

50th Anniversary of Victory over fascism observed

Red Army under Stalin saved human civilization

The 50th Anniversary of the military defeat of fascism was observed befittingly throughout the country through various programmes. On this occasion meetings were held by our party on 8th May last in the states. We are giving below the news of meetings which reached us so far.

To commemorate the victory of the Soviet Red Army over fascist Germany a public meeting was organised by the West Bengal State

Committee of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) in the University Institute Hall, Calcutta on 8th May.

Comrade Pritish Chanda, the all-India president of UTUC (LS) was the main speaker. Addressing the meeting Comrade Chanda recalled the conspiracy of the Axis powers — Germany, Italy and Japan to redivide the world into colonies for their exploitation through war. The German fascists started the war in Europe in September 1939. Within a short span of only 2

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Berlin, April 30, 1945 : Comrade (Lieutenant) Berest along with two other comrades of the victorious Red Army hoisting the Red Flag on top of Reichstag symbolising final victory over the Nazi war machine.



years most of the countries in eastern and central Europe had fallen in the face of the Nazi blitzkrieg. Italian fascists started this war in Southern Europe and northern Africa. Even France, one of the major imperialist and military powers, could not resist fascist Germany for more than a mere two weeks. The capitalist rulers of the then France handed over power to the Nazis with the ostensible argument that this cowardly surrender would save the beautiful Paris.

Within the morass of fallen nations reeling under the boots of fascist military power only the 24-year old young socialist Soviet Union stood firm and resisted effectively and heroically the Nazi onslaught under the leadership of great Stalin. After 1943 in the face of resistance of the heroic Soviet people and the Red Army this Nazi war machine was forced to retrace its steps from

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Seminar on Unity of International Communist Movement in Brussels

The recently concluded international seminar in Brussels from May 2 to 4, 1995, under the auspices of the Workers' Party of Belgium assumes great significance in the background of the present stage of the international communist movement. It was attended by communist and workers' parties from across the world, representing a wide section of the international communist movement. Round about 60 parties, organisations, groups and individuals from not less than 37 countries attended this seminar to address the most urgent issue of the day : Unity

of the International Communist Movement. Only the names of countries are mentioned later on.

At the invitation of the Workers' Party of Belgium, the PTB (Parti du Travail de Belgique), our party also attended this seminar. Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, member, Central Committee and Comrade Manik Mukherjee, a Central staff, attended this seminar on behalf of the SUCI. Besides the SUCI, the CPI-ML (Janasakti) represented by Comrade Kaushik Banerjee, was the only other party from India which was present in the seminar. Comrade Mubinuul Hyder Chowdhury, member Central Committee of

Socialist Party of Bangladesh and Comrade Khan Rano, member Polit Bureau of Workers' Party of Bangladesh were among the parties from Asia.

At a time when the international communist movement is in a state of disarray, particularly after the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and in the east European socialist countries and when the communist and workers parties are trying to pinpoint the reasons for this unprecedented setback in the movement, this

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Seminar Paper on Unity of International Communist Movement

(Submitted by SUCI in Brussels)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Central Committee of SUCI studied with care the Brussels Declarations of May 3, 1994, soon after a copy of the "Propositions for Unity of the International Communist Movement" was received and it endorsed the same for the most part, appreciating deeply this unity move. These 'propositions' suggested, among others, that a seminar be held from May 2-4, 1995, in Brussels to concentrate on growth and development of revisionism in the CPSU. This topic of ascendancy of revisionism in the CPSU, we consider, is closely linked with the question of unity of the international communist movement, which finally was chosen to be the topic of the seminar. We believe, the question of communist unity can be fruitfully examined only in the light of a correct and comprehensive analysis of how revisionism made inroads in the CPSU. We thought it would be appropriate to prepare an approach paper on 'revisionism' along with one on 'communist unity'. We expect all comrades here to go through either and give their valued opinion for the benefit of us all.

Comrades,

At this moment when the international proletarian movement has come under the most severe attack from the international capital, in the absence of a socialist camp, it is imperative for the genuine communists all over the world to come together. The question is: What should be the ideological basis of unity of the international communist movement? What are we aiming at really? How to remove differences which may quite naturally arise in the course of forging unity? To seek the answer and arrive at a common conception we had better set the major premise first.

The Premise

1. As communists, we are internationalists and pledged to uphold Marxism-Leninism as explained, elaborated and enriched by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and other leaders who correctly applied its teachings in their lifelong struggles in different respective countries. The SUCI holds that serious deviations started in the movement since the 20th Congress of the CPSU which opened "the floodgate of revisionism". With time, instead of being fought out, halted and eliminated, this revisionist deviation entrenched itself in the period from Khrushchev through Brezhnev to Gorbachev, the final dismantling coming under the latter. If a single reason to be adduced for this retrograde development, it is the lowering of the ideological standard of the leaders and the ranks of the CPSU. Of the two dangers, revisionism and dogmatism, the former today constitutes a bigger threat to the world communist movement. The present attempt to forge unity in the international communist movement should start from a common conception of and common approach to the kind of threat posed by revisionism. There is twin attack on the communist movement – by revisionism from within, which is but infiltration of bourgeois ideology in the movement, and by imperialism from without which is engaged in its machinations in collusion with revisionism. The fire of the movement has, therefore, to be

concentrated on both these enemies, revisionism and imperialism.

2. The SUCI holds that Stalin is an exemplary character, his position in the world communist movements is that of a giant leader, teacher and guide. We hold that Stalin's understanding of Leninism is the correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, which means, without maligning Stalin it is impossible to uncrown Lenin and Leninism. This is the reason why the renegade Khrushchev clique made Stalin its target of venomous attack. At the same time it underscores the importance of correctly evaluating Stalin, short of which no fruitful united movement of the communists can be built up.

