



"I am emphatically opposed to the policy of kicking out all dissenting comrades. I am opposed to such a policy not because I am sorry for the dissenters, but because such a policy gives rise in the Party to a regime of intimidation, a regime of bullying, which kills the spirit of self-criticism and initiative. It is not good when leaders of the Party are feared but not respected."

—STALIN

## *Comrade Nihar Mukherjee condemns Rail & General Budget*

### **Railway Budget**

In protest against the proposed Railway Budget, placed in the Lok Sabha to-day, the 25th February, '92 Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has issued the following statement to the Press.

"No word is strong enough to condemn the anti-people policies of the Central Congress(I) Government which have once again been revealed in the Railway Budget for 1992-'93.

"The common people of our country will be once again hard hit by the sharp increase in the Railway fares, berth reservation charges and freights, etc., which will further go to increase the prices of all essential commodities.

"In this grave situation, we urge the Left and democratic parties to come forward, shedding all political differences, to develop a mighty united movement for thwarting this anti-people Railway Budget."

### **General Budget**

Strongly condemning the deceptive, anti-people and pro-monopoly Budget (1992-'93) of the Central Congress(I) Government, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, issued the following statement to the Press on 29.2.92 :

"By skillfully adjusting and reforming Capital Gains Tax, Corporate Tax, Wealth Tax, etc., to solely benefit the monopolists, while widening the tax net on the vast masses and especially the middle class employees, the deceptive, anti-people and pro-monopoly budget proposals ('92-'93) of the Central Congress(I) Government have dealt a heavy blow the severity of which is bound to be immediately felt by all sections of the common people.

"We call upon all Left and democratic parties to build up a powerful united democratic movement against this anti-people budget."

## REMEMBERING STALIN

### **Dialectics of history defines the divide between two evaluations of Stalin**

The communists of the world, whose task it is to seek truth and change the world in its light, look upon Stalin as the worthy continuer of the cause of Lenin; as the leader and teacher who safeguarded the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism by combating the Trotskyites-Bucharinites and the varied shades of social democracy and correctly interpreting, elaborating and enriching it; under whose leadership the international communist movement, despite its defects and shortcomings, had an unprecedented growth, development and success; whose implacable attitude towards the enemies of socialism, profound fidelity to principle, clear revolutionary perspective and clarity of purpose combined with extraordinary firmness of character steeped in the proletarian sense of values, unflinching persistence in the pursuit of aims and unbound love for the masses and constant contact with them enshrined him in the heart of the working class of the world.

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# *Proletarian Era*

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## SUCI Victory in Haryana Panchayat Elections

In the Haryana Panchayat elections held recently, due to be held in June 1983, our party won in several seats.

### ROHTAK

Kathura: Comrade Rammehar Narwal Dist. Committee member, Rohtak SUCI was elected sarpanch. The panches were also elected with the consent of Comrade Rammehar.

Matanhail: Comrade Phool Kumar was elected as member panchayat. SUCI supported candidate was elected sarpanch.

Aehhej: SUCI supported candidate was elected sarpanch.

### SONEPAT

Aterna: Comrade Kanwal Singh SUCI supporter & DYU member was elected sarpanch.

### REWARI

Nimoth: Ravinder Kumar was elected sarpanch and majority panches supported by our party including Comrade Chandan Singh as member got-elected.

Zainabad: SUCI supported candidate was elected sarpanch.

### BHIWANI

Nigana Kalan: Comrade Zile Singh, Dist. Committee member, Bhiwani SUCI was elected sarpanch.

### KURUKSHETRA

Sarsa: Comrade Jaiparkash was elected for panch.

### MOHINDERGARH

Chandpura: SUCI supported candidate was elected as sarpanch.

## Movements in Haryana

Rohtak, Dated 14.2.92:

At the call of Haryana State Organising Committee SUCI mass demonstrations and sit-in-dharnas were organised at the district Headquarters on February, 14th 1992. Large numbers of people from all walks of life including women, children and old aged participated in the movement against price rise, unemployment and anti-people New-Economic and Industrial Policies of the Govt. Memorandum was submitted to Deputy Commissioner with a 12 point demand.

ROHTAK: March 2, '92

Haryana Organising Committee of SUCI took out a huge procession today against rail & general budget, new industrial policy, price rise etc. Starting from Rohtak Railway Station, it ended at Medical Turn Square where Comrade Balwant Singh, Secretary, State Organising Committee, SUCI, urged to build up a powerful movement.

A 13 Point memorandum to the PM was submitted.

## State Conferences of UTUC (L S)

### TAMILNADU

The First Tamil Nadu State Conference of UTUC (L/S) was held on January 26 & 27 & 28 at Sivakasi.

On 26th January, the inaugural open session of the conference was held at Ambalamadam Junction in Sivakasi town. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Jaganathan, President, Tamilnadu State Organising Committee. Comrade Shankar Singh, Politbureau member SUCI and Vice President UTUC (L/S) All India Committee was the Guest-in-chief who in his speech highlighted the dangerous fiscal and economic policies of the Congress (I) Government and the need to organise countrywide mass movement against these policies. He also showed that the fall of Soviet Union due to the machinations of Gorbachev-Yeltsin clique backed by US imperialism was only the outcome of revisionism and not Marxism Leninism. On 26th and 27th, the delegate session was held at Arumugasamy Nadar-Thennammal marriage hall. The Secretary's Report, political-organisational report and resolutions numbering 15 were passed after lively deliberations. A 12 members State Committee with Comrade Jaganathan as President and Comrade A. Anandan as Secretary and Comrade Rajan as Treasurer was elected.

### KERALA

The first Kerala State Conference of UTUC (L/S) was held on 17th, 18th and 19th of January, 1992 at Ernakulam. On 17th there was a colourful and spirited demonstration of the workers in this industrial city of Kerala. A mass meeting was organised at Rajendra Maidan which was inaugurated by a veteran trade union leader Comred Kosala Ramadas. Comrade Tapas Dutta, General Secretary, UTUC (L/S) was the main speaker. He called upon the workers to fight the anti-people and anti-working class policies of the central and state Governments. Comrade C K. Lukose, State Secretary of SUCI also spoke. Comrade A. Jalaluddin, Secretary, State Organising Committee, UTUC (L/S) presided over the meeting. Two resolutions, one condemning price-hike and another demanding withdrawal of the anti-people industrial policy of Kerala Government, also were adopted unanimously.

The delegate session was held on 18th morning at Madras Cafe Auditorium. It was inaugurated by Comrades Tapas Dutta, Kosala Ramadas, the veteran trade union leader, Jose Kaliyikkal, leader, Malay Thozhilali Federation, also spoke.

The concluding session was addressed by Comrade Dutta.

### ASSAM

The Second State Conference of the Assam State Committee of the UTUC (L S) was held on the 1st and 2nd February, 1992 at Goalpara Town in a befitting manner.

The open session of the conference was held as an inaugural rally on 1st February, 1992 at Goalpara College Grounds in spite of heavy shower.

It was presided over by Comrade Bimal Nandi, Vice President of the Assam State Committee of the UTUC (L/S) and addressed by Comrade Achintya Sinha, member, All India Working Committee, UTUC (L/S).

