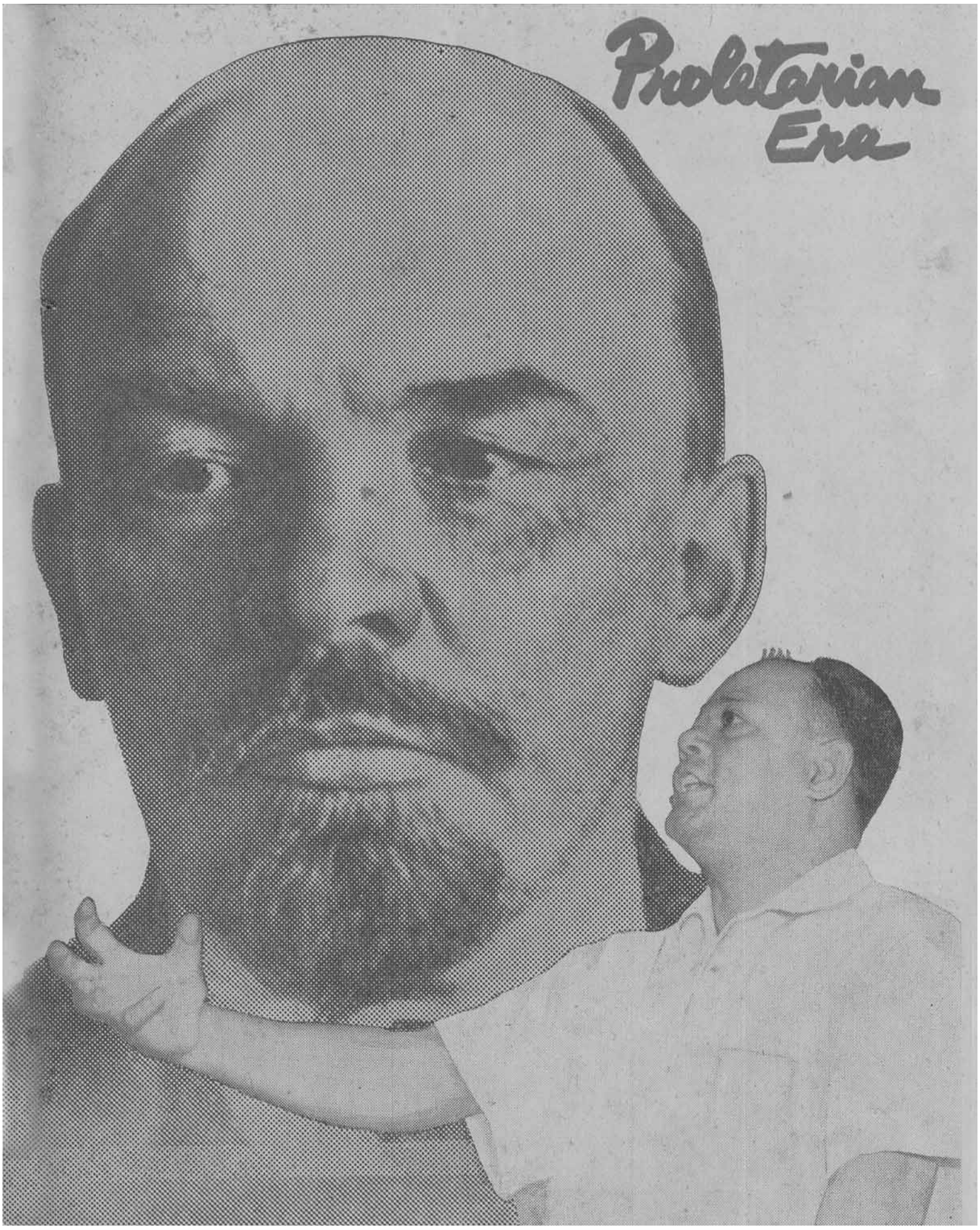
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Proletarian Era

Introducing This Issue

The World Communist Movement is now in the throes of serious ideological confusion and disarray. Every genuine communist cannot but be pained at this sorry pass and the impasse in the world proletarian movement particularly at a time when the great victories of the heroic people of Indo-China have put the camp of imperialism-capitalism to a tight corner and when in this third phase of intense general crisis of capitalism the entire bourgeois world—including the relatively less developed as also the most advanced capitalist countries—has been passing through ever-mounting crisis of the very productive system, one after another.

Instead of taking rapid stride towards achieving the sublime goal of world proletarian revolution by liberation of mankind from all sorts of exploitation of man by man and more particularly from the tentacles of imperialism-capitalism, the world communist camp has suffered division and disunity primarily due to the attack of revisionism-reformism that has come from within the camp, headed by the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Party and this poses as the main danger before the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat, today.

But the present impasse in the World Communist Movement has not come about overnight. Trekking a long course it has come to its present state. The seeds of the present crisis lay embedded in the past, within the very process of international communist movement.

Under the great leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an outstanding Marxist thinker and philosopher of the age, the founder General Secretary, and most beloved leader and teacher of our Party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, ever since 1948, has been consistently drawing, the most urgent and serious attention of the leaderships of different communist parties, the communist circle in our country and more particularly the international communist

leadership to the serious defects and short-comings persisting in the communist movement, in the post-Lenin period, with potential disastrous consequences. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, through his brilliant analyses and expositions that bear the touch of a great Marxist genius, has laid bare that mechanisation in the process of thinking and process of organisation, unbelievable lowering of ideological-cultural standard, persistence of bourgeois humanist-nationalist thinking, moral and ethics, and such other serious confusions and short-comings in the realm of ideology as also mechanical conception about collective leadership, confusion about the appropriate role of the leading party and in the matter of evolving proper relationship with it by other brother parties etc. have been instrumental in creating a veritable mess in the international communist movement and a breeding ground for revisionism-reformism.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, teacher and guide, and an outstanding Marxist thinker of the era, has fought relentlessly against these dangers, till the last breath of his life, guarding and defending the revolutionary kernel of Marxism-Leninism in the post-Lenin period in order to save the world proletarian revolutionary movement from catastrophe. The great Marxist genius as he was, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has played a historic role and has done a historic service to the great cause of the world proletariat. Without a thorough and clear grasping of all these brilliant contributions that Comrade Shibdas Ghose has made in the post-Lenin period of the World Communist Movement, neither the present problems that beset it can be properly understood nor the revolutionary kernel of Marxism-Leninism be restored to its pristine glory.

We, therefore, choose the fitting occasion of 59th Anniversary of epoch-making Great October Revolution for study and restudy of the Great contributions that our beloved leader and teacher and an outstanding Marxist thinker and philosopher of the age, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has made to the cause of world proletarian movement by rendering into English four of his discussions on international issues of great importance from Bengali.

These four important discussions were originally published in the Bengali organ of the Party—'Ganadabi'.

The First Article: **Self-Criticism of the Communist Camp** appeared first in Ganadabi, the Bengali organ of our party in its Vol. I, No. 4, 15th September, 1948 issue. It was on the occasion when Tito was expelled from Cominform under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. Comrade Ghosh pin-pointed the root cause of Tito's deviation and pointed out that unless this root cause was removed from the communist movement Tito's incident might not be the last one. He also drew the urgent and serious attention of the communist movement to the phenomenon of mechanisation that was working both in its process of thinking and method of organisation.

The Second Article : **On the Report of 20th Congress of CPSU** is a historic document of great importance. Immediately after Khruschev placed his report at the 20th Party Congress of CPSU Comrade Shibdas Ghosh delivered a speech in course of conducting a school of politics of the party held between 18th and 20th May 1956. In this speech Comrade Ghosh made a thorough and scientific analysis of the 20th Congress Report and pointed out its serious defects and short-comings. And this he did at a time when all the communist parties of the world welcomed this Report as it would "illumine the path". Comrade Ghosh, however, observed soon after that 'it would open the flood-gate of revisionism'. How later events proved his observations to be correct is known to all. This speech came out in "Ganadabi" in synopsis on 24th July, 1956, Vol. 9, Ist Special Number.

The Third Article : **On Recent Incidents in Hungary** was on the occasion when Soviet Red Army, at the invitation of the people and their lawful Government of Hungary intervened to smash the counter-revolutionary coup there. This article came out, first, in the November Revolution Special Issue as editorial comment of 'Ganadabi' on 15th November, 1956.

