

Bigul Reprint Series-1

Still Ablaze is the Torch of October Revolution



(A collection of articles published in workers' paper
'Nai Samajvadi Kranti ka Udghoshak Bigul')

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Translated from Hindi
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Rahul Foundation
Lucknow

Contents

The torch of October Revolution has not extinguished! Neither can it!	7
New edition of October Revolution is the only road to emancipation!	19
The winds of October have not died out! They will rise again like a fierce tempest!	28
The teachings of October Revolution and our times, our country	34
Fiery October	50

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Preface

The Great Revolution of 1917 was the harbinger of a new era in the world history—the proclamation of the arrival of an era of Proletarian Revolutions. This was one of the most epoch-making events in the entire known world history. In this revolution, for the first time in the history of Russia the toiling masses under the leadership of the working class overthrew the state power of capitalists and propertied plunderers and under the leadership of Lenin and his Bolshevik Party established a proletarian state.

Certainly, there is no denying the fact that the October Revolution eliminated every thinkable form of exploitation, oppression and inequality but the journey that was undertaken in the direction of formation of a true humane society could not be continued after the death of great Stalin in 1953 and the capitalist forces once again came into power; Nevertheless, the historical significance of this Revolution and its historical momentum is extant today. The universal temporary defeat of Socialism across the world does not, in any way, mean that the period of proletarian revolution is over. Only the first round of the world-historical war between the proletariat and bourgeoisie is complete. The next round has begun now. The creation of the new editions of October Revolution in the entire world is inevitable. The winds of October Revolution had never entirely died down. This can be said with the utmost conviction that in the times to come, they will take the form of a fierce whirlwind and will rise like a storm. We firmly believe that the twenty-first century will be seismic, a century of upheavals.

For this conviction to work as a scientific belief so as to awaken the willpower of working masses afresh, it is necessary to study profoundly the history of October Revolution and its guiding principles. What should be the nature and course of the working

class revolutions in the present phase of imperialism is an important task to be decided. The series of "Bigul" booklets is an endeavor in this direction. The articles published here have appeared in various issues of "Bigul". It is our belief that the content of this booklet will prove useful in creation of the new editions of October Revolution in our own country in an original way.

The Hindi edition of this collection was published in 2002 and has been reprinted three times since then, proving its popularity. We hope this English edition will be helpful for non-Hindi speaking readers.

– Editor, 'Bigul'

31.1.08

*The Torch of October Revolution has not
extinguished! Neither can it!*

Precisely 79 years ago, in 1917(October, according to the old calendar and November, as per the new calendar) the toiling masses under the guidance of revolutionary working class, forcibly overthrew the state power of capitalists and propertied plunderers in Russia for the first time, and under the leadership of great Lenin and his Bolshevik Communist Party established a Proletarian state— established the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In many thousands of years of history after the division of human society into classes, the October Revolution was the first revolution of its kind where the state power did not get transferred from one exploitative class to another, rather went into in the hands of toiling, exploited-oppressed masses.

**The first ever conscious and collective revolution in
history, which for the first time put an end to the
private ownership of the means of production and
created a new record for the pace of progress
coupled with equality**

The downtrodden, oppressed masses no doubt had rebelled innumerable times in the entire human history but after the initial efforts of the Paris Commune (In 1871, the revolution of Parisian working class and the establishment of the first proletarian state which was crushed within 72 days by the French bourgeoisie with the help of European reactionary forces), October Revolution was the first

well-planned, conscious and collective revolution by the working classes, which had a philosophy, an ideology, a program and a strategy behind it; and the outline of a path that was to be followed for the creation of a new society.

Nearly four thousand years after the inception of private property and class-exploitation, the Soviet state of toiling masses for the first time made possible something that was hitherto considered impossible and merely theoretical and in fact brought it into actual existence. The proletarian state established by the Soviet Communist Party, first under the leadership of Lenin and then Stalin—the dictatorship of the proletariat expropriated the expropriators and for the first time in known history, brought an end to the private ownership of means of production, i.e., factories, land and means of communication and transportation etc. Not only did it prove wrong the speculation that without private ownership of land and factories, society cannot function but proved otherwise. They not only managed to keep the work going but functioned and progressed by leaps and bounds, with a marvelous, miraculous pace! All the previous records of production and material progress were broken and every standard and criterion fell short!

Despite all its lies and falsifications and the mudslinging, that the bourgeois press across the world today indulges in against Socialism, it was forced to admit this truth fifty years ago that after 1917 the scientific-mechanical progress and development of consciousness, skill, education and culture of the common toiling masses was so rapid that the gains that took the western Europe a period of 200 years to amass, Soviet Union managed to achieve in a short span of 20-25 years. After the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution in England, whatever progress was achieved in the western world following the capitalist course, was accompanied by the stark widening of gulf between the rich and the poor with much rapidity and the sham bourgeois democracy of the capitalists started showing its true colours which is to say, it meant freedom, equality and fraternity among the rich and dictatorship over the poor, toiling masses. This was but natural, since all the advancement in the West was not for the well-being and justice for the people, but rather an outcome of the competition amongst the capitalists to earn more and more profit by wringing and wrenching the workers mercilessly

with new machines. On the other hand, in Soviet Union after the forcible abolition of private ownership and having stamped out the fundamental and principal basis of profiteering and plunder, the state of the working masses for the first time gave the common people an opportunity to produce for their own advancement and also gave them a chance to work for their cultural-educational advancement and betterment of their lives in every possible way on their own initiative.

Consequently, the Socialist development in addition to raising the standard of living and placing Soviet Union amongst the league of developed industrial countries, also established the greatest possible equality in society and terminated all privileges and material-cultural differences in existence for thousands of years; and brought an end to all direct exploitation by all the parasitic classes of capitalists, landowners, bureaucrats, speculators and traders etc. within two decades despite the presence of their material basis. The Socialist course along with the unprecedented progress in industries and agriculture, made facilities such as free and equal education, health, housing etc. easily accessible to all and eliminated unemployment completely. What is worth considering is that the establishment of collective ownership of industries (that is to say nationalisation under the proletarian state) and collectivisation of farming (i.e. establishment of big farms under the collective ownership of all cultivators) and other achievements enumerated above, were achieved at that time by the Soviet Union when the entire capitalist world was badly caught up in the whirlpool of Great Depression (period between 1930-40) and was swooning under its effect.

Why do capitalists fear the spectre of Stalin even today and why is he still defamed by their hirelings?

Today, even the trashy hirelings of capitalist newspapers are fabricating variety of lies about Stalin, the great builder of Socialism. We merely want to remind them that once even the great men of capitalist world like H.G. Wells, Romain Rolland, Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, Charlie Chaplin etc. and people like Lala Lajpat Rai, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, Rabindranath Tagore, Nehru and Premchand from India praised Stalin and Soviet Union no end. We

want to remind that when the cutthroat competition amongst the imperialist hounds gave birth to the Second World War and the self-destructive Frankensteins of Fascist Nazis, then after trampling over almost entire Europe, the mere 54 divisions led by Hitler gave rise to the danger of world conquest. At that time combating his 200 divisions, the Soviet people and Red Army devastated the entire power of Hitler. The unparalleled sacrifice by two crore Soviet people was not made from the fear of Stalin's much propagated "dictatorship", but rather for the protection of Socialism and entire humanity. At that time Roosevelt, Churchill and De Gaulle were themselves extolling Stalin and following him and the western newspapers were referring to him as "Uncle Joe", but no sooner had the world war got over than he was again called a dictator and the immediate destruction of the "demonic state" named Soviet Union was called for. This is the hypocrisy of capitalism which is self-evident!

But even today the bourgeois historians across the world cannot deny the fact that the cannon-blows of the October Revolution not only inspired the toiling masses across the world to fight against the power of capital but also provided tremendous impetus to the anti-colonial struggles by the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Soviet Union incessantly inspired the revolutionaries fighting against colonial servility as well as the common masses and provided them assistance as much as possible. After the Second World War, many proletarian states were established in Eastern Europe and in China, the New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of Mao and Communist Party created another milestone after October Revolution. The presence of a powerful Socialist camp played a significant role in slackening the grasp of colonialism and neocolonialism over the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

But history never proceeds in a straight line. Rather it proceeds in a pattern of proceeding and receding waves, in the manner of the ebb and flow of the tides, going through spirals and numerous twists and turns.

What are the fundamental reasons for the temporary defeat of Socialism? It is essential to know them!

Socialist society is not entirely a classless, exploitation-free society, rather an initial stage of such a society. It is the intermediate period between capitalism and Communism—between a class society and a classless society, only the first stage of Communism. The working class during this period, after forcibly establishing its rule over the propertied, parasitic classes, seizes the ownership of the means of production; but these erstwhile exploiters-rulers remain present in the society with their plundering mentality and with a desire to regain their "lost paradise". Along with this, on a small scale (among middle and small peasantry in villages, and among small entrepreneurs and businessman etc.) during the initial stages of Socialism, the capitalist mode of production still exists for quite a while, private ownership is present on a small scale and within a sizeable portion among the common people, the old disease of growing rich and making profit too remains in existence. This small scale capitalist production gives birth anew to the new bourgeois elements and mentality within Socialism. Apart from this, in a Socialist society too the contradiction between manual labour and mental labour, those working in factories and working on land, those living in towns and living in country are present. Besides, it is only possible in the very later stages of Socialism that people work according to their ability and receive according to their needs. Initially, till a very long period, only this can happen that people will be paid according to their labour. And since the natural ability to work is not alike for all, there remains a breeding ground for inequality during the initial stages of Socialism.

In a nutshell, the establishment of the social ownership of means of production and the elimination of exploitation and inequality is no doubt the foremost step, but this is not all. Even after this, the above mentioned production centres as well as nourishment centres of inequality and capitalism remain in existence. Due to these reasons even within a Socialist society, new varieties of bourgeois elements get consolidated and if the ground is not weeded properly and crops not sprayed with insecticides in time, these weeds ruin the entire harvest of Socialism. These new capitalist elements capture the

Communist party and the proletarian state and this is how the restoration of capitalism takes place.

After the death Of Stalin in 1953, the same thing happened in the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of Khrushchev, new kind of capitalism got restored there—a capitalism masquerading itself as “Socialism” and bearing a sham red flag, a governmental or state capitalism—more or less like our country’s ‘public sector’! In 1990, even this mask was thrown off and in the country of Great October Revolution, once again free, unrestricted capitalism was restored.

New way was shown by the Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

As a matter of fact, the great Stalin himself was not able to recognise the bourgeois elements present within Socialism and those flourishing anew, was unable to foresee the danger of defeat posed by them to Socialism and could not devise a way to wage an perpetual revolution so as to make headway in the direction of Communism against these forces. The great Lenin had certainly started thinking in this direction but time did not permit him and his life came to an untimely end in 1924. Learning a lesson from the mistakes of Stalin and Socialist experiments in China, Mao Tse-tung accomplished this great task and carried out the experiment of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which was the third glorious monument in the hundred and fifty years of history of world proletarian revolutions after the Paris Commune and October Revolution. Although after the death of Mao, the capitalist forces captured the state power and capitalism was restored, this does not diminish the significance of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution because for the first time this revolution pointed out a concrete and clear way of preventing the capitalist restoration, of incessantly weakening the capitalist forces and of forging ahead in the direction of creation of a classless society.

