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Founder Editor-in-Chief : COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

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Uphold the Banner of Great November Revolution



“...this one country, thanks to the Soviet power, has done so much that even if the Soviet power in Russia were to be crushed by world imperialism tomorrow, ... it would still be found that Bolshevik tactics have brought enormous benefit to socialism and have assisted the growth of the invincible world revolution.”

[Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky]

The working class of the world is observing the 87th anniversary of the Great November Revolution. The Paris Commune was the first attempt by the working class to seize power, but it was through the Great November Revolution of 1917 that the working class of any country, for the first time, actually overthrew the bourgeoisie from state power, in Russia. A link in the worldwide chain of imperialist-capitalist states was broken for the first time. Led by Great Lenin, the workers and poor peasants of a vast and backward country like Russia, even with the least experience, education and habits of organization and amidst struggles against the exploiters and gigantic difficulties, captured the state power and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, a stable socialist state. The Soviet Union emerged. The infant Soviet state withstood the combined attacks of a host of imperialist-capitalist countries and emerged victorious in a life-and-death struggle. The Soviet Union, under the able stewardship of Great Stalin, not only built up a strong socialist economy amidst hostile capitalist encirclement in an incredibly short time, but inflicted a crushing defeat on the marauding armies of Hitler that had overrun Europe, by uniting the peoples of all nationalities and ethnicity, thus saving mankind and civilization from the scourge of fascism. Again, under the leadership of Stalin, the Soviet Union not only restored the war-ravaged economy within just a few years, but developed it to be on a par with the advanced capitalist countries industrially, even outstripping them in some respects. The Soviet Union stood out as an inspiration to the exploited and oppressed of the world, a beacon illuminating the path of

revolutionary and national liberation struggles from country to country. People's democratic states were established in the countries of East Europe. The Chinese Revolution became victorious under the leadership of the Great Mao Zedong. As if the world revolution knocked at the doors. All these are hard facts of history, which cannot be wished away.

But then came the set-back to the world communist movement. After the demise of Stalin, the revisionist clique headed by Khrushchev usurped the power in the Soviet party and the state taking advantage of the low level of consciousness of the people, and in the name of the party, started taking steps one after another undermining the socialist structure. This deleterious process was continued by the Brezhnev leadership and the coup de grace was delivered by the Gorbachev leadership through glasnost and perestroika. Thirty years of dismantling of socialist economic, political, social and state structure culminated in the victory of counter-revolution, full restoration of capitalism and the break-up of the Soviet Union. In the similar process, socialism was dismantled and capitalism restored in the East European countries.

This year, the observance of the November Revolution comes at a very critical juncture in the history of the working class movement of the world. The revisionist clique led by Deng Xiaoping usurped power in China after the demise of Mao Zedong. Through a series of measures directed against the socialist system spread over years, the revisionist Chinese leadership went on dismantling the socialist structure step by step, deviating

Contd. on page 2

Revisionism — main danger before international communist movement

Contd. from page 1

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought until a nodal point was reached in the counter-revolutionary turn of the situation in China leading to full restoration of capitalism there, formalized by the constitutional amendments adopted by the Tenth National People's Congress of China on 14th of March, 2004 restoring full capitalist right to private property.

Emboldened by the break-up of the socialist states in the Soviet Union and East Europe and the discarding of the revolutionary line by the revisionist Chinese leadership, the imperialist powers headed by the USA, operating in a uni-polar world in the absence of the mighty Soviet Union acting as the bulwark and guarantor of peace and security of the peoples of the third world countries, is having a free run in controlling the world affairs for over a decade now. They are launching attacks on countries at will, now invading this and now that - cooking up excuses in "justification". After Afghanistan, it was the turn of Iraq to be invaded. Iraq has been occupied but not cowed down. The heroic resistance of the Iraqi people continues. The Palestinian people continue to bleed. Socialist Cuba and North Korea as well as Iran are under constant threat of US attack. The imperialists talk of democracy and project bourgeois parliamentary democracy as the ultimate in democracy and yet the election process has been reduced to a farce even in USA, the leading imperialist state. Democratic rights and civil liberties of the people are being slashed down in all imperialist-capitalist countries. The imperialist powers speak about peace and democracy, but hardly a day passes without them, and particularly the US imperialism, planning an invasion or intervention, a war directly or by proxy or spreading war psychosis in this or that corner of the globe.

Why is this so? It should be realized that these apparent signs of strength of imperialism are at the same time signs of grave weaknesses. War is an endemic economic necessity of crisis-ridden imperialism-capitalism. In this era, decadent capitalism cannot but be more and more crisis-ridden, and

the ever-deepening crisis makes it resort more and more to triggering wars or creating war-like situations as the only way to mitigate the crisis somewhat in the bid to extend its lease of life. The present situation is that the imperialist-capitalist countries are getting plunged into one deep crisis after another despite all efforts to avert it. The crisis is all-out, pervading the economic, political, social, moral-ethical and cultural spheres. But all their counter-measures to mitigate the crises have proved fruitless. The sweet dream of the imperialist-capitalists of having a crisis-free economy due to the disappearance of the competing socialist economic system through overthrow of socialism in the Soviet Union and East Europe, has proved to be a day dream. The prospect of a war-free world that was held out before the people on termination of the 'cold war' and the emergence of a uni-polar world to mislead and lull them, has proved to be a hoax. The economic policies of globalization, liberalization and privatization thrust upon the world at the behest of imperialist monopoly capital to co-ordinate, integrate and systematize ruthless exploitation of the peoples of the world in order to mitigate the global crisis, have failed to serve their purpose. Even the protagonists of the globalization policies are forced to admit as much. In the face of ever-mounting crises, the ruling capitalist class, from country to country, is engaged in the conspiracy to pass the total burden of capitalist crisis on to the shoulders of the common people through the globalization policies. This has heightened the distress of the common people the world over to an unprecedented level. The basic requirements and amenities of life like food, shelter, employment, education and health facilities are being progressively more and more denied to the bulk of the people. Plagued with the intense, all-out crisis in their lives, the people of the world are rising up in spontaneous protests, they pine for a change. Resistance against imperialist-capitalist exploitation and oppression, against the globalization policies, is on the rise, not only in the third world but also in the metropolitan imperialist countries. People in tens of thousand are coming out on the streets even in

the USA, in the West Europe, in protest against the attacks on their life and living, against the globalization policies, against the curtailment of their democratic rights and civil liberties. Thousands flock on to the streets in Russia, waving portraits of Lenin and Stalin.

