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LONG LIVE NOVEMBER REVOLUTION



November Revolution Enjoins to Fight Capitalism-Imperialism and Modern Revisionism

1997 is the year when toiling people all over the world are going to observe the eightieth anniversary of the Great November Revolution. It was an event that ushered in a new era; it saw the proletarian revolution actually taking place in Russia.

The occasion, however, comes in a much different situation today : socialism faces an unprecedented attack and setback which stem not only from imperialism but also from the counter-revolution and restoration of capitalism in the erstwhile USSR and some socialist countries of East Europe. With this subversion from within, the socialist camp has been dismantled. International communist movement that rose to its zenith with revolution taking place in one country after another during the days immediately following the second world war was already being undermined and its glory being slowly eroded since the advent of modern revisionism with the Khrushchevite clique's assumption of power. Whatever remained of that glory has been put to severe testing with this present debacle. The international communist movement is virtually in disarray.

Naturally, capitalists-imperialists and their apologists like the revisionists of one and all shades have come out with all their venom and claws. They have unleashed a tirade against communism and its philosophy. Directly or indirectly they are out to establish that Marxism-Leninism has no humane face, or that it has no relevance or validity in the present context ; it has lived its life. Obviously, no communist of worth would expect anything else from them; but what they must not fail to note is that even among those who placed faith in Marxism-Leninism, who found a beacon of hope in it in the fight to end oppression and exploitation, even among that pro-communist rank and file a section, at least, is stunned and confused at this severe and unprecedented blow against the movement itself. On our part, we think the setback is temporary and the silver lining has already started to emerge. But a good section of the pro-communist rank is agitated over questions like: what then waits in the future ? Is the way to progress then sealed for ever ? What is the justification of remembering the November Revolution and observing its anniversary any more ?

We cannot forget that a communist is no ritualist; he does not observe November Revolution simply by rule, as a ritual. To observe it in the real spirit of the occasion, in the true light of this historic event, it is necessary to have a comprehensive understanding of history as well as of the contemporary world. So, a communist accepts it as his bounden duty to undertake an objective analysis of all questions, confusions and misgivings whatsoever that may confront the international communist movement. And, accepting the reality, communists one and all face the task today to get at the truth — why history has had to suffer such an about-turn.

Setback of socialism is a truth ; equally true is onward march of Marxism and success of November Revolution

Communists disdain to conceal truth. Always and under all circumstances they seek the truth and face it with courage and wisdom. Hence they do not

deny that counter-revolution has swamped the socialist countries; retrogressive steps of restoration of capitalism has overwhelmed the countries which once fought bitter and heroic struggles to establish socialism there. Unwanted though these developments were, they were not really unexpected to us, the SUCI. Our party, under the leadership of its founder General Secretary, the great departed Marxist leader, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, has thoroughly analysed, since its coming into being in 1948, the different events and developments of the international communist movement. Comrade Ghosh repeatedly highlighted the glories and achievements of the movement and its leadership with pride and reverence; at the same time, he did not fail to point out the limitations and aberrations that had been manifest at different times and on different issues in the camp of the communist movement itself. He pointed these out at such moments and in such a way that our comrades were never taken aback under newer difficult circumstances, not even when the danger assumed the present grave shape. This is why even with this unprecedented setback due to counter-revolution and restoration of capitalism, our party was not swayed by the gusty winds of reaction, confusion and frustration. On the contrary, with our limited strength, the SUCI under the leadership of our General Secretary, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, has been making proper evaluation of the situation and its grave consequences and, thereby, playing its role to face and fight it.

But if, and when, we accept the truth the gravest setback socialism suffers today on its march, we cannot also wish away a few more truths.

Firstly, it is not the first time that the working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism has to face an attack. In fact, since its inception, the movement faced severe attacks from the bourgeois class, either from without by capitalists-imperialists themselves or from within by the social democratic forces or agents of the bourgeoisie, or even from the confused masses falling prey to the bourgeois propaganda. But the truth that stands out glaringly is that, under no such circumstances, Marxism-Leninism, or the working class movement on its basis, had to face defeat. On the contrary, in spite of temporary setbacks, the working class has always fought back those attacks to advance further with stronger determination, wider experiences and deeper consciousness. Of course, the attacks and onslaughts varied in form and intensity, and the bourgeoisie, too, have found out subtler means and forms to undermine or crush the working class movement ; it is also a reality that the present setback is the gravest of all. But the ever-advancing movement as recorded in its annals is a greater reality that even its enemies cannot ignore and deny.

We should also realize another, the second, truth. In 1917 there was a revolution under the sun, the Great November Revolution; it was remarkably different from all the preceding revolutions in history ; it marked a radical rupture with the past, in which the working class, the toilers, those who had actually built the human civilization seized the state power under the leadership of Lenin and his Bolshevik Party to establish a qualitatively

different state machinery of their own. It was a revolution of a different kind in human history ; whereas the earlier ones fought for the end of one or the other kind of class exploitation, once against the slave-owners and then against the feudal monarchs and absolutism, the November Revolution headed for a total elimination of exploitation of man by man.

Since the day it started, it became a revolution which did not remain confined to the bounds of the country in which it actually took place. Its thundering impact reverberated throughout the world. The enemies, the reaction, the capitalists-imperialists were scared. On the other side, struggling masses of the people, the exploited and oppressed classes of this country or that, stepped up their movements under the genuine communist party of their respective soils ; they accomplished socialist revolution or democratic revolutions under the leadership of the working class, as the case may be, in either case, however, drawing inspiration and taking lessons from the November Revolution. Even in countries where people were engaged in their independence struggle, in their fight to free themselves from the yoke of feudalism and foreign imperialist power, the November Revolution stood out as a path-finding event. Where the leadership could correctly grasp the significance of the Revolution, they could move ahead towards the goal of overthrowing the reaction from power. In countries like ours, where impact of November

Revolution was there providing inspiration, but the leadership of the communist movement rested with parties like the CPI of our country, which could not correctly comprehend the implications of the November Revolution and thus could not correctly apply its lessons to their own struggle, the revolution was frustrated. As in India, in many countries the native capitalists took power from the hands of foreign imperialists; people's dream of socialism remained unfulfilled. Thus stood out the November Revolution before the fighting people of the then world. By no means can we deny this truth today, whatever may be the situation now in the countries which fought their battle at that time.