If the toiling masses after learning from history do not equip themselves with an understanding of the science of revolution then they will not be able to unfetter themselves from the misleading propaganda of bourgeoisie and its siren voices and will keep on presuming that Socialism has been defeated, that it has been unsuccessful. Distressed, harassed and tormented by the afflictions

and calamities of a capitalist society, they will no doubt, rise in revolt at times, but due to the want of belief in the ultimate victory of Socialism and the lack of understanding of the science of revolution, they will never be able to overthrow capitalism, since the only alternative to capitalism is Socialism.

Capitalism is not immortal! It has to die!

We will have to bear this fact always in our minds that in past all the initial editions of revolutions have been unsuccessful. Till around 700-800 years several rebellions and uprisings were suppressed, thereupon the age of slavery was exterminated from the entire world. It took a time of nearly 400 years for the bourgeoisie to gain a decisive victory while fighting against feudal class and in construction of a capitalist social structure. Then, what is there to be disappointed and disheartened at if, for the time being, Socialist revolution has been defeated by capitalism which had consolidated itself for centuries and the proletariat has to retreat as an tentative measure! And then we have to keep this always in our minds that the Socialist revolution is the most comprehensive, pervasive, extensive, profound and fundamental revolution in human history, since all the earlier revolutions had established a new kind of exploitative system in place of an outdated exploitative system whereas the objective of Socialist revolution is to abolish all kinds of class systems, all kinds of exploitation and inequalities. This can be possible in a long struggle ensuing the seizure of state power by the proletariat and during this long transitional period the proletariat might have to face defeat more than once.

We have to understand this fact well that nothing in nature and society, no historical period and no socio-economic system is eternal. And nor is capitalism undecaying-undying. Like slavery and feudalism, the system of wage slavery of capital has become fetters for human society today, which is not allowing it to move ahead. Therefore, definitely humanity will break free from these chains.

The entire world capitalism and even the economies of imperialist nations seated at its top are caught up into such a structural crisis of prolonged depression and stagnation as had never been witnessed before. The circumstances clearly point out that its demise is a matter

of not too distant future. As long as the toiling masses, after organising themselves once again, do not initiate the war of its destruction, it can count its breaths by inches.

Although at this moment, the wave of counter-revolution is predominant over the wave of revolution in the entire world, the indications of a new upheaval have started showing in different corners of the world. The toiling masses in Russia, other constituent countries of erstwhile Soviet Union and countries of Eastern Europe had already been a witness to the ugly face of sham Socialism, now they have become aware of the truth behind the "paradise" of western world. No sooner had the weak capitalist economies of these countries merged with the world capitalist system than they got inextricably entrapped in the whirlpool of a serious crisis. And the common masses who have borne the brunt of unemployment, inflation, destitution and corruption and have paid the price of affluence of a handful of people through their penury, once again have taken to streets. A sizeable portion within them holds the posters of Lenin and Stalin and the red banner in their hands and the slogans of the restoration of true Socialism are on their lips. Many revolutionary Communist organisations are hotly debating the strategy of the New October Revolution there and even the bourgeois newspapers of West is publishing reports of a "Bolshevik Resurrection" in these countries. Neither the masses in the land of Mao are lying asleep. There the peasants and youth are rising in revolt against Deng Xiaopeng's capitalism, bearing the name of "Market Socialism" and despite various attempts of slandering, the people are remembering the glorious days of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

It is apparent that the silence is breaking. The seeds of the new edition of October Revolution long lying dormant inside the womb of earth have begun to sprout.

A new series of Workers'-Peasants' movements and guerilla struggles has been initiated in the countries of Latin America. And now even Asia is awaking to the reality. Even the Indian sub-continent is resonating with the echoes of new beginning made in Indonesia in form of the fresh mass uprising. Now the people of India cannot afford to remain asleep! The implementation of New Economic policies has pushed the Imperialist as well as indigenous capitalist loot and plunder and incessantly increasing unemployment, rising prices and

inequality, corruption to those last limits which, in a way, is akin to be standing at the mouth of an active volcano.

Obviously, the Indian toiling masses will have to step forward so as to accomplish its historical mission. Like in the entire world, this is the phase of New Proletarian Renaissance and New Proletarian Enlightenment in India. In this new phase of Economic Neo-colonialism, the Indian proletariat and toiling masses will have to uproot Imperialism and overthrow the state power of its junior partner—the Indian Bourgeoisie, will have to completely destroy the capitalist mode of production and establish its control over the state power, production and entire social structure. This is the meaning of the slogan of revolutionary Lok Swarajya. This is the new Socialist Revolution of India which is the new edition of October Revolution and which is in accordance with the new conditions of the present times.

The toiling masses of India will have to forge ahead on the path shown by October Revolution, will have to build afresh its new, revolutionary party of a new kind, will have to lay the foundation stone of the new edition of October Revolution on the ground of their country in an original manner.

It is, therefore, necessary to bear in mind the essence, the sum and substance the most fundamental teachings of the experiment of World's first Socialist revolution so as to move ahead in this direction. What are these?

The most fundamental teachings of October Revolution

1. The foremost necessity of a proletarian Revolution is a revolutionary party of proletariat organised on a countrywide level. This revolutionary party like the Bolshevik Party built under the guidance of Lenin should be made of steel-like resolve and determination, should be tried in the fire of struggles, should be capable of waging war against the state power of capitalism equipped with armed police and army (rather than merely indulging in electoral politics and trade unionism); its access should not be limited only to industrial and rural proletariat but it should also penetrate deep into the majority of poor and distressed middle peasantry; and last but not

the least it should be capable of formulating the programme and path of revolution on the basis of its understanding of the conditions of its country. Only then can it prepare the new edition of the October Revolution.

2. When we cast a glance on the process of party building and formation, continuing for nearly 20 years in Pre-October Revolution Russia then this reality becomes as clear as daylight that without tough ideological struggle, unwavering ideological determination and profound ideological understanding, no true proletarian party can be formed, leave aside its accomplishing a revolution; and even if it gets organised, it will soon disintegrate. Lenin and his fellow Bolsheviks even risking the danger of complete isolation never compromised on the question of ideology and completely dismissed the conspiracies of Mensheviks and disciples of Karl Kautsky to adulterate the revolutionary ideology of Marxism. They never let the party become a mere electoral, tradeunionist, commercial organisation with three-penny membership. As a strategic move, Lenin's Party took the advantage of even Bourgeois elections and parliament, waged an incessant economic struggle while working within trade unions and performed various kinds of political, reform-oriented activities so as to awaken the masses, but the Party under no circumstance forgot that without the use of force and violence, the state power cannot be seized from the exploitative classes merely through elections. They continuously made revolutionary preparations to uproot the armed forces and oppressive machinery of Bourgeois state and once again the October Revolution proved this fact right that the exploitative class can never hand over the power through persuasion or minority-majority equation. The implication of bearing this teaching of October Revolution in mind is that the proletariat of India should free itself from the illusory trap of CPI, CPI (M), CPI (ML, Liberation) and other such reformist, economist, Bourgeois, parliamentarist Communist organisations and recognise the true revolutionary character of Communism. All these tricksters put forth those very principles of Mensheviks and Kautskiites with a new label, against which Bolshevik party had launched an incessant struggle and thus had acquired ideological firmness and only then had October Revolution become triumphant.

3. Along with this, October Revolution and its leader Lenin

also taught that the revolution is not attempted by a handful of intelligent and courageous revolutionaries, but by the extensive toiling population. The brave and sensible revolutionaries are the vanguards of these toiling masses who while taking part in the everyday struggles of the people, while participating in trade unions (even bourgeois and reactionary trade unions) fight for the economic as well as political demands, and when possible even participate in the bourgeois elections and parliament as a tactical move and thus revolutionise the political consciousness of masses as much as possible and prepare them for a decisive struggle against the ruling classes. In the name of opposing Economism and Parliamentarianism leaving aside all these forms and tactics, laying undue emphasis on merely armed activities in any form is a middle class deviation of left adventurism or "Ultra-left" and it is the CPI, CPI(M) brand sham Communists, and Bourgeois state that eventually benefit from it.

4. While capturing the essence of October Revolution, Lenin had clarified hundred times the ideological determination and had said never forget the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Forgetting them, itself means to be ensnared in the illusory trap of bourgeois democracy and peaceful transition and thus to deviate from the path of revolution. No matter how much changed the conditions are, if capitalism is capitalism it means that the state power is in the hands of the Bourgeoisie which can only be overthrown with force and the exploitative classes will have to be suppressed till the times they exist as a class. In future, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Mao not only confirmed this instruction of October Revolution but developed it further and pointed out that if the proletariat after capturing the state power, does not conduct a perpetual revolution against all bourgeois elements under its dictatorship for a prolonged period and does not launch a constant perpetual revolution against Bourgeois values, thoughts and institutions, then the restoration of capitalism will be inevitable.

We must internalise these teachings so as to flare up the forest fire in the capitalist "Jungle rule" with the torch of October Revolution; we must liberate ourselves from the dogmatism of every kind, and must establish a correct understanding of today's world and our country's capitalist mode of production, social formation and state apparatus; and equipped with fortitude and vigilance in incessant

revolutionary activities, we will have to rebuild such a revolutionary party that is capable of constructing and writing a new edition of October Revolution.

(Bigul, published in November-December 1996)

*The New Edition of October Revolution is
the only road to Emancipation!*

Eighty years have elapsed since one of the biggest trendsetter events of the known history of the entire world—the Great Soviet Socialist Revolution. In the meanwhile history is entering a new phase after completing the first, as it rotates on the axis of class-struggle.

The proletariat and the toiling masses, standing on the threshold of the twenty-first century, while passing through the most critical darkness of last hundred and fifty years, have started indicating that they are formulating new plans to strike the last nail in the coffin of capitalism by continuously organising rebellions in different parts of the world against the most advanced forms of exploitation and the most organised forms of oppression by capitalism. This is not the end of history. Neither is the present victory of capitalism nor the present defeat of Socialism final. It was merely one round of the battle. The next, decisive round is yet to be fought!

The capitalists of Europe might have submerged the proletarian state of 72 days of the Paris Commune (1871) into the mire of blood, but this reality, that it is possible to establish the state of workers by uprooting capitalism, was unfolded to the working classes of the world. The Paris Commune not only proved Karl Marx's principle of Scientific Socialism to be correct, but also taught this crucial lesson that the proletariat can succeed only by smashing to pieces the already established bourgeois state apparatus and then building its own state machinery, rather than merely capturing the former.

Besides practically implementing the teaching of the Paris Commune, the Great October Revolution demonstrated that the producer of all worldly goods, the toiling masses can run the

government and become the charioteer of their own destiny and future, under the leadership of the proletariat and its avant garde – a true, revolutionary Communist party.

The Great October Revolution proved that the process of radical destruction of capitalism can only be initiated by forcibly overthrowing the power of the owner classes and by forcibly establishing their own power (dictatorship of the proletariat), and not by persuading them.

