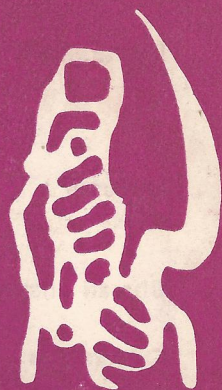


PROLETARIAN POLITICS

Workers Of The World
Unite

Organ Of The Communist
League
Indian Section Of The
Fourth International



Jan. - Feb. : 1979

No. : 1

- ★ Editorial : Hands off Vietnam !
- ★ Fourth International : Chinese troops out of Vietnam !
- ★ Kulaks stake claim in national cake.
- ★ Iranian Trotskyists' program for Iranian toilers !
- ★ Communist League on Iranian Revolution.

Rs. 2-00

PROLETARIAN POLITICS

Volume : 2 Jan. - Feb. 1979 No. : 1

	Page
Editorial : Hands off Vietnam I	1- 7
Declaration : Friends of Soviet Union Compel Soviet Government to honour human rights in U.S.S.R.	8-12
Document : Iranian Trotskyists advance fighting program for Iranian toilers	13-17
Sharad Jhaveri : Kulaks stake claim in the national cake	17-25
Documents : Statement of the Fourth International : Chinese troops out of Vietnam	26-28
: Statement of the C.S. of Communist League, on Revolution in Iran	29-33

Editor..... **Magan Desai**

All correspondence to : **Proletarian Politics,**
Govindrao Dev's Wada, 2nd Floor,
Pratap Road, Baroda - 390 001,
India.

Annual Sub. Rs. 10-00

Edited and Printed by Magan Desai on behalf of the Communist League at the Anupam Printing Press, Near Sarasia Talao, Yakutpura, Baroda, Published by him at Govindrao Deo's Wada, 2nd Floor, Pratap Road, Baroda-1.

Editorial

HANDS OFF VIETNAM !

Peking's invasion aids Washington's drive against Indochinese revolution

Behind the Recent events in Indochina

The Resolution of the Central Secretariat of Communist League.

(Indian section of Fourth International).

"Workers of the world unite" was the clarion call written in the 'Communist Manifesto' by Marx and Engels. For more than 130 years, that call has symbolised the Marxist goal of World Revolution and the construction of world-wide socialist society. But the recent events in Indochina reveals that for the so-called followers of Marx-Engels: China and Soviet Russia the slogan is : "workers i.c. Stalinists of the World, kill each other for the sake of our privileges".

The Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia and Chinese attack on Vietnam have exposed the narrow national Chauvinist nature of the Chinese, Vietnamese and Russian bureaucratic regimes usurping the gains of the working class in their respective countries. If the true nature of these jingoistic bureaucracies, without any distinction among them, is not understood by the revolutionary vanguards all over the world, there is likelihood of developing frustration and disillusionment in the very idea of communism itself. Any attempt to be partisan with any of these bureaucracies will eventually undermine the prospects of world revolution and will create a false image of the Socialist Society in the minds of working class activists throughout the world.

Such types of invasion, attacks, repression and diplomatic over-turns are not new in the history of Stalinism. From the betrayal of German and Chinese revolution of nineteen twenties, invasion of Hungary and Czechoslovakia by Soviet Russia; betrayals in Indochina and extended help in

suppressing revolutionary movement in Ceylon (1971), betrayal of Bangala Desh liberation struggle by China, to the recent events in Indochina - such an account can fill number of pages. Thus, this is a part and parcel of Stalinism, nothing new at all, now only a new dimension is added to the old pattern.

In all these so-called socialist countries, the capitalist relations of production and private profit as the motive of production are decisively abolished. Private property in the means of production is not a rule. There is a nationally centralised planned economy along with the means of production owned by the state. This is an accepted pattern of social structure which has broken from capitalism and attempting to build socialist economy. These are the economic foundations of post-capitalist - transitional - society.

The first country in the history of humankind to take this road was Soviet Russia. But here, after the death of Lenin, due to specific historical reasons (to deal with them is not the scope of this resolution), a bureaucratic caste spearheaded by Stalin developed, taking state apparatus in its hands and physically eliminating all the comrades of Lenin including Com. Trotsky, with the suppression of genuine workers' & peasants' Soviet democracy, Russia evolved as a bureaucratically degenerated workers' State. Thereafter, the betrayals of world revolution started. All the leaders of subsequent revolutions, like Mao, Ho-Chi-Minh etc. were graduated from Stalin's School of bureaucracy and they also experienced betrayals by Stalinism at one or other stage of the revolution in their countries.

The Stalinist concept of "Socialism in one country" leads them to the subordination of world revolution to their narrow immediate national self-interest. Instead of relying on the working class internationalism, they opt for the "peaceful co-existence" with the world bourgeoisie. The irony is that all these things are done to build socialism in Russia or China or Vietnam. In their race to build socialism in their respective countries, they have started to

compete with each other to get favour of the world imperialist bourgeoisie. Kremlin in past betrayed Chinese revolution to revive-build war-torn Russia. Now China to contain the democratic sentiments and fulfill aspirations for of better living standards in very crude fashion the Chinese masses has started wooing American Imperialism

DEVELOPMENT OF RECENT EVENTS IN INDOCHINA

The bureaucratic caste in both Moscow and Peking refused to supply adequate military assistance to Vietnam during its war to drive out U. S. imperialism and the landlord-capitalist regime in Saigon. The low-point of wartime Stalinist betrayal of Vietnamese revolution came in 1972 when first Mao and then Brezhnev welcomed Nixon to Peking & Moscow at the height of U. S. bombing of North Vietnam and mining of Haipong harbour. Despite the readiness of Moscow and China to stab Vietnam in the back, to get imperialist help for building "socialism in one country", the combined power of Vietnamese fighters and the anti-war movement in U. S. and elsewhere nonetheless dealt a stunning blow at Washington's plan to enslave Indochina.

Following the 1975 defeat of U. S. backed Saigon regime, the Vietnamese leaders in Hanoi, also graduated in Stalinist School, hoped to follow in the footsteps of Peking and Moscow by achieving their own "Peaceful co-existence," with Washington. But these efforts remained unsuccessful. On the other hand plans for the consummation of Washington-Peking deal moved ahead, and Peking's antagonism towards Vietnam increased as a part of the bargain.

In 1978, after waiting for three years to get favours of Washington, at last, to defend the country against continuing imperialist pressure internal economic sabotage by the remaining commercial capitalists in the South and the other pressing economic problems, the Vietnamese government mobilised the urban population in Ho-Chi-Minh city and elsewhere to expropriate some 30000 remaining private businesses. These

sweeping anticapitalist measures marked the consolidation of entire country under a single planned economy—a major advance for the Indochinese revolution. The majority of private business persons happened to be of Chinese national origin, Peking blasted the anti-capitalist measures in Vietnam as racist & anti-China move. This pleased imperialists who were afraid of such anti-capitalist measures spreading in the working people of Cambodia, Thailand etc.

