objective and advisability of his methods to his imperialist big brothers who have been impatient to establish open anti-Communist rule in China.

In June 1987, with the former US President Jimmy Carter, Deng argued:

"People often link democracy with the United States and believe that the American system is the most ideal system of democracy. We cannot copy yours. I believe you can understand this. If China copies your tripartite balance of power and general elections (we don't have the conditions for this), it will definitely bring on turbulence throughout the country. If some people take to the streets today, others take to the streets tomorrow. How can we put up with life like that? What energy will we have to carry out construction?... China has its own actual conditions and I believe that we know somewhat more about them than our international friends".  
(Beijing Review, July 17-23, 1989.)

Again, with the present US President, George Bush, Deng pleaded:

"The need for stability overrides all other problems in China. Everything will fall through without a stable environment and achievements that have already been scored will also be lost....

"We have made speedy and appropriate evaluations of historical events and figures. Evaluations should not be excessive or go too far because the negation of a historical figure would mean the negation of a whole historical

period of our country. China is in the process of developing its economy. If we only hanker after formal democracy, the result will be that democracy cannot be realised, and neither can the economy achieve development; only a situation of national chaos will emerge and the morale of the people will be undermined. We have a deep understanding of this because we have the experience of the 'Cultural Revolution' and have seen the disastrous effects with our own eyes. China must persevere in the policy of reform and opening to the outside world as the hope for solving China's problems. But a stable political environment will be needed. China has a huge population and everyone has his or her own views. If there is this demonstration today, that one tomorrow, if for 365 days there are demonstrations every day, then economic construction will be out of the question.... The United States has had experience in elections for 100 to 200 years. If we were to run elections among China's 1 billion people now, chaos such as prevailed during the 'Cultural Revolution' would certainly ensue". ("Talks With US President George Bush", February 26, 1989).

Thus, Deng tried repeatedly to prove his credentials to the former and present US Presidents. In so many words he tried to assure them that he is not opposed to the American system itself. He tried to clarify that it is not practical to ditto all the forms of "American system", at least immediately. He explained why it is not prudent to openly and totally negate Mao ("excessive negation...of a historical figure"). He pleaded with them to acknowledge his greater understanding of Chinese conditions because he has the direct "experience of the Cultural Revolution" and to leave him some margin in devising ways and means to represent and serve their common interests. He shared with imperialist big brothers, his mortal fear, in the most practical terms. He pleaded with them

that allowing the people to have even "formal democracy" that is there in America will be suicidal, because then, people with the memories of Cultural Revolution, will take to the streets day in day out and will make life miserable for him to carry out his policies of capitalist restoration and serving imperialism.

But, in spite his repeated pleadings and explanations, his imperialist big brothers and some of his proteges in China were too impatient to wait a little longer, and they tried their hand in speeding up Deng's counter-revolution to its logical end -- open denouncing of Marxism-Leninism and establishing of an openly reactionary State form.

#### "Business as Usual" -- But Not for People

As a result, the April-June 1989 events in China caused a flutter in the mutual relations between the overt and covert enemies of Communism. The Western imperialists and their paramours, the Deng revisionists, seemed to fall apart. The imperialist overlords demonstrated convoluted reactions to the reign of terror let loose by the Chinese regime. Led by the United States, France, Britain, West Germany, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Sweden, Australia etc froze or suspended diplomatic relations, and in varying degrees either banned arms sales to China or suspended economic aid. They condemned the massacre of students in the most cheeky terms: "A regime which in order to survive is reduced to opening fire on youths it has educated and who have risen up against it in the name of freedom has no future" (French President Mitterand). Thus, these powers tried to exploit the human sympathy over those massacred for their own avowed anti-Communist campaign. But the other Super Power, governed by its specific interests and contradictions with others, officially closed its eyes to the actions of the Chinese regime and declared that the events are an internal matter of China.

So also Japan, which cooed: "To impose economic sanctions goes counter to good neighbourliness".

On their part, China raised a hue and cry about the "malicious interference into China's internal affairs" by the US and other powers in the West. It warned that China "will closely follow further developments."

