

# Proletarian Era

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## GREAT NOVEMBER REVOLUTION



“The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to disguise them-

selves as Marxists. Liberalism, rotten within, tried to revive itself in the form of socialist opportunism. They interpreted the period of preparing the forces for great battles as renunciation of these battles. Improvement of the conditions of the slaves to fight against wage slavery they took to mean the sale by the slaves of their right to liberty for a few pence. They cravenly preached social peace (i.e., peace with the slave owners), renunciation of the class struggle.”

(Selected Works : Moscow, 1977, p-18)

## The Lasting Lessons

Every year the November Revolution Day comes to remind us of our historic task for the emancipation of the toiling people of the countries groaning under the savage exploitation of capitalism-imperialism. To the communists all over the world, it is not a ritual to pay a stereotyped remembrance for a special day. But it is the occasion for an in depth study of the experiences acquired in the revolutionary movement of the past and settling of the necessities for future revolutionary movement. The great November Revolution of 1917 that broke through the fortress of world capitalism to establish the world's first Soviet socialist state in Russia was an epoch-making phenomenon. But it was not an accidental happening. The great November revolution is a classical example of how theory and practice could be brilliantly integrated. The theory of November revolution that completely transformed Russia and established an alternative social order to further the progress of mankind tearing apart the fetters of exploitative capitalist rule has a unique history of emergence. There are great lessons to be

drawn from that in order to foster proletarian revolutionary movements in different countries. We would like to focus on some of such significant lessons tracing a bit of history.

It was Karl Marx; the giant revolutionary philosopher who based on a scientific analysis of social evolution foresaw the inevitability of the doom of capitalism and advent of proletarian revolution. He was first to see that the bourgeois society creates and male ground for the unity of action of the proletariat against capitalist exploitation and the consequent outcome is the class struggle between the two antagonistic classes. This would lead inevitably to social revolution bringing forth scientific socialism, step towards communism. This class struggle would continue till anarchic social production and private property both in material and spiritual world disappeared. He was first to comment that the rising of proletariat with the development of capitalism was not an 'ulcer' to the society, but marked the advent of the revolutionary class which would make society free of the major

Contd. on page 2

## After Gurgaon, it is now Calcutta

## Police goes berserk to muzzle voice of protest

After the brutality the Haryana police demonstrated in its crackdown on the agitating workers of Honda Motor company in Gurgaon on the 25th of July last, it was the turn of the West Bengal police to excel in beastly savagery to bludgeon the notion of a civilized society. On 27th of October, as a part of their declared programme, the members of the All Bengal Electricity Consumers' Association (ABECA), the people's committee spearheading for the last several years, legitimate democratic movement against the soaring power tariff and other anti-people power policies of both the central and state governments assembled in front of Bidyut Bhavan, the state headquarters of power ministry in salt lake, Calcutta, billed as showcase of capitalist special economic zone, to protest

against, inter alia, 100% hike in the electricity charges in agriculture. This exorbitant rise effected by the CPI(M)-led state government in compliance with the draconian electricity act promulgated by the erstwhile BJP-led central government with the full consent of all the state governments including West Bengal, has wreaked havoc in the life of the poor peasants who can ill-afford to foot such hefty electric bills for running shallow pumps to irrigate land. Unable to bear the brunt, many poor farmers have already committed suicide. The days to come will see many others to follow the suit. The woebegone peasants, organized under the banner of ABECA fighting for their cause, came in thousands to narrate the tale of their peril and misery to the government authorities. They expected the concerned officials

to at least lend an ear to them. Instead they were received with a barrage of bullets and wanton baton charge. The scale of barbaric police action on the peaceful agitators reduced even the bestial Gurgaon episode to mediocrity.

A small delegation on behalf of ABECA was scheduled to meet the chairman of the state electricity board and this was informed well in advance to his office. But the moment the protestors who came from far away places to ventilate their grievances in the accepted democratic process assembled at the venue, the massive police force mobilized there to, in the language of the CPI(M) state secretary "guard government property", pounced upon the unarmed peaceful demonstrators and beastly

Contd. on page 11

# Lenin fought to form a monolithic revolutionary party

Contd. from page 1

contradiction and the philosophy of dialectical materialism indicating this course of social progress was not an utopia but a science to fall back upon. The proletariat all over the world also found in Marxism a powerful weapon in its fight against capitalist exploitation. The teachings of Karl Marx spread throughout the world and consequently the working class had a great awakening. In 1854, 'International Working Men's Association' was formed with Karl Marx as its chief architect.

## Pre-revolution Russia

Meanwhile capitalism, like other countries, was also developing in Russia which was then under tyrannical rule of Tsar. The teachings of Marx reached that land as well. As Lenin remembered, "Marx and Engels, who knew Russian and read Russian books, took a lively interest in the country... maintained contact with the Russian revolutionaries" (Vol. II, p.19). Prior to the appearance of the Marxist groups, Narodniks, the adherents to the ideology of petty bourgeois peasant-democracy, prevailed largely in Russia. Plekhanov, who himself was a Narodnik, came in contact with Marxism and broke with them to be an outstanding propagandist of Marxism in Russia. He translated the Communist Manifesto in Russian with preface from Marx-Engels. Many of the writings of Marx and Engels were also translated into Russian. In 1883, he raised 'emancipation of labour' group, the first Marxist group in Russia. This group fought the erroneous views of Narodniks and spread Marxism throughout the country. Plekhanov wrote a number of articles combating Narodism from a Marxist outlook. Of them, 'On the development of the monistic view of history' served, as Lenin said, to "rear a whole generation of Russian Marxists". Marxism in Russia developed by giving a crushing defeat to Narodism. But Plekhanov committed some serious mistakes. Though he fought Narodism, tooth and nail, yet his views still contained vestiges of the Narodnik

views of individual terrorism. He failed to see the auxiliary role of the peasantry led by the working class and considered that the liberal bourgeoisie would support the cause of the working class. Above all his 'emancipation of labour' group like the then other Marxist groups had no practical connection with the working class movement.

The task of uniting Marxism with the working class movement and correcting the mistakes of Plekhanov fell on Lenin. Lenin, at the age of 18, was arrested and expelled from the Kazan University for taking part in revolutionary student movement. Here he joined a Marxist circle formed by one Fedosev. Later on, he moved to Samara and formed a Marxist circle in the city. In 1893, he moved to St. Petersburg. In 1895, he united the Marxist circles and formed the 'league of struggle for the emancipation of the working class' and started mass agitations involving the workers. He was first to link the concept of scientific 'socialism' with working class movement in Russia. Narodnik views still continued to exist and Lenin gave a fitting reply to it in his celebrated work 'What the 'friends of the people' are and how they fight the social democrat'. An attempt was made to unite all the Marxist groups and circles in Russia including that of Plekhanov's and form one social democratic labour party. But Lenin was arrested and sent to Siberia in 1897. Still, he maintained secret links with his comrades and wrote a number of articles fighting the wretched doctrine of 'Economism' which was then a trend in the working class movement arresting it within the confines of economic demands, devoid of politics and opposed to floating of a political party of the workers. Returning from the exile, Lenin along with Plekhanov published the first newspaper of the revolutionary Marxists named 'Iskra', meaning 'Spark'. The aim was to fight "Economism" and unite all Marxist circles and groups into a party.

## Formation of RSDLP

After an unsuccessful attempt to form one Russian Social-democratic

Labour Party (RSDLP) in the first Congress of 1898, the party finally came into being in the 2nd Congress held abroad in 1903. But two groups emerged within the RSDLP. Lenin was in the majority section called 'Bolsheviks', while the 'Mensheviks' constituted the minority segment. Plekhanov sided with Lenin first, but became a "Menshevik" later on. The main debate was centred round the question as to what should be the character of the party.

Mensheviks claimed that "every striker", "every demonstrator" should be allowed to declare himself a party member, the party should allow free groups and individuals as members and the clause "minority must submit to majority" be scraped. They were against 'centralism' and preferred 'autonomism' and was for a loose-type 'Khvostist' party. Actually, Russia was then on the verge of bourgeois-democratic revolution. So, bourgeois intelligentsia sympathized with revolution and offered service to the party from time to time. Mensheviks demanded to include them as members.

But Lenin was for a revolutionary working class party. Accusing the Mensheviks of 'organizational Nihilism' and 'Aristocratic Anarchism', Lenin fought for a monolithic revolutionary working class party. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin asserted —

- (1) The party must not be confused with the working class. The working class has many detachments and the party is not an ordinary detachment, but the VANGUARD detachment, a class-conscious detachment, a Marxist detachment of the working class.
- (2) The party is not only the vanguard, but also an ORGANISED vanguard. "The proletariat has no other weapon but organization." Hence, party members must necessarily be active members of some organization.
- (3) In order to function properly and guide the masses systematically, the party must be organized on the principle

of CENTRALISM — meaning, establishment of Authority, transformation of the power of ideas into power of authority, the subordination of lower bodies to higher bodies. The discipline should be binding for all categories of members, leaders as well.