The delegate session was held on 2nd February, 1992 under the Presidentship of Comrade Bimal Nandi. At morning the Red Flag had been hoisted by Comrade Bimal Nandi and the Martyrs Column had been garlanded by Comrade Saradindu Biswas, Secretary Assam State Committee UTUC (L/S).

Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya the renowned mass leader, member Central Committee of the SUCI and founder President of the Assam State Committee of the UTUC (L/S) inaugurated the delegate session at the Assam Club Auditorium.

Comrade Kalyan Chowdhury, Secretary Assam State Committee of the SUCI gave the concluding speech.

### DELHI

The 2nd UTUC (L S) Conference of Delhi State, was held on 2nd & 3rd March '92 at Gandhi Peace Foundation, Dindyal Upadhyay Marg, ITO. Delegate session held on 2nd, was addressed by Comrade Tapas Dutta, General Secretary UTUC (L/S). Delegates from different industries participated. A new state body was elected with Comrades Arun Kumar as President, R K Sharma as Secretary, Ramji Singh as Vice President and J. Sinha as Treasurer.

Open session was held on 3rd March '92.

## Memorandum to Governor, Orissa by M S S

On 31st January, '92 a colourful procession of hundreds of women started from Bhubaneswar Railway Station and assembled before Raj Bhavan. A three member delegation comprising of Comrade Bina Das, President, Comrade Lily Das, Secretary and Comrade Annapurna Sahoo, executive member of the State Committee met the Governor and presented the memorandum.

A meeting was held with Comrade Bina Das in the chair. Among others Comrade Lily Das, Swayanprava Nayak, Shanti Panda, Pramila Mahanto addressed the rally.

## 'When we merge our personal interests with party's interests can we become real leaders of proletarian army'—*Stalin*

(Contd. from page 1)

In the eyes of those who are no exponents of communism but who look upon the period of socialist building led by Stalin as perhaps the greatest of dynamic eras of history and who know what strength made possible the triumph of the Soviet people over the fascist assault of Hitler, Stalin is the genius whose profound ability to awaken people's will and release that will into action sets him apart as one among the greatest of leaders. From the opposite pole, the consolidation of capitalist-imperialists and revisionists in all ramifications have ever painted Stalin in the demonic image of a despot, a dictator who butchered opposition and manoeuvred the party apparatus to build himself to power, who coerced people to carry out his command and got himself deified by them, whose abuse of power and cruel dictates brought massacre to countless innocent men and women.

So is Stalin focused by the dialectics of history to define the divide between two opposite outlooks, two approaches, two evaluations. While the capitalist-imperialists and their agents ever trained their gun on Stalin, the modern revisionist clique, from Khrushchev to Gorbachev-Yeltsin, in carrying through their tirade to full vehemence against Marxism-Leninism and socialism made him their first target. Bent upon maligning and then slaughtering communism, they moved towards restoration of capitalism and dismantling of the socialist states and socialism in East Europe and the Soviet Union itself. More than ever before, and unflinching, must the communists of the world enhance their Marxist-Leninist education in the present concrete revolutionary perspective, steel themselves into true proletarian character, and assert their revolutionary conviction. Who should they look to in order to learn from life-struggles, to emulate characters and to follow teachings? The giant leaders of the communist movement, of course. Comrade Stalin is one among these leaders, whose life is the consummation of the revolutionary cause, the cause of the party, of the working class, of the masses of the people; who, after Lenin's death, led the party and the people of the Soviet Union in resolutely fighting both internal and external foes and in safeguarding and consolidating revolution and the first socialist state in the world; who led the party and the people in winning great successes in socialist economic transformation and socialist construction; who led the party, the people and the army to great victory in the anti-fascist war; who upheld proletarian internationalism and defended, developed and enriched Marxism-Leninism in the fight against social democratic deviations and opportunism. Ever shall we take lessons from his life and character, ever shall we cultivate his indelible contributions to Marxism-Leninism. Let us glean here, on the occasion of his

thirtieth death anniversary, on this 5th of March, 1992, some of the great examples his life bequeathed us and recall a few of his brilliant analyses to educate and steel ourselves in the task to overcome the present grievous setback in the world communist movement.

### SCHOOLING IN REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY

Stalin's life from early youth had been so closely bound up with the growth of the working class movement and the working class revolutionary party in the tsarist Russia and later the USSR that the development of the man and the revolutionary movement were indivisibly linked, one with the other. The poverty in the family circumstances of Iosif (Joseph) Vissarionovich Djugashvili—his father a cobbler and mother a washer woman who slaved day and night to make both ends meet in the poor household—acquainted him with the dire need of the workers and peasants. His concern for inquiry since childhood into the cause of this destitution awakened in him sympathy for the exploited classes and quest about what it stemmed from and how to put an end to this misery.

This was a period when, with the development of industrial capitalism and the growth of working class movement had begun to spread widely in the tsarist Russia. The St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, founded and led by Lenin in 1895, marked a transition to mass agitation of workers and the union of Marxism with the working class movement to give a powerful impetus to the development of working class movement all over the country. The tide of the movement swept as far as Transcaucasia where capitalism had taken a foothold and the burden of nationality and colonial oppression by the tsarist rule weighed heavily. Joseph Vissarionovich's parents who came from peasant stock belonged to Georgia, one of the Transcaucasian outposts of the tsarist Russia.

In the nineties (nineteenth century) revolutionary activities in Georgia and elsewhere in Transcaucasia were carried on by Russian Marxists who had been exiled there. The propaganda of Marxism had begun. The Tiflis Theological Seminary which Joseph entered, when nearly fifteen, as a bright scholar was a centre at that time from which libertarian ideas of every kind spread among the youth—from nationalist Narodism to internationalist Marxism. The harsh regime that reigned in the Seminary aroused in young Joseph a burning sense of protest. Soon he joined the revolutionary movement at the age of fifteen when he established connection with certain underground groups of Russian Marxists then working in Transcaucasia.

As a pupil his interests were wide. He had good knowledge of the classics—Shakespeare, Schiller, Tolstoy—and was well

read in history and sociology, and took keen interest in chemistry, geology, astronomy, physics and Darwin's teachings. This acquaintance helped him and his circle to escape from the bigoted spirit of the Seminary and for reception of the Marxist ideology.

Joseph led Marxist study circles in the Seminary, attended workers' meetings, organised strikes and formally enrolled as a member of the Tiflis organization of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP). It was among the advanced proletarians of Tiflis that he got his first schooling in practical revolutionary work. 'Stalin'—man of steel—was the name by which his comrades began to call him. For Marxist propaganda Stalin was expelled from the Seminary, whereupon he launched vigorously into revolutionary activity, starting mass agitation, along with his compatriots; on the burning questions of the day and political demonstrations against tsardom. In constant propaganda activity and in constant contact with workers Stalin gradually developed his inimitable style of work. He would put many questions to the workers and listen intently to what they replied with facts from their own lives as workers. Then he would draw conclusions which were to have immense value and significance to the revolutionary movement. He taught the workers and himself learnt from the workers.