On the other hand Soviet bureaucracy treated Cambodian revolution in the same manner. It provided no help to Cambodian revolutionary army neither during revolution nor afterwards. Instead, it preferred to stab it in the back by diplomatically recognising imperialist backed Lol Non Government.

From the very day it marched into Pnom-Penh, Khmer Rouge set off on a different road. Cities were evacuated and whole population was driven forcibly to country side, elementary & high school education was abolished. Literature and most cultural pursuits vanished. Except two all doctors were killed. Freedom of religion was suppressed. Child labour became universal, hours of labour were extended. The only way such regime could be maintained was by most suppression of all brutal civil and democratic rights—even by Stalinist standard. Cambodia's dependency over China was absolute.

Having, since the early 1970s embarked upon a course of considering Soviet Union as the enemy number one, Peking started utilizing Cambodia for anti-Soviet & anti-Vietnam campaigns. Suppressed people from Cambodia started to pour as refugees in Vietnam and Cambodian army started border conflicts with Vietnam.

The last phase of all these developments caused split in the ruling bureaucracy. The split-away group of Sarin toppled. Pol Pot regime with the aid of Vietnamese forces. This culminated in Peking's invasion of Vietnam.

The Vietnamese rulers threw major military forces into the drive against Pol Pot's regime because they felt the tightening encirclement and potential for eventual military

probes by imperialism. With China moving closer into the embrace of Washington and making threatening moves on Vietnam's northern frontier and with Pol Pot's army putting pressure on another of Vietnam's borders, Hanoi evidently felt the need to act quickly. It sought to establish a govt. in Kampuchea that could be less hell-bent on making a block against Vietnam with imperialism and its right wing Asian vassals such as Thai regime.

Thus, in reality the Vietnamese rulers acted neither out of imperialist ambitions nor from a desire to spread socialist revolution beyond their borders. Their intention was defensive and not revolutionary. In fact, such a move cannot be revolutionary at all.

Then what can be a revolutionary way to solve such problem? The Vietnamese could have presented to the Cambodian masses and communists an attractive alternative of a genuine Indo-Chinese socialist federation. A federation in which the three people of Indochina would have enjoyed equal rights and all those forms of workers' and peasants' democracy. There can be no doubt that such a federation would have helped to solve the grave economic and social problems with which the victorious revolution was confronted in all the three countries.

But instead of following such an internationalist concept of Socialist federation, Vietnamese bureaucrats, as usual, took the way of Vietnamese domination and control of Cambodia. What else can it do when it has proved in case of its domination over Laos that it is not a socialist federation but Subordination of Laos.

Yet we are all the way in defense of Vietnam against the bloody manoeuvres and possible probing by imperialist power in collusion with Chinese bureaucracy to undermine the Vietnamese revolution. But the way it followed in defensive action was not correct—not revolutionary. The tyrannical regime of Pol Pot was a disgrace for Socialism and the task of overthrowing these tyrants was and remains the job of Cambodian workers and peasants, to replace them with genuine proletarian democracy. With

the fall of Pol Pot, now the people of Cambodia are again enslaved by the Vietnam style bureaucrats.

Communist league also condemns the inhuman act of aggression over Vietnam by China. Chinese invasion will contribute to the goals of imperialism to roll back the social conquests of the Indochinese revolution..

At the same time, Communist League regards, all the hue & cries of United States regarding Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, and that of numerous other capitalist states including India over the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, are nothing but acts of hypocrisies. No capitalist country has any business to say anything as regards Chinese, Vietnamese, Russian & Cambodian affairs when their own hands are smeared with the blood of the oppressed of their own countries Hypocratic Russian rulers have no right to talk about democratic rights of Cambodian people under Pol Pot Govt. when in Russia they are trampling the fundamental human rights of the working class, the oppressed nationalities and the people of East European Countries

Anybody taking uncritical side with Russia, China, or Vietnam will get trapped in irrationalities and will serve the purpose of one bureaucracy or the other. Only the revolutionary Marxist position of condemning the narrow nationalist perspective of the bureaucracies in these states can help regain the lost prestige due to the recent events in Indochina. Communist League appeals the working class of all these deformed workers' states to unite, organise and overthrow the Stalinist cliques oppressing them. Only such political revolution can bring back working class in power and socialist democracy in effect. Then only the "peaceful co-existence" can be thrown over-board in favour of revolutionary proletarian internationalism of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Stalinist Communist Parties of India-could not take an independent revolutionary proletarian position. Being appendages to Russian or Chinese bureaucracy, they have always

subordinated the interests of International working class & the Indian working class in particular - not to speak of the over-all interests of Indian and world revolution.

Moscow oriented CP and CP(M) - Stalinists-had approved the inhuman invasions on Hungary and Czechoslovakia. The Peking oriented CP (ML) groups had justified Chinese aid to bourgeois regimes of Bhandarnaike and Yahyakan to suppress revolutionary struggle of the masses in Ceylon and Bangladesh.

Now again, in case of Indochina, some have joined in the orchestra of unprincipled condemnation of China or in the band of defending Chinese policies by all means. CPI, CPM, RSP etc. have condemned China in the same way with slight difference in wording as Indian govt. CPI (ML) goes farthest, not even accepting the aggression of China as an aggression and they are all in justification of Peking's deal with bloody Washington's imperialists.

The unprecedented political impotency of such traditional left is a tragedy of Indian revolutionary left movement. Instead of explaining to the working class the true nature of the regimes oppressing the workers of those countries, they take side of one bureaucracy or another creating confusion and frustration and amongst the political activists. This clearly reveals the complete bankruptcy of Stalinism.

Our Stand is :

- Stop the military threats and conflicts between workers states.
- Let the Cambodian workers & peasants decide as regards their own government on the basis of Soviet democracy.
- For the genuine proletarian Internationalism.
- For the political revolution in the deformed workers states to re-establish the proletarian democracy.
- For the united front of all the workers states against imperialism.
- All imperialist states, hands off Cambodia & Vietnam. □

FRIENDS OF SOVIET UNION COMPEL SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO HONOUR HUMAN RIGHTS IN U. S. S. R.

Delegates friends,

It is announced that the ISCUS Conference you are attending is going to discuss the burning problem of human rights too.

