

Proletarian Era

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Long Live the Great November Revolution



“The capitalists have always used the term “freedom” to mean freedom for the rich to get richer and for the workers and for the workers to starve to death. And in capitalist usage, freedom of the press means freedom of the rich to

bribe the press, freedom to use their wealth to shape and fabricate so-called public opinion. In this respect, too, the defenders of “pure democracy” prove to be defenders of an utterly foul and venal system that gives the rich control over the mass media. They prove to be deceivers of the people, who, with the aid of plausible, fine-sounding, but thoroughly false phrases, divert them from the concrete historical task of liberating the press from capitalist enslavement.” (*First Congress of Communist International — Thesis and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; March 4 1919, CW, v.28, p.461*)

Marxist authorities on the Great November Revolution

The centenary year of the Great November Revolution ended on 17 November 2017. As the revolutionary Party of India, the Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist) observed that year all over the country with due solemnity and gravity, ending in the concluding mammoth gathering in Kolkata with comrades and common people taking part in it from all over the country, braving a terribly inclement weather, defying all attempts to disturb it by different quarters including the Indian railways. The centenary year is over, but the Great November Revolution stands with all its glory and significance. To mark the occasion this year, we are including excerpts from the invaluable writings of Marxist authorities that, we are sure, will help us to see in proper light the event which changed the course of human history with the first socialist state being born and the exploitative-oppressive-discriminating decadent world capitalist order witnessing the working class assuming power for the first time in human history, which the capitalists and their henchmen could not imagine even when the Revolution had actually been taking place.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the great leader of the Proletariat and the Marxist authority who concretised the invincible thoughts of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels on the soil of the then Russia, and thereby became the architect of the Great November Revolution wrote on the occasion of its fourth anniversary:

“The fourth anniversary of October 25 (November 7) is approaching.

The farther that great day recedes from us, the more clearly we see the significance of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and the more deeply we reflect upon the practical experience of our work as a whole.....

The direct and immediate object of the revolution in Russia was a bourgeois-democratic one, namely, to destroy the survivals of medievalism and sweep them away completely, to purge Russia of this barbarism ... we can justifiably pride ourselves on having carried out that purge ... *struggle alone* will determine how far we shall advance, what part of this immense and lofty task we shall accomplish, and to what extent we shall succeed in consolidating our victories. Time will show. But we see even now that a tremendous amount—tremendous for this ruined, exhausted and backward

country — has already been done towards the socialist transformation of society...

Take religion, or the denial of rights to women, or the oppression and inequality of the non-Russian nationalities. These are all problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. ... In not a *single* one of the most advanced countries in the world have these questions been *completely* settled on *bourgeois-democratic* lines. In our country they have been settled completely by the legislation of the October Revolution. We have fought and are fighting religion in earnest. We have granted *all* the non-Russian nationalities *their own* republics or autonomous regions. We in Russia no longer have the base, mean and infamous denial of rights to women or inequality of the sexes, that disgusting survival of feudalism and medievalism, which is being renovated by the avaricious bourgeoisie and the dull-witted and frightened petty bourgeoisie in every other country in the world without exception ... But ... We solved the problems of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in passing, as a “by-product” of our main and genuinely *proletarian-revolutionary, socialist* activities ...

The Soviet system provides the maximum of democracy for the workers and peasants; at the same time, it marks a break with *bourgeois* democracy and the rise of a new, epoch-making *type* of democracy, namely, proletarian democracy, or the dictatorship of the proletariat ... We do not forget for a moment that we have committed and are committing numerous mistakes and are suffering numerous reverses. How can reverses and mistakes be avoided in a matter so new in the history of the world as the building of an unprecedented *type* of state edifice! We shall work steadfastly to set our reverses and mistakes right and to improve our

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Socialist Unity Centre of India (Communist)
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21-25 November, 2018
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Main Speaker:
Comrade Provas Ghosh

Speaker:
Comrade K Radhakrishna

President:
Comrade Satyawana

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Gujarat, Delhi, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Tripura, Rajasthan,
Punjab, Chattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Uttarakhnad,
Maharashtra, Sikkim, Andaman & Nikobar, Puducherry and West Bengal

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Telangana goes for early assembly polls

The state of Telangana is going for polls on 7 December 2018. Mr.K.Chandrasekhar Rao the C.M. of the state dissolved the assembly in September 2018 eight months before time. He wanted to avoid simultaneous polls for assembly and Lok Sabha because of the apprehension that if an anti BJP wave rises during the Lok Sabha polls it would be disastrous for his party the TRS (Telangana Rastra Samithi). All bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties and the pseudo Marxist parties have jumped into the election propaganda with their opportunistic alliances. Each of them is playing its own game for votes and seats. CPI has formed an alliance with the Congress party where as the CPI(M) and MCPI have formed BLF (Bahujan Left Front) joining with some casteist organizations.

SUCI(C) the only genuine communist party in India holding high the interest of the working class and toiling people cannot but face these elections, with a view to exposing the pro capitalist parties and the opportunist parties and, if elected, reflecting people's voice inside the legislature bodies thereby strengthening democratic mass movement. It is fielding candidates from two assembly constituencies, namely Khairatabad and Pathancheru. As it is the first assembly poll in the new state of Telangana, a brief history of Telangana may help get at the realities of the state clearly.

After Indian independence and partition, Telangana region remained as a part of the princely state under Nizam along with some Kannada and Marathi speaking districts. Between 1946 and 1951 peasants struggle broke out here against the feudal lords and later on against Nizam's rule itself. There were even armed struggles by the people against the 'Rajakars' the private army supported by Nizam. The then CPI entered into this movement and provided leadership. The movement gradually became stronger and gave birth to the well known 'Telangana people's armed struggle'. Taking advantage of the situation the Indian government sent military to Hyderabad and forced Nizam to surrender. Thus the "Hyderabad State" was formed after the accession of the princely state into the Indian Union on 24 November 1949. The Indian government at the same time suppressed the armed struggles being organized by the CPI in this region. Thousands of people were killed. The CPI was already

banned in the state in 1948. It called off the line of armed struggle in October 1951, just a few months before the first assembly polls held in 1952. It contested the election under the banner of the "People's Democratic Front" which won 42 seats out of 173. The Socialist Party won 11 seats and the Peasants and Workers Party of India won 10 seats. There was a talk in those days that CPI might form the government in this state. Such was the leftist bent of mind of Telangana people at that time.