### LENIN'S DISCIPLE IN STRUGGLE TO BUILD PARTY

About the turn of the century, amidst the raging controversy between the numerous disconnected revolutionary groups and circles in Russia, Lenin clearly formulated the two main questions before revolution: concerning the organisation of revolution—the party, and concerning the revolutionary theory. He fought out and won three ideological battles. Against the Narodniks he established that the proletariat, and not the peasant, was the driving force of the coming revolution. Against the 'legal Marxists' he showed that the insistence on the necessity of the bourgeois capitalist state soon led them to regard this as an end in itself and to substitute reform for revolution. Against the 'Economists' he argued that in the task of Russian social democracy the unaccomplished bourgeois democratic task was indissolubly linked with the socialist task, under the hegemony of the proletariat; that not only the workers should fight over economic and political demands, they should be imbued with a conscious revolutionary purpose and conduct a consciously planned revolutionary campaign; that the party, as a repository of revolutionary theory and revolutionary consciousness, had to be the vanguard detachment and champion of the interests of the class.

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When Lenin's *Iskra* began to appear in 1900, wherefrom he largely carried on his ideological combat at this stage, Stalin completely identified himself with its policy. It was at once clear to him that Lenin was the creator of a real Marxist party, a leader and a teacher. He took Lenin's path as his own, never swerving from it afterwards.

With Lenin's revolutionary line gaining victory and *Iskra* linking up the scattered social democratic groups and circles to prepare the way for creation of a single Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party,\* union of scientific socialism with the workers' day-to-day and spontaneous agitation began in the working class movement of Transcaucasia. Stalin worked among the workers, emphasising the role of the working class as the leader of the democratic mass movement. The tsarist government, alarmed at the growing revolutionary struggle of the Transcaucasian proletariat, resorted to sterner measures, of repression than ever. Stalin had to go into hiding, and from 1901 right upto the revolution of February, 1917, he lived mostly the underground life, frequently serving terms in prison and in exile, but ever full of unflagging activity of a professional revolutionary of the Lenin School—organising workers of different nationalities on the principle of proletarian internationalism, propagating the idea of revolution among them and leading their struggle into the mainstream of working class movement of Russia which Lenin was building up. In a determined struggle against economism and opportunism a Leninist Iskrait organisation grew up in Transcaucasia with Stalin as its most prominent organiser and leader.

The rising tide of the working class movement and the proximity of revolution demanded a united and centralised party of the working class which would be capable of leading the revolutionary movement. Primarily over the question of the party as a revolutionising and guiding force of the spontaneous working class movement, a centralised, disciplined and monolithic party based on the principle of democratic centralism and consisting chiefly of people professionally engaged in revolutionary activity and being the vanguard of working class, the highest of all forms of organisation—the type Lenin advocated—the Bolshevik and Menshevik groups of the RSDLP came to be clearly differentiated, especially in the Second Party Congress in 1903. Stalin, learning from the delegates returned from the Congress of the dissensions between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, determinedly took his stand on the side of Lenin, of the Bolsheviks.

Meanwhile, he led a huge strike of the Baku workers which "was like a clap of thunder heralding a great revolutionary storm" in Russia [*History of the CPSU(B)*]. Combat on the ideological plane combined with revolutionary practice. The fundamental ideological, organisational and tactical principles of the party were being

put to practice, developed and practised again. "The labour movement", Stalin argued, "must be united with socialism; practical activities and theoretical thought must merge into one thereby lend this spontaneous labour movement a social democratic character. Our duty is to introduce socialist consciousness into this movement and unite the advanced forces of the working class in one centralised party." Explaining Lenin's concept of the essential qualities of a proletarian party member, Stalin said, "Only when we join one of the party organizations and *thus merge our personal interests with the party's interests can we become party members, and, consequently real leaders of the proletarian army.*" (Selected Works, Vol. 1, 1954 ed; emphasis added)

In the first Russian revolution of 1905 Stalin from the very outset resolutely advocated and practised Lenin's strategy and tactics of the revolution, his idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution. Holding by Lenin's teaching, he argued that only the dictatorship of the proletariat would be able to carry out the minimum programme of the RSDLP, and consolidate and consummate the victory of the revolution. "A nationwide armed uprising—such is the supreme task that today confront the proletariat of Russia, and is imperatively demanding execution," he exhorted. In the third Party Congress in 1905, where the rift between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks concluded, Lenin made special mention of the Bolshevik activities in Transcaucasia, "the most militant in our party" and called upon the whole party to lend them the utmost support. In December 1905, Stalin went to attend the first All Russian Bolshevik Conference in Tammerfors in Finland. It was here that Stalin met Lenin for the first time. Recalling his disappointment to see a most ordinary working man in Lenin, Stalin later said: "Only later did I realize that this simplicity and modesty, this striving to remain unobserved, or, at least, not to make himself conspicuous and not to emphasize his high position—that this feature was one of Lenin's strongest points as the new leader of the new masses, of the simple and ordinary masses, of the 'rank and file' of humanity."

A most important role in the leadership of the movement in Transcaucasia that preceded the 1905 revolution, in the political education of the masses, was played by Stalin. This was a period in which the Bolshevik party was taking more and more a definite shape organisationally, ideologically and politically. The condition of the historical moment required exceptional unanimity and unity of action against the tsarist autocracy. In this struggle for a Bolshevik Party, Stalin revealed himself as an organiser of outstanding talent, as an indefatigable propagandist of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. All the fundamental problems of the struggle were explained to the workers by Stalin. His expositions were a model of simplicity. But never did he forsake the revolutionary content for the sake of simplicity; he always condemned

oversimplicity.

With the defeat of the 1905 armed uprising, the tide of revolution gradually began to ebb and the conflict between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks sharpened further. Stalin put the question squarely: "Either the hegemony of the proletariat, or the hegemony of the democratic bourgeoisie—that is how the question stands in the party, that is where we differ." In the period of reaction that now followed, Stalin stood by his teacher, Lenin in defence of the theoretical foundations of Marxism. In the light of Lenin's teachings, he upheld and developed the theoretical tenets of the Marxist party—dialectical and historical materialism—answering with supreme penetration the fundamental questions of the Marxist-Leninist theory: the inevitability and inavertibility of the socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat, and the necessity for a militant proletarian party.

In the fourth Congress of the RSDLP in 1906 he stood like a rock in rear of Lenin to uphold the Bolshevik line in the struggle against the Mensheviks. In the fifth Congress in 1907 the victory of the Bolsheviks over the Mensheviks was sealed.

The intervening period between the first and the second revolution were years of relentless struggle of the Bolsheviks. For the most of the period Lenin was in exile and Stalin worked persistently in accordance with his directions, making strenuous efforts to organize and educate the masses of the working class in the light of Lenin's teachings. His guiding of the struggle of Baku workers was a brilliant application of Lenin's policy of flexibly combining legal with illegal revolutionary activities in the period of reaction. He learnt what leading large masses of workers meant. In 1912, in a momentous event in the life of the party, the Mensheviks were expelled from the RSDLP. The Prague Conference inaugurated a party of a new type—the party of Leninism, the Bolshevik Party. Stalin was Lenin's loyal support in this fight for a revolutionary Marxist party.

In this period Stalin produced the work, *Marxism and the National Questions* which presented the Marxist theory of nations, emphasizing that the national problem be treated as part of the general problem of revolution and inseparably from the entire international situation, in the era of imperialism. In the light of Lenin's teachings, it laid the theoretical foundation of the Bolshevik conception of international working class solidarity.