We cannot also deny the truth, nor can those who rejoice at the present setback of the communist movement, that in spite of and in the face of a thousand and one difficulties, hazards, attacks and treasons, the socialist state of the Soviet Union was born and that too, not to tumble down. On the contrary, braving all attacks and pressures from within and without, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, first under the leadership of Lenin and then Stalin, protected the nascent state, took up reconstruction, consolidated the position and, at a lightning speed advanced towards all-out growth and development. Honest or dishonest, can anybody deny this simple truth that the November Revolution transformed an once a backward state of Europe into a modern state undergoing stupendous growth in all aspects of production, both material and spiritual? Can it also be denied that this Soviet state, itself a multilingual, multinational union, could successfully solve its problem of multinationality, with the scope for free development guaranteed for each minority nationality even within the orbit of the union — a kind of solution unknown till then in history, in even

the bastions of bourgeois democracy? These truths are simply undeniable. The annals of revolution have scores of accounts of how the new-born Soviet state, yet to gain sufficient strength, could fight out, under the leadership of Lenin, numerous adversaries, natural or human, like famine, civil war, poverty, illiteracy and others; accounts of how subsequently, under the leadership of Stalin, the Soviet Union virtually single-handedly could build anew its war-ravaged economy, and electrify not only its countryside but enthuse the whole nation to develop into one enjoying the maximum possible education, health, employment benefits for all, reflecting a high moral and cultural standard, imbued with patriotism blended with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and a social outlook unknown even in the most civilized of the capitalist nations. And, above all, without the heroic and mighty role of this Soviet Union it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to save mankind from the Hitlerite fascism, the arch enemy of human civilization. Those who criticize communism today with all vengeance and who brand Stalin as a dictator should do well to remember that in those dark days of the war waged by the imperialists-fascists themselves, hosts of leading intellectuals and stalwart thinkers, never communists by any definition, hailed the Soviet Union and Stalin himself as the saviour of mankind; even the imperialists themselves acknowledged it, when, at the end of the war, Churchill and Truman presented Stalin with the Sword of Heroism.

Revolutions are law-governed events, No freak of nature, nor acts of geniuses

Accepting these truths, we may however get to examine the question from another angle. We may ask: how should we then view the happenings known in the human history as social revolutions? Was the November Revolution to be understood just as an experiment in Russia? Could it have taken place just because Lenin had planned it, organized it and successfully led it to its victory? Were such revolutions — and there have been many such in the history of human civilization which brought about gigantic changes in the course of social development, though having distinctions and differences among themselves — some tricks of fate, or at best, results of the thinking of this or that great man? Or, were these revolutions law-governed, the outcome of some causally determined processes? Marxism holds it emphatically that like every other change social changes are also law-governed and that these laws exist independently of man's will. Man cannot create nor eliminate these laws, though he can know them, put them to use and by his conscious action can accelerate the law-governed processes. Thus the social revolutions, too, the gigantic, rapid changes in society are law-governed, the outcome of causally determined processes. The November Revolution was one such, in which for the first time in human history the proletariat, under the leadership of Lenin and his Bolshevik Party, not only recognized the law but also, on the strength of concrete application of Marxism to the situation of the then Russia, consciously acted upon the reality to hasten the process of social change from a capitalist to socialist state. But how was it that of all philosophies Marxism could expound the process of social development in a way which did not simply wither in the pages of philosophical memoirs, but could arouse the proletariat to fight the decisive battle through to victory? We know

that the answer lies in correctly appraising what kind of philosophy Marxism is.

Marxism, with dialectical materialism as its philosophical foundation, is itself a science

Marxism was born at a particular stage of human history, at a particular juncture of it. It stood on the development of science till that stage; it emerged to reflect the urge for emancipation of the proletariat from all sorts of exploitation and oppressions the urge of a class that was born in the womb of capitalism and represented the vast toiling majority in society, who had actually built the civilization. Marxism was not only based on science, it was itself a science. For, why do we need science, the different branches of natural or social sciences, or, for that matter, science in general? We need it to search truth. Science helps us recognize the truth. But why do we need it even, the truth? Without the correct knowledge of truth and a grasp of it no people can find out its way to emancipation. Besides, greatness, nobility and such other virtues of civilization can never grow on falsehood. At each and every stage of human history, the thoughts and philosophy that reflected the concrete general truth served as the very basic premise, the fundamental, on which people of that particular and respective juncture based their struggle for the social change. It was this unrelenting search for truth and the struggle on the strength of realization of that truth at every particular stage that has provided civilization with its impetus for progress to reach the present stage.

Now, every different branch of science strives to reach at the particular truth of a particular domain. Thus physics, chemistry, biology, or, for that matter, any and every such branch of science reveals this or that aspect of the nature or society and the truth pertaining to that aspect or domain. But none of these branches can provide a comprehensive knowledge about life, society and nature; none of these by itself frames a total and comprehensive knowledge covering all the branches. Only Marxism has developed as that science, the comprehensive science, the science of all sciences, which coordinates, integrates and generalizes the particular truths of all the different branches of science, verifying them through analysis, logic, practice and application and arrives at an integration of theory and practice to develop into a comprehensive science itself. Thus, in reality and in essence, Marxism encompasses a methodology, an approach, a process to analyze, study and synthesize the conclusions about the world, life, society and nature arrived at by the host of physical and social sciences, history and logic. And here lies the strength of Marxism that makes it decisive and invincible; that differentiates it from all other philosophies that have developed in the course of human history. A Marxist claims this emphatically and when he does that he does not do it just as a fashion, a fancy, a habit, nor is that his vision and judgment is blurred by any kind of dogmatic faith in Marxism. A Marxist, to be worth his identity, must also have the fullest and correct understanding of this very nature of the Marxist philosophy, and those who decry Marxism should do well to know that to denounce Marxism will only amount to denouncing the scientific outlook and thus to denouncing the human striving for truth in the present-day world.