This is the silver lining amidst the dark clouds. Objective conditions of revolution are maturing fast. But mere ripening of the objective conditions, intensification of crisis and spontaneous protests and resistance do not lead to successful revolution. A salient teaching of the November Revolution is that a correct base political line, a correct revolutionary party upholding that line and possessing adequate strength with a correct leadership are the essential pre-conditions to be fulfilled for success of revolution. Mere fulfilment of the objective conditions for revolution does not suffice. Subjective preparation for revolution is to be undertaken through a correct revolutionary theory identifying the enemies and allies of revolution and painstaking ideological and organizational work, for preparing the people ideologically, organizationally and on the edifice of higher proletarian culture to become fit and conscious tools in the historical process of radical transformation of society, steeling them in many a battle. This is where the role of a correct revolutionary party comes in.

The chief hindrance in performing this task, at present, is modern revisionism. The lesson of the recent grievous setbacks in the communist movement is that unless revisionism can be properly understood and combated ideologically, organizationally and culturally, it inevitably leads to ultimate downfall of the socialist system itself. The experience in the Soviet Union, East Europe and China has been that so long as the leaderships of the ruling communist parties had correct realization of Marxism-Leninism and applied it correctly, the revolution advanced from Russia to East Europe to China till a situation conducive to world revolution was created. But, in the euphoria generated by the tremendous advancement of the socialist economy, what was lost

sight of was that defects and shortcomings had been growing and accumulating within the communist movement for a long time. After Lenin, inspite of Stalin's best effort to upgrade the theoretical and philosophical advancement of Marxism could not keep pace with the changing needs of the time. Again a mechanical, rather than dialectical sense of discipline grew in both inner party and intra-party spheres which resulted in the tendency of blind allegiance. The painstaking ideological-educational-cultural work among the masses lagged behind the need. As a result, the standard of ideological consciousness of the masses remained at a low level. The socialist economic base advanced fast, but the superstructure lagged behind. A gap arose between the two and widened. This provided a fertile breeding ground for revisionism. When revisionism eventually raised its ugly head to usurp power in the party and the state, the people, because of their low level of consciousness, were ideologically unarmed to combat it. While acknowledging with just pride and deference the very many achievements and successes and glorious sacrifices of the world communist movement, our party led by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh did not fail to point out the serious shortcomings accumulating within it, and to sound the caution that unless checked in time, these would nurture revisionism and ultimately pave the way for restoration of capitalism.

It is modern revisionism that is now the chief obstacle before the international communist movement in performing the essential task of subjective preparation for revolution. Parties which call themselves communist but practice revisionism under cover of the "communist" signboard and pseudo-Marxist vocabulary, hold the stage from country to country. These sham communists, playing the social democratic role of agents of the bourgeoisie in working class movement, are eating into the vitals of the movement from within.

In our country, the CPI(M) and the CPI are playing this heinous role. Behind the smokescreen of radical, pro-people talks, they have

Contd. on page 8

On The Crisis Of International Communist Movement And Problems Of Working Class Movement In India

(An all-India conference of the United Trade Union Centre-Lenin Sarani was held on 29-30 November, 1969 at Jharia in the then state of Bihar. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, was present as the main speaker at the delegate session of the conference. In his speech, Comrade Ghosh dealt with the problems of workers' movement in the context of the national and international situations and provided guidelines about the tasks of the working class in confronting those problems. In this speech, Comrade Ghosh showed that it is not enough to build up movement or struggle. The cardinal necessity is to establish revolutionary leadership on the struggles. And for that, it is necessary to conduct constant ideological, political and cultural struggle against revisionism to isolate it from working class movement.

The present version is neither a verbatim nor a full text of the speech but prepared on the basis of written notes taken during the delivery of the speech. The responsibility for any mistake, inadequacy of expression or any other shortcoming in compilation or translation lies solely with us.

The speech, translated from original Hindi, is being published below in the hope that the invaluable teachings of Comrade Ghosh embodied in it will guide countless toiling people in India and abroad in building up effective resistance movement against the combined attack of national and international monopoly capital that is intensifying day to day. — Editorial Board, P. Era)

Comrades and friends,

In this delegate session of the UTUC-LS today, I shall try to present very briefly my analysis of the national and the international situations. It cannot be denied that in the context of the revolutionary situation that obtained worldwide in the post second world war period, the imperialists had to retreat initially and the democratic revolutions against imperialist rule as well as the national liberation struggles to break the shackles of foreign domination gradually gained momentum. An unprecedented zeal and enthusiasm swept across the international working class movement. At that time, liberation from the imperialist rule in the various countries of the world, particularly those in Asia, Africa and Latin America was becoming imminent. But with Stalin's demise after a few years, the leadership of the international communist movement and revolutionary working class movements in many countries was usurped by the revisionists. So, instead of taking the revolution forward, it was pushed back and we fell behind by a considerable extent. The situation did not take the turn we, the revolutionaries, had expected. But why did it so happen? Is the cause principally attributable to the increased ferocity of imperialist assault? I think it would be erroneous to view the situation like this and we would fail to correctly analyze its character.