\* The name Social Democratic Party having been tarnished and disgraced by the parties of the Second International and the Russian Mensheviks—the opportunists and betrayers of socialism—Lenin proposed in his 'April Theses' that it be discarded and the Party of the Bolsheviks be called the Communist Party which was the name given by Marx and Engels to their party.

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### LENIN'S COMRADE-IN-ARMS IN PREPARATION FOR REVOLUTION AND AFTERWARDS

When the imperialist first world war broke out the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, remained true to the battle standard of internationalism. In 1917 the momentous period had arrived and, with the bourgeois provisional government in power and Lenin abroad, Stalin worked to rally the party for the fight for transition from the bourgeois democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. Lenin, on return to Russia after a long period of exile propounded his famous *April Theses* to provide the party with a plan of action for the transition to the socialist revolution. Boldly and confidently Lenin, followed by his closest associate Stalin, led the party and the working class towards the socialist revolution, towards armed insurrection. The Great October Socialist Revolution had won, unfurling the banner of communism and founding the first socialist state in the world with Lenin its architect and Stalin in direct charge of all the preparations for insurrection.

During the entire period of preparation for the October Socialist Revolution, the Bolshevik Party had to carry on its fight against the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries at the ideological and organisational levels, in particular on the question of application of Marxism in the concrete and changing conditions of Russia. New issues were coming up fast and the old ones had to be seen in new lights. On the old question of the theoretical relation of the socialist and the bourgeois revolution and, hence, of the relation of the proletariat and its party to the bourgeoisie, Lenin argued against the Mensheviks that because the Russian bourgeoisie was neither able nor willing by itself to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution owing to its weakness and fear complex of the proletarian revolution, the task of the proletariat to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution was interwoven with its task of socialist revolution. Confusion clouded the thinking of many, even of some in the Bolshevik Party, regarding the task the working class faced immediately following the February Revolution of 1917. They argued that the phases of social revolution could not be skipped and it was impossible to reach the stage of socialist revolution until all the tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution were completed. Lenin showed that such argument stemmed from dogma, not Marxism, and amounted to economic determinism. He proceeded to show further that in the tortuous course of revolutionary movement politics and political developments influenced economic situation so much as to be the determinant in reality. Hence his teaching that politics supersedes economy. And he explained that the February Revolution of 1917 brought the Russian bourgeoisie to state power. The main question of every revolution being the question of

state power, the moment the Russian bourgeoisie had captured the state power by overthrowing tsardom a new class had assumed the state power in the place of the old one and to that extent and in that sense the bourgeois democratic revolution had been completed and Russia had entered the stage of socialist revolution. Moreover, the proletariat's task to complete the socialist revolution called for, at the organisational level, a centralised and monolithic class organ and vanguard detachment, its party, to give effect to both its strategy and tactics. Lenin explained that, of the two conditions to be fulfilled for the consummation of the socialist revolution, one was an alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry. "The proletariat must carry through to completion the democratic revolution by uniting to itself the mass of the peasantry, in order to crush by force the opposition of the autocracy and to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must complete the socialist revolution by uniting to itself the mass of semi-proletarian elements in the population, in order to break by force the opposition of the bourgeoisie and to paralyse the instability of the peasantry and of the petty bourgeoisie. (Collected Works, vol 8, p 96)

Trotsky held the position which on the face of it shared Lenin's idea on this particular theoretical issue of revolution but did not share its logical and imperative corollary—that is Lenin's conception of a centralised, highly organised and disciplined party. It was this attitude of Trotsky's which constantly allied him with the Mensheviks, in spite of all doctrinal differences, whose conception was one of a mass party. It as constantly embroiled Trotsky with Lenin in this period. Refusal to bow to party discipline led to instability of his opinion. So Lenin had to say: "It is impossible to argue with Trotsky on any point of substance since he has no opinions; he is always "creeping through the crack of this or that controversy and running from one side to the other." (CW : Vol. 15 and 17). In the period of new revolutionary revival, imperialist war and preparation for and achievement of the October Socialist Revolution, Stalin's rock like support to Lenin became stronger than ever. Undaunted by hardships, undeterred by difficulties, surmounting all obstacles, he continued to build the Bolshevik Party to consolidate its ranks and work out important problems in the theoretical practice of revolution under Lenin's leadership.

The October Revolution split the world into two systems—capitalist and socialist. The party was now faced with new conditions, with new gigantic tasks. There was no past experience to draw upon in building the new socialist state.

In the task of building a new world the Bolshevik party led by Lenin was helped by the Marxian science and the lessons of the Paris Commune which enabled it to find its bearings in the new and complex situation, furnished it with a knowledge of the laws of social develop-

ment. And the forms of struggle of the working class in this new situation naturally underwent a radical change. It is now history, known to all, how Lenin led the building of the first socialist state in the world, how Stalin, after the demise of Lenin, at the head of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolshevik) and together with the whole party, went on building the socialist state, staunchly defending it, and, with all the strength, will and indomitable energy of his revolutionary genius, fortified and strengthened the Soviet land. In this long course, People's Commissar Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin was appointed Director-General of Food Affairs in the South of Russia; commissioned by the Central Committee to organise the Ukrainian Front against foreign military intervention; appointed to the Council of Defence as the representative of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee; appointed People's Commissar of the State Control; sent by Central Committee to organise victory on the southern front; commissioned to the south western front against the Polish Whites; elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the party after the 11th Congress.

In all this period Stalin displayed extraordinary ability in the spheres of organisation, administration, economics and military operation. By his personal example, by selfless labour and clear revolutionary perspective he would rouse the fighting spirit and revolutionary enthusiasm of workers, peasants and Red Army men. In this period he performed an immense task in the forming of the national Soviet republics, and then in the amalgamation of all the Soviet republics into one state—the USSR. Revolution teaches, and Stalin while guiding huge masses under Lenin's leadership, himself always learnt from them, from the revolution. On Lenin's initiative the All Russian Central Executive Committee conferred on Stalin the Order of the Red Banner for his services in the Civil War.

### CARRYING LENIN'S BANNER STALIN EMERGED LEADER AFTER LENIN'S DEATH

Through the vicissitudes of imperialist intervention, civil war, internal sabotage, Comrade Lenin's death, and leading a backward country constituted largely of illiterate peasant masses, the party and the socialist state emerged victorious under Stalin's leadership. Ultimately, the countries of the capitalist encirclement had to change their line from threats and ultimatum to recognition of the USSR. And Stalin said later: "The fact that we emerged from our difficulties then without detriment to our cause undoubtedly shows that Comrade Lenin's disciples had already learned a thing or two from their master." (CW : Vol. 6) This was, also the period of an intense crisis in the party. Foremost in the renewed attack on the line the party pursued under Stalin's leadership was Trotsky. In the bitter fight that

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ensued, Stalin laid bare why, under the then conditions of the New Economic Policy (NEP) formulated under Lenin's leadership, Trotskyism must be regarded as the most dangerous trend; "for it strove to instil a lack of faith in the forces of our revolution, a lack of faith in the alliance of workers and peasants, a lack of faith in the conversion of NEP Russia into Socialist Russia." (CW: Vol. 7) In the battle against Trotskyism Stalin rallied the party around the Central Committee and mobilised it to continue this struggle for the victory of socialism in Russia.