Dialectical materialism, philosophical base of Marxism, has shown unambiguously that the world cannot be conceived without matter, its charac-

teristics and laws; the world is entirely made of matter, there cannot be anything, not even thinking, that is not a product of matter or of a material process. Dialectics has also shown and experience bears it out every moment that each phenomenon or entity in this material world undergoes changes. Nothing can remain constant, immutable; the world, the universe, the nature, society are ever-changing.

Marxism has further developed an entire category of epistemology on the foundation of the truth about the material world. Not only that. It has also established, again on dialectical materialism, that no change can occur without a cause; thus, all phenomena, entities, the entire material world are not merely ever-changing, there is causal connection everywhere and at every stage between the different phenomena. For every change there is a cause behind it; behind every change of matter in any form, there are some conditions for it to happen, both within or without that form of matter, that is, both internal and external to it. Internal condition within a material entity is the basic cause in deciding the nature of the change and bringing it about. But the external condition plays a very significant role in the process. Dialectical Materialism has also revealed that the internal condition is determined by the contradictions of mutually opposing aspects within a phenomenon or entity that coexist in unity and, at the same time, are in struggle with each other to keep on the ever-continuing motion of matter.

Human society, part and parcel of the material world, is naturally guided by these basic laws of change. Thus, at any stage of development, society has two opposing forces acting within it. Those striving for radical changes, the revolutionaries, must correctly recognize which of the two is progressive, which is conducive to the social progress towards emancipation from oppression and exploitation, or which force acts as a hindrance to the social progress and freedom. They must also realize in what relative positions the two stand — with what strength and how much role to play for social development. And Marxism is the science that guides the revolutionaries along this approach of concretely and correctly analyzing the objective social reality to properly understand the social laws in their twists and turns, and thereby to decide the correct, the most effective course of action.

Science has irrefutably proved that thinking is a product of complex interaction between the human brain and the material world, and thus neither the thought processes nor the thoughts, philosophies and the entire category of spiritual production of man exist independently of this material world. On the other, it is the material world, the objective reality, which exists independently of human consciousness. Marxism has also taught us that in the course of social development, thoughts emerge as spiritual production of society, depending on the condition and stage of development. The thought that once plays a progressive role in social movement and brings about revolutionary changes may exhaust itself under newer conditions and become reaction itself; newer thoughts conducive to the newer needs of social progress emerge and take up the position of playing a progressive role in social development. Marxists understand this law; they have to. And those who realize this truth and thus have a correct understanding of the Marxist philosophy do not fail to comprehend that herein lies the vitality of Marxism. They also realize why and how the great Marxist thinkers like Lenin and

others have developed and elaborated Marxism, at different times and under different conditions. The conditions that Marx or Engels did not see themselves, the experience they did not have, called for newer concrete analysis of the situation and newer, more developed understanding of Marxism. Thus Marx or Engels did not experience the advent of modern imperialism, the highest, decadent, moribund stage of capitalism. It was Lenin who faced and comprehended this development and analyzed it with proper understanding of Marxism and thereby raised it to Marxism-Leninism with its basic tenets and fundamentals kept intact. Only such developments keep up the soul, the essence of Marxism, devoid of which the philosophy is sure to wither to a soulless dogma.

Observing November Revolution demands clearing of confusion

In this way, Marxism has developed as an ever developing comprehensive science with contributions and concretisations by the great Marxist thinkers.

Since earlier philosophies were not based upon science or fully upon science, even if they strove for truth, they were never comprehensive and could not show mankind in which direction this society was going to develop and how. But Marxism being a comprehensive science, it could bring out how the human society has changed through quantitative and qualitative, that is, evolutionary and revolutionary phases, and how through the resolution of the contradiction between labour and capital, through overthrow and destruction of capitalism and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class-divided society inevitably develops towards the classless communist society, the destiny of human civilization, governed by the laws of social changes which man could neither create nor eliminate but could only act upon to accelerate the process towards its goal. The November Revolution opened this road to human destiny. How best and when we can reach it depends on how consciously and effectively may we act.

Founded on the conclusions of dialectical and historical materialism and on scientific analysis of history, Marxism-Leninism has provided a comprehensive picture of the development of human society through its different stages, an objective analysis of its changes. It has elaborately unravelled the laws of social changes, the fundamental importance of the contradiction at the base between the relation of production and the productive forces, the significant role of the superstructure and such other hundred and one vital questions.

The November Revolution distinguishes itself from all other earlier social revolutions in that it was based on concrete application of this Marxism; it marked the initiation of an era of proletarian revolution, in which the revolutionary leadership acted on the strength of conscious and concrete analysis of the situation, a thorough understanding of the laws of changes and a conscious, organised and effective acting on the laws to bring about the changes in the most effective manner, arresting, as much as possible, the destruction of human civilization at the hands of reaction. How successful would be the strides of revolution in this era hinges on the correct understanding of the reality, successful translation

of that understanding into action with the masses of oppressed, toiling people organised under the leadership of the genuine communist party of the Leninist model, emergence of that leadership through prolonged struggle covering all aspects of life, and developed with oneness in approach to the problems of life and revolution, singleness of purpose and uniformity of thinking, leading to ideological centralism upon which the collective leadership is to work, and, above all, concretisation and personification of the collective leadership through the leader of leaders of revolution. In this era of proletarian revolution we cannot grasp the real significance of social revolutions, nor the significance of the November Revolution, if we fail to judge them without paying attention to these tasks and character of revolution. We are afraid, failure to grasp all these has dragged a section of pro-communist rank and file into confusion and frustration today with the spurt of counter-revolution in the erstwhile socialist states.