Post Second World War scenario

It is true that imperialist-capitalist forces, in a desperate bid

to defend themselves, are mounting counterattacks, leaving no stone unturned to crush revolution. But in my version, there are three reasons for the present plight of revolutionary movement - absence of correct leadership, wrong outlook of the leadership and a significant fall in the standard of revolutionary character. Because of these, revolution in the various countries received jolt and setback. Confusion arose in every sphere, many confusion spread around. As a result, cracks appeared in the revolutionary movement. See, what the situation was like. Capitalism had been markedly weakened. We pushed it to the walls. The socialist system as a parallel to the capitalist order and much stronger than it had come into existence. Alongside the world capitalist market had appeared a much prosperous and crisis-free socialist world market capable of providing all sorts of economic assistance not only to towards development of the socialist countries but also, if so needed, to the backward underdeveloped countries whose development was being obstructed every moment by the imperialists. Despite such a favourable situation, how disappointing was the turn of events.

There is no doubt that in the post second world war period, world imperialism-capitalism had become considerably weakened. But centering round that, a new confusion was created. For example, some started saying that imperialism had become so weak, that it had lost the ability to generate any further war. Surprisingly, the very people who by airing such

views muddled up the whole issue, subsequently began to say that the might and nuclear teeth of imperialism-capitalism to precipitate fresh world war were so overwhelming that a global nuclear warfare might break out any day to destroy the entire civilization. And if the civilization was razed to the ground, would one build up socialism on its ashes? Hence the main responsibility of every one of us was to protect the world from a nuclear war. Not only the common masses, but even a section of the progressive people landed into quandary on hearing such argument. They began to think that if that actually happened, if every thing was ruined and the human race faced extinction, then what would they build socialism on? What a tragic state of affairs! Those who had the responsibility of intensifying the international working class movements, removing confusions of others, were themselves giving rise to newer and newer confusions through contradictory talks. First they said that imperialism-capitalism was so enfeebled that we could realize peaceful revolution through parliamentary means. Faced with all round criticism as to what kind of Marxism-Leninism, revolution they were preaching by way of such utterances, they slightly modified their stand to propose that bourgeois parliament could be transformed into an "instrument of people's will". In other words, by gaining a majority in the parliament, an organ of the bourgeois class-rule, it could be converted by pressure of democratic movement into a means for fulfilling urges and aspirations of the people. Thus it is also possible to accomplish revolution in a peaceful way through parliament. Expressing such a view when imperialism is existing as a world system and the imperialists are stockpiling nuclear weapons, you can easily realize, is tantamount to holding that the teachings of Lenin-Stalin are wrong. This is a surreptitious attempt to render the famous thesis of Lenin on the question of inevitability of war in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution meaningless and useless. But when there were pressures and questions from all around, they began to revise their

tactics. By changing their style of talking, they started creating a fear-psychosis about the horror of nuclear power and harrowing consequences of nuclear warfare. You know that the USA imperialists too are engaged in such propaganda. It is true that if the working-class is not class conscious, the fallout of this nuclear race would be ruinous. But an altogether different motive is at work among these revisionist leaders. Such talks are only an excuse on their part to divert attention of the people from the main questions. They are trying to pose as if the war is going to break out in no time bringing in its trail a total devastation. And if everything perishes, nothing lasts, then what is left of socialism, imperialism or any ideology? The USA is engaged in such propaganda. So is the USSR. You know that this is a cunning move by the USA to confuse public opinion. But what a pity that even a socialist country is following suit. I don't intend to say that Russia is doing this knowingly, in league with US. But we find that all of them are trying to shift the attention of the people from the basic issue. It is a fact that if there is a nuclear war, everyone will be affected. So it is an important task of the revolutionary movement to prevent it. But is this the objective way to do so? I can see only pious wish to ward off nuclear skirmish in this. With that I also observe a baseless artificially stirred up fear psychosis and an enumeration of unscientific analyses. In this way, the problem will persist and the fear-psychosis will increase further.

Objective steps to prevent war

Naturally, the question arises: how to free the people from such muddled thinking? I believe that only revolutionary consciousness can expose such thoughts and only by enhancing revolutionary consciousness can these be effectively counteracted. Revolutionary consciousness must be elevated to such a level that all connections with the imperialists are severed to the extent possible and they are compelled to accept nuclear disarmament. By merely voicing our opposition to war, we can not check it. We must adopt as far as possible the objective

Contd. on page 4

Weaknesses and Weak-kneed policies gave imperialists the upperhand

Contd. from page 3

methodology to prevent war. On the one hand, the anti-imperialist movement, the national liberation struggles and peace movement should be so accentuated that the possibility of war could be resisted and its causes eradicated. On the other hand, in order to frustrate the design of the imperialists, there should be due exploration of all other avenues like negotiation, diplomatic relation and handling of inner contradictions of the imperialist camp. Similarly, those within the imperialist camp, who are at present averse to war, should receive encouragement. In this way, the warmonger imperialists should be cornered from both the sides. Instead of that, if we only confide in the imperialists, believe that war could be prevented through legal means, assume the role of UNO as the sole determinant of everything, and consider mutual dialogue and negotiation among the states as the only way out, then this problem cannot be confronted in the correct way. Ultimately the imperialists will deceive us — you can write it down.* At the current stage, revolutionary consciousness presupposes advancement of the revolutionary movement of the people and the national liberation struggles, intensification of anti-war peace movement, and in the process, preservation of anti-imperialist solidarity by uniting the masses. In other words, till the time the striking power of the imperialists is not exhausted, economy, military and defence capabilities of the socialist countries need to be strengthened and this work must get priority. Side by side, as long as the imperialists are not compelled to give up manufacture of lethal weapons, the task of the socialist countries should be to give priority to their nuclear power development and eradication of all backwardness. We must advance by coordinating all these objective steps. There ought not to be any unnecessary fear of war. Care must be taken to establish peace and remain vigilant in this regard. But would peace be established just by clamouring for it?