The NEP itself was an objective policy, designed to meet the 'exceptional situation' in Russia almost immediately after the revolution when the country was economically backward and an extreme crisis had developed in production of food and other areas, making impossible a direct passage to socialism from widespread and predominant small production. Lenin introduced the NEP or the policy of State Capitalism in which cooperative movement was imperative for building of socialism, knowing well that this cooperative was a variety of state capitalism.

This turn from war communism to the NEP was a striking reflection of Lenin's wisdom and farsightedness. War communism was an attempt to launch a 'frontal attack' on the capitalist elements in town and countryside. Now in the changed circumstances Lenin proposed to change to this slower method of 'seige' so as to gather strength and renew the offensive.

The NEP meant that tax in kind was to be lighter than the assessment under the surplus appropriation system. All the produce over and above the amount of the tax was to be entirely at the disposal of the peasant who would be at liberty to sell these surpluses as well. The freedom of trade and the freedom of private manufacturers to open small business would give the peasant an economic incentive, induce him to produce more and would lead to rapid improvement of agriculture in the then situation. The object was that on this basis the state owned industries would be restored and private capital displaced; that, strength and resources having been accumulated, a powerful industry could be created as the economic foundation of socialism and then a determined offensive could be undertaken to destroy the remnants of capitalism in the country. Lenin explained: "The transition from concessions to socialism is the transition from one form of largescale production to another form of largescale production. The transition from small-property cooperative to socialism is the transition from small production to largescale production, i.e. it is a more complicated transition but, if successful, is capable of embracing wider masses of the population, is capable of putting up the deeper and tenacious roots of the old, pre-socialist and pre-capitalist relations, which most stubbornly resist all 'innova-

tions'. The concession policy, if successful, will give us a few exemplary—compared to our own—large enterprises built on the level of modern advanced capitalism. After a few decades these enterprises will entirely revert to us. The cooperative policy, if successful, will result in raising small economy and facilitate its transition, within an indefinite period, to large scale production on the basis of voluntary amalgamation." (SW: vol. 2, pp. 716-17). Later events confirmed Stalin's success in implementing the policy. He rallied the people around the party, defeated the opposition. The detractors falsify and blame Stalin for having used 'force' against people to carry out the economic programme. But people who know history know the truth of how Stalin pursued the Leninist line, rousing the people and eliciting enthusiasm from them.

Resistance came from within the party to the NEP—from the Lefts who thought it to be a renunciation of the revolution and from Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Bukharin and others who did not believe that socialist development was possible in Russia before the omnipotence of capitalism and who demanded far-reaching concessions to private capital and surrender of a number of key positions of the Soviet power in the economic field to private capitalists. Both were exposed and isolated by the party under Stalin's leadership. The resistance to the party line called for renewal of struggle to reach unity through ideological battle and, this struggle to achieve unity failing, to cleanse the party through purge to strengthen it and protect revolution. The purge had to be carried out. At the same time the correctness of the NEP was proved in the first few years.

With the restoration of national economy to pre-war economic level the question arose in all its urgency: what were the prospects for further development? Stalin defined the prospects and mapped the definite path for further development of the revolution. Explaining and substantiating Lenin's thesis of uneven development of capitalism making possible the breaching of the chain of capitalism in one country depending upon the political-organizational maturity of the people and a combination of certain other factors Stalin stressed that the main task at the moment was to build socialism together with peasantry and absolutely under the leadership of the proletariat. The Trotskyite opposition to this party line betrayed lack of faith in the potentiality of the middle and poor peasantry to be an ally of revolution and held out challenge to Lenin's thinking of the possibility of victory of socialism in a single country, arguing that the victory of socialism would be impossible without the preliminary victory of the socialist revolution "in the principal countries of Western Europe." From the other side, Bukharin-Rykov group came openly in defence of the interest of the kulaks, arguing their theory of the

kulaks growing into socialism. In the struggle that ensued between the party and the left social democracy of the Trotskyites and the right social democracy of the Bukharinites, both having a common root in social democracy, was welded together the leading core of the party, with Stalin as the leader and the guiding force. This struggle for advance towards socialism consisted, in its essence, of a sharpening of the class struggle in the country and sharpening of the struggle in the party. The resistance of the kulaks was crushed, the Trotsky-Zinovievite bloc was exposed as an anti-Soviet bloc and the Trotskyites were expelled from the party.

The party mustered the working class and the peasantry for the fulfilment of the first five year plan for socialist construction and swung the middle peasant towards the collective farms and the beginning of a mass collective farm movement.

#### STALIN EMERGED AS LEADER AFTER LENIN

The history of the Great October Socialist Revolution has been written from altogether divergent angles—by the enemies and opponents of socialism; by bourgeois scholars who hailed many of the outcomes of the revolution; by socialists-turned-renegades; and by the revolutionaries themselves, the consistent adherents of Marxism-Leninism. The same strategy and tactics, the same developments and the same hallmarks of the character of the leaders of the revolution have been read in altogether different 'lights'. The 'truth' or otherwise of the 'light' has, therefore, to be constantly ascertained and kept in view in order that the truth of the matter in all its intricacies and complexities can be known and understood. To this point we shall return later. But like life itself truth has also its simpler revelations. The singular theme of Stalin's life and character was his single-minded identification with the cause of revolution. This is incontestable and nobody has chosen to contend it, unless bias has prompted one to do so. This identification was the culmination of his long and unrelenting struggle since childhood, and then, under Lenin's leadership, in the entire period of the early years of revolutionary activity, the phase of reaction and revival of revolutionary movement, the hour of revolution and the days of foreign military intervention, and then, after Lenin's death, through the complex course of struggle he waged under Lenin's teachings. The struggle was not selective to be confined in spheres of theoretical formulations and rallying workers in meetings, demonstrations in insurrections and war. It was a struggle for an all-out and radical social transformation, for all humanity. So it had to be a struggle in the entire arena of life conducted with a singular orientation to the cause of revolution to bring about the transformation. This Stalin did, following in the footsteps of Lenin. In this struggle, fighting within his self against all possibilities of bourgeois infiltration, fighting within the party

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against all roaders of left and right deviation, opportunism and capitulationism, and fighting among the class and the broader masses of the people against all feudal hangovers, bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences and vacillations. He emerged as the leader of the revolution, the party, the class and the masses of the people—next to Lenin and under Lenin's leadership.

Stalin led a process, a Marxist-Leninist process, and was an exemplary culmination of that process. Whatever the bid of the bourgeois detractors and denigrators, it would be naive to be induced into the belief that Stalin hankered after power and built himself to power. He never debarred any of the opponents of the partyline—Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev and any other—from attending the party congresses, conferences or any of the party forums so long they were members of the party. He defeated them in open ideological polemics and only after the anti-revolution and anti-state role of theirs was fully exposed and confirmed did the party and the government led by him expel, exile or execute them. His singular motivations was victory of revolution and consolidation of revolution for the cause of masses of the people. He was guided by one supreme principle—the will of the party and the interests of the revolution. In this he was impersonal and merciless against laxity, insubordination and desertion.

