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LONG LIVE GREAT NOVEMBER REVOLUTION



“Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich — that is the democracy of capitalist society. If we look more closely into the machinery of capitalist democracy, we shall see everywhere, in the “petty” — supposedly petty — details of the suffrage (residential qualification, exclusion of women, etc.), in the technique of the representative institutions, in the actual obstacles to the right of assembly (public buildings are not for “beggars”!), in the purely capitalist organization of the daily press, etc., etc. — we shall see restriction after restriction upon democracy. These restrictions, exceptions, exclusions, obstacles for the poor, seem slight, especially in the eyes of one who has never known want himself and has never been in close contact with the oppressed classes in their mass life (and nine-tenths, if not ninety-ninehundredths, of the bourgeois publicists and politicians are of this category); but in their sum total these restrictions exclude and squeeze out the poor from politics, from active participation in democracy. Marx grasped this essence of capitalist democracy splendidly, when, in analyzing the experience of the Commune, he said that the oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class shall represent and repress them in parliament!”

— V. I. Lenin

(*The State and Revolution*. Vol. 29, p.104-05)

Panchayat raj

Devastating design of capitalism to emasculate toiling village people

Amidst all furore of mega-scams and deluge of reforms, the country is soon going to face another bout of panchayat elections in certain parts of it. As has been the case in the recent past, all the big and small political parties, national and regional, which sustain upon parliamentary politics and hence elections, would file up with all enthusiasm to engage themselves in those fights; the media, sponsored and fuelled by the money-bags of monopolists and the huge contingent of mafia that are now proactive across the land to reap harvest from any and every issue, — will join the band of election process. All these gadgets of vote-politics will try to whip up a frenzy to pose how keen and sincere they are towards serving the interests of poor village people through these panchayats. The country has already witnessed a few effervescent performances of panchayat elections in the past decades and have thus had enough taste of it. When the Panchayat raj and its 3-tier system (at village, block or *anchal* and district levels from lower to higher),

now running in the country, were introduced some six decades back, the country, more particularly the village people were assured by the power that be that panchayats would ‘empower’ them, and thus would decentralize power and establish ‘self-governance’ for the villages to make them self-sufficient. Yet when one more election is knocking at the door, people will surely look back to see that how, after all the great fanfare on panchayats for over these decades, the panchayats have turned out to be nothing more than dens of corruption and have failed miserably to come to be of use to common village people, in actuality not being able to meet even the barest minimum of their life and livelihood.

Panchayats — dens of corruption

Thus, in any kind of construction or repair work for villages, say, roads, river embankments or housing under Indira AbasYojana (IAY), with any kind of allowance or pension for the

needy, say old or widow or with any kind of relief be it the GR or General Relief or a flood or draught relief, it has become an open secret that the master rolls are manipulated by a nexus to include names and ghost names approved by them or to submit ghost figures in amount of money allotted or to be disbursed, leaving a big gap with the amount actually handed over to recipients; the number of recipients will almost invariably be lower than the original figure of those entitled in the master rolls, and such other hundred and one innovative tricks. Interestingly all these projects and relief work are sanctioned and funded by none other than the governments and given effect to by the panchayats as virtual ‘agents’ of them being run, governed and assisted by panchayat officials, representatives of the same government administration and bureaucracy, banks and such other institutions. The whole process of Himalayan defalcation or misappropriation takes place under the very nose of administration-government-panchayat. It appears if they award with the right hand, they

take it back with the left. The poor village people remain mute spectators, at best seeking for favour, to have the bitter taste of the extent of power they have in their affairs, the real face of self-governance that never existed and the ever-receding allure of self-sufficiency. We will come back to this again; before that we need to deal with a few other relevant aspects.