- (4) The party, being the highest form of organization that guides other organizations, must be formed with the finest members of the class, armed with an advanced theory, with knowledge of laws of class struggle and experience of revolutionary movement and organization.
- (5) The party must have connection with working class millions, otherwise it cannot prosper.
- (6) The party must not be turned to a 'Khvostist' (following the tail) party, a tailpiece of the spontaneous and passive process allowing events to take their own course. "Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.. The role of the vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory... all worship of the spontaneity, all belittling of the role of the conscious elements, of the role of the party means, quite irrespective of whether the belittler likes it or not, strengthening the influence of the bourgeois ideology among the workers." (Lenin)

In his celebrated book 'One step forward, two steps back' Lenin, for the first time in the history of Marxism, elaborated the role of the party as a leading organization of the proletariat, their principal weapon without which no working-class revolution, no struggle for the dictatorship of proletariat is possible.

Thereafter the Bolsheviks jumped into organizing working class movement and the period of 1901-1904 saw a tremendous growth of the movement. In 1904, the Russo-Japanese war broke out. The Tsarist government expected that the war would check the rising

Contd. on page 3

# Creative application of Marxism made revolution victorious

Contd. from page 2

tide of revolution. But in December 1904, a massive and well-organized strike was successfully organized by the Bolsheviks in Baku oil-field. Chain reaction followed. The strike was like a clap of thunder heralding the revolutionary storm of 1905 that swept the Russian soil to overthrow Tsarist regime.

## The first revolutionary upsurge of 1905

While the Mensheviks supported the war-effort of Tsar out of "patriotism" and relied solely on the liberal bourgeoisie, Lenin characterized bourgeois democratic revolution that occurred in Russia in 1905 in a different tone. He said that it was happening at a time when world capitalism had reached the stage of imperialism. "The role of the proletariat is the role of leader in the bourgeois-democratic revolution" he asserted.

According to him, it was imperative that to attain victory, the revolution is led by the working class. So, the Bolsheviks tried to overthrow the Tsardom by armed uprising and form the provisional revolutionary government with representatives of workers and peasants. Plekhanov, championing the Menshevik cause cried, "They should not have taken the arms." Taking advantage of this Menshevik betrayal, the autocratic Tsarist rulers mounted severe attack on the revolutionary struggle and succeeded in containing it. The revolutionary upsurge was countermanded. Lenin summed up - "By the heroic struggle it waged during the course of three years (1905-1907) the Russian proletariat won for itself and for the Russian people gains that took other nations decades to win. It won the emancipation of the working masses from the influence of the treacherous and contemptibly impotent liberalism... It won for all the oppressed and exploited classes of Russia the ability to wage a revolutionary mass struggle." Though this revolutionary movement did not succeed, yet this first Russian revolution strongly influenced the development of the liberation movement of the world over. It showed that the nerve centre of world revolution was now shifted to Russia and the Russian proletariat, led by Lenin's Bolshevik party had become the vanguard.

Lenin appeared to the masses as the theoretician, organizer and leader of the Russian revolution. But the failure of the 1905 revolution had also generated a pale of gloom and frustration. It was the great inspiring leadership of Lenin which freed the people from the grip of despair and roused them to rejuvenate themselves for resuscitating proletarian revolutionary movement. Lenin had to handle the various complexities of this revolutionary struggle wading through the twists and turns and took every step with lot of caution and calculation with the singular objective of strengthening revolution. The boycott of and decision to participate in the Russian Duma in two different contexts deserve a special mention here.

Duma, incidentally, was not a body where representatives were elected through adult franchise. It was a deliberative body of the Tsar and practically had no executive power in the key areas of administration. However, it had a quota of seats reserved for the workers. In 1905, when the revolutionary movement for seizure of power from autocratic Tsar was in ferment, the Bolsheviks under Lenin boycotted the Duma and concentrated on making the decisive battle victorious. But when the movement had a setback, revolution failed and a feel of frustration descended upon, Lenin decided to take part in the Duma, had Bolshevik revolutionaries planted in it to expose its hollowness before the people so that they nurtured no newly fangled illusion about it and turned back to the revolutionary line. Hence, Lenin asserted, both the decisions were correct. "...the tactics of boycotting the Bulygin Duma (1905) were the only correct tactics at that time...The time has come when the revolutionary Social Democrats must cease to be boycottists. We shall not refuse to go into the second Duma (1906) when (or 'if') it is convened" (CW. vol.II.p.142-45). Lenin also taught - "The alteration of parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle, of the tactics of boycotting parliament and that of participating in parliament, of legal and illegal forms of struggle, and likewise their inter relations and connections - all this was marked by an extraordinary wealth of content. ...

The Bolsheviks' boycott of 'parliament' in 1905 enriched the revolutionary proletariat with highly valuable political experience and showed that, when legal and illegal, parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle are combined, it is sometimes useful and even essential to reject parliamentary forms. It would, however, be highly erroneous to apply this experience blindly, imitatively and uncritically, to other conditions and other situations ... the Bolsheviks could not have preserved (let alone strengthened and developed) the core of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, had they not upheld, in a most strenuous struggle, the viewpoint that was obligatory to combine legal and illegal forms of struggle, and that it was obligatory to participate even in a most reactionary parliamentary. ..." (Left Wing Communism - an Infantile Disorder)

This is a significant learning particularly in today's context when there is much on the question of linking parliamentary struggle with the extra-parliamentary movement. So long the rising tide of revolutionary movement does not sweep across and the people harbour illusion about bourgeois parliamentary politics, the necessity of using parliamentary forum to the extent possible in the receding period with a view to reflecting the voice of extra parliamentary movement inside the legislature does remain. Correct discharging of this responsibility also helps in making people aware and conscious of the futility of the bourgeois parliamentary system in so far as emancipation from capitalist exploitation is concerned. But once the people imbibe the revolutionary ideal and purpose and come forward to launch the final offensive, participation in parliamentary struggle outlives its utility and hence will warrant renunciation.

## Stolypin-reaction days

The years of 1908-1912 were the most difficult time for the Russian revolutionaries. It was called "the Stolypin-reaction"-days linking the name of Tsar's minister Stolypin who executed several thousand revolutionaries in gallows. The Mensheviks became liquidators. 'Revising' Marxism became the fashion of the

intellectuals. Bogdanov, Lunacharsky and others in the name of improving Marxism tried to undermine its theoretical foundation. Plekhanov and Mensheviks instead of combating them quit the scene. It was incumbent on Lenin to defend and thereby develop Marxism against this attack. During this struggle the famous book "Materialism and Emperio Criticism" was written by Lenin. He fought Mach and Avenarius for their idealism. Lenin pointed out, that while the communists must learn how to advance during the period of rise of the revolution; likewise, they must know how to retreat properly in receding time, in the period of reaction, how to preserve and strengthen the party, make best use of available legal means and strengthen links with the masses. "The Bolsheviks effected the most orderly retreat, with the least loss to their 'army'... The Bolsheviks achieved this only because they ruthlessly exposed and expelled the revolutionary phrase-mongers, who refused to understand that ... one had absolutely to learn how to work legally in the most reactionary parliament, in the most reactionary trade unions ... and similar organizations." At this moment the revolutionary party should perfect its knowledge.

Unlike the Mensheviks, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin were certain that within a next few years there would be a resurgence of the revolutionary tide, and hence it was the duty of the party to prepare the masses for this fresh uprise. Lenin said, "the revolution itself must not be regarded as a single act, but a series of more or less powerful outbreaks rapidly alternating in the periods of more or less complete calm. For that reason, the principal content of the activity of our organization, the focus of this activity, should be work that both possible and essential in the period of most powerful outbreak as well in the period of complete calm" (Vol.V, p.514). He further saw, "a revolutionary is not one who becomes revolutionary with the set of revolution, but one who defends the principles and slogans of revolution when a reaction is most violent and when liberals and democrats vacillate to the greatest degree. A revolutionary is one who

Contd. on page 4

# Lenin upheld revolutionary line against all deviations, distortions

Contd. from page 3

teaches the masses to struggle in a revolutionary manner and no body can possibly foresee (make a 'forecast' of) the result of that teaching" (Vol.19, p.232, 1913). "Whether the next wave will surge up tomorrow, the day after, or months hence, depends on a quite a number of unpredictable circumstances." (Vol.VIII, p139) He concluded, "a people's revolution, true, cannot be timed ... and uprising can be, if those preparing it have influence among the masses and correctly estimate the situation." (Vol.VIII, p.153)

In this regard it is worthwhile to remember another teaching of Comrade Lenin. "What generally speaking are the symptoms of revolutionary situation? We shall certainly not be mistaken if we indicate the following major symptoms: (1) when it is impossible for the ruling classes to maintain their rule without any change; when there is a crisis, in one form or another among the upper classes, a crisis in the policy of the ruling class leading to fissure through which the discontent and indignation of oppressed classes burst forth. For a revolution to take place, it is usually insufficient for 'the lower classes not to want' to live in the old way; it is also necessary that 'the upper classes should be unable' to live in the old way. (2) when the suffering and want of oppressed classes have grown more acute than usual; (3) when, as a consequence of the above causes, there is a considerable increase in the activity of the masses, who uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed in 'peacetime', but, in turbulent times are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the 'upper classes' themselves into independent historical action.