The Fourth Article : **Imre Nagy** was written after observing serious ideological confusions in the communist circles of different countries including ours over the question of execution of Imre Nagy who led the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary to subvert the socialist state. It came out first in 'Ganadabi' on 12th July, 1958, in its Vol. No. 10, 14th issue.

We hope that all these four articles although written on some past incidents will be of immense value to the genuine communists because they still provide the correct guideline to the proper understanding of the serious defects and short-comings both in ideological and organisational fields of the World Communist Movement. They also provide the correct understanding which can free the present day international communist movement from the serious confusion that still prevails about the Marxist concept of ***dictatorship of the proletariat, different forms of achieving socialism in different countries*** as also about what should be the ***relation between the fraternal communist parties.*** Thus it is clear that the problems that have cropped up in the present phase of the post-Lenin period of the international communist movement can only be resolved on the basis of the understanding of Marxism-Leninism provided by the great Marxist Genius, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh.

Despite all precautions some errors and inaccuracies of expression might have taken place in translation for which the Editorial Board, Proletarian Era will remain entirely responsible.

1. SELF-CRITICISM OF THE COMMUNIST CAMP

The release of unprecedented mass struggles and progressive democratic movements throughout the world for lasting peace, democracy and socialism under the leadership of the USSR and the People's Democratic countries of Europe against world imperialism and all sorts of reaction in each and every country have no doubt, struck terror into the capitalist-imperialist camp in the post-war period. But paradoxically enough, there is still lack of firm solidarity on the basis of ideology and uniformity of thinking in the united revolutionary front of the people fighting for the above objective. The danger which is fraught in it cannot be averted by ignoring and glossing over it or by remaining blind to it. Though all the communists accept this tautologically, yet in practice, the attitude towards different fraternal socialist countries as recently displayed by the leadership of the world communist camp have reflected bossism and in some cases, have become meaninglessly harsh on the plea of enforcing iron discipline. From all this it appears that instead of overcoming the present crisis of the world communist camp, the approach and attitude of the present leadership would presumably push the present situation to a further deeper crisis in near future.

While acknowledging with just pride and deference the very many achievements and successes and glorious sacrifices of the world communist movement, we have not failed even for a moment, to point out the serious short-comings in it. All the genuine communists who do not want to be swayed away by self-deception in the name of self-criticism and want to adopt a revolutionary programme of action to get rid of the crisis with the help of scientific process of analysis instead of being influenced by any sort of blind emotion or bias, cannot gloss over these serious short-comings and will have to scientifically probe deep into it.

These serious short-comings and defects are largely due to the fact that the present leadership of the world communist camp is, to a very large extent, influenced by mechanical process of thinking. We have been noticing this for a long time with much agony and anxiety. In our opinion, it is precisely because of this that there has been a continuous violation of the Marxist dialectical principle of mutually dependent and beneficial relationship, based on equality and mutual respect between the fraternal communist parties of different countries that has virtually led to the negation of the Marxian science accepted on the test of the historical experiences regarding the dialectical process of the emergence and formation of

the revolutionary communist leadership through interaction of ideas.

Whereas, it is accepted in the Leninist principle that the general international line of revolution will evolve through the interaction of ideas between the communist parties of different countries developed on the basis of concrete social, political and economic conditions of the different countries in the perspective of the then international political situation, we on the contrary, have been noticing for a long time that instead of following this dialectical process for evolving the general international line of revolution, a practice and convention of accepting without critical examination the analysis of the international situation by just one or two leading communist parties as the general international line of revolution has developed.

This has virtually led to the negation of conflict of ideas in the matter of developing the concept of 'international leadership'. The result was obviously disastrous on the communist parties of different countries. That is to say, where the leadership of the communist parties should have been developed along the path of dialectical development through struggle and interaction of ideas between all the members of the party, between the leaders and the rank and file and through deriving knowledge from different kinds of experiences of the world communist movement—most of the parties have chosen the easy way of mechanical centralisation which has led to the formation of bureaucratic leadership at the top.

This phenomenon clearly indicates the serious short-comings in the ideological and political field of activities in the world communist movement. The proof of it can be found from the very admission by the different communist parties (reference may be made to the past admission of mistakes by the communist parties of France, Italy, India etc., in a meeting of the Cominform in the matter of applying the well known 'People's War Theory' on concrete political situations obtaining in those countries), that in conducting day to day struggles they have been guided by wrong approach and non-proletarian class outlook, inspite of making big strides in the trade union movements in the post-world war period.

It is for this very set-back in the ideological sphere of activities that even after arriving at a crucial and important stage of revolutionary struggle when the parties which are to prepare themselves for a fight to finish, have had to adopt afresh a programme to start ideological struggle inside the parties, in this decisive hour too.

The question naturally arises, what is this struggle for and against whom inside the party is this struggle directed ? Does the decision to launch the struggle indicate in any way the recognition of the necessity of and correct understanding about developing dialectical process of thinking within the party ? In our view, herein lies the crux of the question of the present day ideological struggle. So long, the communists of different countries, mostly stressed on one-sided routine work of organisation without showing any regard to co-ordinating it with questions of ideology. On the other hand, these leaders have only exhorted the party workers about their duty to the party, the discipline (which is nothing but mechanical) and the need to expand anyhow the party organisation.

But the day of reckoning has now come. Now it is being felt more and more that without screening and purges in the parties it would be impossible for them to provide proper leadership to conduct future movement. For, the present leadership of the communist movement has at long last come to realize that the vast organisations that have grown through limitless sufferings

and sacrifices made by the workers more or less blindly, without a clear understanding of the objective are, to a large extent, devoid of any real foundation, as a result of which, opponent forces (liberal democrats and social democrats who were partners in Democratic Front) are finding it possible to usurp the entire fruit of it. This explains why attempts are being made afresh to undertake ideological struggles in order to translate the knowledge of science of Marxism into collective knowledge of the parties. But, here too, the manner in which criticism and self-criticism is being conducted, the way in which a policy of sheer one-sided analysis and mechanical approach to problem is being followed, denying any opportunity to the teachings, past as well as present, of the communist movement to come into conflict and contradiction with opposing ideas and view-points or even deliberately glossing over it altogether, and unquestioning blind acceptance of the same is being lauded as the sign of sense of discipline and dynamic mind, makes us apprehensive as to whether it will ultimately be possible for the present Cominform leadership to come out of this impasse.

It must be made clear in this connection that while we have no difference, whatsoever, with regard to fundamental objective and present political programme of the International Communist Movement, we are of firm opinion that the attitude that the leaders can commit no mistake in conducting ideological struggle and handling organisational matters, or that in case they commit mistakes, any attempt to point them out in the spirit of self-criticism tends to weaken the communist movement as such, is sheer blindness and influenced by bourgeois escapism which is alien to Marxism.

It has been proved that despite its long association with the communist camp and carrying with it the tradition of many historic revolutionary battles to its credit the Communist Party of Yugoslavia under the leadership of Marshal Tito has failed to grasp properly the fundamental tenets of Marxism. So, the record of sufferings and sacrifices in the past alone is no guarantee of correctness in conducting communist movements at present; the approach, the stand-point and the programme have got to be judged on the anvil of experimented truth and fundamental teachings of Marxism, constantly, and as far as possible, on every practical issue. This point has found clear expression in the following words of Comrade Stalin: "Without practice theory is sterile and without theory practice is blind". On the one hand, although the call of the present Cominform leadership to consolidate organisational solidarity has evoked quite wide response within the parties, side by side, signs of newer cracks and rifts in the firm solidarity forged through many heroic struggles, are coming to light.

Mention may be made in this connection of the differences between Togliatti and the Left-Wing communist workers inside the Communist Party of Italy, the removal of Gomulka from the post of Secretary of the Polish Worker's Party because of his identity of view-point with Tito, the charge of the Communist Party of Macedonia against Bulgaria that the latter is not following the teachings of Lenin and Stalin in the matter of the right of nations to self-determination. Besides, it cannot be denied that serious questions have already cropped up as to the political behaviour of those parties in India known as communists, though they, at least verbally, owe their allegiance to international communist leadership.

