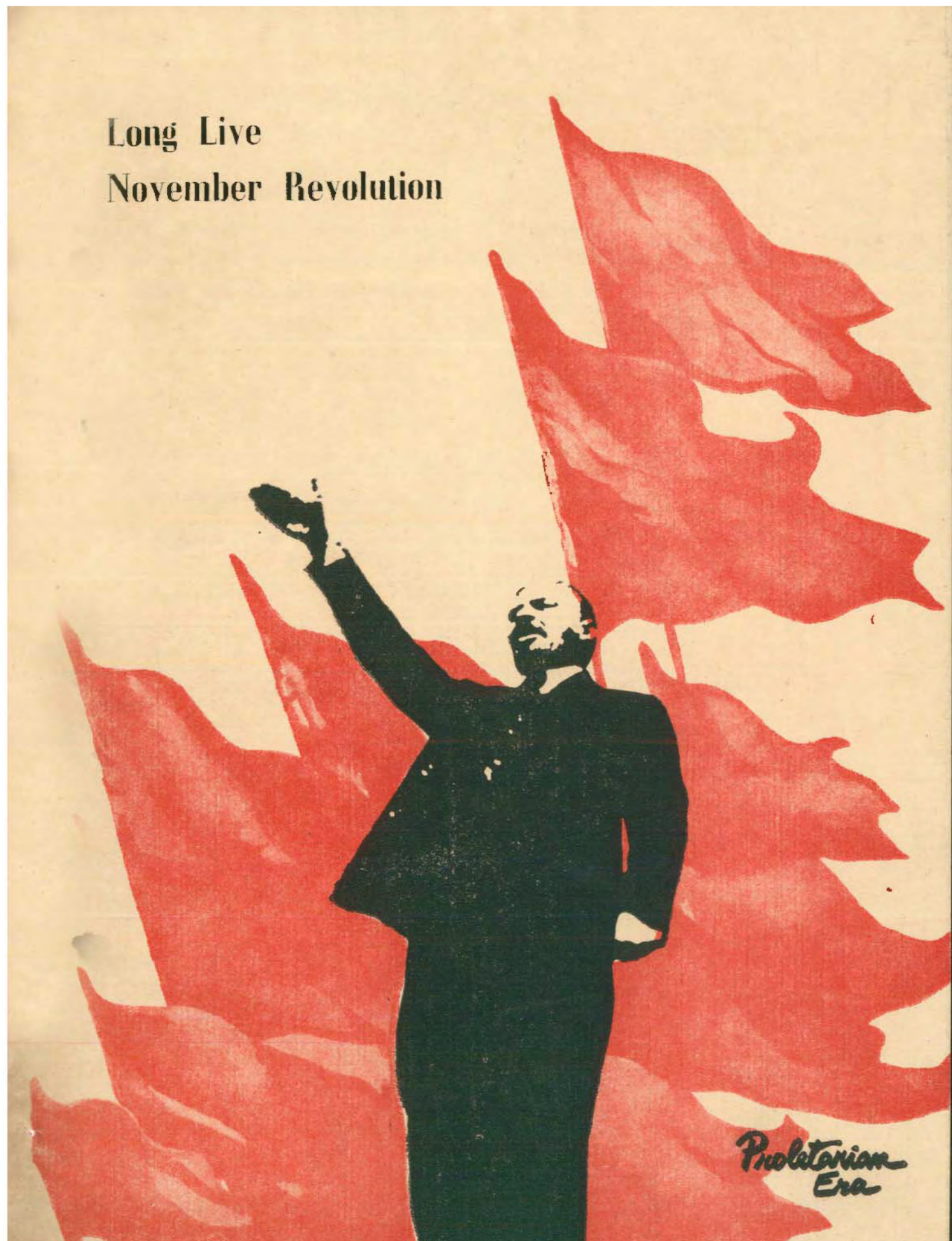


Long Live
November Revolution



*Proletarian
Era*

Editorial

Seventy-four years ago occurred in Russia in the month of November an event of epoch-making significance under the illumining guidance of Great Lenin and the Bolshevik Party - the Great November Socialist Revolution. It was a turning point in history, heralding a new era - the era of proletarian revolution.

Events of life and history have borne out how this revolution did not only turn a vast, poor and backward country like Russia into a happy and prosperous one but also did act as a source of inspiration to the revolutionary movements in countries across the world and to the Soviet Union to stand erect as a steadfast defender of peace and freedom struggle in any country against imperialist attacks and intrigues. World people witnessed upheavals of successful revolutions in China, North Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba and in a number of east European countries and a mighty surge of anti-imperialist freedom struggle in many Afro-Asian and Latin American countries in the post Second World War situation - all of which drew lesson from and were inspired by the November Revolution in Russia. Ingrained also in the mind of all of us is how the valiant people of the Soviet Union under the able leadership of another giant communist leader, Stalin, after Lenin, could put a halt to the savage attack and menacing march of Hitlerite fascism and save humanity from the worst catastrophe.

This is all history which can be denied or frowned upon with distrust only by those who, whatever the lofty slogans in their mouth, are all enemies of civilization, progress and mankind. It is indeed sad that counterrevolution has completed the process of restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and some countries of east Europe for sometime past, inflicting immeasurable damage to the cause of world proletarian revolution. Even then it would be a crime to deny or try to wish away this past history and to fail to draw correct lessons from this epochmaking revolution. We, therefore, pay our heart-felt tribute and offer Red Salute to this memorable event from the core of our heart and hope that all lovers of socialism, peace, progress and democracy still nurture with firmness and conviction a sense of pride, admiration, esteem and hope for future in the teachings of Great November Revolution.

It is obvious that the pathetic plight into which the international communist movement has plunged today has not come about overnight. Nor is it correct to believe that this was nothing but inevitable. What is urgent at this moment, while drawing lessons which the November Revolution holds out in bold relief, is to understand deeply and correctly the basic reason behind this turnabout. We are to recall here the teachings of

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our Party and an eminent Marxist thinker and philosopher of the era, who analysed on the anvil of Marxian science how revisionism became entrenched deeply in the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet State when the revisionist Khrushchev clique usurped the leadership of the CPSU at the 20th Congress and wrought havoc in the communist movement slowly but surely. Without going into detailed analyses of the policies followed during the Khrushchev period on the questions of war, peace, peaceful transition to socialism, the concept of 'Party of the whole People', 'State of the whole People' which undermined the necessity of conducting class struggle during the period of dictatorship of the proletariat and wrongly interpreted the scientific theory of peaceful coexistence of two social systems by divorcing it from its revolutionary essence and practising capitulationism to the US policy of nuclear blackmail, utterly neglecting ideological struggle leading to abominable lowering of standard of consciousness of the leaders and the rank-and-file and, above all, running after increase of production anyhow without caring for imbuing the working class ideologically and violating the economic law of socialism, it may be said with certainty that nationally and internationally the communist movement landed itself into a disaster. The same practice of revisionism was followed, in the main, during the Brezhnev period and even afterwards without any relent. The final blow has however come from Gorbachev.

After coming to power, the Gorbachev leadership adopted a series of measures under the garb of glasnost and perestroika including changing the basic structure of the Constitution, incorporating in it the right to individual property, concentrating unlimited power in the hands of the President and making profit, if not maximum profit, the key point of production—measures which it was able to get through easily at different congresses, plenums, etc., due to the low level of consciousness of the delegates. A time came when the nodal point was reached and the motive force of production and production relation underwent finally a qualitative change in retrograde direction and brought about in its wake nothing but capitalism. This is what the counterrevolutionary blueprint of glasnost and perestroika has done to the Soviet society in particular.

Now, following the restoration of capitalism through counterrevolution led by the reactionary Gorbachev clique, the Soviet Union is engulfed in an all-pervasive economic, political and cultural crisis and as a result deep indignation and a sense of national humiliation have gripped the people. Not only that; beggary, prostitution, crime, and decadent bourgeois culture -

all of which were things of the past—have been appearing again in the Soviet society. The nationality and the ethnic problems which were so scientifically tackled and resolved largely during the period of Stalin who was entrusted personally with this responsibility by no less a leader than Lenin himself, are rearing their ugly head now pushing the country to the brink of total disintegration. Following the behest of Lenin, Stalin solved these problems in the past in the spirit of internationalism. But now all sorts of narrow and clannish mentality as also an arrogant feeling of Russian chauvinism spear-headed particularly by Yeltsin to the delight of US imperialists are leading the country to extreme balkanization. None should miss a very pertinent point that whereas the Great November Revolution was followed by a course of cohesion, unity and fellow-feeling of different people, coalescing all nationalities into a gradual emergence of a strong voluntary union of so many republics—now counterrevolution has released an ugly force just in the opposite direction inviting more and more splits and catastrophe. No amount of patchwork now hawked by Gorbachev to retain some sort of a 'Confederation' can solve the basic problem. It may also be noted that these developments in the Soviet Union have been highly welcome by Bush, Major, Kohl and their cohorts in the hope that they can very soon turn this country into a pastureland for imperialist exploitation.

In this context mention may be made of the recent attempt to overthrow Gorbachev from power. It should be kept in mind that the way the attempt to capture power was made was not in consonance with Marxist-Leninist principles, norms and values. It is important to remember one great teaching of the November Revolution in this connection that no basic and radical change of society is possible without a correct base political line, necessary mass awakening, and mass upsurge under the leadership of a genuine working class party. This is why the Eight Member Emergency Committee failed in their attempt although it is true that in their policy statement the Soviet people's sentiment was vindicated largely.