Without these objective changes ... a revolution, as a general rule is impossible. The totality of all these objective changes is called a revolutionary situation." (Vol. XXI, p.213)

In this period of 'arch-reaction' Lenin had to fight another difficult ideological struggle against 'August-Block' comprising 'liquidators', 'otzovists' and 'centrists' led by Trotsky. There was an urgent necessity of uniting

all the Bolsheviks into an independent Bolshevik Party. In January 1912, the Prague conference of the RSDLP got rid of all the Menshevik opportunists, the liquidators, the otzovists etc. to form a new type of monolithic party called the Bolshevik Party as a model for all who wanted to have a real revolutionary party – "the party of the Leninist model."

After getting rid of all the opportunists, vacillating, and treacherous forces and united under the authoritative leadership of Lenin, the Bolshevik party with renewed vigour broke through the depression of the Stolypin-reaction days throughout the country, particularly among the workers and peasants. Again, the revolutionary movement surged forth.

In the process of fighting against the enemies of the working class and their agents the party consolidated its ranks and extended its connections with the working class. Making use of the Duma as a platform of revolutionary agitation, and having founded 'Pravda', a splendid newspaper of the mass workers, the party trained a new generation of revolutionary workers.

On August 1, 1914, Germany declared war on Russia. Russia was drawn into the war, the First World War. On the war-question the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin had taken a unique stand that calls for a bit illustration.

## World War, Bolshevik Party and Revolution

Right at the end of the nineteenth century world capitalism had reached its highest stage, that of imperialism. Finance capital became the dominant feature and demanded new markets, seizure of new colonies, new fields for export and new sources of raw materials. Relative economic and military strength of the imperialist states underwent a change. The imperialist powers sought a redivision of the world market to buttress their respective interests of profit maximization and political domination. This acute competition for snatching share in this redivided market made imperialist war inevitable. The First World War broke out. While Tsarist Russia, France, Belgium and Great Britain combined in one bloc, Germany,

Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey and others flocked together to constitute the rival bloc.

The war would not have been so destructive and could benefit the Communist Parties the world over, had not the parties of second international betrayed the cause of the working class and instead dared to act according to the declaration of the World Congress of Second International at Busle in 1912, that the workers of all countries consider it a crime to shoot one another for the sake of increasing the profits of the capitalists. But when the war broke out, almost all the constituents of the second international spoke in favour of their respective fatherlands and fell prey to national chauvinism. Only the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin adhered to the declaration. Russian Mensheviks,

Socialist Revolutionaries also became social-chauvinists and they championed the cause of the imperialists. They preached class peace between the workers and the bourgeoisie at home and war on other nations abroad. The imperialist bourgeoisie systematically bribed the upper section of the workers, the so-called labour-aristocrats offering higher wages and other things out of the profit derived from the colonies. These labour-aristocrats wielded considerable influence in the parties of the second international, and Lenin had to dissolve it, later on.

In the spring of 1916, Lenin wrote his famous book, 'Imperialism, the Highest stage of Capitalism' wherein he showed that on reaching the highest stage, capitalism has become moribund, transformed from 'progressive capitalism into parasitic capitalism, decaying capitalism. But it never meant that capitalism would just rot in the stalk. It had to be overthrown by working class revolution. "Imperialism", said Lenin, "is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat." He also emphasized that in this era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, victory of socialism in one capitalist country, taken singly, was possible and hence it unfettered the initiative of the proletarians of various countries to mount onslaught against their respective national bourgeoisie to accomplish revolution. Taking advantage of the war situation, they

could accentuate their onslaughts. The Bolsheviks linked up the cause of peace with the cause of victory of proletarian revolution. Such was the theoretical and tactical stand of the Bolsheviks on war, peace and revolution and on that basis the Bolsheviks carried on their revolutionary activities. The first world war which was a manifestation of the general crisis of imperialism-capitalism further aggravated the crisis and considerably weakened it. Lenin seized the opportunity to rouse the Russian working class against the Tsarist state, stepped up class and mass struggles to strike decisive blow to imperialism-capitalism, war-ravaged and totally in disarray.

On the other hand, it was of vital interest to the bourgeoisie to make everybody believe that the imperialist war was a people's war. The Mensheviks took an active part in this pseudo-patriotic scheme of the Russian bourgeoisie. The Bolsheviks firmly opposed that. They wholeheartedly devoted themselves to organize the workers and peasants against the war and the bourgeois machinations. They also developed extensive activities in the army and navy, agitated for fraternization between the soldiers of the working armies, emphasizing that the world bourgeoisie was the enemy and that the war could be ended only by converting the imperialist war into a civil war and turning one's own weapons against one's own bourgeoisie and its government.

The people of Russia could also link their experiences with the propositions of the Bolsheviks. While the Russian bourgeoisie and landlords were making fortunes out of war, the workers and peasants were suffering from increasing hardship and privation. The war was eating up the resources of the country. The Tsarist army was suffering defeats after defeats. Hatred and anger of the workers, peasants, soldiers and intellectuals against the Tsarist government army fostered and intensified the revolutionary movement of the masses against the war and against Tsardom. The Bolsheviks threw up their gauntlet behind organizing the toiling masses for revolution through struggles. The augury of the

Contd. on page 7

# Second World Congress of International Council for Friendship and Solidarity with Soviet People held in Canada

The Second All World Congress of the 'International Council for Friendship and Solidarity with Soviet People' (ICFSSP) was held in Toronto, Canada, from 23rd to 25th September last. The SUCI was the only political party invited from India and accepting the invitation, Comrade Manik Mukherjee, central staff, and Deputy, International Affairs, participated in and addressed the Congress as the representative of the party. The venue of the Congress was the Friendship Hall, severely damaged by a devastating fire, which, in all probability was an act of sabotage. The hall was later reconstructed with public contribution.

More than 50 delegates from the states belonging to former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka and many other countries from Europe, America, Asia and Africa attended the Congress while those who spoke were from Russia, Ukraine, India, Brazil, Turkey, USA, Canada, Bangladesh, Germany, Spain, Congo, Great Britain, Senegal, Philippines, Italy, Iran etc. Written messages were sent by Gievenine Veria from Brazil, Danko from Chile, Michael Ricalka on behalf of the Carpathians and Nina Andrieva from Russia, who could not make it to the Congress.

The ICFSSP was established in Canada in 2001, with the avowed objective of strengthening the struggle of the Soviet people to bring back socialism. The organization also began publishing a monthly organ named Northstar Compass.

On 23rd September, Comrade Rick Esguerra, member of the working committee, inaugurated the Congress, Comrade Michael Lucas, chairman of the organization and editor of Northstar Compass, formally introduced the delegates to the gathering. A 5-member presidium was elected for conduction of the Congress. Comrade Lucas moved the main resolution which clearly brought out the areas of success the organization achieved after its first World Congress in 2001 and also highlighted the limitations it had suffered from. Explaining the reason for including the word "Soviet" in the nomenclature of the organization, Comrade Lucas said, "The decision of the First Congress was that there should be established in former USSR Friendship Societies with Foreign Countries in all former Soviet Republics as a partner to the International Council. After all, we want to be friends with ALL SOVIET people and not just with the Russians! Otherwise we would have to establish 15 different friendship societies!"

After extensive deliberation, the resolution was adopted. Thereafter a 5-member resolution committee was elected with Comrade Manik Mukherjee as one of the members. On behalf of the Russian Society of Friendship with Foreign countries, a report was placed by Comrades Vladimir Chechentsev, Viktor Bourenkov and Georgii Tikhonov. Apart from that, 7 other delegates from Russia and Ukraine also placed reports. Comrade Vladimir Nikiforov represented Russian trade union organization, Zashchita.

On 24th September, delegates from different countries presented their views, followed by a question-answer session. Comrade Manik Mukherjee was first to speak in that session. (Abridged version of Comrade Mukherjee's speech is given separately). Comrade Khalequzzaman, Convener of the Central Committee of Bangladesh Socialist Party, in his address, said, "The capitalist-imperialists, led by US imperialism, are on the warpath to establish their domination over the whole world. The counter-

revolution in the USSR in 1989-91, has indeed changed the world balance of power to the advantage of imperialism. In the name of 'war of terror', it has brazenly declared its right to use military force anywhere in the world, at anytime it chooses, against any country which it perceives to be hostile to the US interest. My own country, Bangladesh, has also become a prey to this US imperialist grab and it is greatly endangered. It has its eye on the rich hydrocarbon resources of the country and wants to establish control over it. To an extent, it is succeeding in its design with the overt and covert support of the bourgeois class of Bangladesh. The need of the hour is to give an organized shape to the people's movements and direct them towards a sustained fight against global imperialism on the basis of a correct ideology". Comrade Khalequzzaman concluded his speech by submitting a 6-point concrete proposal.