Those who are thus confused also miss another important lesson of Marxism which every great Marxist thinker since Marx has pointed out emphatically. Marx himself pointed out that between capitalist and communist society lies the period of revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. There corresponds to this also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialism is never the end; rather, it is only a transitional phase between capitalism and communism. As Lenin, the architect of the November Revolution, Stalin, the giant communist leader who led the Soviet Union to grow into a mighty power against the imperialists, Mao Zedong, the great proletarian leader of the Chinese Revolution, and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the eminent Marxist thinker of the post-Lenin days, have repeatedly cautioned that even after the socialist revolution and establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle will have to be intensified and, so long as the private property exists in any form without complete transformation into social ownership, and commodity production and circulation are also there, the seeds of capitalism remain embedded within society. The more socialism consolidates itself, the more capitalism loses its ground, the more cornered it becomes in the economic sphere and loses its power to attack, resist and try to bring about counter-revolution. Nevertheless, the class struggle becomes more intense and acute and assumes a more subtle form in the superstructure, that is in the ideological and cultural spheres.

Hence, mistakes, failures and lapses of the leadership in recognizing this concrete form of class struggle in socialism and resolving it in favour of socialism and proletarian dictatorship may, on the other hand, weaken socialism itself and lead towards counter-revolution and restoration of capitalism. This was a possibility about which all the great Marxist thinkers gave cautions on different occasions.

However, with the remarkable success of the communist revolutionary movement, particularly immediately after the second world war, and the stupendous growth of the socialist states in the subsequent years, the grave setback of socialism in the form of capitalist counter-revolution and restoration of capitalism in erstwhile socialist states of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe was

definitely a big jolt to the moral of the international communist movement. There cannot be any two opinions on that there must have been definite and serious reasons behind this. But does it, in any measure, suggest the failure of Marxism-Leninism, the ideology on which the movement was based ?

Despite all attacks on it, Marxism has only advanced to get enriched through all developments

Since Marxism appeared in human history as the philosophy for the emancipation of the toiling and oppressed people from all sorts of exploitation of man by man, it had to face attacks, vulgarization and deviations perpetrated by its enemies from without or even from within the communist movement. They led to confusions, frustrations and even to temporary setbacks. However, the working class movement and its philosophy emerged victorious every time, fighting back the deviations and vulgarizations and overcoming the setbacks. But not just that. Each time they were also enriched by the newer and newer experiences in the face of newer and newer problems of the struggles and by each concrete application of the philosophy in the prevailing concrete situation arising from a fresh attack. The bourgeoisie, in their turn, took to more and more subtle manoeuvres; the social democracy in this new form or that always acted as the last prop, the weapon for the bourgeois class. But the working class movement and its guiding philosophy, Marxism-Leninism, did not fail to proceed undaunted as the beacon for emancipation.

Thus in Paris Commune there was the first capture of power by the working class, the first workers' state, albeit in embryonic form. It did not last long; defeat was unavoidable; the reaction slaughtered the revolutionaries; but Paris Commune left behind its legacy and lessons. Of many such, one was that the proletariat cannot just lay hand upon the capitalist state machinery. To make the revolution a success, they have to crush it and build in its place the socialist state machinery under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Subsequently, the First and the Second Internationals, too, failed but they taught the communists valuable lessons for the future against the anti-working class role of social democracy. To that extent, notwithstanding the damages, the present setback of socialism has taught us important lessons about why and how modern revisionism cropped up in the communist movement, how dangerous it may turn out, if not fought back in time, to slide into counter-revolution, to restoration of capitalism.

Under the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our party, the SUCI, the only genuine communist party of India, started its march in the days of immense glory of international communist movement. Led by the giant communist leader Comrade Stalin, the Soviet Union had just emerged victorious from the second world war, playing the most vital role to defeat the Hitlerite fascism, sacrificing more than twenty million of its people in the course of the war and setting up an unparalleled instance of patriotism and wisdom; the triumphant socialism had enthused revolutionary movements in all corners of the world; nearly one third of the world had come out

of the clutches of the capitalists-imperialists to make a mighty socialist camp. Side by side, intensification of the anti-imperialist national liberation struggles of the peoples of colonies and semi-colonies and the retreat of the imperialists in the face of the mounting surge of these movements were the additional milestones of that period. Such was the excellent situation the world over that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh observed that the world revolution was practically knocking at the door, as if it was on its threshold. But even after advancing to such a stage the world communist movement slipped into a labyrinth, a kind of blind alley, under the attack of revisionism after the Khrushchevite clique usurped the leadership.

Be that as it may, even in those days of glory and prestige, when Stalin was alive, Comrade Ghosh did not fail to notice the symptoms of mechanization discernible in the process of thinking and in the process of organisation of the international communist movement. Thus in lieu of development of the leadership of the communist parties through struggle and interaction of ideas between all members of the party, between the leaders and the rank and file, there prevailed a tendency of mechanical and blind faith on the leadership, and in place of dialectical relationship between the different parties there prevailed a formal and mechanical understanding of the relationship. This caused a general lowering of ideological standard in the whole of the international communist movement itself. Comrade Stalin, the great proletarian leader, was aware of these dangers and pitfalls of the communist movement in the Soviet Union and in the world as well. Reports, particularly the 19th Congress of the CPSU, show that Comrade Stalin had identified the problems and was preparing to take steps: his famous book *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* also provided a clear understanding of the essence of economic laws of socialism in the transition period of capitalism to communism. So long as he was at the helm of the movement, his towering personality and the spectacular organizational expansion of the communist movement worldwide under his leadership could make up for the weaknesses. But his demise brought an abrupt break in the process. Stalin was preparing to take measures to free the party and the state from these weaknesses, but the forces against which he had given his caution usurped the power at the 20th Congress of the CPSU and led the international communist movement astray. Communist parties of different countries could not realize the danger that confronted the communist movement; many of them even hailed it; the lowering of ideological standard took its toll. It is at this that Comrade Ghosh observed: Stalin was not just an individual, he stood as an authority. Undermining him as an authority brought in the chaos witnessed now in the international communist movement.

Revisionism failed to understand the real nature of class struggle in socialism

Reports of the 20th Congress, however, revealed to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh some distinct signs of deviations from Marxism-Leninism to the extent that led him to make his historic pronouncement: the 20th Congress may lead to open up the 'floodgate of revisionism'. The opinions of the Congress and subsequent steps taken by the CPSU were fraught with the danger

of non-Marxist, revisionist deviations. As pointed out by Comrade Ghosh, the revolutionary consciousness, the constant upgrading of the ideological standard of rank and file members of the party and the active discharge of the conscious communist role were, in the ultimate analysis, the real guarantee for the party against ideological errors and deviations. He also showed that even if the base determined the superstructure, they were in dialectical interrelation. The latter has also a relative independence and worked upon the base, influencing it greatly under certain circumstances. Thus a mechanical overemphasis on the base and its change may only cause damage even in socialism.