3. The SUCI considers Mao Zedong a leading Marxist authority. But it would be wrong to assert that Mao Zedong Thought is the Marxism-Leninism of this era, since it is tantamount to accepting Mao's Thought as Maoism. When we characterize Lenin's Thought as Leninism we do so not because Lenin was the first to make socialist revolution successful by applying Marxism, nor because he had developed, concretised and enriched Marxism in the course of applying it in the concrete condition of Russia. Lenin's Thought is called Leninism because it is more than elaboration of Marxism. Lenin concretised and added new theses to the treasurehouse of the Marxist knowledge, to the fundamentals of Marxism in the spheres of economics, politics and philosophy – theses which all are new additions, that is, which were not there earlier in the understanding or concept of Marxism, and which Lenin formulated in the period after Marx and Engels, in the "era of imperialism and proletarian revolution". We hold that the present era is the same era of "imperialism and proletarian revolution" and that proletarian revolution is the main trend today.

4. The Cultural Revolution of China, initiated and guided by Mao Zedong, was, in the considered opinion of our party, a "magnificent" event. It correctly reflected the Chinese reality in the given situation. Communists all over the world who are dedicated to the revolutionary cause have a great deal to learn from it. While acknowledging the revolutionary significance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China, our party has not overlooked certain weaknesses in it. We had observed that if these weaknesses were not overcome in time the danger of reappearance of revisionism in China could not be ruled out.

5. We did not agree with the CPC's analysis at its 9th Congress that the Soviet state had already degenerated into a "dark fascist state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" and that it had turned into "social imperialism" or "social fascism". We argued that before concluding so it ought to have been ascertained beyond doubt whether the fundamental character of the state as well as the motive force of production and production relation had retrogressed qualitatively. Because, every change comes in a process. The usurpation of the leadership of the party and the state by the revisionists surely signalled the start of sliding downwards. But until and unless a nodal or qualitative change backwards took place in regard to the motive force of production and production relation in the course of that slide, it

would be patently wrong to conclude that the state has ceased to be a socialist state or that restoration of capitalism had taken place.

Difference is also there in respect of an earlier formulation of CPC that the resurgent nationalist countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, now generally called third world countries, all belonged to the stage of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist people's democratic revolution as a necessary step towards socialism. We could not agree to this proposition. Because, in the first place, it denies the all important task of making a concrete analysis of a concrete situation, which is a basic tenet and also the essence of Marxism. Secondly, although India is an Asian country and is generally considered a third world country, we firmly hold that the Indian revolution decidedly belongs to the stage of anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

6. In the present international situation there remains still now four socialist states, namely China, Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba. After counter-revolution in the former Soviet Union and the east European socialist states one could expect socialist China to fill in the void. But from China under the revisionist leadership of Deng Xiaoping it would be wrong to expect that. We regret to add that these socialist countries are not taking initiative to unite, nor to build communist unity and forge an anti-imperialist front. The present Deng Xiaoping leadership of the CPC has not only denounced the cultural revolution but has introduced "socialist market economy", using the catchword of "socialism with Chinese characteristic", which is but strictly a feature of capitalist economy with a socialist label.

In the political sphere, contrary to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the thoughts of Mao Zedong, the present leadership of China is dishing out all revisionist trash to reject the principles of 'politics in command', 'class struggle is the key link' and 'continuing class struggle in the period of dictatorship of the proletariat'.

In spite of all these aberrations and deviations, the class character of the state as well as relations and motive force of production in China is in the main socialist.

7. In the changed international situation the contradictions between the two systems, socialist and capitalist, between labour and capital in the capitalist-imperialist countries, and between imperialist countries themselves still exist as major contradictions capable of influencing the world events. Besides, the dismantling of socialism in a number of states, particularly in the Soviet Union, has immensely contributed to accentuating the contradiction between the imperialist powers and the relatively underdeveloped capitalist countries.

But, with attainment of independence by most of the colonies and semi-colonies, the contradiction between the imperialist powers and the colonies can no longer play a major role as it used to play earlier. Nevertheless, colonial rule and exploitation by the imperialists continue still today. Naturally, these struggles of the peoples of these countries cannot but exercise considerable influence in the world arena.

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Summing up, the SUCI maintains that the balance of power has tilted today against the forces of peace and socialism and that in the present international situation the danger of outbreak of war is more real than the possibility of preservation of peace. This nullifies our previous analysis in the previous different international situation that "the possibility of preservation of peace and the danger of outbreak of war are equally real". The US machinations one after another against a number of states are indication of not only the growing menace of US overlordism but as well of the increasing threat of war.

In this situation it is all the more imperative and urgent to develop a worldwide militant peace movement, making it conducive to the emancipation struggles of people everywhere and to draw all well-meaning and peace-loving people on the broadest possible platform with the communists to act as its core.

8. The world capitalist system is in the grip of a severe crisis, unprecedented in scale, which is haunting even the most developed capitalist countries. The recapture of vast areas of lost territories of capitalism-imperialism as a result of counter-revolution in the USSR and the east European socialist states has not turned out to be the real recovery from its miserable crisis. The GATT and the WTO, with attendant liberalisation programmes, currently the highest on the capitalist-imperialist agenda to create a breathing space from the suffocation of the overpowering crisis, have started showing signs of being illusory, and discord has begun to surface. At this moribund stage, capitalism has no escape from its ever-deepening crisis.

The advancement in science and especially in technology in recent years has provoked the so-called 'new thinking' in the bourgeois ideologues and modern revisionists who argue that the spectacular development of technology at this stage of capitalism cannot be explained by Marxism and goes contrary to it. They go so far as to suggest that the spectacular development of technology has altogether changed the fabric of human society, making obsolete the Marxist idea on class relationship as well as the very concept of class struggle and revolution. Objective reality, however, stands independently

of the blurred vision of these dazzled people. It speaks differently.

Marxist political economy holds that since production is organized in capitalism, whether under individual ownership or under state ownership, with the sole motive of profit maximization, all-out and unhindered development of science and technology at this moribund stage of capitalism is not possible. And it is because of capitalism that the relative advancement of science and technology, instead of serving as the basis for mankind's freedom from wage slavery, increasingly causes the working people to go jobless, poorer and ultimately to become destitute. In fact the technological advancement of today calls for organizing the power of the proletariat and all oppressed sections of people to replace the present capitalist relations of production by socialist relations of production, a system based on social ownership over all means of production.

