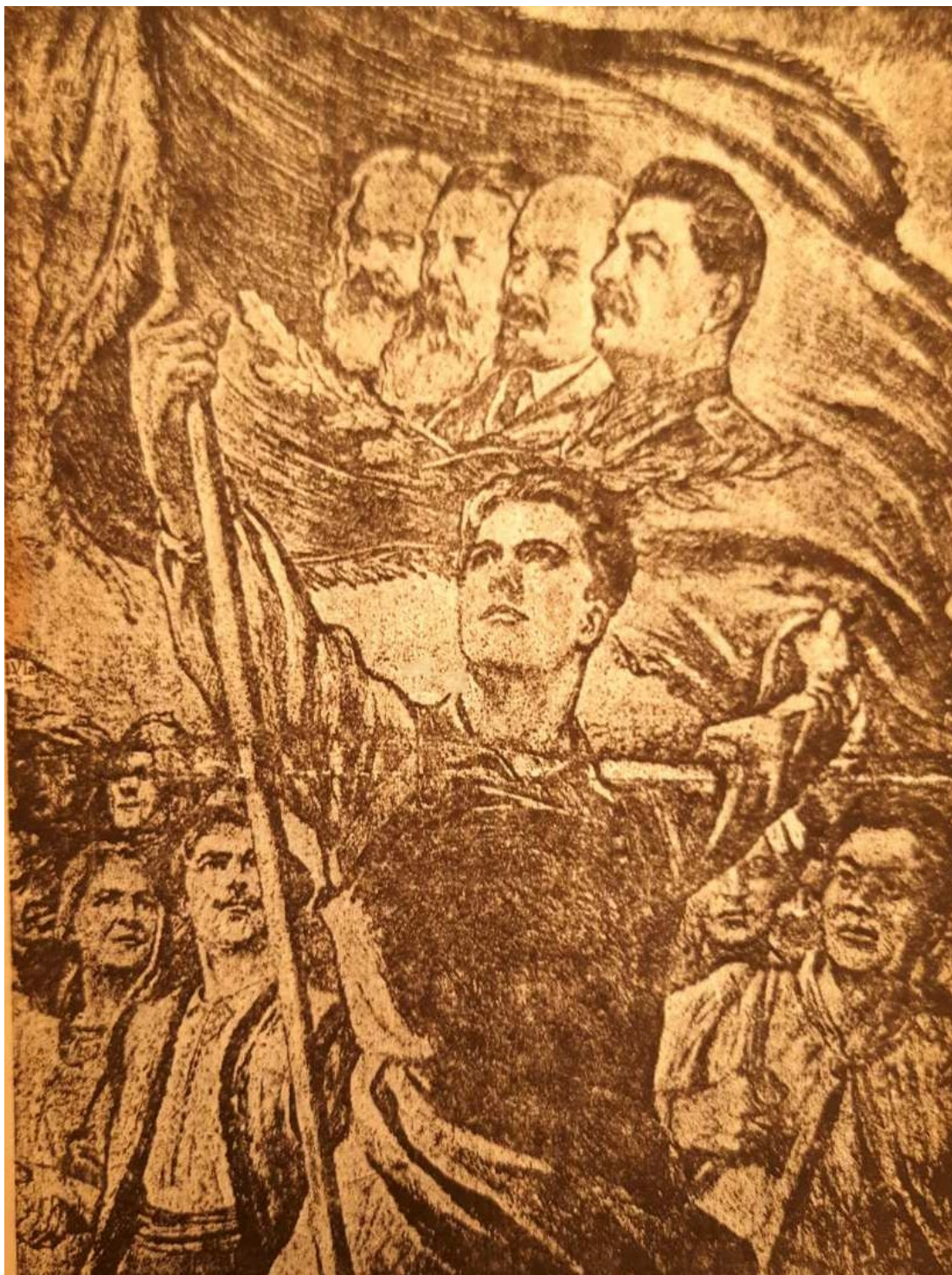


# PROLETARIAN PATH

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## EDITORIAL

### Restoration of Marxism-Leninism is the Cardinal task of the day

PROLETARIAN PATH makes its re-appearance in the Communist movement of India after a break of almost five years. It is a moment to reflect upon and assess some of the developments in the international Communist movement and the communist movement of India of which this Journal has been a component part. Proletarian Path made its initial appearance in 1970 as a communist Journal representing that developing Marxist-Leninist tendency which subsequent to the exposure of the neo-revisionist CMI (M), entered into fierce opposition to the 'Left' lunatic and 'Left' adventurist policies of the CPI (M-L). In this phase Proletarian Path performed sterling service to the Indian communist movement by vigorously denouncing the divorce of the CPI (M-L); from the actual working class movement, from mass organisations of working class and working peoples and its degeneration into a party of anarchism, narodism and individual terrorism on the one hand and the Parliamentary cretinism, economism and extra-parliamentarism for parliamentary ends of the CPI and CPI (M) on the other, pinpointing that the revisionism and neo-revisionism of the CPI and CPI (M) respectively gave rise to 'Left' lunatic adventurism. Today, it can now be readily understood that this historical contribution was circumscribed and limited by the fact that at that stage differentiation had yet to take place within the international Communist movement between Marxism-Leninism and Chinese revisionism. Today, it is possible to comprehend that it was not possible to cognise and expose the theory and practice of Indian Maoism to the fullest degree necessary in a concomitant historical and theoretical investigation of the roots of Chinese revisionism in general and the 'thought of Mao Tsetung' in particular. The Editorial Board of the Proletarian Path as it now constituted is both a consequent of and an intrinsic component of the international and national differentiation which has been taking place in recent years between Marxism-Leninism and the 'thought of Mao Tsetung'. Today Proletarian Path links itself with that current in Indian Communist movement which entered into principled critique of 'Mao Tsetung thought, and cultural revolution' several years prior to the open exposure of Maoism by the heroic Party of Labour of Albania. Proletarian Path links itself with that current in the Indian communist movement which declared the twentieth Congress of the CPSU as the "Congress of revisionism" and the Soviet Union as Russian neo-imperialist long before the Chinese understood it—that too from the narrow bourgeois nationalist point of view. But it must needs be stressed that the exposure and denunciation of "Mao Tsetung thought" can only be a preliminary though necessary step for the restoration and further enrichment of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. For this the point of departure is the carrying forward the tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, the Communist International and the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

To-day there exists a crisis within the Communist and Worker's Parties in India. This is not merely a national phenomenon restricted to this country, it is a crisis also of the international Communist movement. The roots of this crisis go back in time to the period after the death of J. V. Stalin in March, 1953, when the triumph of revisionism led to the virtual destruction of the international Communist movement and the socialist and democratic camp of nations such as it existed subsequent to the victory of Chinese Revolution. After the twentieth Congress of the CPSU the leading parties of the international Communist movement—the CPSU and the CPC openly denounced the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the policies of Stalin period which was essentially characterised by the programme of the CPSU to establish the foundation of Communism in the Soviet Union and the laying of foundation of Socialism in the countries of

Peoples' Democracy. After 1953, the modern revisionists set themselves to the task of arresting and revising the programme of Communist construction in the USSR and instead initiated policies designed to restore capitalism. In the countries of Peoples' Democracy, barring Socialist Albania, of Eastern Europe and Asia modern revisionism liquidated the programme for laying the material foundation of Socialism and formulated a new programme designed to re-introduce capitalism in those countries.

The real function of the twentieth Congress of the CPSU was not to end "Stalinist distortion" and the "Cult of personality", but to arrest the development of the Soviet Union towards the establishment of Communist Society as will be clear enough from our main article in this issue. J. V. Stalin in his last work *The Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* had a clearly established that such factors as Collective Farm Property and Commodity-Circulation had begun to act as a fetter upon the development of productive forces in the Soviet Union and set the CPSU the task of eliminating these contradictions by gradually converting Collective farm property into public property and by gradually introducing products-exchange in place of Commodity Circulation through the medium of money. The Nineteenth Congress of the CPSU, held in November, 1952, had set the task of elaborating the programme of Communist Construction. Yet, within a matter of weeks, subsequent to the death of Stalin, the Soviet revisionists had reversed the decisions of the Nineteenth Congress. And at the twentieth Congress of the CPSU the Marxist thesis of Stalin were discussed by Khrushchov in the following manner:

Some hot-heads decided that the construction of socialism had already been completed and began to compile a detailed time-table for the construction of Communism. There were proposals, wholly unfounded, that we accelerate the substitution of direct product-exchange for Soviet trade.

The twentieth Congress of the CPSU, while denouncing the Marxist-Leninist policies of J. V. Stalin erected a cult of personality of V. I. Lenin with the end aim of providing an ideological cover for the restoration of Capitalism in the Soviet Union. Lenin died a second death as his writing concerning the New Economic Policy in 1921 a period of "retreat and more retreat" — demanding the need for freeing trade and commodity relationships and intensifying the use of material incentive became the theoretical figleaf for the demolition of a fully developed socialist system such as it had developed in the Soviet Union in the period from 1928 to 1953.

Modern revisionism in the countries of Peoples Democracy restored Capitalism on a different basis and by different paths. In the Peoples Democracies of Europe the task of the preliminary first phase, directed at eliminating the political and economic bases of the pro-fascist bourgeoisie and big landlords upon the basis of the political alliance of the working class, peasantry and the middle, anti-fascist bourgeois, had in the main been completed by 1948. Upto this period, the Peoples' Democratic form of the State could not and did not exercise the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the power was shared with a section of the bourgeoisie. As such Peoples' Democracy is not and cannot be synonymous with the dictatorship of the proletariat in all its phases as propagated by the revisionists of CPI, CPI (M) and CPI (M-L) The Peoples' Democracies exercised the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat after having exposed, isolated and expelled the parties of middle bourgeoisie from the Government and expropriated their capital. Only on this basis the Peoples' Democracies, with the assistance of the Soviet Union, initiated programmes for the laying of the foundation of socialism by the policies of socialist industrialisation and the establishment, on a voluntary basis, of agricultural producers' co-operatives. By 1953 these programmes scored signal success, yet they had been completed

only in part: in most Peoples' Democracies the rich peasantry, the last capitalist class, had yet to be liquidated. Unless one understands these transitions from 1945 to 1948 and 1948 onwards one cannot understand Titoite revisionism in Yugoslavia and in the countries of Peoples' Democracy subsequently. With the advent of Khrushovite revisionism, the jails of the Peoples' Democracies were opened up and the revisionist nationalist elements incarcerated in the Stalin period such as Gomulka, Kadar and Husak were released and elevated to leading positions of the Party and the State. Under the new leaderships, the leading Marxists such as Rakosi, Revai, Hilary Minc, Jacob Berman. Chervenkov were removed from office and some of them "suddenly" died, confiscated lands were handed back to the "Owners", co-operatives were wound up, rich peasant economy was encouraged, the dictatorship of the proletariat was abolished and the construction of socialism halted.

Contemporary Chinese revisionism has developed on the basis of the revolutionary democratic advance scored in the Chinese Revolution from 1949 to 1953. In China, as in other Peoples' Democracies, the preliminary thrust of the democratic, anti-imperialist front which consisted of the working class in alliance with the petty and middle bourgeoisie had been directed against those sections of big capital and big landlordism dependent upon imperialism. In the period 1949-52 the fundamental tasks appropriate to the democratic revolution had been completed in the main; big capital had been confiscated and transformed into state-owned enterprise and land reform in the main had been accomplished such that the political and economic power of big landlordism has ended. The peoples' economy had been rehabilitated as a result of which both industrial and agricultural production surpassed the pre-war level. The CPC, then, logically confronted in **1952-53** the task of transforming the New **Democratic** state composed of the **Joint dictatorship** of four classes including the middle bourgeoisie, into the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as effecting the transition of the new-democratic economy to an economy of socialism. From **1954**, the CPC accepted **in words** the necessity of carrying out the transition to socialism - but **in practice**, shrank from establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, exposing, isolating and expelling the middle bourgeoisie from the Government and in essence expropriating their capital. Instead, in 1954, the middle bourgeoisie were formally incorporated into the National Peoples' Congress where they remain to this day. The state capitalism under the Joint dictatorship with the middle bourgeoisie is called the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin, it may be recalled, said of the imperative necessity of further strengthening the political dictatorship of the proletariat when in 1921 forced on the dictatorship of the proletariat economic compromise with capitalism. He said, if the political power of the proletariat is strengthened the NEP could be viewed as temporary retreat on the economic front in order to gather forces for a new and more powerful assault, otherwise all would be lost. However, till this date the tasks of laying the foundations of socialist society in China have not been taken up: no section of CPC leadership has ever advocated the abolition of economic foundation of the middle bourgeoisie and consequent elimination of political partnership in function of the state.