But the CPSU leadership since Khrushchev onwards did actually neglect the struggles for ideological, political and cultural advancement and emphasized, in lieu, the struggles to advance technology and anyhow increase production. At the same time they allured people with material incentive to work more with a view to enhancing their living standard in an affluent socialist society.

Comrade Ghosh showed that this practice to relate the question of enhancement of production to personal benefit would give rise to and reflect a mentality totally incompatible with the basic aim and object of socialism. He further elaborated that this mentality, breeding a typical opportunistic and individualistic trend of economism, would only obstruct workers and other toiling masses from being conscious of their responsibility as cadres of international proletarian revolution, would hinder their sense of obligation to the society and dampen the urge for complete dedication and sacrifice for the social cause, all of which are essential for individual's freedom, growth and development. This economism was thus an obstruction in the way of identification of individual interest with social interest and would give rise to what may be called 'socialist individualism'. In turn, this new kind of individualism and a low ideological standard may, in the long run, affect the socialist economic production and socialism itself. What happened subsequently is a glaring proof of this apprehension.

Again, from this Leninist understanding of the base and the superstructure, Comrade Ghosh hailed the Cultural Revolution launched later by the CPC as 'magnificent', since it involved the whole party and the entire toiling masses in a gigantic, countrywide struggle on cultural-ideological questions. At the same time, he noted and showed trends of mechanization still persisting in the CPC. The danger was apparent when, after the demise of Mao and a few of his leading comrades within a very short time, the leadership was usurped by the same 'capitalist roaders' whom Mao and his party had even expelled on occasions. The consequence is well known; economic and other measures from the Deng leadership and his followers are alarmingly increasing the danger of capitalist restoration in China, under the cover of phrases like 'market socialism', or 'socialist market economy' — misnomer themselves being nothing more than capitalist economy only.

Thus, the revisionist leadership of the CPSU, through their failure to understand the concrete form of class struggle in socialism, rather in turn their emphasis on production over ideology-culture-politics and their practice of mechanical and formal relationship instead of a dialectical one

between different parties or between the leaders and the rank-and-file within the party, paved the way towards restoration of capitalism and dragged people into that. On account of inadequate ideological-political standard the toiling people, even the rank could not apprehend the danger to which they were being led astray. Even the section who had confusion and problems in their understanding of Marxism-Leninism on different issues were swayed by these manoeuvres of the revisionists; lack of clarity in understanding made them instrumental in the process of restoration of capitalism. But all these facts remaining, they do not suggest, under any circumstances whatsoever that the fundamentals, the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism have gone wrong. Rather, it was on the basis of their correct understanding that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh apprehended the impending crisis and with the help of his thorough and penetrating analyses he concretely examined the prevailing circumstances and trends and pointed out the processes to resolve them as well.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's thoughts stand out as the correct Marxist-Leninist understanding in post-Lenin days

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's fight against modern revisionism embraces scores of many other vital questions that appeared before the international communist movement in the post-Lenin days. Thus against the revisionist contention that under the changed situation after the second world war, with socialism in a commanding position, Lenin's proposition about the inevitability of war in the era of imperialism had lost its validity, Comrade Ghosh pointed it out categorically that the root cause of war lying precisely in the antagonistic contradiction among the capitalist-imperialist countries for the capture of market, the danger of outbreak of wars and the possibility of preserving peace through developing a mighty anti-imperialist peace movement were then both equally real.

Again, when centring round the ideological differences the relations between socialist states were being undermined, Comrade Ghosh upheld the Marxist understanding that, for successfully conducting the revolutionary struggles, ideological questions are to be correctly handled and the differences resolved without any delay or any compromise on principle. But these ideological differences between different communist parties should not adversely affect their mutual relationship and that between two socialist states. Maintenance of unity of the working class and of the international communist movement against the common enemy, imperialism, was also of prime importance for the revolutionary struggles to develop.

From this discussion it is clear that what was practised in different spheres of activities was not in consonance with Marxism-Leninism but with revisionism the degree and dimension of which made more and more deep inroads in economy, politics, culture everywhere. The process of degeneration which was initiated by the Khrushchevite leadership spread over its ugly tentacles with passage of time which finally culminated in counter-revolution and restoration of capitalism in the erstwhile Soviet Union.

Now, on the basis of the concrete understanding provided by Comrade Shibdas

Ghosh, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of our party, analysed Glasnost and Perestroika as the "blue-print of counter-revolution". There is no denying the fact that this has come true although Gorbachev claimed that what he practised was nothing but Leninism.

The present is the outcome of revisionist degeneration ; But what next ?

The process of degeneration that started with Khrushchev, heightened under Brezhnev and finally culminated in the reactionary collusion of Gorbachev-Yeltsin bringing about counter-revolution in the USSR and countries of eastern Europe, the increasing danger of capitalist restoration in China — all these bear out the fact that though there were the warnings, emergence of revisionism and the gradual eating away of the soul of the communist movement could not be prevented ; with ideological standard continuously lowered during this period, the rank and file of different communist parties, including those of the erstwhile socialist states, failed to detect this slow erosion and check the debacle. On the other hand, the pernicious effect of revisionism spread out to lead to counter-revolution and debacle of socialism.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh emphasized that Marxism-Leninism and the philosophy of dialectical materialism should have been developed in the background of newer developments of science and the domain of epistemology while giving stress on uplifting the cultural and ethical standard of the leaders and cadres of international communist movement. In our country, Comrade Ghosh elaborated, enriched and developed all these aspects to a great extent which is not possible to discuss within the ambit of this article. However, the present situation is the culmination of this degeneration. But what next ? How are we to face this setback of socialism ? Should we shun the struggle and join inaction and confusion only to help the reaction, or should we face the reality, boldly and courageously ? We think a correct appraisal of history makes the task simpler.