9. However weakened the proletarian revolutionary movement may be at present, capitalism cannot rid itself of its insoluble crisis. Historically, it has become moribund and its doom is inevitable. The more the bourgeoisie feel it instinctively, the more they go desperate to create confusion, spread canards, and mount brutal attacks on people's movements. But no amount of confusion or repression can ultimately halt the onward march of the proletariat. Already, there are signs that the present aberrations and confusion will be overcome. In Russia itself large numbers of people are coming out on streets carrying the red banner and portraits of Lenin and Stalin. It means, the anti-thesis of restored capitalism has started asserting itself in whatsoever form it can in the present situation.

Building Communist Unity

It is possible that we may not all agree to accept these as constituting the premise or may not agree to other formulations by other parties. But since our struggle is to seek the right and reject the wrong, we cannot agree to anyhow patch up our differences in the name of achieving unity. The correct course is, first, to try to understand, shedding bias, each other's point of view as also the role each party plays in its country. It requires a thorough exchange of opinion and experience among all the parties. Doubtless, it will take time to sort out the ideological differences. Taking a

middle course will only defeat the purpose. At the same time there is no question of thrusting a particular view on others. Every party, big or small, shall enjoy equal right and respect, which is an essential condition for a healthy and congenial atmosphere to be maintained for all ideological discussions and for reaching the correct conclusions. In the present historical stage, where communist parties of different countries have separate existence, differences are most likely to crop up between them over approach to different world issues because of the differences in experience of the different communist parties gained in the course of their revolutionary struggles in their respective national spheres. There is nothing to be perturbed over it.

But communist unity can only be taken to mean unity of genuine communists and NOT unity of all and sundry going by the name of communists. It entails that we rely not really on a significant representation of Marxist-Leninist trends, but truly on a common Marxist-Leninist concept and avoid short-cut to patchworks. This is the only correct concept of communist unity. In the course of ideological struggle among us we should be able to locate where all of us agree wholeheartedly. We should start uniting over the points of agreement, leaving the points of difference open and to be sorted out in the same process of perseverant and protracted ideological struggle. Meanwhile, it shall be our task to render all help, moral and material, to the class and mass struggles in the different countries to the best of our ability. It should be incumbent upon us to mobilise people's opinion in our respective countries in favour of these movements. This will help us know each other and understand our respective role more deeply. And then we shall be able to stand as one man to fulfil our commitment to carrying forward the anti-imperialist struggle in different countries against the designs of capitalism-imperialism-fascism. This is the scientific and only correct path to overcome the ideological differences on the principle of unity-struggle-unity.

Given singleness of purpose and openness of mind and also keeping in view the imperativeness of communist unity at this historic juncture, we expect this seminar to go a long way towards achieving unity of the international communist movement and the goal of world revolution.

Proposition for the Unity of the International Communist Movement

Introduction

1. The implosion of the Soviet Union and the introduction of a wild capitalism in that country and in Eastern Europe, following the counter-revolutionary policy of Gorbachov and Yeltsin, forms a turning point in the international situation. It represents a victory for imperialism and the reaction.

2. These counter-revolutionary events have exacerbated all fundamental contradictions in the world; the contradiction between the socialist countries and imperialism, the contradiction between the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and imperialism, the

contradictions between the imperialist powers and the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The forces of reaction, racism, fascism and war have started a worldwide offensive.

3. In this situation, parties and organisations, who stay to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, devote themselves to draw lessons from the counter-revolutionary process which destroyed socialism in the Soviet Union. Facing the offensive launched by the reactionaries, they feel the necessity to unite for a counter-offensive in favour of the oppressed and exploited masses, in order to keep high the

flag of socialism and communism and to reinvigorate confidence in the socialist future of mankind for all those who are fighting against capitalism and imperialism.

4. We have drawn a minimal common framework allowing Marxist-Leninist organizations of different tendencies to meet, to exchange experiences and analyses and to take common initiatives.

5. That minimal common framework, drawn in this document, will allow us in a frank way and with an open mind, to examine the important divergences in the field of ideology and theory

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and to tackle actual questions of politics and tactics. The minimal common framework will thus allow us to start a process of theoretical and political unification.

The former divisions between Marxist-Leninist parties can be overcome

1. Since 1956, the international communist movement split and exploded. The revisionist line adopted by Khrushchev is the first and main cause of division. Later on, the anti-revisionist movement split under the influence of ultra-leftist attitudes.
2. Today, as a result of the restoration of capitalism under Gorbachov, the "pro-Soviet" tendency, which once constituted the majority, has atomized into innumerable tendencies. In the sixties, a "pro-Chinese" tendency had emerged which split into various tendencies after Mao's death. There has been a "pro-Albanian" tendency, which has also split after the collapse of socialism in Albania, and a "pro-Cuban" tendency, mainly in Latin America. Some parties, finally, maintained an "independent" position vis-a-vis the tendencies mentioned.
3. Whatever opinion one may have about the correctness or necessity of these splits at a certain point in history, today, the possibility exists to overcome these divisions and to unite Marxist-Leninist parties, which are divided into different currents.
4. All parties that are loyal to Marxism-Leninism are aware that revisionism has weakened and divided the international communist movement and that it has finally degenerated into open treason.
5. After the complete restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, all the communists can agree that revisionism is the most dangerous ideological enemy of Marxism-Leninism. Life has proven that revisionism represents the bourgeoisie within the communist movement.
6. In the past, there have been regroupings of parties and organizations based on a specific political and ideological orientation. Within the various groupings, some parties have succeeded in striking deep roots among the masses, have acquired a revolutionary experience of their own, and have succeeded in linking Marxism-Leninism with the reality of their country. Within each of these groupings, some organizations have deviated to Left or Right opportunism, roamed about without a grip on the struggle, and disappeared.
7. In the actual situation, all parties that stay to the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism feel the need to bypass the former divisions and unite.
8. Communists must unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. When it comes to the point of uniting on the international level parties and organizations with quite different histories, it is impossible to require ideological unity before. We have to accept that disagreements, some of them very serious, may exist for a long time, to accept

criticism and counter-criticism, and to preserve unity. Upholding both Marxism-Leninism and unity are two aspects of a consistent-revolutionary policy.