While breaking free from the centuries old concepts and beliefs, the October Revolution proved that even the working classes can run the government and a miraculous momentum of progress can be attained by abolishing private ownership.

The October Revolution proved this belief to be baseless that the working classes can only work, and it is the responsibility of the owners to be at the helm of running a government with the help of “enlightened” persons, a belief which had been deeply ingrained into the psyche of the people by the capitalists and their forefathers in thousands of years. After taking over the state power, the workers and the toiling masses of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Bolshevik party of the great Lenin, not only combatted the joint aggression of western capitalist countries, and crushed the indigenous reactionary forces indulging in the activities of sabotage with the former’s support, but also refused to give in to the economic blockade of the Imperialist powers despite starvation and famine and worked tirelessly towards the construction of a Socialist economy. Within a span of ten years social ownership was established in various forms by abolishing the private ownership of the means of production.

Very soon, after recovering from the initial crisis, Socialism started making great strides forward. During the five year plans, such records of production-increase were established in the field of industry and agriculture, which left even the Industrial Revolution miles behind. This bourgeois propaganda was proved to be baseless that the production in the collective farming and industries owned by the state of the proletariat cannot run smoothly. Not only did the production work function smoothly, but the world had never witnessed such a pace of production-increase. Along with this, the workers themselves increasingly took the tasks of management into their hands collectively and started innovating new ways of improving the

machines. Scientists under Socialism led Russia, which was left centuries behind, to match the western countries by making new inventions without any assistance from the West.

Not only on the level of economic progress and equality, but also on social-cultural plane the Soviet Union made miraculous achievements, which even the bourgeois intellectuals and newspapers of western capitalist countries were obliged to acknowledge. Prostitution and venereal diseases and crimes like rape were entirely eliminated. The facilities of education and health were made available to the entire population on an equal basis. Various types of drama, films and cultural programmes began to be made for common workers and they started to get enough time for recreation, rest and family. Women, on an even larger scale, were liberated from the routine household chores, and began to participate, apart from production, in other social activities.

During the Second World war, Red Army of the Soviet Union made Nazi Army of Hitler bite the dust, which was trampling over entire Europe. This itself was a miracle which was made possible only because the Soviet people not only wanted to defend Socialism at any cost, but also were committed to destroy the arch enemies of Socialism—the Fascists. Soviet Union authored a new epic of courage and bravery by sacrificing its two crore people to liberate the entire world from the fetters of Fascism.

The roaring cannons of the October Revolution created a new consciousness of anti-imperialist freedom struggle in various colonies. At the same time, the working class of all these countries including India which had just begun to fight for its economic demands by organising trade unions, now rapidly marched forward on the path of political struggle and embarked upon the preparations for a new social revolution.

From 1917 till the death of Stalin in 1953, when Socialism was existing in the Soviet Union, it gave all kinds of help and support and co-operation to the ongoing liberation struggles in every corner of the world and played an important role in bringing the era of colonial slavery to an end.

The Temporary defeat of Socialism and the period of Capitalist Restoration

And yet still ablaze is the Torch of October Revolution!

After the death of Stalin, a new kind of rule of the bourgeoisie was established in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Khrushchev. These were the bureaucrats of the party and state machinery who had become the owners of the property of people in the name of Red Flag, Party and Socialism. It was a new kind of state capitalism. By 1990, this state capitalism was transformed into open private capitalism. All masks and guises were blown away. Reality was disclosed. The Soviet Union also was disintegrated.

It was the period when open capitalism was restored not only in the countries of Eastern Europe, but also in China after the death of Mao Tse-tung, capitalism was restored in the guise of "Market Socialism".

The horns and siren voices of imperialists and capitalists of the entire world started their incessant cacophony that Socialism has been devastated once and for all, that the torch of the October Revolution has been quelled forever; Is this true?

History says—No! It has happened many times earlier also that before their final victory, the revolutionary class has been defeated more than once by the ruling classes. Even earlier the first round of revolutions have either remained unfinished or else proved unsuccessful and then their new phase has inaugurated a new epoch of history. Capitalism itself was able to secure its final victory only after fighting against feudalism for three hundred years and being defeated many times.

Only the first round of world-historic battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has reached its completion. The new round has just begun. The creation of the new editions of October Revolution in the entire world is inevitable.

However, saying this much is not enough at all. To get rid of the havoc that has been wreaked upon the working masses by terminally crisis-ridden capitalism, we will have to ignite forest fire of new

revolutions by the torch of October Revolution. And for that it is essential for the working masses and its revolutionary vanguard to understand completely the causes behind the temporary defeat of Socialism.

The continuing class struggle in the Socialist society and the role of bourgeoisie in the restoration of capitalism within the party.

Socialism, in fact, is a protracted period between capitalism and a classless society (Communism) during which despite the abolition of private ownership of farms and factories, private ownership exists on small scale in various forms, disparity and inequality exist, market and currency exist, gap between mental and manual labour exists, wage disparity exists, old habits and values continue to exist, class struggle continues and thus the danger of restoration of capitalism from within, in one form or the other, remains (The danger of external imperialist assault or sabotage, needless to say, also remains).

The interests of bourgeoisie existing in a Socialist society are represented by those in the Communist Party and the State who become enslaved to their privileges and comforts and conveniences, who themselves have become bureaucrats, who have given up the class struggle and advocate peaceful development. They themselves constitute a kind of bourgeois class—a bourgeois class within the Party, who in the name of the Red Flag, Party and Socialism, deceive the masses and perform a "historical" service to imperialism and capitalism. Khrushchev-Brezhnev in Russia and Deng Xiao Peng and his heirs in China have performed this very duty.

Revisionists and all types of pseudo-Communists are those Quislings-Brutus who weaken the struggle of the workers from within and serve the capitalists!

These very sham Communists have not only served the world capitalism by destroying Socialism, but even before the revolution these very traitors have been weakening every struggle of the working class from within, have been performing the task of stabbing in their back. Lenin and then Stalin and Mao had time and again warned the revolutionary proletariat and the true Communists across the world

against these revisionists. The race and fraternity of the Mensheviks in Russia, Karl Kautsky in Germany and Khrushchev-Brezhnev, Deng Xiao Peng and Dange-Indrajeet Gupta-Jyoti Basu-Surjit etc. of our country is one and the same.

Had the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin not launched a struggle against the economism and reformism of the Mensheviks, the revolutionary proletarian party would not have been formed in Russia. Had Lenin not exposed the real character of Karl Kautsky and the revisionists of the Second International by fighting against them, the Russian party and working class would have failed to brace themselves for the Great October Revolution. Had Mao not exposed the sham Communism of Khrushchev and fought against the clique of Liu Shao-Chi in China, the epochmaking experiment of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution would not have been possible.

Even today this is true in the context of the entire world as well as our own country. To defame Socialism, the bourgeois propaganda machinery is holding Socialism responsible for the misdeeds of Khrushchev-Brezhnev, Deng and other revisionists. In our country too, the misdeeds of everyone from Indrajeet Gupta to Jyoti Basu are being ascribed to Communism to malign the revolutionary principles of Communism. From Europe to India – these pseudo-Communists of different hues have been wallowing in the pigs' sty of the bourgeois parliaments and now they are even playing an important role in the implementation of the policies of liberalisation and privatisation now even by joining the governments. Earlier they used to work clandestinely as the second line of defence of the bourgeois system and licked the cream underhandedly. Now all these things are being done openly. This has benefited in this way that even the working masses who are not familiar with the revolutionary principles of Marxism have begun to recognise their real character. The braying of those who have disguised themselves in the lion's skin have begun to be recognised.

Continuously expose the pseudo-Communists!

Ovethrow Economism – Reformism and Bureaucracy from Trade Unions!!

However, the proletarian revolutionaries have nothing to be content with. Owing to the scattered and weak revolutionary forces, a lot of workers mistake the parties of Jyoti Basu-Indrajeet Gupta and the leaders of AITUC-CITU for Communists. Revolutionary propaganda is needed to acquaint the broad cross-sections of working class population with the revolutionary principles of Communism and the reality of revisionism-economism.

Even today the workers' Trade Unions are dominated by the bureaucracy of these very economist Trade Union leaders, who have kept the working class unaware of its historical mission of the decisive battle against capital and tasks of political struggle by limiting it to the struggle for economic demands only. After knowing their real character the working class is either drifting towards bourgeois trade unions in desperation or embracing the path of movement-upsurge in an anarchic fashion. Instead, the working class must adopt the path of reconstruction of the Trade Union movement, render a practical form to the slogan of extensive working class unity and undermine the trade union bureaucracy by democratic work style – for this, it is essential to initiate an activity of revolutionary propaganda and education among the workers' population. This has to be done by working amongst them and actively participating in their everyday economic and political struggles.

The revolutionisation of the trade union movement can only be realised by a working class that comprehends its task of political struggle and also feels the need of building a revolutionary proletarian party as the most advanced form of its class organisation. One can say that the task of revolutionisation of the Trade Union Movement and the tasks related to the building and formation of an All India Revolutionary Communist Party are not completely different from each other but related to each other in more than one ways.

Unfortunately, due to the deviations of left adventurism and incorrect understanding of Indian conditions, the revolutionary

Communists in India have either ignored or else have not done properly the work on Trade Union front and amongst the industrial proletariat. Moreover, those revolutionary Communist organisations who having recovered from "leftist" deviation, began to work on this front, have kept on adopting the economist-militant-economist methods. The situation remained such that the leftist intellectuals kept being entrusted the responsibility of political tasks related to the building of party whereas the workers were left merely to take the charge of economic struggles.

Today the conditions are such that if the worker does not wage political struggle against the policy-making bourgeois state apparatus, then it will even fail to win its struggle for economic demands, while fighting in a fragmented manner.

This is a good thing that today the economic policies of the Indian ruling class have themselves created such conducive conditions where the working class is prepared more than ever to accept the propaganda for the struggle for political rights. The policies of liberalisation and privatisation are the policies of crises-ridden World Capitalism which have also begun to wreak havoc in an unprecedented manner on the working classes in India in form of lay offs-lock outs, unemployment and inflation. The working masses have begun to understand that they are not going to get anything if they keep fighting for wage-increment and a few facilities. Now the partial struggle for wage increment also can be won only if we raise our voice against all economic policies, if we make the fundamental right to employment an issue and organise against the state apparatus which formulates and implements anti-people policies. Conditions are becoming ripe for the working class to break free from the grip of the scoundrels of trade union and thus understand and grasp this reality.

The first Condition to march forward—Get rid of all Judas' and Brutus' !

This truth will be repeated in history, though on a higher plane once again that, as the first and foremost guarantee of victory in this battle, the proletariat will get rid of its traitors, its Judas' and Brutus'—different breeds of economists, liberalists, reformists, pseudo-

Communists and labour leaders. The same happened before the October Revolution as well. Now before the birth of new editions of October Revolution, the same will happen.