* Correctness of his analysis and farsightedness are vindicated by the current world situation when US-imperialism in absence of the socialist camp, is on rampage

Weakness of international communist movement

So the main question before us today is how can we maintain peace and for that how production of nuclear armaments can be prevented, how to compel the imperialists to totally destroy all kinds of destructive weapons. But most unfortunately, there is a lot of confusion in the communist camp over it. But this is not what was expected. Here the question of leadership is involved. That is why Lenin had to deeply think about the issue of leadership. Because, the proletariat of the world never hesitated to sacrifice. In the Second World War, countless working people of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe laid down their lives. Sometimes, some might pass through a phase of reaction for certain period of time. But that too is over in no time. Come opportunity, the people again jump into the arena of movement. There has never been any dearth of militant people. Today also the toiling people round the globe are ready for struggle. But what is of concern is that when imperialism-capitalism is on the offensive, crushing the national liberation struggles, the socialist camp is a passive onlooker. It is exhausting its responsibility by just providing some financial help to such struggles. When it is incumbent on it to resist imperialist attacks, it is suffering from a self-complacency presuming that it is no doubt helping the struggles. But such a deplorable situation would have never arisen had there been bold and effective implementation of the policy of peaceful coexistence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; if there had been attempts to check the aggressive moves of the warmonger imperialists. Even if this work was done through peaceful negotiation, we would not have objected. But that was not possible. In the circumstances, the immediate task was to drive away the imperialists based on one's own strength and securing help from the peace-loving countries.

The prime question before us is to safeguard revolution. Shall we retract from our path being haunted by the fear that "the world will perish if war breaks out?" If problems and complexities arise in

the course of accomplishing revolution, then active help of the socialist countries might be needed to save revolution. But can the working class score a victory over the well organized international finance capital basing on ideology or theory only? Has not the proletariat of Vietnam fought hard? They started their battle with sticks and rods. Now they are fighting against Napalm bombs and biological weapons of the dreaded US military administration. They have not yet achieved their goal. But will the people of Vietnam emerge victorious based on ideology alone? We need to examine many such a questions.

It is clear that an unbearably painful situation has been created. We have been hit, duped. The leadership has betrayed us. But if we go on wailing over it, the way out will evade us. We must draw lesson not to be deluded. I have already discussed that in the aftermath of the Second World War, a tremendous possibility favouring revolution knocked at the door. If the present Soviet leadership did not fall victim to confusion, if there had been no rift in the Soviet camp, you would have seen a different world today. Almost twenty five years have passed since the Second World War. If world communist movement were on the right track, world capitalism would have not survived with all its pomp and grandeur. I think the responsibility lies squarely with the leadership of international communist movement. A despicable weakness has crept into the movement. At the same time, I would say that we too cannot fight shy of our responsibility. We have not been able to shoulder the kind of revolutionary responsibility demanded of us. Being unable to muster the organizational strength to effectively influence the happenings, we have failed to discharge the proper role in eradicating all these ideological muddles. Whom shall we hold responsible for our own limitation? We note with pain that although a good number of people of our country are gradually endorsing our viewpoint, they are avoiding some of the pertinent questions as if they are unaware of all these. What are the main reasons behind such weaknesses and confusions pervading the international

communist leadership? One of the reasons is complacency. When there is an organizational expansion, the number of followers swells. And when lakhs of people rally behind the party, its influence grows at rapid pace. It is also found that alongside such organizational growth, stagnancy ensues. At some point during the struggle, the mentality to move in unison with the course of social progress begins to wane. Apathy to politics and change grows among the people. Such tendencies might come along with the augmentation in strength and influence. Unless these weaknesses are removed and sustained conscious struggle to free oneself from such thoughts and propensities is conducted the leadership is caught in the vortex of revisionist deviations. As a result, there is deviation from the clear outlook and thinking the leadership once had, the dynamism of thought it possessed, the ability it had to discover the truth from the facts by application of scientific reasoning. I do not intend to charge any particular leadership. My objective is to analyze the whole issue from a philosophical angle.

Degeneration of leadership

You know that this is an era of slogan mongering. There are quite a number of leaders who think that the intricate theoretical aspects or discourses are meant for a handful of people. Their contention, as it appears, is that 'what would the toiling people understand of all these?' They hold that the Marxist analyses are only meant for the "elite" like them. It is enough if the workers just go on raising slogans like 'we want revolution', 'long live revolution', 'victory for the red flag', 'overthrow the exploiters' and so on. As a perilous consequence of this, you can see for yourself, the struggle for grasping the basic theory of revolution has remained confined to the leaders only and the workers have been languishing in abject ignorance. What I observe is that by failing to discharge their due responsibility in the sphere of conducting ideological struggle, these leaders have also degenerated. As an inevitable outcome of following this wrong line of thinking, the leaders who at one point of time had lot of qualities,

Contd. on page 5

Poverty of thinking and limitless ideological muddles caused revisionist deviation of leadership

Contd. from page 4

reflected revolutionary outlook and thought process, made sincere efforts for rousing the working people with new awareness, new way of thinking and revolutionary bent of mind, have degenerated themselves even if they had not willfully nurtured such deviations. They stand as big leaders before you no doubt, but below the surface their outlook, process of thinking, character have all been spoiled.

I notice a menacing decadence in the realm of ethics and culture all over the world. Poverty of thinking and limitless ideological muddles is no doubt there as well. But this ethical and cultural degradation has become a cause of agony. It is regrettable that leaders of the working class are also pursuing bourgeois outlook in this regard. Majority of the leaders in the various countries have started believing like others that life is only for consumerist enjoyment and hilarity. Can such leaders overawed by bourgeois culture, bring about emancipation of the workers? Is it ever possible for them? Hapless workers are caught in the vortex of bourgeois cultural thoughts. In the capitalist system, a big chunk of the wretched working population is either in the grip of idealistic culture of the elites or is floating in a world of fantasy or have fallen victims to ultra-individualism. Struggle for emancipation is for freeing oneself from all such thoughts. Lenin had said in this context only that proletarian thoughts and culture come from without. It means that these are not automatically generated in the trade union movement but evolve in the process of conducting struggle being imbued with revolutionary ideology. From this point of view, it is to be understood that this is to be established by developing the revolutionary movement from outside. But the leadership, on whom had rested the responsibility of freeing the working class from bourgeois cultural onslaught by instilling revolutionary thoughts and culture, itself, stands degenerated today. Some stray mistakes here and there during analysis and evaluation cannot be ruled out. That is quite possible. But how would a leadership which itself is degenerated; liberate the workers from the vile influence of decadent