Fight revisionism and defend Marxism-Leninism

1. Since its establishment in 1919, the International Communist Movement has stirred history and changed the outlook of the world. The Second Congress of the Communist International held in July, 1920 adopted a constitution, requirements for admission, the Manifesto and other essential resolutions which characterized the international communist movement vis-a-vis Social Democracy. Until 1956, it maintained its revolutionary orientation, its unity and its strength, and its influence on the world continued to increase.
2. In order to reappear on the world scene as a significant current, the International Communist Movement must claim this common history.
3. Lenin continued the revolutionary work of Marx and Engels and developed it under the new conditions of imperialism. He laid down the principles of communist party building and elaborated the strategy and the tactics of the socialist revolution and put them into practice. He denounced social-democracy as the ideology of the bourgeoisie, and of imperialism inside the working class movement. He formulated the guiding lines for socialist construction under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He set up the Communist International and defended proletarian internationalism.
4. Stalin applied the Leninist principles and, under his leadership, the Bolshevik Party transformed a backward and ruined country into an industrialised socialist country. The collectivization and modernization of Soviet agriculture, the socialist industrialization, the cultural revolution, the building of strong defence forces with the Red Army as its core, the victory in the patriotic anti-fascist war, the reconstruction of the country and the adoption of a consistent foreign policy defending world peace and supporting the anti-colonial and anti-neocolonial struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America are achievements of historical and worldwide significance.
5. Stalin maintained that class struggle continues under socialism. He stressed that the old feudal and bourgeois forces did not cease their fight for restoration, and that the opportunists within the party, the Trotskyites, the Bukharinites, the bourgeois nationalists and the bureaucratic elements helped the anti-socialist classes and strata to regroup their forces.
6. Khrushchev imposed his revisionist line on the Soviet Party and a part of the International Communist Movement. This line was formulated in his report to the XXth Congress, his secret report on Stalin, and his report to the XXIInd Congress.
7. In 1956 Khrushchev launched an attack on Stalin's internal and foreign policy in order to change the fundamental ideological and political-

line of the Party. Subsequently, a gradual degeneration of the whole political and economic system took place. The theories of Khrushchev on the "state of the whole people" and "the party of the whole people" resulted in the demolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the cessation of the class struggle against the bourgeois forces and influences. The theory of the "cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States in the struggle for peace and security for all the peoples" was a big blow against the anti-imperialist struggle. Its theory on "the parliamentary and peaceful path to socialism" has emboldened the social democrat tendencies within several communist parties.

8. Brezhnev never questioned the revisionist programme of the XXth and XXIInd Congress. He even "developed" the theses on "the state and the party of the whole people", and declared that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union was no longer possible. He destroyed all revolutionary vigilance and let develop bureaucratism, technocratism, careerism and corruption.
9. Under Gorbachov and Yeltsin, revisionism was pushed to its final consequences, the Soviet Union was dismantled and a wild capitalism was installed.
10. In the whole world, the bourgeoisie celebrates the defeat of socialism. In fact, we have witnessed the defeat of revisionism initiated 35 years ago by Khrushchev. This revisionism has ended in a complete economic failure, in capitulation for imperialism, in capitalist restoration, in a social catastrophe and in reactionary civil wars.
11. Khrushchev started his destructive work by alleging that he criticized Stalin's errors with the aim of restoring Leninism in its original purity. Gorbachov made the same demagogical promises to disorient the leftist forces. But the criticism of "Stalinism" was only a trick to camouflage the attacks on all Marxist-Leninist principles. The day Gorbachov had completely destroyed "Stalinism", he declared his open hostility to Leninism and his adherence to social democracy.
12. The discussion about the experience of the CPSU under Stalin must be reopened in the International Communist Movement. Anti-Stalinism has been the Trojan horse for anti-communism, introduced in the ranks of the International Communist Movement.
13. For a certain period of time, disagreements about the assessment of the work of Comrade Stalin will remain. These discussions should be tackled in a scientific manner and based on class positions.
14. By hindsight we may say that, after XXth Congress of the CPSU, the majority of communist parties dearly underestimated Khrushchev's revisionism.
15. In the sixties, it was Mao Zedong and Enver Hoxha who best grasped the danger of revisionism. Ho Chi Minh, Kim Il Sung, Che Guevara and other communist leaders made

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important contributions to the fight against revisionism.

16. In the light of the degeneration of the Soviet Union there is a need to revalue the work of Comrade Mao Zedong. By leading the national democratic revolution and its transformation into the socialist revolution in a large Third World country, he has made a contribution of world-wide significance. Mao Zedong resisted Khrushchev and later on Brezhnev's revisionism. He made the first attempt in history to draw the masses into the fight against degenerative tendencies within the party.

17. Different opinions in the International Communist Movement on the merits of Mao Zedong will remain for a certain time; they should be treated in an impartial way, searching for the truth on the basis of the facts.

18. The ideological struggle against revisionism is a complex and prolonged task. Revisionism, that has destroyed so many parties, will not disappear spontaneously. Tito's revisionism had been criticized by the international communist movement as early as 1948. Khrushchev, in developing his opportunist course, did in fact copy many revisionist theses of Titoism. If the revisionist ideas and theses are not analyzed and criticized in depth, they will continue to exist and the liquidationist current can strike again and claim new victims. The relationship between the lines of Khrushchev and Brezhnev and the policies of Gorbachov must be analyzed in depth, as well as the development of the degenerative process from its origins till its outcome.

19. The nefarious influence of revisionism reinvigorated the social-democratic ideology, Trotskyism and anti-communism. The struggle against the social-democratic and Trotskyist ideologies is a condition for the development of the Marxist-Leninist movement.

Fight splitism and maintain unity

1. Khrushchev started to destroy the unity of the International Communist Movement by cutting off relations with parties that opposed its revisionism. In some countries, where the leadership was following Khrushchev's revisionism, it was correct for the communists to set up new Marxist-Leninist parties.

2. But subsequently, sectarianism and ultra-leftism resulted in innumerable, unjustifiable splits. Real differences in analysis and judgment led to antagonism and rupture. There have been important ideological and political conflicts about Czechoslovakia in 1968, Cambodia in 1979, Afghanistan in 1980, the liquidation of the tendencies around Chiang Ching in 1976, the Three World Theory in 1977, the line of Deng Xiaoping in the early 1980s, and so on.