Over and above the causes, just mentioned, that are at the root of the serious confusion prevailing in the International Communist Movement today it is necessary to take note of another aspect. That is, what should be the relation between the Soviet foreign policy directed from the state plane and the task of the CPSU to accelerate the International Proletarian Revolution ? Are they mutually conducive to

each other or one is divorced from the other ?

On this question there exists a good deal of confusion amongst the communists. Some hold that the Soviet foreign policy directed from the state plane and the Soviet policy of accelerating the international revolutionary proletarian movement are distinctly separate having no relation between the two while there are others who hold that the two are not only not separate but are one and the same.

The first is influenced by Trotskyism and the second is a well-known theory in the communist circle. But in fact, as the foreign policy of the Soviet Union directed from the state plane and the task of the CPSU to accelerate the international proletarian revolution are not divorced from each other, so also it will be equally wrong to conceive these two as one and the same because that will create serious hurdle for having a correct appraisal of the revolutionary significance of the role and policy adopted by the Soviet Union. They are mutually conducive to each other, they are inter-dependent—one influencing the other. In formulating and applying the Soviet foreign policy, the leaders of the CPSU are to keep an eye, mainly on two points. First, they are to examine and explore the possibility as to how the international proletarian revolutionary movement can be further helped and strengthened everywhere, whether indirectly and or if possible, in some cases, directly. Secondly, to protect the Soviet Socialist State from the intrigue, interference and onslaughts by the world imperialism-capitalism—the forces of international reaction and keep uninterrupted the march of socialism. These are the two pillars on which the Soviet foreign policy rests. Hence, it will be dangerous to conclude that any political diplomatic move directed from the state plane, from time to time, prompted by the necessity of the Soviet foreign policy is the policy of the international proletarian revolution. But this type of misconceptions and mistaken views are creating newer and newer confusions in the communist camp today.

We would like to stress upon once again that it is not possible to correctly understand the real implication of the international revolutionary policy of the Soviet Union by a commonplace explanation of its foreign policy, judging it simply in its face-value. Without a proper realisation of the tactical approach of the communists—handed down to us in the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, derived through concrete experiences of struggles and embodied in the lessons of the October Revolution, it is impossible in the present day complex political situation to grasp it correctly.

As the Trotskyites have distorted the implication of the Soviet foreign policy and the important role of the Soviet Union in accelerating the international proletarian revolutionary movement so also the different communist parties affiliated to the Third International of the past and the Cominform of the present have committed grave errors by taking a commonplace and simplified view of the Soviet foreign policy which is basically consistent with Leninism. And for this, they failed to realise the objective contradiction that exists between the Soviet foreign policy and the task of revolution in different countries. These parties are confusing the questions of Soviet foreign policy with the question of revolution in different countries and, as a result, in the face of newer and newer complexities and problems they are continuously committing one mistake after another.

We would appeal to all communists of the world and especially to those in India who are known as communists to take this criticism of ours as a piece of self-criticism and not just as a criticism by the opponents. What we are trying to particularly pin-point before the communists is that sheer blind faith in the Soviet or Cominform leadership will only weaken it. We have at our disposal the store-house

of the experiences of the world proletarian revolutionary movement, we possess the Marxian science of dialectics—these provide us with the means by which we must test the leadership—be it the Soviet or Cominform. It must not be forgotten for a single moment that the individual initiative of each and every communist party forms the rock-bottom foundation of dynamism and effectivity of international communist organisations. The practice of lending continuous blind support to the leadership, with eyes shut, makes it impossible to have an objective appraisal of world situation and adopt a correct programme. The history of the disruptors like Tito and others proves to the hilt our analysis that the process of thinking and the process of movement in International Communist Movement have not been free from error. Any attempt to cover up this truth is nothing short of self-deception and the established leaders of the International Communist Movement must have to bear, largely, the responsibility for the present confusion and crisis. So, it is incumbent on every communist worker to judge dispassionately and to be conscious of the past history, present trend and tendencies and future course of communist movement. Disruption in the communist movement has not died out with the burial of Trotskyism ; if sufficient vigil is not constantly exercised, newer rifts in the Communist Camp, cannot, in the context of present extremely complex political situation, be ruled out.

Not only this ; if this non-Marxist mechanical outlook prevailing at present in the matter of ideological questions is not rightly resolved in time, it may, no wonder, in the long run bring about a new phenomenon in the world history when people will witness that even after the establishment of socialist systems in different countries the communists, instead of further cementing the unity between them and making rapid strides for the establishment of world communist society, are engaged in open confrontation or even in war.

We as Marxists should always keep this point uppermost in our mind that we should not indulge in anything that might in any way injure the interest of World Socialist Camp under the leadership of the Soviet Union, in our zeal to strengthen it.

2. ON THE REPORT OF 20th CONGRESS OF CPSU

The 20th Congress of the CPSU has created a great commotion not only in the bourgeois world but even amongst ourselves, the communists. But whatever might have been the commotion, the scientific approach and due importance with which the Report should have been analysed were found missing. By this, we mean to say that from no quarter the discussion was made in a dispassionate way. None of them, who have either supported or opposed it, have done so in a dispassionate way. It is impossible to know the truth without being free from blind emotion or bias. It should be analysed calmly and in a dispassionate way on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and concrete facts. Not to speak of the Communist Party of India, not a single communist party of the whole world, has so far approached the problem with this angularity and outlook—we do not know whether anybody will do it in future. The Central Committee of our Party, after a careful analysis and thorough consideration of the Report of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, has come to certain conclusions. Here, I shall confine my discussion exclusively on the Report of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and shall not enter into the observations made by different communist parties on it. Even while discussing our observations, the comrades should remain dispassionate.

First of all, let us see what were the topics of discussion in the 20th Congress of the CPSU. They are the following :

(1) Whether the policy of Peaceful Co-existence is consistent with Marxism-Leninism.

(2) Whether the Law of Inevitability of War is valid or not.

(3) Different forms of transition to socialism—the possibility of peaceful transformation of society from capitalism to socialism.

(4) Present situation in the capitalist world.

(5) On certain questions raised by Mikoyan and others on "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR" by Stalin.

(6) Cult of Individual.

Besides, some other points relating to the Soviet economy were also discussed which we do not consider necessary to deal here.

Before entering into the main discussion, I would like to discuss certain points. From the very inception of our Party, we have been repeatedly stressing that authoritarianism is incompatible with Marxism. We have, all along, made severe criticisms against authoritarianism. It is true, Marxism does not negate the conception of authority but the very sense of authority that breeds authoritarianism has nothing to do with Marxism, rather it is completely alien to Marxism. Long before, we warned against the mechanical process of thinking and mechanical process of organisation prevailing in the international communist movement. But we never concluded that this leadership had ceased to be Marxist. Serious lapses here and there, notwithstanding, there was no deviation of fundamental nature. This is equally valid today. [Note—the leadership of the CPSU turned out and out revisionist later on] What harm befalls if mechanisation develops in the thought process of any organisation ? What is particularly wrong with mechanisation of thought ? Blind

and mechanical support may cause even a big leader to commit mistake. To follow a leader mechanically means that the Party is right when the leader is right but it commits mistakes when the leader commits a mistake. It has already been discussed [Note—refers to the discussion on Marxism and Dialectical Materialism made earlier in the School of Politics] and shown that development of any phenomenon can only be possible through interaction of ideas and struggle. So, if there is no real struggle or interaction between the thinking and ideas of the leader and those of the rank and file members then there can be no actual development of thinking of either the leader or of the rank and file. Absence of this struggle and interaction of thoughts gives birth to bureaucracy. Even if not intended, mechanisation of thought is bound to develop in practice if such struggle is avoided inside the party. Mechanical centralism will inevitably lead to the formation of bureaucracy at the top—as we know that the law of mechanics leads to the conception of prime mover.

In the case of a party also, it cannot acquire comprehensive knowledge if it is guided by formal logic. Mechanical and formal way of analysing things can, at best, lead one to partial truth. A party which is serious to make correct analysis and objective appraisal of any situation must give up the easy, simplified and one-sided method of analysis based on formal logic and cannot but adopt in its place the dialectical methodology. If the party follows, though not professedly but objectively, the process of mechanical centralism both in the organisational and ideological spheres of movement, then the ideological centralism is sure to give birth to authoritarianism on the one hand while on the other organisational centralism will lead to the formation of a bureaucratic leadership at the top. In the first case, the danger of fanatic bent of mind and blind allegiance to leader or leadership is sure to develop. In such a situation, the object of all discussions inside the party, i. e. inner-party discussion is virtually reduced to accepting whatever comes from the leader as truth without any question and to avoid the struggle to get at truth.