Be that as it may, one thing is certain. Reports have been pouring in in the international press that so many forces, whatever be their line of thinking, are now taking a bold stand against Gorbachev-Yeltsin & Co. supposedly in defence of Lenin and Stalin. Anti-communist hysteria may even now be the dominant trend, painfully at that, but there is also a current against this trend, however feeble. A good section of older generation has come out openly on the streets to defend the statue of Lenin to whom the history and

mankind are greatly indebted. Whatever canard is being let loose against Stalin by the capitalist-imperialists and their revisionist agents, the class conscious proletariat of the Soviet Union know it well that the memory of this great man can never be erased from history which is written in the letters of gold. Besides, the depth of a severe economic crisis that has gripped the Soviet Union and the east European countries cannot go unresented by the people there. The class conscious proletariat the world over, including of the Soviet Union, cannot remain a silent spectator to this sorry state of affair and resign themselves to fatalism, despair and despondency. They clearly understand that these are nothing but temporary setbacks in the communist movement, although very severe at that. They know that the wheel of social change towards progress can be halted for sometime at best, but cannot be stopped altogether. Nor can society take a course for all time to come in an entirely opposite direction and against law of development. They know that Marxism is invincible, being based on science, that is truth—as inexorable is the law of social development. Capitalism, completely outworn and moribund, can at best create some confusion and illusion temporarily in a section of misguided and uncritical common people and intelligentsia, but it has no future at all. In fact, the teachings of November Revolution are calling unto the class conscious proletariat to take up the cudgel and rise to the occasion. The anti-thesis of capitalism restored is sure to assert and re-assert itself, today or tomorrow. This is the redeeming feature, the silver lining in the dark cloud. The beacon of November Revolution is glowing radiantly and will continue to glow. Let a tide of protest movement sweep the world—a tide comprising all patriotic and freedom-loving people—against the neo-colonial attacks of imperialism in general and US imperialism in particular. Let debates, intense ideological struggles start afresh against revisionism in general and counterrevolutionary blueprint of glasnost and perestroika in particular among the genuine communists to reach ideological and organisational unity. Let all the genuine communists come forward to forge this unity to further the cause of November Revolution with renewed vigour. Let a single spark turn into a prairie fire of revolution.

Long Live Great November Revolution !

Long Live Marxism-Leninism and Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts !

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism !

Long Live the SUCI !

Marxism-Leninism Lives For Ever

Nihar Mukherjee

On 24th April, 1991, a meeting of party workers, supporters and sympathisers was held at the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts at Ghatsila in Bihar to observe the 43rd foundation anniversary of our party, the SUCI. Addressing the meeting our beloved General Secretary, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, dwelt on some very important aspects of Marxism-Leninism and explained in that light the present serious developments in the international situation. In view of the immense relevance of this analysis to the occasion of the Great November Revolution, we decided to publish it. An edited and translated version of the speech is given below. Responsibility for errors in rendering or for any misrepresentation lies with us.—Board of Editors, Proletarian Era.

Comrades,

In an unprecedentedly critical international and national situation this year, we have assembled today to observe the 43rd anniversary of our party. The international communist movement, you know, has suffered an unprecedented setback. Consequently, the growth of anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist struggles in different countries has been stunted, even if temporarily. The forces of war in international politics have no doubt gained over the forces of peace. In the Soviet Union and east Europe socialism has been destroyed and capitalism restored in its place, casting influence upon developments in other socialist countries. The renegade Soviet leaders are abegging the imperialists for aid and investment at any cost. Such malignancy of crisis-ridden capitalism as chronic unemployment, price rise, retrenchment, beggary, crimes, moral depravity, sex perversion, prostitution and all that which were completely unknown in these socialist countries are fast spreading in them. The Gulf War, on the other, underlined with brutal clarity what prospect the changed situation held for the third world countries.

For people having some idea about the current international developments it is not difficult to see that this turn in the global situation was triggered by the downfall of the socialist countries. It is this which gave the capitalist-imperialists and the reactionaries all over

the world an undreamt-of opportunity to mount fresh onslaughts upon all struggles for peace and progress. Naturally, the progressive and peace-loving people of all countries have been shocked and pained at this unthinkable development in the socialist countries. Reactionaries of all brands are seizing upon this opportunity to destroy by all means the great admiration, love and esteem of the masses for the noble ideology of socialism and communism. A hate campaign has been let loose against communism with aim to drive the belief among the masses that Marxism is outdated, that it stands for totalitarian and dictatorial rule and is, therefore, inimical to the ideal of democracy, freedom and individual liberty.

It must be recognized here that due to long practice of revisionism since the days of Khrushchev the international communist movement had become so weak within, both ideologically and organisationally, and so much blinded by ideological confusions over the fundamental questions that in the name of Marxism it was gripped by an utterly non-Marxist outlook and ideas. This provided the reactionaries everywhere the greatest scope to denigrate communism before not only the common people but a sizable section of the intellectuals also. This reality cannot be denied.

The struggle of the downtrodden, the future of mankind itself, is at stake in these changed circumstances. Capitalism-imperialism has won a fresh lease of life to tighten its grip of exploitation and oppression on people more than ever before. It would be impossible to guard people's interests, including in our country, against the imminent fascist attacks unless conviction, confidence and esteem for the truth of invincibility of Marxism-Leninism are revived in them. The struggle between truth and falsehood, between what is good for mankind and what is evil, between the forces of revolution and the forces of counterrevolution is at its most fierce stage now.

It has, therefore, to be critically examined and understood whether these developments invalidate

Marxism-Leninism, or whether they serve to re-emphasise its validity even more firmly and indisputably than before.

Marxism is the only philosophy which helps determine truth correctly

I need explain to you in brief what is really meant by Marxism, why it is superior to all other philosophies and why, ultimately, it is the only and indispensable instrument of emancipation of the masses from exploitation and oppression of moribund capitalism—not only in the sense of winning economic and political rights but of fulfilling the moral, cultural, scientific, artistic and aesthetic aspirations and sense of values.

The philosophy of Marxism-Leninism is universal. In other words, its basis is the scientific method to reveal the objective truth, that is, the objective laws of development of all material phenomena and in every domain, whether natural or social. It is common knowledge that problems and questions in countless numbers in both spheres confront mankind ceaselessly; and they will do so always. Naturally, for those who strive to know the true essence of phenomena in order to resolve the problems, a scientifically coordinated and comprehensive method of analysis is a must.

This calls for an integral world outlook or a philosophy based on science, that is on scientific approach and methodology and not on individual perception or subjective approach. It is precisely this scientific basis which has made Marxism distinctly different from and superior to all other philosophies, because all other philosophies depend upon individual judgement of the philosophers rather than upon scientific investigation to know truth. Individual perception of reality which is not based on scientific method of investigation is one-sided, incomplete and inadequate in the first place. Second, to say the final word about anything is beyond the capacity of even the greatest of minds at any time, because everything in this universe is in a process of constant change. Individual thought is limited by time which even the greatest intellectuals cannot supersede. Therefore, individual perception or realisation cannot but be subjective. It can never be the yardstick of truth.

A question may arise here that in that event what is the point of discussing Marxism since it was not surely possible for Marx also to visualise and provide ready answers to all questions of the future. Indeed it is

this cheap logic which the bourgeois press is dishing out to confuse the uncritical mind against Marxism or truth for that matter. But Marx did never analyse things or arrive at conclusions basing himself on individual belief or perception. He based himself on scientifically verified objective reality or facts. On this count, the observations of the greatest thinkers of the past and the present cannot be on a par with Marx's. Second, the basic tenets of Marxism stand on fundamentals of science which are valid for all time to come in the sense that the understanding of these fundamentals will develop with time but the development will not be anarchic in its course but will be law governed, that is deterministic. The particular scientific formulations applicable in one domain may not be applicable in another, or may prove to be inadequate in comparison to an improved formulation at a different period, their fundamental scientific premise remaining valid nevertheless. So the question of science itself, that is scientific methodology or objective approach of science becoming obsolete is preposterous. So also the claim that Marxism has become obsolete because of the present developments in the Soviet Union or in east Europe is illogical to say the least. Third, it was not for Marx to answer himself all questions of the future. He bequeathed to the posterity a scientific method of analysis with which to reveal truth and unearth the root of all problems confronting man or which may confront him in future. It is for this firm scientific foundation that Marxism would never be obsolete and outmoded. Like the procession of life through ages, Marxism lives for ever, drawing its sustenance from the womb of objective reality, and growing and developing through struggle in changing circumstances.

Dialectical Materialism stands on experimentally verified foundations of modern science

The foundation of Marxism or Dialectical Materialism is the experimentally verified and universally applicable fundamental tenets of modern science as have been established in different branches of science, namely Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Economics, etc. These sciences, or branches of science notwithstanding, emergence of a scientific philosophy was needed to comprehend the material world fully, because although each of these sciences was capable of discovering the particular laws of development of matter in its particular domain, yet they could not discover the universal or general laws of motion of the material world as a whole and, therefore, could not provide mankind with a total and comprehensive picture

of what Lenin described, "matter as a philosophical category". They were discovered for the first time by Marx by dialectically coordinating, integrating and generalising the particular truths discovered by these particular branches of science. This is the scientific foundation of Marxism. Thus Marxism is a philosophy, but not merely a philosophy like every other philosophy. It is a science as well, in fact the science of all sciences. This is the reason why obsolescence of Marxism is impossible, like that of science, despite the continuous change all around us. Rather such a proposition would be a contradiction in itself.