3. All these conflicts were important. Fundamental disagreements have to be clarified, but it requires time and serious materialist analysis and debates. Each party should have studied the different colliding standpoints in earnest, formulate its own standpoint while preserving the unity of the movement.

4. Every party applies the Marxist-Leninist principles to the present reality according to its own concept. Nobody can demand concessions from another party on points the latter considers essential. Every party defines its policy in complete independence. But this does not contradict the duty to maintain the unity of the international communist movement, for this unity is also an important question of principle.

5. Ample documentation exists on the practice of the CIA and other secret services to exploit the disagreements between communist parties. The enemy is aware of the importance of unity among communists and it often supports all centrifugal tendencies, sponsoring as well Right revisionism as Leftist positions, in order to accelerate divisions and splits.

6. By safeguarding the movement's unity, each party will be able to learn more and faster. We can learn not only from the parties with which we generally agree, but also from those who are following, in our opinion, a Left or Right opportunist course.

7. First of all, our judgment can be wrong.

Secondly, experience has taught that parties can draw lessons from certain aspects of the mass work, the experiences, the theoretical work, and so on of parties with whom they disagree.

Thirdly, fundamental disagreements must not preclude certain forms of cooperation and common struggle as regards racism, trade union rights, anti-imperialist struggle, etc.

Fourthly, we must take possible developments into account. Certain parties which we consider to be Right or Left opportunist may correct themselves, or some factions may develop positively.

Finally, the parties we consider opportunist may degenerate completely, and openly defect to the bourgeoisie. Having maintained relations with them can teach us many useful lessons by negative example.

Organisational propositions

1. We have decided to organize a single common initiative that should be realistic, adapted to the present reality and needs to bring together, once a year or every two years, all parties loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

A realistic unitary initiative can guarantee efficiency and optimum results with a rational investment of time and higher cadres.

The majority of communist parties, notably in the Third World, do not have the financial resources nor the cadres available to travel abroad several times a year in order to meet with the different components of the International Communist Movement.

The resources of each of our organizations are limited. None of us can thoroughly study all essential subjects. We can have only a limited number of valuable practical experiences. Each of us, in order to progress in a faster way, must make the effort to assimilate the best theoretical works and the best practical experiences of the others. This also pleads for a unitary initiative.

2. In the actual situation, it is not possible to build a new international organisation on the model of the Third International with a leading body and a common discipline for all members. The basic aim of the unitary communist initiative is to stimulate exchanges and cooperation.

3. For the moment, the most suitable organisational form for the unitary initiative is the seminars. Its first purpose is the exchange of information, documents and analyses. Through the presentation of political and theoretical analyses and reports of the practical experiences, the different parties learn to know each other and to share their knowledge.

Secondly, debates on crucial issues of common interest should be organised.

Thirdly, coordination of actions and activities can be organised on a voluntary base.

Resolutions will be drafted in the spirit of a large consensus. Each party and organization has the right to sign or not to sign a resolution and to participate or not to participate in the proposed activities.

Draft resolutions have to be submitted before the seminar starts.

4. As the struggle against imperialism and imperialist aggressions has taken special importance in the present situation, the seminar in May 1996 will tackle these issues. Papers will be presented on the revolutionary experiences of certain parties as well as papers analysing the actual strategy of imperialism and resolutions and propositions for action.

A coordinating group will be set up to take charge of this seminar and of the other tasks formulated by common agreement.

5. The 1997 seminar will take the formal shape of an international conference of the Communist Movement to celebrate the 80th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. We hope that this Conference can be organized in the former Soviet Union and that the Marxist-Leninists of the former Soviet Union can join in its preparation.

6. The 1997 Conference should tackle at least these points :

The history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Gorbachov, the development of revisionism and the final collapse.

The specific experience of some Eastern European countries.

Lenin and the October Revolution.

7. To prepare the 1997 Conference, a book will be published in 1995-96, containing a series of analyses written by different parties, on the first two points.

8. It is necessary to publish a theoretical journal to keep in touch with the different parties, to exchange experiences and analyses and to organize debates on a regular basis. The coordinating group will study the possibilities and modalities of such an initiative.

9. Revolutionary anti-imperialist organizations who do not adhere to Marxism-Leninism can be invited to attend the 1996 seminar as observers.

Brussels, May 4, 1995

Remembering 8th of May, 1945

Fascist Germany defeated but not fascism

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the boundary of the Soviet Union which culminated in the unfurling of the Red Flag over Reichstag and unconditional surrender of Hitler's forces before the Red Army.

Comrade Chanda recalled the victory parade in Moscow's Red Square celebrated exactly 50 years from now. Remembering this valiant role played by the Soviet people Comrade Chanda told how not only the Red Army but all the people of the Soviet Union cutting across age, region and language fought like one man to deal the Nazi's a deadly blow and saved civilisation from destruction. And at what cost? In a land of 15/16 crores of people nearly two crores became martyrs apart from millions of maimed and injured. It was a genuine people's war. Never before human civilisation witnessed such a sacrifice of a people to save it. Comrade Chanda implored the working people never to forget this history of great sacrifice where an entire people guided and inspired by the ideals of socialism fought to defeat the worst enemy of mankind — fascism. This remembrance is important in today's perspective, Comrade Chanda added, when the capitalist-imperialists throughout the world are leaving no stone unturned to make people forget this history.

Comrade Chanda reminded the audience that it is true that fascist forces have been vanquished militarily but it is very much a fact that danger of fascism is there on the horizon at present. Our party from its inception analyzed this fascistic trend in capitalism — developed or underdeveloped. Today the experience of people throughout the world prove how correct was our analyses.

The war efforts of the Soviet people proved how strong and superior socialism was and how it united the Soviet people as brothers. The heroic deeds of the Soviet people was a fitting rebuff to the forces of this bourgeois propaganda mongers who tried and still try to vilify Stalin, the great leader of this great people.

Comrade Chanda recalled the valiant resistance for Leningrad and Stalingrad where against tremendous odds the Red Army and the people made the German military might to bite dust. This is an unparalleled feat which no bourgeois country could dream of. This only shows the faith and love the Soviet people reposed on the socialist system and the leadership of Comrade Stalin. That is why unlike in bourgeois countries the Nazis in spite of their best effort could not find a fifth columnist in the Soviet Union. Comrade Chanda observed that these heroic victories are not merely the victory of the Soviet people but the victory of the entire humanity against the forces of reaction.