As a result, the actual development of the thinking faculty inside the party is seriously impeded. When we speak of democratic centralism we mean both the organisational and the ideological centralism and certainly do not mean observance of certain democratic norms only in the internal organisational affairs of the party. For long, we have been pointing out that although the ideological and the organisational activities of the international communist leadership are basically consistent with Marxism-Leninism, but they are not free from serious defects and short-comings. The symptoms of mechanisation were discernible for a long time in the process of thinking and in the process of organisation of the international communist movement. Our old literatures will bear it out that long before, **we gave the caution that unless the world communist movement and organisation could be freed from mechanisation then the Tito incident might not be the last one. History has testified that our apprehension was not unfounded.** But it will be wrong if we highlight only the shortcomings in the international communist movement. This is not its sole feature. On the whole, it is true, they have provided correct leadership to the international communist movement, despite these shortcomings. Some communist friends in our country then doubted whether we were at all communist as we dared to point out these errors and short-comings of the international communist leadership. It goes without saying that raising such doubt had no real bearing. For, we cannot forget for a moment that just as we should give due weight to the experiences of the international leadership so also we can ill-afford to undermine our own. Progress is absolutely impossible if the relation between the leaders and rank and file is not reciprocal. It is not sufficient only to have the right to judge the leadership but what is more important is to apply it in practice. For a Marxist party it is vitally important to guard against possible mistakes and to keep it on the right track. Here too, it must be clear that while judging or criticising the acts of leadership we must be free from blind emotion and be dispassionate. We must be free from the influence of all variants of bourgeois philosophy, more particularly from vulgar individualism when we judge the leadership. Not only the rank and file members should

remain conscious and v i g i l ant whether the dialectical relationship between the leadership and the rank and file is prevailing inside the party, but the leadership, in its turn has also the bounden duty to keep this relationship alive within the party for its own continuous development and progress. Thus, the sense of responsibility and the nature of relationship between the leadership and the rank and file are reciprocal. But very often it is found that this teaching of Marxism is forgotten. It is our queer experience that some workers of the Communist Party of India often argue like this: "Oh, you are criticising the Cominform ? So, you don't abide by it ? Then how can you remain any more a Communist ?" Such a type of logic has nothing to do with dialectics and is a typical product of formal logic. Such an attitude, finds no difficulty to make a leader, this moment, a demi-God and in the very next moment, to easily denegrate him to the ground. Both these acts, though contradictory to each other, are the products of the same formalistic approach. This defect of formalism in the international communist movement was pointed out by us long ago, particularly regarding the role of leadership of the party and the correct approach to be taken about it. Our comrades, particularly the old comrades, know it very well that long before, we pointed out the mistaken analysis by CPSU on the question of Germany and China. But at that time, no other party within the international communist camp came to point out these mistakes—at least we are not aware of it. Judged from this context, the Central Committee of our Party were not taken aback at the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

So, when the slogan against the cult of individual has been raised at the 20th Congress we have particular reason to be glad and we hail this move. But while welcoming this move we are constrained to say at the same-time that we are unable to appreciate the very method that has been adopted to eradicate the phenomenon of the cult of individual. In the name of fighting the cult of individual, we are afraid, they are, in reality, directing their fight against an individual and not the cult itself. Otherwise, when so much emphasis has been laid on the fight against the cult of individual, how is it that nothing has been said about the root cause of development of the cult of individual in the report itself ? In the report Comrade Stalin is said to have become proud, ambitious, self-complacent, egoistic etc. in later part of his life. But the most pertinent question as to how these defects and short-comings could develop in a leader of Comrade Stalin's stature and what were the factors and who were mainly responsible for all these, were not at all discussed. We must bear in mind that it is wrong to think that it is the individual who alone can indulge in personality cult. The activities of a body, or a committee even can give birth to this phenomenon of the cult of individual if instead of removing the b l i n d and mechanical allegiance of the workers and the people to it, it is indulged and encouraged by this committee or body. So, we must remember that by fighting out an simply individual we cannot fight out the cult of individual.

If a group of people work together that does not automatically mean that collective leadership has been established. Collective Leadership can be said to have been established only when there is dialectical method or for that matter interaction of ideas and struggles in the process of thinking of the party. It has been alleged that collective leadership ceased to operate in the latter part of Stalin's life, but in our opinion, this only reflects the operational aspect of the thing.

Karl Marx wrote the 'Capital'. It was in a sense the product of the thinking of an individual. Does it follow then that the 'Capital' was the product of Marx's thinking in a subjective way ? Or did it not reflect personification of social consciousness through an individual which in reality means collective leadership ? This is why, just as the thinking of a committee composed of several individuals can be under the impact of and may actually reflect individual trend of thinking, so also the collective knowledge of t h e members and workers of the party can get the best expression through an individual. Social thinking in the form of collective knowledge of all the members of the party when personified through an individual is also collective leadership. What should be looked after, is whether struggle or interaction of ideas operates inside the party.

The question may be pertinently raised that if through an individual collective thinking can be personified then what at all is the necessity of collective leadership? Well, otherwise there is no guarantee. And in order to guarantee that, collective functioning both in organisational and ideological activity is not only necessary but also imperative. An individual, whatever may be his stature as a revolutionary, may also commit mistake. Naturally if the practice of collective functioning is absent then the whole party following the mistake of the leader may, one day, even go to the extent of committing a fundamental deviation. So, the question of developing collective functioning and collective leadership within a revolutionary party of the proletariat is so very vital.

What do we understand by collective leadership of the party? Collective knowledge of all the members is the collective leadership of the party. And development of this collective knowledge is mainly determined by the level of consciousness of the members and workers of the party. So, collective knowledge can grow and develop only when on the basis of this higher level of consciousness there is conflict or interaction of ideas between the leaders and the workers in a party. So, democratic centralism does not come into being merely by the adoption of a model democratic constitution. The real foundation of democratic centralism is the high ideological-cultural standard of the comrades. Because otherwise what is sure to develop is blind allegiance either to an individual or likewise to a committee. So, just as blind following of a particular leader is the other name of the cult of individual, so also, blind following of the Central Committee and the mental make-up of blind allegiance to it is nothing but another form of expression of the same cult of individual. Taking into account all these points, we are of the firm opinion that these important aspects of the problem ought to have been discussed in the 20th Congress, which was not done. So declarations and pious wishes to fight the cult of individual notwithstanding, there seems to have been no break in the old tradition of mechanical process of thinking. The manner in which almost all the communist parties are accepting the decisions of the 20th Congress unquestioningly, proves our above apprehension as correct.

The present leaders of the CPSU are saying that up till 1934, Comrade Stalin did not show any deviation. From their own observations it is coming out that after the death of Lenin, Comrade Stalin conducted relentless ideological battles against all kinds of deviations in the communist movement. Naturally, it follows from their own observations that the method and style of work of Comrade Stalin, about which so many questions have been raised to-day, were absent in the party-life at least before 1934. Now the question arises, how and following which process, these deviations could appear in the last phase of Comrade Stalin. Unless we can detect the root causes that worked behind these alleged deviations we cannot avert the danger of its future recurrence. On the Tito incident, too, we gave this same caution. Khruschev, in his report, has said nothing about the root cause that might work behind the growth and development of cult of individual nor has he said anything as to how it can be fought out. Judged from this angle, their argument suffers from the defect of one-sidedness. Most of the arguments of Comrade Khruschev (later turned renegade) suffers from the very same defects. For example, he has said: "It is wrong to praise Stalin for the victory in the Second World War—it is the Red Army that really deserves it." Such type of argument is simply queer and preposterous! Because, to give due recognition to the leading role of Comrade Stalin does not negate, in any way, the role of the Red Army. Without the role and contribution of the people, the question of the leading role of the leader does not arise at all. Thus it is clear that Khruschev has deliberately attempted to undermine the role of Comrade Stalin. To fail to recognise the particular historic role of an individual means to give birth to ultra-democracy which in its turn will give a burial to the concept of concrete leadership inside the party.