All the imperialists' claims of extinguishing the torch of October Revolution are being proved false. Millions of people in Russia, Ukraine, and other erstwhile Soviet Union countries are raising slogans against Yeltsin and pseudo-Communists like Juganov, holding portraits of Lenin and Stalin and dozens of revolutionary Communist organisations are active in these countries. News of popular uprisings and rebellions against the hazards of economic neo-colonialism in countries of Latin America and Asia are continuously coming in. In these countries also, the revolutionary Communists are working continuously among the masses. The new militant workers' movement from Europe to Japan, Korea etc. are signalling the "storm within the demon's fort."

We firmly believe that the proletariat is awakening to deal a decisive blow to the castles and citadels of world Capitalism.

We call for...

On the occasion of the 80th anniversary of October Revolution, we call upon the working class of India to—Awake! Unite!! March Forward!!!

We call to identify the pseudo-left and hold high the banner of true left!

We call to uproot bureaucracy and economism-reformism from the trade unions! Identify the plot of dividing workers in the factional higgling of different trade unions and get organised on the basis of broader workers' unity and democracy!

We call to fight not only for economic struggles but also for political rights, to wage a political struggle against the State which formulates anti-worker economic policies!

We call to recognise the political necessity of the guiding principles of revolutionary ideology and a revolutionary party! Come forward to build a countrywide revolutionary party of the proletariat once again.

We call to hold aloft the torch of the Great October Revolution.
(Bigul, published in November 1997)

*The Winds of October have not died out!
They will rise again like a fierce tempest!*

82 years ago, under the leadership of **Lenin and Bolshevik Party** in Russia, the workers of Petrograd, after launching an attack on Winter Palace, devastated the power of provisional government and accomplished the first successful proletarian Revolution. The **October Revolution** was completed during the First World War when millions of people were losing their lives in the mutual war of competing Imperialist dacoit gangs.

The so-called Socialist leaders of working people in most of the European countries, having blown by the gust of blind Nationalism, had become accomplices in this abominable crime and were calling upon European working class to sacrifice their lives in the interests of their own exploiters, in the name of "preservation of the motherland." Bolsheviks, despite risking the hazard of being completely isolated, firmly stood their ground against these renegades of the Second International. After launching an uncompromising struggle against the variegated currents of Reformism and Economism in their own country, they raised a Party with a well-organised revolutionary structure on a firm ideological foundation and leading the proletariat and extensive toiling masses through the specific revolutionary circumstances of contemporary Russia, prepared them to completely shatter the outdated order to the ground.

Though the Soviet Socialist Revolution of 1917 is referred to as October Revolution, but the truth is that the day of historical heroic task (October 25 as per the old calendar, November 7 as per the new) of launching an attack on the Winter Palace and overthrowing the state power of the provisional government was not the day of

completion but rather the day of commencement of the task of capturing the political power—the paramount political task of the Revolution. All the reactionary forces formed an unholy alliance and launched an attack on the newly born revolutionary proletarian state. All imperialists across the world were not only lending support to them but also were not desisting from mounting a direct assault against it. After passing through the difficult years of the Civil War, the proletariat actually and effectively acquired the political power on a countrywide scale. It can be said that the October Revolution was the proclamation of war against the entire world capitalist system by the international proletariat. Therefore, inevitably, it had to face the fiercest fury of the imperialists not only of Russia but the whole world.

The Bolsheviks had the utmost conviction that the workers of Europe will follow in the footsteps of Russian proletariat since even they were suffering tremendously from the disastrous consequences of the World War. Undoubtedly, after the October Revolution a huge upsurge of revolutionary struggles broke on the entire European Continent, whose pinnacle was the unsuccessful German Revolution, but primarily owing to the firm hold of opportunists, revisionists and secondarily, due to the joint endeavor of now cautious imperialist forces, the efforts of European revolutions were pushed back. This was the final explosion of revolutionary possibilities in Europe, which in fact, was the last end of the journey of the principal trend of previous century. The nineteenth century Europe was the stage for laissez-faire capitalism and centre of the storm of the proletarian revolutions. At the end of the century when the development of monopolies and Global market took place and capitalism entered the phase of imperialism, the European plunderers bribed a sizeable portion of organised proletariat in their respective countries in form of concessions and facilities with the massive plunder of colonies—semi-colonies and the support base of the politics of Opportunism—Economism got expanded among these comfort-seeking white-collared workers. The centre of the storm of revolutions got displaced from the West and started moving towards the East and the National Democratic Revolutions of colonies against imperialism—feudalism became part and parcel of the World proletarian revolution.

The Russia of 1917 was neither a part of the developed West,

nor of the backward East. It was a bridge between East-West and when the centre of the storm of revolutions started moving towards the East from the West, the Russian proletariat played a historical role of accomplishing the first Great, successful Proletarian Revolution on the "East-West bridge". But even the fire of Europe, despite revisionist cold wave, is not completely doused yet. After October Revolution, it had flared up with its full strength for the last time, but was once again quelled.

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The Soviet Socialist Revolution was the proclamation of the arrival of the age of proletarian revolution. It was a war cry for the workers of all countries and the oppressed masses of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who were the victims of plunder and repression by a handful of imperialist forces. From the entire world, the workers came forward in full support of the young Socialist state. The roaring cannons of the October Revolution carried Marxism-Leninism to the length and breadth of the world. The proletarian revolutionary parties were formed in dozens of countries, the Communist International formed after the October Revolution played a significant role in guiding the new parties and holding aloft the flag of proletarian Internationalism.

The October Revolution announced publicly without any fear the proclamation of proletarian dictatorship. All the state powers upto this day have been the dictatorship of this or that exploiting-ruling class but they had been drawing the veil over their true class character. The proletarian Socialist state accepted that it will establish the dictatorship of the majority of toiling masses under the leadership of proletariat over capitalists-landowners. A state power that genuinely represents the interests of the majority of population does not need to conceal its intention and character.

From the very beginning the imperialist powers and all the reactionary forces continuously demonstrated their extreme hatred towards and irrepressible fear of the Socialist state. They rather proved unsuccessful in hiding it. The imperialists never missed an opportunity of attacking the Soviet Union led by Lenin and Stalin either by isolating it, strangling it, conspiring against it, indulging in acts of sabotage or else by lending support to the Quislings and Brutus'. But the Soviet

proletariat succeeded in protecting its class-dictatorship. In the history of the thousands of years of class-societies, the means of production—factories, farms, etc. were for the first time made the collective property of the entire society. While establishing the new records of development, the new Socialist industry and agriculture left behind all the industrial revolutions of past. There was an unprecedented advancement in the field of science and technology too. Unemployment, illiteracy, prostitution, women oppression, malnutrition-borne diseases and social crimes were completely erased out of existence. The gulfs of social inequalities were bridged, the undying creeper of parasitism withered away and the entire Soviet society continuously made great strides in the direction of more and more egalitarianism. This was itself the outcome of the unified strength and iron will of the awakened toiling masses that the Soviet Union was able to stand its ground in front of the entire military might of German Nazi imperialists during the second World War and then finally accomplished the task of its complete annihilation.

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When the workers of Petrograd were moving towards the Winter Palace, they had probably no idea that they were about to turn a leaf in the new chapter of the history of humanity. Their guns lighted the path of revolutions in the other countries as well, besides Russian Revolution. In China, Mao continued the glorious heritage of the Russian Revolution and accomplished the second greatest revolution of the century. The New Democratic Revolution of China gained victory through the path of protracted people's war against imperialism-feudalism and bureaucrat-compradore capitalism.

The historical significance of the October Revolution and its historical momentum is extant in the present-day world. The universal defeat of proletarian revolutions, cannot in any way mean that the period of proletarian revolutions has passed. Despite various changes in its nature and modus operandi, as long as the world is living in the age of imperialism, it will be living in the era of Proletarian Revolution.

The importance of the teachings of October Revolution will always remain for the new round of new proletarian revolutions of the approaching century. The path of October was the path of gaining political power by the proletariat on the strength of arms. This was

the path of proletarian revolutions following it and this will be the path of proletarian revolutions in the days to come.

The Soviet Union is no longer in existence. In 1953, after the death of Stalin, Capitalism was restored there under the banner of sham Socialism of Khrushchev. In Gorbachev-Yeltsin period, even that false Red Flag was cast away and the bourgeois dictatorship got established in a naked form. Although in China, Mao Tse-tung discovered the path of taking Socialism forward by fighting against the dangers of Capitalist restoration and gradually obliterating them through the experiment of Cultural Revolution, but after his death too, the new bourgeois state got restored under the leadership of Chinese pseudo-Communists.

Today when we cast a look at the past decades of history with hindsight, it becomes clear that despite various internal crises and stagnation facing the twentieth century capitalism, the class power balance was not yet favourable to the continuous forward movement of proletarian revolutions on a world-wide scale. Moreover, history never proceeds in such a manner. It proceeds by moving back and forth. Also, this assessment could not have been made at that time when the imperialism was continuously retreating under the pressure of the tide of people's revolutions. This assessment can only be made retrospectively in the hostile conditions of present time. Also, even this is the objective assessment of today that the character of World Capitalism has become so unproductive and parasitic now, and that the nature of incurability of its crises-problems has become such that as has never been before. Afflicted with its own crisis, the havoc that it is wreaking upon the toiling population in the entire world and particularly in the Third World, cannot go on unchecked endlessly. This is the objective ground for writing the new edition of October Revolution.

The dispersed, conscious leading forces of proletarian revolution, by internalising the teachings of October Revolution and Chinese Cultural Revolution and studying the present day conditions in the light of Marxism, will develop an understanding of the nature and path of the new revolutions after a series of experiments; and then the process of their unification will also rapidly move ahead. The picture of the new phase of Imperialism is becoming clear. The transition period is passing. The much perceptible forms of the

eruptions and explosions of class struggles across the length and breadth of the world are giving clear indications of an approaching storm. The winds of October Revolution had never died down completely. And after probing into the history and closely examining the seeds of future lying latent in the womb of present, through an understanding of the science of proletarian revolution, this can be said with the utmost conviction that in the times to come, they will take the form of a fierce whirlwind, and will rise like a storm. We firmly believe that the twenty first century will be seismic, a century of upheavals.

(Bigul, published in November 1999)

The teachings of October Revolution And Our times, Our Country

As this century is drawing to a close, the groans and moans of World capitalism gripped by the incurable diseases are also on a rise. The joyful shrieks that had burst on the "death" of Socialism in 1989-90 (Although it was the death of illegitimate capitalism with a Socialist mask that is to say, it was the death of Social Democracy or revisionism and not Socialism) were soon reduced to the snorts in the throat and once again the "spectre" of Communism started haunting capitalism. All spells and incantations of bourgeois economists-thinkers-exorcists are proving futile to exorcise this powerful spectre.

In that case, this is but natural that on the occasion of 81st anniversary of the Soviet Socialist Revolution, the toiling masses should not only be reminded of that first successful proletarian Revolution, inspired to study its history and its guiding principles, but it is also extremely important to prepare it to deliberate over the issue of as to what should be the nature and path of workers' revolutions in the present new phase of imperialism! It should be made to believe that the new editions of October Revolution will certainly be written. Capitalism is not the final destination of human history.