culture? In what way would such leadership provide direction to movement? However, we cannot afford to be disheartened. There is ray of hope in the international working class movement. The workers fidgeting for emancipation are conducting struggle and the experience they are gaining in the course of the struggle is enabling them in getting some aspects of the problems clarified. It is noticed that the confusions in the realm of thought are slowly getting removed. Long back, the international communist movement was to a very large extent influenced by a mechanical process of thinking. No one was there to lend an ear to the communist parties having no international recognition. Today, at least a condition has been created when some people are listening to the view of such parties and trying to understand their analyses irrespective of whether they accept such views and analyses or not.

Imperativeness of political consciousness

In such a situation, what is the task of the working class of the country? Should they listen to tall revolutionary talks? Should they lead an insect-like passive life or go on nurturing servile mentality? Our forefathers had led such a life, we are following the same and so will our next generations - should this be the attitude? Unless such an attitude is changed, nothing indeed can be done. Such an approach negates the necessity to think about what is happening round the world. As if, why should one bother if there has been revolution anywhere or what is the stage of revolution, or how could the international communist movement deviate from the path, or on what ideological questions did the differences and cracks appear in the communist movement. The attitude is: we are workers, our only concern is whether our demands will be realized or is there something that we might expect to get. If such outlook is not given up, if you who provide leadership to the working people and have come here from various parts of the country as delegates also harbour such views, then I must say - you can write it down - really nothing will happen. As you are yourselves workers or working class leaders, you are participating in this conference as

delegates. You ought to understand that you are inseparably linked with not only India, your own motherland, but the whole world, the entire working class of the world. You should also appreciate that you need to think a little, do something not only for the success of the revolution in your country, but also for the world communist movement, revolutionary movement and working class struggles. You must ask yourselves why you are unable to do so. What does the 500 to 520 million strong working class populace in the country lack? Are we unfit or incapable? No we are not. But we are unorganized, unconscious.

Political consciousness, particularly revolutionary consciousness has not yet dawned upon us in the way desired. That is why the working class in the country has not been able to discharge its responsibility properly in this regard. So we must make good the shortfall. We must take upon ourselves this task.

Deviation of so-called communists

You can see for yourself that on one hand the dark shadow of worldwide crisis of culture and ethics is cast over this country while on the other; confusions in the revolutionary movement are most confounded. One can very well ask why this has been so. You know, the so called communists within the undivided communist party of India were the first to wave red flag in this country. There is no doubt that they sullied the red flag, denigrated it. That is a different issue. But it is true that they first unfurled the red flag. Since they had raised slogan of revolution, people expected that they would be able to provide correct revolutionary leadership by resolving the ideological questions. The responsibility of preserving the basic character of revolution was also then vested with them. And since they claimed themselves to be Marxists, revolutionaries, it goes without saying that it was incumbent on them to provide leadership to the revolution. But they failed completely. In order to shield their own deviations form ideology, they float excuses like 'the so called socialists have betrayed', 'the imperialists have broken our unity' or 'the Congress has not kept its words'. But is there any

substance in such pretexts? Did they fail on account of the above cited reasons? The imperialists, the so called socialists and the Congressites have done exactly what they were supposed to do. Would these forces ever help in overthrowing the bourgeois by instilling revolutionary consciousness among masses and accelerating revolutionary movement? Perfidy is but natural with the so called socialists. The Congressites are expected to shower false promises. To cause division, schism is the job of the imperialists. In the circumstances, it was the responsibility of those calling themselves communists to defeat all the stratagems of the imperialists, the Congressites, the so called socialists and their agents and carry the anti-imperialist struggle forward by freeing the people from the influence of such forces and cementing the unity of the masses. Why did these self-proclaimed communists fail to perform this task? This needs to be pondered over. Is it because someone had not allowed them to work or someone else had made them passive through deceit? What a funny excuse! What a strange analysis by their party!

The character of these so called socialists or the social democrats working as a compromising force between labour and capital, as well as the Congressites is clearly known to the Marxists. The objective of the social democrats is to function as a force of compromise between the workers and the owners. Their purpose is to get into the working class movement and keep it estranged from revolutionary thoughts and the revolutionary party. That is why Marx and Lenin, the architects of emancipation of the working class, said while sounding a note of caution about these forces that when capitalism is established and capitalist state machine is in force, the social democrats act as a force of compromise between labour and capital. So it is never possible to destroy capitalism unless these forces are completely isolated from the working class struggles, democratic movements and revolutionary movement. Stalin said "it is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to social-democratism". If you want to overthrow capitalism, you must

Contd. to page 6

Social-democrats must be isolated from people to ensure victory of revolution

Contd. from page 5

remove these so called socialists or social democrats from the leadership of cultural, democratic mass movements. The downtrodden people and their movements must be made free from the clutches of these forces. They must be unmasked. Otherwise all attempts to destroy capitalism will be of no avail. Dream of establishing socialism will remain a dream only.

In India also, these social democrats are doing their job successfully and much more cunningly than those carrying a communist signboard. I have told you that the job of the social democrats is to keep away the workers from revolutionary influence and cause fissure in the democratic movement. You are seeing them doing all such things. You know that the British imperialists had driven wedges among us by fomenting sectarianism, casteism, religious fanaticism and provincialism. Of course, they had done it surreptitiously. But these self declared Communists who swore by Marx, Engels, Lenin could do nothing to resist that. How could they do it anyway? As the so called socialists are rightist social democrats, so are they the leftist social democrats. Had they been real communists and their party a genuine communist party, perhaps then it would have been possible for them. But my question to you all is - did it ever occur to you that this unfit, incapable, block-headed leadership was leading you astray?