History has made it amply clear that whenever Marxism-Leninism has been correctly applied, the communist movement and society have recorded progress; whenever the leadership has failed to correctly apply the philosophy, there cropped up dogmatism, revisionism and the likes, none of which has anything to do with Marxism-Leninism. What has been the dominant practice in the last four decades in the leadership of the international communist movement, particularly the CPSU, is sheer revisionism, a complete deviation from Marxism-Leninism. It is this modern revisionism that has brought about the calamity.

We can also see in the history that there was the correct Marxist-Leninist understanding to warn us against this danger of revisionism, to guide us in the fight against it. Had those been heeded to, the catastrophe could have been averted. Failing that, we must now recognize that through the correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism in the post-Lenin days, covering all aspects of our life struggle, we must step up our struggle on its basis so that Marxism-Leninism is crowned with success and regains its glorious position through correct integration of theory and practice.

The prime, concrete task of this struggle is to build up and intensify the revolutionary movement

in different countries, from one corner of the world to another, countries big or small, powerful or weak, under the leadership of the genuine communist party of each respective soil. It is primarily by fulfilling this task that the toiling people of the world can weaken the capitalist-imperialist system, the arch reactionary social system corrupt to the bone that stands as the main hindrance to social progress. On the face of its insurmountable crisis, it has cast aside all garbs of 'welfare', 'democracy', 'cooperation', and as a result humanity is passing through the ordeals of naked and cruel fleecing of the toiling people. Simultaneously, it is plunged in the putrid imperialist culture, stinking sex-violence-aimless desperateness-rotten individualism, dehumanizing mankind by robbing of all senses of morality and ethics. To these bids, they add the anti-communist tirade as the smokescreen to conceal their misdeeds and oppressions.

It is true that imperialism is out on its propaganda spree with slogans of globalization, privatization, and technological revolution as the panacea for mankind. But the fact remains that none of their measures, taken singly or together, has been able to solve, or even lessen the crisis which capitalism faces today. Rather, in spite of all efforts and promises, problems soar up and crisis deepens. The 'unipolarity' and globalization have turned out to be nothing but the capitalist means to exploit and rob the whole of the world without any hindrance, without any challenge from socialism. They are a frantic drive by the imperialists to hoodwink and thus disarm the oppressed people of different countries, distracting them from recognizing their main enemy of life, the capitalist-imperialist social order itself. However, the exploited people of the world should also note that whatever be the design and dream of the imperialists, the laws of social development do not depend upon what the imperialists want them to be. On one hand, they try to rope in the weaker, poorer nations tightly under their globalized exploitation in the 'unipolar' world ; the US imperialists, in particular, the most belligerent of all, use their military might, ignoring world opinion, to impose sanctions against Cuba, or to threaten and blackmail People's Republic of Korea, or to wage criminally atrocious war against Iraq, not to speak of innumerable surreptitious machinations to lock different nations in fratricidal, even suicidal wars.

But, on the other hand, the inherent, inevitable contradiction among the imperialists themselves to get hold of the bigger share of the market has already caused them to get into bitter trade war giving way to three major blocs — the US imperialists and their allies, the European combination with Germany at the helm, and Japan in the far east and the Pacific — each trying to maintain its sphere of influence and trade in this region or that.

Simultaneously, even on the soils of the most powerful and advanced of imperialist countries themselves, acute crisis of capitalism is taking an unprecedented shape and is thus intensifying the class struggle in all those fortresses of capitalism-imperialism ; no amount of talk of 'unipolarity', globalization, privatization or technology, can put a bridle to this inevitable outcome of the social processes of class struggle; rather even there, working people take increasingly to streets on this or that demand of their life.

The situation is not much different in the erstwhile socialist countries where people were

distracted to tread upon the road to capitalist 'free society', coming out of their own socialist set-up. People there have started feeling what they have been led into. The allurements of comfort, prosperity and market economy is gone ; instead they find that the basic amenities of life — food, education, health, which were ensured in the socialist state, the social security that the state guaranteed as the right of the vast majority of population, are all now things of the past. They now start to realize that the slogan for parliamentary democracy in place of proletarian dictatorship was a hoax to cover up the restoration of capitalism; they have also started to learn from their life that capitalism cannot bring any solution to their problems. So, we find that people in those countries, going through experiences of counter-revolution of the eighties, are raising their demands for life and security ; they are even trying to find out the right way to get rid of their present plight.

Anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution, or revolutionary movement in any country and a mighty anti-imperialist movement conducive to it are prime tasks today

At this eightieth anniversary of the November Revolution we stand at the crossroad. Capitalism-imperialism which was tottering in the face of advancement of socialism after the second world war has now been successful to turn the table in their favour, thanks to the damages done by revisionism, leading to debacle of socialism. With the latter now in defence, they have come out with all their means and tricks.

But the crisis of capitalism-imperialism is itself the proof of the ever-increasing contradiction between labour and capital, the proof of the inevitable class struggle that goes on, independent of human will ; it is also the proof of the contradiction among capitalists-imperialists themselves. It is the duty of the oppressed classes to sharpen this class struggle, in each and every country of the world under the leadership of their respective genuine communist party. It is also a task of theirs to wage and advance a mighty anti-imperialist movement across the globe which will be conducive to the revolutionary movement on each soil. The toiling masses have the treasure of Marxism-Leninism before them, as also the invaluable guideline of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in the fight against modern revisionism as the correct, concrete understanding of Marxism-Leninism of today. This is the only weapon in their hand which can help them find the truth of life, the real human destiny of a classless society, real peace, prosperity and end of all exploitation of man by man. The people are to recognize this weapon and take it up as their philosophy of life struggle to rebuild mankind as the worthy continuator of civilization, as the brave architect of the future.

In our understanding, the occasion of the eightieth anniversary November Revolution urges us that we raise our voice with these words and we appeal to the oppressed classes and masses of people of our country and abroad.