In 1956 a united Andhra Pradesh state consisting of all Telugu speaking districts meaning 10 from the Telangana region of Hyderabad state and 11 from the Andhra state was formed as advised by the states reorganization commission. The Kannada and Marathi speaking districts were given to Mysore state and Bombay state respectively. Actually "Andhra state" was already formed in 1953 with Kurnool as the state capital and it was the first linguistic state in Independent India. It was carved out from the Madras state after Potti Sriramulu, a Congress leader, took up fast on to death for separate statehood and gave his life.

The left movement that was once strong in the present-day Telangana areas or the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh started losing its fervour later on. Since then the CPI and CPI(M) have left the path of people's movement and are resorting to only parliamentary politics. They form alliances with bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties for votes and seats. Today their condition in the Telangana state is so pathetic that they cannot win a single seat on their own without the support of some or other bourgeois party. The groups of CPI-ML there also had some hold on the people earlier, but they are also losing ground today because of their wrong politics.

Our party started work in 1985 centering round Hyderabad in Telangana region. Since this state has a history of left movement and people are frustrated with the politics of so-called left parties our task of building up the Party became difficult. We initiated a fierce ideological battle with all the left parties and groups. At the same time we tried hard in developing united left movement on burning problems of the people. To an extent we were successful. At our initiative only, a combination of nine left parties was developed and since 2000 sustained movements were undertaken on

several issues. But whenever elections came CPI and CPI(M) preferred to combine with bourgeois parties. From our Party we are still trying hard to develop united left movement, as also movements on our own efforts, on the burning issues of people's life. Through these efforts along with intense ideological struggle our Party has earned a place in the left politics of the state as a distinct force of movement among the left parties.

Though in 1954 the erstwhile Hyderabad state and Andhra state assemblies voted with thumping majority for merger of all Telugu districts in to Andhra Pradesh, there was an apprehension in the regional bourgeoisie of Telangana that the rich sections in Andhra region will dominate them. Hence an agreement was made regarding ratio of jobs, giving political posts like selecting of the CM or Deputy CM from Telangana region etc. This agreement was called the *Gentlemen's agreement of Andhra Pradesh* and it provided safeguards for preventing discrimination against Telangana by the government of Andhra Pradesh. But this agreement was violated by the consecutive governments affecting people of Telangana. In 1969 some disgruntled elements in the Congress party started fanning up the Telangana sentiment and raised the demand for a separate statehood for Telangana. The movement took a violent turn and there was police firing killing around 400 students. Indira Gandhi, the then prime minister called the leaders of the agitation, offered them some big posts and the movement got subsided.

Again in 1972, in coastal Andhra there was a movement for separate statehood for Andhra because the "Mulki Rules" (giving preference to locals for jobs) were adversely affecting the non-Telangana people especially in Hyderabad. This movement was growing in strength. Again, Indira Gandhi intervened and gave some top posts to aspiring political leaders and introduced "6-point formula" for determining the ratio of various categories of posts on the basis of local *versus* non-local.

In 1983 for the first time since the emergence of united Andhra Pradesh the Indian National Congress lost in the assembly elections to a nine month old regional party the Telugu Desam Party (TDP) led by NT Rama Rao who was solidly backed by the Telugu speaking capitalists of both the present Andhra Pradesh and

Telangana.

In 2001 another disgruntled political personality Mr K Chandrasekhar Rao supported by the regional capitalists of Telangana and the NRIs from Telangana came out from Telugu Desam Party (TDP), and raised the issue of separate Telangana state and formed his own political outfit TRS (Telangana Rastra Samithi). Almost all the intellectuals of this region supported the movement for separation. Gradually students, state government employees and lawyers joined the movement. In fact the CPI and CPI(M) formed election alliances with the TRS twice, thereby giving a credence to the regionalism. In 2004, Congress and TRS allied to defeat TDP while in 2009 the grand alliance was formed between TDP, TRS, CPI and CPI(M) parties to defeat Congress. K. Chandrasekhar Rao the president of TRS said in 2011 that he would implement the 'Maoist agenda' after formation of separate Telangana. Every ML party stood solidly behind him during the separate Telangana movement. Thus the opportunistic line of the pseudo Marxist parties helped the reactionary forces. Ultimately Telangana was bifurcated as the 29th state of India in 2014.

Four and a half- year rule of TRS in Telangana

During the election campaign in 2014 TRS party led by Mr. Chandrasekhar Rao made many attractive promises to the people. The slogan raised during the separate Telangana movement was "Water, Financial resources and Jobs". The same was reiterated in their election manifesto also. After coming to power they redesigned many irrigation projects, allotted funds and started work, but only a part was completed. Of course mega projects like Kaleswaram lift irrigation project costing Rs 80,000 crores may take a long time to be completed. But even "Mission Bhageeratha" with a budget of Rs 43,791 crores aimed at supplying fresh drinking water to every village, town and city is still remaining a pending project and people did not get the benefits of this scheme. Other than some minor irrigation projects no big projects are completed. "Mission Kakathiya" project is supposed to restore all the minor irrigation tanks and lakes in Telangana. The benefits of this project also are yet to reach the people. The TRS government roused the sentiment of the people around completion of irrigation projects,

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practical application of Soviet principles, which is still very, very far from being perfect. But we have a right to be and are proud that to us has fallen the good fortune to *begin* the building of a Soviet state, and thereby to *usher in* a new era in world history, the era of the rule of a *new* class, a class which is oppressed in every capitalist country, but which everywhere is marching forward towards a new life, towards victory over the bourgeoisie, towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, towards the emancipation of mankind from the yoke of capital and from imperialist wars ...