On 25th September, among other agenda, was placing of a report by Comrade Michael Lucas in regard to the achievements and shortcomings of the publication 'Northstar Compass'. Resolutions placed in the Congress were adopted after discussion.

The resolutions the committee deliberated upon were on the following subjects —

1. Free the political prisoners — fighters for socialism — US and

Baltic states.

2. Solidarity with Soviet people — Restore the Soviet Union.
3. Support the revolution in Cuba and Venezuela.
4. Denial of Visas by Canadian Authorities (to quite a number of individuals eager to join the Congress).
5. Strongly condemning the lynch of Turkey and Kurdistan people by fascist Turkish state.
6. In defence of the struggle of the Nepalese people.
7. Against imperialism and new world order and US-led war in Iraq and around the world.
8. In defence of President Milosevich against imperialist judicial tyranny.
9. Holding Third Congress in Moscow.

On this last day report of the resolutions committee was discussed and adopted by the Congress. Report of the Nomination Committee was adopted by the Congress as well. The next executive committee was elected by the Congress included Comrade Manik Mukherjee. Comrade Khalequzzaman was elected member of the editorial committee of Northstar Compass. The concluding speeches at the Congress were delivered by Comrade Vladimir Chechentsev and Comrade Manik Mukherjee. The historical Congress then ended with the rendition of international. For the 3rd World Congress, Russia has been decided upon as the venue.

## Militant anti-imperialist movement is the need of the hour :

SUCI calls upon the people of the world and the Soviet Union at the Toronto Congress

Here we publish an abridged version of the paper submitted Comrade Manik Mukherjee in the Toronto Congress of ICFSSP. — Ed. Board, P.Era

".....The erstwhile Soviet Union. .... was a country which once stood as the beacon of revolutionary movements of anywhere and everywhere of the world. Now we hold this Congress to stand by them. One may ask how could the first mighty socialist state of the world, a unique development in the human history, meet such a tragic end? We must have the answer. We know, the Soviet toiling

people under the leadership of their working class, will strive to build up that kind of socialist state again, through accomplishing the revolution. But we must also have the answer to: why did they have to face this ordeal of seeing their beloved socialist state destroyed to be built again. ... Since the end of the second world war, ... notwithstanding all imperialist intrigues and attacks ..., the Socialist camp existed with all its glory and might , so long as it was led by the able leadership of the great Proletarian leader, Comrade Stalin, the worthy successor of Comrade

Lenin, the architect of the Great November Revolution and the great Marxist-Leninist thinker. But it was the emergence of modern revisionism in Soviet Russia that destroyed the first socialist state of the world from within. Only as and when this negative aspect developed in Soviet Union giving birth to the internal basic cause that acted upon the Socialist state and its society, that it could make the situation there ripe for counterrevolution. ... Revisionism also brought about disunity in the international communist movement and thus

Contd. on page 6

# SUCI at Toronto Congress of ICFSSP

Contd. from page 5

weakened it as well, both ideologically and organizationally. Finally, capitalist counterrevolution swept across the countries of the socialist camp, leaving us in front of the big question: how could it all happen?

Right in 1956, when Khrushchovite revisionism made its appearance in the 20th Congress of the CPSU and finally usurped power, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our party, SUCI and one of the leading Marxist-Leninist thinker of the present day raised caution. The apprehensions became true immediately afterwards and in the most extreme forms. 'Floodgate of revisionism' was opened. Analysing the reasons of emergence of this revisionism in the land of Lenin and Stalin, Comrade Ghosh further pointed out: "...it is true that in the post-Lenin period the communist movements in colonies, semi-colonies and capitalist countries had tremendously developed organizationally. But this development by itself does not prove that the level of ideological consciousness of the communists had also risen.... In fact, it did not rise." (ibid, p.77-8) In the long run, there was lowering of the ideological-cultural standard among the communists and mechanical thought process and mechanical relationship between the leadership and the rank and file in the communist movement, all facilitating revisionism to raise its ugly head. All this has made it incumbent upon us to recognize the necessity today of realizing the invaluable Marxist-Leninist teachings of the great leaders like Lenin and Stalin. These include, that unless the revolutionary leadership takes the fact into account that class struggle is further intensified in a socialist society, and hence develops relentless ideological-cultural struggle, there always remains a possibility for the pernicious reactionary ideas to pollute the movement and society. This realization also helps us develop a deeper understanding of the vital teaching of Lenin that revolution cannot be accomplished nor sustained without the struggle being built upon the correct revolutionary theory under the leadership of a correct revolutionary party. At the same time, while it has

to forge a rock-solid united front of the workers, peasants and all other sections of oppressed toiling masses of people, it has also to wage incessant struggle under the leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat to constantly elevating the ideological-cultural standard of the party and the masses as guarantee against any deviation and any reactionary ideas to grow within the revolutionary movement. (Again)...while praising the Chinese Cultural Revolution under the leadership of the great leader Comrade Mao Zedong as a 'magnificent' 'courageous' effort to preserve and protect the socialist state of China, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh also pointed out "...In the period of socialist economic reconstruction, there is a danger that a tendency of a new type of economism, of hankering for material incentive and benefit may grow the common workers... Such a mentality breeds a typical individualistic and opportunistic trend among the workers...this economism in a socialist system is a great obstacle in the way of identification of individual interest with social interest. ...The individual's struggle for emancipation has reached a new and complex height and has assumed a new character in the socialist society where to resolve this problem, a more intense and arduous struggle is to be conducted for complete identification of the self-interest with the interest of society." (Cultural Revolution of China, Selected Works, vol.1, 1st Edn. p.221-3). To seek the root of revisionism-reformism and the sorts in socialism, we may have this guideline to consider upon.

... Soviet Union which was once the fortress of world revolution, the nerve centre of the Peace Camp against war-monger imperialists, has now been turned into a playground of capitalist-imperialist plunder and conspiracies. The capitalist regimes of different constituent republics of the former Soviet Union, (including Russia with Putin in power) are coming down with ruthless exploitation of their people. In the name of globalization-liberalization, the capitalist rulers there, as part and parcel of the world capitalist-imperialist system, are trying with various ...measures for capturing markets in the global arena, along

with continuing capitalist exploitation within the soil. At the same time to crush revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements within the country and outside as well, they are combining with the imperialists, headed by the US imperialism, to found military build-ups, even thinking of joining



Comrade Manik Mukherjee placing his paper at Toronto Congress.  
Comrade Michael Lucas sitting at extreme left.

the imperialist military combinations like NATO. Imperialists led by the US imperialism, in their turn, are continuing with their conspiracies and subversions. They are investing millions of dollars in, for example, elections to see their favoured forces assume the governmental power, as was found in Ukraine recently, as well as in promoting and spreading obnoxious imperialist culture to pollute particularly the youth of the countries with the vices of consumerism, self-centrism, sex, violence, crime and the sorts. Unfortunately though, a section of the newer generation falls sad victims to this imperialist conspiracy to create out of them a reserve anti-force which can be used against revolutionary and people's movements. But the class rule also inexorably aggravates the class struggle. ..(Even) .... the imperialists ... do not rest for a single day without the nightmare of socialism making a comeback in this land of the Great November Revolution! ...Different parties and forces in these countries are launching democratic struggles against their present respective capitalist regimes, as well as anti-imperialist movements, under the banner of Marxism- Leninism and accepting Lenin-Stalin as the Marxist authority. People of the erstwhile Soviet Union, even a section of the younger generation, are coming out with fresh hopes and

resolves .. as it was found during the observance of 60 years of victory over Nazism. It means in spite of all efforts of the ruling capitalists and the foreign imperialists, prospects and possibilities, of anti-capitalist struggle are brightening fast in Russia and other states of the erstwhile Soviet Union.

However, .. no amount of emotion, nor mere adherence to Marxism-Leninism will help avert the danger of pseudodemocrats,

pseudocommunists, revisionists and such others to extend their influence within movements. Thus, with a view to leading and developing these present struggles to newer and newer heights, the genuine communist forces of these countries, acting as the core of movements and depending on their experiences and exchanges with different other forces in the movement, notwithstanding their ideological-political differences, will need to build up united front on the minimum common agreed programme of democratic and anti-imperialist movements on the basis of the dialectical principle of unity-struggle-unity. .. They also have to undertake intense ideological struggle so as to develop ideological clarity on one and all questions and isolate the revisionists and such other reactionary forces from the toiling masses.... We are sure, this way they will also establish their revolutionary working class leadership to lead these struggles to their cherished ends...(also) realizing by this time the Leninist understanding that they would always require to overthrow their capitalism again from the state power to establish the socialist state and economy in a new way. This is the need of the hour for the toiling people of all states of the erstwhile Soviet Union..