The rulers of Soviet Union and India claim to be the staunch supporter of the human rights. The Indian delegates of various shades and political outlook must be aware of the pre-emergency, emergency and the post-emergency period in India. Perpetuation of "Preventive detention Act, DIR and MISA and now Mini MISA is continued under various guise and garbs. Ample evidences have come to light. This has exposed the claim of clean and free-political atmosphere in India. Radical critics from academy are pressurised and punished. Leaders and militants belonging to Trade Unions mass organizations of toiling and oppressed stratas and the opposition political parties are systematically harassed, humiliated and hounded in horrible manner by the custodians of the law and order. Recently in Bihar couple of thousands were jailed under so-called "Goonda and anti-social elements act." Massacre of religious minorities and Harijans is multiplying. But India, the part of the world Capitalist system whose claim to human rights is bound to be partial and hollow. Because exploitative capitalist private property can only be salvaged and safeguarded at the cost of human rights—civil, economical, political, democratic—of the working masses. It prevails in industrially and culturally developed Western World. Also it perpetuates in the backward countries of the third world whose important component is India.

But what about the human rights in the post-capitalist system called "Socialist Camp", guided by the Soviet Union? Does the "Socialist Democracy" interpreted by

these rulers allows basic civil and democratic freedom to the working people of the shining socialist camp? Does the practice of "their" socialist democracy mean only one party ruthless bureaucratic rule? Why the working peoples of USSR are not permitted to have the party or parties of their choice? What are the reasons behind ever increasing trend among writers, poets, artists, academicians, scientists, students and among advanced workers to be critical and dissidents? Why are they harassed, boy-cotted and expelled from their professional organisations: ostracised in the society; and exiled from their own father land? Why even formal freedom and civil rights conditionally favoured and allowed by bourgeois democracy are abridged or non-existence in "existing developed socialisam" of the Soviet block countries?

Before answering these questions it is desirable to understand the authentic position of Marxism and Leninism. The first and foremost goal of socialist revolution of October 1917 was the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The conventional meaning of this term given in the text-book is totally misleading. As per the Marx and Lenin the dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing but the workers' democracy. It is the rule of the working people as a class. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat state power is exercised by democratically elected workers' councils in which revolutionary party or parties struggle for their programme and perspective. The aim is to convince the members of the councils about its correctness through free discussion and self-experience in order to win political confidence and the leadership, and without substituting itself for the workers' councils, that are democratically elected by rank and file members. To realize this goal unfettered freedom to organise in different groups, tendencies and parties without any administrative restrictions is the precondition for the functioning of the political power of the working class. Socially it is a pre-requisite for the working class collectively as a class arriving at a common for at least a majority view point on the innumerable questions

of tactics, strategy and even programme and principles that are involved in the gigantic task of constructing a classless society under the leadership of working class in alliance with the traditionally oppressed, exploited downtrodden masses. Unless there is a freedom to organize the political groups, tendencies and parties there can be no real socialist democracy.

So political freedom under workers' democracy implied freedom of organisation and action for independent womens' liberation, national minorities, youth, artists, writers, and scientists. That is the movement much broader than the working class in the scientific sense of the word. The revolutionary Marxist Current shall have to win political leadership within these autonomous organisations by confronting the various utopian, reactionary, narrow nationalist chauvinistic, reformist and revisionist political-ideological currents through open discussions and not by administrative measures. This is only possible by prompting and promoting the broadest possible mass democracy within their ranks and by uncompromisingly upholding the right of all tendencies to develop and defend their opinions and platforms before society as a whole, through their respective professional autonomous organisations.

Considering above aspects of socialist democracy one will definitely agree that nowhere in the world including the Soviet Union, such socialist democracy exist. The rulers of the Soviet Union give lip service to this, but their practice is bureaucratic and authoritarian. Because their number of political dissidents are multiplying day by day. Militants of national minorities, scientists, prominent personalities from, artistic and literary field and politically conscious workers are persecuted for their so called "anti Soviet activity", "fraud against State" and "relations with capitalists". Many of these undaunted defenders of "socialist democracy" are expelled from the party, forced to psychiatric treatment, kept in forced labour camps, imprisoned exiled in Siberia and eventually expelled from the Soviet Union and the Eastern

Europe. Because they differ with the official line and demand to debate publicly in order to decide the question concerning their lives, liberty, government and society. Soviet rulers' savage persecution of their citizens is the total negation of socialist democracy, which is inseparable from socialist society.

Why the scientists like Sakharov and Orlov, writers like Rudenko and Alexander Ginsberg and old communist party members like Dzhemilev, Leonid Plyuskh, Bokovasky etc. are deprived of their human rights through stripping of their citizenship and forced exiles? None of these victims have denounced socialism or communism or the dictatorship of the proletariat. They still considered socialism the only best and the only feasible social system. These and thousands of such blacklisted communists demand free political activity from the standpoint of "State and Revolution" of Lenin.

The Communist League, Indian Section of the Fourth International denounces the cynical way of the Soviet Bureaucracy which helps the reactionary circles' propaganda in the capitalist camp. The political regime of "Socialist Camp" is as and even more repressive than the bourgeois regime so far civil and democratic rights are concerned. These give biggest boost to anti-communist and anti-Marxist propaganda of the capitalist rulers throughout the world.

Those who are committed to human rights can't keep their eyes closed and mouth shut to such an unlawful arbitrary acts of USSR or any other "socialist" or capitalist countries.

The 'socialist camp' should not be allowed to make mockery of the socialist democracy. Brother delegates of ISCUS end this shameful and stony silence, disassociated from double standard for human rights. We appeal all of you to demand the guarantee for the fundamental rights proclaimed by / UN and the Helsinki accords on "Human Rights" of 1975, from all signatory countries. Government of USSR and India are also party to this. In the situation prevailing in the Soviet Union we request the delegates

attending ISCUS Conference to demand from the Soviet Government the following for the real transition to socialist democracy :

- (1) General amnesty for all political prisoners.
- (2) End of victimisation of all types of people demanding freedom for participation in social, economical and political life in the Soviet Union.
- (3) Freedom for religious belief,
- (4) End to the Russification of any national minorities. Hence no forced Russification of the Ukrainians and upheld the right of Crimean Tartars to return to their home land.
- (5) Right to form group, union and political party independent of the officially sponsored by the government,
- (6) The necessity of the written law and avoidance of retroactive delinquency. The burden of proof to be on the accuser, the assumption of innocence until proof of guilt.

LONG LIVE WORKERS' DEMOCRACY OF LENIN.

Down with brutal bureaucracy of Stalinist Brezhnev.

Central Secretariat, Communist League,

(The Indian Section of the Fourth International.)

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

Can there be democracy under Socialism? Is there an alternative for the world working class to Stalinist bureaucracy or bourgeois "parliamentary democracy"?