Source of strength of Marxism lies in its discovery of hidden laws of development of phenomena

Marxism always analyses each phenomenon concretely. Its objective premise is that in this ever-changing world, where nothing is eternal or permanent, there can be nothing like absolute or eternal truth as believed in other philosophies. Truth is rather always concrete, relative and precise. The universally applicable scientific premises of Marxism should also be understood as fundamental concepts which are to be realised concretely and relatively, rather than as abstract, abstruse or eternal dogmas. Such is their true dialectical materialist understanding. That is why Marxism has always been concretised, elaborated and enriched further by giant Marxists like Lenin, Stalin or Mao Zedong. It is due to this dynamic character, that is the inherent capacity to recognise and analyse the changed reality correctly and thereby develop itself continuously, that there is no question of Marxism being outdated in relation to the changed times and situation. Rather, the fact is that Marxism alone has emphasised and elaborated the ever-changing, temporary and transitory character of every phenomenon arising in a process of ceaseless development. Take for instance the growth of an infant into an adult. At any instant the change is imperceptible. Nevertheless, the change goes on ceaselessly.

Marxism has revealed the laws which are responsible for this, as no other philosophy could do. The change is often so subtle that it may not be perceived always. Following it, the child of yesterday has grown into a boy or a girl of today and again the boy or girl of today will grow into a young man or woman tomorrow. In the very same way, youth gradually passes into old age and one day death follows. Throughout this entire process, the mutually exclusive

and contradictory aspects of life and death, or creation and destruction if you will, can be observed to be continuously interacting upon one another—through unity and struggle, harmony and conflict in a simultaneous way—right from the moment of emergence to that of elimination of the phenomenon. This is the universal law of coming into being, gradual development into maturity, and going out of being of all phenomena. Following this inexorable law, every phenomenon comes into being and just as surely goes out of being. At the same time there is not a single phenomenon of going out of being, or death, or destruction in the material world, which ends in itself. Each going out of being is at the same time a phenomenon of new creation, a new coming into being also. In this ongoing process of change, the destruction or extinction of particular phenomena at once transforms into creation or emergence of newer phenomena. The antagonistic processes of creation and extinction are actually so interrelated and interwoven that it is indeed impossible to separate them. Continuity of change is ensured in this way in both nature and human society, giving rise to newer phenomena continuously while consigning the old to history. Therefore, knowing the world truly means grasping consciously these inherent laws of development of the material world. And they can be truly grasped with the help of only dialectical materialism, for it alone has revealed and elaborated them scientifically.

True realization of Marxism is dialectical and not mechanical

But to resolve the problems of life and society in the light of Dialectical Materialism, one must also learn to apply it dialectically. It means that it helps in no way to mechanically follow or ditto Marx or Engels. It should be recognized that each given situation or problem is different from every other. While applying the dialectical method of analysis, Marx or Engels might have reached a particular conclusion in respect of a particular problem. Applying it in a changed and different circumstance one may reasonably reach a different conclusion. The nature of the change—whether it is partial, considerable yet not total, or total should determine how should the earlier conclusions be changed—whether they should be only partially modified, or completely modified or the conclusion remaining unaltered its understanding should be developed to a higher level. If, in addition to these, there appears a hitherto unique phenomenon with fundamentally new properties, then this unique

experience also will have to be dialectically analysed and incorporated in the treasurehouse of Marxism. It follows, therefore, that in order to keep pace with ever-changing reality, Marxists need continuously develop the understanding of the Marxist philosophy through assimilating continuously mankind's achievements in every branch of epistemology. This is why Marxism can never become a dead word or a dogma. Those who fail to realise it and fail to develop Marxism will degenerate and be thrown into the dustbin of history, all their Marxist rhetorics notwithstanding. But Marxism will not degenerate for that. Those who accuse the communists of dogmatic allegiance to Marxism fail to realise all this. These are by no means academic or abstract questions. Rather much of today's problems are directly connected with all these. So, without a critical and precise understanding of these, it is useless to talk of Marxism in general terms. It must be borne that true understanding of Marxism-Leninism is its concretised, developed and enriched understanding in relation to contemporary developments. Thus, correct application of Marxism means its concrete application. It is the most vital test of whether or not one has grasped Marxism truly, that is creatively. Because, application of the general Marxist principles to a concrete phenomenon is bound to give rise to contradictions which are inevitable between the general and the particular. This contradiction can be resolved only by applying Marxism creatively, that is dialectically. Those who have understood and applied Marxism in this way have successfully tackled problems, led revolutions and in the process have also developed Marxism, for example, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong. But those within the communist movement who have failed in this struggle have failed to grasp the objective reality, misinterpreting the situation and suggesting wrong solutions to the problems. This wrong process of thinking has finally pushed them into such a position when they went against the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, turned revisionists and, finally, counterrevolutionary traitors to be in virtual service of imperialism-capitalism, wittingly or unwittingly. The question of acquiring the dialectical process of thinking is thus essential to the struggle for grasping Marxism. It is a struggle in the domain of consciousness, very critical and subtle at that. I wish to dwell here only on one aspect of this profound question which has become all so important today.

Marxism-Leninism is not a mere economic or political doctrine, but is the noblest philosophy of life in this age

We study Marxism not for its own sake or to exercise an oratorical skill or parade a pedantic knowledge. Because, Marxism, and no other philosophy, reveals the inherent laws of development of all phenomena, so we are for it. This consciousness unfolds to enjoin us to play our due role in accelerating the course of social progress and revolution. So it is important to realise and remember that one cannot grasp Marxism correctly, its theoretical formulations even, by evading one's obligation to society. A scientific philosophy as it is, theory and practice are inseparably interrelated in Marxism. And only when one is in the thick of this struggle can one truly realise why Marx said: "Hitherto philosophers have only interpreted the world; the point however is to change it." This is the true realisation of the need to learn Marxism and be a Marxist. We learnt it, in our party, from a foremost Marxist thinker of this era, our departed, most beloved leader and teacher, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. We have learnt that failure to grasp Marxism in this way begets a narrow and mechanical outlook. Precisely such mechanisation of thought process in the communist movement has begotten modern revisionism. This is also true for the pseudo-Marxist parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI in our country whose failure to grasp Marxism as a comprehensive philosophy and pursuit of a mechanical outlook instead in the name of Marxism-Leninism is the root cause of their opportunist degeneration.

However, Marxism-Leninism is not economic determinism, nor a mere political doctrine. It is a complete scientific-philosophical outlook of life which truly enables one, when one has its correct grasp, to completely change oneself and in this way change the world itself. If it were not so, how could the illiterate and oppressed factory workers, poor peasants and agricultural labours—people who had never been accorded human dignity and respect under capitalism—throw the capitalist rulers out of power in Russia in November of 1917? What force did transform them to build a new social order superior to capitalism in all respects? How could the ideal spread out across the world, breaking through the counterattacks of the capitalist camp? This instance of the Great November Revolution is among the irrefutable historical evidence to prove that Marxism, as the force which transforms the downtrodden millions into an invincible power to advance civilization, is the noblest philosophy of this

Proletarian Era 17

era. So Marx, while he laid the theoretical foundation for the proletarian revolutionary transformation of the capitalist society, did not limit himself to its political and economic programmes only. He proceeded further and emphasised: 'To change the world workers will have to change themselves first.' What it means will be clear if the instance is brought forth of the Soviet Red Army's supreme heroism and sacrifice against the fascist aggression in the Second World War, or the legendary Long March of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA), or, in not so remote a past, the humiliating defeat the death defying heroic communist fighters in Vietnam inflicted on the mightiest imperialist military power, the USA. Can the painful setback of socialism, or the frenzied vilification by the imperialists wipe out these achievements of socialism?

The secret of what transformed whole nations, not the communist workers alone, into formidable forces, as these instances bear out, lies deeper in the fact of integration of the revolutionary politics with higher proletarian culture, ethics and moral values. This is the inner kernel, the living soul of the philosophy of Marxism. And since the founding of our party in 1948 till his last breath, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had been unceasingly exhorting us to grasp and apply Marxism precisely with this outlook and from this approach. Today, with fast degeneration of morality, culture, values and tastes all around, the need to equip ourselves with this outlook is urgent more than ever before.

Marxism-Leninism alone can ensure success today in the struggle for a healthy moral and cultural atmosphere

Perhaps you will agree with me that no one, at least so long one can, goes astray willingly. But crisis-ridden capitalism is fast eroding this normal trait even and giving birth to a degenerate and depraved mentality. Young boys and girls—even as their intelligence has been growing and they are better informed of than in our times and are more worldly-wise—are falling victim to this malady. But judging by the pattern of their emotional behaviour they evince clear lack of ability to respond to the tenderness of love, affection, care, or to the appeals of responsibility, self-sacrifice, obligation and the like. This incapability of profound emotional response often seeks compensation in desperation and violent, erratic or anarchic outbursts which all are symptoms of lack of a balanced approach to life so characteristic of them today. Even more dangerous is the fact that they do not themselves see

what is wrong in it. Rather they believe that this is just what it is to be. Their parents, after trying different means in vain, are passing sleepless nights in agony and are often veering to a conclusion that all this is due to erosion of old sense of religious values and sense of patriotism, nationalism and self-sacrifice and that the only remedy lies in resurrecting those lost values. There is an element of truth in it, but no more than that.

First of all, the objective reality must be recognised that an ideology, culture or moral values, like everything else, comes into being and goes out of being. The ideology of nationalism and national liberation movement, born of the historical necessity to free the country from colonial rule, ceased to be a living force after colonial India became independent. It can no longer inspire the people today and cannot be resurrected. Anyone trying at that, and some men are, is sure to end up as a confirmed pessimist or cynic.