The Cognition of the revisionist betrayal began even as the revisionist betrayal began after the death of Stalin as is revealed by the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists of the Soviet Union headed by Molotov and the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists of the Peoples' Democracies such as Rakosi, Gero, Chervenkov. Jacob Berman and above all. Enver Hoxha. Little do we know of the exact content of the struggle led by Molotov against Khrushovite revisionists – except through the medium of revisionist sources. In his review of the new textbook on the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union published in 1959, B. Ponomarev, one of the



secretaries of the CPSU wrote in *World Marxist Review* (August, 1959): “The Party decisions. Khrushchov’s report to the 20th and 21st Congress of the Party theoretically substantiate and concretely outline the road to Communism. Experience has proved that the Party and its Central Committee was right when it defeated the anti-party group of Malenkov, Kaganovitch, Molotov, Bulganin and Shepilov who opposed the line laid down by the 20th Congress. Before these Marxist-Leninist leaders could reach the vast general rank and file with their say they were “swept from the path” with severe repression. The lack of strong international support – with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania — the upholders of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism frequently perished in isolation and unsung.

The unprecedented betrayal of the revisionist leaderships of virtually the international Communist movement led to a series of crisis within the communist movement of each country, including the Communist Party of India. It assumed more and more violent forms as exemplified by Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968), the ‘cultural revolution’ (1967), the split of the CPI’s including of India, Sino-US alliance, the Chinese invasion of Vietnam, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the current crisis in Poland etc. These crises had the effect of demoralising the ranks of the Communists and shook the faith of the working class and working peoples in the theory and practice of communism. Taking advantage of this crises a section of academic “intellectual” have come forward to disintegrate more the communist movement and to sow more confusion in it. They pretend to engage in profound critical analysis and propagate the need for “critical approach” against the “dogmatic” approach to Marxism with a view to transform Marxism suitable to the bourgeois democracy and bourgeois humanitarianism. Only the scientific understanding and explanation of these phenomena can help to restore the confidence in the communist movement.

The international cognition of the true content of modern revisionism, especially the Chinese revisionism, proceeded upon the logical process of cognition of various aspects and manifestations in isolation. The inability to move beyond the range of empiricism was due in part to the fragmentation of the international communist movement which had, in the main succumbed to bourgeois nationalism and the absence of an international communist organisation studying world reality and directing the world communist movement. “Theory” as Stalin said, is “the experience of the working class movement in all countries in its general aspects.” For the revolutionary Marxists, during and subsequent to the “Great Debate” right through the “Cultural revolution” the guiding compass was not Marxism, but one of its revisionist distortions: the “thought of Mao Tsetung”. Though apparently it played some positive role but intrinsically it played a disastrous role in the international communist movement. As a consequence of this modern revisionism virtually enjoyed a free hand in systematically destroying the tradition of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, the Comintern and the Cominform.

In the contemporary situation, then, it becomes the cardinal task of the Marxist-Leninist to restore communist theory and practice in the contemporary world and chart out the course of action of the working class and working peoples. At a time when, virtually the entire communist and workers movement is characterised by a contempt for theory, the universal hallmark of petty bourgeois revolutionism — Proletarian Path takes up the task of the restoration of communist theory and its further development in the process of concretisation of the present actual social reality as its foremost task. Only the development of communist theory and its testing in the fires of practice can guide the honest Marxists away from skepticism, depoliticization and individual terrorism in desperation on the one hand and can inspire those honest Marxists who, still to-day clearly adhere to the traditions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, but feeling helpless and are

standing on the burning deck like Casablanca, who are not prepared to sacrifice the principle in the name of “flexible policies” on the other. Even the crisis of world capitalism is intensifying and engulfing the hitherto socialist countries and the proletariat and toiling masses the world over are faced with the alternative between revolutionary transformation of the society and fascist terror, between socialism and barbarism and spontaneously fighting life and death battles. True, that the masses of the people are no longer prepared to live in this condition and it is also true that the ruling classes are no longer capable of retaining its rule in traditional old manner. But these two conditions are not enough for a revolution. This condition again, is source of reformism. If this condition is allowed to remain for long, barbarism will win ultimately. It is increasingly manifest that if the working class does not arm itself with the most advanced theory and act accordingly, it would be nothing but all round decay and degeneration on the one hand and desperation and lunatic adventurism on the other. History abounds with such examples.

Only revolutionary theory can provide the creeping disillusionment of the rank and file communists and the spontaneous movement of the working class its compass in practice. “For theory, and theory alone, can give the movement confidence, the proper orientation and understanding of the inner relation of surrounding events; for it and it alone, can help practice to realise not only how and in which direction classes are moving at the present time, but also how and in which direction they will move in the near future....” (Stalin). Such a restoration and development of communist theory in the contemporary situation is the necessary pre-condition for the formulation of a scientific communist programme for the Indian Communists. As a component part of this task Proletarian Path will examine in a systematic fashion the cardinal questions bearing upon such a programme . the nature of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and the majority of the former Peoples' Democracies; the nature of present stage of capitalism; the economic basis of revisionism; the character of Indian State; the validity of the stage of Peoples' Democracy in the contemporary world situation; the development within the working class movement and its current and future tasks. In this historic endeavour it is of imperative importance that the cardinal task of elaborating and developing communist theory in the condition of to-day must needs be linked as flesh with bone, with the ongoing class struggle of the working class and working people for it is on this terrain and this terrain alone that evergreen and ever- developing communist theory may be tested and realised in practice.

The Editorial Board of the Proletarian Path appeals to all honest Communists of India and abroad to extend their helping hand to make its onward march a grand success. On our part, we pledge not to waver in our principled struggle to carry forward the glorious tradition of Marx, Engles, Lenin, Stalin, the Comintern and Cominform. Let us recall that “A policy based on principle is the only correct policy” this was the formula by means of which Lenin took new impregnable positions by assault and won over the best elements of the proletariat to the revolutionary Marxism.” (—Stalin).

## Main Article

### Why was Stalin denigrated and made a controversial figure?

Moni Guha

#### CHAPTER—1

##### HOW AND WHY STALIN DIED – IMMEDIATE CAUSE

Immediately after the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held in November 1952, only a few months before his death, Stalin was giving final touch to the implementation of the Congress decisions. Leningrad organisation headed by Khrushchov was severely criticised in Malenkov's political report for "wrong consumer approach to collective farm development" and "attention to economic affairs only, neglecting ideological matters". The Nineteenth Congress detected 'a number of 'shortcomings' 'errors' and 'inadmissible and moribund features' in the internal life of many organisations of the CPSU. 'Evasion and suppression of criticism from below' 'pernicious and profoundly anti-Party attitude to criticism by subordinates' 'concealment by some leading workers of the true state of affairs in the plants and institutions in their charge' 'close coteries who constituted themselves into a sort of mutual insurance society' 'bureaucratic degeneration' 'filching of collective farm property by some party, Soviet and agricultural officers' were pinpointed in Malenkov's political report. Marshal Zhukov and Kosygin had already been demoted. Varga's and Voznesensky's 'theories' of non-inevitability of war "emergence and development of new elements of socialism in post-war capitalist economy" "peaceful and gradual development of socialism in capitalist countries' and possibility of development of non-antagonistic relations between the socialist and capitalist countries and stable and permanent peaceful co-existence of the two systems" etc. etc. were already demolished through long debates and polemics organised under the leadership of Stalin and Voznesensky was taken to task and Varga admitted his "revisionist mistakes". Malenkov's political report gave a clarion call to "wage a determined struggle against private property mentality and morality, against ideological corruption of unstable elements and the task of reforming the Central Committee bringing into leadership of a large number of new people was just taken up by Stalin. Economic Problems of socialism in the U. S. S. R. already demolished the theory of 'Market Socialism' and policies of capitulation and restoration of capitalism. A new programme of the CPSU for building communism was under preparation.

Together with all these, in January, 1953, less than two months before Stalin's death, it was also announced by the Security department that an investigation was proceeding into conspiracy among opposition elements. These elements, it was further said, were linked with British and American intelligence and some arrests had already been made. The investigation had been initiated directly from Stalin's secretariat. It was also announced that the investigation had arrived at a conclusion that the opposition elements had been responsible for Zhdanov's death in 1948.

In this connection we would request the readers to direct back their attention to a news item published in the New York Times in December 1948 which said that some leading members of the Soviet Union were interested to end the war of nerves (cold war) between the Soviet Union and the U. S. A., in opposition to Stalin's policy of continuing thoroughgoing struggle.

However, who was Zhdanov? Zhdanov had been the best Marxist theoretician in the Soviet Union after Stalin. In the postwar years, he, together with Stalin was engaged in cleansing the Augean stables of the Soviet Union. During the war years entire efforts and energies were

concentrated for winning the war and patriotism was the central slogan. As a result much deviations from proletarian ideology was rampant. Zhdanov, together with Stalin, played a leading role to correct these deviations in almost all walks of Soviet life. Zhdanov also had led the Soviet delegation to the inaugural meeting of the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform). Naturally he became the target for the opposition elements, to say nothing of the imperialists.

You can well imagine the condition. As soon as the January, 1953 announcement and the news of arrest of some persons were made the situation was then at the sharpest point. Malenkov's political report, Zuhov's and Kosygin's demotion, Stalin's Economic problems, proposal for the reform of the Central Committee and it last Stalin's probing into opposition conspiracy. Either swift and resolute action to prevent the revelation of the opposition intrigue to the full extent or the inevitable dreadful consequences. The opposition elements thought correctly that the probe was obviously coming to close with which their fate is indissolubly connected.

A hectic preparation to remove Stalin was now on the immediate agenda of the opposition elements. Two weeks before Stalin's death, the news of sudden death of General Kosynkin appeared in Izvestia of February 17, 1953. General Kosynkin was the chief of the department for the security of the Administration of Kremlin and was personally responsible for the security of Stalin. On February 28, 1953, four days before the death of Stalin, the personal bodyguard of Stalin was found nowhere. His whereabouts or fate still remains unknown! If the death of Stalin was unexplained and from natural cause, certainly the prior deaths, in this situation, of the Kremlin security Chief, General Kosynkin and the sudden vanishing of Stalin's body guard were clearly remarkable coincidences!

It was on the night of March 3, 1953. It was Wednesday. Moscow Radio announced that Stalin had suffered a cerebral haemorrhage on the previous Sunday, that is on March 1. 1953. It remains still unexplained why the announcement was made after long three days.

Stalin died on March, 5 1953.

Undoubtedly, the announcement of the trial of opposition elements hastened Stalin's death and it was the immediate cause of his death.

It may be noted that all the accused of the "Doctor's plot" were released on March 6, 1953 with an announcement that the arrests were made due to some misinformation and misunderstanding!

Though detailed medical bulletins were issued, until the announcement of Stalin's death, there was no report on the cause of his death except the first brief announcement of brain haemorrhage. It is noteworthy to point out that in the very first medical bulletin, the Soviet leaders hastened to emphasise that even in the event of Stalin's recovery, he would not be able to return to his "leading responsibilities". It was not 'normal activities' but "leading responsibilities". Obviously, it was of highest importance to them.

At the present point in history, no one as yet, except those directly concerned, can know the exact cause of Stalin's death. There has been no investigation as yet into the cause of Stalin's death and no official report on the subject, in spite of the fact that doubtful reports about the cause of his death "leaked" from time to time. Among all those 'leakages", we may mention one. After the twentieth Congress of CPSU, Tito, the blood brother of Khrushchov, visited the Soviet Union. After his return from consultation with the Soviet leaders Tito was reported to have told a senior official of a NATO Country that from his visit to the Soviet Union he had formed the opinion that Stalin had been murdered by the Soviet Party leadership. This statement of Tito was published in the British Press, for example, in Daily Telegraph in July 1956 under the heading



“TITO SAYS STALIN WAS MURDERED”. In spite of this public statement, the rank and file of the world communist movement, being so lulled by their respective leaderships into illusions of class peace during those three years, had so lost their revolutionary vigilance that the public statement could pass without any outcries in the parties, without any demand for independent investigation as to the cause of Stalin's death, without any public party comment!

Of course, the statement of Tito, a renegade from Marxism, in all probability was made on behalf of Khrushchov another renegade from Marxism as part of ‘leaking’ of information to gauge the reaction of the world communists. Khrushchov became doubly sure that he had won the hearts (if there was any) of the renegades.

Let alone an investigation into the cause of Stalin's death, a decision was pushed through the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, that Stalin's body be removed from the Lenin Mausoleum to a Kremlin grave. Do you think that this was an act of mere revenge, or of political sadism on the part of Khrushchov or merely the culminating point in a campaign of Stalin's denigration? If you think in this over-simplistic way, you are gravely mistaken, dear Comrades. Recall the event that happened in that Congress. Chou-En-Lai brought to Moscow a wreath for Stalin with an inscription in large golden letters “A GREAT MARXIST - LENINIST”. A powerful speech was delivered by him, in defence of Albania which Khrushchov angrily told the delegates not to applaud when the delegates were already applauding it. Albania had already withdrawn its public support to the Soviet revisionist policies and had launched polemics undermining the revisionist position in the international communist movement. Now Khrushchov had to face the withdrawal of public support from the powerful and most respected Communist Party of China. That was a new and unpleasant prospect for Khrushchov. It is clear that the decision of removing Stalin's body was an urgent practical necessity for the leading Soviet revisionists and there were rumours that Stalin's body was reduced to ashes before burial. In advance of any “unfavourable” turn of events Khrushchov wished to prevent any later independent investigation into the cause of Stalin's death.