The world Trotskyist movement represented by the Fourth International takes up correct meaning of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" defined by Marx and Lenin.

By examining of the last half century struggle for socialism the way to achieve genuine working people democracy is explained.

● Order from : Antar-rashtriya Prakashan, Pratap Road, Raopura, BARODA-390 001.

IRANIAN TROTSKYISTS ADVANCE FIGHTING PROGRAM FOR IRANIAN TOILERS

(Iranian Trotskyists are circulating a programmatic statement putting forward concrete proposals for carrying forward the revolution. The Socialist Workers' Party - formerly the Sattar League - a sympathising organisation of Fourth International, calls the statement a "Bill of Right for the Workers and Toilers of Iran". Here is an abridge program from above statement)

Initially it discussed the historical background of the present revolution. In the present phase of movement, it considered convening of a constituent assembly as an urgent task, for that it demands:

"The workers, peasants and toilers, women, the oppressed nationalities and students and finally the soldiers must all organise to win their demands. A single assembly made up of representatives of all the political and religious forces of the people must be set up without delay." It considers call for a constituent assembly as the central slogan in their fight for democracy, will advance the conditions for achieving all their civil, economic, political and social demands. It suggests to the workers, soldiers, and peasants masses of the people without waiting for any government to convene constituent assembly.

- To form a local government from democratically elected representatives of various organisation of workers, peasants, white-collar workers, soldiers, university students and high school students.
- To form all Iran-government from representatives of above organisations chosen on an all-Iran basis with voluntary collaboration of representatives of the oppressed nationalities.
- All officials would be controlled by right to recall by

voters and their salaries would be limited to the wage of the average worker.

TO FIGHT IMPERIALISM

To counter imperialism Revolutionary government should.....

- Abrogate all economic and military pacts with the United States of America and would expel all American advisers.
- No trade relations with Israel or South Africa.
- Solidarity with the Palestinian masses and the Blacks of South Africa.
- All foreign companies and property must be confiscated and nationalisation without compensation.

LAND REFORM

For the interest of peasant masses of Iran it demands :

- Land to the peasants, land to the tillers.
- Nationalisation (without compensation) of land held by big and absentee landlords.
- Cancellation of the peasants' debts to the State.
- Raising of agricultural workers' wages in parity with those in industry.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND RIGHTS OF THE SPECIALLY OPPRESSED

The statement calls for. :

- Release of all the political prisoners.
- Return of all exiles.
- Complete abolition of censorship.
- Freedom to demonstrate and assemble.
- Freedom of thought and expression.
- Freedom and equal rights to all political parties and religions.

- Right to bear Arms.
- Freedom for labour unions.
- Full and equal political and civil rights for Afghani, Pakistani and other Immigrant workers.

In defense of oppressed nationality, it recognises the right of self determination and right to use their own language by minority nationality. It advocates to adopt special program for building schools universities and other public works in the districts inhabited by the oppressed nationalities.

It considers liberation of women as one of the fundamental tasks of revolution and for that, stresses for :

- Full political and social rights and equality for women.
- Equal pay for equal work.
- To assure economic independence of women.
- Free child care centres.
- Women's right to control their own bodies and whether they want to bear children.
- Right to abortion and contraceptive methods.

AGAINST CAPITALIST "RIGHT"

A major portion of the document deals with measures that should be taken to curb the power of the capitalists and protect the interest of toilers for that it suggests:

- Abolition of all business secret.
- The property of those who have fled must be nationalised without compensation.
- To prevent further capitalist misuse of the factories, the offices, institutions and big companies (that exploit the millions of Iranian toilers in the interests of capitalist) must be brought under the control of workers committees, co-operating with committees and the unions of state

employees to form a real system of social services for the toilers.

TO FIGHT INFLATION IT SUGGESTS :

- Automatic cost-of-living adjustment to wages.
- Guaranteed job for everyone who wants to work.
- Create new job by undertaking public works projects such as construction or housing, cities, schools, universities, child-care centres, parks and roads etc.
- Abolish the taxes of life and introduce progressive income taxes.
- Workers and toilers should be exempted from taxes.
- Banks and basic industries should be brought under a state monopoly without any compensation.
- Foreign trade should be a state monopoly.

ABOLISH REPRESSIVE BODIES

After a bitter experience of Shah's regime, it demands :

- All repressive bodies (like Savak, police, rural guards) must be abolished.
- The armed groups of people, the workers and peasants must take a task of maintaining law and order.
- Dismantle the military hierarchy.
- Full civil and political rights for soldiers.
- Election of commanders by soldiers' committees.
- Workers and peasants must form a popular militia for self defence.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Considering the great impact the present revolution is creating the statement declares :

"When the workers are in control of society, the basis for advancing towards a society of abundance will

have been laid. But such progress, is only conceivable with the solidarity of the workers and toilers in other countries."

After declaring its solidarity with struggling masses of the world and especially of the Palestinians and South African, it concludes with... "The Iranian revolution has opened a period of blood and iron in the entire region; that is the age of revolt of the oppressed against the oppressing classes. Thus the establishment of government of workers and toilers of Iran, will lay a cornerstone of the "SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF THE MIDDLE EAST". □

KULAKS STAKE A CLAIM IN THE NATIONAL CAKE

By **Sharad Jhaveri**

Last December 23rd saw the Indian rich peasants stake a greater share in power and prosperity. On that day, Kisans (farmers) of The All India Kisan Sammelan (Organisation) held a massive rally of Kisans estimated to be four million in New Delhi. The rally greeted Charansingh, now Finance Minister and Deputy Prime Minister in Desai regime and leader of 10 million jats (a rich farmer caste) of Northern states of Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. It also adopted a 20 point charter of demands.

The participants hailed mainly from Punjab, Haryana, and western Uttar Pradesh. Large and middle farmers predominated.

The rally was the culmination of the process by which rich landed interests in India, by virtue of their numbers and political pull have become most active and articulate of all exploiting and vested interests in India now under Janata rule which has become most vulnerable to their pressure. With the last general elections in 1977, the representation of affluent middle castes in parliament and State legislatures has risen to 36.0% from 22.4% in 1952-57 and 30.6% in 1967-'71.

If anything, Janata rule since 1977 has done much to

consolidate the position of agrarian capitalist called popularly kulaks. For example, its economic policy pronounced last year, decided to shift as much as 40% of resources for agriculture. The Janata regime decided to fix higher procurement prices for kharif crop at a rate higher than the increased prices recommended by the Agricultural prices commission. This commission has already recommended higher wheat prices. In the vital area of land reforms, Janata rule has no progress to report.