Workers' parties and communist parties of different countries of the

Contd. on page 12

# Tremendous progress of USSR vindicated supremacy of socialism

Contd. from page 4

year 1917 was marked by culmination of a course of political strikes in Petrograd, Moscow, Baku and Nizhny Novgorod. While the Mensheviks and Socialist revolutionaries tried to divert the incipient revolutionary movement into the channels of bourgeois liberalism and parliamentarism, the Bolsheviks were determined to direct it along the correct Marxist-Leninist line. The political strikes and movements grew into a general political demonstration against the Tsarist system and were going from strength to strength.

Side by side, the Russian bourgeoisie, incensed by the attempts of Rasputin and others to conclude separate peace with Germany, was getting increasingly dissatisfied with the Tsar and sought to overthrow Tsarism and get into the power itself. It had full support of the British and French governments. It also needed to ensure that outbreak of a big popular revolution the tide of which was swelling, was prevented. So it engineered a small palace coup to depose Tsar Nicholas II and replace him by his brother, Michael Romanov, closely connected with it. On February 27, (March 12), 1917 the liberal members of the Fourth State Duma, as a result of a hidden understanding with the socialist revolutionaries and Menshevik leaders, set up a Principal Committee of the State Duma and a few days later by way of an agreement between this Provisional State Duma and the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionary leaders of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies formed a new bourgeois Provisional Government with Kerensky the representative of the Socialist Revolutionaries. Thus a new state power arose in Russia consisting, as Lenin said, of representatives of the 'bourgeois and landlords who had become bourgeois.'

With the replacement of the Tsar by the Russian bourgeoisie in state power, the February bourgeois-democratic revolution was complete. The revolution became victorious because its vanguard was the working class. In the words of Lenin,

"The revolution was made by the proletariat. The proletariat displayed heroism; it shed its blood;

it swept along with it the broadest masses of the toiling and poor population" (CW Vol. XX, p. 23-26)

## The Dual Power

Here mention must be made of a unique aspect of the Russian revolution, 'the Dual Power'. "...alongside of the bourgeois government there existed another power — the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The soldier deputies on the Soviet were mostly peasants who had been mobilized for the war. The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies was an organ of the alliance of workers and peasants against the tsarist regime, and at the same time it was organ of their power, an organ of the dictatorship of the working class and the peasants. The result was a peculiar interlocking of two powers, of two dictatorships; the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie represented by the Provincial Government, and the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, represented by the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The result was a dual power." [History of the CPSU (B)]

"Soviets arose in the very days of the revolution. ... The workers and soldiers who rose in revolt created Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The Revolution of 1905 had shown that the Soviets were organs of armed uprising and at the same time the embryo of a new, revolutionary power. The idea of Soviets lived in the minds of the working-class masses, and they put it into effect as soon as tsardom was overthrown, with this difference, however, that in 1905, it was Soviets only of workers' Deputies that were formed, whereas in February, 1917, on the initiative of the Bolsheviks, there arose the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies". (Ibid) "The essence of the Soviet power", observed Stalin, "is contained in the fact that these organizations of a most pronounced mass character, these most revolutionary organizations of precisely those classes that were oppressed by the capitalists and landlords are now the permanent and sole basis of the whole power of the state, of the whole state apparatus." (Problems of Leninism).

In the words of Lenin, "Had not the popular creative spirit of the

Russian revolution which had gone through the great experience of the year 1905, given rise to the Soviets as early as February, 1917, they could not under any circumstances have assumed power in October, because success depended entirely upon the existence of already available organizational forms of a movement embracing millions. These available forms were the Soviets and that is why in the political sphere the future held out to us those brilliant successes. ... to transform the power of the Soviets from the embryonic state in which it existed in the first months of the revolution into a legally recognized form which has become established in the Russian state, i.e., into the Russian Soviet Republic." (C.W., Vol. XXII, p-315). Explaining the Dual Power, Lenin said, "Alongside the provisional government has arisen, so far weak and incipient, but undoubtedly a government that actually exists and is growing — the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies". (CW, Vol. XXIV, p-38)

Since Bolsheviks were leading the struggle of the masses in the streets prior to February revolution of 1917, the compromising Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries seized the seats in the Soviets and headed Petrograd, Moscow and a number of Soviets in Moscow. So when the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries struck a secret deal with bourgeoisie to form a Provisional Government and surrendered power to it, the majority of the Soviets formally approved the action despite protest from the Bolsheviks. Lenin explained that in the then Russia, most of the workers, peasants and small owners were politically inexperienced and nurtured petty bourgeois mentality. "That is why large number of people intoxicated with the first success of the revolution, found themselves in its early months under the sway of the compromising parties and consented to the surrender of the state power to the bourgeoisie in the naive belief that a bourgeois power would not hinder the Soviets in their work. ... The Bolshevik party was confronted with the task of explaining to the masses. ... that the complete victory of the revolution was still a long way off, that as long as the power was in the hands of the bourgeois

Provisional Government, and as long as the Soviets were dominated by the compromisers — the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries — the people would secure neither peace, nor land, nor bread, and that in order to achieve complete victory, one more step had to be taken and the power transferred to the Soviets." [History of the CPSU(B)]

## Debate between Two Lines

The course of events proved that the Provincial Government stood not for the people but represented the capitalists and landlords, had no intention to satisfy the demands of the workers and peasants who were shedding their blood to achieve success of the revolution. Though quite a number of workers and even larger number of peasants and soldiers continued to be in support of the compromising policies of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries believing that "the Constituent Assembly will soon come and arrange everything in a peaceful way", it was clear that the people's confidence in the Provincial Government would soon come to an end. Dual Power would not last long and power should be vested with either the Provincial Government or the Soviets.

When the Bolshevik Party working underground under Tsardom began its legal existence after February Revolution, differences surfaced within it on the question of conditionally supporting Provincial Government and the policy of partisans of the imperialist war. While leaders like Kamenev, Lykov, Babkov and others held a semi-Menshevik position, Stalin, Molotov and majority of the party strongly opposed this and upheld a policy of no confidence in the Provincial Government. The absence of Lenin, then on exile, was badly felt.

Lenin returned to Russia in April 1917 and flung himself into action. He delivered his famous April Theses, where he said, "The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that the first stage of revolution — which owing to the insufficient class consciousness and organization of the proletariat, placed the power in the hands of the bourgeoisie — to the

Contd. on page 8

# Stalin's brilliant leadership consolidated socialism, routed fascism

Contd. from page 7

second stage, it must place the power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest strata of the peasantry." Further he said, "Before the February-March revolution of 1917, the state power was in the hands of ... the feudal landed nobility ... After the revolution, the power is in the hands of a different class, a new class, the bourgeoisie ... to that extent, the bourgeois-democratic revolution (BDR) in Russia is completed." "bourgeois-democratic reforms are a by-product of the proletarian i.e. of the socialist revolution." Thus Lenin clearly showed that with the Russian bourgeoisie saddled in state power, Russia entered into the stage of socialist revolution which called for overthrow of the bourgeoisie from the state power by a revolutionary upsurge led by the working class in alliance with the poor peasantry.

The Mensheviks, Socialist Revolutionaries and the others opposed it. Plekhanov declared, "Russia is now undergoing a capitalist revolution and when a country is undergoing a capitalist revolution, the seizure of power, of complete political power by the working class is utterly inappropriate." He pleaded for a compromise, "both classes should bona fide seek ways of economic and political agreement." Lenin answered, "To deal with the question of 'completion' of the bourgeois revolution in the old way is to sacrifice living Marxism to the dead letter." He correctly understood that the bourgeoisie shall not be given any time to consolidate their position and asserted that the unaccomplished tasks of the BDR would be completed under the leadership of the proletariat as a 'derivative' in the socialist revolution.

He also said, "Side by side with the government ... there has arisen the chief, unofficial, as yet undeveloped and comparatively weak workers' government, which expresses the interests of the proletariat and of the entire poor section of the urban and rural population. This is the Soviet of Workers' Deputies". He also added, "In most of the Soviet of workers' deputies our party is in a minority...

As long as we are in the minority we carry on the work of criticizing and exposing errors and at the same time we preach the necessity of transferring the entire state power to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, so that the people may overcome their mistake by experience." (Vol. XXIV p22) This concept of 'Soviet power' was the assimilated essence of the Paris Commune of 1871. In Lenin's language — "This, and this alone, constitutes the essence of the Paris Commune as a special type of state" which replaces the police, army, officialdom, bureaucracy of the old order by a new order of the representatives from the exploited masses. It was clear that one of the pre-requisites to accomplish socialist revolution was the establishment of majority of the Bolsheviks in the Soviets.