Whatever conclusion we reach on the available evidence does not invalidate the undeniable existence of two opposing groups in the Soviet leadership and the equally undeniable conflict between their policies and their basic ideology. That was the basic cause of Stalin's mysterious death and that was the class struggle on international scale.

What, then, was this conflict?

## CHAPTER-2

### The background – class against class

The victory of the Soviet Union and the freedom-loving nations in the Second World war radically changed the entire international situation. Above all, it changed the relation of forces between the two social systems— socialism and capitalism – in favour of socialism. Immediately before the Second world war the situation – so far as the alignment of the class forces was concerned internationally – was most unfavourable to the world communist movement. Accordingly the Seventh World Congress of the communist International took a correct defensive path, a path of conscious and organised retreat with a view to retrieve the position in favour of the world proletariat. The victory of the Soviet Union, the emergence of People's Democracies, the upsurge of National Liberation struggle in the oppressed countries and the upsurge of the democratic movement in the capitalist countries changed the international situation in favour of the world proletariat and socialism.

This was a situation which the imperialists did not want. The ruling circles of the United

States and Great Britain expected that as a result of the exhausting war, the Soviet Union would be bled-white and enfeebled, would cease to be a great power and would become dependent upon the United States and Great Britain. The hopes of imperialists proved to be illusory and groundless.

Though, during the war the Soviet Union and the allied countries acted together, in spite of the difference about the war aims, the difference between the two conceptions of the object of war and of the post-war world became exceptionally glaring when the war came to an end. The U. S. S. R, the Peoples' Democracies and other democratic countries launched a determined struggle to liquidate remnants of fascism and to strengthen the democratic order. The ruling circles of the United States and Great Britain, however, began to protect the remnants of fascism to strangle the forces of democracy and national liberation and to prepare for a new war with the object of establishing their own domination of the world. Thus two lines on question of post-war policy became revealed and this led to the formation of two camps – the imperialist camp – and the democratic camp.

Already concerned with the visible world development from capitalism to socialism and developing opposition to imperialism, the imperialists thought that their possession of nuclear weapons, especially in the period of their temporary monopoly and the unprecedented military force would enable them to arrest and if possible reverse the wheel of history. In other words, the imperialists were using all their class power and energy in an attempt to maintain imperialist status quo. That was the role of nuclear weapons for the imperialists. Molotov said, "As we know, a sort of new religion has become widespread among expansionist circles in the U. S. A.; having no faith in their own internal forces they put their faith in the secret of atom bomb although this secret has long ceased to be a secret."<sup>1</sup>

The attitude towards the nuclear weapons became the central issue in the determination of foreign and home policy of the Soviet Union in the leadership of the C. P. S. U.

Despite the temporary imperialist nuclear monopoly, Stalin continued to carry forward a consistent proletarian internationalist foreign policy without any concession or ideological retreat, knowing that the answer to the perennial imperialist threat lay in unwavering opposition to imperialism and mobilisation of socialist camp and all anti-imperialist forces. The launching of international peace offensive in Stalin's days had the aim of carrying this policy forward on a broad front, again, as principled and practical answer to imperialist pressure.

The opposition elements, the revisionist section of the leadership of the Soviet Party believed that Stalin's thorough-going opposition to imperialism, especially in the "nuclear age" was becoming highly dangerous to Soviet national interest. They believed that the Soviet Union must at all cost buy off the threat of nuclear destruction by concessions to imperialism—easing the tension between the Soviet Union and the U. S. A. The threat of nuclear weapons gave rise to fear in a section of the communists of the world including a section of the Soviet leadership and this was the international basis of modern revisionism. For the revisionists nuclear weapons are a force in themselves, outside objective social laws, the threatened use of which can act as some kind of catalyst in international politics to compel the basic social forces to forego the historically necessary world mission of emancipating the people as well as themselves! So, to them Marxism became outdated in the 'nuclear age' and that required thorough revision. The essence of Khrushchov's position in this respect was long ago publicly recognised by a leading capitalist politician, Harold McMillen, who described Khrushchov approvingly as the "first Soviet

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<sup>1</sup> Speech at the 30th anniversary of the October Revolution, Nov. 6, 1947: Speeches – Molotov, Vol. II, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1948.

statesman to recognise that Karl Marx was a pre-atomic man.” This deflection from dialectical and historical materialism promoted fear in them and the fear led them to opportunism, capitulation and bourgeois nationalism. Thus the revisionist section of the leadership of the Soviet Party demanded a line of “least resistance” and “smooth-sailing” – to which Stalin did not pay any heed.

It may be noted in this connection that this line of “least resistance” and “smooth sailing” was persisting in the Soviet Party since its very birth in a section of diplomats of the foreign commissariat (Ministry), but could not come as a Party line due to Stalin’s unflinching Marxist leadership for more than 25 years, from Lenin’s death to the victory over fascism. Stalin had personified the firm Soviet opposition to the class enemies of socialism with marked clarity and theoretical foresight.

Let us recapitulate the past to understand the position of Stalin vis-a-vis the revisionists. In 1925, in a talk to the students of Sverdlov University Stalin analysed the opposition of certain Soviet diplomats to proletarian internationalist foreign policy:

“Support the liberation movement in China? But why? Wouldn’t that be dangerous? Wouldn’t it bring us into conflict with other countries? Wouldn’t it be better if we established “spheres of influence” in China in conjunction with other “advanced” powers and snatched something from China for our own benefit? That would be both useful and safe...

“Such is the new type of nationalist “frame of mind” which is trying to liquidate the foreign policy of the October Revolution and is cultivating the elements of degeneration.”

Stalin said further, “**That is a path of nationalism and degeneration**, the path of complete liquidation of the proletariat’s international policy, for people afflicted with this disease regard our country not as a part of the whole that is called the world revolutionary movement, but as the beginning and the end of the movement believing that the interests of all other countries be sacrificed to the interests of our country...”<sup>1</sup>

In a later work Stalin contrasted two opposite lines of foreign policy for the Soviet Union. Stalin said: “*Either* we continue to pursue a revolutionary policy rallying the proletarians and the oppressed of all countries around the working class of the U.S.S.R. *Or* we renounce our revolutionary policy and agree to make a number of fundamental concessions to international capital...”

"Britain for instance, demands that we join her in establishing predatory spheres of influence somewhere or other in Persia, Afghanistan or Turkey, say, and assures us that if we made this concession, she would be prepared to establish ‘friendship’ with us...

“America demands that we renounce in principle the policy of supporting the emancipation movement of the working class in other countries and says that if we made this concession everything would go smoothly...

“...We cannot agree to these or similar concessions without being false to ourselves...”<sup>2</sup>

It is clear that both in this and above example, Stalin is not arguing in the abstract but resisting a tendency in the Soviet leadership. It appears rather as if Stalin was arguing with the Khrushchovite revisionists.

During the Spanish Civil War in 1936-37, a section of the foreign Ministry of the Soviet Union wanted to follow the same line of “least resistance” and the line of nationalism giving concession to imperialism. Litvinoff wanted to accept the British plan but Stalin stuck to his guns and the Soviet Union refused to grant Franco international status as a combatant as par with the

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<sup>1</sup> Stalin: Works, Vol. 7, F.L.P.H., Moscow, 1954, pp. 69 and 70. Emphasis added.

<sup>2</sup> Stalin, Works, Vol. 11, pp. 58-60.

International Brigade insisting that it had every right in the world to continue aiding the duly elected Republican Government, which it did until the bitter end. The controversy in the Soviet leadership “leaked” and the New York Times of October 29, 1937 described how the “unyielding Stalin” representing “Russian stubbornness” refused to go along. It wrote, “A struggle has been going on all this week between Joseph Stalin and foreign Minister Maxim Litvinoff.”

Stalin said, “...the danger of nationalism, must be regarded as springing from the growth of bourgeois influence on the Party, in the sphere of foreign policy, in the sphere of the struggle that the capitalist states are waging against the state of the proletarian dictatorship. There can scarcely be any doubt that the pressure of the capitalist states on our state is enormous, that the people who are handling our foreign policy do not always succeed in resisting this pressure, that the danger of complications often gives rise to temptation to take the path of least resistance, the path of nationalism.

“On the other hand it is obvious that the first country to be victorious can retain the role of standard bearer of the world revolutionary movement only on the basis of consistent internationalism, only on the basis of the foreign policy of October Revolution, and that the path of least resistance and of nationalism in foreign policy is the path of the isolation and the decay of the first country to be victorious.”<sup>1</sup>

In connection with the role of standard bearer of the world revolutionary movement of the first victorious country following is the attitude and stand of the modern revisionists. In a speech to the delegates from the fraternal “socialist” countries on February, 1960, Khrushchov declared: “What does ‘at the head’ gives us? It gives us neither milk, nor butter, neither potatoes nor vegetables, nor flats. Perhaps it gives us something morally? Nothing at all.” Again in a speech to the fraternal delegates on June 24, 1960 he declared; “What is the use of ‘at the head’ for us? To hell with it.” Khrushchov treated the role of standard bearer as cash-crop.

The starting point of the argument of the modern revisionist section of the CPSU leadership was that the existence of the nuclear weapons cancels out Marxism and makes any principled policy “out of date.” They basically retreated from Lenin’s analysis of imperialism and departed from the Leninist position that imperialism was the source of war. Instead they argued that the source of war was the conflict between the two camps of imperialism and socialism. Reducing this theory further they said that the conflict between the Soviet Union and Anglo-U.S. imperialisms was the direct source of conflict and war and the Soviet Union’s all sorts of support to the liberation war, especially of Korea and Vietnam was the source of intensification of the world tension. Hence they demanded the betrayal of the cause of the Korean and Indo-Chinese people for the relaxation of international tension They demanded to change the thorough-going opposition to imperialism for the replacement of this policy with a policy of ‘deal’ with imperialism sitting around the table.

From this basic perspective of deal with imperialism stemmed all other revisionist policies. The revisionist section of the leadership of the C.P.S.U. opposed all the formulations of Stalin contained in his Economic Problems of socialism in the U.S.S.R. We have seen how the revisionists opposed the Leninist theory that imperialism is the source of war. They also opposed Stalin's formulation of two parallel world markets – socialist and capitalist which we will discuss now, as this is one of the cardinal question of building socialism in the period when socialism in one country was replaced by socialism in many countries and orthodox colonialism was replaced by neo-colonialism.

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<sup>1</sup> Stalin, Works, pp. 170-71.

**Two Parallel World Markets:** Stalin said, “The disintegration of the single, all-embracing world market must be regarded as the most important economic sequel of the Second World War. ... The economic consequence of the existence of the two opposite camps was that the single all-embracing world market disintegrated, so that now we have two parallel world markets also confronting one another.

“...It follows from this that the sphere of exploitation of the world’s resources by the major capitalist countries ... will not expand but contract; that their opportunities for sale in the world market will deteriorate and their industries will be operating more and more below capacity. That... is what is meant by the deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system in connection with the disintegration of the world market.”<sup>1</sup>

We are told by the revisionists that it is another of “Stalin’s errors.” They refute Stalin by saying:

“In no way whatever does the socialist international division of labour imply autarchy [Economic self-sufficiency – MG] on the side of socialist camp. — it follows from the Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence that the socialist and capitalist economic systems together form a single world economy. ... And this entirely forms the economic base for the peaceful co-existence of the two world systems. The more developed the socialist division of labour, the greater the opportunities for exchange between two systems....

“The fact that world prices are used as the first basis for price formation on the socialist world market indicates that the socialist and capitalist markets are part of a single world market.”<sup>2</sup>

We will briefly discuss this question here.

It has always been held by Marxist-beginning from Marx down to Stalin—that socialism would abolish the division of labour. Marx said, “With the division of labour in which all these contradictions are implicit — is given simultaneously the **distribution** and indeed **unequal** distribution, both quantitative and qualitative, of labour and its products, hence property...the **division of labour** implies the possibility, nay the fact, that intellectual and material activity— enjoyment and labour, production and consumption—devolve on different individuals, and that the **ONLY POSSIBILITY OF THEIR NOT COMING INTO -CONTRADICTION LIES IN THE negation** IN ITS TURN of the division of labour.”<sup>3</sup>

While Marx said (hat in order to end the contradictions inherent in the division of labour it was necessary to negate the division of labour itself, the revisionists say “the more developed the socialist division of labour, the greater the opportunities for exchange between the two systems”! Not only that. The revisionist theory further says that the “socialist international division of labour” “frees the division of labour from the antagonistic form”!<sup>4</sup> Why, then, you are not bold enough, my dear revisionists, to »ay that Marx was wrong, he could not understand that socialist international division of labour frees the division of labour from all antagonism? Why, then don’t you say that it was wrong for Marx to conclude that negation of the division of labour can only resolve the contradiction inherent in it? Here you see, the revisionists are not prepared to create a material basis for the abolition of division of labour, on the contrary, they are interested in creating a material basis for the emancipation of the division of labour from its antagonistic form

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<sup>1</sup> Stalin: Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

<sup>2</sup> World Marxist Review: “The international division of labour” – December, 1958.