Class motive behind introduction of panchayat system

First, what motive of the ruling class and its servitors worked behind introduction of this Panchayat raj? For a correct understanding, it needs to be borne in mind at the outset that the present panchayat system was introduced in capitalist state India which had earned independence a few years back and had started its journey towards consolidating and strengthening its capitalist system based upon ruthless exploitation. Naturally fathomless and fast

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Panchayat raj

Spreading parliamentary illusion for prolonging capitalist rule

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increasing discrimination between fabulously rich and wretchedly poor, the latter bleeding white from exploitation, marked post-independent India. Panchayats or no panchayats, it remains an undeniable truth that there can not be any respite for the poor, the common toiling masses of people of the country from exploitation and oppression within this system, without accomplishing the task of overthrowing capitalism from power at the stroke of anti-capitalist revolution. And this is the truth that the ruling monopolists tirelessly try to prevent from entering the mind-set of the exploited people through thousand and one means, one of the most important of those being the illusion of the parliamentary politics. Posed against the revolutionary politics, the parliamentary illusion strives to keep this baseless faith alive in the hapless exploited people that it will be through parliamentary or election politics, or simply the politics of vote that people will be able to achieve their desired end of freedom from exploitation, even at least relief from their burning problems.

Spreading illusion of bourgeois vote politics

And the Panchayat raj attempts precisely to give effect to this goal. The common masses of village people, agricultural labours, sharecroppers, small and middle peasants are being relentlessly crushed under the grinding machine of cruel exploitation of the capitalist system. Panchayats aim at alluring them with the totally baseless and false concept that the panchayats will empower them to elect their own representatives and thereby steadily help them move towards attaining self-governance and self-sufficiency. The ardent advocates of the panchayat system neatly brush aside the plain truth that the parliamentary system of this country has been in vogue for more than six decades; governments of different shades have come and gone; pledges are galore; yet not only has parliamentary system not been able to touch the tip of the exploitative capitalist state, but rather in turn it has been instrumental in keeping the exploited people confined within the whirlwind of illusion of election politics and thereby in helping capitalism consolidate and

strengthen itself and step up its brute exploitative and oppressive power manifold. So, the Panchayat raj cunningly intended to extend this deceiving system further deep into the remotest part of the rural hinterland of the country, making inroad into the life and livelihood of most abjectly poverty stricken people of villages by alluring them with the false hope and vision of attaining self-governance through vote-politics. The more they are successful in their bid, the rulers, the framers of this design will be more and more successful in posing election politics as means for solving problems of life of toiling people as the alternative to the arduous yet inevitable process of accomplishing anti-capitalist revolution. The experience of the nearly six-decade old panchayat system only corroborates and confirms this fact, it being particularly true in states like West Bengal where the social democratic force like CPI(M) has been largely instrumental in driving this vote – politics quite ably into the rural life in their bid to serve the capitalist system of the country.

Hoax of self-governance

Next point is who controls the panchayats that were and are supposed to provide self-governance to the poor people of the villages? And thus who then governs the villages? Anybody with the slightest idea about the conditions in villages are fully aware that capitalism thrives and operates there on the foundation of a deep-rooted nexus of landlords, i.e., the jotedars, usurers or money-lenders, rich peasants, the core of the class enemy of exploited toiling people, along with their ancillaries and accomplices like the contractors-promoters- big rural businessmen on one hand and MLAs, MPs even local leaders of the ruling parties, the government officials of ranks from top to bottom, banks and their officials, police and last but in no way the least, the hard-core criminals including smugglers and women and child traffickers and mafias who act as heartless mercenaries on the other hand. It is this nexus that has consolidated and strengthened itself with the help of the panchayats and thus ultimately controls them and governs villages. Nobody will deny that in the class-divided capitalist society of the country, this nexus