Secondly, did you ever try to find out what should have been your task, your responsibility when the situation was in such a flux? Did it occur to you even once that it was petty self-interest, motive of self-aggrandizement which worked behind such acts of the so called socialists? You are aware that even today they are big leaders. Some of them are ministers; some are members of either the parliament or the state assemblies. Some of them are drawing applauses by delivering speeches after speeches, going abroad, preaching sermons in international conferences, having their photographs published in the papers. You are garlanding many of them, wishing them long life. These people, by virtue of being at the helm of the society as renowned

leaders, have found out an avenue of oppressing the people through their politics. This has been, by the way, their objective. Does exploitation take place through industry and commerce only? Can't there be exploitation through politics? There is many a way to oppress. What are the leaders of INTUC, HMS and Congress doing? Are they not exploiting the workers by way of their politics?

Always keep it in mind that broadly, movements can take us along two different tracks. If guided properly, it can bestow on us the desired emancipation. But if misdirected, it can be ruinous to us. Path of revolution is complex, not easy to traverse. It does not matter if mistakes occur while treading this path. One must immediately learn from the mistakes and rectify. But do not eschew struggle or shy away from ideology because of mistakes and by getting perplexed at the complexities of the revolutionary path. Enrich the ideology, make it more compatible to reality so that it becomes guide to action, evolves as a correct and not an imaginary one. That is the main thing. Only struggle is not everything. Character is not built just by struggle itself. If character could be developed and maintained only through struggle, then one has to answer me: were there not enough struggles on the part of the former leaders who were subsequently degenerated. There have been plenty of struggles in India but could that save the character of these leaders? Could the so called communists, leftists, social democrats provide correct direction to revolution? Do not forget that while in the midst of struggle, they slipped into revisionism, became self centered political careerists. Movement is necessary. It is rue that without movement, foundation of revolution cannot be laid. But the basic question is - unless the movements are developed along the correct path, based on correct thoughts, you cannot protect the movements. That is why I am telling that simply by raising loud demand for movement, one would achieve nothing.

You might have heard the name of Trotsky. One cannot deny his contribution to the Russian revolution. How could he deviate? Did he not conduct struggle? What happened to Plekhanov? How could

Bukharin degenerate? I am mentioning these names so that you can draw lessons from history. To whatever pitch you raise the slogan of revolution, you cannot take a step forward without proper understanding of the ideological aspects. You must derive appropriate lessons from the working class movement of this country, must have correct a grasp of ideology to enrich your understanding. Only then will you be able to save the leadership, keep it on the right track. I want to remind you that today you might scoff at these leaders who deserted you midway. But you were no less responsible for creating such a situation. It is equally true that workers of this country blindly followed such leadership without considering all the aspects and questions.

So once again I warn you not to have blind obedience to anybody. That will tremendously harm revolution. First of all, there will be no conflicts and contradiction between the workers and the leaders. Unless such contradictions take place, there is no enrichment of the knowledge and thought process of the leadership. It must be borne in mind that such enriched power of thinking is no divine endowment. This has to be developed and that development takes place only through contradictions and interactions. Why are such contradictions necessary? Why fear such contradictions if the purpose and mind are clear, principles and lines of action are correct? There is no denying the fact that contradictions and interactions do generate problems at times. But such problems arise only to those not having a clear outlook and awareness as to why such contradictions-interactions are necessary. But a conscious revolutionary knows that there are contradictions galore in life. There is no existence of matter sans contradiction. That is why we should not be afraid of contradictions, interactions and struggles. The second harmful aspect is that if the workers knowingly have unquestioning blind allegiance to the leaders without proper understanding, there will be no germination of working class thoughts. Rather the workers will be despondent, their morale shattered. Exactly this has happened in our

country. During the movements of the past, the leadership betrayed the working class. The workers suffered setback, became frustrated and held their own fate responsible for the debacle. If you happen to speak to one of such unconscious or helpless workers, he would say that he is the least concerned as to who is a communist or who is a socialist. Some of these leaders will become bigger leaders, don ministerial berths and go to the parliament and form government - but what is then to him? He is a worker and shall ever remain that. Why should he get involved in all these troubles and botherations? Frustration is the prime cause behind such indifference. We must remove such thinking. Side by side we must also learn from history what damage has been caused to us because of this blind allegiance to the leaders. Damage has been done to us, not the leaders. That is why alongside developing working class struggle, we must bring clarity to our political thinking, must improve the standard of our ideological understanding. It is impossible to accomplish revolution without a revolutionary theory. The working people must have a correct idea as to what is the stage of revolution in our country. Even if the revolutionary workers-employees and the youths connected with the working class movement do not have elaborate knowledge about each and every particular aspect of the various related irrelevant matters, yet they must possess a minimum understanding about all this.

Correct outlook in trade union movement

I want to raise another important issue. To us, the revolutionaries, a trade union movement divorced from correct revolutionary theory and purposiveness has no meaning at all. It is also fact that a sizeable number of workers, who come into the fold of trade union movement, may be unconsciously not yet completely free from servile mentality. You also understand that if the working class struggles or trade union movements are reduced to begging for some crumbs from the owners, then there is no place for us revolutionaries there. But today in India, trade union movement is a very important form

Contd. on page 7

Revolutionary consciousness is not spontaneously generated but comes from without

Contd. from page 6
of struggle. It is hard to survive without this struggle. But this movement will assume real importance when in the course of struggle, we shall be able to expose the real face of capitalism and exploitation, clearly bring out the relation between the present state structure and exploitation, and develop revolutionary consciousness and character among the workers. If we do not reflect this outlook in the trade union movement then such movements will be futile.