<sup>3</sup> K. Marx: “German Ideology” F.L.P.H., Moscow 1949 p. 44. Emphases in italics are original while the emphases in capital letters and italics of the last sentence supplied.

<sup>4</sup> World Marxist Review - “International division of labour” December 1958.

through greater development of international division of labour with a view to “facilitate greater exchange between the “two systems”. And it is called by them socialism!

Indeed “Stalin's error” on this point dates back to Marx.

The revisionists proved their “single world market” theory by saying that since the “world prices are used as the first basis for price formation on the socialist world market price” the socialist world market must be “a part of a single world market.” But who said that the world prices would be used as the first basis for the price formation of the socialist world market? There cannot be any basis for socialist competition if the imperialist world prices are used as the first basis for the price formation of the socialist world market. It is a capitalist competition not socialist competition if the socialist countries trade in international arena on the basis of imperialist world prices as all the vices inherent in the imperialist world prices will gobble up “socialism.” In speaking of two parallel world markets—capitalist and socialist – Stalin did neither mean nor say that the socialist world market will use imperialist world price as its first basis for its price formation.

After all what are the world prices?

According to the Marxist economics world prices pattern put only developed country in a position of exploiting less developed ones. The totality of exchange relations between a developed country, which exchanges manufactured goods and underdeveloped country which exchanges primary products has been organised by the imperialists in such a way as to work systematically to the disadvantage of the undeveloped country and to the advantage of the developed country. The difference in level of productivity between two types of countries,—less productive and less skilled on the part of undeveloped country and more skilled and more productive on the part of developed country is a fact. As a result more labour of the undeveloped country is exchanged with less labour of the developed country. This is what is called “unequal exchange”. It is an unequal exchange between the developed and underdeveloped country by which the capitalist class (and the “socialist” of single world market) of the developed country gains at the expense of the people of the undeveloped territory, even if it is sold cheaper by one of the developed countries than other developed countries. It is capitalist competition.

Marx drew the attention to such unequal exchange:

“Capitals invested in foreign trade are in a position to yield a higher rate of profit, because, in the first place, they come in competition with commodities produced in other countries **with lesser facilities of production**, so that an advanced country is enabled to sell its goods **above their value even when it sells cheaper** than the competing countries.”<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet Union, rejecting and repudiating Stalin's theory of two parallel world markets and following the revisionist “theory” of single world market and “international division of labour” based on imperialist world prices as the first basis for the price formation is gaming at the expense of Comecon countries and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America capitalistically competing with the imperialist competitors. The “higher rate of profit” which they earn are invested as Capital in the Soviet Union and hence the Soviet Union is no longer a socialist country.

Che Guevara, the then Finance Minister of “Socialist” Cuba strongly criticised the practice of world market prices and argued, “How can it be ‘mutually advantageous’ to sell at world market prices the primary materials which cost the under-developed countries boundless sweat and suffering and to buy at world market prices the machines produced in the great automatized factories of the present day?” He further said, “If we establish this sort of relation between two

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<sup>1</sup> K. Marx, Capital, Vol. 3.; emphasis added.



groups of nation, it must be admitted that the socialist countries are, in a certain way, accomplices of imperialist exploitation. ... The socialist countries have the moral duty to liquidate their tacit complicity with the exploiting countries of the West.”<sup>1</sup>

China, Rumania, Hungary and the other “socialist” countries said almost the same thing like Che Guevara. They felt the sting of Soviet Union’s exploitation, but failed to go beyond bourgeois nationalist protest. None of them demanded a parallel world socialist market based on socialist pricing system. On the contrary, these countries also trade on the basis of imperialist world prices. India, U.A.R. and other countries also protested against the unequal exchange of the “Socialist” Soviet Union. They do not find any fundamental or radical difference between the capitalist competition and “Socialist” competition.

Stalin envisaged a parallel socialist world market on the basis of a socialist theory of international trade based on non-exploitative socialist pricing policy which would socialistically compete with the ever-shrinking capitalist world market and thus would draw the undeveloped countries towards socialist camp, which would in turn intensify the general crisis of capitalism more and more.

The single world market theory based on imperialist world prices and capitalist nature of competition in the world market by the revisionists has brought the “Socialist” countries in the orbit of the capitalist crisis. The Economist of London in its January, 1976 issue writes: “Western inflation is pushing up the price of Comecon’s imports while western recession is making it increasingly difficult for Comecon members to maintain, let alone expand.” It is not only the London Economist but Soviet Prime Minister also had to admit this fact. In Ins speech to the 29th Comecon Council meeting, in June, 1975, he openly admitted that the inflation in the West has certain effect on the Soviet bloc.

The tremendous and increasing indebtedness of the Comecon countries, including the U.S.S.R. to West European, Japanese and U.S. banking interest is noteworthy. The U.S. imperialism is gaining an ever greater economic and political foothold in the Comecon countries at the expense of peaceful co-existence on the basis of peaceful competition in capitalist way in a single world market. We are neither opposed to peaceful co-existence nor to peaceful competition with capitalism, but we like to follow that line on the basis of socialist pricing system of the parallel world socialist market competing capitalism socialistically. Herein lies the fundamental ideological and political difference between Marxism and revisionism.

The revisionist section of the leadership of the CPSU did not find any other suitable alternative to save the situation in their favour but Stalin’s death and that was why Stalin “died”.

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<sup>1</sup> Che Guevara: Speech at the "2nd Economic Seminar of Afro-Asian solidarity" on 24.2.65.

## CHAPTER 3

### What Happened After the Death of Stalin?

To understand clearly what happened after the death of Stalin, it is necessary to know the situation when Stalin died.

Stalin died in March 1953. He died at a time when the relative stability of capitalist markets had become a thing of the past and the ‘disintegration of the single all-embracing world market’ had already set in and two parallel world markets—the socialist and capitalist—confronting one another, contracting the capitalist world market more and more further deepening the general crisis of capitalism—was in the process of offing.

Stalin died at a time when the “theories expounded by Lenin in the spring of 1916, namely that in spite of the decay of capitalism “on the whole capitalism is growing far more rapidly than before” had lost its validity”,<sup>1</sup> at a time when, capitalism had even lost its tendency to relative growth in the framework of all-round absolute decay.

Stalin died at a time when, the development of social contradiction had been moving the world proletariat towards revolution and the imperialists towards a new war; at a time when, the fight for peace ‘the peace offensive’ had become the fight against the social forces that were conspiring a war; at a time when the whole world had become a single field of social battle in which the social forces of socialism and national liberation on the one hand and the forces of capitalism and national reaction on the other, confronted one another eye ball to eye ball as *two* organised forces, the former headed by STALIN, the Socialist camp and the Cominform and the latter by Anglo-American imperialisms together with modern revisionism; at a time when every local crisis had assumed a world-wide importance.

Stalin died at a time when the national liberation struggle of the oppressed people had become not only objectively, but also subjectively, part and parcel of the world proletarian socialist revolution on the one hand and at a time when, the imperialist vultures, through neo-colonial policy had been buying off, in addition to the feudal class, the national reformists and had been engineering a policy of localised civil war in an attempt at crushing the national liberation struggle one by one on the other; at a time when the unified and joint intervention by the world socialist forces and the forces of national liberation struggle had been foiling the conspiracy of localised civil war by imperialism as in Korea.

Stalin died at a time when the development of socialism in the Soviet Union had reached a crucial turning point demanding transformation of the property relations of the collective farmers into the property of the whole people – replacing group ownership—by an “all-embracing production sector” and “products-exchange” thus doing away with the commodity-money relation; and market economy, opening the floodgates of the second, higher phase of socialism, viz, communism.

Stalin died at a time when the ‘theories’ of peaceful growing of socialism, ‘structural reform of capitalism’ from within the framework of Yalta and UNO on the one hand and ‘sudden nuclear attack as the decisive factor in the outcome of war’ and ‘peace at any price’ on the other giving rise to opportunism had been raising their ugly heads in the international communist movement, in the Soviet Union and countries of Peoples’ Democracies; at a time when Stalin had already launched a bitter ideological as well as political struggle against the liquidationism of Varga, Voznesensky, Browder and Tito.

Stalin died at a time when the deviations and errors of the wartime had already been detected and pinpointed and the investigation of the crimes of the opposition elements had been

undertaken; at a time when the reforms of the Central Committee, purging out the weak-nerved and wavering elements had been undertaken.

In fine, Stalin died at a time when, on the one hand, under his far-sighted leadership the world imperialist system had been brought to the brink of precipice ushering the world system of socialism - replacing socialism in one country, at a time when the material basis of exerting a decisive influence on world politics as a whole by the international dictatorship of the proletariat exercised through the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) had already emerged and on the other hand, when Anglo-American imperialisms, in league with the modern revisionists had already infiltrated deeply into the international communist movement; at a time, when the world proletariat had stood against the world bourgeoisie as class against class and eye to eye.

Stalin died at such a crucial point of history when the brightest unique prospect and greatest black danger – a prospect of revolution and the danger of counter-revolution – at the height of the greatest class battle of history confronted each other. It demanded a dynamic subjective leadership at least equal to Stalin.

Friedrich Engels wrote to F. Sorge, just immediately after the death of Karl Marx “...mankind is shorter by a head and the greatest head of our time at that. The proletarian movement goes on, but its central figure to which Frenchmen, Russians, Americans and Germans spontaneously turned at critical moments to receive always that clear, incontestable counsel which only genius and perfect understanding of the situation can give. Local and lesser minds, if not the humbugs will now have free hands. The final victory is certain, but circuitous path, temporary and local errors, things even now are so unavoidable, will become more common than ever. Well, we must see it through. What else are we here for?”<sup>2</sup>

It was more true after the death of Stalin. After his death we have not only “local and lesser minds” but also “humbugs”. The darkest period in the international Communist movement descended after the death of Stalin.

What happened after the death of Stalin?

Stalin died in March 1953, and abruptly the high tide of revolution so far the subjective role of the leadership was concerned reversed. In July, 1953, within less than four months of Stalin’s death, the leaders of the Soviet Union and China capitulated to U. S. imperialism and forced the Korean people to accept division of their nation and a permanent occupation of the southern half by U S. forces. It was declared that the era of cold war between socialism and capitalism was ended replacing it by an era of mutual understanding and peaceful co-existence between capitalism and socialism based on relaxation of international tension’ as if the struggle for socialism and national liberation were the sources responsible for the intensification of international tension and war conspiracy! The struggle against the threat and danger of third world war was arbitrarily separated from the struggle against imperialism implying that classes and nations oppressed by imperialism should abandon revolutionary struggles in the interests of “preserving peace The problem of peace was isolated from the problem of human emancipation, from all kinds of exploitation, placing “peace” in abstract way. It meant the repudiation and rejection of the thorough-going struggle against the social forces that conspire and make war, it meant the repudiation and rejection of the differentiation between Revolutionary war and the war of aggression, it meant the repudiation and rejection of Marxism and class struggle.<sup>3</sup>

Stalin died in March 1953 and by July of that year the socialised means of production of agricultural sector of the Soviet Union—the Machine Tractor Stations (MTS) were desocialised and were sold to those collective farms which were financially capable of outright purchasing it, thus laying the foundation of differentiation and inequality among the collective farm peasantry

and making a tiny section of the peasants group owners of one of the most vital economic sectors, of the means of production doing away with the very economic basis of socialism in agriculture thus laying the foundation of the restoration of capitalism. Collective farms were allowed to sell their kitchen garden products together with their hens, pigs, milk, butter, eggs and meat in the 'free market' as commodities, thus extending the scope and range of the operation of the law of value, commodity money relations and market economy intensifying the instincts and morality of private property thus opening widely the gates for capitalism to enter into, guaranteeing the consumer approach to collective farm production for which Khrushchov was criticised at the Nineteenth Congress of the CPSU in November, 1952.<sup>4</sup>

Stalin died in March 1953 and in September of that year Soviet Red Army General Talensky rejecting Stalin's formula of "permanently operating factors" in war<sup>5</sup> introduced the 'theory' that in the 'nuclear age' atom bomb can determine the fate and outcome of war at the very first phase of war by attacking suddenly,<sup>6</sup> once more proving Stalin's prophetic words that "Atom bombs are intended for intimidating the weak-nerved".<sup>7</sup>

Stalin died in March 1953. and in November of that year the World Peace Council—a creation of Stalin—planned for a world conference for the "relaxation of international tension" renouncing the struggle for peace against the source of war and the conspirators of war, under the cloak of "saving the world from the war", forgetting that appeasement of imperialist aggression and aggressive designs cannot preserve peace, on the contrary, makes the war inevitable.

Stalin died in March, 1953 and in 1954 when Dulles—the U. S State Secretary – threatened mass retaliation with atom bomb should the Vietnamese proceed further beyond Dien-bien Phu and the Chinese overtly intervene in Indo-China, the Soviet Union and China, in the name of 'preserving peace' 'preventing another world war' forced the Vietnamese army and the Indo-Chinese people to end the war of liberation short of gaining complete independence. The Geneva capitulation<sup>8</sup> was the continuation of the Korean capitulation translating the 'peace at any price' into reality in the name of averting atomic disaster.