**Long Live the Great November Revolution !
Uphold the Noble Banner of Communism and
Proletarian Internationalism !
Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Comrade
Shibdas Ghosh Thoughts !**

AIMSS Organises Movement against sex racket in Kerala

A state level Secretariat March by women was organised on 20 October last to demand arrest of the accused in the recent sex scandal in Kerala.

AIMSS Kerala State Committee is spearheading a movement against sex-mafia rackets in different districts of the state. The movement is gaining momentum and different sections of the people, especially the women, are drawn towards the movement.

Shocking reports appeared in the press recently regarding a sex-racket functioning in Calicut city. Young girls are recruited through ice-cream parlours and beauty parlours and used in the flesh trade with the direct patronage and involvement of business magnates and high ranking political leaders belonging to the ruling Left Front and the parliamentary opposition. So the police in spite of clear evidences, was stopped from going ahead with the investigation and taking further action. AIMSS Calicut Unit and some other women's organizations and individuals came forward to form a united platform of action against this social evil and the government's criminal negligence.

They produced concrete evidences and demanded stern actions against the anti-social offenders. A few culprits were arrested but the big sharks behind the whole episode are still untouched.

AIMSS took it up and undertook a state level campaign as similar rackets are actively functioning in all the districts of Kerala, some of them having international connections even. AIMSS Trivandrum district unit organised a protest demonstration and a public meeting before the secretariat. On 7 October a Convention was organised in Calicut city where AIMSS national secretariat member and All India Joint Secretary Dr. H.G. Jayalakshmi was the main speaker. In her emotional speech she depicted the pathetic condition of women in the country and erosion of social values. This capitalist set up is treating women as mere commodity and flesh trade has become rampant throughout the country. The administration and the vested interests on the soil

are giving patronage to the criminals. It is painful that the police, the custodian of law and order and the politicians are involved in such crimes. She appealed to the women and the well meaning people of the state to come forward to put up a vigorous fight to save the cultural fabric of the land. The state committee member, SUCI Comrade V. Venugopal was among the speakers with other important personalities. Comrade Lalitha Mathew, the State President of AIMSS presided. The convention charted out a well planned programme of action.

On 20 October '97, a memorandum was submitted to the Chief Minister. Prior to that the Secretariat March by women was held on the same day. Comrade C.K. Lukose, State Secretary, SUCI, addressed the rally, and cautioned about the danger of degrading cultural impact associated with the policies of so-called liberalization and globalization which the LDF government was also pursuing in Kerala.

Comrade Shyla K. John, Secretary Kerala State AIMSS, described the fervent support and co-operation MSS workers got from the people in all their programmes, especially in the signature campaign and fighting fund collection.

The Secretariat March was led by Comrade Lalitha Mathew (President), Comrade V.K. Padmaja (Vice-President), Comrade Mini K. Philip, Comrade K. Indira and Comrade K.J. Sheela (State Council members) apart from Comrade Shyla K. John. Later a delegation went and submitted the memorandum with mass signatures to CM's Secretary in his absence.

The people through out the state are giving active support to the movement. A signature campaign is also going on in which people on their own are taking initiative at several places. The involvement of left front leaders in the incident who capitalized in the last election on one incident of gangrape to come to power is highly condemned by the people.

Thousands of signatures were collected and people's mood got clearly revealed.

Bidi Workers of Jhajha Demonstrate Before BDO for Implementation of Minimum Wage

Jhajha, 30.9.97 : A demonstration of hundreds of Bidi workers of villages under Jhajha Block of Jamui District highlighting their various demands paraded through various streets of Jhajha under the banner of SUCI, Jamui District and submitted a memorandum before the Block Development Officer, Jhajha, containing among others, the following demands :

- Declare the strike call given by local Bidi factory owners illegal ;
- Immediately implement government approved wage rate of Rs 30.50 per thousand bidi binding ;
- Stop forthwith the system of work through contractors ;
- Ensure adequate wages to adults so that they do not need to send their children to work and can send them to school instead ;
- Hospitalisation facilities should be made easy and wide for the victims of smoking industry, along with provision of pension.

The demonstration organised under the banner of SUCI, Jamui, was led by Comrade Misri Prasad Singh, the local party organizer. A meeting was held in front of the BDO's office premises which was addressed by Comrade S. Mukherjee of UTUC(LS), Bihar State Committee. He appealed to the enthusiastic bidi workers to organize village level committees for greater organisational strength so as to create condition for successful achievement of their demands. He pointed out that with winding up of huge loco shed by the railways economic crisis in the locality had deepened long back. But no productive developmental work was taken up to improve the lot of the people. So work in the bidi manufacturing had been the main-stay of livelihood. So, the bidi workers, having a leading role should also embrace tribal and other sections of most down-trodden people of the locality and unleash a vigorous struggle against exploiters. Comrade Misri Prasad Singh in his brief speech described that the present capitalist system was the root of all ills and in this society to speak of abolition of child labour was a cry in wilderness. For actual eradication of child labour a long, bitter and tortuous struggle waited ahead for which workers should prepare step by step.

Protest demonstration in Bangalore against the bus fare hike

The Bangalore District Committee of SUCI organised a protest demonstration on 21 September '97 near BMTC Flyover in which hundreds of people participated and expressed their dissent and protest against the bus fare hike.

Addressing the gathering, SUCI State Secretary, Comrade Radhakrishna said "The bus fare hike resorted to by the state government for the second time within a year is highly condemnable. The real cause for the KSRTC & BTS losses is the rampant corruption. Instead of punishing the corrupt officials, the government is shielding them and taxing the common man. The state government has succumbed to the pressure of the private bus owners to increase the fares of KSRTC and BMT, so that it would facilitate them to increase the bus fares. On the other side, the state government has conveniently used the plea that the central government has increased the diesel prices and therefore it had to inevitably increase the bus fare. But if the state government is really concerned about the people's plight, it should pressurize the

central government to withdraw the diesel hike. And the people should note that the central government has misused the funds of oil pool deposit and caused the oil pool funds deficit. This has to be unequivocally condemned. At such a juncture, the pseudo-leftists instead of developing mighty people's movements, have abandoned the path of struggle and resorted to parliamentary politics. They are rendering only verbal opposition and rather have become the supporting pillars of UF government. Various political parties and leaders are involved in caste and communal politics, dividing the unity of the people. But it is the need of the hour for the people to come forward irrespective of caste, region or religion, forming people's committees to fight against this fare hike."