In some movements, thousands and even hundreds of thousands of workers join ready for struggle. If our outlook is clear and ideological understanding free from error, then it does not become difficult to determine the right course of advancing the movement. If struggle is to be developed in this process, then the level of understanding of correct strategy and tactics of the movement must be heightened. Once we build up the movements with this outlook, we can conduct our battle for realizing the trade union demands too along the right path and following the correct process. In order to educate the workers, we can present our discussion regarding various demands in two parts. First of all, we should focus on the nature of oppression, character of exploitation, where lies the injustice, what are our problems and how far legitimate and legal are our demands in that context, or how far illegal as per existing law etc. In order to rouse the enthusiasm dormant in the workers, inspiring discussion must also receive much importance. Side by side, the objective limitations of such movements must be brought out to them. They must understand that however much the movement on their demands is intensified and even if some of the demands are realized, the door to emancipation will not be opened. If we can place the matter in this manner before the workers, then they would learn from experience that though they strove hard to intensify the movement and succeeded in doing so, they could not achieve real emancipation from exploitation. Once we proceed in this way, we shall be able to show the workers why in order to break the tentacles of oppression, it is so

imperative, alongside these movements, to equip them for the battle for seizing the state power. We shall also be able to make them understand that the cherished emancipation will not come till such time when, along with development of necessary revolutionary consciousness for smashing the state machine, the indispensable necessity of revolutionary organization of the workers, that is, the revolutionary party of the proletariat and of joining that party is clear to them.

Political consciousness means revolutionary consciousness

I want to discuss another important point also in this connection. Mere shouting will not free one from economism. For that it is necessary to give birth to proper revolutionary political consciousness. This is an arduous task. I find some of the so called revolutionaries saying that "political consciousness of the workers is increasing on its own; it is growing spontaneously". In their political document, they write like this: 'the workers do not consider the police as public servants. They have come to know that the police is an oppressive weapon in hands of the exploiters and the rich, their stogy. There is tremendous hatred in the minds of the people for the capitalists and landlords. The people have become aware of the motive behind their charity and bunkum of sacrifice can make out that they are enemies of the workers. They reap profit from the sweat of the working people. Of course, the workers do not understand this as clearly as you. But they do understand everything'. I am pained at such observations. I know that the political workers, who air such views, have taken charge of spreading political consciousness. They speak aloud in the public meetings saying that 'so long the capitalist state is not smashed by the workers, they will not achieve emancipation'. And on hearing that, the workers clap in admiration, raise the slogan "long live revolution". At the same time, these very workers immediately ask, "What about our demands? When will they be realized? Why are you not getting them realized?" The same workers, if assigned any responsibility of movement, are found arguing, "How can I do this? I am helpless. I have

my wife and children to look after." From this you can easily make out what kind of political consciousness is this so called consciousness of these workers. The meaning of political consciousness is to advance the consciousness about revolution. That is indeed a very difficult task. By drawing appropriate lesson from the world revolutionary movement, you have to clear your ideological understanding and then present that before the workers. And by conducting the movements, one after another, in the right way, revolutionary characters have to be developed from among the workers by arousing revolutionary thoughts in them. The revolutionary consciousness of the workers has to be increased through relentless cult of ideology and polemical discourses. In this way, it will be possible to give rise to political consciousness among the workers and develop it. Initially, there will be lots of difficulty in bringing about this consciousness. The workers will not immediately understand all these things. So there should be patience and political discussions should be continued. The self-proclaimed revolutionaries, who say that political consciousness is automatically spreading among the workers, are themselves not aware of the meaning of political consciousness. However pompous their verbiage may be, it is impossible for them to disseminate political consciousness. Can those who are themselves ignorant of the complex process of revolution and are caught in the web of confusion, perform this task? You have to skillfully and intelligently carry on such discussions on each and every issue with the workers and make them understand. Only then will you be able to discharge this noble responsibility. This calls for lot of sacrifice, dedication and devotion. Can such a task be performed by the leaders who are casual in approach, hum revolution while going to the office, sign out a number of files, participate in the tribunals and loudly eulogize revolution in the meetings?

I want to draw your attention to another issue. It is not enough to keep an account of what kind of problem cropped up at what point of time in the working class movement in India. Much more important is to search for the root cause behind

these problems and unearth it. It is necessary to have an in-depth understanding as to why the unity of the working class movement got disrupted, why the call for unity did not evoke any response. I would request the working class leaders to desist from drawing any hasty conclusion that they have been able to identify the reasons behind all these and could form a correct view about the matter. Had the reasons been known to you, then you were bound to get the results. Have you got that? Either your search for the reasons was not free from errors or it might have been that despite knowing the reasons, you could not remedy the problems because your inner strength and ability were lacking. According to me, this is the reality.

Main hurdles before trade union movement

In this context I want to touch upon a few other points as well. A plethora of problems have cropped up in the present day working class movement. Reformism, revisionism, economism, adventurism, forcible breaking up of other unions by with the help of the owners, intimidating the members of the other unions by hiring goons and hoodlums from outside, mounting attacks on the militant union with the assistance of the police and treachery to the cause of the workers - these are the problems that have arisen in the present day trade union movement. There are even people who, in connivance with the government and administration, are hatching conspiracy to exterminate others. Such elements consider themselves to be very smart. But it is typical of the cowards to feign struggle under government protection. Such mock fights break the backbone of revolution; kill the thinking faculty of the workers. After the elections of 1967 in West Bengal, we had placed a condition for joining the government. We wanted the government to declare "non interference of police in the legitimate democratic movement of the people", as a policy. By this we never meant that it was a tact to advance working class movement with the help of the police. No revolutionary party can do such things. This trick in fact is played by the ruling parliamentary parties

Contd. on page 8

Great November Revolution

Contd. from page 2

totally degenerated into opportunistic parliamentary parties, have become a part of the capitalist establishment. In the two states of West Bengal and Tripura where they are in power, they are faithfully implementing the globalization policies at the behest of monopoly capital and crushing mass movements being in government. At the Centre, by bolstering up the government led by the Congress, the trusted political agent of the Indian ruling class of long standing, the CPI(M) and CPI are serving the ruling class. They are supporting all measures to increase the military and police budgets to strengthen the capitalist state machine. Behind the façade of pro-people stance and slogans, they are now engaged in developing closeness with Indian and foreign monopoly capital in quest of more pelf and power within the rotten bourgeois parliamentary system.