He told that in the post-world war situation liberation struggles in the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America shook the world and not only most of the countries became free from imperialist yoke but successful socialist revolutions were carried out in countries like China, Korea and Vietnam,

etc. These victories also owe to the sacrifice of the Soviet people in no small a measure.

The war, Comrade Chanda said, gave a defeat to the military might of the fascists but fascism, as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era shows, has not been defeated. It still lives and thrives in different capitalist countries — developed and not so developed in various forms and hues. After the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, he said, the greatest tragedy for humanity in the 20th century, the forces of reaction, led by the USA in a so-called unipolar world are sweeping through the globe with impunity.

Elaborating further Comrade Chanda said that trade union movement if divorced from correct class outlook can not only not attain its cherished goal but is bound to degenerate into worst kind of opportunism. He emphasized that even the day-to-day struggle of the workers must be guided by the correct class outlook. The leadership that can give the correct class outlook is the leadership of the working class. Such a leadership can give the correct guidance on how to conduct the on-going class struggle. Trade unions, after all, are the weapons of the working class in the class struggle. But the ultimate aim cannot be achieved alone by the workers, said Comrade Chanda. It is necessary that the peasants, students, youths, women and the oppressed people of the country are united with the working class.

Comrade Chanda observed with concern the renewed onslaughts of imperialism in the changed world situation. The working class are for peace and not for war. But while yearning for peace the working people must judge the question of peace and war from the correct class outlook. The working people are for just wars and against all kinds of unjust wars. The working class would resist the onslaughts that the imperialists are bringing in their lives. To resist neo-colonial attacks and counter this growing fascistic trends within the capitalist world Comrade Chanda appealed to the working people to make success an international anti-imperialist convention to be held in India.

Comrade Tapas Dutta, General Secretary of UTUC(LS) presided over the meeting.

KERALA

Trivandrum : Posters paying tribute to Comrade Stalin, who led the legendary fight against the fascist aggressors, were pasted throughout the state. On 8th May a mass meeting was organised by the Kerala State Committee of our Party at Gandhi Park, Trivandrum. Before the meeting a colourful demonstration was held in the city. The marchers held aloft portraits of Comrade Stalin along with red flags and banners.

Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, member, Central Committee of the Party, was the main speaker in the meeting in which Comrade C.K. Lukose, Secretary, Kerala State Committee, also spoke and Comrade B.K. Rajagopal, member, State Committee, presided. Comrade Chakraborty, in his speech said that in the present international situation, when the erstwhile socialist peace camp is no more there and

consequently the imperialist threat of war has increased manifold it was the urgent task of peace loving people to build up a worldwide militant peace movement and the communists had to play a leading role in it.

Condemning the bourgeois media which distort history to blackout Stalin, Comrade Chakraborty said that it was the Soviet Union under the leadership of Comrade Stalin which saved mankind from under the jackboot of fascist dictatorship. Citing from history he explained the dubious role played by the 'Allies' who hoped to see the Soviet Union defeated by the Nazis. They postponed the opening of 2nd front in Europe till the last days of the war and played all kinds of tricks to shirk their responsibility to help the war efforts of the Soviet Union which was all alone fighting the combined military strength of the fascists. But in spite of all these difficulties, Comrade Stalin, who was not only a great strategist but also one of the greatest organizers in human history, united the whole Soviet people as one man, won the support of the peace loving people of the whole world. He thus not only liberated the Soviet Union and the East European countries from Nazi Germany, but saved the whole world from fascist domination routing the greatest enemy of civilization.

Today if we are to fight the imperialist threat of war we cannot but turn to Stalin and learn from him, the great teacher of the world proletariat, who concretised the Leninist teachings on imperialism and imperialist wars and masterly applied it in the interest of peace and revolution, Comrade Chakraborty said.

Explaining how our party, following the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, has been striving hard to organize a militant peace movement rallying all the progressive and peace loving forces of the world, Comrade Chakraborty said that the anti-imperialist convention being organised by our party on November 14-17 at Calcutta would be an event of historic significance in this regard. He appealed to the people to extend all help to make the convention a grand success.

The meeting ended with the *Internationale*.

ASSAM

Guwahati : A public meeting was held on the 8th May, '95 at Gauri Sadan Hall, Guwahati, under the auspices of the Guwahati District Committee of the SUCI to mark the 50th anniversary of the defeat of fascist military power at the hands of the Red Army under the leadership of Comrade Stalin.

The meeting was presided over by Comrade Kantimoy Deb, member of State Secretariat of the party.

Comrade Kalyan Choudhury, Secretary of the State Committee of the party attended the meeting as the main speaker. In his speech he exposed the danger of fascism that is manifesting in all capitalist-imperialist countries of the world irrespective of their degree of development within the facade of parliamentary democracy. He appealed to all Left-democratic and secular forces

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Seminar on Unity of International Communist Movement in Brussels

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seminar marked a step in the right direction. Apart from evolving a declaration on communist unity, an improved version of 1994 Declaration, the parties participating in the seminar have also decided for thorough exchange of opinion in future by various means to find out the reasons for ascendancy of revisionism in the CPSU, which phenomenon was mainly responsible for the present debacle, of course in collusion with imperialism. An approach paper prepared by our party on 'Development of Revisionism in the CPSU and Restoration of Capitalism in the former Soviet Union' was circulated among the delegates for their consideration. This apart, a seminar paper on the subject of communist unity was presented by Comrade Sukomal Das Gupta on behalf of the Central Committee of our party. Copies of the same were also circulated among the delegates.

Comrade Ludo Martens, President, Workers' Party of Belgium, introduced the subject for discussion. He gave an idea about the nature of amendments received so far on the declaration adopted in the year 1994. He opined that unity should be evolved on the basis of whatever agreement exists, and the points of differences whatever should be kept open for future discussion for resolution through thorough exchange and interaction of opinions so that a correct line emerged.