Comrade B.R. Aparna, member of the SUCI, Bangalore District Committee also spoke. Comrade P.S. Amarnath, member, SUCI Bangalore District Committee, presided. Later a memorandum was submitted to the Transport Minister through KSRTC.

Protest demonstrations in Vaishali

On 29 September last hundreds of people organized a protest demonstration under the banner of SUCI at Mahua, Vaishali. The processionists marched through various important streets of Mahua raising slogans against price hike on petroleum products followed by whimsical rise in bus fare by bus owners without any control of state administration, and other burning issues, and reached the office of the SDO where it was converted into a rally. A delegation met the BDO and demanded immediate fulfillment of their demands.

Comrade Arun Kr. Singh, Member, Bihar State Committee of the party addressed the gathering. He stated that lawlessness had reached all time record. Anti-social elements in connivance with police-administration were ruling the roost.

Demonstration by AIDS O in Bihar against indiscriminate hike of petroleum price and fees at +2 level

On 23 September last, students from various schools and colleges throughout Bihar staged a massive demonstration under the leadership of AIDS O, Bihar State Committee before the Chief Minister of Bihar at Patna. The demonstration was in protest against the hike in the price of petroleum products. The students were also vociferous against the sudden and indiscriminate hike of fees at +2 level and the admission problems of matric (Std. X) students in various colleges besides other burning educational problems.

A well decorated procession left Gandhi

Maidan and attracted the attention of people as it traversed with slogans through important parts of Patna. However it was stopped on its way to the Secretariat building at R-Block square by armed forces. A five member delegation led by Comrade Rampriy Roy, President Bihar State Committee, AIDS O handed over the memorandum to the Minister of State for Higher Education in the absence of the Chief Minister. Meanwhile various student leaders including Comrade Dipak Kumar, Secretary Bihar State Committee, AIDS O, addressed the gathering.

Protest demonstration against K.S.R.T.C. Bus fare hike

Bellary District Committee of SUCI organized protest demonstration against the recent bus fare hike by K.S.R.T.C. The protest demonstration was held on 24.9.97 at K.S.R.T.C Bus Stand and then the effigy of the State Government was burnt in Royal Circle amid huge gathering.

Addressing the public gathering, Comrade Somashekhar. K, the District Secretary, charged that by raising the bus fare twice this year the government had looted the pockets of the public. Instead of curbing rampant corruption in the Corporation, the burden had been imposed on the people. Further, people were deprived of minimum public utilities from the government.

Comrade A. Ramanjinappa, District Committee member, criticized hike in busfare by K.S.R.T.C. and urged the people to get organized in militant mass movement under the banner of SUCI.

The Party District Committee condemned the arrest of party cadres by police, while they were leading the procession from K.S.R.T.C. Bus Stand to the venue of effigy burning. The Bellary District Committee of the party called upon the J.D. government to give up its oppressive policies, give due recognition to people's democratic rights and right to protest, and also called upon them to give up anti-people policies.

Statement by Assam State Committee

The extended meeting of the Assam State Committee of the SUCI held at Guwahati under the conduction of Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the party, while reviewing the latest political situation of the state at the end of its first day session today, the 28 September 97, has issued the following statement to the press:

The meeting strongly denounced the move of the state government to hand over the BRPL and the Karbi Langpi project into the hands of private capitalists, and demanded the government to give up the policy of privatisation of public sector undertakings.

The meeting strongly demanded the state government to at once release Sri Ajit Bhuyan, the renowned journalist of the state and maintain the democratic tradition of freedom of press.

The meeting also strongly denounced the move of the Bus Owners Association to enhance the bus fare on the plea of rise of prices of diesel and pointed out that only a year back bus fare was hiked to the extent of 20% and as such it cannot have any justification to plead for another enhancement.

Movement by Medical Students in TN AIDS O Expresses Solidarity

The AIDS O, Tamil Nadu issued the following statement on 2.8.97 expressing solidarity with Medical College students :

We express solidarity with the Medical College Students who are on the warpath, demanding that their burning problems be settled immediately.

The illegitimate fee hike in medical colleges in tune with the New Education Policy should be withdrawn unconditionally. Also the long pending democratic demand of increasing stipend for house surgeons should be immediately implemented.

It is needless to mention the huge sufferings of the down trodden multitude due to the lack of proper medical facilities and non-availability of doctors. Hence the state government should immediately open many more medical colleges and hospitals if at all it claims to be democratic.

We call upon the striking medicos to organize struggles involving all section of students as their demands are in tune with innumerable number of students longing for same justice.

Corrigendum

The article: "On recent development in Assam" which appeared in the issue of September 10, 1997, (Vol 31, No 2) some errors crept in. In page 4, Column 2, last para, line 12 certain words of importance were inadvertently dropped. The sentence beginning with "Having acknowledged" should be read as follows: "Having acknowledged the patriotism, sincerity, dedication and valour, that is still there, in a sizeable section of the rank and file of the ULFA movement, the party has emphasized that as the capitalist class is deeply entrenched in the state power, it cannot be fought alone by any community through any secessionist movement whatever might be the sacrifices and bloodshed involved in it". The error is regretted.

— Ed. P.Era

On the Occasion of
80th Anniversary of
Great November Revolution
Unveiling of the bronze statue of
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh
The Great leader of the Proletariat
Founder General Secretary of the SUCI
At Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh Thought
 Ghatsila, Bihar
on 13 November 1997, 12 noon
Comrade Nihar Mukherjee
General Secretary, SUCI
 will unveil the statue

AND

Meeting
on 17th November 1997, 4 P.M.
 Mahajati Sadan, Calcutta
Representatives from
RUSSIA, BELGIUM, HOLLAND, GERMANY,
CZECHIA, PHILIPPINES, LUXEMBURG, LIBYA,
TURKEY, NEPAL, CUBA, BANGLADESH, ITALY,
GREECE, BRITAIN, SRI LANKA, etc.,
will participate on both the occasions