The main task of the true communists from country to country is to regroup, unite and fight out modern revisionism and build up class and mass struggles. In this struggle, we are armed with the teachings of Lenin and Stalin against opportunism-revisionism. We are armed with the teachings of Mao Zedong formulated in course of the long and, on the whole and in the main, correct struggle against modern revisionism by the Chinese party under his leadership; we are armed with the teachings Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our founder leader, teacher and guide and an outstanding Marxist thinker and philosopher of the era, left in course of concretely tracing and analyzing the growth of modern revisionism in the Soviet Union, without grasping which, neither can the new problems facing the movement today be understood and tackled, nor can the revolutionary movement be advanced.

Armed with these teachings, communists everywhere have to fight and root out modern revisionism ideologically and organizationally and intensify the class and mass struggles. They have to grasp that revolution means radical transformation in all spheres — economic, social, political, philosophical, moral-ethical and cultural — and strive to develop Marxism-Leninism in all directions as Lenin enjoined upon them to do.

It should be remembered that communism must demonstrate its superiority over capitalism in every respect in order to replace it as a world system.

History never moves along a straight line but adopts a zigzag course. Socialism is a transitional phase between capitalism and communism. The interregnum between these two social formations is apt to be long and cataclysmic and even marked with temporary reverses. But that is nothing to be afraid of. Capitalism has demonstrated its utter incapacity to solve any basic problem of life. It is bankrupt economically, politically, socially, ideologically, philosophically, morally and culturally and cannot lead mankind forward in this era. Despite all imperialist-capitalist propaganda, the present era remains the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution as depicted by Lenin. Ammunitions for revolution are getting ready from country to country. The Great November Revolution is the beacon illuminating the path of social progress. History will move on inexorably sweeping aside the obstruction and machinations of imperialism-capitalism. As Lenin pointed out : "We have made the start. When ... and the proletarians of which nation will complete this procedure is not important. The important thing is that the ice has been broken; the road is open and the path has been blazed." Lenin asserted that the bourgeoisie could temporarily crush a particular revolution, even the Russian revolution for that matter, but could never crush world revolution. Because, "Communism 'springs' from positively every sphere of public life; its shoots are to be seen literally everywhere. The 'contagion' ... has very thoroughly permeated the organism and has completely impregnated it. If special efforts are made to 'stop up' one of the channels, the 'contagion' will find another, sometimes a very unexpected channel. Life will assert itself."

Down with modern revisionism !

Long live proletarian
internationalism !

Long live the Great November
Revolution !

Workers' emancipation lies in overthrow of capitalism

Contd. from page 7

who never want revolution but under the garb of revolution intend to destroy the revolutionary strength of the working class. But you will observe that in our country, these are the things being done in the name of trade union movement. If we, the leftists, desire to heighten the level of trade union movement, then what prevents us from uniting on the basis of a minimum common agreed programme to take big strides in workers class struggle? If we really desire to give fillip to the workers class movement, our primary task should be to find out the reasons behind such incidents of aberration.

Correct political direction is
indispensable

Some hold politics responsible for this weakness of trade union movement. This is a wrong thinking. I do not understand how these movements will be built up without politics. In a class divided society, is it possible to remain out of the ambit of politics? Many people advocate keeping trade union movement outside politics. But that is impossible. Such a view is totally unscientific. In my opinion, it is not politics as such, but wrong politics or in other words, sectarianism that has generated this incorrect notion. The aim of the revolutionaries and proletariat revolution is to preserve working class unity, take the working class movement ahead on the basis of correct outlook, unleash the complex form of struggle that we call united movement, to strengthen the working class organization and simultaneously cultivate revolutionary thoughts and ideas and scientific outlook. If we oppose all these things in our political conduct, then we ourselves will be accused of acting against correct politics. It is a fact that so far, trade union activities have run counter to correct politics. Then how can we call it practice of correct politics? It should be clearly understood that the politics which has placed obstacles before development of trade union movements has never been revolutionary politics but pseudo-politics. Revolutionary politics never disrupts unity. Revolutionaries never give up struggle till the objective is fulfilled.

They never compromise with anyone over ideology and principles. At the same time, they know that even while continuing ideological battle, the responsibility of preserving unity in the trade union movement vests with them. Only a revolutionary party has intelligence and ability to handle the complex process of united movement based on the principle of unity-struggle-unity. This is not something exclusive to your trade union movement; rather it concerns the revolutionary movement. Genuine trade union movement today demands of you to search out the correct politics and assimilate its essence with utmost care so that you can carry out ideological struggles against all sorts of confusions and distortions, expose the agents masquerading as revolutionaries and simultaneously strengthen working class unity, foster growth of your organization and intensify the struggle. In order to achieve this twin objective, each one of you will have to take individual initiative by shaking off the mentality of helplessness.

Today, the working class of this country is yearning for emancipation. But none from outside can bring this emancipation to them. They must snatch back the freedom the owners have forcibly taken away from them. If the workers are eager to create a new world, seize state power, then they will have to make sacrifices. It will never happen that so called elites or 'babus' will make sacrifices and the workers will be emancipated. That has never occurred in the world nor will it ever — you must bear this in mind.

Also, you must remember that capitalism works out many a scheme to keep you in chains, in the stupor of helplessness. You must free yourselves by foiling such devious ploys of capitalism, launch struggle within yourselves to get rid of fear and sense of helplessness, engage yourselves in the struggle to acquire revolutionary character and be ever ready to fight for realizing the objective of establishing working class leadership over the movement. If every worker and youth strides ahead along this path, then the present condition of India will change. This is my firm conviction.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : NIHAR MUKHERJEE