Today, when we talk about workers' revolution, then it is neither a flat speculation nor any bookish talk. The development of the science of proletarian revolution by **Marx-Engels** was achieved by studying the thousands of years of class struggles and Capitalism of their time. The **Paris Commune** of 1871 in their lifetime not only proved right their thinking but also took it forward. Lenin understood the

new capitalism of twentieth century – that capitalism which established its monopoly over the markets across the world – and pointed out that the phase of imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism and the eve of proletarian revolutions.

The Russian Socialist Revolution of 1917 proved correct the principles of Lenin. For the first time in the entire world, the toiling masses under the leadership of Communist Party unfettered themselves and launched an "attack on the paradise", captured the state power, restored the rule of all working classes under the guidance of the proletariat over all plundering classes and started the construction of Socialism while coping up with the attacks by imperialist countries, activities of sabotage and conspiracies of indigenous reactionaries and traitors. For the first time in the entire world the collective ownership of the toiling masses was established over the factories in form of the ownership of the workers' state and after establishing collective ownership over farms and abolishing the private ownership, the most fundamental basis of exploitation and social disparity was eliminated. The progress that Russia witnessed under the leadership of **Stalin**, after the establishment of collective ownership of productive classes over the means of production is universally acknowledged. Not only were the basic necessities for all met but they were equally met. The facilities for education and health care were offered free of cost. Accommodation was available to all. Not even a trace of unemployment was left. Various diseases, crimes, prostitution etc. were completely eliminated. Once backward, barbarous Russia now stood close up to America and countries of Europe in terms of scientific advancement.

This was the very workers' state which after routing the Frankenstein of Imperialism, the Fascist Hitler, unfettered the entire humanity from its clutches.

No doubt, after the death of Stalin, the conspiracy of capitalists across the world and bourgeois elements within Russia proved successful and under the guidance of Khrushchev, while unfurling the Red Flag so as to beguile the workers, restored a capitalism in the Socialist garb. But in China, holding aloft the banners of October Revolution, **Mao** launched a principled struggle against renegade Khrushchev in the same manner as Lenin had led the struggle against renegade Kautsky. He developed the principle of carrying Socialism

Still Ablaze is the Torch of October Revolution / 35

forward and prevented the danger of capitalism through **Cultural Revolution**.

Today the Soviet Union has disintegrated. In 1990, after tearing off the Socialist garb, the dwarf monster of capitalism revealed itself to the world and its naked dance still continues in Russia. Even in China after the death of Mao, the tide turned but there the capitalist monster is still inside its Socialist garb. It is just a matter of time before it reveals its true character.

But today the phase of universal defeat of Socialist current does not, in any way, prove that the torch of October Revolution has been doused forever. The motion of revolutions have been such that in history that they move ahead in form of waves- back-forth, up-down. When one class initiates a revolutionary battle against the other, it does happen that it is defeated by the consolidated ruling class in the beginning, often loses power after gaining it but ultimately the victory belongs to it because it takes history forward. It was after several defeats that the bourgeois revolutions too were able to gain complete victory against the feudal lords. The same is happening to proletarian revolutions. And then it is also worth considering that the objective of Socialist revolutions is not only to bring capitalism to an end but also to destroy completely the four thousand years old entire social structure of exploitation and inequality based on private ownership and then march ahead in the direction of Communism. Therefore, it is not surprising if, after making some great strides in a few countries, the proletarian revolution has been defeated.

What is important is that the human history, though only for a few decades, has been a witness to Socialism and has viewed its miraculous achievements. What is significant is that it has been proved beyond doubt that the working class, after coming to power can run the government, can transform the means of production—factories, farms, etc. into property of entire society, and finally that this system can function effectively and efficiently.. The temporary defeat of revolutions is not their death, neither is it the defeat of ideology. The experiments of history never prove futile. Their experience becomes the heritage for future revolutions.

In these very times, the great October Revolution is the heritage of the workers of the whole world, which needs to be taken care of, understood and then to be taken forward. For the future Socialist

revolutions, committed to conclusively bury capitalism in its grave, the October Revolution will only be referred to as an initial experiment. But the historical significance of the initial experiments remain immortal. They are the foundation. It is only through their means that the principles of revolutions are first proved and then developed and then become guides of coming revolutions. In this sense lies the historical significance of the teachings of October Revolution for the toiling masses of today and there vanguards.

The foremost lesson of October Revolution is that the anti-capitalist workers' revolutions will always be conscious revolutions. Mere rebellion can never be a revolution. Only that can cause the death of a system which has full knowledge of its modus operandi and which has a complete blueprint for the creation of a new system. Meaning thereby that in the absence of a true party of the working class founded on the concrete understanding of the science of revolution, the revolution is impossible. Such a revolutionary party, which is the party of the proletariat, is free from all middle class deviations and which has an understanding of the nature and path of revolution in its own country as well as the other on the basis of Marxist science.

There is a need to build anew a revolutionary proletarian party for the new phase of the new proletarian revolution in India (and other countries of the world too). The parties like CPI and CPM have ably cast off their responsibility. They are playing a game of "cat and mouse" with the bourgeois parties. The only difference being that their team is wearing a red jersey in this game of elections. Now a new team CPI(ML), with a new red jersey and a multi coloured plume has taken the field.

As far as those true revolutionary groups are concerned, who had the responsibility of building an All-India party on their shoulders, even their stagnation is serious. In the past twenty-eight years, every new series for unity efforts, falsifying various claims, has disintegrated. Why? This needs to be deliberated upon. Too much optimism culminates in fatalism which is the guiding principle of those who tread on a beaten track.

The truth is that after the Great Peasants' uprising of Naxalbari of 1967 in India, the new beginning that had to be made for building a new party fell victim to the middle class disease of ultra left

adventurism owing to the principled weaknesses of the leadership. Instead of building mass organisations among various classes and consolidating their joint fronts on everyday economic-political issues, they adopted the line of terrorism. The blind imitation of the Chinese Party led to the forsaking the tradition of that very party. The program of revolution was decided without the concrete analysis of concrete conditions in India.

The practice of incorrect formulations-concepts gave birth only to stagnation and disintegration. The proletarian revolutionaries kept on moving ahead with the dream of enlivening the party of 1970, indeed it was a good intention, but despite facing continuous failure in this task for more than a quarter of century, they never bothered to reflect upon its fundamental causes.

This is our firm belief that the phase of history of Communist movement that had begun in 1967 is no longer in existence. And thus, the question of formation and building of a revolutionary party should be thought over afresh. It is true that even today the proletarian revolutionary elements are present in the ranks of the groups of Communist revolutionary camp in large numbers. But although the constituent elements of these groups are revolutionary, their organisational structure and composition is not according to Marxism, is not revolutionary. The cadres are revolutionary but instead of the principle of democratic centralism, the organisations are either implementing bureaucratic centralism or a loosely-built federalism, or else both of them together. Besides, today a sizeable section of the leadership of these groups while appealing in the name of Marx to Mao, is proceeding in the direction of dogmatism and opportunism.

In these circumstances, a revolutionary workers' newspaper should be made the means and centre in order to build a new proletarian party by unifying the revolutionary elements afresh and by the new revolutionary recruitment of rebellious youth from proletariat and lower ranks of middle class, who are distressed by the continuous deepening of the calamities and afflictions of capitalism. This newspaper should carry debates on economic relations, political system and social-cultural structure of our present-day society and lay down the correct and accurate nature and path of revolution.

No doubt, such debates should have been launched after the period of Naxalbari movement and though there were some, but these

were suppressed by the left adventurism because as far as it was concerned, everything was settled and predecided. Today all those responsible elements cannot shy away from such healthy debates, who are not self-satisfied. Now we cannot wait for another Naxalbari to happen and revolutionaries getting unified in its light. This will not happen. The Party will be built on a programme after undergoing the process of practice and principle in the guidance of scientific ideology.

We believe that today after a journey of half century into post-Second World War period, the imperialism along with the banner of globalisation has entered the phase of economic neo-colonialism, when countries like India have also entered the stage of new Socialist Revolution and the teachings of October Revolution have become all the more relevant to us in the changed context.

Anyhow, here we will not go into the details of our thinking related to the nature of Indian revolution. But we want to make this very clear that we are prepared for a thorough debate on this issue.

Along with this, the other significance of keeping a revolutionary workers' newspaper at the centre in taking forward the process of building a revolutionary party is also that through this newspaper the propaganda of the science of proletarian revolution, its objective and its path is undertaken among industrial workers, workers in unorganised sector, unemployed and temporary workers and all workers in villages, and new recruitments are made amongst them for revolutionary ranks. Such a newspaper should not go among the workers only as propagator, teacher and agitator but also as organiser. Such newspapers should publish reports on their living-conditions and struggles; and consequently carry analyses which provide important information.

We think that the questions like what is the correct Marxism of today and what is the nature of Indian revolution are not the only issues to be debated? The question related to the structure of organisation and its principle—the question of democratic centralism is also an issue worth considering, for only an organisation working on the principle of democratic centralism can implement the mass line. Besides, only an organisation which implements the mass line can enforce democratic centralism on the basis of the advanced

political consciousness of its cadres. On this issue too, the experience of October Revolution is very valuable.

One of the experiences of October Revolution and the subsequent Chinese Revolution was that it is absolutely essential to form a joint front with other exploited classes for a proletarian revolution. In the backward countries like India, as long as the working class does not form a strong front with urban as well as rural poor, it cannot attempt a Socialist Revolution. The middle class will play the part of a vacillating ally and in times of decisive struggle, a section of it will align itself with the masses whereas a section of it will remain loyal to capitalism. In China, the National bourgeoisie and rich peasantry were the vacillating allies of Democratic Revolution. In present day India, the entire bourgeoisie and rich owner peasants who work for profit are standing in the opposition camp along with imperialists, against the masses.

October Revolution further concretised the lesson of Paris Commune that the proletarian revolution can only be violent and armed in a decisive manner. The bourgeoisie will not dig their graves themselves by handing over the state power voluntarily. The revolutionary party has to be prepared for conducting and leading such a revolution from the very first day so that it can prepare the workers at the right time and in the right manner for it. It is really necessary to study how the Bolsheviks, while participating in the tasks of unions and performing the task of taking workers-peasants organised in Soviets under their leadership, took advantage of the conducive opportunity for armed insurrection; and how should one prepare for it. It is important to add that the bourgeois state power in countries like India, leave aside today's Russia and countries of Europe, is more advanced, modern, stronger with broader base than the tsarist Russian state power. Here, the bourgeois dictatorship is more consolidated in form of an advanced and sophisticated bourgeois democracy. The capitalist development in the last fifty years has led to the organised development of an extremely reactionary class in villages in form of kulaks and bourgeois landowners, which is a junior partner of monopoly finance-industrial capitalist class in the share of the power. There has also been an adequate expansion of

other parasitic classes affiliated to the power of capital. The hold of capital and bourgeois state power has strengthened in even the remotest of villages through the agency of banks, other financial institutions and government offices.

If this was not enough, the repressive apparatus of Indian state-army, police and even intelligence system are more advanced than the tsarist regime and the imperialism is ready to provide it with every sort of assistance in case of any revolutionary uprising.