The latest budget proposals of Charansingh pronounced February 28 for the current fiscal year, once again spares the rich farmers from any tax burden. On the contrary, in his anxiety to benefit the surplus farmer, Charansingh has hit hard the urban consumers. He has reduced the excise duty on chemical fertilisers by 50% as also on light diesel oil.

He has exempted power tillers from customs duty. Tax concessions cover also unmanufactured tobacco and fertilisers. This will at once put Rs. 239 Crores into the pockets of rich farmers as against imposed of Rs. 946 crores levied on the urban middle class and the working class. All agree that this will benefit only the agrarian Kulaks.

It is in this background of growing assertiveness and militancy of agrarian kulaks that various parties and commentators are evaluating the significance of rise of kulak power in the power bloc in Janata regime in India.

The charter of Demands adopted by the rally included :

(a) Remunerative prices for agricultural produce; (b) parity between agricultural inputs and outputs and between agricultural and industrial produce; (c) reduction of taxes on agricultural inputs; (d) reduction in irrigation rates and electricity charges; (e) provision of cheap credit through special banks and (f) due representation to peasants on various state bodies dealing with agriculture; (g) reduction in disparity between rural and urban income from 1:4 to 1:5 during next five years.

The leaders of the rally had engaged in the tirade against

the cities and the working class. One leader said : " Kisans will demand no more, they will take ".

The charter asked the government to invite foreign loans for agricultural development. All important inputs-electricity, water, fertilisers, pesticides, seeds, etc; should be available at low prices to be achieved even by granting subsidies, if necessary.

Even an elementary acquaintance with agrarian situation in India would convince anybody that the charter represents the powerful agrarian Kulak lobby whose first step to assert its power was the holding of this rally.

The charter, for example, does not make any reference to the interests of the small farmers or marginal farmers or semi-proletarian poor peasants. There is no mention about the adequate minimum wages of agrarian laborers. Equally conspicuous is the absence of any reference to the rights of sharecroppers. There are no specific demands of landless rural people at all.

The charter does not take up the question of bonded labor in agriculture.

A recent National Survey on the incidence of bonded labor was carried out by Gandhi Peace Foundation and The National Labor Institute with the active support of Union Ministry of Labor. Ten bonded areas were surveyed. These were Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Karnatak, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamilnadu and Uttar Pradesh, and Bihar. More than 1000 villages in 295 districts of these ten states were covered between May and October, 1978.

The survey concluded that the bonded labor was not merely the outgrowth of the feudal system but was also employed by the capitalist farm sector as a constant source of cheap labor whose services are guaranteed on a long term basis.

Bonded labor mainly comprises scheduled castes and the tribes. 66% belong to such castes while 18.3% to such tribes. 84.2% of the masters are caste Hindus. 62% of the bonded labor do not possess any cultivable land. Their wages are

below subsistence level 30% get less than Rs. 10 per month. 38% earn between Rs 10 and Rs. 40, 25% get between Rs. 40 and Rs. 80. Only 7% earn more than Rs. 80 per month.

The introduction of capitalist and modernised farming has intensified their recruitment into bondage.

The charter does not take up the question of distribution of land or land to the tiller.

The Planning Commission had estimated using National Sample Survey 26th Round, 1971-1972 data in respect of holdings of 30 acres or more that the potential surplus land for distribution would be 21.51 million acres. After two decades of land reforms, the total estimated surplus area in the whole country as on July 31, 1977 was only 5.32 million acres. The area taken over by the regime was 2.10 million acres. The area actually distributed was just 1.29 million acres only.

The charter speaks in the name of peasantry. That is it assumes homogeneous class of peasantry. It thinks that ills of peasantry can be cured without radically altering the highly skewed and concentrated pattern of landownership which is prevalent in Indian agriculture. According to the Census of landholdings 50% of the peasants operated less than one hectare of land per household and their condition was little different from that of agricultural laborers. Together with agrarian labor (30%), they (33%), constitute nearly two-thirds of the rural work force. 10% of the farming community owns or operates almost 60% of the arable land in India.

Commenting on this aspect of the Charter and the rally, a closely reasoned Editorial in The Economic Times of 26-12-'78 remarked :

" The bhai-bhai " (brotherhood.-S.J.) slogan is meant to contain the growing differentiation in the rural areas, finding expression in increasing resistance by the Harijans, who are also the most socially deprived and economically exploited section of the peasantry. " The editorial trenchantly points out : " The question of urban-rural and industry-agriculture

conflict will be used to prevent any unity of the struggles of the weaker section of the community for a better way of life. " This editorial also notes the inability of the other Kisan Organisations to mobilise the deprived section of agrarian India.

In the same vein, Sham Lal of The Times of India of 29-12-1978 writes : " The very use of the blanket word farmer is a ploy to conceal the class and caste conflicts in the country - side. With 10 % of the farming Community owning or operating almost 60% of the arable land, the class contradictions in the villages cannot be wished away.

Sham Lal pointedly asks several crucial questions to underline the real class nature of this charter and Kisan rally. He asks : What is the nature of the basic conflict ? And is between whom ? Or between the industries and agriculture ? Or between different castes and classes ? Is rural poverty due to a bias against agriculture or due to increasingly intolerable pressure on land and the increasing gross inequalities in the ownership of land ? Where the key to rural prosperity is to be sought ? In the increasing diversion of resources to agriculture or in the drastic changes in rural India ?

As representatives of industrial bourgeoisie, noted bourgeois journals commentators in India agree that the Kisan rally, the charter and Charansingh represent the interests of Indian kulaks. Their ideology would benefit only rich farmers with marketable agrarian surplus only. They try to measure, and contend with, this newly emerging kulak power in bourgeois-democratic polity in India. Why ? It is here essential to review briefly the evolution of kulaks in India after 1947.

When Indian bourgeoisie acquired state power from British Imperialism in 1947, agriculture was mainstay of majority of Indians. Land was not only the basic means of production but was also the source of power, patronage and prestige in hierarchical caste - ridden rural society. Man - land ratio was adverse in terms of man. Agrarian relations still suffered from feudal and semi - feudal vestiges.

The problem before the Indian capitalist class was therefore to reshape and reconstruct agrarian sector of

economy. It was to be modernised and developed along capitalist lines so that it could help expand home market for developing Indian capitalism.

The remnants of princedom, feudal and semi-feudal elements had to be done away with. In short, it was the task of a bourgeois-democratic revolution in India.

The bourgeois state in India played an active role in this process of transformation of Indian agriculture from subsistence farming to profit-oriented farming. The main agency was land reforms.

Former Zamindars (landlords) were allowed to retain best arable land and were provided with facilities of cheap power, irrigation, seeds, fertilisers. They became capitalist farmers. Their lands which, till then, were tilled by their tenants, were vacated by such tenants who later were hired as agricultural laborers on these very lands.