In the same year, 1954, Afro-Asian Bandung conference was held under the joint leadership of Pandit Nehru and Chou En-lai virtually denouncing the two-world theory of Lenin and Stalin, with a view to create a 'Third neutral force' comprising of the ruling classes of the colonial type countries who would be neither in the socialist camp nor in the imperialist camp and who would pursue a 'third path' which would neither be proletarian nor be imperialist, thus, in the name of erecting a 'Chinese wall against imperialist penetration' erected a real Chinese wall between the world proletarian socialist revolution and the national liberation struggle as well as between the democratic (agrarian) revolution and struggle for national independence, surrendering the interests of the peasantry in particular and workers in general at the feet of national-reformist-feudal alliance, making the national liberation struggle pawn of power politics and appendage of this or that great power bloc.<sup>9</sup>

Stalin died in March 1953, and in May 1955 Warsaw Military bloc was formed with the blessing and participation of China as fraternal observer, basing on power politics – minus the people. Khrushchov declared that the maintenance of peace or unleashing of war depended on the two superpowers – the USA and USSR, rejecting and repudiating the inexorable social law of war and peace and following the imperialist logic of 'force theory'.<sup>10</sup> Rejecting Stalin's line of relying on people and mobilising them against war preparation and war conspiracies of the imperialists<sup>11</sup>, the leaders of the "socialist" countries relied on power politics and power diplomacy, creating the illusion of false peace thus disarming the people ideologically, politically and organizationally.

In the same year in June 1955, the gang of Tito was rehabilitated in complicity with China and modern revisionism in the shape of “national communism” was recognized as Marxism-Leninism by the leaders of the Soviet Union and China, denouncing Stalin as “big nation Chauvinist” and embracing Tito as “Great Comrade”.<sup>12</sup>

Thus the stage was set for the drama of the twentieth congress of the CPSU and denunciation of Marxism-Leninism in the name of denunciation of the “cult of personality” and Stalin.

Stalin was again murdered, in February 1956, in the secret chamber of Khrushchov. in presence of the fraternal delegates from all countries,<sup>13</sup> without a single voice of protest.

In 1956, in July, the cominform, the embryonic Communist International was winded up with the support of China, thus burying the disciplined proletarian internationalism in the shape of international Democratic Centralism, giving everybody the right to interpret proletarian internationalism as it thinks fit.<sup>14</sup>

The April and December 1956 articles **On the historical experience** and **More on the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat** and the deliberations of the Eighth Congress of the CPC held in September, 1956, including Mao’s opening speech in which he said “At its 20th Congress held not long ago, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union formulated many correct policies and criticized shortcomings which were found in the Party”<sup>15</sup> were nothing but the loyal echo of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

The capitulation and sellout that began in Korea failed to produce desired result. Nuclear threat gave rise to fear and fear led the revisionist capitulation for the preservation of national interest at the expense of others but even such capitulation failed to preserve nationalist interest, more capitulation was demanded by imperialism. As a result, first the revisionist Soviet leadership tried to pacify U.S. imperialism at the expense of China and then the policy of threat against threat emerged. By this process the Soviet Union transformed itself into Russian neo-imperialist super power.<sup>16</sup>

The two world parallel markets – socialist and capitalist — are to-day again a thing of the past, the material basis of exerting decisive influence in world politics as a whole by the socialist camp no longer exist today as there is no longer the socialist camp. Instead of contracting the imperialist world market, it is extending and even successfully penetrating in all “socialist” countries including the Soviet Union and China. The “socialist” countries are fighting one against the other – one calling the other “expansionist”. The Soviet Union, the comecon countries and China are today partners of Joint enterprises »od Joint exploitation with the imperialists in a single world market. Moscow and Beijing both are providing more and more breathing spaces to the imperialists and are busy in building fence after fence around the brink of the precipice where Stalin had driven the imperialists so that imperialists may not fall tumbling down into the very precipice and may gather strength and overcome the danger of falling straightaway.

Stalin’s death was a dire necessity for the bourgeoisie and their henchmen, the revisionist and so Stalin had to die and the capitalist world was made safe, at least for some decades.

It is no use to chant like “mantras” what splendid things Stalin did in his life time, it is of no use to celebrate Stalin’s birth centenary as rituals. It is necessary and imperative to discuss and judge how and why the post-Stalin leadership of the international communist movement betrayed Stalin, the world proletariat, the oppressed people and Marxism-Leninism and that only can enable us to resurrect Marxism-Leninism and help us to find out the root as to WHY WAS STALIN DENIGRATED AND MADE A CONTRON ERSIAL FIGURE. Otherwise "What else we are here for"?

*[To be continued]*

## Notes to Chapter 3

1. Stalin: **Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR.**

2. **Marx-Engels Correspondence: National Book Agency 1946.** emphasis supplied.

3. **Korean capitulation**

Since the U.S. intervention in Korea under the flag of United Nations, Stalin was urging for a peaceful settlement of the Korean issue on the basis of complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea to enable the Korean people to settle it by themselves. In response to Nehru's appeal to Stalin for peaceful settlement of the Korean issue, Stalin re-iterated the same thing. Even in the Armistice Agreement in June, 1953, after the death of Stalin, it was stipulated that the forthcoming political conference will discuss the question of withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea. Kim Il Sung said in the Sixth Plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea on August 5, 1953:

"The armistice signifies a great victory for us. Though the armistice did not bring complete peace to Korea, the conclusion of the Armistice Agreement marked an initial step towards the peaceful settlement of the Korean issue, — a first exemplary contribution to the relaxation of international tension. By concluding the Armistice Agreement we have come to open up the possibilities for the peaceful settlement of the question of our country's unification.

"The forthcoming political conference should naturally reflect and defend the just claims, desire, will and fundamental interests of the Korean people. **Therefore our people will under no circumstances tolerate and thoroughly reject any attempt or plot of the imperialist interventionists contrary to them.**

"The basic aim of the political conference is to get all the troops of the United States and its satellite countries to withdraw from South Korea and to enable the Korean people to settle the Korean issue by themselves and to prevent foreigners from interfering in the internal affairs of our country."

We do not find any difference in the basic aim of the proposed "political conference" to be held between the representatives of the United States on the one hand and Korea, the Soviet Union and China etc. on the other side as it corresponds with the policy declared by Stalin, before his death.

But after stating the basic aim of the political conference Kim Il Sung went on:

"With the political conference approaching the U.S. imperialists are already making a fuss behind the scenes. Notwithstanding the signing of Armistice Agreement in which it was stipulated that the chief aim of the political conference is to discuss the question of withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea, the notorious war monger Dulles, — U.S. Secretary of State concluded the so-called "ROK-US\* Mutual Defence Pact" with Syngman Rhee. **This pact is aimed at stationing aggressive forces of the United States in South Korea indefinitely**, and whenever necessary, unleashing another criminal war of aggression in Korea, in violation of the Armistice Agreement. **The "ROK<sup>1</sup>-US Mutual Defence Pact" is an aggressive pact** which allows **U.S. imperialism to obstruct peaceful reunification of our country** and interfere in our domestic affairs. It is a glaringly country-selling pact under which Syngman Rhee clique sell the southern half of our country to the U.S. bandits. **To conclude such a pact at a time when the political conference is in the offing is an act of hindering a reasonable solution of the Korean question at the political conference...**" (Kim Il Sung: Selected works, vol 1; F. L. P. H., Pyongyang, Korea, 1976, pp 416-18, emphases supplied.)

In spite of this categorical statement about the "ROK-US Mutual Defence Pact" on the eve of the Political Conference, the leaders of the Soviet Union and China did not hesitate to hatch a Korea-selling conspiracy with the U.S. imperialists. They made a Treaty of Peace with the U.S. imperialists and allowed U.S. military force to remain in South Korea agreeing to the partitioning of the country indefinitely. Even today Korea remains divided and U.S. military bases remain in South Korea. The declared "basic aim" of the political Conference and the stipulations of the Armistice Agreement were smoke screens with a view to lull the Korean and world people.

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<sup>1</sup> ROK – Republic of Korea (South)



The question is: was a capitulation or compromise or a tactical retreat necessary from the military and political position on the part of North Korea, China and the Soviet Union? Was the continuation of war and settlement of it by military means really quite unfavourable to the position of the Socialist Camp? Let us quote Mao, who was one of the architects of this ignominious betrayal to the cause of Korean as well as world people, Mao said the following in September 1953, immediately after Peace Treaty was signed:

"After three years we have won a great victory, in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea....

"We fought U.S. imperialism, an enemy wielding weapons many times superior to ours and yet we were able to win and compelled it to agree to a truce. Why was the truce possible?

"First, militarily, **the U.S. aggressors were in unfavourable position and were on receiving end. If they have not accepted truce, then the whole battle line would have been broken through and Seoul would have fallen into the hands of Korean people.** The situation became evident in the summer of the last year.

"...Second, politically, the enemy had many internal contradictions and the people of the world demanded peace.

"Third, economically, **the enemy spent vast sum of money in the war of aggression against Korea** and his budgetary revenue and expenditures were not balanced." (Mao: selected works, vol V, Peking, 1977, p. 115, emphases supplied).

May we, then, ask, why, in spite of such a favourable situation the Soviet Union and China did not compel the U.S. imperialist for the abrogation of "ROK-US Mutual Defence Pact" and for the complete withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea which was the declared aim of the Political conference as stipulated in the Armistice Agreement? May we then, ask, who compelled whom? Obviously, the Peace Treaty was neither a military necessity nor a tactical retreat. Mao said, that it was a "great victory". May we ask, on whose terms the Peace Treaty was drafted and signed. The U.S. forces remained in South Korea, Korea remained partitioned, not a single item of the declared basic aim of the political conference was agreed by the U. S., then how can it be said that the U.S. was "compelled" to make a truce? How can it be said that it was a "great victory"? Whose position was made advantageous by the Peace Treaty?

In fact, it was a great betrayal and sell out so far as the interests of the Korean people and world proletarian interest were concerned. It was the fear of nuclear threat and "peace at any price" which compelled the modern revisionists to sell out Korean people for the sake of narrow bourgeois nationalist interests of the Soviet Union and China.

Elsewhere Mao said that the Korean Peace Treaty was a 'compromise'. There he did not say it as "great victory." "Did not we compromise with the Americans on the 36th parallel in Korea?" (—Ibid, p. 575, written on November 18, 1957). Of course, the Peace Treaty was both a "great victory" and "compromise" to Mao and the modern revisionists. It was a "great victory" for nationalist China, because the threat against China remained no more after the withdrawal of the imperialist forces from North Korea, especially from the banks of Yalu river. It may be noted in this connection that China did not involve herself in Korean war before Pyongyang, the capital of North Korea fell to the U. S. hands, before the U.S. forces were near the Yalu river, in spite of the repeated requests, from Stalin. China joined the Korean war only when she was directly threatened. Apparently the volunteer action of China in Korea would appear like proletarian internationalism, though in fact, it was bourgeois nationalism. In spite of that it was objectively anti-imperialist. It may also be noted that, in spite of the military support of the Korean cause by China, China did not confiscate and nationalise U. S.-owned enterprises, in spite of the fact that the U. S. imperialist imposed economic blockade against China and froze China's overseas assets. The U.S. enterprises were only placed under the state control.

"When the United States used the Korean war as a pretext to freeze our overseas assets and impose on economic blockade and embargo on us, our Government retaliated with the announcement, on December 28, 1950, that control would be exerted over property belonging to the United States imperialists." (—Liao Kai-lung: From Yenan to Peking; Peking; 1954, p. 154).

So, withdrawal of the U. S. forces from North Korea was a "great victory" from the point of bourgeois nationalist interest of China and a "compromise" from the point of interest of the Korean peoples.

Now it is up to the readers to judge whether it was a betrayal and capitulation to imperialism.

4. Marx said, “The fact that (capitalism) produces commodities does not differentiate it from other mode of production; but rather the fact that being a commodity is dominant and determining characteristic of its products ... Furthermore, already implicit in the commodity is the materialisation of the social features of production, which characterise the entire capitalist mode of production.” (—Marx, Capital; vol. 3. p. 858).

That is why it has been fundamental to Marxism that the abolition of capitalism meant abolition of the commodity system.

“The seizure of the means of production by society puts an end to commodity production, and therewith to the domination of the product over the producer. (—Engels, Anti-Duhring, p. 311).

“Socialism, as is known, means the abolition of the commodity economy (—Lenin. “The Agrarian questions” vol. 15).

Now after the October Revolution commodity production was not abolished all at once in the Soviet Union. In fact, commodity production grew rapidly for some years after 1921. This was made necessary by the destruction of productive forces in the civil war. To get production going it was necessary to free commodity production and exchange for a period — (Lenin told it a “temporary retreat”) – while at the same time building up the productive forces owned by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For a certain period in the development of socialism commodity production and circulation could play a positive role provided that the dictatorship of the proletariat was upheld and strengthened, that the level of consciousness of the masses was being raised, that the area of socialist production for area was strengthened and expanded contracting simultaneously the area of commodity circulation through the medium of money. But, in the long run, socialism and commodity production and circulation were incompatible. This Marxist-Leninist position was clearly stated by Stalin in 1952 in his **Economic Problems of socialism in the USSR**, especially, in “Reply to Comrades Sanina and Venzher.”