The present generation is not, however, acquainted with the old values, nor with a philosophy which can guide life today in the right course. So they are suffering in a vacuum in regard to the object of life about which they are not aware themselves. Crisis of ideology is the crux of the problem. Taking advantage of this crisis, the ruling capitalist class is hatching a deliberate conspiracy to break the moral backbone of the youth of India and dehumanise them completely by any means whatsoever with liquor, obscenity and pornography through print media, radio and TV. This is the fascist attack on culture. In the face of this calculated onslaught, how can parents save their wards if only they will try to protect them in isolation? The virus is all around. It is in the air we breathe. The parents try to keep their children away from politics, from what they consider the 'unnecessary troubles' of political 'stirs' and may try to groom them to be 'good boys and girls' in order that they could find good jobs and could help the family, but all too often the parents do so to find their hopes and dreams dashed to the ground. The children go astray before their own eyes. What I said earlier, the traditional standards and concepts of morals which they seek to foster in their children, that too inconsistently, are not at all adequate to inspire the children with the sense of obligation and social consciousness needed in the present situation.

Yet the capitalists could not wipe out all the sense of values. That would be impossible. If we should and must protect, nurture and gradually develop with utmost care, concern and devotion, these last remnants of the best of our moral values we can do so only if we have

a scientific, comprehensive and modern philosophy of life capable of resolving adequately the intricate and complex questions of the different struggles. So the ideology of Marxism-Leninism is indispensable to us not only to facilitate the course of social transformation in political and economic spheres but in the cultural development of the individuals also.

Historical Materialism correctly determined destiny of human civilization

Marxism, by scientifically analysing the course of development of human society and civilization, revealed for the first time the laws of development of society and the root cause of all problems at different stages of social development and the historically determined course to resolve the problems completely. Historical Materialism, which is the name of this coordinated and comprehensive scientific method of study of society, has shown how primitive classless society became class-divided over ownership of private property in the wake of coming into being of stable property following discovery of agriculture and animal husbandry; the development of the primitive clan communist society through the stages of slave society and feudal society into the modern capitalist society based on exploitation and oppression of the wage-earning working masses. This objective history of rise of capitalism and its eventual transformation into socialist society was brought to light by Marx. It was not the outcome of an effort to fulfil a utopian thinking nor the fancy of an individual, but was established by detailed scientific and historical analysis of the capitalist society and all the preceding social forms which revealed that the irreconcilable contradiction between the productive forces and the production relation within the capitalist society will ultimately bring about its historically inevitable downfall as well as the emergence of socialism.

The division of classes in capitalism and the attendant inequality of conditions and unequal rights in economic, political, cultural, educational and all other spheres and struggle between different social strata, that is class struggle, over their acquisition are the features and undeniable hard facts of capitalism.

Marxism has revealed the historical course of elimination of class

The question is how could this division, inequality, discrimination; exploitation and oppression have

continued in the 'democratic' and 'secular' capitalist world including India with all its eloquence over 'democracy' and 'individual liberty'? And how are the masses to emancipate themselves from this exploitative and oppressive system?

Marxism revealed that the road to emancipation from all exploitation, oppression and inequalities lies in intensifying class struggles towards abolition of the exploitative capitalist system and of all classes, class division and class inequality.

But class antagonism in society was not an invention of Marx, although the capitalists sought to antagonise people against Marxism by spreading that Marxism set man against man. Marx showed the objective, scientific and historically determined course of this irreconcilable conflict of classes, its final elimination. He did this by dialectical materialist method of analysis of the course of human civilization. He established that all division and struggle between classes will finally disappear through the historical process of, **first**, abolition of capitalism and establishment of the socialist system and, **consequent upon that**, through a long historical process of gradual development, maturity and final and irrevocable transformation of the socialist society into the classless communist society. All other talks of resolving this conflict were no more than a pious wish.

The proletariat, Marx pointed out, who have nothing else to survive on but only their labour power, are historically destined to be the most revolutionary class and the vanguard in the struggle for the overthrow of the exploitative capitalist order.

Marx presented his conclusion in the precise formulation that the historically determined form of this entire epoch cannot but be the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, socialism can never be established as long as the power to exercise political supremacy, that is the state power, is not wrested from the bourgeoisie by the proletariat, and unless this supremacy, that is the dictatorship of the proletariat, is correctly exercised, it cannot be possible to skip from socialism to communism.

In other words, without the proletariat wresting the instrument of political control over society, that is the state power, from the bourgeoisie, it is impossible to establish socialism. And without correctly exercising this rule, that is the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is

neither possible to skip from socialism to communism. In fine, therefore, this Marxist postulate challenged the unquestioned supremacy of the capitalist class over the state, which is ultimately the instrument of all sorts of capitalist exploitation and oppression.

Other than falsehood, capitalists have nothing to stand upon in their fight against dictatorship of the proletariat

The capitalists, conscious of their class interest, realise that dissemination of this knowledge among the masses would bring their doom. This is why they desperately attack the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In fact, it reflects an intense ideological-political struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. But in this the bourgeoisie depend only upon lies and falsehood. They seek to give these lies a cloak of credibility in the eyes of the people. But they succeed only because of lack of class consciousness among the masses.

And it goes without saying that the present revisionist attack has come in handy for this capitalist design today. Quite naturally, therefore, the capitalists are making the best of this unexpected opportunity and declaring a crusade against Marxism-Leninism and socialism by posing themselves as the veritable champion of democracy and individual liberty. In this confounding situation many educated but politically—not-so-conscious people and sympathisers of socialism are also getting quite perplexed and cynical about the true conception of socialism itself. We should recognise that it is but natural and people are not to blame for this. Rather we are to blame ourselves in the sense that we could not dispel these confusions, nor could we convince the masses satisfactorily till today. Without this being accomplished, however, the class and mass struggles of our country can never reach their logical goal.

I should analyse these questions a little since the bourgeois spokesmen are raising a hue and cry that "in socialism there is no multi-party system", or that "there is no democracy and individual liberty in socialism". It would help to take first a look at this much vaunted 'democracy'.

Real character of bourgeois parliamentary democracy

Many people are confused by the bourgeois propaganda that absence of a multi-party system

signifies non-existence of democracy in socialism, as if multi-party rule *ipso facto* means democracy. Let them answer how fascism, the worst enemy of democracy, emerged in the very capitalist system in Germany? It may be argued that after their rise to power the fascists themselves destroyed it there. I need to point out that following the historical experiences the fascist system is being introduced today in many countries without destroying, rather very much employing, this very system. However, what about such capitalist countries as had not followed the nakedly fascist policies of Germany, had rather traditionally followed the hallowed multi-party system—the USA, for instance? Does it not have at last an equally sordid history of mercilessly trampling upon all progressive movements for democracy, independence and peace anywhere in the world? What about the venerated British multi-party system? Did not its government strengthen, consolidate and perpetuate the colonial rule in India and many other countries? And, for that matter, how does democracy fare in India under a multi-party system today? It is the same story everywhere. Why should multi-party system be considered synonymous with democracy? The truth is that democracy, in the sense of unfettered political rights of the people, can never be achieved in capitalism. To the extent it is achievable, it is so only through struggles against capitalist exploitation and oppression and never by parliamentary means. It is only after the establishment of the socialist social system, and not before, that complete political freedom will be enjoyed by all exploited people.

Lenin gave a scathing exposure to the bourgeois parliamentary politics and showed that it was a fraud of democracy. Even so what is its picture today? Can you feel certain that the vote you will cast at the polls will indeed go to the candidate of your choice? The situation is more or less similar in every capitalist country. Of course, all this does not bother the champions of parliamentary democracy, for they know well enough how governments are run. It is run today by an all-powerful coterie representing the industrial-bureaucratic-military complex. It is this coterie which artificially builds up a so-called image or 'wave' behind its chosen candidates, faction or party and thereby conveniently manipulates public opinion by employing money and media. People do not even suspect that they are being cunningly duped by the capitalist rulers. And even after these, there are those proxy votes, booth capture and poll violence, and above all a centralised and calculated administrative rigging. The much trumpeted 'democracy' of the capitalists amount to

this. I leave it to you now to decide if this system can at all be called 'democratic' and considered superior to the socialist political system.

But such is the bourgeois logic! By this logic then even the advent of fascism should be hailed as the pinnacle of democracy and individual liberty, if only it assumes a parliamentary form!

Bourgeois democracy inevitably degenerates into fascism

Fascism first appeared nakedly in Italy, Germany and Japan. Pointing to this, as early as in the late Forties, our beloved leader and teacher Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had forewarned, "It would be wrong to conclude that fascism would necessarily assume the same form always". And truly, fascism is emerging under the facade of parliamentary democracy itself in all advanced as well as relatively backward capitalist countries today. The symptoms of it are that, **first**, an industrial-bureaucratic-military complex of top monopolists and high ranking executives in the top echelons of civil administration as well as the army govern the state at the back of the people; **second**, the state is concentrating unprecedented draconian powers defying all democratic as also constitutional norms and principles; **third**, the Judiciary and all democratic institutions including Parliament are being gradually reduced to virtual irrelevance. But all this is going in the name of democracy and behind the facade of 'sacrosanct' parliamentary institutions. Rather than naked fascist dictatorship, it is doubtlessly more convenient for the ruling capitalist class to attack ideologically as well as politically the democratic movements of exploited people under the deceptive parliamentary illusions and using the repressive state machine. Hence, in the post Second World War international situation these characteristic dual features of fascism—both deception and suppression—have become the general pattern in all capitalist countries. Is it not the growing symptom in the Indian political system today? What is it then, democracy or fascism, under cover of multi-party parliamentary politics?

But still it did not help capitalism to resolve its chronic all-out crisis. The USA, far advanced industrially, is also tottering. Its only escape is militarisation of economy. In fact, it breeds and survives on local if not global wars, a warphobia, or war-psychosis, or arms race. For, cessation of war for good would be the death knell for its militarised economy.