For the first time in hundreds and thousands of years that slogan has grown from a vague and helpless waiting into a clear and definite political programme, into an effective struggle waged by millions of oppressed people under the leadership of the proletariat; it has grown into the first victory of the proletariat, the first victory in the struggle to abolish war and to unite the workers of all countries against the united bourgeoisie of different nations, against the bourgeoisie that makes peace and war at the expense of the slaves of capital, the wage-workers, the peasants, the working people.

This first victory is *not yet the final victory*, and it was achieved by our October Revolution at the price of incredible difficulties and hardships, at the price of unprecedented suffering, accompanied by a series of serious reverses and mistakes on our part ... We have made the start. When, at what date and time, and the proletarians of which nation will complete this process is not important. The important thing is that the ice has been broken; the road is open, the way has been shown...

Our last, but most important and most difficult task, the one we have done least about, is economic development... It is in this most important and most difficult task that we have sustained the greatest number of reverses and have made most mistakes. How could anyone expect that a task so new to the world could be begun without reverses and without mistakes! But we have begun it. We shall continue it...

The difficulties are immense. But we are accustomed to grappling with immense difficulties... another art that is essential in revolution, namely, flexibility, the ability to effect swift and sudden changes of tactics if changes in objective conditions demand them, and to choose another path for the achievement of our goal if the former path proves to be inexpedient or impossible at the given moment. ... We have already started the necessary changes in our economic policy and already have some successes to our credit ... By persistent and assiduous study, by making practical experience the test of every step we take, by not fearing to alter over and over again what we have already begun, by correcting our mistakes and most carefully analysing their significance... We shall go through the whole "course", although the present state of world economics and world politics has made that course much longer and much more difficult than we would have liked. No matter at what cost, no matter how severe the hardships of the transition period may be—despite disaster, famine and ruin—we shall not flinch; we shall triumphantly carry our cause to

its goal. {From *Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution*; 14 October 1921}

Joseph V Stalin, the worthy successor of Lenin and the great leader of the Proletariat, who consolidated the Revolution in the newborn USSR and led it through the naked aggression of Nazi Germany and blatant betrayal of the Anglo-American- French Allied forces to become a world power, wrote after Lenin's death:

"Three circumstances of an external nature determined the comparative ease with which the proletarian revolution in Russia succeeded in breaking the chains of imperialism and thus overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Firstly, the circumstance that the October Revolution began in a period of desperate struggle between the two principal imperialist groups, the Anglo-French and the Austro-German. This circumstance was of tremendous importance for the October Revolution; for it enabled it to take advantage of the fierce conflicts within the imperialist world to strengthen and organize its own forces.

Secondly, the circumstance that the October Revolution began during the imperialist war, at a time when the labouring masses, exhausted by the war and thirsting for peace, were by the very logic of facts led up to the proletarian revolution as the only way out of the war ... created mass sympathy for it both in the West, among the workers, and in the East, among the oppressed peoples.

Thirdly, the existence of a powerful working-class movement in Europe and the fact that a revolutionary crisis was maturing in the West and in the East, brought on by the protracted imperialist war. ... there were also a number of favourable internal conditions which facilitated the victory of the October Revolution...

Firstly, the October Revolution enjoyed the most active support of the overwhelming majority of the working class in Russia.

Secondly, it enjoyed the undoubted support of the poor peasants and of the majority of the soldiers, who were thirsting for peace and land.

Thirdly, it had at its head, as its guiding force, such a tried and tested party as the Bolshevik Party, strong not only by reason of its experience and discipline acquired through the years, but also by reason of its vast connections with the labouring masses.

Fourthly, the October Revolution was confronted by enemies who were comparatively easy to overcome, such as the rather weak Russian bourgeoisie, a landlord class which was utterly demoralized by peasant "revolts," and the compromising parties (the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries), which had become completely bankrupt during the war.

Fifthly, it had at its disposal the vast expanses of the young state, in which it was able to manoeuvre freely, retreat when circumstances so required, enjoy a respite, gather strength, etc.

Sixthly, in its struggle against counter-revolution the October Revolution could count upon sufficient resources of food, fuel and raw materials within the country. The combination of these external and internal circumstances created that peculiar situation which determined the comparative ease with which the October Revolution won its victory.

This does not mean, of course, that there were no unfavourable features in the external and internal setting of the October Revolution... But these unfavourable features only emphasize the tremendous importance of the peculiar internal and external conditions of the October Revolution of which I have spoken above. ...

There are two specific features of the October Revolution which must be understood first of all if we are to comprehend the inner meaning and the historical significance of that revolution.

What are these features?

Firstly, the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat was born in our country as a power which came into existence on the basis of an alliance between the proletariat and the labouring masses of the peasantry, the latter being led by the proletariat. Secondly, the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat became established in our country as a result of the victory of socialism in one country — a country in which capitalism was little developed — while capitalism was preserved in other countries where capitalism was more highly developed... they distinctly express the essence of the October Revolution, but also because they brilliantly reveal the opportunist nature of the theory of "permanent revolution."...

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class alliance between the proletariat and the labouring masses of the peasantry for the purpose of overthrowing capital, for achieving the final victory of socialism, on the condition that the guiding force of this alliance is the proletariat. ... One of the specific features of the October Revolution is the fact that this revolution represents a classic application of Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat...

It goes without saying that for the *complete* victory of socialism, for a *complete* guarantee against the restoration of the old order, the united efforts of the proletarians of several countries are necessary. It goes without saying that, without the support given to our revolution by the proletariat of Europe, the proletariat of Russia could not have held out against the general onslaught, just as without the support given by the revolution in Russia to the revolutionary movement in the West the latter could not have developed at the pace at which it has begun to develop since the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. ...

What is the fundamental strategic rule of Leninism?

It is the recognition of the following:

- 1) the *compromising* parties are the most dangerous social support of the enemies of the revolution in the period of the approaching revolutionary outbreak;
- 2) it is impossible to overthrow the enemy (tsarism or the bourgeoisie) unless these parties are isolated;
- 3) the main weapons in the period of preparation for the revolution must therefore be directed towards isolating these parties, towards winning the broad masses of the working people away from them ...