Where lands were taken away from such landlords, they were compensated with handsome amounts which enabled them to invest either in agriculture or industry. Lands thus taken were given over by sale to the upper most rich stratum of Indian peasantry which took to modern capitalist farming.

Over the years diversion of sizeable resources in agriculture and absence of taxation of income of these farmers have gone to swell considerable financial and economic coffers of these kulaks.

But the whole process of this transformation was not initiated by the oppressed land hungry peasantry. It was carried out from above. The bourgeois state in India never allowed the independent peasant initiative in capitalising agriculture. Bourgeois-democratic revolution in Indian agriculture was more of a Prussian, Junker-landlord type.

Countless reports and analysis have proved that bourgeois-democratic reforms in Indian agriculture have assisted richest sector of upper caste Indian peasantry at the expense of poor and oppressed landless as well as low or scheduled

caste peasantry. Their socio-economic situation has deteriorated further due to these reforms. These reforms did not alter the basic caste and class structure of rural India and did not cause a revolutionary redistribution of land to the actual tillers. By their unequal treatment of different castes and classes reforms have aggravated class struggles in the rural areas. Because of peculiar caste structure of agrarian society in India where upper castes own or operate most of the arable land while lowest castes constitute landless agricultural labour, class struggles in rural India, in the absence of revolutionary organisations of agrarian labor, often erupt as caste riots and struggles.

The whole process of transformation of erstwhile pre-capitalist landlords into capitalist farmers has been very slow, tortious, painful and oppressive for the impoverished peasantry. Growth of capitalism in Indian agriculture has been inadequate and dwarfish. Agriculture in India suffers from the inadequate growth of capitalism.

The development of capitalist mode of production in Indian agriculture has also been highly uneven. Farm level data show that consumption of government subsidised inputs are heavily concentrated by size of farm holdings as well as geographically. State wise public procurement of food grains data also show a clear concentration of marketed surplus geographically.

Punjab and Haryana top the list by contributing more than half. It is from so called northern agricultural belt - Punjab, Haryana and West Uttar Pradesh - that bulk of Kissan rally participants hailed.

Over the years rich farmers with marketable surplus have been provided huge resources. At last count the total subsidies on food and fertilisers amounted to no less than Rs. 1100 crores. This figure does not include hidden subsidies - the lower rate of interest on loans, the lower power tariff, the throwaway water charges in canal-irrigated areas, the non-recovery of these charges and the exemption of farmers from income taxation, etc :

The emergence of a powerful kulak lobby in the Indian parliament has enabled these farmers to get a fair price for their produce since the sixties. With the exception of 1962-63 the terms of rural-urban trade have been heavily in favour of the former.

The village organisations like co-operatives, panchayats, banks, etc. are dominated by these farmers. Upto last general elections in 1977, they had a decisive voice in all the states of India. Most of the Chief Ministers of states themselves are rich farmers. In matters of agriculture which is a state subject under the Indian Constitution kulak view prevailed.

Upto last general elections, kulaks had not been successful, despite numerous attempts, to obtain a place in the centre. With the widening of the social base of Janata rule, kulaks as a stratum got a powerful leverage through Charansingh and others in the ruling power bloc.

Its struggle to obtain hegemony in the power bloc was momentarily halted with the exit of Charansingh. With his re-entry as the Finance and Deputy Prime Minister, kulak lobby has gone a long way in getting a lion's share in the current budget proposals.

How far the kulak lobby will go? Will it form an independent political party? Will it constitute an independent political power independently of two major social classes of urban India, capitalist and the workers?

Girllal Jain, a shrewd observer of Indian political scene and the New Delhi resident editor of Times of India, provides a penetrating insight into the limitations of Kisan leadership in The Times of India of 27-12-'78 which reminds us of classic analysis of Russian peasantry by Leon Trotsky in his Theory of Permanent Revolution.

Measuring Charansingh as the most influential peasant leader who is dogmatic and social outlook is rooted in the 19th Century with little relevance to the problems of modern India, Jain Warns that if his overall socio-economic approach if vigorously implemented could lead to national disaster.

because it involves the denial of resources to modern industry, a halt to the process of modernisation and also of stagnation of agriculture. Sham Lal in his article in The Times of India of 29-12-'78 observes that the charter of demands is designed less to promote the interests of agriculture which can hardly hope to prosper if the economy itself is ditched in the bargain.

To conclude that Charansingh cannot be a national leader like Indira Gandhi who while mounting populist slogans helped grow kulaks, Jain remarks that Indian peasantry is by and large unable to throw up leaders capable of taking a larger and integrated view of a nation's requirement. It is self-centred, limited and parochial in outlook.

What has been the political response of left parties to this phenomenon? Only Revolutionary Socialist Party has so far shown the awareness of the danger posed by the rise of kulak power. According to an article in its monthly Call of January, 1979, it says that only working class allied with poor peasantry can counter it. It has urged for a radical agrarian programme which should go-beyond bourgeois and petty-bourgeois land reforms. Communist League, Indian section of Fourth International, has also developed an extensive analysis of this phenomenon within the power bloc since March, 1977.

It is important that left in India should come to terms with it and evolve an appropriate strategy to meet its challenge. 7-3-1979.

REQUEST.....REMINDER

With this issue the 'PROLETARIAN POLITICS' becomes bimonthly according to our previous announcement in this column. We appeal readers and supporters of the PP to remit the subs. for the current year. Those who could not do are re-reminded to remit for both the years. But subs. can hardly meet the ever-increasing cost of this journal. Hence our appeal for assistance over and above the subscription to keep alive PP.

STATEMENT OF THE 4th INTERNATIONAL

Chinese troops out of Vietnam !

[The following statement, issued February 21 was approved by a majority of the Bureau of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

The People's Republic of China launched an attack on the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on February 17, 1979. By this act, it dealt a further blow to the new opportunities for the spread of the socialist revolution in Southeast Asia that were opened up by the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indochina in April 1975.

The military offensive launched by the Chinese bureaucracy cannot be seen simply as a border incident. It is an act of war, the scope of which is shown not only by the number of troops deployed and by the duration of the conflict, but also by the targets chosen by the Chinese troops, which include urban population centers.

The Chinese intervention is a reply to the overthrow of Pol Pot regime in Cambodia by the Vietnamese regular army and the Kampuchean National United Front for National Salvation. However, it falls within a broader political context that gives it its true significance and scope. It is the conflict between the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies, for which the Kremlin bears the historic responsibility, that constitutes the framework for the clashes between the Chinese, Vietnamese, and Khmer Rouge leaderships. It was the Kremlin that initially mounted an economic blockade against China and massed an army on its frontier.