Gorbachev and his accomplices, in criticising the Stalin period for the present economic ills in erstwhile USSR, have held Stalin guilty of commandist-administrative method and his "command economy". But it would be travesty of truth, and nobody dares for that, to deny that in the Stalin period the USSR advanced from a backward agrarian country to an advanced and strong industrial power and consolidated socialism more and more. It was under Stalin's leadership that the Soviet Union rose from the ruins wrought in by Hitler's fascist military machine to become a mighty socialist power. In this, besides his revolutionary political acumen and statesmanship and organizational ability, Stalin was guided by his brilliant understanding of socialist production—its laws and aims. The socialist production developed on the basic law of socialism. Therein it is indifferentiated from the capitalist production based on the basic law of capitalism. "Consequently, maximum satisfaction of the constantly rising material and cultural requirements of the whole society is the aim of socialist production; continuous expansion and perfection of the socialist production on the basis of higher techniques is the means for the achievement of the aim."

Under the dispensation of perestroika, Gorbachev and his accomplices effected re-introduction of largescale cooperative sector and restructuring of the intra-production labour relations on the basis

of contractual and lease arrangements. But long back, explaining the aim of the first five year plan Stalin had shown: "The party proceeded from the fact that without collectivisation it would be impossible to lead our country on to the high road of building the economic foundation of socialism, impossible to free the vast masses of the labouring peasantry from poverty and ignorance." (*Problems of Leninism*). At the then stage of socialism Stalin laid down the preliminary conditions to be satisfied to pave the way for a real transition to communism: "1. It is in the first place, to ensure not a mythical 'rational organisation' of the productive forces but a continuous expansion of all social production with a relatively higher rate of expansion of the production of means of production. The relatively higher rate of expansion of production of means of production is necessary not only because it has to provide equipment both for its own plants and for all the other branches of the national economy but also because production in an extended scale becomes altogether impossible without it. 2. It is necessary, in the second place, by means of gradual transitions carried out to the advantage of the collective farms and, hence, of all society, to raise collective property to the level of public property, and, also by means of gradual transition, to replace commodity circulation by a system of products-exchange, under which the central government, or some other social-economic centres might control the whole product of social production in the interests of society. 3. It is necessary, in the third place, to ensure such a cultural advancement of society as will secure for all members of society the allround development of their physical and mental abilities, so that the members of society may be in a position to receive an education sufficient to enable them to be actual agents of social development, and in a position freely to choose their occupations and not to be tied all their lives, owing to the existing division of labour, to some one occupation."

(*Economic Problems of Socialism in USSR*, pp. 68-70).

But citing a whole list of ailments of the Soviet economy, what the Gorbachev leadership did was to take a host of measures including the principle of complete operational autonomy and self-financing to complete the process of decentralisation. That meant that their production plan would be dependent mostly on demands of the market. In other words, the market law of demand and supply would be the main determinant of production. Secondly, because of self-financing, wages would vary from enterprise to enterprise. Gorbachev argued: "Indeed, the socialist production relations open up broad vistas for development of the productive forces. However, they must be constantly improved. And that means outdated economic management methods must be noticed in good time and replaced by new ones." As if, relations of production change with changes of economic management methods! So, to change

the relations of production it was, necessary, as if, to change only the outdated economic management method and replace it by a new one by noting it in good time! But the simple fact that emerged was that the economic reorganization policy of perestroika was sure to bring about a total decentralization of the economy which demanded a decentralised economic method. Since the centralised economic management method which had developed, as a matter of historical course because of the centralised nature of the socialist economy proved to be a stubborn obstacle on the way of perestroika, Gorbachev had to uproot it, calling it by the name 'administrative commandist method!' Against the task of paving the way to production of plenty and building the socialist man for transition from socialism to communism, what good has the counterrevolutionary blueprint of glasnost and perestroika achieved? Restoration of capitalism with its market economy, disruption of the centralised economic structure, dismantling of the socialist state and the party, and, finally, disintegration of the USSR. But Gorbachev, Yeltsin and their accomplices have no regrets. For, through pursuit of their revisionist-reformist and then unabashed capitalist policies, they were hellbent to slaughter communism.

#### WORKING CLASS'S OWN INTELLIGENTSIA

The course the Soviet people had taken under Stalin in the thirties was wholly different. With the completion of the reconstruction of industry and agriculture by the end of the second five year plan in 1937, the Soviet economy found itself equipped with the most advanced techniques in the world. The titanic labour of technical requirements was directly guided by Stalin. He personally acquainted himself with all the details of the work of technical reconstruction of industry and agriculture, inspiring and enthusing workers and engineers, factory managers and economic administrators, inventors and designers. A major problem of this socialist reconstruction the party had to tackle was the training by the Soviet society of its own cadres, the creation by the Soviet people and primarily by the working class of its own intelligentsia. This was one of the cardinal problems of socialist construction. Stalin regarded the development of the cultural forces of the working class as one of the decisive factors of socialist construction. He said, "Among the ruling classes that have hitherto existed, the working class, as a ruling class, occupies a rather unique and not altogether favourable position in history. All ruling classes till now—the slave owners, the landowners, the capitalists—were also wealthy classes. They were able to educate their sons in the science and art of government. The working class differs from them, among other things, in that it is not only not a wealthy class, that formerly was not able to educate its sons in the science

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and art of government, and has become able to do so only now, after it has come to power.

That, incidentally, is the reason why the question of a cultural revolution is so acute with us." Explaining that the Soviet society, in order to set technique going, needed people educated in the Marxian science and imbued with socialist value, who also mustered technique, he said, "It is time to realize that of all the valuable capital the world possesses, the most valuable and most decisive is people, cadres." Stalin's call awakened a wide response among the masses and aroused in them a new labour enthusiasm, and there arose the mighty Stakhanovite movement which set an example in mastering technique and in socialist productivity of labour with millions imbued with the sense of responsibility to society and engaging in voluntary labour with no wage or little wage.

#### 'STALIN CONSTITUTION' EMBODIMENT OF PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY

The socialist construction of the entire national economy brought about a radical change in the correlation of classes in the country. This called for changes in the Constitution which had been adopted in the 1922. A Constitution Commission of thirtyone historians, economists and political scientists under Stalin's chairmanship prepared a draft of a new Constitution. This draft was thrown open for a nation-wide discussion which continued for five and a half months. There was not a corner in the country where this document was not studied and discussed. The American journalist Anna Louise Strong, who was present in the USSR in that period and who witnessed the socialist construction, writes: "The method of adoption was highly significant. For a year the Commission studied all historic forms both of states and of voluntary societies—through which men have organised for joint aims. Then a proposed draft was tentatively approved in the 1936 by the government and submitted to the people in sixty million copies. For months, every newspaper was full of people's letters. Some 1,54,000 amendments were proposed, many of course, duplicates, and many others more suitable for a legal code rather than a Constitution. Fortythree amendments were actually made by this popular initiative...."

"The Constitution was a direct challenge to Nazi-Fascism then in power in Germany. The Nazis called democracy outworn; all Soviet speakers hailed democracy and socialism as 'unconquerable'. Hitler preached 'superior and inferior races'. Stalin challenged him in one of the most sweeping statements ever made of human equality. Neither language nor colour of skin nor cultural backwardness or stage of political development justify national and race inequality". Was Stalin, and for that matter, are communists anti-democratic and dictator?