All the parties placed their viewpoints on the subject during the deliberations from 2nd to 4th May, 1995. Besides, there were short discourses in between the deliberations during these days. Comrade Michel Momerancy, leader, Workers' Party of Belgium, conducted the function of the president. The proceedings were simultaneously interpreted in different languages for the benefit of the participants. Elsewhere in this issue has been reproduced the seminar paper including the introductory note on the occasion.

The seminar came to an end on 4th May afternoon after consideration of different amendments, suggestions placed and trends reflected from different quarters. The modified

draft of the last year's declaration which was evolved in the seminar was placed by Comrade Ludo Martens which is given separately elsewhere.

Now the task is to work towards strengthening the communist unity freeing it from the vile influence of both revisionism and dogmatism not only to help its consolidation across the world but as well to step up the revolutionary movement in different countries to hasten the course of emancipation of the toiling people.

It is heartening that there has been good response so far to the literature sale programme at our party's bookstall during the seminar. Books by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and other party publications were all sold out. Mention may be made that the party's first French publication rendered from English booklet written by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh : "An appeal to the leaders of the international communist movement" was also sold in the bookstall.

A bookstall was also set up in Brussels during the May Day celebrations organised by the Workers' Party of Belgium on May 1. A festoon carrying the name of our party Socialist Unity Centre of India in English and French were put up at the stall. Posters containing various slogans written in French and English in the background of the sketch : of the famous Soviet sculpture 'the worker, holding high the hammer together with a woman farmer, her hand held aloft with a sickle' as well as in the backdrop of a sketch of sculpture on the theme 'an exploited giving a call for revolution' added attraction to the bookstall.

This is for the first time that our party has attended such an international seminar providing us the opportunity to propagate the thoughts of our beloved departed leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh as also to place ideological standpoint widely on an international scale through the sale of literature in particular.

Along with carrying out our internationalist obligation it is time to step up our revolutionary activities and strengthen class and mass struggles in the country to pave the way for our objective.

against the problems faced by them sinking the differences of caste, community, region and religion, etc.

Comrade V. Venugopal, an all-India organiser of DYO, urged the youth to carry forward the uncompromising trend of the freedom struggle to fight against the policies of liberalisation, privatization which if go unresisted would only add to the growing army of unemployed in the country.

List of countries which participated :

AFRICA

1. ALGERIA
2. CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
3. MOROCCO
4. UGANDA
5. RWANDA
6. TOGO
7. ZAIRE

SOUTH AMERICA

1. ARGENTINA
2. BRAZIL
3. CHILE
4. CUBA
5. HAITI
6. MEXICO
7. PERU
8. DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

ASIA

1. AFGHANISTAN
2. BANGLADESH
3. NORTH KOREA
4. INDIA
5. IRAN
6. PALESTINE
7. THE PHILIPPINES

EUROPE

1. GERMANY
2. BULGARIA
3. DENMARK
4. SPAIN
5. FRANCE
6. GREECE
7. ITALY
8. LUXEMBOURG
9. NORWAY
10. POLAND
11. PORTUGAL
12. GREAT BRITAIN
13. SWEDEN
14. TURKEY
15. BELGIUM

Karnataka Youth Conference held amidst great enthusiasm

Bangalore : The first Karnataka Youth Conference was organised in Bangalore on 20-21 May, 1995 under the auspices of the Democratic Youth Organisation (DYO).

The Open Session of the conference commenced as youths from all over the state converged in the Malleswaram grounds after coming in a massive procession that started from Chiklabagh.

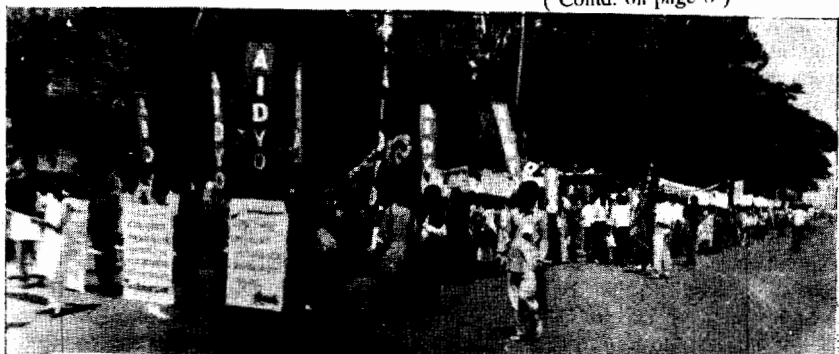
Sri H.S. Doreswamy, veteran freedom fighter, inaugurating the Open Session called upon the youth to stand up boldly against injustice and to have a struggling spirit. Criticizing the present-day education system, Sri Doreswamy said that education, without a sense of ethics, would lead the common masses into a blind alley.

Comrade K. Radhakrishna, Secretary, SUCI, Karnataka State Committee, as the chief guest implored the people and the youth in particular to break their long silence and rise up in bold protest

Sri J. S. Patil, Dean of Law, Gulbarga University, while inaugurating the Quotation Exhibition expressed that with self confidence, honesty and conviction the DYO would surge ahead in its aim of social progress.

The delegate session was held on 21 May in the NGO Bhavan with 200 delegates. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, member, Central Committee, SUCI, inaugurating the delegate session urged the youth to unleash a three-fold

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Part of the youth procession on 20th May in Bangalore : heading towards the Malleswaram Grounds, the venue of Open Session.

Kashmir : Bring Normalcy first

The situation in Kashmir has further worsened with the burning down of the 15th Century Charar-e-Sharif shrine along with innumerable houses surrounding it. Even according to the official estimate about twenty thousand people have become refugees besides loss of many innocent lives and valuable properties. No doubt the Central Congress (I) government miserably failed to protect the life and property of the Kashmiri people. Just after the incident the entire people of Kashmir burst forth in massive protest against the utter failure of the government which responded with imposition of indefinite curfew throughout the state including Srinagar.