In such a scenario, the teachings of Lenin and October Revolution regarding revolutionary party are more applicable to our times and our country than it was during the period of October Revolution.

Only that party of proletariat can forcibly seize the state power from bourgeoisie which is not a mass party with three-penny membership but rather a cadre-party, whose members are fiery, steel-like revolutionary activists, whose membership is not forwarded to all those who pay its membership fee and agree with its programme, but rather it should be binding on its members to be an active member in the party unit/cell/fraction/nucleus or committee of any front or mass organisation. The backbone of such a revolutionary party of proletariat is professional revolutionaries (that is to say whole-timer revolutionary activists). Such a party from the very first day makes preparation for its objective of uprooting the bourgeois state power and never stays complacent by leaving itself at the disposal of bourgeois state. It knows full well that to crush the revolution, the bourgeoisie tries first of all to annihilate the vanguards of the proletariat, the revolutionary party. Therefore, not taken in by the illusions and tricks of bourgeois democracy including parliamentary elections, the proletarian party keeps its structure and modus operandi, under all circumstances, in secret. It puts to use the legal forms of struggle, when advantageous and even avails itself of the bourgeois parliamentary elections and parliament for revolutionary propaganda as a strategic move—but never transforms itself into a completely legal and parliamentary party like today CPI, CPM and CPI (ML, Liberation) have done in our country. The Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin have separated from Mensheviks on this very issue. In future, when the workers' parties in Europe under the leadership of Karl Kautsky left the path of revolution, transformed

themselves completely into open, legal, parliamentary partises, Lenin, while throwing light on its reasons, explained this can only be done by those renegades who instead of overthrowing bourgeoisie, have accepted to sit in their laps.

Lenin's party proved successful in accomplishing the October Revolution because it had dissociated itself from the lackeys and disciples of Mensheviks and Karl Kautsky and had cast itself into a true revolutionary mould; and had made extensive, prolonged, sustained and complete preparations for an armed revolution.

Lenin's party, while organising workers in trade unions struggled not only for their economic demands but for their political rights also; and acquainted the workers with the historical mission of the proletariat through revolutionary propaganda. Lenin's party waited for the proper opportunity and then participated in the elections but never became an electoral party but rather performed the task of exposing the sham democracy of tsar. Despite numerous attempts, the tsar never succeeded in destroying the Bolshevik party and neither the Karensky government managed to do the same. And the moment the period of revolutionary crisis and uprising arrived, the party properly utilised it and performed the task of equipping the workers with arms effectively, took a sizeable portion of army along and with the capture of Winter Palace, began the writing of a new chapter in history.

To author the new edition of October Revolution, today it is necessary for the committed proletarian revolutionaries to make efforts for building a revolutionary party cast into an iron mould, very much like the Bolshevik party, which exhibits ideological firmness, which is a cadre-based party, whose backbone is the professional revolutionaries, who are prepared from the very beginning for adopting every form of struggle and for the ultimate decisive struggle and which does not fall prey to the legal-parliamentary illusions. Such a party can be organised only on the Bolshevik principle of Democratic Centralism. Only such a party can organise trade unions and mass organisations of all classes among the people in a revolutionary way, can establish a joint front of proletariat with other classes in society; and after a sustained preparation and training, and having recognised the favorable time can give the call for the general insurrection. Those who have forgotten this teaching of October Revolution, despite taking

Lenin's name are the followers of Kautsky, Khrushchev, Deng Xiao-Peng, who infact function as the second-third line of defense of bourgeois system. They have played a significant role in the defeat of Socialism and thus have rendered a "historical" service to Capitalism and are still at work on this mission. The working class should be on its guard against them.

One of the basic facts behind the October Revolution was the deep faith of tried and tested Bolshevik revolutionaries in masses. While carrying out various experiments and raising the economic-political demands of the proletariat, they invented methods of struggle and alongside, while carrying on with the activity of constant political propaganda, recruited the soldiers equipped with the feeling of sacrifice in the vanguard ranks of Communist revolutionaries from the workers with the advanced consciousness.

The Bolsheviks launched a ruthless, uncompromising struggle against the middle class deviations till the very end. They also carried on the task of continuous Communist propaganda among the rural poor and considered the poor and middle peasantry as the allies of revolution, but made no concessions to the struggle against the peasant faith in landownership and reactionary peasant parochialism.

One of the fundamental reasons behind the success of October Revolution was that instead of following a dogmatic approach on any assessment of the circumstances or any aspect of the programme of revolution, Lenin and his comrades while concretely analysing the concrete conditions, made constant amendments in the strategy and tactics of revolution. For instance, during the two decades before the revolution, the Bolshevik party made dozens of modifications in their land- programme and made each step of counter land reform undertaken by the tsarist regime as the subject of their study. After revolution, it adopted various correct points of Socialist revolutionaries without any hesitation. Parallely, let's have a look at the attitude of Communists in India. From the time of formation of Communist Party till the Telangana struggle, not even a single logical writing or debate is available on land question. There has been no reasonable debate on the abolition of Zamindari system after Telangana struggle nor on the policies of massive capital investment in agriculture after Naxalbari uprising and the various bourgeois land reforms undertaken by the government of different parties. Despite many significant

changes during the half century after the Second World War, the Communist revolutionaries here still believe that India is still a semi-feudal-semi-colonial country where the question of land revolution is central.

Ironically, when questions were raised on this formulation, they were sidelined merely by pronouncing some sweeping judgment or by affixing some labels.

The most living example of the continuous analysis of concrete conditions and preparing the Bolsheviks for important changes in their strategy is Lenin's April Thesis, preparation for revolution and then call for a general insurrection at a perfectly apt and accurate time. After the fall of tsarist regime, the Karsky government came to power and merely within two months, Lenin arrived at the conclusion that the time is favourable for a proletarian Socialist revolution. Had the Bolsheviks not dealt a decisive blow at the right time on the basis of an accurate assessment, the bourgeois government of Karsky would have got an opportunity to recover and would have also got the assistance from European Capitalist forces.

One of the fundamental reasons behind the success of Bolsheviks was their ideological preparation and the constant ideological struggle against the occasional sprouting of non-proletarian ideas among its ranks. As the fundamental guarantee of success of revolution, Lenin laid constant emphasis on the depth and firmness of ideological understanding of the party and made no concession, whatsoever, to the opponents. And not for a moment tried to avert any such struggle.

Foremost among the preparations for Bolshevik Revolution was the ideological preparation. When Mensheviks and Plekhanov tried to cast the structure of party on the lines of bourgeois method and style, on the basis of a mass party, Lenin while launching a forceful attack against them, parted ways. Similarly, in the Second International when most of the Communists of Europe under the guidance of Karl Kautsky treaded the path of economism, parliamentarism and trade unionism, when they tried to distort the fundamental teachings of Marxism concerning the state and revolution, when they having made the organisational structure entirely open and legal and thus leaving it at the mercy of bourgeois state power, then Lenin despite risking the

hazard of being isolated, launched a decisive struggle against them and dissociated himself from The Second International. The October Revolution accomplished just after it proved the path of Lenin to be correct and the shrewd old Kautsky along with his disciples was handed over to the garbage bin of history. There is no need to remind that later the lackeys of Tito and Khrushchev also met the same end and it can be proclaimed from now that the followers of Deng Xiaoping will also be reduced to the same plight. The new editions of October Revolution, during the process of their creation, will undertake the task of striking the last nail in the coffin of parliamentary economist Left, that is to say, all forms of Social Democracy and revisionism. By launching an ideological struggle front by front against Social Democracy, the Bolsheviks were able to go on crossing one destination after another in the direction of the victory of revolution. This lesson of history is relevant more than ever to our times, even more than the time of Lenin.

Today, in the closing years of this century, when while looking backwards, we think about the historical significance of the October Revolution, then as sum and substance, a few such key teachings of this epoch-making incident can be underlined, which the subsequent revolutions verified through their success and failure.

1. October Revolution rendered true this basic teaching of Marxism and this is still true that proletarian revolutions cannot be mere rebellions but only conscious revolutions. For this, it is essential to have such a revolutionary party as the vanguard of working class on a countrywide scale, which is equipped with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, the science of proletarian revolution, having acquired it as the essence of the study of nature and society.

2. The party of the proletariat can acquire ideological purity through constant ideological struggle. Owing to its birth and working within a bourgeois society, the non-proletariat tendencies and ideas keep on mushrooming incessantly within the party. This can only be eliminated through criticism-self-criticism and two-line struggle. Had Lenin not launched a struggle against Mensheviks, Plekhanov and Kautsky, then instead of accomplishing a revolution, the Bolshevik party too would have been reduced to a revisionist, economist,

parliamentary party like CPI-CPM. Only after fighting against Social Democracy and right-wing opportunism, will we be able to march ahead in the direction of building a revolutionary party in a true manner. It is absolutely inevitable to remember this teaching of Lenin that only he/she is a Marxist who acknowledges and accepts the class struggle along with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today within the Communist revolutionary camp too, the trends and tendencies of right-wing principles and practice are sprouting in abundance: without their complete eradication through tough ideological struggle, no countrywide unity among the revolutionaries can be established.

3. Along with the above mentioned point, it is important to remember that ultra-Left deviation in essence arises out of middle-class impetuosity, anarchism, or the trends of lack of faith in the masses; and Lenin gave it the name of an "infantile disorder". Without the building of extensive mass organisations of proletariat and its ally classes, without preparing them through political propaganda while launching struggles for their economic and political demands simultaneously; if a handful of revolutionaries want to topple the state power on the strength of their sacrifice and bravery or else think that inspired by their struggles and sacrifices, the people will rise in revolution, then this is completely incorrect. This is a Left adventurist belief. After the great mass uprising of Naxalbari, owing to this deviation, the party building and formation, and revolutionary mass work has suffered a massive historical loss. Although, even today the danger of right-wing deviation is principal but currents of ultra-Left, anarchist deviations are also present in the revolutionary movement. It is essential to initiate a struggle against them in the light of Lenin's teachings.

4. In our country, the industrial proletariat has become almost completely entangled in the firm hold of economism and trade unionism. The trade-union movement is completely captured by revisionist Left groups and bourgeois parties. Without liberating the proletariat from its hold and providing a revolutionary direction to the trade-union movement and without understanding the task of revolutionary political propaganda among the proletariat, neither a true and correct party of the proletariat can be built nor a single step can be taken ahead in the direction of proletarian Revolution.

Only those will prove successful in building a true Leninist Party

in India, who while organising the workers will propel movements for economic demands as well as political rights and besides undertaking the task of constant political propaganda among the working class, will include the advanced elements amongst them in the revolutionary party. The revolutionaries should work inside various bourgeois and revisionist trade unions by forming cell and nucleus of revolutionary workers and should try to incessantly isolate the opportunist leadership. Study circles and night schools should also be organised for the workers in various forms according to circumstances. To provide a firm foundation to the task of party-building through the party-recruitment of advanced elements from the working class, for the extensive propaganda of revolutionary politics and for carrying the various aspects, problems and debates related to party building and formation to the ranks of revolutionary groups, a revolutionary workers' newspaper has to play the same role as had been played by 'Iskra' and its successor newspapers in Russia.