What political and social power was it that shaped human creativity on such a gigantic scale and in such varied spheres in economic, political and social transformations? Bourgeois democracy, is proud of its historical contribution of individual freedom and universal suffrage. The socialist contribution to the history of democracy is different in content and dimension. As the vehicle of real, not mythical, democracy for the masses of people, the socialist contribution in the Soviet Union, under Stalin's leadership, could unbind a creative energy from within the fabric of the society that was lull for thousands of years. When unbound, it swept away all obstacles on its way.

#### TRUTH OF MOSCOW TRIAL

While the besmirched fascism the working class movement and bespattered the democratic strivings of the best people in the civilized world, an open trial began in Moscow in which the Trotsky-Bukharin group was charged with crimes of espionage and sabotaging. The Soviet courts disclosed the crimes of the Trotsky-Bukharin group and sentenced them to be shot. No other event of the Soviet Union in those years received so much of propaganda adversity in the bourgeois press as this one. And, perhaps, on no other issue could they falsify truth and confuse people so much as over this event. Let us glean a few sentences from the confidential report to US Secretary of State by Joseph Davis, the then US Ambassador to Moscow, to throw a little light: "...the so-called treason or purge trials of 1937 and 1938 ...I have attended and listened to....In reexamining the record of the cases and also what I had written at that time from the new angle, I found that practically every device of German Fifth Columnist activity, as we now know it, was disclosed and laid bare by the confessions and testimony eliciting at the trials of self-confessed 'quislings' in Russia....And these trials, purges and liquidations which seemed so violent at the time and shocked the world are now quite clearly a part of a vigorous and determined effort of Stalin government to protect itself from not only revolution from without. They went to work thoroughly to clean up and clear out all treasonable elements within the country. All doubts were resolved in favour of the government. There were no Fifth Columnists in Russia in 1941—they had shot them. The purge had cleansed the country and rid of treason....The most extraordinary part of this trial from a western outlook is that there should have been such a trial at all. The accused had all entered the plea of guilty. There remained nothing for the court to do but to hear possible pleas for clemency and to adjudge the fact and sentence the accused".

In the extraordinary situation of the years before the war, amidst the intrigues and subversive bids against the revolution, the party and the state commission of mistakes was not unnatural. Stalin himself

said later in self-criticism: "It cannot be said that the purge was not accompanied by grave mistakes. There were unfortunately more mistakes than might have been expected." (Report to Eighteenth Party Congress) Anna Louise Strong asked and answered the question: "Was the story credible? Most of the Press outside the USSR called it frameups. Most people who sat in the court room, including the foreign delegates, thought the story true. Ambassador Davis says in his book 'Mission to Moscow' that he believes the defendants guilty as charged. D. N. Pritt, eminent lawyer and British Member of Parliament, was similarly convinced. Edurant C. Carter, Secretary General of the Institute of Pacific Relations, wrote: "The Kremlin's case is...terribly genuine. It makes sense...is convincing." Even Khrushchev's comprehensive attack on excesses of this period does not say that any of the open trials were a fraud.

For me, as I listened to the defendants, often from only a few feet away, the process by which once revolutionary leaders became...seemed understandable." It was the hallmark of Stalin's character that he observed the supreme principles of revolution both in merciless sacrifice of everything for the cause of revolution and in self-criticism, admission of mistakes and efforts for rectification. Only the diehard anti-communists would impute motive in his steps and mistakes.

The war years followed. Through all the trials and tribulations, the cementing leadership and the revolutionary and military genius of the man mapped the road to victory of the Soviet people and the Red Army in the Great Patriotic War. It was a testimony to the masterly direction Stalin gave to the Red Army; to his supreme ability as a revolutionary statesman; to his unwavering confidence in the people, his love for them, the party comrades, the armymen and the generals. The German military authorities offered to release his captured son in exchange for release of a captured German general. To this his reply was that the release of a General could not be secured in exchange of the release of a soldier. That was the man all whose soul had one and only orientation—for revolution, for the masses of the people whose interest the revolution upheld.

Then the years of rebuilding a war-devastated country. The losses went far beyond those of all the allies together. But reconstruction began even before victory. At a speed never known in history the Soviet land rebuilt itself from ashes into a great power. At the helm, under the banner of communism, was the great pilot, friend, teacher and leader—Stalin.

After Lenin's death, the issues in the party and the treachery of the left and right social democrats, the imperative demands of the socialist construction and transformation and consolidation of the socialist state entailed answering a host of theoretical questions by elaborating and enriching Marxism Leninism. Stalin answered

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them, which expositions and formulations became his contribution to the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. Elaborating Lenin's thesis on the relative stability of the world capitalist market, he showed that it had disappeared after the Second World War and the production in the capitalist world, although rising in volume, was falling in rate.

#### AMONG HIS CONTRIBUTIONS-

Of particular significance is his steadfast defence of the Leninist concept of war, peace and peaceful coexistence. He exposed the falsity of fanciful belief in the peaceable intentions of the imperialists and emphasized the importance of the revolutionary content of the theory of peaceful coexistence. It could never mean peaceful capitulation to the imperialists, which the revisionist clique from Khrushchev to Gorbachev-Yeltsin practised and are practising. The concept of peaceful coexistence grew out of need for the development of socialism in one country in capitalist encirclement, later for the advancement of the socialist world system and as a protection for the colonies and semi-colonies against imperialist interventions and for acceleration of the proletarian struggles in the metropolitan countries. Stalin pursued this policy to unleash a tide in national liberation movement and in proletarian struggles all over the world. He pointed to the limited objective of the pacifist aim of the post Second World War peace movement and the present-day peace movement as a movement for the preservation of peace if it succeeds. "The task of advancing the struggle results in preventing a particular war, in its postponement, in the temporary preservation of a particular peace....that of course, will be good. Even very good. But all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of war between capitalist countries generally.... To eliminate the inevitability of war it is necessary to abolish imperialism."

People who give lip service to Marxism-Leninism but never practise it in the way Lenin and Stalin practised and taught to practise often point to the post Second World War economic rise of Japan and Germany to argue that capitalism has not been exhausted; it still retains power to develop. Such arguments, in different forms, had been raised during the period of preparation for the October Revolution and after the revolution itself. Stalin's revolutionary farsightedness led him to point out back in 1952: "Let us pass to the major vanquished countries, Germany (West) and Japan. These countries are now languishing in misery under the jackboot of American imperialism. Their industry and agriculture, their trade, their foreign and home policies, and their whole life are fettered by the American occupation 'regime.' Yet only yesterday these countries were great imperialist powers, and were shaking the foundations of the domination of Britain, the USA and France in Europe

and Asia. To think that these countries will not try to get on their feet again, will not try to smash the US "regime," is to believe in miracles." If only one should be alive to the acute economic crisis now gripping the USA and Britain and the fierce economic struggle breaking out between these countries and Japan and Germany, and if only one would recall the US president's last visit to Japan and its outcome, one should be all full of tributes to the veritable pinnacle of Marxist-Leninist understanding Stalin reached.