But as it was only a friendly fight between them, each side took care not to harm each other's vital interests, even in the heat of the moment.

In fact, the US President categorically stated that he had no intention to revoke China's "most favoured nation" trade status and that the United States "will not join other nations in imposing economic sanctions." He even provided an explanation on behalf of the Chinese autocrats saying: "Well, what my sense says is that they are trying to consolidate their leadership position, trying to get speak clearly with one voice". He made clear the United States's resolve to preserve the "strategic relationship" with China. Similarly Britain and others.

The Chinese autocrats on their part, with every bullet fired and every execution carried out, swore they would continue the "open-door policy", and never to "change China back into a closed country". They urged the imperialist governments not to be "short-sighted", and to take a "long-term view".

And, within three months, even the mock fight between the imperialist overlords and the Chinese autocrats has begun to subside. In the second week of July itself, while the negotiations for drafting a protocol allowing China to join the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff (GATT) was being postponed, the GATT official, Donald Woods, made it clear that "the move was not intended as a sanction against China over its handling of the Democracy movement in early June". By August 1, the United States renewed official contacts with the Chinese regime. The United States's

Secretary of State, James A. Baker, requested, and had a separate one and a half hour long meeting with the Chinese foreign minister, Qian Qichen, in Paris, at the time of a 19-nation conference on Cambodia. In the first week of September 1989 a West German sponsored censure motion against China was defeated at an International Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference in London.

Thus it is "business as usual" between the imperialists and the Chinese revisionist autocrats. But for the people of China and for the world proletariat it will never be the same again.

The April-June 1989 events have laid bare the accentuation of the contradictions within the ruling bureaucratic bourgeois class of China, the contradictions between the imperialist powers competing for the Chinese market, and above all the contradiction between the people of China and the ruling bureaucrat bourgeois class in China. Neither the imperialist overlords, nor the Chinese revisionist autocrats, nor even the reactionary leaders of the so-called "Democracy movement", can erase or contain these contradictions.

It is only the Chinese people under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat who can resolve these contradictions through a second instalment of the Great October Revolution in China. The objective conditions for such a revolution are fast maturing. This is what the April-June 1989 events in China reveal. Hence, their historic significance for the people of China and for the world proletariat. In this the Dengist autocracy will serve as the best teacher by negative example as did Chiang-kai-Shek in 1930s and 1940s. Through their genocidal acts and through the vile explanations and arguments to analyse events and justify acts, the Deng clique has ensured this.

June 4, 1989, will be remembered as another "Bloody Sunday". The first "Bloody Sunday", on

January 9, 1905, in Russia, was when the Tsar's agent-provocateur, Gapon, treacherously rallied the restive Russian workers into a "peaceful procession" (to the winter palace to present a petition to the Tsar). That procession was fired upon by the armies of Nicholas II, killing over 1,000 workers. On this Bloody Sunday in China, the restive Chinese students and other sections of people, who have been lured into a reactionary "Democracy movement" by the dissidents in the revisionist CRC and in China's ruling circles (for a showdown with the dominant faction led by Deng and Li Peng) were butchered in thousands by the now mercenary PLA.

As the Russian workers on that Sunday in 1905 learnt a bloody lesson saying, "The Tsar gave it to us, now we will give it to him"; the Chinese people too, will, have learnt their bloody lesson and will soon say, "the revisionists and reactionaries gave it to us, now we will give it to them".

#### DENG QUOTES HISTORICAL PRECEDENT

Deng Xiaoping pleaded to his mentors on June 9: "The United States has protested against our suppression of the current counter-revolutionary rebellion. In fact every country in the world needs to crack down on any subversive attempt. If one reviews student movements in the world, one can find that in the fifties the U.S. Government ordered airborne units to quell a turmoil which had broken out in a university, and in the sixties, when turmoil took place in a few colleges in the United States (anti-Vietnam war student protests, at the time hailed by the CPC -- Editor.) the Government arrested some people and there was some bloodshed as well. Were those not all true?"