5. Only that party can be a true revolutionary party which right from the time of its inception is prepared to face any onslaught from state power. The membership of such a party can only be secret cannot be given below the activist level. The backbone of such a party can only be professional revolutionaries (whole-time activists). While working within an open and legal framework when there is scope, a revolutionary party can never be an entirely legal and parliamentary party. Its structure and modus operandi should be kept in secret under all circumstances. Such a party can only be constructed on organisational principles of Democratic Centralism.

Today many groups of proletarian revolutionaries in India are treating these fundamental teachings of Lenin and October Revolution with disdain. It is extremely dangerous and will only lead to decline and degeneration.

6. This teaching of the October Revolution is extremely helpful to us that while remaining firm and unflinching on the question of Ideology, the concrete analysis of concrete conditions of our country as well as others should be done and the programme of revolution should be determined in its light. This is the valuable teaching of October Revolution that while being thoroughly inflexible and firm as far as the principles are concerned, a flexible and pliant approach

should be adopted as much as possible on the question of strategy and tactics, only then every circumstance can be put to use for the preparation of revolution.

7. On the basis of the concrete conditions of one's country, it becomes extremely important to decide who are the friends and who are enemies of the proletarian revolution. The proletariat, without taking along its ally classes—primarily the rural poor and without forming a joint front with them, can never attempt a revolution, this is a fundamental teaching of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The present defeat of Socialism is a temporary phenomenon. It is just a matter of some time. The torch of October Revolution has not extinguished. Neither can it. The proletariat of the world will march forward and author its new edition. The disease and crisis of capitalism are incurable and they will meet their end at the hand of Socialism—by destroying capitalism itself. The new century is approaching as an age of upheavals.

Lenin had seen the East as the centre of storm of revolution in the phase of imperialism and three decades before the Chinese Revolution, had seen the signs of 'Awakening of Asia'. Asia, the open pasture of unbridled Imperialist plunder is once again giving indications of a new awakening.

Will this awakening bring the dawn of the new proletarian revolution? Will the proletariat of India join the vanguard squads of the workers across the world in the new round of proletarian revolutions? We will have to answer this with our concrete actions, with our iron will and determination.

After the blood-soaked defeat of Russian Revolution of 1905-07, Lenin wrote the sole poem of his life, the unbound and unrestrained optimism of whose last lines was realised by the October Revolution. After the defeat of the initial editions of world proletarian revolutions, we repeat these lines, over-brimming with hopes, with this belief that the new proletarian revolutions of the new century will certainly fulfill and achieve them because this is the motion of history and this is the message of history—

Stand Undaunted with Courage!

These dreadful days will soon be left behind Against the enemy of freedom

Stand United!

Spring will certainly arrive..... It is approaching... It is approaching

The unusually beautiful that most desired

Red Freedom of Ours

is moving forward! Look here toward us....

(Bigul, published serialized in November 1998, February 1999 and March-April 1999)

Fiery October

The Bolsheviks began intensive preparations for the uprising. Lenin declared that, having secured a majority in the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in both the capitals — Moscow and Petrograd — the Bolsheviks could and should take the state power into their own hands. Reviewing the path that had been traversed, Lenin stressed the fact that “the majority of the people are for us.” In his articles and letters to the Central Committee and the Bolshevik organisations, Lenin outlined a detailed plan for the uprising showing how the army units, the navy and the Red Guards should be used, what key positions in Petrograd should be seized in order to ensure the success of the uprising, and so forth.

On October 7, Lenin secretly arrived in Petrograd from Finland. On October 10, 1917, the historic meeting of the Central Committee of the Party took place at which it was decided to launch the armed uprising within the next few days. The historic resolution of the Central Committee of the Party, drawn up by Lenin, stated:

“The Central Committee recognises that the international position of the Russian revolution (the revolt in the German navy which is an extreme manifestation of the growth throughout Europe of the world Socialist revolution; the threat of conclusion of peace by the imperialists with the object of strangling the revolution in Russia) as well as its military position (the indubitable decision of the Russian bourgeoisie and Kerensky and Co. to surrender Petrograd to the Germans), and the fact that the proletarian party has gained a majority in the Soviets — all this, taken in conjunction with the peasant revolt and the swing of popular confidence towards our Party (the elections in Moscow), and, finally, the obvious preparations being made for a second Kornilov affair (the withdrawal of troops from Petrograd, the

dispatch of Cossacks to Petrograd, the surrounding of Minsk by Cossacks, etc.) — all this places the armed uprising on the order of the day.

“Considering therefore that an armed uprising is inevitable, and that the time for it is fully ripe, the Central Committee instructs all Party organisations to be guided accordingly, and to discuss and decide all practical questions (the Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region, the withdrawal of troops from Petrograd, the action of our people in Moscow and Minsk, etc.) from this point of view.” (Lenin, Selected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. II, p. 303.)

Two members of the Central Committee, Kamenev and Zinoviev, spoke and voted against this historic decision. Like the Mensheviks, they dreamed of a bourgeois parliamentary republic, and slandered the working class by asserting that it was not strong enough to carry out a Socialist revolution, that it was not mature enough to take power.

Although at this meeting Trotsky did not vote against the resolution directly, he moved an amendment which would have reduced the chances of the uprising to nought and rendered it abortive. He proposed that the uprising should not be started before the Second Congress of Soviets met, a proposal which meant delaying the uprising, divulging its date, and forewarning the Provisional Government.

The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party sent its representatives to the Donetz Basin, the Urals, Helsingfors, Kronstadt, the South-Western Front and other places to organise the uprising. Comrades Voroshilov, Molotov, Dzerzhinsky, Ordjonikidze, Kirov, Kaganovich, Kuibyshev, Frunze, Yaroslavsky and others were specially assigned by the Party to direct the uprising in the provinces. Comrade Zhdanov carried on the work among the armed forces in Shadrinsk, in the Urals. The representatives of the Central Committee acquainted the leading members of the Bolshevik organisations in the provinces with the plan of the uprising and mobilised them in readiness to support the uprising in Petrograd.

On the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party, a *Revolutionary Military Committee* of the Petrograd Soviet was set up. This body became the legally functioning headquarters of the uprising.

Meanwhile the counter-revolutionaries, too, were hastily mustering their forces. The officers of the army formed a counter-

revolutionary organisation known as the Officers' League. Everywhere the counter-revolutionaries set up headquarters for the formation of shock-battalions. By the end of October the counter-revolutionaries had 43 shock battalions at their command. Special battalions of Cavaliers of the Cross of St. George were formed.

Kerensky's government considered the question of transferring the seat of government from Petrograd to Moscow. This made it clear that it was preparing to surrender Petrograd to the Germans in order to forestall the uprising in the city. The protest of the Petrograd workers and soldiers compelled the Provisional Government to remain in Petrograd.

On October 16 an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Party was held. This meeting elected a *Party Centre*, headed by Comrade Stalin, to direct the uprising. This Party Centre was the leading core of the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet and had practical direction of the whole uprising.

At the meeting of the Central Committee the capitulators Zinoviev and Kamenev again opposed the uprising. Meeting with a rebuff, they came out openly in the press against the uprising, against the Party. On October 18 the Menshevik newspaper, *Novaya Zhizn*, printed a statement by Kamenev and Zinoviev declaring that the Bolsheviks were making preparations for an uprising, and that they (Kamenev and Zinoviev) considered it an adventurous gamble. Kamenev and Zinoviev thus disclosed to the enemy the decision of the Central Committee regarding the uprising, they revealed that an uprising had been planned to take place within a few days. This was treachery. Lenin wrote in this connection: "Kamenev and Zinoviev have *betrayed* the decision of the Central Committee of their Party on the armed uprising to Rodzyanko and Kerensky." Lenin put before the Central Committee the question of Zinoviev's and Kamenev's expulsion from the Party.

Forewarned by the traitors, the enemies of the revolution at once began to take measures to prevent the uprising and to destroy the directing staff of the revolution — the Bolshevik Party. The Provisional Government called a secret meeting which decided upon measures for combating the Bolsheviks. On October 19 the Provisional Government hastily summoned troops from the front to Petrograd. The streets were heavily patrolled. The counter-revolutionaries succeeded in massing especially large forces in Moscow. The Provisional Government drew

up a plan: on the eve of the Second Congress of Soviets the Smolny — the headquarters of the Bolshevik Central Committee — was to be attacked and occupied and the Bolshevik directing centre destroyed. For this purpose the government summoned to Petrograd troops in whose loyalty it believed.

But the days and even the hours of the Provisional Government were already numbered. Nothing could now halt the victorious march of the Socialist revolution.

On October 21 the Bolsheviks sent commissars of the Revolutionary Military Committee to all revolutionary army units. Throughout the remaining days before the uprising energetic preparations for action were made in the army units and in the mills and factories. Precise instructions were also issued to the warships *Aurora* and *Zarya Svobody*.

At a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet, Trotsky in a fit of boasting blabbed to the enemy the date on which the Bolsheviks had planned to begin the armed uprising. In order not to allow Kerensky's government to frustrate the uprising, the Central Committee of the Party decided to start and carry it through before the appointed time, and set its date for the day before the opening of the Second Congress of Soviets.

Kerensky began his attack on the early morning of October 24 (November 6) by ordering the suppression of the central organ of the Bolshevik Party, *Rabochy Put* (*Workers' Path*), and the dispatch of armoured cars to its editorial premises and to the printing plant of the Bolsheviks. By 10 a.m., however, on the instructions of Comrade Stalin, Red Guards and revolutionary soldiers pressed back the armoured cars and placed a reinforced guard over the printing plant and the *Rabochy Put* editorial offices. Towards 11 a.m. *Rabochy Put* came out with a call for the *overthrow* of the Provisional Government. Simultaneously, on the instructions of the Party Centre of the uprising, detachments of revolutionary soldiers and Red Guards were rushed to the Smolny.

The uprising had begun.

On the night of October 24 Lenin arrived at the Smolny and assumed personal direction of the uprising. All that night revolutionary units of the army and detachments of the Red Guard kept arriving at the Smolny. The Bolsheviks directed them to the centre of the capital,

to surround the Winter Palace, where the Provisional Government had entrenched itself.

On October 25 (November 7), Red Guards and revolutionary troops occupied the railway stations, post office, telegraph office, the Ministries and the State Bank.

The *Pre-parliament* was dissolved.

The Smolny, the headquarters of the Petrograd Soviet and of the Bolshevik Central Committee, became the headquarters of the revolution, from which all fighting orders emanated.

The Petrograd workers in those days showed what a splendid schooling they had received under the guidance of the Bolshevik Party. The revolutionary units of the army, prepared for the uprising by the work of the Bolsheviks, carried out fighting orders with precision and fought side by side with the Red Guard. The navy did not lag behind the army. Kronstadt was a stronghold of the Bolshevik Party, and had long since refused to recognise the authority of the Provisional Government. The cruiser *Aurora* trained its guns on the Winter Palace, and on October 25 their thunder ushered in a new era, the era of the Great Socialist Revolution.

On October 25 (November 7) the Bolsheviks issued a manifesto "To the Citizens of Russia" announcing that the bourgeois Provisional Government had been deposed and that state power had passed into the hands of the Soviets.