This has got to be realised that objectively, there is difference between individual to individual. It is for this reason, we have observed earlier that their arguments suffers from one-sidedness.

Likewise, when they are up in arms against cult of individual another pertinent question is sure

to arise. Even if we assume that in Stalin developed the cult of individual, then Stalin cannot be absolved, no doubt, from his due share of responsibility—but the present leaders are no less responsible for this. Any leader, if he is extended constant blind support, then it is not unlikely that he may fall a victim to cult of individual. To-day they are bringing so many charges against Stalin. True, some slips of Comrade Stalin did not escape our attention. But to substantiate the charges they have now levelled against Comrade Stalin, necessary documents should have been placed, which they have not done. As if, all these problems concern the CPSU alone and none else—this seems to be their attitude. The CPSU is trying to monopolise the Stalin affair, although, in our opinion, any question relating to Stalin is not merely an affair of the Soviet Union but is a matter of concern of the communists and the toiling millions of the whole world. So, in our considered view, it was highly improper on their part to come unilaterally to a conclusion on such a vital issue like this, without showing any regard for the opinions of the communists of the world. Had they been serious in fighting cult of individual, they ought to have observed this code.

We should remember one more point in this connection. Any and every act of a communist should be guided by a sense of purposiveness. To act without any purpose is to reflect a non-communist character. The question of rectifying or fighting out an individual does not arise at all when he is no more—only his thoughts are there. So it appears that in the name of fighting cult of individual they are fighting a person who has departed. Otherwise, in our opinion, it would have been better if they would have confined themselves more on their own role and contribution towards the development of this cult of individual. We are of the considered view that if the root cause for the development of cult of individual is not thoroughly laid bare then cult of individual which is nothing but absolute authoritarianism may even be indulged in by the activities of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

From this criticism of ours, this should not be concluded that the present leadership has already deviated from the fundamental principles of Marxism Leninism. This would be wrong.*

Those comrades are definitely in the wrong who viewing the present lapses of the CPSU are asking whether it warrants the liquidation of the CPSU in the interest of developing a genuine Communist Party there. Such a trend of thinking is influenced by Trotskyism and alien to Marxism-Leninism.

First, as we have already shown, the present leadership has not yet made any fundamental deviation from the Marxist-Leninist principles. Secondly, we cannot negate the role of the Soviet people in protecting the CPSU from committing any fundamental deviation. More so, when, unlike our country where the role of the people is to a great extent subjective, it is an objective reality there, in the Soviet Union. However, before coming to the main point, we would like to say that the object of our criticism of the present leadership of the CPSU has no other purpose than to help them rectify their lapses and thereby strengthen it.

While discussing the Report of the 20th Congress of the CPSU it would be wrong to concentrate wholly on the defects or short-

* [This was the evaluation of our party based on the experiences available before the international communist movement about the character of CPSU, in 1956. And it was the Central Committee of our party under the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh which pointed out, for the first time, the fact that the leadership of the CPSU has degenerated into a completely revisionist one being unable to rectify its mistakes and get rid of this mechanical process of organisation. But it would be wrong to conclude that as because the leadership has turned out and out revisionist, the party has automatically degenerated into a non-working class party. Because the fundamental character of a working class party is not destroyed automatically and then and there with the usurpation of leadership by the revisionists].

comings of the Soviet leadership without giving cognition to their contribution. It will be equally wrong only to highlight their contributions, support anything or everything they say and not to point out their lapses and short-comings. Both these attitudes are equally bad. As because it is the 'Soviet Communist Party', it can commit no mistake—such an approach suffers from blind authoritarianism. From this angularity we believe that they would at least give a calm and serious consideration to what we say here. Let us now take up one by one the subjects discussed at the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

On Peaceful Co-existence

The approach of the CPSU leadership on the question of peaceful co-existence between the capitalist and the socialist states, though not wholly precise, is in general agreement with our explanation. We have explained it long ago that the policy of peaceful co-existence is not merely a diplomatic manoeuvre but is the reflection of the recognition of objective necessity and is consistent with the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The 20th Congress, it seems, has tried to explain this, more or less in the same manner.*

On the Law of Inevitability of War :

On this issue, the present leaders of the CPSU have just reiterated the analysis of Comrade Stalin without however mentioning his name for once. We are to take note of another aspect here. The whole issue has been formally divided into several compartments. In one, it has been shown that as because imperialism still continues in force and it is imperialism that generates war, so the "Law of inevitability of wars between the capitalist countries" enunciated by Lenin still holds good as before. In another part, where it has been shown that war is not fatalistically inevitable, so much one-sided emphasis has been laid on the significance of the changed international situation and particularly upon the increasing strength of the world peace movement that a wrong impression may gain ground that war can be banished once for all despite the existence of imperialism as a world system. This compartmentalised approach has already created some confusions. To cite an example, the Rumanian Communist Party has already observed that there is absolutely no possibility of war to-day. Judged from this viewpoint, Comrade Stalin's approach to this issue was far more comprehensive and a dialectical one.

On Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R".

In the Report of the 20th Congress Khruschev and more particularly Mikoyan have made certain criticisms against some of the theses contained in the above book of Stalin. Quoting from Lenin, Khruschev has shown in his report that the concept of complete stagnation or halt in production in the capitalist system even when it is in the midst of severe economic crisis is non-Marxian. Although Khruschev did not spell out whose concept of "complete stagnation" he was fighting against, but from the trend of discussion it is quite clear that he meant Stalin and none else.†

That this assumption of ours is

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* [Although we were generally in agreement with their explanation at the 20th Congress of the CPSU that the policy of peaceful co-existence is not just a diplomatic manoeuvre, but subsequent events have proved beyond doubt that the present leadership of CPSU has not only failed to grasp the revolutionary significance of this policy but by their miserable failure to apply it correctly, they have virtually reduced it to a policy of peaceful capitulation.]

† [This became all the more clear, later on, when the revisionist leadership of the CPSU under the leadership of Khruschev directed open attack against Comrade Stalin's formulations. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh gave a thorough exposure to the erroneous ideas and concepts of a group of Soviet Economists who undertook a veritable campaign against the economic formulations of Comrade Stalin. The said Soviet economists wrote a treatise entitled 'The Basic Economic Law', published in 1962, Issue No. 1 of the Veprosy Ekonomiki to which Comrade Ghosh's reply came under the title "A Few Economic Problems" originally published in the Socialist Unity, Vol. 3, New Series, September, 1962 and republished in the Proletarian Era, Vol. 8, No. 20, August 1, '75 and Vol. 9, No. 1, August 15, '75—Ed. Proletarian Era.]

not baseless is proved by the report of Comrade Mikoyan himself (later turned a renegade). While supporting the report of the Central Committee at the 20th Congress, Mikoyan engaged himself into criticisms of some of the theses of Stalin contained in the above mentioned booklet, which, in our opinion, were quite unnecessary and irrelevant. Mikoyan, unlike Khruschev, criticised Comrade Stalin directly as if he said that there will be "complete stagnation or halt in the development of production" in capitalist economies when capitalism is in the midst of severe crisis. Comrade Stalin discussed about stagnation or halt in the technological development in capitalist economies. But from this, in our opinion, this can by no means be construed that he meant a complete stagnation or halt. We are at a loss to understand how it was possible for leaders like Khruschev and Mikoyan to present such a distorted version of Comrade Stalin's proposition. Analysing the post-war condition of world capitalist economy, with which Khruschev is also in agreement, what Stalin pin-pointed was that the tendency towards stagnation in the capitalist economies had become all the more evident. To impute on Stalin something which he did not say is, in our consideration, a grave offence. What is more, to prove the contention of Stalin to be wrong, Mikoyan picked up some statistics from the reports of the Central Committee of the CPSU about the increase in production in capitalist economies even in the midst of crisis. Mikoyan, thus challenged the correctness of Comrade Stalin's contention by picking up only the last line of Stalin and linking that with the statistics of production increase. Mikoyan chose to quote the following :

"Since the volume of production in these countries will diminish" although the full sentence stands as follows :

"However, expansion of production in these countries will proceed on a narrower basis, since the volume of production in these countries will diminish."