So it cannot live in peace and hence international gangsterism and international espionage are its dominantly global role, as is exemplified by its latest aggression in the Gulf.

The Gulf War has once again exposed the harsh truth behind the utter nonsense of the renegade-reactionary Gorbachev clique's claim that the character of imperialism has changed and also of the US imperialist pronouncement of a 'new world order'. It has once again proved to the hilt the Leninist formulation that imperialism inevitably generates war. The reduction of strategic armaments by the USA is just a ploy to hoodwink the people and camouflage its real design—there is no doubt that this is not going to change the basic predatory character of imperialism, US imperialism in particular.

So you can see for yourselves the true colour of 'democracy' and 'liberty' in the capitalist world whose advocates are carrying on the propaganda that there is no democracy and liberty in socialism. This serves to illustrate why the bourgeois hue and cry can never be the basis to examining whether the dictatorship of the proletariat forbids democracy or not. Similarly, judging by the example of those socialist countries which strayed into the revisionist path and consequently turned capitalist, you cannot learn about the truly Marxist conception of socialism or of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the history of civilization dictatorship of the proletariat is the most democratic and humane system

Now, then, what is the correct conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat and also of democracy? Objective reality is that so long as society remains divided into classes and mutually antagonistic *class* approach and *class* interest of different *classes* on all social, political and other issues continue to exist, the state too will continue to exist as the instrument of one class to exercise unrestricted control over the other classes. Dictatorship in political terminology means nothing but this absolute control of the state power by a given class. This dictatorship has been exercised throughout history by the class controlling the state power and never was, nor could be, democratically shared with the other classes. People who believe otherwise may be ardent votaries of 'democracy' but are not aware that in a class divided society the conception of democracy also is not supra-class, rather

it is determined by definite class outlook and approach. Hence, in a class divided society, this question can be resolved only through revolution. The epoch making bourgeois democratic revolution of France and the great socialist revolution of Russia are the historical confirmation.

Hence the Marxist thesis that the only historically determined form of existence of socialist society is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Any other interpretation of socialism is either misconceived or deliberately distorted. That has been amply proved by all revisionists and renegades, from Khrushchev to Gorbachev. And now the masses of the Soviet Union and east Europe have to pay dearly for it. Therefore, objective laws of history must be recognised, if one does not want to strengthen capitalism unwittingly and to that end a critical appraisal of objective truth is a must. Marxists disdain to conceal truth. So they do not follow the bourgeois example of deceiving people by projecting dictatorship as democratic rule. It will be a sheer travesty of truth to deny the fact that the much vaunted 'democracies' of the world are nothing but the worst kind of bourgeois dictatorship under the garb of democracy. On the part of the Marxists they never deny that socialism is also a form of dictatorship, qualitatively different from bourgeois dictatorship, by passing through which stage mankind can eradicate the vestiges of capitalism and pave the way for reaching the classless communist society. The proletarian dictatorship is indispensable in order to undertake a difficult, painstaking and all-out struggle throughout the entire socialist epoch to gradually and completely eliminate the rule of capital as also the capitalist influence in economic, political, moral, cultural and all other aspects of society, and open up an unhindered scope of all-sided development of the masses who have always been the most exploited, oppressed and deprived under capitalism. This has been possible only as a consequence of the proletarian democracy which grows on the basis of democracy of ninetyfive per cent of people and dictatorship for the rest five per cent and is surely quantitatively and qualitatively different from bourgeois democracy which is just the other way round, that is democracy for five per cent and dictatorship for ninetyfive per cent of people. And judge for yourselves what did bourgeois democracy achieve for the downtrodden masses? Does the bourgeois campaign still hold good that there is no democracy in socialism? Or is it the other way round—that the bourgeois world cannot ever dream of, let alone practise, the democracy guaranteed by socialism? Can any sensible man believe that the tremendous achievement in rebuilding the

country and the people after November Revolution in Russia or for that matter the victory over Hitlerite fascism had been possible not on the basis of rejuvenation of the people imbued with higher culture and a new sense of dedication among them consequent upon their enjoying maximal democratic rights but that all this was just product of so-called commandism practised by Stalin? Bourgeois ideologues may go on spinning fanciful theories but the path of determining the truth is altogether different.

Moreover, the mission of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the elimination of class-division and class-rule for ever, whereas that of every other form of state in history had been the consolidation and perpetuation of class-rule. The historical process of elimination of class-division from society will put out of existence not only the capitalists but along with them eventually also the proletariat, the proletarian party and finally the proletarian state and proletarian dictatorship.

Let there be no confusion that it is because of the influence of the revisionist outlook and deviation from the Marxist conception of proletarian state that these socialist countries have turned capitalist again today. Our party had for long been apprehending this painful yet inevitable consequence. Why did we apprehend it? Because, undoubtedly, such retrograde developments could not have come about in a day. It must have followed a long process of inception, gradual development and culmination. Indeed it so happened owing to infiltration of revisionist ideas as a result of some serious weaknesses in the communist movement itself. These weaknesses which had manifested themselves decades back were mainly for the low level of ideological standard of the communists and mechanisation of thought process within the communist movement. The great Marxist leaders did not fail to notice this manifestation even as the communist movement had waged glorious struggles and won tremendous organisational victories till the Sixties.

Far back in 1948, our most beloved leader and teacher and a foremost Marxist thinker of this era, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, alerted the international communist movement over possible and alarming consequences of these very weaknesses and shortcomings. These shortcomings notwithstanding, communist movement then did not deviate from the revolutionary course, rather marched ahead under the revolutionary leadership of Stalin. Under Stalin's guidance the 19th Congress of the CPSU specifically

pointed out manifestation of non-Marxist tendencies within the CPSU and adopted a definite programme to launch an all-out ideological struggle in order to eradicate these weaknesses. But Stalin's death within a short period prevented him from implementing the programme. After having usurped the power, the revisionist Khrushchevite leadership shelved it altogether. Thus deviation of the CPSU became a real possibility thence.

At the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956, this deviation was revealed first. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh again warned the world communist movement that unless the CPSU leadership and for the matter the world communist movement was freed from this revisionist influence, the socialist system, instead of winning victories across the world and advancing towards classless communist society, would be itself jeopardised. The resulting setback would be to the greatest advantage of the crisis-ridden capitalism-imperialism.

Today's catastrophe has come about following this course exactly. You can see that we, in our party, have not suddenly discovered the danger of revisionism today. Rather we detected it from the moment of its emergence, basing ourselves on the scientific analysis made by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

We have been observing how, from then onwards, under this revisionist influence, the CPSU leaders have been gradually moving away from the fundamental Marxist-Leninist position on all important international issues—the character of socialist economy, character of the socialist state, mutual relationship between sister communist parties within the world communist camp, strengthening of the anti-capitalist revolutionary and anti-imperialist national liberation struggles of the world and the question of war and peace and attitude to imperialism. He observed with pain that revisionism had grown as a distinctly pronounced trend. It gradually influenced the leadership of other socialist countries also and consequently led the communist movement into a morass of ideological confusion. Owing to all this the earlier standard of ideological consciousness of the world communist movement gradually reached its pathetically low level as at present. Initially the Communist Party of China led by Comrade Mao Zedong conducted an ideological struggle against this revisionist trend, but after the demise of Comrade Mao the CPC leadership, too, succumbed to it. In this way the glory of communist movement has been eclipsed by the dark shadow of revisionism.

From 1956 onwards, in the light of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's teachings, our party had been continuously fighting to uphold the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism against revisionist distortion and vulgarisation on all these fundamental questions. Naturally, therefore, this painful tragedy of today has not come to our party as an accidental development.

Failure to acquire developed, enriched and adequate level of understanding of Marxism has brought about revisionist deviation

It need be recognised that the root cause behind the present catastrophe was indeed deep seated. Indeed we too would have failed to grasp it correctly had we not before us the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The cause of it was the failure of the communists in acquiring an adequately developed and comprehensive understanding of contemporary developments. In other words, the failure in the struggle to continuously concretise, develop and enrich Marxism-Leninism in keeping with the continuously changing and developing world ultimately created an utter confusion in the ideological sphere.

There is no way to explain otherwise how capitalism could be restored without any resistance to it in all those socialist countries. We cannot surmise that the rank and file communists sabotaged socialism deliberately. Or that from the very outset the revisionist leadership of these countries moved in league with the imperialists which the Gorbachev clique is doubtlessly doing today. Neither is it easy to efface a historical and social phenomenon in this way, unless it has become vulnerable due to serious internal weaknesses.

In this context I should remind you a basic tenet of Dialectical Materialism that internal contradiction is the basic cause of change. Unless it fully matures or at least exists within, a historical phenomenon will never degenerate, notwithstanding the attacks on it from without. Once the capitalists failed to stall the advance of socialism even with military might. But glasnost, market economy and the lure of the standard of living of the West, that is the illusion of bourgeois democracy and bourgeois way of living, have so emasculated the masses of these socialist countries that they could not offer any resistance to the counterrevolutionary wave. They have been swept away by it on the contrary. Why and how did this happen can never be answered merely by reiterating the teachings of Marxist classics.

It must be answered why the people were influenced by the glamour of bourgeois comfort and luxury and the so-called bourgeois freedom rather than a sense of identity with the socialist system supporting them. And why socialist ideals failed to inspire them today and not when people fought through incomparably greater hardships, trials and tribulations under leaders like Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong.