The first All-Russian Congress of the Soviets, where the Bolsheviks were in minority, met in June 1917. Here Lenin struggled hard to press for the revolutionary line against the Mensheviks, the Cadets, the Socialist Revolutionaries and did win over. Demonstrations began for presentation of demands to the Congress. Menshevik slogans for confidence in the Provincial Government were drowned under the Bolshevik demand of "All power to the Soviets". As Lenin said, "the demonstrations in a few hours scattered to the winds ... the industrial proletariat of the capital, the overwhelming majority of the troops supported slogans that our party has always advocated." Thus, within a very short period, following correct base political line and strategy, the Bolsheviks could win over majority of the Soviets in support of revolution. Finally came, "the ten days that shock the world" the smashing of the bourgeois state to herald a new world. Led by the Bolshevik Party, the working class, in alliance with the poor peasants, and with the support of the soldiers and sailors, overthrew the bourgeoisie from power, established the power of the Soviets and set up a new type of state—the Socialist Soviet state creating thereby the conditions for development of Socialist construction. History saw a new chapter in the struggle for emancipation, progress of mankind advancement of civilization. The

November Revolution of Russia was completed and socialism and proletarian dictatorship established under the great leadership of Comrade Lenin.

November Revolution ushered in a new era

Elucidating the historic role of November Revolution Lenin said, "it's significance is, first of all, that we shall have a Soviet government, our own organ of power, in which the bourgeoisie will have no share whatsoever. The oppressed masses will themselves create a power. The old state apparatus will be shattered to its foundations and a new administrative apparatus set up in the form of the Soviet organization." (Vol. 26, p-291) "The socialist revolution has begun in Russia, is, therefore only the beginning of the world socialist revolution." Stalin, speaking on international significance of revolution said, "Revolution in the past usually ended up by one group of exploiters at the helm of the government being replaced by another group of exploiters. The exploiters changed, exploitation remained. Such was the case during the liberation movements of the slaves. Such was the case during the period of the uprising of the serfs. ... The October revolution differs from these revolutions in principle. Its aim is ... to abolish all exploitation of man by man, to abolish all groups of exploiters, to establish dictatorship of the proletariat ... to organize a new classless socialist society.

It is precisely for this reason that the victory of the October Revolution signifies a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical destiny of world capitalism, a radical change in the liberation movement of the world proletariat. .. That is the basic reason why the October Revolution is a revolution of an international, world order." (Problems of Leninism)

In the words of Comrade Mao Zedong, the architect of Chinese revolution and a giant Marxist authority, "... the first imperialist world war and the first victorious socialist revolution, the October Revolution, have changed the historical direction of the whole

world and marked a new historical era of the whole world.... This 'world revolution' refers no longer to the old world revolution – for the old bourgeois world revolution has long become a thing of the past – but to a new world revolution, the socialist revolution. Similarly, to form 'part' of the world revolution means no longer a part of the old bourgeois revolution but of the new socialist revolution. This is an exceedingly great change unparalleled in the history of China and of the world ... At such a juncture.... Chinese revolution has taken on a greater significance in the world... The Chinese Revolution has become an important part of world revolution." (On New Democracy)

Dwelling on the international significance of November Revolution, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said, "... in the world arena, capitalism as a system has become the stumbling block to social progress. In such a situation the working class has emerged in history as most revolutionary class in the society – a fact amply proved through November Revolution and subsequent events. It is through November Revolution that the international revolution has entered the phase of socialist revolution and this is why the present era has been viewed as the era of proletarian revolution. ... November Revolution did not become victorious simply because the Russian working class and their leader Lenin wanted it to be so. Nor the victory of the Chinese revolution was an accident.... these revolutions were the logical culmination of the inherent laws of social development which were grasped correctly and applied creatively." (Some Teachings of November Revolution and Tasks Ahead)

Lenin's caution against counter revolution

But while the whole world was wonder struck at the success of Bolshevik revolution and establishment of the first working class state, Lenin also sounded a word of caution, "The class of exploiters, the landlords and capitalists, has not disappeared and can not disappear all at once under

Contd. on page 9



# Lowered ideological standard allowed revisionism to creep in, engineer counter revolution

Contd. from page 8

the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters have been smashed but not destroyed. They shall have an external base in the form of international capital, a branch of which they represent. They still retain a part of certain means of production, they still have money, they still have social connection. Just because they have been defeated, their energy of resistance has increased a hundred and thousand fold. The 'art' of state, military and economic administration give them superiority, and a very great superiority so that their importance is incomparably greater than their numerical strength among the population would warrant. The class struggle waged by the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploiters, i.e., the proletariat, has become incomparably bitterer." (Economic and Politics in the era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat) He clarified further, "The bourgeois in our country has been vanquished, but it has not yet been uprooted, not yet destroyed, and not even utterly broken. That is why, a new and higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie is on the order of the day, the transition from the very simple task of further expropriating the capitalists to the much more complicated and difficult task of creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeois to exist, or a new bourgeoisie to arise. Clearly, this task is immeasurably more significant than the previous one, and until it is fulfilled, there will be no Socialism." (Immediate tasks of the Soviet Government). More concretely he mentioned, "Take the economic front and ask whether capitalism can be restored economically in Russia. ... While we live in a small peasant country, there is a firmer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for communism, That must be borne in mind. Anyone who has carefully observed life in the countryside, as compared with life in the cities, knows that we have not torn up the roots of capitalism and have not undermined the foundation, the basis, of the internal enemy. The latter depends on small scale production" (Vol.XXIV, p-516) "The abolition of classes means not

only driving out the landlords and capitalists that we accomplished with comparative ease – it also means abolishing small commodity producers, and they cannot be driven out or crushed; we must live in harmony with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organizational work. ... The forces of habit of millions and tens of millions are a most terrible force.... It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralized big bourgeoisie than to vanquish the millions and millions of small owners, yet they, by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive, demoralizing activity achieve the very results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to restore the bourgeoisie." (Left Wing Communism – An Infantile Disorder) "...with the peasant economy in the grip of a crisis ...we must bear in mind that the bourgeois is trying to pit the peasants against the workers; that behind a façade of workers slogans it is trying to incite the petty-bourgeois anarchist elements against the workers. This, if successful, will lead directly to the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, consequently, to the restoration of capitalism and of the old landowner and capitalist regime." (.Vol. XXXII, p-185) So was his call, "Comrades, workers, remember that the revolution is in a critical situation. Remember that you alone can save the revolution, nobody else." (Vol.XXIV, p-25)

"The transition from capitalism to communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope is converted into attempts of restoration. And after this first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters – who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it – throws themselves with energy grown a hundred fold, into the battle for the recovery of the "paradise", of which they have been deprived." (Proletarian Revolution and renegade Kautsky)

## Triumph of socialism

Foiling all conspiracies of the overthrown bourgeoisie and repelling all attacks including

combined armed attacks of the international capital to invade and demolish the nascent Soviet State, the Bolshevik Party under Lenin turned to the work of Socialist Construction. Lenin reinforced the alliance of the workers and peasants on a new economic foundation. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was formed. Gradually the Soviet Union emerged from the period of economic restoration with success and entered the period of Socialist industrialization of the country. With unprecedented speed, the 'sickest' nation in Europe got transformed into a most vibrant one with all round developments – economic, social, political, cultural, scientific, and technical. The progress made in just three to four years made the world spellbound. The superiority of the Socialist System in meeting the growing need of the people, harnessing the resources, both material and human, fostering a spirit of comradeship and teamwork, releasing individual initiatives to achieve excellence and above all spurring the spiritual development and elevation of cultural level of the people was reckoned with respect.

After the premature death of Lenin in 1924, the mantle fell on Stalin, his disciple and worthy continuator to keep the process going braving all odds and adversaries, overpowering the attempts of the surrounding capitalist world to sabotage, undermine and disrupt the might of the USSR by organizing gang of assassins, wreckers and spies, and defending the kernel of Marxism-Leninism against all kinds of distortions and twisting by the reformists, revisionists, political swindlers and double-dealers and disguised agents of the bourgeoisie. Following the teachings of Lenin and keeping in mind the caution Lenin sounded, Stalin on the basis of his profound understanding of Marxism-Leninism steered the work of socialist construction with exceptional dexterity, socialist emulation developed all over the country among millions of working people. Colossal achievements were attained in laying an unshakable foundation of a socialist economic system, in the shape of a first class socialist heavy industry and

collective mechanized agriculture to put an end to unemployment, to abolish exploitation of man by man and to create conditions for the steady improvement of the material and cultural standard of the working people. Refuting the anti-Marxist doctrine that class struggle would grow milder with every victory of socialism, Stalin called for intensifying the class struggle to eliminate the last vestiges of bourgeois domination in either material world or in the realm of thought.