The argument of the opposition elements of the CPSU leadership was as follows, which revealed after the triumph of modern revisionism in the CPSU after the “death” of Stalin:

“The idea gained wide currency in recent years that commodity circulation is allegedly incompatible with the prospects of going over from socialism to communism. Such a formulation of the question is wrong. The dialectics of the socialist economy consists precisely in the fact that we shall arrive at the withering away of commodity production and money circulation in the phase of communism as a result of the **utmost development of commodity-money relation in the socialist stage of development.**” (— Ostrovityanov, **Marxism to-day**; August, 1958 issue .

We have seen in the quotation from Marx above that the capitalist production is the highest form of commodity production. Besides that question, Marx- made it more clear when he said, “...the production, until capitalist production serve as its basis.” —(Marx, Capital vol. 2. p. 31).

We have also seen that socialism involves abolition of the commodity economy from the quotations of Engels and Lenin. But for the modern revisionists it was Stalin’s another “mistake.” They say, it is not capitalism, but socialism which is the highest form of commodity economy. Indeed, to them, the bad thing about capitalist production is not commodity production, production for sale and profit, but that it hinders commodity production and hence the task of socialism is to remove this hindrance and make socialism the highest form of commodity production!

It is necessary to mention here that the communist Party of China and the Communist Party of India (then undivided) supported Khrushchov when Khrushchov desocialized the MTS. The CPC appealed to the world communists to support it and rally around Khrushchov while the CPI through an article of Bbowani Sen (who came back from Moscow) in Swadhinata, paid a glowing tribute to the “unique silent revolution” in the Sovie Union under Khrushchov’s leadership! Subsequently Mao wrote:

“My view is that the last of the three appended letters is **entirely** wrong. It expresses a deep uneasiness a belief that the peasantry cannot be trusted to release agricultural machinery but would hang on it...” (— Mao, “Comments on Stalin’s Economic problems of socialism in the USSR,” “**Monthly Review**” publication, 1979, emphasis supplied; for a reply on Mao's comment see Revisionism Against

Revisionism by Moni Guha.)

5. **Stalin's "Permanently operating factors" in war:**

Stalin said: "The element of surprise and suddenness, as a reserve of German fascist troops is completely spent. This removes the inequality in fighting conditions created by the suddenness of the German **fascist attack**. Now the outcome of the war will be decided not by such fortuitous elements as surprise, but by permanently operating factors: stability of the rear; morale of the army, quantity and quality of divisions, equipment of the army and organizing ability of the commanding personnel of the army." (—Stalin: **On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union** Moscow, 1946, p. 45; emphasis supplied.)

What are stability of rear and morale of the army?

The Pravda correspondent asked Stalin during the Korean war "Are the American and British Generals and Officers inferior to Chinese and Koreans?" In reply, Stalin said; "No, they are not. The American and British Generals and officers are not a whit inferior to the Generals and Officers of any other country. As to the soldiers of U. S. A. and Great Britain, they, as we know gave a good account of themselves in the war against Hitler and militarist Japan. What, then, is the reason [of the defeat of the interventionists]? The reason is that the soldiers regard this war against Korea and China as unjust, whereas the war against Hitler and militarist Japan they regarded as fully just. The fact is that this war is extremely unpopular with the American and British soldiers." (—Stalin—Interview with Pravda, February, 17, 1951.)

So war aim is another factor in the permanently operating factors, which is the secret of the morale of the people in rear and the army in front.

6. General Talensky in September 1953 issue of the **Military Thought**—a journal for the officers of the Red Army—opened a debate questioning the validity of Stalin's "permanently operating factors" in the outcome of the war in "Nuclear Age". Marshal Rotmistov of the Red Army, also, supporting General Talensky wrote that surprise and sudden atomic attack can determine the outcome of war. Stalin called this factor of suddenness as 'fortuitous' and emphasised on "permanently operating factors". However, in April 1955 Talensky's thesis was accepted officially and Stalin's "permanently operating factors" were rejected saying it was "outdated". Thus the "force theory" minus the people came into being, Malenkov upheld Stalin's "permanently operating factors" and as a result Malenkov was forced to resign from the Premiership!

7. Stalin, in reply to a question of Moscow correspondent of the **Sunday Times** Alexander Werth, on September 17, 1946 said:

"I do not consider the atom bomb to be serious a force as some politicians are inclined to consider it. Atom bombs are intended for intimidating the weak-nerved, **but they cannot decide the outcome of the war** since for this atom bombs are not entirely sufficient. Of course, the monopolist possession of the secret of atom bomb creates a menace, but against this, there are at least two remedies: (a) the monopolist possession of the atom bomb cannot last long; (b) the use of atom bomb will be prohibited" (—Interview with Stalin; emphases added).

8. **Geneva Capitulation:** According to the account given by General Giap in his Dien-bien Phu, at the time of victory at Dien-bien Phu, the Pathet Lao guerrilla forces in Laos were consolidating its power and rule in a considerable area in alliance with the Vietnamese forces, the Khmer rouge revolutionary forces of Cambodia were organising themselves under the instruction of the communist party of Indo-China and military defeat of Franco-U.S. forces throughout Indo-China was more than certain. Giap also said that after the spectacular victory at Dien-bien Phu the Franco-U.S. forces were taking shelters and mobilising their forces in South Vietnam.

Giap said that the victory of the revolutionary forces throughout Indo-China was more than certain after the victory at Dien-bien Phu. Why, then, the Geneva Agreement? Immediately after the ignominious defeat at Dien-bien Phu, Dulles, the U. S-Secretary of State released a bellicose statement saying that should the Vietnamese proceed further beyond Dien-bien Phu and should the Chinese overtly intervene in

Indo-China, U.S. will retaliate with atom bomb. This threat un-nerved Khrushov Chou-En-lai, Jawaharlal Nehru, Tito and Nasser equally. All of them put their brains together to find out a path to avert the danger of another world war and atomic disaster on the basis of the prescription of “relaxation of international tension”. It was the continuation of the same policy of capitulation to atomic threat that started in Korea.

What were the stipulations of the Geneva Agreement? The North Vietnam up to the north of 18th parallel would be recognised as Democratic Republic of Vietnam and America, France and other powers will not interfere in the internal affairs of DRV and the DRV will have sovereign rights to organise their territory as they like. Secondly, the South Vietnam, south of 18th parallel (where, it may be noted, the Franco-U.S. force have taken shelter and were mobilising their forces, according to General Giap), will constitute a Government with Ngo Dinh Diem as head of the Government (please also note the revisionist leaderships did not learn from the bitter experience of the “ROK-US Mutual Defence Pact” in South Korea) and an election would be held there after one year to decide the question of reunification of both the North and South Vietnam. Thirdly, Indo-China will be partitioned into three distinct sovereign states viz, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Laos and Cambodia will be ruled by their respective Kings and Vietnam must not interfere in their internal affairs. Fourthly, the DRV will ask the people of the South Vietnam to lay down and surrender their arms to carry out only open, legal and peaceful propaganda for peaceful reunification. A neutral observer commission will be formed to observe that the stipulation of the Geneva Agreement were strictly followed. The Soviet Union, China and other members of the socialist camp, at once, withheld proletarian internationalist support to become members of the ‘neutral’ ‘objective’ observer and enforcer's commission, thus becoming arbiter between imperialism and the oppressed peoples!

It is also to be noted that the USA did not sign the Geneva Agreement. It only gave a gentleman's (?) assurance that it will respect the stipulations of the Agreement. U. S imperialism entered into South Vietnam no sooner the French troops pulled out and tore up the Agreements, established puppet Diem in power, massacred thousands of people. In Indo-China, "...both the Chinese and Soviets actually put pressure on the Vietminh to accept far less territory than they had liberated by force of arms and drop claims on Cambodia and Laos." (Vietnam: History, document and opinions on a major world crisis" — Editor, Marvin E Gelleman, New York, 1965). The promised election in South Vietnam was never held.

9. The false idea on which Khrushov and all modern revisionists based their incorrect attitude to imperialism that imperialist politicians like Kennedy and Johnson can alter the very nature of imperialism by their “good intentions”, can decide to remove from imperialism its drive towards war if certain concessions were given, proved to be wrong in course of time. The more the policy of appeasement failed, the more Khrushov was compelled to brandish nuclear weapons at the imperialists in an effort to compel them to meet half-way and thus Khrushov who surrendered to nuclear threat, resorted to nuclear threat and joined the imperialists by adopting same imperialist attitude to nuclear weapons – threat against threat. Thus Khrushov organised the Warsaw Military Pact against NATO. The ‘force theory’ naturally disregarded the internal basic social forces and relied on force. The process of becoming a superpower with force theory began and the Socialist Soviet Union degenerated into a Russian neo-imperialist.

10. In reply to the question “Do you consider another world war inevitable” by the **Pravda** correspondent on February 17, 1951, Stalin said the following:

“No, at the present time, at any rate, it cannot be considered inevitable.

“Of course, there are in the United States of America and Great Britain, as well as in France, aggressive forces, who are thirsting for another war. They need war in order to rake in superprofits and to plunder other countries. These are billionaires and millionaires, who regard war as a paying proposition yielding gigantic profits.

“The aggressive forces hold the reactionary Governments in their grip and direct them. But at the same time they fear their people, who do not want another war and stand for the maintenance of peace. They are, therefore, trying to use the reactionary Governments to enmesh their people in a web of lies, to deceive them and represent another war as a defensive war and the peaceful policy of the peace-loving

countries as an aggressive policy. They are trying to deceive their people in order to foist their aggressive plans upon them and inveigle them into another war.

“It is for this reason that they are scared of the peace campaign, fearing that it might expose the aggressive designs of the reactionary Governments.

“...How will this struggle between aggressive and peace loving forces end?

**“Peace will be preserved and consolidated if the people take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and uphold it to the end.** It may become inevitable if a web of lies, deceiving them and inveigling them into another world war.

“Hence a broad campaign for the preservation of peace, as a means of exposing the criminal machinations of the warmongers is now of paramount importance.” (Interview with **Pravda** correspondent; Moscow; 1951, emphases added).

In another place, in February, 1952, Stalin said:

“The object of the present-day peace movement is to rouse the masses of the people to fight for the preservation of peace and for the prevention of another world war. Consequently the aim of this movement is not to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism—it confines itself to the democratic aim of preserving peace. In this respect, the present-day peace movement differs from the movement of the time of the First World War for the conversion of the imperialist war into Civil War, since the latter movement went further and pursued socialist aims.”

Stalin did not stop here. He viewed the peace movement dialectically and dynamically. He did not restrict the peace movement into the boundaries of four walls of bourgeois democracy. Stalin further said

“It is possible that in a definite conjunction of circumstances the fight for peace will develop here or there into a fight for socialism. But then it will no longer be the present day peace movement; it will be a movement for the overthrow of capitalism.”

Regarding the peace movement itself Stalin further said”

“But, all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries generally. It will not be enough, because, for all the success of the peace movement, imperialism will remain, continue in force—and consequently, inevitability of wars will also continue in force.

“To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism.” (—Stalin, **Economic Problems of Socialism in the U. S. S. R.**).

Thus we see how Stalin linked the problem of peace with the aim of socialism.

11. See, **Yugoslav Revisionism and the Role of the CPC and CPSU** by Moni Guha.

12. Roger Garudy was one of the fraternal delegates to the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU from France. He wrote in his revisionist book **The Turning Point of Socialism:**

“True, the manner of self-criticism [meaning Khrushchov’s secret report —M. G. ] was strange, having made in camera and ON CONDITION THAT FRATERNAL PARTIES SHOULD NOT DIVULGE ITS TERMS.”

13. Opening address of Mao Tsetung, at the Eighth National Congress of the CPC.

## **Apropos One of the Lies**

[Khrushchov's secret report said that in latter years Stalin cultivated the cult of personality. The CPC in its two documents of April and September, 1956 said "A series of victories and the eulogies he received in the latter years of his life turned his head". "Stalin erroneously exaggerated his own role" "He felt pleasure in cultivating his cult of personality" etc. etc. These blatant lies were dished against a MAN, who, even in 1951 reacted strongly against the personality cult, after the publication of one book entitled Stories from Stalin's childhood, like those are being published now-a-days in the Soviet Union such as Stories from Lenin's childhood. We reproduce below in full, the English translation of the reaction and remark of Stalin published in the **Voprosy istoria (Questions of Histories)**. No. 11, 1953, Moscow.]:

"I am strongly opposed to the publication of 'Stories from Stalin's childhood.'

"The book contains an infinite number of false claims, distortions, exaggerations and uncalled for glorification. Thus the authors have misled those who enjoy such reminiscences. They are liars (even of goodwill) and brown-nosers. This is unfortunate for the authors, but facts are facts.