Let us recall here some teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Correct application of Marxism ennobles man by facilitating all-sided development, including finer human faculties, and so lays down the foundation of higher proletarian moral values. But mechanical understanding of Marxism by the revisionist leaders of these countries and consequent failure to grasp its essence reduced Marxism to the level of its vulgarisation almost. In their hands Marxism turned into economic determinism, political pragmatism and vulgar utilitarianism. Even if not knowing it, they themselves helped decadent bourgeois individualistic outlook and tendencies make inroad into socialist societies. But to carry on unhindered socialist development an all-embracing struggle covering all aspects of life must be conducted on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and under the leadership of the communist party in a socialist society. It is this struggle which can give rise to an adequate level of understanding, that is a comprehensive, coordinated, all-sided understanding of Marxism-Leninism as its surest expression—the sense of highest proletarian culture. Otherwise, under the guise of Marxism-Leninism, reformism-economism-revisionism is bound to appear. The fundamental and essential conception of Marxism was undermined because of the mechanical thought process and consequently the revisionist outlook. Thus, instead of marching ahead, the pace of socialist development gradually slackened and slid back to pave the way for ultimate capitalist restoration.

Failure to coordinate simultaneously the struggle in political, economic and cultural sphere resulted in present crisis

Many are inclined to believe that upon establishment of socialist society all complexities, contradictions, discriminations and inequalities of capitalism are resolved for good. It is neither that simple nor historically possible. Through revolution the capitalist state and then the capitalist economic relations and economic base are destroyed relatively

easily. But all the elements of capitalist economy as well as the influence of capitalist ideology and outlook on the mental process of people are not so easily done away with. They have to be gradually eradicated from all spheres of life through a painstaking, arduous and conscious struggle following the law of development of socialist society. In socialist society, this is indeed the form of struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Till the capitalist influence in all its forms is not eliminated and exhausted completely, this struggle does not cease and the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat also does not reach the stage of its final development and disappearance. Objective material conditions for its transformation into the classless communist society also do not attain full and final maturity till then. Therefore, the struggle of the proletariat during this entire epoch of socialism is not only aimed at eliminating the vestiges of capitalist economic laws and elements like commodity production and circulation, money and money circulation, law of value, etc., but also at freeing the sense of cultural and moral values and conceptions like sense of right and wrong, duty, obligation, and feelings of admiration, love, respect, affection, concern and care from the influence of bourgeois prejudices and bourgeois attitude. To be more accurate and precise this is a struggle to completely free all mental faculties from the influence of what Comrade Shibdas Ghosh called 'private property mental complex'. Actually, this means a struggle to continuously elevate the cultural standard and level of ideological-political consciousness of the masses in socialist society. But after the infiltration of revisionism, this vital task was completely abandoned in these socialist countries and the struggle for continuous advancement of socialism came to mean, in the main, adopting mere economic programmes for uplifting the standard of living. And it was in this way that even while denouncing it, the revisionist leaders themselves helped inroad of bourgeois individualistic outlook into the working class. But it should not be forgotten that the ideological and mental makeup of the people is the last shelter of capitalist class influence to dislodge which is the difficultmost task. From here the defeated capitalist class continues to relentlessly offer the most tenacious, determined and desperate resistance against socialism. But its existence escapes immediate notice, especially after the achievement of relative stability and consolidation of socialist society. Hence they commit a serious blunder who conclude only from this relative economic and political stability of socialism that class-division, and hence the need to continue to the class-struggle, in socialism has outlived itself.

But in 1956 such a dangerous revisionist illusion was propagated in the Soviet Union by the revisionist leadership of the CPSU led by Khrushchev. Instead of being the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Soviet state was declared to have turned into a state of the whole people and the CPSU into a party of the whole people. It had far reaching consequences on the other socialist countries and especially those in east Europe. The ideological-political foundation of the east European socialist countries were, for historical reasons, relatively weaker from the very outset. Despite Stalin's ceaseless endeavours, due to limitation on the part of the leaders themselves, the low level of ideological consciousness of the general population could not, after the revolution, also be adequately raised. This Khrushchevite theory further obstructed their ideological struggle by adding newer confusion to it. As you can well understand, the situation thus became most fertile for the free play of all sorts of bourgeois illusions and reactionary activities. And when counterrevolution raised its ugly head in 1956 in Hungary and in 1968 in Czechoslovakia, the socialist state was left only with the military option. Similar was also the case with Poland. The only difference is that earlier the working classes of these countries could not be ideologically tempered due to the inability of the leadership to lead the masses ideologically. But through failure of conducting ideological struggles by embracing the entire people even later, and thereby disarming the working class and the people at large for which they fell victim to the influence of economism, vulgar utilitarianism, careerism and a privilege-hungry attitude, these leaders did, for all practical purpose, push the working class to the camp of counterrevolution. Such an eventuality was neither unanticipated nor surprising, yet, in a sense, inevitable. Because, unless continuously educated and elevated in the spirit of socialist ideology and proletarian moral values, the relative stability and higher standard of life in socialism is bound to give rise to a mentality of privilege in the common workers who had been habitually influenced by bourgeois ideology and moral values of individualism. This individualistic and privilege-seeking tendency eventually comes in inevitable contradiction and conflict with the restrictions imposed by the socialist state for ensuring equitable distribution of the standard of living for all. But instead of correctly resolving this contradiction by creating conditions for change of outlook of the people through extensive and intensive ideological-cultural-moral struggle the revisionist leadership in all these countries took recourse to purely legalistic and administrative methods—almost like in the capitalist states where the

rulers try to meet social problems through administrative diktats.

You can visualise for yourself that if this be the level of consciousness and understanding of Marxism of the leadership, what will it be in the further lower levels of the party and the masses. It is painful yet true that the political vanguard and the organ of power of the working class, i.e. the Communist Party and the Socialist State, gradually turned in this way into bureaucratic institutions in these countries. The result was further alienation of the party from the masses and greater discontent against the party and the state. This grievance and discontent was exploited and raked up by the imperialists and was aided and abetted by the reactionary forces within. A day finally arrived when thousands of ordinary workers could be called out to the streets against their own state by the reactionaries in Poland and, one by one, in the other socialist countries of east Europe. It may sound impossible but such developments in a socialist state could only mean that a serious damage had already been done in these countries to the ideological foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. That the communist parties in these countries still controlled state-power was only because the reactionaries outside and within had not yet closed their ranks. Moreover, imperialist powers, especially the USA, were not yet sure about the possible role of the Warsaw Pact countries and the strongest socialist military power, the Soviet Union, in case of an open counterrevolutionary takeover. But as soon as they found in the Gorbachev clique a ready tool with which to pull down the socialist states, the situation changed overnight. The socialist states in these countries collapsed and the communist parties fast disintegrated and nearly disappeared within the matter of a few months or even weeks. Attempts to resist this onslaught at least militarily, even if not ideologically and politically, as in Romania, was ruthlessly trampled and crushed. This is the sordid history behind the final victory of the much-trumpeted 'democracy' over socialism in the erstwhile socialist countries of east Europe.

So you realize what a perilous blunder it had been to conclude, simply from the fact of overthrow of capitalism and establishment of socialism through revolution, followed by gradual development of the socialist economy and tremendous growth of socialist production, that the complex historical process of destroying all resistance of the capitalist class had been completely exhausted; and, consequently, the need to continue class struggle against the bourgeoisie in the

ideological, political and cultural spheres had also ended; and, finally, the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat had been over. In the name of Marxism, this queer revisionist theory was dished out in 1956 by the Khrushchevite leadership of the CPSU. Thirtythree years of practice of the revisionist policies has finally yielded its inevitable fruit in the present setback. Again, the question arises : Which were the reasons behind deviation on such fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism ? And how could the international communist movement also accept such gross distortions of the basic Marxist tenets ? These are the decisive questions. And, though paradoxical, the answer is again that the underlying reason for these was the low level of ideological-political consciousness and the serious limitation in the struggle to acquire the dialectical process of thinking on the part of the communists, despite their open commitment to Dialectical Materialism itself. This was the source of deviation on all theoretical questions in the communist movement as well as of all distortions in the economic, political, social and cultural spheres in the socialist countries. It is these distortions and deviations which have tarnished the nobility of Marxism-Leninism in the eyes of masses, the ideology which is an invincible source of strength and appeal to the conscience of humanity for progress and revolution.

Failure to realise the dialectical relationship between economic base and superstructure of society has resulted in the crisis of socialist economy

And what have been the consequences of the crisis now ? The crisis of the Soviet economy, for instance ? The reactionary Soviet leaders are now for the U.S. economic aid to revive the economy. The capitalist world is pinpointing this position to prove the superiority of the so-called capitalist market economy. Gorbachev has invented, and the capitalist media have drummed up, the bogey of the "command economy" of Stalin's time. And the blame for the present miserable economic situation of the Soviet Union is being squarely put on socialism and the socialist economic laws pursued by Stalin. But is it a fact or not that within just about twentyfive years, the most backward state of Europe, Russia, made its place in the front rank of the European industrial powers under the stewardship of Stalin ? Could any European capitalist economy then compete with the volume and rate of production of the Soviet economy ? Industrially, agriculturally, militarily as also in scientific and technological developments,

including space science, the Soviet Union was charting a completely new course. This was acknowledged, of course grudgingly, by the sworn enemies of socialism. The Soviet socialist economic might was finally tested on the battle fronts of the Second World War and the Soviet Union emerged the victor on the formidable strength of its economy, its other sources of strength apart. Let the detractors of Stalin answer who had played the most important role in building and consolidating this giant socialist economic foundation of the Soviet Union which alone gave it an important position in international politics, even that of a superpower to challenge the US imperialist hegemony ? Was it Stalin or anyone else ? How and by whom was this firm economic base weakened, disintegrated and made into the mess of today ? Why Gorbachev, the detractor of Stalin and Stalin's formulations on socialist economic laws, has to run back and forth from Moscow to Washington for US imperialist aid to sustain his perestroika ? It is not Stalin and his understanding, but Khrushchev and his revisionist economic prescriptions which brought ruin to the Soviet economy. Khrushchev held that since the ultimate goal of socialist economy was to create abundance in production and thus ensure distribution 'to each according to his need', so this was to be achieved at any cost. From this simplistic understanding of the socialist economy, Khrushchev introduced the practice of material incentive. Producing more to get more, in other words. Analysing this revisionist trash, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had shown that it was not much different really from the capitalist measure of boosting production by inducing the workers with lures of incentives like bonus. He had warned that instead of ideologically and morally imbuing the workers, any bid to increase production by such reformist inducements would beget the worst sense of opportunism and individualism which would ultimately undermine socialist production itself. As a result, there would be anarchy and speculation and finally crisis in economy. All this actually took place.