#### WHY SELF-CRITICISM

The task to build the socialist man, among others, lay ahead. One pre-requisite was to equip the party and the class equal to this task. Stalin, following Marx, Engels and Lenin, emphasized the essence of this task time and again. Discussing the problems of Leninism, he said: "If the Marxist-Leninist teaching of our cadres begins to languish, if our work of raising the political and theoretical level of these cadres falls, and the cadres themselves cease on account of this to show interest in the prospect of our further progress, cease to understand the truth of our cause and are transformed into narrow plodders with no outcome, blindly and mechanically carrying out instructions from above—then our entire state and party work must inevitably languish. It must be accepted as an axiom that the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the workers in any branch of the state and party work, the better and more fruitful will be the work itself, and more effective the results of the work; and vice versa, the lower the political level of the workers, and the less they are imbued with knowledge of Marxism-Leninism the greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work, of the workers themselves becoming shallow and deteriorating into paltry plodders, of their degenerating altogether".

At the last Party Congress he attended (19th Congress, October, 1952) important decisions were taken in regard to consolidation of ideological centralism, among others, through criticism and self-criticism from below. But Stalin had not lived to guide and lead this task. Long back, in late twenties, when the Soviet Union was on the road to socialist construction, Stalin explained the significance and importance of self-criticism in these words: "There is only one conclusion that without self-criticism there can be no proper education of the party, the class, and the masses, and without proper education of the party, the class, and the masses, there can be no Bolshevism....But in order to develop self-criticism, we must first overcome a number of obstacles standing in the way of the party. These include the cultural backwardness of the masses; the inadequate cultural forces of the proletarian vanguard, our conservatism, our 'communist vainglory' and so on. But one of the most serious obstacles, if not the most serious of all, is the bureaucracy of

our apparatus. I am referring to the bureaucratic elements to be found in our party, government, trade union, cooperative and all other organizations. I am referring to the bureaucratic elements who batten on our weaknesses and errors, who fear like the plague all criticism by the masses, all control by the masses, and who hinder us in developing self-criticism and ridding ourselves of our weaknesses and errors...It is not just any kind of self-criticism that we need. We need such self-criticism as will raise the cultural level of the working class, enhance fighting spirit, fortify its failures in victory, augment its strength and help it become the real master of the country." Stalin had undertaken the task, despite immensity of difficulties in leading the country to socialist reconstruction and rebuilding it after war devastation. After Stalin's death, with the modern revisionists usurping the leadership in the party and the state; availing themselves of the mechanical thought process and the lowering of ideological standard in the party, this task of overcoming the cultural backwardness of the masses, of removing the bureaucratic elements and the roots of bureaucracy was not carried out. The Khrushchevite revisionist leadership grew into an all-pervasive pattern, culminating in the Gorbachev-Yeltsin renegade leadership and the collapse of the Soviet socialist system and the socialist states of East Europe. This is a course in retrogression, a retreat in a direction opposite of what Stalin pursued and stood for, holding aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

#### EVALUATING STALIN

To look forward now we have to look into the past also, back into this history of the October Socialist Revolution. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the departed leader, teacher and an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era showed us:

"The qualities of Stalin which have been characterised as his negative qualities are yet to be established beyond doubt as such on the basis of proper understanding of communist ethics.... Communist moral is fundamentally different from humanist moral values both in content and character. In the annals of human society, humanism is not the last word. It is undoubtedly the most lively air that the oppressive bourgeois thinking is capable of producing. But the march of progress of society does not stop there and hence the sense of moral values does not find its zenith in humanism. Communism begins where humanism ends." The life and struggle of Stalin, of all the great leaders of communist movement, can be understood and evaluated truthfully only if they are seen in the light of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, communist morals and values. Because, all life they strove to hold this banner high and struggled to attain this communist quality of character to rid society of the bourgeois fetters.

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It is a lesson of human experience and knowledge that the proper assessment of the role of an individual requires not only a correct appraisal of his defects and shortcomings but also a due appreciation of his services and contributions. Stalin had his shortcomings and defects. He made mistakes and in proper tune with the communist sense of ethics himself acknowledged the mistakes in the spirit of self-criticism. To malign and denigrate Stalin would be to malign and denigrate the Marxian science, the highest step of human understanding of truth. Comrade Ghosh observed : Stalin's understanding of Leninism is the correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism. This understanding has brought the communist movement to its present stature. To black out Stalin would have the inevitable result of dishonouring his authority and, consequently, of rejecting his interpretation of Leninism. It would objectively uncrown Lenin himself."

That has happened, bringing in its trail this havoc in the world communist movement.

#### THE BEHEST

It befalls now the communists of the world to fulfil the behest of Comrade Lenin and Comrade Stalin : to uphold the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism and resolutely fight revisionism, reformism, opportunism and capitulationism of all shades ; to stem the tide of reaction and turn it into revolutionary fervour ; to learn from mistakes and concretely analyse the concrete situation ; to strive for enhancing the Marxist education and steeling the revolutionary character ; to fight on and reach the revolutionary goal.

The fight is on. People in larger numbers in the Soviet Union are taking to the streets, protesting against treachery and abysmal conditions now engulfing life there. All over the world struggle is on against capitalist-imperialist exploitation and oppression. The grievous setback in the world communist movement, while it has clouded partly people's view with confusion, has its silver lining in the growing protests of the masses everywhere ; in the rethinking that has set in them in the aftermath of the debacle. The frenzy whipped up by the capitalist-imperialist propaganda in the wake of the debacle in the socialist camp has begun to subside. And harsh reality is asserting itself to spur the masses on to the road to protest. The conspirators of the anti-socialist revisionist upsurge appear to be on the retreat. They await the fate all despised traitors have ever been condemned to by history.

But spontaneous agitations by themselves never lead to way out. This lesson of history must not be forgotten. Struggle must be united with revolutionary consciousness, when the road will emerge to lead to the revolutionary goal. This setback is temporary. Because, the law of social development will inexorably assert towards the communist goal of society. But for revolution to be brought to birth will be needed organized, planned and conscious intervention. There comes the role of conscious participation, the role of the organized apparatus. The communists of the world have this role to play and rally all forces that can be rallied now against the capitalist-imperialist and revisionist-reformist consolidation ; to unite among themselves and prepare to deal a decisive blow against the enemy of humanity, the

enemy of socialism. By striving to carry out this task must we pay our tribute to Comrade J.V Stalin and other giant leaders of the communist movement.

**Long Live Comrade J V Stalin**  
**Long Live Revolution**  
**Long Live Proletarian Internationalism**

Statement about ownership and other particulars about newspaper PROLETARIAN ERA to be published in the first issue after last day of February.

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I, Sukomal Dasgupta hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Sd/-

SUKOMAL DASGUPTA  
Signature of Publisher

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# 18th All India Conference of the UTUC(LS)

**CALCUTTA 14TH-17TH MARCH 1992**

**Open Session : 14th March-the Karl Marx Day, Saheed Minar, 3PM**

**Delegate Session : 15-17 March, Netaji Indoor Stadium**

**Concluding Session : 17th March, 4-30PM Netaji Indoor Stadium**

**Reception to Fraternal Labour Leaders of China, Cuba, Iraq, Bangladesh, WFTU, ILO**

**Main Speaker : Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI**

**President : Comrade Pritish Chanda, President, UTUC(LS)**

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

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