Thus, isolation of the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties as the main line in directing the preparations for October — such was the

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second specific feature of the tactics of the Bolsheviks.

But how, concretely, was this isolation effected by the Party — in what form, under what slogan? It was effected in the form of the revolutionary mass movement for the power of the Soviets, under the slogan “All power to the Soviets!”, by means of the struggle to convert the Soviets from organs for mobilizing the masses into organs of the uprising, into organs of power, into the apparatus of a new proletarian state power...

One of the specific features of the tactics of the Bolsheviks in the period of preparation for October was that they correctly determined the paths and turns which would naturally lead the masses to the Party’s slogans — to the very threshold of the revolution, so to speak — thus helping them to feel, to test, to realize by their own experience the correctness of these slogans. ...

“... both the proletariat and the peasantry... classes ... (constituting the ‘people.’ ... are united by the fact that the ‘bureaucratic-military state machine’ oppresses, crushes, exploits them. To *break up* this machine, to *smash* it — this is truly in the interest of the ‘people,’ of the majority, of the workers and most of the peasants, this is ‘the preliminary condition’ for a free alliance between the poor peasants and the proletarians, whereas without such an alliance democracy is unstable and socialist transformation is impossible.” (See *The State and Revolution*.)

These words of Lenin’s should not be forgotten...

The world significance of the October Revolution lies not only in the fact that it constitutes a great beginning made by one country in causing a breach in the system of imperialism and that it is the first centre of socialism in the ocean of imperialist countries, but also in that it constitutes the first stage of the world revolution and a mighty base for its further development”. {From *The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists* : 17 December 1924}

Years later **Mao Zedong**, the great leader of the proletariat and the architect of the Chinese Revolution who transformed China into an

emerging power of dynamic people charged with the ideology of Marxism- Leninism, wrote before the revolution:

“With the approach of the twenty-second anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Sino-Soviet Cultural Association has asked me for an article. ... It may be of some help if I take this opportunity to set forth my views for the consideration of those who are concerned about the war in Europe and about Sino-Soviet relations.

Some people say that the Soviet Union does not want the world to remain at peace because the outbreak of a world war is to its advantage, and that the present war was precipitated by the Soviet Union’s conclusion of a non-aggression treaty with Germany instead of a treaty of mutual assistance with Britain and France. I consider this view incorrect. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union over a very long period of time has consistently been one of peace, a policy based on the close links between its own interests and those of the overwhelming majority of mankind. For its own socialist construction the Soviet Union has always needed peace, has always needed to strengthen its peaceful relations with other countries and prevent an anti-Soviet war; for the sake of peace on a world scale, it has also needed to check the aggression of the fascist countries, curb the warmongering of the so-called democratic countries and delay the outbreak of an imperialist world war for as long as possible. ...

After Germany and Italy jointly invaded Spain and when Britain, the United States and France adopted a policy of nominal “non-intervention” but of actual connivance at their aggression, the Soviet Union opposed the “non-intervention” policy and gave the Spanish republican forces active help in their resistance to Germany and Italy. After Japan invaded China and when the same three powers adopted the same kind of “non-intervention” policy, the Soviet Union not only concluded a non-aggression treaty with China but gave China active help in her resistance. When Britain and France connived at Hitler’s aggression and sacrificed Austria and Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union spared no effort in exposing the sinister aims behind the Munich policy and made proposals to Britain and France for checking further aggression.

When Poland became the burning question in the spring and summer of this year ... the Soviet Union negotiated with Britain and France for over four months, despite Chamberlain’s and Daladier’s complete lack of sincerity, in an endeavour to conclude a treaty of mutual assistance to prevent the outbreak of war. But all these efforts were blocked by the imperialist policy of the British and French governments...

It was in these

circumstances, and when Germany agreed to stop her anti-Soviet activities, abandon the Agreement Against the Communist International and recognize the inviolability of the Soviet frontiers, that the Soviet-German non-aggression treaty was concluded. The plan of Britain, the United States and France was to egg Germany on to attack the Soviet Union, so that they themselves, “sitting on top of the mountain to watch the tigers fight”, could come down and take over after the Soviet Union and Germany had worn each other out. The Soviet-German non-aggression treaty smashed this plot. ...

Some people say that now that the second imperialist world war has broken out, the Soviet Union will probably take sides—in other words, the Soviet Red Army seems to be on the point of joining the German imperialist front. I consider this view incorrect. ... the war that has just broken out is an unjust, predatory and imperialist war. The Communist Parties and the people of all countries should rise up against it and expose the imperialist character of both belligerents, for this imperialist war brings only harm and no benefit whatever to the people of the world, and they should expose the criminal acts of the social-democratic parties in supporting the imperialist war and betraying the interests of the proletariat. The Soviet Union is a socialist country, a country in which the Communist Party is in power, and it necessarily maintains a clear-cut twofold attitude towards wars: (1) It firmly refuses to take part in any unjust, predatory and imperialist war and maintains strict neutrality towards the belligerents. Hence the Soviet Red Army will never disregard principles and join either of the imperialist war fronts. (2) It actively supports just and non-predatory wars of liberation. For instance, it helped the Chinese people in their war of the Northern Expedition thirteen years ago and the Spanish people in their war against Germany and Italy up to this last year...

... Now that the imperialist world war has broken out, foreign help is coming chiefly from three sources: (1) the socialist Soviet Union, (2) the people of the capitalist countries, and (3) the oppressed nations in the colonies and semi-colonies. These are our only reliable sources of help. ... China should maintain strict neutrality towards the belligerents in the imperialist war and not join either side. ... This is the fourth question I wanted to talk about.