You should know, the question of relation between economic base and superstructure or the spiritual world is relevant here. Comrade Ghosh showed us far back in 1968 when he discussed the Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia: "As the socialist productive system and production relation keep on changing qualitatively and advance, as the productive forces go on increasing and the distribution system improves, as people's living standard improves and the disparity of income between high income and low income groups of people diminishes, it does not happen that all this automatically moulds the spiritual world, that is realm of idea and

culture. Had it been so then at this advanced stage of socialism the level of consciousness of the Soviet leadership and the party rank and file, that is of the whole party, would have risen automatically. So the Marxist theory is not that the intellectual faculty automatically changes with the advancement of the economic system and with the change in the material conditions. The theory means that it is the material condition which is prior; unless the material condition is changed, or in the absence of a congenial material condition an intellectual faculty does not make its appearance. But it should be borne in mind that the intellectual faculty has a role to play in moulding the objective situation, because the intellectual faculty influences the material condition as well. This is why, as the material condition changes, the struggle to advance the intellectual faculty in conformity with the changing condition is to be conducted. Otherwise, a total reversal may take place, as we witness in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union which was to have passed from the socialist economy to the first stage of the communist economy, that is to have adopted the programme of completing the socialist transformation, has gone back today and introduced the capitalist incentive system, has opened the door of capitalist tendency and speculation; expanded the orbit of private property and commodity circulation and enhanced the influence of private ownership even more. Had it been that the intellectual faculty automatically grows up in conformity with the material conditions then how could such ideological degeneration, retrogression and low standard of consciousness, which we have marked from another angle as the root cause of revisionism, have come about even after such advancement of the socialist economy there? It has happened because thought or idea is playing a role here and this reacts on the material condition. It is not that ideas are changing automatically along with changes in the economic base. If ideas remain at the low standard, then that low standard of thought must react dialectically with its base. As a result, it influences the environment and degenerates the system and this is what is happening in the Soviet Union."

And as the initial crises were followed by greater and still more complicated crises, the revisionist leaders, from Khrushchev onwards, bereft as they were of a proper understanding of the socialist economic law of development, tried one measure after another like a man groping in the dark. The revisionist outlook led them only into graver blunders and the economic situation grew extremely serious during Brezhnev's rule. In 1985, Gorbachev brought in his perestroika on

the pretext of resolving this crisis, which was in reality the final step back into capitalism. At that time itself our party pointed out that it was a blueprint for total counterrevolution. Facts have proved us true. Therefore, you see, it was not Stalin but the revisionist economic policies introduced by Khrushchev and followed continuously afterwards that have destroyed the socialist economic system in the Soviet Union. It so happened, as Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had forewarned, because it went against the objective law of socialist economic development. But surprisingly, the socialist economic system itself is held responsible by the imperialists and their agents for the Soviet economic crisis! What socialist economy can achieve was proved so decisively by Stalin that it shattered the myth of capitalist economic superiority even to the unbelieving and cynical critics of socialism and stunned and shook their faith in the capitalist economic might.

So, unless equal, or I should say greater emphasis is given on the struggle in the domain of ideology, politics and culture along with that in economy, advancement of socialist economy cannot be ensured in the end. The spectacular achievements of the Soviet economy and the rapid rise in the moral and cultural standard of the Soviet people under Stalin's leadership are proof of his wisdom and foresight.

After Stalin, his worthy disciple Mao Zedong also realized the profound significance of conducting this coordinated struggle in ideological-cultural spheres together with struggle for developing the socialist economy. He endeavoured to prevent the recurrence of the Soviet experience in China and to that end tried to involve the entire party, the state and the Chinese people in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Such a form of conducting ideological struggle to eradicate all bourgeois and revisionist ideology and culture from the people's thinking process as also from the rank and file and leaders of the party was unique in the history of communist movement. But after the demise of Mao Zedong the CPC leadership was usurped by the Deng Xiaoping revisionist clique who denounced the Cultural Revolution and took China to the revisionist path. The reasons behind this backturn are to be critically examined. While he praised the Cultural Revolution as 'magnificent', Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed that despite leading such a glorious struggle against bourgeois ideology and individualism the leadership of the CPC was yet to clearly pinpoint the fundamental philosophical basis of the struggle. In other words, they could not yet realise that only by completely exhausting

the bourgeois humanist ideology and moral values could the proletarian ideology and moral values grow and prosper. Consequently, they could not grasp that unless the masses could be inspired with higher proletarian culture and moral values through continuous cultural revolutions to free their thinking process from private property mental complex the danger of revisionism will loom and revisionism is sure to appear following attainment of relative stability in the socialist society.

Nor could they comprehend the concrete form of struggle for the transition from socialism to communism through successful resolution of the contradictions existing between social interest and individual interest by changing its antagonistic character into a non-antagonistic one with which even after having fulfilled all material conditions for the change, transition to communist society would not be finally possible. Due to failure not only of the CPC but also of the communists the world over to realise the profound significance of these essential preconditions for the final victory of socialism that none of the socialist countries could ultimately overcome the revisionist influence or sustain continuous advancement of socialism. The incident of Tien An Men Square of 1989 is one proof.

No doubt, the struggle to free people's mental makeup patterned by centuries-old history of class divided society from the influence of private property mental complex is an extremely difficult one.

It is not possible to conduct this struggle in socialist societies without a profound realisation of Dialectical Materialism as well as a high level of proletarian class consciousness and, along with these, a close bond between the people and the party and the state. But most importantly, it finally depends on a conscious struggle by the leaders and cadres of the party to continuously uplift the level of understanding of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. That is why during this entire epoch of transition from socialism to communism a series of cultural revolutions against all sorts of capitalist ideology, class outlook and class culture are to be conducted by the party, embracing all sections of people.

It should be realised that vanquishing capitalism in the domain of ethics, culture, tastes and all forms of desire and contemplations is much more critical and difficult than in other spheres of life. Because, the seeds of capitalism lie deeply hidden in the individualistic culture and mode of thinking. That is,

the final victory of socialism can be achieved only when the capitalist class influence will be completely eliminated in this sphere also. Only then all material preconditions can be considered to be fulfilled for the complete elimination of class division, class struggle, and for withering away of the working class party and the working class state for ever, paving the way for emergence ultimately of the classless world communist society. Such is the true Marxist-Leninist conception of the magnificent struggle to be conducted during the entire historical epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And such is the inestimable importance of the struggle against bourgeois individualism.

Struggle to acquire true communist consciousness and culture is inseparably connected with the struggle against individualism

Remember that the communist consciousness, deep conviction and realisation leading to real wisdom and higher proletarian culture are all product of this particular struggle. In other words, this is also the struggle to acquire the Marxist thought process. At the same time this is also the struggle which gives birth to the ideological foundation of the collective knowledge of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party. Therefore, without conducting this particular struggle, following this correct methodology and acquiring the appropriate and adequate conception about it, it is not possible to build up a genuine Marxist-Leninist party or to prevent revisionist deviation of an once genuine communist party. This is one profound teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. A vital reason behind the present setback is surely the failure to realise this with due importance.

What was responsible for the growth of the reactionary bourgeois ideological influence in the form of revisionism within the communist movement? Why cannot the majority of communists yet see through the counterrevolutionary scheme of glasnost and perestroika even when socialism is disintegrating and reaction is sweeping in east Europe and the Soviet Union?

It is for the same reason, once again, that communists could be deceived successfully by the revisionist slanders against Stalin and Mao Zedong. Today the attack is more naked and now against Lenin himself. Is it not an assault on Marxism-Leninism?

The question which tormented those who admire and cherish socialism is how could the same people

who once believed in Marxism-Leninism and fought in its name now degenerate to such a low level? The true reason, I repeat, is the failure of the communists themselves to upgrade their level of understanding of Marxism-Leninism in relation to contemporary situation. This led to deviation. And this is inseparably related to attaining success in the struggle against bourgeois individualism within the party, in the personal conduct of the leaders and cadres of the party and in the entire society in a socialist country. One may wonder what is the relation between the two. It is an inseparable and interrelated issue.

I have sought to explain that to improve and develop the understanding of Marxism-Leninism continuously the need is to realize it concretely by integrating the concrete contemporary experiences with its general teaching. Consequently, the struggle is to completely remould the consciousness, emotions, habits and even the desires on the basis of this concrete realisation, that is the entire being of a communist. In reality it is a struggle to revolutionise one's entire being by freeing the understanding of Marxism-Leninism from the influence of bourgeois ideology and individualistic way of thinking. Only by carefully and continuously carrying on this struggle can it be possible to acquire a comprehensive, coordinated and concrete understanding of Marxism-Leninism. Failing this, Marxists of one day are sure to degenerate into revisionists of another day and counterrevolutionaries in the end.