Thus, it is clear that in view of ever-increasing crisis of world capitalism and the changed international situation and as a result of further contraction of world capitalist market, Stalin dealt with the possibility of diminishing volume of production in the capitalist countries and from this standpoint he made this exposition that "expansion of production on a narrower basis" would take place in all these countries. In this last sentence, Stalin only indicated what was going to come in future and not what is actually taking place to-day. Any effort to disprove Stalin's whole contention viewing the little advance in capitalist production at present betrays utter ignorance about Marxism-Leninism. Mikoyan has again quoted from one of the writings of Lenin during the Spring of 1916 to prove the analysis and explanation given by Stalin about a particular decision Lenin made in the same period, the spring of 1916, as wrong. Mikoyan probably preferred to forget that Stalin himself had already shown that in to-day's changed context this particular thesis of Lenin was no longer valid. So, Stalin's contention can be proved wrong not by what Lenin said ; what is necessary to prove it wrong is to examine it in the context of changed economic perspective of to-day. Another queer aspect cannot escape the attention of any Marxist if he goes through the entire proceedings seriously. Mikoyan was haunted so much with the spirit of fighting Stalin that in his bid to show Stalin's error, he even contradicted the main contention of Khruschev. Let us explain. In the background of post-world war economic situation marked by ever-deepening crisis of capitalist economy Stalin concluded that his thesis on the "relative stability of the capitalist market" as well as of Lenin that "Capitalism is growing far more rapidly than before" had lost their validity. Stalin came to this conclusion in the perspective of the general crisis of world capitalism and the growing instability of capitalist market.

So, what was true in the period of relative stability of world capitalist market has lost its validity in the changed context of acute instability in the world capitalist system, prevailing now. Khruschev, too, has discussed in clear terms, about the acute unstable condition in the world capitalist system to-day. And with this question of instability of crisis-ridden capitalist market the above-quoted thesis of Lenin is intimately linked up. From that point of view Mikoyan has even contradicted Khruschev's contention. This is queer indeed !

All this presents two probabilities —either they have entirely misunderstood Stalin or they have deliberately distorted Stalin's contention.

On Peaceful Transition to Socialism from Capitalism

There can be no two opinions about the necessity of replacing the capitalist states by socialist state structures in all the capitalist countries as discussed by Khruschev in his report. But how can this be achieved—peacefully or through armed uprisings—that is the crux of the problem. At one time, Karl Marx expressed his opinion that socialism could be achieved in some countries through peaceful means. Then the objective conditions were totally different. He pinned much faith on the growing democratic atmosphere in the then capitalist countries. But conditions changed with the change of time. This is why later on Comrade Lenin declared unequivocally that without mass uprising, without smashing the bourgeois state machine, socialist revolution cannot be accomplished. It is still valid. Discussion on any issue in isolation of concrete condition is incompatible with Marxism. In those days, Lenin's concrete analysis in concrete condition did a tremendous service in crystalising the idea in the mass-mind about the indispensible necessity of armed uprising of the people for the achievement of socialism. Lenin, however, took note of the possibility of peacefully achieving socialism in those capitalist countries neighbouring the socialist states.

While explaining the possibility to peacefully accomplish socialism ; Khruschev has said :

"If the capitalists do not obstruct and do not apply force, then the communists will not take recourse to violence. But since it is certain that they will do so, we should remain alert." No doubt, this approach is very useful in combating the slander that the communists are blood thirsty. Had he stopped here, it would have been very good. But he has gone a step further by holding that in the changed context of present-day international situation, r e v olution can be peacefully accomplished in many of the capitalist and erstwhile colonial countries. We could not agree w i t h this observation. From Marxian standpoint, this is not at all acceptable. No doubt, this observation of Khruschev is sure to generate the trend of reformism-revisionism in the communist movement of different countries. Communists in each capitalist country may start thinking that it is their particular country where revolution can be accomplished peacefully As a result, preparation for revolution will be seriously hampered. This is one aspect. The other aspect too has not escaped our attention. On this account, Khruschev's own c o n t e ntion suffers from self-contradiction. At one place he said that peaceful transition to socialism is possible only in the h i g h l y developed capitalist countries where democracy is traditional. Then again, in the next breath he said that this is applicable only to "weak capitalist countries". Then a g a i n in another context he asserted that in case of highly developed capitalist countries violent revolution was inevitable. Self-contradicton is the essence of all these observations ! We consider in this regard as the best and most adequate, e v e n to day, this observation of Comrade Stalin : "The question of establishment of socialism in a peaceful way can arise in that remote future when the present capitalist encirclement will be replaced by a socialist one."

On some queer arguments :

This particularly applies to M i k o y a n's observations only Mikoyan in his attempt to defend Khruschev's contention of the possibility of achieving socialism peacefully through parliamentary means has cited some examples of "peaceful development of revolution". These illustrations are irrelevant, unreal and untenable. For, when the subject matter of discussion was whether in capitalist countries peaceful transition to socialism from capitalism was at all possible, to cite, in that context, examples of countries like C h i n a, Czechoslovakia etc. in support of development of revolution through peaceful means was totally untenable. It is r e a l l y surprising that at the Congress of the CPSU such standard of discussion and way of illustration was possible !

Summing up the whole discussion, I would s a y that their analysis on the policy of Peaceful Co-existence, Law of Inevitability of War, Conduction of World Peace Movement from Marxian

(Contd. to Page 24)

3. On Recent Incidents In Hungary

The recent incidents in the East European People's Democratic countries, particularly in Hungary, have caused a great stir among all sections of both the pro-communist and anti-communist people of the world. The enemies of communism and the Soviet Union have once again engaged themselves in anti-Soviet tirade in different countries of the world, centring round these incidents of Hungary. Leaving aside these reactionary cliques, it cannot be denied that even those who till the other day were supporters of Soviet Union, due to the present incidents in East European countries, have become much apprehensive and sceptic about the goal and ideology of communism and the foreign policy of U.S.S.R. The bourgeois press and their hirelings are making every effort to give a firm foundation to all these doubts and apprehensions. Even among a section of the communists of different countries, these incidents have caused various types of confusions about the role and character of the leadership of the CPSU and the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that all these have helped tarnish, even if temporarily, the image of the Soviet Union before the world people. At time when the Soviet Union is the leader of the world peace and when its foreign policy is the guarantee to the peace-loving and exploited people of the world against the machination of the Anglo-US-French imperialists to gag the emergence of resurgent nationalism in the Asian and African countries and to crush their struggle for independence and more so against their conspiracy to unleash a global war—these doubts and apprehensions about the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, the role and character of its leadership that have cropped up in the minds of the people, including even a section of so-called communists, will no doubt, to a great extent weaken the cause of the peace movement itself. Precisely for this, it is all the more important to make a correct and thorough analysis and appraisal of the recent incidents in Hungary and the role played by the CPSU leadership and the Soviet Union.

A close scrutiny of these incidents, free from the bias of either blind support or blind opposition, will reveal one point glaringly. The movement that was initiated to reinstate Imre Nagy to power and which marked the internal dissension among the communists, was in the long run seriously influenced by anti-Soviet reactionary national jingoism and as an inevitable outcome of that, all types of reactionary slogans, alien to proletarian internationalism, such as demands for withdrawal of the Soviet troops, repeal of the Warsaw Pact, the taking of aids both from the Soviet Union and the USA to build her economy, declaring Hungary as a non-aligned country so on and so forth were raised! As the Nagy government succumbed to the demands of the reactionary nationalist forces, the majority of the

communists who did not fall victim to these reactionary moves, whatever might have been their short-comings, limitations and mistakes, being backed by revolutionary people, formed a new Government under the leadership of Janos Kadar with ministers most of whom were in the old Cabinet. Realising the gravity of the situation, this new government requested the Soviet army to quell this counter-revolution, establish peace and help protect the hard won People's Democratic State. As per the Warsaw Pact, it is obligatory on the part of the Soviet Union to comply with the requests made by the new legal and legitimate government for restoration of peace in the country. Hence, those, who are creating much fuss over it and branding the Soviet action as aggression on a foreign country and thereby engaging themselves in anti-Soviet tirade, are either totally ignorant or deliberately acting as the agent of Anglo-US imperialism. This apart, the doubts and confusions centring round these incidents that are now prevailing among a section of so-called Marxists or communists in different countries, in our opinion, are mainly for two reasons :

First, it is the senseless obsession about the word 'people' and the impact of reactionary bourgeois ideology on nationalist movement. And secondly, their failure to realise that fighting the domineering attitude of the CPSU leadership over the communist parties of other countries (if at all it is a fact) has nothing to do with hostility towards Soviet Union or with the act of supporting or encouraging anti-Soviet hysteria. To fight against domination and interference by any other communist party, no matter what is its stature, is indispensible to build up dialectical relationship between the fraternal communist parties in place of a mechanical one. But for a communist, it is an unpardonable offence to take a hostile attitude towards Soviet Union or to indulge in any anti-Soviet bias since it goes against proletarian internationalism or for that matter the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

But after all these, a question still remains—how could the reactionary nationalist ideologies make so much headway even after seven or eight years since the establishment of People's Democratic State under the leadership of the Communist Party ? So, any attempt to anyhow get over this problem immediately, without caring to resolve the fundamental questions involved in it, is prone to breed the same problem in future and may similarly worsen the relationship between the East European Communist countries and the Soviet Union.