The period of gigantic socialist construction under Stalin's leadership went down as the most dynamic era in human history. It also inspired the toiling millions round the world to break the shackles of exploitative rules by conducting struggle on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Militant trade union and working class struggles got a fillip increasing the bargaining power of the workers. They could succeed in realizing many concessions, many demands from the bourgeoisie of their respective countries. Founding of Communist parties with the advanced vanguards of the proletariat began in countries to countries. The defeat of fascism in the hands of Soviet Red Army and the heroic Soviet people under the able leadership of Stalin raised the prestige of the Soviet Socialist State and glory of Scientific Socialism to the pinnacle. The nobility of Marxism-Leninism as ideology came to be held in high esteem. National liberation movements in various countries surged forth. Class and mass struggles were sharpened, revolutionary movements in various countries received tremendous momentum and concomitantly many countries of the Eastern Europe followed by China, Cuba, Korea and Vietnam turned socialist through revolutionary upsurge. One third of the world population could thus be freed from the yoke of capitalism and mighty Socialist Camp came into being as bulwark of world peace.

## Stalin noticed falling ideological standard

But Stalin did take notice of the fact that alongside this iconoclastic

Contd. on page 10

# Inflict crushing defeat on modern revisionism rekindle fervour of revolutionary movement

Contd. from page 9

developments and march of socialism, remnants of bourgeois ideology and opportunist thoughts continued to prevail and must be eliminated. "Can we say," said Stalin in his Report to the 17th Congress of the CPSU, "that we have already overcome all the survivals of capitalism in economic life? No, we cannot say that. Still less can we say that we have overcome the survivals of capitalism in the minds of the people." At the 19th Congress of the CPSU in 1952, report of Malenkov under Stalin's guidance noted with concern the lowering of the level of political consciousness in the party ranks, a certain neglect of ideological work and deficiency in inner-party democracy. The Report called for strengthening ideological-organizational base to counter these evils and waging a determined struggle against the vestiges of bourgeois ideology and private property mentality still prevalent.

## Sprouting of Modern Revisionism

But Stalin's demise in 1953 frustrated the process of rekindling the party by eliminating the shortcomings particularly in the realm of thought. And taking advantage of the general lowering of the level of consciousness, modern revisionists led by Khrushchev usurped power in the party and the state and slowly began to surreptitiously implement their hidden agenda of restoring capitalism by bringing back bourgeois thoughts and ideas both in base and superstructure. Revisionism sprouted in the time of both Lenin and Stalin. Both of them waged relentless struggle in the ideological-political sphere to contain spread of revisionism and safeguard Marxism-Leninism from distortion and effacement. Analyzing how "ideological degeneration, retrogression and low standard of consciousness. ... marked ... the root cause of revisionism", Comrade Shibdas Ghosh proceeded to show that the essence of revisionism is to emasculate the true spirit, shake the very foundation of communism and scientific socialism, tamper with the correct, tested and tried

Marxist postulates under the garb of Marxist vocabulary, foster the capitalist trends and tendencies making scope for revival of the social forces which sustain capitalism. Modern Khrushchevite revisionists too followed the same path. Mousing praise for socialism, they unleashed a baseless slanderous propaganda against Stalin to undermine his authority. They knew very well that the objective of striking at the very root of the socialist system would not be fulfilled unless Stalin was denigrated because Stalin's understanding of Marxism-Leninism was the correct understanding of this noble ideology. "To black-out Stalin", warned Comrade Shibdas Ghosh after the Khrushchevite clique embarked upon so-called de-Stalinization campaign following 20th Congress of the CPSU, "would have the inevitable result of disowning his authority and consequently of rejecting his interpretation of Leninism. ... In short it would objectively uncrown Lenin himself."

## Fall of socialist camp — result of revisionist conspiracy

This apprehension did prove to be correct as the Khrushchevite revisionists began systematic destruction of socialist economic and political structure. Instead of relying on dedication and revolutionary enthusiasm of the workers to increase production as Lenin and then Stalin had done with such good results, Khrushchev introduced providence of material incentive to the workers, lured them with the carrot of personal gains to breed a typical individualistic and opportunistic trend among them and thereby generated a new kind of economism among them. This shook the whole ideological-cultural base of socialism, flouted socialist economic laws in favour of capitalist market economy and opened door to bourgeois individualism and liberalism in Soviet Union. This "hankering for material benefit and incentive", "this economism in socialist system", explained Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, "obstructs the workers from being conscious of their responsibility as cadres of international proletarian revolution,

hinders their sense of obligation to the society and dampens the urge for complete dedication and sacrifice which is essential for individual's freedom, growth and development. ... This is a new type of individualism, and I had termed it as socialist individualism" (Cultural Revolution in China; 10th Congress of CPC) He was also categorical in pointing out that "if the level of consciousness and the cultural standard remain low, then...in a critical hour, under favourable conditions...may lead to counter-revolutionary upsurge, peaceful or violent and thus endanger socialism." (Cultural Revolution in China)

The spate of events confirmed the apprehension. Encouraging the cult of new economism and "socialist individualism" coupled with steady dwindle in ideological and cultural standard the modern revisionists within a span of 35 years completed the reversal process, dismantled the socialist state and restored capitalism in Russia. The nerve center of world revolution, the citadel of world peace collapsed much to the glee of the exploitative world imperialism-capitalism. Counter-revolution also took place in the East European countries and of late, China. The mighty Socialist Camp went out of existence. This no doubt caused serious set back in the world revolutionary movement. The agents and servitors of imperialism-capitalism have lashed out a propaganda that socialism is a utopia having no material basis. Though such concoction and palpable falsification would not hold water for long, yet there is no denying to the fact that some confusions are created, some harm is caused. But such a debacle, as we have mentioned earlier, was not unforeseen in the formulations of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin was aware of it and repeatedly sounded caution that unless there was a relentless ideological and political struggle against the bourgeois thoughts and tendencies and continuous enrichment of the Marxist thoughts through proper application and concretization, revolution might be in serious peril. Stalin too placed immense importance on it to protect the socialist system. But as the

warnings of Lenin-Stalin went unheeded, the preventive measures distinctly pointed out by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh were not adopted; the catastrophe could not be averted.

It once again reconfirmed that everything in this world is law-governed. By following the correct course of consolidating socialism, the USSR under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin scaled such heights as to be reckoned as the most advanced society in every respect establishing beyond doubt that socialism represented a higher stage of human civilization, a higher social order, instilling in every mind the nobility of the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. But when the reverse process was set in motion by the revisionists and could not be thwarted by an appropriate ideological-philosophical struggle within the Soviet Communist Party, the result obviously was disastrous. However there is no room for despair. The law of development of society shows it clearly that ultimate victory of the historically growing revolutionary force, that is the proletariat, and the fall of the dying reactionary force, that is the bourgeoisie, is both inevitable. It is therefore only a matter of time before the events take an opposite turn.

## Smash Modern Revisionism— Rejuvenate World Communist Movement

So this temporary set-back is no renunciation of Marxism-Leninism, no failure of scientific socialism but an inevitable consequence of deviation from and distortion of Marxist-Leninist principles. Today, modern revisionism stands as the staunchest enemy of the people seeking emancipation from the yoke of imperialism-capitalism. It is modern revisionism which brought down Socialist Soviet state, vulgarized Marxism-Leninism and has been seeking to undermine its nobility and invincibility. It is, therefore, the foremost duty of all genuine communists to deal out a crushing defeat to all shades of modern revisionism and bring back the tide of world communist movement. This should today be the pledge of November Revolution Day.

## 'Police has been right' said CPI(M) State Secretary

Contd. from page 1

savagery raved wild. The streets were soaked in spilling blood of thousands of innocent protesters mostly poor peasants. Not content with barbaric lathicharge, indiscriminate hurling of teargas shells and pelting of stones, the trigger happy police of the CPI(M)-led government resorted to several rounds of firing to have many of the protesters sustaining grievous bullet injuries. Khodar Shiekh, a poor peasant from Nadia district, had one of his legs almost severed from his body by the piercing bullet. Ananta Mondal, Ashok Jana, Pijush Sharma, Anupam Hati lay on the street in a pool of blood. All these valiant soldiers of democratic mass movement are now battling for their

livelihood streamed into homes across the country to lay bare the real face of the CPI(M) and its associates whom the bourgeois media project as 'lefts'. Dumbstruck by shock and awe, the democratic minded conscientious people wondered what propriety the self-styled Marxists like the CPI(M) had in pretending to be livid on Gurgaon atrocity if they could be so fascistic in crushing legitimate democratic movement trampling underfoot rudiments of all civilized norms.

It may be recalled that after the Gurgaon incident, opinions were expressed in various quarters that even if the agitating people were assumed to have transgressed the 'limits' of peaceful protests and during the initial forays, the police

only to disperse the crowd keeping in mind that the people were not enemies. For Gurgaon it was the Congress-led state as well as central governments that needed to answer. In the face of countrywide wrath and indignation of the people, both Sonia Gandhi and Manmohan Singh at least, as a face saving, had to 'express anguish over the incident', order a magistrate level enquiry and ask the concerned Deputy Commissioner and Superintendent of Police to proceed on leave. Even Hooda, the Haryana chief minister who initially denied any police excess, had to retract under public pressure and eat his own words.