These ...questions are being widely discussed by our fellow-countrymen. ... Here I have given some of my basic views on these questions, and I hope that readers will not spare their comments.” {From *The identity of interests between the Soviet Union and all Mankind* : 28 September 1939}

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of SUCI (Communist), the revolutionary Party of India and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the present days elaborately discussed on the lessons of November Revolution on different occasions. For brevity’s sake, we present here a few of his teachings between 1967 and 1974. Disjunct, though, these may highlight certain essential issues concerning the lessons of the great November revolution. The responsibility of any inadequacy in

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SUCI (C) strongly condemns ghastly killing of 5 innocent unarmed poor persons in Assam

Comrade Provash Ghosh, General Secretary, SUCI(C), issued the following statement on 3 November 2018:

We strongly condemn the most gruesome killing of 5 innocent unarmed poor persons in Assam on 1 November 2018. This brutal killing once again shows to what extent the utterly communal-chauvinist-racist forces have posed a fascistic threat to the common toiling people of Assam with apparent indulgence of the BJP –led central and state governments.

We demand of the state and central governments to immediately arrest and mete out stringent punishment to the culprits and provide adequate compensation to the families of those killed. We also demand of both the governments to guarantee full security to life and property of all sections of the toiling masses of Assam irrespective of religion-language-caste-ethnicity and also ensure that no such incident of ghastly killing takes place in future nor is there any communal flare-up in the state.

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compilation and omission of any significant point lies with the compilers of the Editorial Board .

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh spoke on 7 November 1967 :

“This year we are observing November Revolution Day in the midst of a number of very serious and significant events. You know that the international situation generally, and the post-Second World War international situation particularly, unfolded great possibilities before the liberation struggles of the exploited masses of the world. But through continuous deterioration since then, the situation has reached such an agonizing pass today, which you too must be feeling very much. On this great occasion I consider it necessary to analyse once again — in the perspective of the lessons and objectives of the November Revolution and the glorious example it set before mankind and the liberation struggles of the exploited masses — how could all this come about ?” { From *The Post-Second World War International Situation and Lessons of the November Revolution*: 7 November 1967,p.248 }

To quote Comrade Shibdas Ghosh addressing in 1968:

“It is incumbent that we should grasp the full complement of the revolutionary theory developed by the Marxist authorities who expounded and elaborated it stage by stage, enriched it in the course of struggle and from the sum total of their experiences they brought it to ever rising heights.

...It was Lenin who first projected the teaching that without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolution. And this revolutionary theory is the theory to guide and navigate the concrete process of revolution in a country — it is not for flaunting pedantry with quotation-mongering, nor for writing books, or copying others blindly. ...

See, we are learning about the humane appeal of revolutionary theories, lofty ideals, values and ethics. Why are we learning all these? We are learning in order to grasp the revolutionary politics of the working class and to educate the workers and the toiling people of all strata in order to mobilize them in the revolutionary organization. Otherwise, what use is acquiring higher human values, ethics and culture? Values, culture, magnanimity, knowledge, scholarship, wisdom — what are these for if there is no understanding of the proletarian culture, of the particular politics of the party, of the struggle between this politics and the politics of other parties in a given situation ? Of what use are all these if we lack the ability to conduct this struggle not only while achieving victory but also amid failure, frustration and difficulties?” {From *Lessons of November Revolution and Revolutionary Movement in India*: 15 November 1968, p.221,224,245-6 }

On 13 November 1969 Comrade Shibdas Ghosh spoke :

“... today the entire politics of the world and along with it the international communist movement are facing a severe ideological crisis. That should not, however, perturb us unduly because we do not harbour the illusion that the revolutionary political movement proceeds uninterruptedly without any hindrance. ...No

Marxist-Leninist party or revolutionary movement of any country can reach the desired goal unless its outlook on international question is correct and true to reality. The party which would bring about revolution must have this understanding...

In the field of ideology the approach towards the struggle would be, that the main ideological struggle would be against those who follow the wrong ideological path - for example, the revisionists, the non-revolutionaries - because they are misdirecting revolution by creating ideological confusion. At the same time, a united struggle has to be waged along with them against the main and common enemy which is capitalism-imperialism-fascism...

... Marxism is not economic determinism. All the giant Marxist leaders including Lenin have repeatedly pointed this out. Economy is taken to be prior as it is the base or real basis of society. But that does not mean that behavioural aspects or cultural-ethical aspects automatically change along with change of economic factors. It is not that these will automatically be uplifted if the economy is boosted up. The relation between the two is dialectical. ... Hence Lenin, too, once had to put great emphasis on cultural revolution, that is, on raising the ideological standard. When many laid stress only on organization, placed emphasis only on organizational strength, neglecting the political aspect and totally neglecting the ideological aspect, Lenin had to sound a note of caution. ...

The downside in the ideological standard over many years has led to the present state. ... By this Marxism is being undermined; the revolutionary ideology is pushed to the background, the revolutionary fervour is being eroded. It is for this reason that our party is exerting its utmost effort to hold high the banner of cultural revolution in this country. Personally also I pay particular attention to it, because the task of bringing about a qualitative change in the cultural arena has remained unaccomplished in this country. ...

In the country of Lenin-Stalin's party, the new generation has fallen victim to the western world culture, aimless and desperate behaviour. ...

In reality this is a result of the vacuum that has been created in the ideological-cultural field. Humanist values are exhausted, but a concrete concept of proletarian values and consciousness has not yet emerged, and has not been precisely categorized. As a consequence an uncertainty has appeared. Only a higher sense of ethics and morality can fill this void. But who should carry out this task? Those who were to do it, themselves do not reflect the philosophical, ideological and cultural aspects of revolution. This is the source of crisis in Europe. The main problem before the communists and those who regard themselves to be progressive in our country and in other places precisely lies here.



Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, Member Polit Bureau, SUCI (C) hoisting Red Flag at the Party Central Office in Kolkata on 7 November, 2018 on 101 anniversary of the Great November Revolution in presence of West Bengal State and Kolkata District leaders

... November Revolution has taught that in the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, at the current stage of development of production, all the problems centring round production — be they social, cultural, educational, scientific, ethical, moral, and about family ties, sex, love, and everything else — all these are reflection of the all-round crisis of capitalist economy. So, through the process of liberating the productive forces from the grip and tentacles of capitalist exploitation and oppression, all the social, scientific, cultural-ethical forces have to be freed, freed from oppression, the entire society has to be liberated, that is the road to unhindered advancement of knowledge, science, democratic rights, justice, ethics and culture is opened up, and the people are freed from crisis, from confusions, from self-centredness - and this revolution is socialist revolution. Hence revolution is not just a matter of capturing governmental power by ousting another party from power. The question of seizure of political power is the fundamental point of revolution precisely because of the fact that the crisis-ridden economic system, and as its superstructure, all fields like culture, science, art, literature, ethics and morality etc., which too are in the throes of crises — all are protected by the exploitative system, by the state machine. Therefore, political revolution and politics is the fundamental point. Hence, a conscious person, that is, a revolutionary cannot be an apolitical person, ... had he the correct revolutionary understanding, he would have realized that revolution means uprooting this state system and in its place install a new state machine, it means to free the productive forces from the profit-making motive of the capitalists, to replace the existing production relation by a new production relation, to fundamentally change the base which breeds the crisis in the superstructure ... and create a new base. Only after the base is changed would a new beautiful environment come into being. That is why we say that revolution is necessary to free art, science, education, literature, culture, family relations, love, sex, everything, from inequity, from confusion, from crisis. This is inextricably linked with the question of freeing production from capitalist profit motive. From this consciousness has arisen the realization of the necessity of celebrating the anniversary of November revolution”. {From *Contemporary International*

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Marxist authorities on the Great November Revolution

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and *National Questions and Teachings of November Revolution: 13 November 1969*

Referring to Lenin, Comrade Ghosh said: "Comrade Lenin ... realized the basic truth that Marxism was not just what was enunciated in the Marxist classics. To him realization of Marxism meant acquiring the scientific methodology, that is, the Marxist dialectics and the philosophical outlook with the help of which Marx, Engels and other Marxists came to those conclusions, to apply that in practice and to grasp the essence of the concrete conditions in which these enunciations were made. Quotation mongering, citing analogies and drawing of historical parallels — none of these has anything to do with the Marxist methodological approach, that is, none of these conforms to the dialectical method of analysis of Marxism. ...

If we are to come out of the

impasse to find the correct path then we have to grasp this fundamental lesson of the November Revolution. We have to understand that if the base political line before the movement is not correctly determined, then, like the innumerable struggles in the past, in the future, too, the struggles for emancipation of the exploited people will inevitably end in a fiasco time and again... The Communist Party of China at their Tenth Congress has again upheld this lesson of November Revolution in their own way, in a lucid manner. They have said that if the ideology and the base political line are incorrect then even if somebody is in possession of enormous power and influence at one time, ultimately he will lose them all. The term 'ideology' covers a wide range. The morals and principles, ethics and culture — all these questions of a movement are covered by the term 'ideology'...

The lesson that we must draw

from November Revolution is that for the success of a revolution there are three preconditions. The first is, on the basis of a correct revolutionary theory, ideology and base political line, the emergence of a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat with adequate organizational strength to provide leadership. Evading this basic issue and undermining the importance of the base political line, those who speak only of organizational strength, confuse in reality the main point at issue....

The second essential condition for revolution is the United Front. At the initial stage of democratic movement, building up of United Front of left and democratic forces and after passing this phase, giving birth to the proletarian United Front — a front essential for the anti-capitalist revolution...

The third prerequisite for revolution is to develop through the united mass movements or joint

struggles people's own instrument of struggle, meaning thereby, giving birth to the political power of the people, ... These will be organizations, more or less like the Soviets of the workers and peasants in Russia, developed through united struggle of the workers and peasants having the competence to accept or reject any programme, as also having the initiative and capability to apply them concretely and independently. Unless these three essential preconditions of revolution are fulfilled, movements may come in wave after wave, millions of people may plunge in these movements and lay down their lives again and again, but there will be no revolution. {From *Under the Banner of the Great November Revolution: 8 November 1974: p. 429, 433-5, 447, 467-8*}

Long Live the Great November Revolution!
Long Live Marxism- Leninism- Shiddas Ghosh Thought!

Telangana election

TRS rule smacks of false promises and attacks on people

Contd. from page 2
promising that the government would provide water for one crore acres of agricultural land in Telangana. Only few lakhs of acres have been irrigated in Telangana in the last four and a half year of rule by the TRS.

Another important promise they made was filling up of all vacant posts numbering around two lakhs in the government sector. The students and unemployed youth of the state joined in coaching centers spending thousands of rupees in the hope of getting jobs in separate Telangana. But the government filled up only 20,000 posts and that too most of them were police constable posts. The students and youth of the state were very much disappointed and disillusioned.

Another election promise of the TRS was free education from KG to PG which was thrown to the winds. The government closed down thousands of schools. Education sector has gone almost totally into the hands of private businessmen who raise the fees exorbitantly with no control on the fees of private schools and colleges. During the last election TRS promised providing two bed room houses to all the poor people. Only a few thousand houses were built.

Farm loan waiver up to Rs 1 lakh to all farmers was the main poll promise made by TRS in the last

elections. The promise was repeatedly announced in every public meeting during the election campaign. It actually helped TRS to emerge victorious. However, on June 4, 2015 in a meeting with State-level Bankers Committee on farm loan waiver, the chief minister made it clear that his government would be able to waive only those loans that were disbursed during the 2013-14 agriculture season. Farmers protested and organized dharnas and demonstrations against this. Suicides among the farmers in the separate Telangana state continued unabated. Around 632 farmers committed suicide in 2016 alone, the figure reaching thousands during the entire stretch of four and a half year rule of TRS. Neither ex gratia, nor any compensation was given to the kith and kin of the deceased farmers.

To regain the lost popularity among the farmers the government introduced 'Rythu Bandhu' scheme in which a sum of Rs 4000/- per acre per season was distributed. This scheme also did not help the poor and middle peasants because the prices of fertilizers and pesticides have increased so much and there was no support price provided for their produce. Another catchy promise of TRS was "All contract employees will be regularized". Even today contract

employees in electricity department are struggling to get their jobs regularized. Thousands of workers in municipal corporation, RTC and other sectors are still working on contract basis. The regular employees of the state government are also not happy.