"But that is not the most important point. The most important point is that this book has the tendency of implanting in the consciousness of the soviet children and even adults: the personality cult, the cult of the leader, the cult of the perfect heroes. That is dangerous and destructive. The theory of heroes leading the masses is not a Bolshevik theory but a theory of the Socialist Revolutionaries. The heroes call forth the people, changing it from a mass into people—this is the view of the Socialist Revolutionaries. The people bring forth the heroes – this is the answer of the Bolsheviks to the Socialist Revolutionaries. This book provides grist for the mills of Socialist Revolutionaries. Every book of this type provides grist for the mills of the Socialist Revolutionaries and damages our entire Bolshevik work.

"I thus, suggest that the book be burned."

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"I must say in all conscience, comrades, that I do not deserve a good half of the flattering things that have been said here about me. I am, it appears, a hero of the October Revolution, the leader of the CPSU, the leader of the communist International, a legendary warrior-knight and all the rest of it. That is absurd, comrades, and quite unnecessary exaggeration..." – Stalin vol 8 p. 182.



## Exposure

### **False Friend of Socialism**

We release the true copy of a letter sent to B. T. Randive by our present Editor comrade Moni Guha on 14. 2. 80 of which neither any acknowledgement of the receipt nor any reply received.

**To Comrade B. T. Randive**

Moni Guha  
25/1, Jyotish Roy Road  
Calcutta-53  
14. 2. 80.

Dear comrade,

I have gone through your article “J. V. Stalin’s ‘Economic problems of socialism’ ” published in ‘ Peoples Democracy’, Vol. III, No. 51, December 21, 1979, with great interest because after long 24 years you have managed to gather courage to defend Stalin’s “Economic Problems of socialism.” It is quite revealing that while defending Stalin's last book you could not gather courage to say a single word about the far reaching political implication of its denunciation by the Khrushovite and other modern revisionists. On the contrary, in the name of defending Stalin’s book you have defended the present leadership of the Soviet Union and the present economic order of the Soviet Union. I find that in defending Stalin’s book you have mainly directed your edge of criticism against Lin Biao and the “Gang of Four”, while remaining too soft and apologetic towards the post-Stalin leadership of the Soviet Union. You have quite rightly criticised Lin Biao and the “Gang of Four” for which you deserve thanks. But you have .discovered some “commonness” between Stalin’s and Mao’s views, I am sorry to say, only because you have studied Mao eclectically, ‘On the one hand’ and ‘On the other hand’ manner. In discussing Mao’s comments on Stalin’s book under reference, you have avoided discussion of Mao s remark on the last three letters of Stalin on which Mao said, “My view is that the last of three appended letters is entirely wrong. It expresses a deep uneasiness, a belief that the peasantry cannot be trusted to release agricultural machinery but would hang on it. ... The fact is that he is deceiving himself.”

I wonder, whether you have deliberately avoided discussion on the above quotation of Mao to deceive yourself and the vast ranks of your party. Mao supported both ideologically and politically, the selling of MTS to the collective farms which Khrushov did immediately after the death of Stalin and thus laid the foundation of inequality among the collective farms as well as of capitalism. Do you agree or not with Stalin (written in the last of three letters), that it would be “true to say that such a status [ownership of the basic means of production by the collective farms] could only enlarge the gap between collective farm property, and would not bring in any nearer to communism, but on the contrary, remove us further from it”?

Do you agree or not with Stalin (written in the last of the three letters) that "The outcome would be, secondly, an extension of the sphere of operation of commodity circulation, because a gigantic quantity of instruments of agricultural production would come within its orbits. ... Would it not be truer to say that our advance towards communism would only be retarded by it.”?

Do you agree or not with Stalin (written in the last of three letters) “that they do not understand that commodity circulation is incompatible with the prospective transition from

socialism to communism. They evidently think that the transition from socialism to communism is possible even with commodity circulation, that commodity circulation can be no obstacle to this. This is a profound error, arising from inadequate grasp of Marxism”?

It appears from your article that you have fumbled on these points and considered avoidance as the better part of compromise.

You have said “If all that was said in those days [in sixties, during the New Economic Reform in the Soviet Union by the Soviet economists and politicians] had really been put into practice things would have been very difficult.” Comrade Basav Punnayah is also in the habit of writing in this vein in course of his defence of the Soviet Union. According to you, then, the Soviet leaders are revisionists in words but Marxist-Leninists in deed! A fine ‘theory’ indeed! However de-socialisation of MTS and selling it to the collective farms and thereby extension of the commodity in the internal market are facts which nobody can deny. The permission for selling kitchen garden products of the collective farmers together with eggs, meat, milk, butter etc. etc. in the open market and thereby extension of the scope and range of the commodity circulation and encouragement to the private property »and profit instinct are facts which nobody can deny. The abolition of obligatory sale of a substantial part of the collective farms produce in exchange of the service rendered by the MTS and introduction of selling and purchasing the collective farms produce through the medium of money and market is an extension of the scope and range of commodity circulation which nobody can deny. In fact, the Soviet revisionist leaders did not deny all these as they have repudiated Stalin’s position in outright manner so far the question of extension of the scope and range of the commodity circulation and market economy are concerned. It is not understood how and why you uphold Stalin’s Economic problems of socialism and at the same time defend the anti-Stalinist (anti-Marxist-Leninist) practice of the post-Stalin leadership.

You say that what was said was not put into practice in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. But one V. Dayachenko of the Soviet Union writes in 1971, “...such problems came under discussion and **are not only debated, but are followed by action ...**” (**Econometry, the market and planning**; p. 69-70; emphasis added; Novosti Press Agency Publishing House; Moscow, 1971). Whose statement should we accept as authentic?

You have said “To talk of expanding the commodity and money relationships, as Leontiev did, was not Marxism. But this was what was contemplated. With each individual factory facing another as commodity producer with the lure of profit and self-advancement, the entire fabric of socialism would have been endangered! It would have led to the debasement of socialist property of the socialised means of production, to the level of co-operative or collective farm property.” You say that ‘fortunately’ this did not happen, it remained only in the realm of contemplation! But Dayachenko says;

“The implementation of the economic reform in reality is designed to further streamline socialist planning by the fullest possible use, in the first place, of **such an economic lever as commodity money relations**. Under socialism **the market plan combinations** should be viewed in this light.” (—Ibid, p. 90, emphases added.)

“Improvement of planned management of the economy is an objective of the current economic reform in the USSR, it is also an important condition of the implementation. **Henceforth, commodity-money relations will have a greater role to play in all the elements of our national economy.**” (Ibid, p. 8; emphasis added),

“ ...On the other hand, **greater use is BEING MADE of the possibilities of commodity-money relations** and this calls for solution of substantially new problem.” (Ibid, p. 75, emphases

in bold and capital letters added).

“Everything they produce they sell either to other enterprises or to the population. The money thus received covers not only production costs, but ensures a certain margin of profit. This profit goes to finance the needs of **enterprise itself** and part of it goes to the State budget.” (– Ibid, p. 82; emphasis added).

The author here, is stating actual facts not any “contemplated” scheme. The immediate above quotation means that the profit is earned **enterprise-wise** and **it goes to the needs of particular enterprise**. The consequences are farfetched. The enterprise-wise profit does not and cannot represent allocation of **total social profit of the total socially necessary labour**. Hence it is not social profit of a socialist society but profit of the individual enterprise exactly like that of capitalist profit.

I like to have a clarification from you.

More.

“Under the new economic system of economic management and planning each enterprise itself negotiates with its trading partners as the size and terms of deliveries of the goods it manufactures and consumes. In future, it will procure all the supply it needs, **the means of production included**, through wholesale channels.” (–Ibid, p. 87; emphases added).

Innumerable quotations can be given from the recent Soviet publications, which, unfortunately, are not at my disposal at the very moment.

Do you think that all these are mere “contemplation” and were not actually put into practice? Even, in that case, that is also dangerous as the Soviet Union – a socialist country is allowing free and unbridled propaganda for the expansion of commodity-money relations as the economic lever of the socialist society. Do you find ground under your feet in defending the Soviet Union as a socialist country, even then?

You have said that “ ... present day critiques who equated commodity production with capitalist production and declared that the USSR was not building socialist economy but a capitalist economy” are against the “historical outlook based on Marxism-Leninism” and then you have concluded that “Stalin's position is completely consistent with the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin.”

In vain, you have tried to digress your readers from the central point. There might be one or two "present day critiques" who question Stalin's position equating commodity production with capitalist production unqualifyingly. Even the Maoists, who are not at all Marxist-Leninists, do not equate commodity production with capitalist production, and do not question Stalin's position, at least, on this question as you yourself have noted “commonness” between Stalin and Mao on this question. Why do you digress, then? The point is: whether the operation of the commodity and market economy together with its inherent law is increasingly widening its scope and range in the Soviet Union or the scope and range of operation of the law is being consciously restricted and limited taking appropriate measures for the creation of an "all embracing production sector" with a view to ultimately leading to the disappearance of "money-economy" "as an unnecessary element in the national economy"? The point is; whether both domestic and foreign exchanges are based on commodity-money relations, whether market economy is consciously being developed into a formidable force in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries or commodity-money relations and market economy is gradually but steadily giving way to the process of exchange with the medium of money and market? The point is; whether the foreign trade, in both means of production and consumer goods aims at the exchange of equal value or the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are after the conquest of market and spheres

of investment, especially, in developing and underdeveloped countries capitalistically competing with the imperialist rivals? The point is: whether the socialist countries rely upon imperialist “world price” as a guide, a base for bargaining in foreign trade, which inevitably brings with imperialist “world price” inherent discrimination against the exporters of raw materials or the socialist countries have their own socialist theory of international pricing system as well as socialist “world price” on non-exploitative basis without which two parallel world markets – socialist and imperialist – as envisaged by Stalin is a misnomer. Incidentally, you have scrupulously (or unscrupulously?) managed to remain mum over the question of two world parallel markets.

You have explained the “politics in command” beautifully. The question is: which politics is in command in to-day’s Soviet Union and other socialist countries? Is the politics of conscious determination of the direction of change towards the restriction, limitation and ultimately the disappearance of the material basis of the operation of the law of value in the arena of planning is in command in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries? You say that the leadership of the Soviet Union is revisionist, not capitalist or neo-imperialist. According to you, the leadership is pursuing this revisionist theories of extending commodity- money relations but all those were conceived producing nothing. Do you mean to say that Soviet revisionism is an impotent or near-impotent one which conceives time and again but produces nothing and if at all produces, produces still child? Strange, Don’t you think that you are disarming your ranks both ideologically and politically in their fight against revisionism?

A reply to my letter will be highly appreciated. A no reply will be considered as utterly callous attitude towards your ranks.

With fraternal greetings  
Comradely yours  
Moni Guha

## Political Notes

### Chattisgarh

To day when the working class movement is getting demoralised by defeats in various fronts the struggle, of Chattisgarh miners stands out as a beacon light of inspiration and confidence. The strength and profundity of their struggles gives us a glimpse of the future of Trade Union movement in India.

Even as capital penetrates the most impenetrable forests, destroys the most stable societies and subjects to its rule people drawn from every surviving stage of social evolution, it begets to the self-same degree its own gravediggers. The tribal societies of Central India that remained stable and unchanging for centuries have been dissolved and the hitherto unstratified society has split into exploiters and their hangers on the one side and the proletarianised masses on the other.

The problems of these first generation of proletarians are many. At the mercy of ruthless profiteering contractors who introduce them to the life of proletarians, thrown into the market of labour-powers without any skill or experience, these are the most oppressed and alienated. They experience the immediate contrast between tribal way of life and capitalist exploitation and for this reason react with a very high degree of militancy though this resistance and struggle is more common with the petty- bourgeoisie than with the seasonal proletarians. Hence the spontaneous, sporadic, militant and yet unsuccessful character of their struggle.

It is to the credit of Comrade Guha Niyogi and his comrades that they have succeeded in welding precisely these proletarians into a powerful organisation and channelising their militancy into organised steadfast and principled struggle, characteristic of advanced proletarians, aims at lastening the transitional stage and ending its attendant oppression.

The Chattisgarh Iron Ore mines which provide ore to Bhilai Steel Plant —which is to a great extent controlled by Russian imperialism and to export market, are managed by Bhilai Steel Plant and employ more than 10,000 manual workers – who work on surface mines. The movement of these tribal miners began 6 years ago when they saw through the CPI and AITUC which shamelessly supported the Emergency Government against the workers faced with deprivation of bonus. As a result, **Chattisgarh Mines Shrainik Sangh (CMSS)** was founded in 1977 This organisation has been leading the workers in large numbers of struggles in defence of worker's rights. Besides other gains the daily wage of a labourer has risen from Rs. 5 to Rs. 19.

The central target of these struggles, however, has been the contract labour system. This system screws up the oppression of the manual workers and renders their positions vulnerable, The Bhilai management prefers this system so that it may hire and fire workers freely with the movement of imperialist market for the ore, keep low the wages bill and get sizeable cuts from the contractors. By this system the right of combination is placed at the mercy of contractor. Thus the teal employer has no responsibility towards the workers and the nominal employer perpetuates his rule. Hence the target of workers is divided causing confusion and disorganisation. Thus in its essence the contract system seeks to perpetuate the transitional stage in the formation of industrial proletariat.