But the pseudo-Marxists' has been an arrogance unprecedented. The CPI(M) state secretary, Anil

not but mention of bullet injuries and had to telecast live photographs of the victims to avoid public question, the same police officers without a shade of shame admitted to have opened fire. It goes to show that under instructions, the police hastily restored to firing to terrorize the gathering. But it subsequently tried to suppress the fact as revelation, it feared, would have invited serious public outrage and indignation and such unprovoked firing on a peaceful demonstration could in no way be justified.

This incident of police brutality once again exposed the real character of the CPI(M) which has not only sullied leftism but is now hell-bent in serving the class interest of the ruling monopolists even



Glimpse of police atrocity published in Deccan Herald (left) and The Telegraph

life in the hospital. Many others with serious injuries are also under medical treatment. These gory scenes flashed on television screens debunked all claim of a civilized administration. Disturbing TV footage of the cops' full-throttle unprovoked armed assault on agitators seeking reprieve from ruinous onslaught on their life and

was presumably at the receiving end, there was no justification of the police behaving like armed hooligans and instead of concentrating on restoring to law and order, wreaking vengeance with alacrity and without impunity in full public view. The police manual for crowd control, they argued, directed the policemen to use minimal force

Biswas, openly declared that "the police has been right in what it has done". Even the Congress or the BJP leaders would not dare to give such a clean chit to the police after the hell that broke loose following the police frenzy. The senior police officials flatly denied before camera after the incident that there was any firing. But when the media could

ahead of the Congress, BJP and their ilk to secure its position in the corridor of power. We fervently appeal to the honest rank and file to assert themselves before their leadership completely transforms their party into an appendage of exploitative capitalism and any move to prevent the catastrophe becomes eluding.

## North India School of Politics

A three day school of politics of the party workers of the states of Delhi, Punjab & Rajasthan, Union Territory of Chandigarh; and Guna, Gwalior and Indore of Madhya Pradesh was held in Sonapat City of Haryana from 2nd to 4th October, 2005. The school, conducted by Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, Member, Central Committee, SUCI, was attended by a good number of party workers, actively and zealously taking part in the discussions and camp activities of the school. Comrade Partap Samal, Secretary, Delhi State Organizing

Committee initiated the proceedings.

In his elaborate discussions, Comrade Krishna Chakraborty dwelled on the vast range of topics, starting from the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and dialectical materialism to the questions of Indian revolution and the fundamental tenets of building up a revolutionary party and its organization. Presenting an analysis of the character of the Indian State and its class co-relation, Comrade Chakraborty showed how the Indian bourgeoisie usurped the state power

since independence, consolidated capitalism on this soil that had already grown to monopoly capitalism even before independence and how through merger of banking and industrial capital the Indian capitalist state has given rise to finance capital and has acquired even an imperialist character, through export of that finance capital. This characterized the Indian revolution as none other than anti-capitalist socialist revolution and not national democratic revolution (NDR) or peoples' democratic revolution (PDR) as formulated by the CPI and CPI(M) respectively, emphatically added Comrade Chakraborty.

Comrade Chakraborty called upon the comrades to respond to the call of the Central Committee led by General Secretary, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, to sharpen the struggle for revitalization and consolidation of party and mass organizations. Comrade Satyawan and Hari Prakash Secretary and Member, respectively, of the Haryana State Organizing Committee. Comrade Girijeshwar Singh, Secretary, Rajasthan State Organizing Committee; Comrade Aminder Pal Singh, in charge Punjab State and Comrades Suresh Avasthi, R.K. Sharma, Harsh Tyagi and Sanjay from Delhi also took part in the state wise group discussions.

## Toronto Congress

Contd. from page 6  
world, as well as the anti-imperialist forces now striving around the globe to develop militant peace movement against war and exploitation, ... cannot forget for a moment that when the international communist movement was being led by the genuine and able communist leadership, it was the Soviet Union that not only acted as the beacon to the fighting exploited people of the world, it also extended moral or material support to national liberation movements of colonies and semi-colonies and revolutionary movements of different bourgeois countries with a view to advancing the cause of the world proletarian revolution. Earnestly and sincerely, revolutionaries, communists, workers' parties and progressive forces of different countries must now stand united to extend help to the revolutionary forces in Russia and elsewhere in the former Soviet Union to build up united movement to defeat revisionism and forces of counter revolution and re-establish socialism....

...At the breakdown of the socialist block and counter revolution in one socialist country after another and in face of the tirade of imperialist campaign that Marxism-Leninism is exhausted and outdated in the unipolar world to be dominated by imperialists-capitalists, the revolutionary

movement was in an initial disarray. ..(But now) there is .. developing ... the forces of movement against war and exploitation, forces of peace and socialism. People of even traditionally powerful and advanced imperialist countries are coming down on streets. Ground for united anti-imperialist struggle with communists at the core to grow and spread over the globe, is being prepared with every passing day of imperialist exploitation and oppression. It awaits the correct revolutionary leadership to emerge and take the lead over these struggles. Only such a movement, in tune with struggles for emancipation in different countries may lead mankind to real peace and freedom. This remains true for the world as well as for the people of the former Soviet Union, as a part of world anti-imperialist-capitalist forces.

Imbued with the teachings of Marx- Engels- Lenin- Stalin -Mao and committed to the cause of proletarian internationalism, we have joined this Congress of yours to add all our efforts and ability to develop ..militant anti-imperialist movements across the globe, organized and steered with revolutionary ideology and culture.

Long Live Revolution !  
Lone Live Friendship with the  
Soviet People!"

### All India Anti-Imperialist Forum holds Anti-Imperialist Convention

24 November 5 p.m.  
Mahajati Sadan Hall, Calcutta  
Distinguished delegates from India and abroad to attend

### 88th Anniversary of Great November Revolution MASS MEETING

25 November 5 p.m.  
Mahajati Sadan Hall, Calcutta  
Speakers from SUCI and fraternal parties from abroad

## SUCI demands adequate relief and compensation to the quake victims

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary SUCI, expressed deep shock and awe at the loss of several thousand lives and a swathe of destruction of public property caused by the severe earthquake that rocked and convulsed various places of Pakistan and North India particularly Muzaffarabad, Bagh and Rawalakot and the Kashmir region. He wondered how could, at this age of advancement of science, no prediction of such an impending natural disaster be made and the people not alerted and rescued on time to minimize the extent of damage to life and property. This once again to show that the benefits of progress of science are not reaching the common masses but are appropriated in the present capitalist social system by the handful of corporate houses.

Comrade Mukherjee demanded of the governments of India and Pakistan to take adequate preventive steps to prevent such large scale devastation in the event of any such natural disasters striking in future. Comrade Mukherjee also demanded immediate measures on a war footing to evacuate the survivors, provide free medical attention to the injured, undertake all responsibility to rehabilitate the affected people and give adequate compensation and relief to all the members of the bereaved families as well as to those having sustained injuries.

## SUCI flays Railway Ministry and Board for Train accident in AP

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, expressed deep sorrow and anguish over the harrowing train accident that occurred on the 29th October, at Valligonda, Andhra Pradesh causing death of hundreds of people. Comrade Mukherjee strongly criticized the UPA-led Central government for its gross failure in ensuring safety and security of railway passengers as a result of which frequent rail accidents have become order of the day.

Comrade Mukherjee also pointed out that when cost of railway travel is increasing by leaps and bounds, practically no money is spent towards proper maintenance of railway tracks and bridges, no attention is paid to strongly deal with the instances of palpable dereliction of duty on the part of the erring railway personnels.

Comrade Mukherjee demanded adequate compensation to the family of the dead and injured and stringent punishment to the persons directly or indirectly responsible for an accident of such magnitude, conveyed condolence to the bereaved families and called upon the countrymen to release movements against the lethargic and negligent attitude of the railway board and the railway ministry.

## SUCI condemns Delhi bomb blast

Strongly condemning the series of bomb blasts that rocked Delhi on the 29th October, resulting in several loss of lives and grievous injuries to hundreds of innocent people including women and children, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, severely indicted the Central and State governments for their criminal neglect and utter failure in ensuring the safety and security of the common people while hundreds of crores of rupees are spent to tighten the security of the so-called VIPs.

Comrade Mukherjee called upon all sections of the people to strongly come out against all such heinous and reprehensible acts and urged upon all concerned to realize that these kinds of mindless reckless actions bring no good to any segment of the people. Instead, what follows the trail is, apart from wanton destruction and devastation, precipitation of extreme bitterness and ill-feeling among different sections of the people and taking advantage of that rabid communal forces spread their tentacles further.

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