We like to reiterate here only that aspect of the observation made by the Central Committee of our Party on the Report of the 20th Congress of the CPSU to which we drew the attention of all communists abroad. There we showed that, while pointing out and fighting against the errors and mistakes of Stalin and in the name of upholding Leninism they interpreted the Leninist concept of "different forms of achievements of socialism" virtually from the standpoint of reformist nationalist outlook. It is not unlikely for a communist party to be influenced by this reformist nationalist trend of thinking and outlook. And we shall not be at all surprised if these Communist parties, as an opposite reaction to the present practice of dittoing, develop in them an "ultra-independent" and extreme trend of opposing whatever comes from the CPSU, on some pretext or other. Because, this extremely opposite trend is the inevitable result of blind authoritarianism that still influences the international

communist movement, as before.

The nationalist feeling of the people of the Balkan states, suppressed for a long period during the oppressive and exploitative rule by the Czarist Russia and the Western imperialist powers and accumulated as it were, found a natural and easy outlet after the Second World War with the defeat of fascist Germany and establishment of People's Democratic States under the leadership of the Communist Parties with the help of the Red Army in these countries. The impact of nationalist feeling was also noticed to a great extent among the Communist Parties of these countries. Many of the leaders of the East European Communist Parties could not make themselves free from this, although national jingoism is alien to proletarian internationalism. The demand for "Separate Balkan Federation" under the leadership of Tito was a glaring example of the presence of national chauvinism in the communist movement. This ultra-nationalist feeling which is alien to proletarian internationalism, could not raise its ugly head, during Stalin's life-time both inside and outside the party due to a fierce ideological struggle conducted under his able leadership. But in the name of eradicating the cult of individual, the way Comrade Stalin was criticised, lowered not only his prestige but also tarnished to a great extent the image of the CPSU in the estimation of different communist parties and the people of the world, more so, before the people and the Communist Parties of East European countries. Moreover, as a result of change of attitude towards the Communist League of Yugoslavia and other Titoite Communists of East European countries and also due to the nationalist reformist interpretation given by the Khruschev leadership to the Leninist theory of "different forms of achievement of socialism", the pent-up ultra-nationalist feeling so long kept subdued by intense ideological struggle, burst out in anger with redoubled intensity in the form of anti-Soviet movement. Comrade Stalin was condemned very much as bureaucratic by the Khruschev leadership, for suppressing the reactionaries with a strong hand but paradoxically, the same Khruschev leadership, is applying hundred times more ruthlessness in suppressing the counter-revolutionaries of Hungary.

In fine, we would like to reiterate what we said earlier and appeal to the Leaders of the CPSU and other communist friends of different countries to realise that the responsibility for eradicating the cult of individual does not end with a mere verbal declaration. It should be borne in mind that the cult of individual is still exerting its influence in diverse forms in the thought-process of the international communist movement. Blind authoritarianism in different forms is still influencing the thought-process of the communists. In fact, it has developed almost as a system of thought. None of the short-cut methods of either dittoing or blindly opposing the Soviet leadership, can save the communist parties from the impasse that has developed in their mutual relationship. The influence of ultra-nationalism or Titoism which manifests itself in the present trend of anti-Sovietism is nothing but the oppposite reaction of blind authoritarianism. If we, the communists, fail collectively, when still there is time, to hold aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, freeing Communist process of thinking and movement from blind authoritarianism and reformist nationalist outlook by conducting intense ideological struggle then there is no doubt that the mutual relationship and understanding that we still possess amongst us, will further deteriorate.

4. IMRE NAGY

As soon as the news of the trial and execution of Imre Nagy by the Hungarian Government came out in the press, the imperialist-capitalists and other reactionary circles throughout the world, all at a time, have raised a hue and cry. It is clear that two motives are at play behind this offensive that the reactionary imperialist-capitalists have launched under the cover of cheap humanist stance and popular democracy. One is to denigrate the communist ideology and the Soviet Union in the eyes of the world at large, and the other is to exploit this situation with a view to boosting up the sagging morale of the reactionary nationalist forces of these countries of Eastern Europe, especially Hungary and directing them against the working class states of these countries and the Soviet Union as well. The sordid history of black-deeds of the imperialist-capitalist forces who are now masquarading as the 'champions of humanism, democracy and liberty' is no more unknown to any one. The long record of their savage and barbaric armed onslaught to suppress the freedom loving people of the countries of Asia, and Africa as also their naked interference, direct or indirect, in the internal affairs of these coutries under this or that pretext is known to all. Just the other day, even in France, an erstwhile citadel of parliamentary democracy, when General De Gaulle, in Hitlerite way throttled democracy and assumed the power of a dictator, these "champions of democracy" did not feel that their ideals of democracy, humanism and liberty were in any way at stake; on the contrary they went so far as to lend their tacit support to all these heinous acts, this way or that. So, whatever hue and cry they may raise over the trial and execution of Imre Nagy, a traitor to socialism, who led the counter-revolutionary forces to subvert the working class state their real motive is not at all difficult to understand and we firmly believe that no honest and right-thinking person will be deluded by it. The Social democrats all over the world and the Praja Socialist Party of our country, and taking cue from them many other splinter so-called leftist parties have all joined in this chorus. These reactionary forces, taking this opportunity have, with great zeal, engaged themselves in launching slanderous and villification campaign against the world communist

movement and the Soviet Union. Mouthing the slogans of humanism and democracy, they are in reality out to confuse the people at large and particularly the friends of communism and the Soviet Union. Before going into the question of whether the trial and execution of Imre Nagy were in conformity with the ideals of democracy and humanism we would like to put a few questions to the members and workers of the Praja Socialist Party. First, where were your ideals of humanism, democracy and liberty, about which your party is now waxing so eloquent, when the French imperialists let loose a barbarous attack on the Algerian freedom fighters and butchered thousands of unarmed freedom loving people and all this at a time when the French socialists affiliated to the Socialist International were in the government? How is it that all of you preferred to keep mum when General De Gaulle, terrorising the people at the point of guns gave a burial to Parliamentary democracy, assumed dictatorial power and the French socialists stood shamelessly by his side? Why did your leaders, the so-called champions of humanism and democracy keep silent, when the reactionaries in Hungary led by Nagy let loose orgy of violence and mercilessly butchered the communists, the best sons of the soil? What specimen of honesty is it? May we ask you to ponder deeply, dispassionately and without prejudice, over this glaring inconsistency between the preaching and practice of your party and your leaders? Secondly, does any ideal or activity become sacrosanct and supportable simply because it has been able to muster people's support behind it? As for example the hated Nazism of Hitler, the movement for the formation of Pakistan in our country under the leadership of the Muslim League, and similar kinds of reactionary moves at different times in different countries, even if temporarily, were able to secure people's support. Despite massive support behind all these reactionary moves and ideas, did any honest and progressive individual support them? It is, therefore, evident that mere mass support cannot be the criterion in deciding the character of an idea or movement. On what logic, can anyone proclaiming himself S o c i a l i s t, support the counter-revolutionary move to restore capitalism, even in the name of establishing parliamentary democracy in Hungary, where the socialist state—whatever might be its short-comings and limitations, came into being through revolutionary overthrow of imperialism, capitalism and feudalism? Is it so very difficult to see through the real designs and motives of this so-called champions of humanism and democracy when one finds that they feel no hesitation to support this counter-revolutionary activities only on the plea of popular mass support? Any student of history knows it well that it is social democracy that gave birth to fascism. Now it is again that social democracy which, in the so-called 'free-world' of the bourgeois democracy, has b e c o m e the most powerful ideological weapon in the hands of the capitalists In the matter of unleashing a veritable campaign against communism and Soviet Russia. The PSP and some other splinter leftist parties in our country, waving this banner of rotten and discredited social democracy are boasting of humanism and democracy. We earnestly hope that no honest and conscientious being will be duped by this sort of propaganda campaign of these parties.