The debacle suffered by the U.S. forces in Indochina, and the weakening of imperialism's position in Asia, have made it harder for the imperialists to intervene directly, and have made it easier for conflicts between bureaucracies following an orientation of building "socialism in one country" to take a military form.

The Chinese bureaucracy, which is plagued by a grave internal crisis, is committed to a policy of peaceful coexistence with imperialist powers. By this means, it hopes to be

able to meet the needs imposed by the economic options it has taken, reestablish the status quo in the region, and limit as much as possible any spillover of the Indochinese revolution. The Soviet bureaucracy also seeks to uphold stability in the ASEAN zone [Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and Indonesia], and at the same time extend its own influence by capitalizing on its ties with the Vietnamese regime. The Peking leadership is trying to weaken the Vietnamese regime and to undermine its influence.

Although Hanoi's aim is not to promote anti-imperialist struggles in the ASEAN countries, its objectives in Indochina, and its ties to the Soviet bureaucracy, represent a factor that may endanger the plans of the Chinese bureaucracy in this area, which Peking considers part of its sphere of influence.

Over the years, U.S. imperialism has deliberately sought to inflict the maximum destruction and slaughter on Southeast Asia in order to weaken the regimes that would emerge from the victory of the revolutions that it was not able to crush. Now it is doing its utmost to exploit these interbureaucratic conflicts in order to prevent the consolidation and extension of the Indochinese revolution in the region. This is why it is imposing an economic blockade of Vietnam and building up the arsenals of the reactionary regimes in Thailand and the ASEAN countries in general.

Today, Peking is objectively aiding these plans. Once again, the bureaucracy is showing its blindness, since in the medium and long term, such a policy can only work against the interests of defending the Chinese workers state from imperialism.

Thus, the infernal logic of interbureaucratic conflicts has prevailed, at the expense of the Indochinese and Chinese masses, who are locked in tragic bloody clashes. This logic also furthers the betrayal of the struggles of the Southeast Asian peasants and workers against bloodthirsty dictatorships. It gravely disfigures the goals that the Chinese and Indochinese masses fought for over decades against the imperialist warmakers.

A bourgeois propaganda campaign has been unleashed. The imperialists, who for a century have caused wars costing humanity tens of millions of dead, have suddenly been transformed into "the world's peacemakers". The conflicts between bureaucratized workers states are said to involve the threat of a third world-wide conflagration. It is our duty to combat these claims, which are already being echoed by sectors of the international workers movement. We must denounce the continual threat of a world war that is kept alive by the imperialists, as well as their repeated aggression against the world's peoples. We must also explain the roots of the counterrevolutionary policy of the ruling bureaucracies.

The military actions taken by the bureaucratic leaderships are directly linked to the nature of these regimes, which deny the toiling masses an opportunity to participate directly in political, economic and military decisions. Only the establishment of genuine socialist democracy in the course of a throughgoing struggle against the bureaucracy can eliminate the possibility of a recurrence of the present confrontations, and ensure the implementation of an international policy in the interests of the workers and peasants.

It is up to the international workers movement to do all it can to end the military conflicts between the workers states. It also has the task of mobilizing to defend the Indochinese revolutions, which are threatened by imperialist maneuvers at a time when they are being weakened by interbureaucratic conflicts.

Chinese troops must withdraw immediately and completely from Vietnamese territory ! No Soviet military intervention against China !

For a united front of the workers states against imperialist threats and aggression ! For joint aid by the workers states to the anti-imperialist struggle of the workers and peasants in Southeast Asia !

Statement of the Central Secretariat of Communist League on Revolution in Iran

The Central Secretariat of Communist League, the Indian Section of the Fourth International, greets the workers and toiling masses of Iran who successfully overthrew Shah in an armed insurrection on February 9 to 12.

The revolution in Iran has reached a crucial stage. The Bazargan Govt. imposed from above by Ayatollah Khomeini who represents the rallying point for the bourgeoisie is desperately trying to get the workers to give up the arms, get off the streets and back to work. It does not want to rely on the masses. Instead it has begun to handpick former officers of Shah to man the various branches of state apparatus in Iran which is in shambles. This is rightly resisted by people, especially by rebellious homofars and airmen of Iran's army. Instead of dismantling the army of Shah, Bazargan tells the soldiers to return to barracks. It along with Islamic hierarchy urges that period of independent mass activity is now over. Already it has begun to put restraints on liberties of the people in the name of Islamic Republic. It is hesitating to call for elections to a Constituent Assembly in this situation of extreme flux where armed masses are already self-organizing into committees and Anjoomans of various sorts and demanding democratic rights and say in the government.

The revolution in Iran is in the first stage of decisive upsurge of class struggle where purely democratic, anti-monarchical and anti-imperialist tasks were first items on agenda. With the development of mass struggles which as yet have not suffered a decisive defeat from Bazargan and Khomeini, this stage is bound to pass over, with the extension and deepening of the Revolution, to the greater focussing of the proletarian tasks, nature and essentially socialist orientation and aims of the revolution. Here much will depend on how fast a Leninist Combat party wins over the majority of the masses and provides a revolutionary Marxist leadership to the insurgent masses.

The revolution in Iran was a popular revolution in the true sense of the term. It was made by a vigorously sustained and increasingly militant and evergrowing mass movement, mass demonstrations in streets, mass occupations and strikes through-out 1978. The strike of oil workers who constitute a vanguard of the Iranian proletariat gave a decisive proletarian thrust of this powerful mass upsurge. Masses in the streets repeatedly confronted the most modernised army of Shah and by the process of fraternisation broke it and won over the rank and file. With few rivals in modern history, such a mass movement of such a gigantic scope over such a long span, showed the fragility of even such a tyrannical and oppressive rule as that of Shah. It has shown what such a mass movement can achieve. But it also shows limitations of a leaderless spontaneous mass movement which is heterogenous in its class composition but which is united by the only common aim of overthrow of monarchy.

Because of the conditions of oppression and extreme political repression obtaining in Iran under Shah, revolutionary political leadership or the party did exist. Such a party is being built in the very heat of the struggle. That is why the mass movement found itself in a political vacuum after Shah's Overthrow. The leadership and reins of government fell into the hands of the bourgeoisie. As in Russia of February 1917, so also in Iran, February 9, 1979, saw masses win power from Shah only to be handed over to the bourgeoisie.