Attack on secularism and democratic rights of the people

Immediately after assuming power the TRS government allowed no protest or movement of any section of the people claiming that there was no need for any agitation in Telangana as a pro-people government had come to power. Only thing that this pro people government did was to satisfy the needs of the regional capitalists as well as the multinational corporate houses. The Chief Minister started ruling the state just like a feudal lord. He conducted many religious rituals like 'YAGAS' and 'YAGNAS' with much fanfare mobilizing big crowds but brutally suppressed people's movements.

In 2017 at one stroke by an orally issued order, Chandrasekhar Rao government stopped granting permission for holding of protest meetings, dharnas and demonstrations at Dharna Chowk near Indira Park in the heart of the city of Hyderabad, traditionally used for such programmes. Democratic

and secular sections of the people and left forces vehemently protested against this fascistic decision. Left parties held demonstration against it even at Jantar Mantar, New Delhi in August 2017. The Hyderabad High Court responding to a PIL recently pulled up the Telangana government for curbing dissent and said that government cannot ban protests at the Dharna Chowk.

Reality is that discontentment is growing among all sections of the people. This will only increase as time passes, since bourgeois parties, regional or national cannot but serve the interest of the capitalists against the interest of the common people. Mr. K Chandrasekhar Rao sensed this mood in people. Before the situation turns worse, he wants to come back to power avoiding simultaneous polls for assembly and Lok Sabha. So he abruptly abolished the assembly eight months before time and imposed these elections on the people.

We appeal to the people to understand this trick and make SUCI(C) candidates victorious, **Comrade E Hemalatha** from **Khairatabad** Constituency and **Comrade KD Bharatesh** from **Patancheru Constituency** so that they can raise the voice of the people on the floor of the Telangana assembly and strengthen democratic mass movements in the state.

Comrade Pradip Halder passes away

Comrade Pradip Halder, Member, South 24 Parganas District Secretariat of SUCI(C) breathed his last on 23 October at the Calcutta Heart Clinic and Hospital, Kolkata at only 51 years of age, suffering from cancer.



Comrade Pradip Halder hailed from a family at Moipith in Kultali, supporting the Party since long. As student of Surendranath College of Kolkata, Comrade Halder was initiated in his active political life through activities of AIDS and soon assumed the charge of District Secretary of 24 Pargana AIDS. At this stage imbued with the revolutionary teachings of the great leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh he devotedly engaged himself whole-heartedly in the Party activities.

In December 1989, lethally armed goons of CPI(M) carried out a ferocious onslaught to take Moipith under their control, killing 7 SUCI(C) leaders and cadres and throwing their bodies into the sea. They unleashed a vicious reign of house-to-house terror forcing many leaders and cadres to leave the area and many others be thrown behind the bars, on fabricated charges. Open Party activities were virtually made impossible. Even at that crucial juncture Comrade Halder stood by the Party cadres and supporters from underground with life-risk. He took to mobilizing and inspiring Party workers through programmes of evaluating past luminaries of the country and other cultural activities. In his family life too he kept himself firm to his principle "Live for the Revolution, live for the Party".

Comrade Pradip Halder was broadminded, brave and firm with a strong organizational sense. His life-struggle and his leading role in the do-or-die battle of poor people for life and livelihood, as also for resisting terror in the area made him a near-and-dear of the poor and a mass leader in their movements in the Kultali area, setting up a solid organization there. In 1993, nominated by the Party he contested in the Panchayat election from Moipith and won it. In recognition of his wholehearted struggle to assimilate the revolutionary teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, expressing unflinching loyalty to the leadership to take up any assignment with personal initiative and utmost sincerity to build up mass movements, the Party elected him a member of the SUCI(C) 24 Parganas District Secretariat in 2009. Even in that, he showed rationality

as well as modesty while facing difference of opinions with senior comrades, under many of whom he might have once worked and who had developed an unhesitating confidence in his leadership with deep affection towards him. Early demise of such a highly potential comrade is a great loss to the Party and the movement of poor people.

His name figured in the list of the State Committee Members prepared for approval in the recently concluded State Conference of the Party. But it could not be pronounced formally, as he died just a few days before that. In his unconditional submission to the Party, in his struggle to change his life on the basis of his understanding of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Thoughts, in his character and ethical standard he was exemplary. He used to make every effort to spend his energy in Party work, even during his illness, whenever he had minimum temporary relief.

The Red Flags were kept half-mast at all Party offices of the district and comrades wore black badge, immediately at the news of his demise. After the leaders of South 24 Pargana and Kolkata districts, as well as doctors, sisters and staff had paid their tributes at the Calcutta Heart Clinic and Hospitals, his mortal remains were brought to the central office in Kolkata. On behalf of the General Secretary Comrade Provash Ghosh, Comrade Chiraranjan Chakraborty, Member, West Bengal State Secretariat laid wreath to pay the last tribute to the departed comrade. Floral tributes were paid by Comrade Saumen Basu, Member Central Committee and the then West Bengal State Secretary, and other leaders of the Central, State and different local committees of Kolkata district.

Thereafter, as the mortal remains of Comrade Pradip Halder were brought to South 24 Pargana district office, Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar, Member Central Committee and District Secretary along with hundreds of leaders and cadres from different remotest parts of the district paid their last tributes. The next day, countless people, including thousands from Moipith, bade adieu to Comrade Halder with tearful eyes, even walked all the way, in course of the last journey. On 5 November a memorial meeting was held at Joynagar Shibnath Shastri Bhawan with Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar presiding over while Comrade Saumen Basu, Central Committee Member and Comrade Chandidas Bhattacharyya, present West Bengal State Secretary delivered memorial addresses.

Red Salute Comrade Pradip Halder

AIUTUC criticizes exclusion of May Day from list of holidays by Tripura government

Comrade Sankar Saha, General Secretary, All India United Trade Union Centre (AIUTUC) has issued the following statement on 7 November 2018 against exclusion of May Day from the holiday list by the State government of Tripura:

It is known to all that MAY DAY – the international workers' solidarity day, represent the historical struggle for right to 8 Hours Duty of the working class. The historical struggle of the workers to achieve this basic right freed them from the savage rule of uninterrupted working hours from dawn to dusk to which India was no exception. The significance of May Day is not restricted within the boundary of any state or country. The glorious struggle of May Day thus symbolises enforcement of right of the workers of 8 hours duty, their dignity and self-respect across the globe.