There is no denying the fact that whatever may be the motive behind this villification campaign by the imperialist-capitalist states and the social democrats, some amount of confusion has been created centring round this particular incident amongst a section of honest and right thinking people in different countries. Even in our country, some confusion prevails in some parties, big

or small, who claim themselves as communists. Some discussion has, therefore, become essential in this context.

First, it should be borne in mind that no one, whether he calls himself a communist or not, can make a correct appraisal of this event unless he is able to free himself completely from the influence of bourgeois humanism and bourgeois democracy. For, we firmly believe that it is the influence of bourgeois humanism, the concept of supra-class democracy in a class divided society and the meaningless fascination towards the bourgeois parliamentary set-up and its judicial system that is mainly responsible for creation of such confusion. Bourgeois humanism and the ideology of communism are not only not complementary but antagonistic to each other. The conflict between the ideologies of bourgeois humanism and that of communism, is therefore, inevitable in the spheres of ideological battle. But we often find that many intellectuals, even the so-called communists very often confuse the dynamic concepts of ethics and morality of communist ideology with the concept of absolute and eternal moral values of bourgeois humanism. At a particular stage of development of human thoughts and ideas, to fullfil a particular historic necessity of human society, the idea of bourgeois humanism emerged. Although bourgeois humanism played a distinct role in enhancing the cause of nineteenth century revolutionary movement for establishing capitalism and bourgeois democratic set up, in the epoch of feudal order and absolutism, but to-day, in the present era of moribund capitalism and world proletarian revolution, it is the same ideology of bourgeois humanism that provides the most powerful ideological weapon in the hands of the exploiter capitalist class against the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and anti-feudal revolutionary struggles of the masses. History will testify that it has not been possible to put an end to feudal and capitalist rule and exploitation and establish socialism in any single country, thereby open up the path of uninterrupted social development without communist ideology, its strategy and tactics. Not only this, wherever the people had achieved their emancipation with Marxism-Leninism as their instrument of struggle, everywhere they did it by waging a fierce and relentless battle in the ideological field against the bourgeois concept of humanism, moral values and the so-called supra-class concept of democracy. So, one is bound to commit a great blunder if he judges the morality concept and the act of a communist with the yardstick of bourgeois humanism which has been marked in history as an ideology conducive and complementary to the cause and interest of capitalist rule and exploitation. In this connection, we are to bear in mind, one more point. It is the influence of bourgeois humanism and reactionary nationalism which is fundamentally opposed to proletarian internationalism that works directly or indirectly in the realm of thought as the root cause of all sorts of revisionist and reformist deviations appearing in the communist movement. The humanism, which communists preach is qualitatively different from bourgeois humanism. Any concept, ideology or movement that help emancipate the society from all kinds of exploitation and thereby open up the path of uninterrupted social progress is consistent with the cause of human justice and in our opinion, is the ideology of humanism the communists stand for, no matter with what ideology or state structure it comes in conflict or whether the struggle is violent or non-violent. But, national independence, liberty, democracy, non-violence, universal brotherhood, call it by any name, if any such concept, ideology or movement goes against the people's interest and acts as an obstacle to the development and progress of the society, then it is sheer

betrayal to the cause of the people and stands against humanism itself. To-day, when the world is divided into two opposite camps with the capitalist imperialist states on the one side and the socialist states led by the communists on the other, and when the future shape of the world social system depends on the success of the anti-capitalist revolutions in the different countries to be conducted in the perspective of the basic contradiction existing between these two opposite camps, any attempt to overthrow the socialist state in any country is not just a treachery to the cause of the people of that country alone, but betrays the interests of the toiling masses of the world and acts as an enemy of humanism. Although we consider the execution of the Rosenbergs as an act against humanism but the decision to execute Nagy is in complete harmony with people's interest and principle of social justice. The judicial system in a bourgeois parliamentary country can never be accepted by a true communist as the appropriate method of deliverance of justice. For it is known to any Marxist or communist that the so-called "Popular Democratic" judicial systems in the bourgeois democratic countries although ostensibly poses to deliver justice to all is, in the ultimate analysis, an instrument to protect the class interest of the capitalists, no matter whether it awards judgements in favour of the people on some petty affairs, but for the people it is a farce, a sham show of justice when basic class interest is found to be involved. And as because Imre Nagy and his associates were not tried in the same very process of "popular democracy" (which is nothing but a farce) no communist can accept that what has been violated here is the principle of justice. **So the real issue here is not whether the trial was conducted following the formalities of bourgeois democratic judicial method or not. The all-important question here is whether or not Imre Nagy and his associates provided leadership to the counter-revolutionary move in Hungary with a view to subverting the Socialist State ?** Whether or not these activities on their part were betrayal to the cause of the masses and went against humanism itself. If anybody considers that to organise a movement for the overthrow of the Socialist State for the restoration of capitalism is perfectly in agreement with humanism—then his is entirely a different case.

But to any person who is sympathetic to the cause of the people and to all the progressive sections of the society such activities can only mean downright and utter betrayal to people's cause and butchery of humanism unless of course they become biased against communist movement and the Soviet Union. **If capital punishment can only be meted out to any person in human society, then it must be admitted that persons engaged in such heinous activities surely deserve it first.** Had anybody an appropriate knowledge of the actual political situation in the New Democratic States of East Europe and the clandestine activities the Imperialists are constantly carrying out inside these countries, he would have had no difficulty in seeing the justification and significance of the consideration that found expression in the execution of Nagy.

In fine, we would like to say a few words to the leaders of the international communist movement and more particularly to the common workers of the Communist Party of our country. The trend of revisionism, reformism and democratisation which actually means de-centralisation that started growing in the sphere of thinking and organisational activity of the communist movement since the 20th Congress of the CPSU and has become a powerful force within a short time, is to a great extent responsible for the ideological confusion prevailing at present. **At this juncture of intense**

class-conflict in the international arena, we hold that it is of paramount importance to lay stress on the principles of proletarian internationalism, proletarian revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat and monolithic type of party organisation based on Democratic Centralism and on such other basic tenets of Marxist-Leninist principles. But in the sphere of mutual relationship between the socialist countries we observe that instead of correctly realising the necessity of adhering to the principle of proletarian internationalism, one-sided and unilateral emphasis has so long been given on questions like national sovereignty and equality of rights while developing mutual relationship among them. And what is more, the Marxist class-outlook and class-approach to state machinery and democracy has been practically denied behind the slogan of "different roads to socialism in different countries", and by the practice of speaking of 'democracy' and 'democratic system' in general terms without relating them to their class-origin or class-content, thus help developing a supra-class concept about 'democracy' and meaningless fascination about the bourgeois parliamentary system amongst the people.

In our country, its pernicious effect has gone to such an extent that the Kerala State Unit of the CPI has openly demanded of the Central Committee of the Party to voice protest against the execution of Imre Nagy. And in this regard, many of the communist friends in our country did not feel necessary even to follow the Communist Code of Conduct. So, we would urge upon the communist friends to ponder over calmly as to the real cause that has given rise to the ideological confusion centring round the execution of Nagy.

(Contd. from Page 16)

standpoint are in the main correct and so supportable. *

Judged from that point of view, the present leadership has not made any fundamental deviation from Marxism-Leninism. Yet we must say that some features in their analysis and explanations suffer from serious defects. This, therefore, calls for a serious, dispassionate and thorough examination of the whole matter. As we have said at the very outset that we hope everybody will take this criticism of ours as a comradely criticism. Once again we assure that the whole purpose of our discussion has been to point out and remove the short-comings and defects of the present leadership and to strengthen it.

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*[We have already stated that our Central Committee led by our beloved leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, before any other party did so, characterised the Soviet Party leadership as ....revisionist ....—Ed. P. Era]

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