But apart from this, the revolution in Iran, exhibits many similarities with the classical pattern of Russian Revolution. Just as in Russia, so also here, masses and especially urban masses and oil workers played a decisive role in overthrowing Pahlvi monarchy. Again, like Russia, the question of democratic rights and Constituent Assembly is decisive. Like Russia, it is the mass movement and strikes of workers which is decisive in overthrowing Shah. Again as in Russia, masses in Iran, spontaneously formed Committees in towns, areas, neighbourhoods and army to run the affairs of Iran

workers' occupations of a key installations and communications also represented the similar pattern. Thus, the Lessons of Russian Revolution have still to tell something to revolutions of our time. The events in Iran confirm once again the tendency of revolutionary process to approximate more and more the pattern initiated by and with the Russian Revolution.

The workers in Iran in the process of their mass revolutionary upsurge have proved that it is the workers who run the country and who can stop it by their collective might. It is not the bosses who are required to rule. Capitalist system is not required to modernise and develop society in Iran.

It already tried to do so and brought havoc to Iran and tutelege of imperialism. Capitalism in Iran meant "American Shah" and his U. S. Armed military machine and CIA trained torturers. What the Iranian workers needed was a society based not on profit but on human needs.

Secondly, the mightiest tyranny does not look that strong and invincible in the face of continuous onslaught of masses. In revolutionary times, the bosses look and become weaker. This is because of mass movement. Consider what Iranian masses had to face to realize the tremendous achievements of masses in Iran in toppling the Peacock Throne. Shah, his secret dreaded police, U. S. imperialism, most modern army, backing of Soviet and Chinese bureaucracy were the constituents of a formidable array which formed a stony wall facing masses, in Iran. One would never have thought that this wall could be demolished by an unorganised amorphous mass movement. As New York Times editorialised February, 13. "It ended up taking only three months for events in Iran to go from the unthinkable to the inevitable". This merely proves that weapons are only as reliable as the hands that use them. It is the workers and the peasants who use them. This is how an army can be won by political means.

The revolution in Iran has further tilted the correlation

of class forces on a global scale in favour of world revolution. Regarded as a bastion of stability in the region, Iran, has become the focal point of instability in the region. It has provided a powerful impetus to national liberation struggle of Palestinians. It provided a mortal blow to U.S. imperialism which watched helplessly its stooge fading ingloriously into oblivion. It has discredited both Soviet and Peking Stalinist bureaucracies which for their own narrow national interests had provided political support to monarch when masses were struggling to overthrow the hated monarchy the bureaucrats of Russia and China were busy greeting Shah and praying for his long life and peacock throne.

The Revolution in Iran has once again highlighted the role of national question and right of nations to self-determination in the development of revolutionary process in this age of Permanent Revolution. Kurds, Azarbaijanis and other oppressed nationality of Iran have provided a solid core of the upsurge in Iran. And their continued struggle under Bazargan dispensation for self-determination promises to impart permanence to the revolutionary process in Iran. **We condemn the brutal killings of hundreds of the Kurds.**

We greet the heroic struggles of Iranian women for their rights and condemn the attack, including the brutal stabbing of Iranian women by Khomeini and the Islamic hierarchy. **The struggle of Iranian women is playing a crucial role in further deepening the revolutionary movement of Iran.**

The problem of linking the task of overthrowing monarchy with the tasks of overthrowing capitalism and establishing a workers state remain to be solved.

Already a deepgoing differentiation along class lines of the insurgent masses is taking place. The toilers are more and more taking the road of self-organisation into committees, Anjoomans-Iranian Soviets. In practice, they are already questioning the right of Bazargan Government to rule. Much will depend on building up of a revolutionary Leninist combat party. Once again Iran demonstrates that central

strategic task of revolutionary Marxists still remains to build a Bolshevik Party. Here the central lesson of Russian Revolution still holds good.

We greet the formation of Socialist Workers Party - Iranian section of the Fourth International. Iranian Trotskyists who had braved repression under Shah and now organised in the Socialist Workers Party are heroically striving to consolidate this party in the very heat of the struggles. As contrasted against all other currents, individuals and groups on the Left, Socialist Workers Party has consistently opposed the idea of Islamic Republic. Instead, it has presented a revolutionary Marxist Programme of transitional demands in consonance with the needs of developing mass struggles. While raising the slogan of convening of the Constituent Assembly as the central demand of the current conjuncture, SWP has projected the perspective of a workers and poor peasants government before the insurgent Iranian masses.

Whatever be the ultimate outlook of revolution in Iran, the revolution in Iran and workers of Iran have shown the toilers of the world a way to Socialist Revolution.

- * Against Islamic Republic.
- * Against the bourgeois Bazargan Government.
- * For the right of self-determination of Kurds, Azarbaijanis, Baluchis and other oppressed nationalities and national minorities.
- * Against anti-women oppressive Islamic laws and dictates.
- * For total emancipation of the Iranian Women.
- * For the democratic rights of Iranian masses and political parties.
- * For a democratically elected constituent Assembly.
- * For the workers and poor peasants' government in Iran.

TRIBUTE TO JOSEPH HANSEN

Joseph Hansen, a long time veteran leader of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International, died on January 18. Comrade Hansen, popularly known as 'Joe' - a former secretary to Leon Trotsky, the founding father of the Fourth International—was best known recently as the founding editor of Intercontinental Press/Inprecor, the internationally known English Language weekly of revolutionary Marxism.

Joe was outstanding theoretician, penetrating political commentator, able educator, revolutionary journalist organizer and popularizer of scientific socialism and revolutionary Marxism of Lenin, Luxemburg, Liebknecht and Leon Trotsky.

As a college student in the university, he joined the Trotskyist movement in 1934. In 1937, he became the secretary of Trotsky in Mexico, where he proved to be the ablest student and most loyal disciple. Reba, his companion since 1931, and Joe remained with Trotsky until his assassination by Stalin agent in 1940. Both identified completely with the revolutionary Socialist movement and dedicated all their energies to it thereafter. From Trotsky, Joe mastered the philosophy of Marxism and its unique method of analysis. He also learned by heart from Trotsky's meticulous and methodical working habits, precision and punctuality in all things.

Hansen's crucial contribution to the theoretical understanding of the International Trotskyist movement is of the new questions raised by the overthrow of capitalism in the eastern Europe, Yugoslavia and China under the bureaucratized Stalinist leadership. Hansen's analysis of the Cuban revolution helped the forces of the F. I. to reunify in 1963. His firm and persuasive principled stand regarding the strategy for revolution in Latin America, his warning of the danger of misreading the lessons of Cuban experience and his opposition to the erroneous course of elevating guerrilla war from the level of tactics to the level of strategy had decisively contributed to re-orient the cadres of F. I.

The central secretariat of the Communist League, the Indian Section of the Fourth International pledges to carry forward the lofty legacy of com. Hansen the link between us and the OLDMAN - Leon Trotsky. □