It is in its struggle against the contract system that the CMSS has received its baptism of fire and has laid claims to breaking new ground in Indian working class movement. Instead of confining itself to fighting for higher wages etc. the CMSS has for the first time in Indian Trade Union movement attacked an international basis for the oppression of workers namely the contract system. It is this overcoming of the limits of traditional Trade Unions that has led the State to concentrate its fire on the Chattisgarh miners. Already dozens of workers have been

killed in at least three firings.

This struggle has not just stopped with demanding abstract ending of contract system but has proceeded with fighting for a number of transitional demands. One of the most significant of such transitional measures has been the building of workers co-operatives to replace private contractors. The co-operative came to handle 60% of contract labour. Not only did this hit hard the contractors, the politicians in them pay out also the bureaucrats of Bhilai Plant who used to receive cuts from the contractors. These co-operatives are an expression of the worker's confidence in replacing on their own initiative and under their own control the institutions that are the instruments of oppression and exploitation. These reasons impelled the Government to supersede and suppress the co-operatives on 4th of April this year.

Another transitional measure which the CMSS has been fighting for, is the departmentalisation of various categories of workers who work round the year and yet are categorised as casual labourers. Since departmentalisation is closely related to mechanisation and since the latter can be a demand to lay off workers on a large scale the CMSS has presented its own blue print for mechanisations. This provides for mechanisations without harming the worker's interests and accommodating departmentalised workers. Once cornered into accepting this scheme the management had little place to manoeuvre and restored to open use of force arresting the leaders including Niyogi and using the police and CPP to unleash a reign of terror and physically prevent the workers from attending work.

The united strength of the workers and the protest of democratic and workers organisations everywhere finally forced the State to release the leaders, though the reign of terror and de facto lockout continues.

It is not only in fighting contract system has CMSS transcended the limits set by traditional unions. It has taken upon itself the task of raising the moral and intellectual level of workers to make them worthy of their historic task, besides fostering a truly popular and democratic culture inspired by traditions of past struggles. As a part of this was the campaign against the habit of drinking made to the chagrin of contractors who together with labour contractors had sought to lead workers down the path of degeneration and make money in the bargain. Similarly also the cultural campaign to provide workers with creative entertainment in place of the degenerate culture that the degenerate barons of culture dish out: through staging of progressive plays and organising festivals to commemorate historical struggles launched by Chattisgarh and other people. The CMSS has sought to keep alive the memory of struggles which the ruling classes so desperately want to obliterate. Thus Chattisgarh proletariat has proved its class to be the only heir to all achievements of humanity and the only class that can carry forward the banner of progress.

This campaign to raise the spiritual level of the workers is one of the key process in making them highly disciplined and conscious in their struggle.

Besides, the CMSS has planned to extend its movement to include the national tribal demands of the region, organise the rural toilers, women, youth etc. This has been stalled by the present crisis.

Thus the CMSS under the leadership of Niyogi has sought to take up the problem of the first generation, and unstable proletarians being recruited from the impoverished tribal people of Chattisgarh using this transition to this new life inculcating in them traditions of struggle characteristic of mature and stable proletariat.

This very strength of the CMSS is also its critical weakness. In deliberately ignoring the mature and stable workers of Bhilai and even the miners in mechanised sections of Dalli Rajhara and limiting itself to transitional workers the CMSS is fettering its own further growth.



Moreover, its very activity will force it to break out of these self-imposed limits for its activity transforms casual workers into stable workers who carry its tradition into the mechanised sections. The authorities realise this and hence their refusal to departmentalise workers associated with CMSS.

The casual and first generation of proletarians are the past and present of that class while the seasoned workers and those working with machine represent the present and future of the industrial proletariat and only they can form the stable basis for revolutionary proletarian movement.

In concentrating on heavily oppressed workers alone ignoring the heavily exploited workers, who are at the centre of modern world and the future, the CMSS draws a false demarcation between the two. It is precisely the unity of the exploited and the oppressed renders the leadership of the former that can form the basis of the revolutionary overthrow of the present order and the creation of a new socialist order.

## Reservation and the Working Class

The present hysteric movement that has gripped a large section of the urban mass in Ahmedabad, projects the question of 'reservation' for the 'backward classes' in a perspective as it has never been posed before. The oppression and the exploitation of the 'backward classes' is a historical lacuna; to-day's Harijans are but the consequence of the degrading division of labour practised for ages in our society, often under the garb of religion, whereas the 'reservation' for these oppressed classes is only a recent phenomenon.

Due to historical compulsions, the concept of reservation for the backward classes had to be introduced into the Constitution of India in the year 1949. To recall the exact provision it may be worth-while to quote the Article 46 of the Directive principles:

The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

This provision is however not enforceable by any court and is left at the discretion of the state. Since this Article is not enforceable by law we have to only look at the real-life situation to find out whether the State or the present system is 'genuinely interested' in protecting the interest of the weaker sections of the people or it is a hypocrisy pure and simple. After 30 years of independence the rich have grown richer and the poor have grown poorer. The social injustice and exploitation have grown out of proportion and by the same yardstick the weaker sections have been pushed into an inhuman existence. The Scheduled Castes and Tribes, besides being the weakest section of the economically backward class are further burdened by the caste distinctions which this system cannot remove. Under such dismal background can the broad masses of the working people demand for the abolition of certain apparent benefits in the form of 'reservation'. which may percolate to the weaker section of the oppressed mass? It is true that in the present political system, even this 'reservation' is misused not by weaker section as a whole, but by the few so-called harijan misleaders directly and deviously by the entire ruling class. The ruling parties pose to be the benefactors of this section of the oppressed mass by defending reservation and thereby create a vote bank whereas the "Harijan misleaders" of these political parties quite openly grab whatever they can for their own close people under the provisions of 'reservation.' In spite of these drawbacks, the reservation policy still leaves open an avenue, however insignificant it may be, for a better deal for our most oppressed section of the working class.

The 'anti-reservation' stir which had started in the beginning of February had a note which was entirely different from what is reverberating to day. The carryover policy in post-graduate level of the medical courses is certainly arbitrary. The medicos who had initiated the stir against the carry-over policy of the State Government were justified in raising this issue. We should however note here that the 'carryover policy' would itself indicate that the 'reserved seats' were not getting filled up by the SC/ST candidates in any particular year and the 'Vacant' seats were thereafter made available to all other sections and treated as 'unreserved'. The 'vacant number of seats' would then get carried forward to next year but once again due to non-availability of SC/ST candidates, during the subsequent years the number of 'reserved seats' apparently increased but in reality no extra seat was taken away by SC/ST. In this light, the 'carry over policy' was a non-issue but as we see objectively the 'carry over' policy led to grave misgivings and discontent among the medicos without really helping anybody. To avoid such discontent therefore "carry over" policy in all aspects of reservation should be scrapped. In the present system it is the policy of the ruling class to bestow certain apparent benefits to one section while

squeezing them out of another section and thereby creating a division amongst the working class and the working class as a whole has to remain vigilant to such deceit. It would have been laudable if the medicos understood these factors and they could have set an exemplary direction if they had withdrawn their stir after having achieved this limited goal of scrapping the "carry over" policy, but as we see the movement has taken an ugly turn with the sole aim of depriving one section of the oppressed mass of their minimum privileges. The call for the abolition of the "reservation" system in toto is absolutely unjustified and can only lead to the further exploitation of the weakest section of the working class in absence of any other concrete alternative. The protagonists of the present anti-reservation movement try to paint a picture that the reservation system a) benefits the 'Scheduled Caste' and 'Scheduled Tribe' at the expense of other sections of the working class; b) violates the principle of equal opportunity to every one; c) that the reservation system deepens the 'caste system'. Firstly, if we look at the quantitative break-up of the population, about 22% fall within the definition of the 'Scheduled Caste' and 'Scheduled Tribe'. The reservation for this section of the population is 35% in the Government appointments. There is however no reservation in the private employment or otherwise. The Government jobs are only about 40% of the total jobs available in this country and if we take into account this factor the effective reservation of the jobs for SC/ST in the total jobs available is only about 14%. We, therefore, notice that SC/ST sections are not getting undue quotas of jobs as is often tried to be made out by the anti-reservationists. What the anti reservationists do not point out is that the rest of the 65% of the jobs which are not reserved in the Government employments entirely and exclusively get filled up by the other sections of the population. The carryover policy which led to the present stir would further indicate that even the positions reserved for the 'Scheduled Castes and Tribes' are not being filled by this section and thereby leading to 'vacant reserved' seats. The working class as a whole should therefore never get misled into believing that one section of the oppressed mass is depriving any other section of the working class of any of its rights. Keeping in mind the severe repression faced by the SC/ST section through centuries leading to a very low-level of literacy, the other section of the working class should voluntarily give a helping hand to bring up their oppressed brothers specially when the working class as a whole has to struggle against the exploiting and oppressing classes. It should be remembered that a large number of backward and illiterate working hands (whatever caste they may belong to) would inhibit the struggle of the working class as a whole. The exploiting and oppressing classes would hire such 'backward' working hands, pay them extremely low wages, thus effectively pulling down the bargaining power of the working class in the market of purchase and sale of labour power. So, it is in its own interest that the working class should bring up the 'backward' classes as fast as possible and in spite of certain apparent benefits available to them. This is what is called the struggle for "class for itself" surmounting the barrier of economism.

The second point regarding the equality before law is quite evidently hollow. Does a poor man whether he is a harijan or a non-harijan have any rights in comparison with our Tatas and Birlas? It is a myth propagated for the advantage of the exploiters. In reality the SC/ST constitutes the most economically and socially oppressed section of the population. Equal opportunities for everyone does not exist when the contenders are unequal economically, socially and educationally. Also the literacy gap between the SC and ST and people as a whole is tremendous 27.74% of the SC and 14.12% of the ST are literate in contrast to 38.79% literacy amongst a population as a whole.

Lastly, it is false that reservation policy deepens the caste system. The caste system is a fact,

a deep-rooted problem of the present society, dividing and eroding the strength of the working class. It cannot be solved by evading the issue but by making efforts to reduce it, so long it cannot be abolished. The present capitalist system as it exists in our country the bourgeoisie cannot abolish it. The reservation policy to some extent may reduce the economic and social oppression of the scheduled castes and tribes and if the other sections of the working class do not grudge the SC/ST sections for these insignificant and minor benefits, then a healthy balance may be created. The working class as a whole must now wake up to all these underlying factors and solidly stand by each other and defeat any attempt to divide the working class in the narrow corridors of caste system. In its relation with the capitalists the working class does not have any caste or religion. We should never lose sight of the fundamental principle that any section of the working class takes its benefits from the capitalist class by struggle and not at the expense of the other section of workers. It is an objective fact to-day that certain sections of the working class employed in the public sector like bank etc. get better wages than other workers and they have achieved this elevated position only through their organised struggle. Should the other sections oppose such struggle? Most certainly not. The working class supports the struggle for any positive gain and should try to organise the unorganised sectors and advance their cause.

The massive strike of the 'backward' sections of the Textile workers of Ahmedabad sets a new dimension to the present movement. The 'backward' sections have by this action proved that they can defend their rights in an organised manner. The other sections of the workers must now identify their own problems with those of Harijans and actively take up an united struggle against the exploiting class. The immediate problem facing the working class as a whole is the acute unemployment created by the exploiting classes. This unemployment of millions of workers is not an accidental aspect of our system. The exploiting classes deliberately maintain a large section of the working class unemployed for the specific reason of keeping the wages down and thereby increasing their profit level. Under such circumstances the workers should force the ruling class to pay unemployment allowances and struggle to establish right to work. Even from the simplest logical view point it can be seen that if unemployment is removed, the question of reservation becomes redundant. So the caste problem has become aggravated in recent times because of the rising unemployment. Large sections of the workers are misguided into believing that their unemployment is due to the effect of reservation policy, whereas in truth, the unemployment aggravated by the capitalist system leads to the miserable conditions of the entire working class. The representative Union of the Textile workers has after thirty years completely failed to protect the interest of their members, to-day textile workers of Ahmedabad get the lowest wages compared to their counterpart in any other part of India and the most shameful aspect is that even till to day separate Pani-ni-parab and other discriminations are being practised in the textile mills in Ahmedabad. These facts expose the true nature of the representative union of Textile workers and its exploitation of workers along with the millowners.

While the representative Union has been giving lip service to reservation policy, its attempt to undermine the strike of the Harijan workers clearly exposes their sham concern for this oppressed section of the working class. All sections of the working class should therefore unite together and not allow themselves to become the pawns in the hands of the exploiting class. The medical students should also identify themselves with the broader masses of the working people and not allow themselves to become the instruments in the hands of the exploiting class who want to bring about a division against the working class and amongst the students. All sections should immediately stop the mindless violence and reconsider their position clearly and identify the main enemy.