Communism does not curtail or hinder individual liberty, rather ensures its full flourish

In this struggle to free oneself from the pernicious influence of bourgeois individualism and achieve the fullest development of one's consciousness and all faculties the revolutionary party of the proletariat is the only instrument. This struggle cannot be conducted individually. Nor can it be conducted except on unquestioning loyalty to the party of the proletariat which entails a dialectical process of struggle to achieve continuously uniformity of thinking between individual understanding and the party understanding on all questions of epistemology and every finer detail in every sphere on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This loyalty is often both misunderstood and deliberately misconstrued. It is not blind or sectarian but is conscious and voluntary. It means submission of the individual to collective wisdom and experience of the party. It is in fact the concrete expression of one's supreme allegiance

to the class, the party and revolution against all parochial, party sectarian, mechanical and bureaucratic outlook. To grasp the significance of the communists' unquestioning loyalty to the party in the light of philosophy and history is all so important because without this correct conception you cannot expose to people the sheer falsity of the bourgeois campaign that 'communists don't believe in individual liberty'. The truth is that it is the greatest distinction and virtue of the communist ideology to have freed the individual from all oppression and bondage. It has paved the way for the fullest freedom and flourish of the individual.

So, why and to whom this loyalty of the communists? It is loyalty to authority—the concrete embodiment of the revolutionary struggle in a concrete historical situation. Every historical movement is guided by a sense of authority. This authority is in reality the best expression of its philosophical-social-political-cultural-moral ideas and aspirations developed as a unanimously accepted standard through long struggle. This is the case in the scientific sphere as well. Think, Einstein is considered an authority on the theory of relativity, meaning his understanding of the theory is most comprehensive, authentic, articulate and precise. Can one hope to acquire this precise level without accepting Einstein as the authority on this question? Such due recognition of authority is really what gives birth to the sense of authority. Does it anyway negate one's individuality or individual liberty for that matter? And does the question arise at all?

Rather, all pioneers in scientific as well as artistic spheres became what they were by acknowledging the authority of their illustrious forerunners and in this way eventually emerged as new authorities themselves. The sense of authority is central to the Marxist conception of knowledge; but sense of authoritarianism, on the other, which is blind, is alien to Marxism. Such is the true Marxist understanding of the sense of loyalty to authority. Does this loyalty to the party in any way hinder or obstruct independent thinking? That is not the Marxist teaching. Marxism teaches that this 'independence' is also objectively limited by material conditions including the influence of class outlook. Denial of this degrades one's consciousness and conduct and reduces independence to anarchy, privilege-mongering and ultra-democracy. It stunts the growth of the qualities of the party workers and blooming of their potentialities. To prevent this the party always struggles to free the mode of thinking and behaviour of its workers from individualistic tendencies and encourages collective way of thinking and collective

way of life. Does it curtail the development of the individual or does it ennoble him with social consciousness? That is why there is no greater honour today than being a member of the revolutionary party of the proletariat. Freedom of the individual is inconceivable without emancipation of humanity which is historically linked today with the emancipation of the proletariat from the capitalist yoke. This struggle is being led by the party as the vanguard detachment of the proletariat.

Shibdas Ghosh Thought is the concretised, elaborated and enriched understanding of Marxism-Leninism in the post-Lenin period

The emergence of our party, the SUCI, in 1948 was the result of one such intricate and painstaking struggle conducted by the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The collective knowledge of our party is a product of this struggle covering politics, economics, culture, morals, all branches of epistemology including the latest developments in science and all aspects of personal lives of the leaders and cadres of the party following the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism. This collective knowledge of the party, through concretisation and personification in its best form in Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, grew as Shibdas Ghosh Thought and helped emergence of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh himself as the thinker of the party and its most beloved leader and teacher. Shibdas Ghosh Thought is the concretised and adequately developed understanding of Marxism-Leninism on all questions of life in the post-Lenin period. On all questions which have cropped up in the international communist movement in the post-Lenin period—on fascism, revisionism, problems of socialism, latest bourgeois ideological trends, problem of individualism, existentialism, concept of proletarian culture, concrete conception of collective leadership in a working class party as also the significance of the spectacular development of modern science—Shibdas Ghosh Thought provides the correct Marxist guidance.

But we will only deceive ourselves if we rest content with it, thinking that we possess such an invaluable treasure. If we fail to follow it in each and every sphere of life collectively and individually, then we too will fail to advance despite this possession. No question should therefore be kept unresolved whether it is inside the party or outside, whether regarding the policies and programmes of the party, about relationship among party workers or conduct of the leaders. I would

urge you to step up criticism and self-criticism on all ideological questions in all earnestness and maintaining discipline and devotion to the cause and unquestioning loyalty to the party simultaneously. This is the way to strengthen ourselves and also the international communist movement.

Ideology of Communism is the only path of emancipation of humanity

Undoubtedly, the present situation is unprecedentedly critical. But that should not make us forget that from the point of view of history this is only a temporary phase which is sure to pass over. As soon and as deeply the communists of the world realise the gravity of the situation, so soon can they build up and advance the struggle. I tell you again that despite this tremendous setback today the noble ideology of communism is the historical beacon to guide to emancipation.

The Central Committee of our party had exposed glasnost and perestroika as a counterrevolutionary blueprint in the hands of the reactionary Gorbachev clique. This stood fully vindicated by the train of events afterwards. The Central Committee also explained after restoration of capitalism in the east European countries and the Soviet Union that this painful tragedy may nevertheless prove to be a blessing to the communist movement if it served as an eye-opener.

Recall the character of "Panditmashai", the teacher, portrayed by Saratchandra Chattopadhyay, the great litterateur, in one of his stories. Upon the death of his only child the bereaved father's heart was rent asunder but to open full, as profound grief welled up, for all children of the world with love, affection and care. Yes, tragedy could rouse a man to that loftiness when it touched the inmost strings of his heart. I am telling it just as a lesson but not to draw any parallel. Grief may be turned into strength. If the present retrograde development would help the communists realize the source of the crisis, this tragedy could turn into a monumental source of strength for advancement ultimately.

Tasks ahead

Some people are happy only as success comes their way, but feel dejected and frustrated in the face of failure and defeat. Yet history of all revolutionary

movements is replete with problems, crises and setbacks coming their way before as also after revolution. That is a painful thing to happen no doubt. But for that why should we allow ourselves, our resolve, revolutionary determination and devotion to be weakened? With this revolutionary approach and steadfastness should we look at the present developments and help others do so. I know how difficult this task is. Yet this is a must for us now in the present circumstances or we will fail to discharge our historical responsibility. We cannot otherwise inspire the class and the masses with the necessary level of consciousness and moral strength. And without that it would be impossible to protect the democratic movements of the people from the fascist attacks, what to speak of continuously advancing them further.

On this alone depends the prospect of gradual strengthening of the mass movements as well as political consciousness of the masses which can lead to growth and development of people's committees as people's own instrument of struggle together with the volunteer corps from the grassroots levels upwards; and consequently, in course of their organising and intensifying the class and mass struggles all over the country, emergence of the alternative political power of the people would take place which would herald anti-capitalist socialist revolution in India. So you see how closely is related the fundamental issue of emancipation of the downtrodden masses from capitalist exploitation with that of freeing them from the host of ideological and political confusions prevailing today.

Therefore, the task now devolves on you to courageously accept the challenge in the light of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh to ensure victory in this struggle not only for our party but for the communists of the whole world.

Conduct struggle to integrate intellectual and emotional faculties to acquire both ability and character to uphold the cause of revolution

So, I repeat, in the background of the critical international and national situation the interest of the revolutionary movement demands of us acquiring and absorbing the inner kernel and true essence of the noble

ideology of communism. It is the surest guarantee of victory in the struggle against revisionism. For that you ought to wage a conscious and continuous struggle to gradually acquire a high level of communist culture and character. Otherwise you will be completely defenceless against the influence of individualism, which will surreptitiously eat away your loyalty to the cause, strength of character and ability to act.

The revolutionary struggle does not encourage blind emotion but only that which is conscious and which flows from the clarity of revolutionary understanding. The revolutionary theory is based on science, but do not forget that its true realisation entails the finer emotional faculties to be involved. With intellectual faculty alone we cannot help advance the revolutionary cause, because without the emotional chord being struck deep within one's self, intellectual or theoretical understanding alone cannot transform into profound realisation. This is a sure test of one's level of realisation of the revolutionary cause and the revolutionary ideology. By erudition one will never be anywhere near a revolutionary, a communist unless true realisation of necessity of revolution torments one within. Only through a ceaseless struggle to integrate both intellectual and emotional faculties together can you acquire the necessary standard of communist character today. Only thus can you successfully resolve the confusions and complexities of the changed international and national situation, advance the revolutionary movements of the masses and ultimately achieve victory of the anti-capitalist socialist revolution in India. That would be your real, historical and most objective contribution towards the advancement of international communist movement. With this I conclude here.

Long Live Historic 24th April !

Long Live Anticapitalist Socialist Revolution !

Long Live November Revolution !

Red Salute to the Great Leader of the Proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh !

Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Proletarian Internationalism !

Postal Regd. No. WB | CC 107

Regd. No. 13932 | 67

Proletarian Era

Organ of SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
(Fortnightly)

Founder Editor-in-Chief :
COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Vol. 25 No. 6 November 1, 1991
Price : Rs. 4 Air Surcharge : 5 P.

November Revolution Special Issue

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : COMRADE NIHAR MUKHERJEE

Edited & Published by Sukomal Das Gupta from 48 Lenin Sarani, Calcutta-700 013
and printed by him at Ganadabi Printers and Publishers Private Limited
52B Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta-700 013