The Central government is now pointing to Pakistan and has long been accusing it of sending and guiding the militants from behind. According to the central government version, Pakistan is responsible for the present state of affairs in Kashmir because it wants to disturb and destroy the election process in Kashmir. But the most pertinent question that arises here is how is it possible that a handful of militants sent by Pakistan can immobilize the entire state for years together? Can it be possible without active or passive support of the people in general in Kashmir? The BJP and the Hindu fundamentalists would argue that as the people of Kashmir are mostly Muslims, they want to go over to Pakistan, and so they are supporting the militants sent by Pakistan. But the matter is not so simple, and it is neither corroborated by history. They should remember that Kashmir was not annexed to the Indian Union; on the contrary people of Kashmir voluntarily acceded to the Indian Union with certain provisions in the instrument of accession safeguarding their certain rights and cultural identity. But the Central government has been violating those provisions since fifties, and a most oppressive and tyrannical rule has been imposed over the people of Kashmir, who were dismayed on the question of their identity. Despite imperialist intrigues and Pakistani machinations, it is a hard reality that the present problem of Kashmir stems from wrong and utterly repressive policy of the Central government pursued for a long period.

As a result of this wrong policy, the people of Kashmir has gradually turned hostile to the government of India, and in course of time this anti-central government feeling gradually became synonymous with anti-India feeling. Had it not been so the government could not have failed to isolate the militants from the masses. The central government claimed that it deciphered all secret messages exchanged between the militants and the Pakistani secret agency. Moreover the Central government has turned the entire valley into an armed camp. But despite all these measures how could such a large number of militants infiltrate with huge arms and ammunition in different places of Kashmir and particularly in religious places? Why the government failed to take any preemptive measure despite the knowledge, admitted by itself, of the probable course of events that are likely to happen as far back as

January 1995? Can Mr. P.V. Narashima Rao answer these pointed questions? Can he deny that without the support of the masses the militants cannot sustain for such a long period? But how has the situation taken such a turn?

The successive central Congress (I) governments trampled all democratic norms and even denied the people of the valley to govern themselves through their elected representatives, for narrow partisan end. The elected governments in Kashmir had again and again been overthrown by invoking Section 356 of the Constitution, the leaders of the National Conference were arrested without any rhyme or reason and horse-trading of MLAs resorted to for installing Congress (I) government in the state by hook or by crook. For their narrow partisan end the central Congress (I) government reduced the elections in Kashmir to a farce when the people of the valley were denied the right to choose their own representatives.

In 1984 Congress (I) under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi armed the Kashmiri youths for booth capturing and adopting other strong armed tactics for entirely rigging the elections. This was the beginning of largescale political violence in Kashmir. Again, since the late seventies the Congress (I) and later on the BJP have been fostering and fomenting Hindu fundamentalism throughout the country and so the people of the valley who happen to be Muslims in majority feel further alienated. And when the V.P. Singh government sent notorious Jagmohan as the Governor of the state, the situation took a grave turn when the entire administration was further communalised.

Again the Hindu fundamentalists, knowing full well of the acute economic condition of the people of the valley where there is no industry and agriculture is also very insignificant, are raising such harmful slogans, like "the central government is appeasing the Muslims in Kashmir", "scrap section 370 of the Constitution" etc. These harmful slogans of the Hindu fundamentalists have sharpened the communal division and the alienation of the people of the valley has been further deepened.

In such a situation what did Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao do to assuage the wounded feelings of the Kashmiri people? While playing with the fire of Hindu communalism throughout India, Mr. Rao, like his predecessors, tried to solve the Kashmir problem with the help of military, thereby further complicating the problem.

Kashmir is at present under President's rule, and the rule is going to be extended for a further term. We are, no doubt, in favour of an elected government in Kashmir, but elections held at gun point of the military or of the militants cannot reflect the verdict of the people. So, what is the prime need of the hour is the restoration of normalcy in the valley. This normalcy can under no circumstances be restored by administrative and military operations. Liberal economic packages, though necessary for the poverty stricken people of Kashmir, cannot heal the wounded psyche of the Kashmiri people. What is of most urgent importance is the initiative of a political solution of the Kashmir problem. So, all sections of secular and democratic-minded people of the country must demand of the Central government to initiate immediate measures for the political solution of the Kashmir problem.

To ensure defeat of Congress (I) SUCI decides to support AGP candidate in Assam

Elections to the two Rajya Sabha seats, fallen vacant in Assam, are going to be held on June 5, 1995. There is only one AGP candidate, besides the two Congress (I) candidates in the fray. The Congress (I) has once again set up Manmohan Singh, an outsider and one of the architects of the out and out anti-people new economic and industrial policy, as its first candidate.

Our attempt to sponsor an eminent person as a candidate, with the support of the Lefts, acceptable to all Opposition parties, has failed. In such a situation, despite political differences with the AGP, the Assam State Committee of the party has decided to support the AGP candidate Mr. Paragdhara Chaliha, with the sole object of ensuring defeat of the Congress (I), the main enemy of the people.

The SUCI has urged the AGP to join the movement for industrialisation in the state, besides inclusion of genuine voters, mostly the minorities, in the electoral roll.

Karnataka

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struggle against the economic, political and socio-cultural problems that besiege their lives. He called upon the delegates to come forward to discharge their historic duty of changing the society on the basis of higher ethics and culture and leading it to revolution.

Comrade B.R. Manjunath conducted the proceedings as the president of the meeting.

Later, the delegates elected a 23-member state council which included Comrades B.R. Manjunath as President, B.Bhagavan Reddy as Vice-President, A. Ramannappa as the Secretary, K. Venugopal as treasurer and Office Secretary. Comrades G.K. Ravi, N. Ravi, Sandeep, Somshekhar Gowda, Devadas, Shivaprakash H.P. and Vishnu Sabhahit were elected to the Secretariat.

Victory of Red Army

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and well-meaning people of the world to rally in a worldwide united struggle to defeat fascism, the arch enemy of mankind and civilization.

Similar meetings were held also at Goalpara, Dhubri, Silchar and some other places.

TRIPURA

Agartala : Under the auspices of the Agartala District Organizing Committee of the SUCI a street corner meeting attended by a huge number of passers-by was held on the 8th of May 1995 at Agartala to observe the day as the 50th anniversary of victory over fascism. Comrades Sanjoy Chowdhury and Kusal Bhattacharya addressed the gathering.

They urged the common people, the working class in particular, all over the world to forge greatest possible unity and build up mighty militant peace movement against the neo-fascist and imperialist attack for the sake of peace and progress of world humanity.

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