The Provisional Government had taken refuge in the Winter Palace under the protection of cadets and shock battalions. On the night of October 25 the revolutionary workers, soldiers and sailors took the Winter Palace by storm and arrested the Provisional Government.

The armed uprising in Petrograd had won.

The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets opened in the Smolny at 10:45 p.m. on October 25 (November 7), 1917, when the uprising in Petrograd was already in the full flush of victory and the power in the capital had actually passed into the hands of the Petrograd Soviet.

The Bolsheviks secured an overwhelming majority at the congress. The Mensheviks, Bundists and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, seeing that their day was done, left the congress, announcing that they refused to take any part in its labours. In a

statement which was read at the Congress of Soviets they referred to the October Revolution as a "military plot." The congress condemned the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and, far from regretting their departure, welcomed it, for, it declared, thanks to the withdrawal of the traitors the congress had become a real revolutionary congress of workers' and soldiers' deputies.

The congress proclaimed that all power had passed to the Soviets:

"Backed by the will of the vast majority of the workers, soldiers and peasants, backed by the victorious uprising of the workers and the garrison which had taken place in Petrograd, the Congress takes the power into its own hands"— the proclamation of the Second Congress of Soviets read.

On the night of October 26 (November 8), 1917, the Second Congress of Soviets adopted the *Decree on Peace*. The congress called upon the belligerent countries to conclude an immediate armistice for a period of not less than three months to permit negotiations for peace. While addressing itself to the governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries, the congress at the same time appealed to "the class-conscious workers of the three most advanced nations of mankind and the largest states participating in the present war, namely, Great Britain, France and Germany." It called upon these workers to help "to bring to a successful conclusion the cause of peace, and at the same time the cause of the emancipation of the toiling and exploited masses of the population from all forms of slavery and all forms of exploitation."

That same night the Second Congress of Soviets adopted the *Decree on Land*, which proclaimed that "landlord ownership of land is abolished forthwith without compensation." The basis adopted for this agrarian law was a Mandate (*Nakaz*) of the peasantry, compiled from 242 mandates of peasants of various localities. In accordance with this Mandate private ownership of land was to be abolished forever and replaced by public, or state ownership of the land. The lands of the landlords, of the tsar's family and of the monasteries were to be turned over to all the toilers for their free use.

By this decree the peasantry received from the October Socialist Revolution over 150,000,000 dessiatins (over 400,000,000 acres) of land that had formerly belonged to the landlords, the bourgeoisie, the tsar's family, the monasteries and the churches.

Moreover, the peasants were released from paying rent to the landlords, which had amounted to about 500,000,000 gold rubles annually.

All mineral resources (oil, coal, ores, etc.), forests and waters became the property of the people.

Lastly, the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets formed the first Soviet Government — the Council of People's Commissars — which consisted entirely of Bolsheviks. Lenin was elected Chairman of the first Council of People's Commissars.

This ended the labours of the historic Second Congress of Soviets.

The congress delegates dispersed to spread the news of the victory of the Soviets in Petrograd and to ensure the extension of the power of the Soviets to the whole country.

Not everywhere did power pass to the Soviets at once. While in Petrograd the Soviet Government was already in existence, in Moscow fierce and stubborn fighting continued in the streets several days longer. In order to prevent the power from passing into the hands of the Moscow Soviet, the counter-revolutionary Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties, together with Whiteguards and cadets, started an armed fight against the workers and soldiers. It took several days to rout the rebels and to establish the power of the Soviets in Moscow.

In Petrograd itself, and in several of its districts, counter-revolutionary attempts to overthrow the Soviet power were made in the very first days of the victory of the revolution. On November 10, 1917, Kerensky, who during the uprising had fled from Petrograd to the Northern Front, mustered several Cossack units and dispatched them against Petrograd under the command of General Krasnov. On November 11, 1917, a counter-revolutionary organization calling itself the "Committee for the Salvation of the Fatherland and the Revolution," headed by Socialist-Revolutionaries, raised a mutiny of cadets in Petrograd. But the mutiny was suppressed by sailors and Red Guards without much difficulty by the evening of the same day, and on November 13 General Krasnov was routed near the Pulkovo Hills. Lenin personally directed the suppression of the anti-Soviet mutiny, just as he had personally directed the October uprising. His inflexible firmness and calm confidence of victory inspired and welded the masses. The enemy was smashed. Krasnov was taken prisoner and

pledged his "word of honour" to terminate the struggle against the Soviet power. And on his "word of honour" he was released. But, as it later transpired, the general violated his word of honour. As to Kerensky, disguised as a woman, he managed to "disappear in an unknown direction."

In Moghilev, at the General Headquarters of the Army, General Dukhonin, the Commander-in-Chief, also attempted a mutiny. When the Soviet Government instructed him to start immediate negotiations for an armistice with the German Command, he refused to obey. Thereupon Dukhonin was dismissed by order of the Soviet Government. The counter-revolutionary General Headquarters was broken up and Dukhonin himself was killed by the soldiers, who had risen against him.

Certain notorious opportunists within the Party — Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov, Shlyapnikov and others — also made a sally against the Soviet power. They demanded the formation of an "all-Socialist government" to include Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who had just been overthrown by the October Revolution. On November 15, 1917, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party adopted a resolution rejecting agreement with these counter-revolutionary parties, and proclaiming Kamenev and Zinoviev strikebreakers of the revolution. On November 17, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov and Milyutin, disagreeing with the policy of the Party, announced their resignation from the Central Committee. That same day, November 17, Nogin, in his own name and in the names of Rykov, V. Milyutin, Teodorovich, A. Shlyapnikov, D. Ryazanov, Yurenev and Larin, members of the Council of People's Commissars, announced their disagreement with the policy of the Central Committee of the Party and their resignation from the Council of People's Commissars. The desertion of this handful of cowards caused jubilation among the enemies of the October Revolution. The bourgeoisie and its henchmen proclaimed with malicious glee the collapse of Bolshevism and presaged the early end of the Bolshevik Party. But not for a moment was the Party shaken by this handful of deserters. The Central Committee of the Party contemptuously branded them as deserters from the revolution and accomplices of the bourgeoisie, and proceeded with its work.

As to the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries, they, desirous of

retaining their influence over the peasant masses, who definitely sympathized with the Bolsheviks, decided not to quarrel with the latter and for the time being to maintain a united front with them. The Congress of Peasant Soviets which took place in November 1917 recognised all the gains of the October Socialist Revolution and endorsed the decrees of the Soviet Government. An agreement was concluded with the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries and several of their number were given posts on the Council of People's Commissars (Kolegayev, Spiridonova, Proshyan and Steinberg). However, this agreement lasted only until the signing of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk and the formation of the Committees of the Poor Peasants, when a deep cleavage took place among the peasantry and when the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries, coming more and more to reflect the interests of the kulaks, started a revolt against the Bolsheviks and were routed by the Soviet Government.

In the interval from October 1917 to February 1918 the Soviet revolution spread throughout the vast territory of the country at such a rapid rate that Lenin referred to it as a "triumphal march" of Soviet power.

The Great October Socialist Revolution had won.

There were several reasons for this comparatively easy victory of the Socialist revolution in Russia. The following chief reasons should be noted:

1) The October Revolution was confronted by an enemy so comparatively weak, so badly organised and so politically inexperienced as the Russian bourgeoisie. Economically still weak, and completely dependent on government contracts, the Russian bourgeoisie lacked sufficient political self-reliance and initiative to find a way out of the situation. It had neither the experience of the French bourgeoisie, for example, in political combination and political chicanery on a broad scale nor the schooling of the British bourgeoisie in broadly conceived crafty compromise. It had but recently sought to reach an understanding with the tsar; yet now that the tsar had been overthrown by the February Revolution, and the bourgeoisie itself had come to power, it was unable to think of anything better than to continue the policy of the detested tsar in all its essentials. Like the tsar, it stood for "war to a victorious finish," although the war was beyond the country's strength and had reduced the people and the army to a

state of utter exhaustion. Like the tsar, it stood for the preservation in the main of big landed property, although the peasantry was perishing from lack of land and the weight of the landlord's yoke. As to its labour policy the Russian bourgeoisie outstripped even the tsar in its hatred of the working class, for it not only strove to preserve and strengthen the yoke of the factory owners, but to render it intolerable by wholesale lockouts.

It is not surprising that the people saw no essential difference between the policy of the tsar and the policy of the bourgeoisie, and that they transferred their hatred of the tsar to the Provisional Government of the bourgeoisie.

As long as the compromising Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties possessed a certain amount of influence among the people, the bourgeoisie could use them as a screen and preserve its power. But after the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries had exposed themselves as agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie, thus forfeiting their influence among the people, the bourgeoisie and its Provisional Government were left without a support.

2) The October Revolution was headed by so revolutionary a class as the working class of Russia, a class which had been steeled in battle, which had in a short space passed through two revolutions, and which by the eve of the third revolution had won recognition as the leader of the people in the struggle for peace, land, liberty and Socialism. If the revolution had not had a leader like the working class of Russia, a leader that had earned the confidence of the people, there would have been no alliance between the workers and peasants, and without such an alliance the victory of the October Revolution would have been impossible.

3) The working class of Russia had so effective an ally in the revolution as the poor peasantry, which comprised the overwhelming majority of the peasant population. The experience of eight months of revolution — which may unhesitatingly be compared to the experience of several decades of "normal" development — had not been in vain as far as the mass of the labouring peasants were concerned. During this period they had had the opportunity to test all the parties of Russia in practice and convince themselves that neither the Constitutional-Democrats, nor the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks would seriously quarrel with the landlords or sacrifice themselves for the

interests of the peasants; that there was only one party in Russia — the Bolshevik Party — which was in no way connected with the landlords and which was prepared to crush them in order to satisfy the needs of the peasants. This served as a solid basis for the alliance of the proletariat and the poor peasantry. The existence of this alliance between the working class and the poor peasantry determined the conduct of the middle peasants, who had long been vacillating and only on the eve of the October uprising wholeheartedly swung over towards the revolution and joined forces with the poor peasants.

It goes without saying that without this alliance the October Revolution could not have been victorious.

4) The working class was headed by a party so tried and tested in political battles as the Bolshevik Party. Only a party like the Bolshevik Party, courageous enough to lead the people in decisive attack, and cautious enough to keep clear of all the submerged rocks in its path to the goal — only such a party could so skillfully merge into one common revolutionary torrent such diverse revolutionary movements as the general democratic movement for peace, the peasant democratic movement for the seizure of the landed estates, the movement of the oppressed nationalities for national liberation and national equality, and the Socialist movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Undoubtedly, the merging of these diverse revolutionary streams into one common powerful revolutionary torrent decided the fate of capitalism in Russia.

5) The October Revolution began at a time when the imperialist war was still at its height, when the principal bourgeois states were split into two hostile camps, and when, absorbed in mutual war and undermining each other's strength, they were unable to intervene effectively in "Russian affairs" and actively to oppose the October Revolution.

This undoubtedly did much to facilitate the victory of the October Socialist Revolution.



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