Following assumption of state power by the BJP led Government in Tripura, the BJP backed hoodlums demolished the statues of great personalities like Lenin and others. In continuation of their misdeeds the BJP led government excluded the May Day from the list of holidays effective for 2019. We firmly believe, the aforesaid heinous act of BJP has once again demonstrated their fascistic stand.

On behalf of the AIUTUC, we register our strong condemnation against such an anti-working class step. Simultaneously we call upon the democratic minded people and the working

class at large, irrespective of caste, creed and religion, all over the country to raise their voice of protest and build up united movement forcing

the state government to revise their unjust decision by incorporating 'MAY DAY' within the scheduled list of holidays.

101 Anniversary of the Great November Revolution Observed



On the 101 Anniversary of the Great November Revolution, SUCI(C) held different programmes across the country including hoisting of Red Flag at the Party offices, holding mass rally and such others. As a part of that a massive rally was organized (in the photo) by the districts of northern parts of West Bengal at Siliguri on 12 November which was preceded by brief meeting addressed by district leaders. A rally was also held in Kolkata on 15 November.

State Conferences before ensuing 3rd Party Congress

In the last two issues, we covered news of 13 state conferences /conventions held on the eve of 3rd Party Congress of the SUCI (Communist). We publish here news of 10 conferences/conventions received till to date)

Andaman and Nicobar Islands

First Party convention of Andaman and Nicobar Islands was held at Bhatubasti, Port Blair on 29 September 2018. Comrades Manab Bera and Asok Samanta, both Members of West



Bengal State Secretariat, were present as central observers. The Convention was presided over by Comrade Balaram Manna. A new 12-member strong Andaman & Nicobar Island (U.T) Preparatory Committee with Comrade Balaram Manna as the Secretary was unanimously elected.

Puducherry

The first Puducherry State Convention was held on 24 October 2018 at Puducherry. Comrades K. Sridhar, Staff Member and A Rengasamy, Tamilnadu State Secretary were



present as central observers. The organizational report placed by the State Preparatory Committee and the National and International theses were discussed upon by the participants some of whom expressed their disillusion with other left parties, they had earlier been in. A new State Preparatory Committee was formed with Comrade S. Lenindurai as the Secretary.

Telangana

Party State Convention of SUCI (Communist), Telangana state, was organised on 17 and 18 October 2018 at Ambedkar Spoorhy Bhavan, Khairatabad, Hyderabad in presence of central observers, Comrades K Radhakrishna, Member, Central Committee, K. Sridhar, Staff Member and in-charge of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana states, K. Uma, Karnataka State



Secretary and Shankar Ghosh, West Bengal State Secretariat Member. A new 6-member State Organizing Committee approved by the Central Committee with Comrades Ch. Murahari as State

Secretary was unanimously elected .

Haryana

The 3rd Haryana State Conference of SUCI(Communist) was held at Prajapati Chaupal, Gurugram on 24-25 October 2018. On this occasion Comrade Shankar Saha, Member



Central Committee, SUCI(Communist) and Comrade Arun Kumar Singh, Central Staff and Secretary, Bihar State Committee of the Party were present as the central observers for conduction of the State Conference. Red flag was hoisted by Comrade Satyawan, Member Central Committee and Secretary, Haryana State Committee. A 22 member State Committee was unanimously elected with Comrade Satyawan as the Secretary.

Rajasthan

The first Rajasthan State Convention of SUCI (Communist) was held on November 11,



2018 at Jaipur. Comrade Satyawan, Member Central Committee, Swapan Chatterji, Central Staff and Pratibha Nayak, Member, West Bengal State Committee conducted the proceedings as central observers. A six member Preparatory Committee was elected for Rajasthan state..

West Bengal

West Bengal State Conference was held at Mahajati Sadan, Kolkata, on 2 and 3 November. Comrades K Radhakrishna and Satyawan, both Members of the Central Committee, Comrades Chandralekha Das, Assam State Secretary and Surat Jaman Mondal, Assam State Secretariat Member were present as central observers. Around 900 delegates and observers were present. The conference adopted a resolution condemning the brutal murder of 5 innocent poor



persons at Tinsukia in Assam. A 6-member new State Committee with Comrade Chandidas Bhattacharjee as the Secretary was unanimously elected from the conference.

Uttarakhand

Uttarakhand State Convention was held in Dehradun on 27 October 2018. Comrades Arun Kumar Singh, Bihar State Secretary and Pratap Samal, MP State Secretary were present as central observers. A 6-member State Organizing



Committee with Comrade Mukesh Semwal as Secretary was elected.

Tripura

The second Tripura State Convention was held on 28 October at Agartala in the presence of Central-Committee deputed observers Comrades Swapan Ghosal and Manab Bera both members, of the West Bengal State Secretariat. Delegates from West Tripura, North Tripura and Gomati districts took part in the



conference, which discussed Organizational report and National and International theses to adopt those. A 5-member State Organizing Committee was announced with Comrade Arun Bhowmick as the Secretary.

Sikkim

Sikkim State Preparatory Committee of the Party was formed on 2 October 2018, through a convention at Namchi, South Sikkim. Comrade Shankar Ghosh, West Bengal State Secretariat member was present as the central observer. Comrade Sourav Mukherjee, a member of West Bengal State Committee was also present there. Comrade Hemant Dawarhi conducted the proceedings as President. A 14-member strong Sikkim State Preparatory Committee was formed with Comrade Bhanubhakt Sharma as the Convenor.

Nagpur, Maharashtra,

Nagpur District Party Convention was held on 21 October 2018 at Nagpur district Party office at Pandhrabodi, Nagpur. Comrade Shankar Dasgupta, Staff member, SUCI(C) conducted the convention. A 5-member District Organising Committee was formed with Comrade Vijendra Rajput as Secretary. The other four members are Comrades Madhuri Nikure, Atul Udade, Praveen Kumar and Ashish Lokhande..

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