stands as the dangerous enemy of the exploited people including the agricultural labourers, sharecroppers small and middle peasants and other sections of poor and lower middle class people of villages — their real class enemy. From their tentacles of relentless exploitation, exploited people can free themselves, albeit temporarily and have minimum relief, only with the pressure of massive sustained, organized and conscious mass and class struggles based on higher ideology and culture and ethics. The panchayat system introduced to allure people in vote politics also tries to throttle this class struggle to silence the voice of protest and resistance. With the shameless use of money and muscle power and without caring for any norms- rules-regulations, the said powerful vicious nexus freely asserts, exerts and establishes its influence thoroughly over panchayat activities including its elections to ensure that only the forces subservient to the interests of the ruling capitalists and the prevailing capitalist system retain the power of the panchayats and make use of the resources available. At the same time, however, it tends to preach that the vast masses of oppressed, poor people of villages can and should live and exist peacefully with their dreaded enemy, the rich, the rural bourgeoisie and their henchmen, namely the nexus referred above, only by taking resort to the means of electing their representative in panchayats once in a while, say after five years, with all veritably nuisance operations of exploitation, threat-oppression-criminal activities like smuggling women and child trafficking going on unabated, even accruing strength from absence of any opposition.

So, the panchayat system allures people with vote politics and tries to silence their voice of protest, persuading them to live in peaceful coexistence with their dreaded class enemies. But not everything of the panchayats is surreptitious, silent and peaceful. It has its teeth and claws, too, as sharp and obvious as can be conceived. As mentioned, panchayats were introduced with much drum-beating that as power corrupts and centralized power tend to give rise to more corruption, decentralization with power being handed over to the panchayats would ensure prevention of corruption; common village people

will be 'empowered' through these institutions of their own and would enjoy power, prevent corruption and determine their course of governance and development. In the long run, however, the ground reality has been just the reverse. Decentralization into so many centres of power has localized corruption and spread it all over the country. Moreover, decentralization has come to be nothing but a hoax. In reality, the panchayats are intimately linked with the existing centralized administrative- political-economic activities of the Indian capitalist state. They look for funding from none other than governments, their banks; they have government officials as nominated members to get into all panchayat activities and intervene if any representative dares to stand against the referred nexus and the government policies; they have to function within the legal frame set by the governments. In the process as the panchayats are made part and parcel of the capitalist system of the state, through all legal and administrative links these have really paved the road for the centralized power of the capitalist state machinery, the bureaucracy-police etc., and its political managers, that is the governments, drive their roots further into the villages. In the name of involving common poorer people of the villages, these panchayats are thus seeking to drag even that section of the exploited masses more tightly into the grip of the centralized exploitative-oppressive-corruption-ridden system of the state. All this merely strengthens the exploitative and oppressive power of the capitalist state machinery, which in the face of irresolvable crisis is continuously attempting greater and greater centralization of power of governance to enhance its power of carrying out its designs and crushing any organized resistance of people on the way.

Hoodwinking galore

With such sticks in hand, the governments and rather the state also have carrots to dangle before the poor village people. In the name of solving the severe unemployment problem rural development to give effect through the panchayats different schemes, such as the MNREGS (Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment

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Lenin on the Essence of the November Revolution

(On the occasion of 95th anniversary of November Revolution, we publish a compilation of a few excerpts from the works of great Lenin, on certain important lessons of this first working class revolution.)

The imperialists of the Entente countries are blockading Russia in an effort to cut off the Soviet Republic, as a seat of infection, from the capitalist world. These people, who boast about their “democratic” institutions, are so blinded by their hatred of the Soviet Republic that they do not see how ridiculous they are making themselves. Just think of it, the advanced, most civilized and “democratic” countries, armed to the teeth and enjoying undivided military sway over the whole world, are mortally afraid of the ideological infection coming from a ruined, starving, backward, and even, they assert, semi-savage country!

No bourgeois republic, however democratic, ever was or could have been anything but a machine for the suppression of the working people by capital, an instrument of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the political rule of capital. The democratic bourgeois republic promised and proclaimed majority rule, but it could never put this into effect as long as private ownership of the land and other means of production existed.

“Freedom” in the bourgeois-democratic republic was actually freedom *for the rich*. The proletarians and working peasants could and should have utilized it for the purpose of preparing their forces to overthrow capital, to overcome bourgeois democracy, but *in fact* the working masses were, as a general rule, unable to enjoy democracy under capitalism.

Soviet or proletarian, *democracy* has for the first time in the world created democracy for the masses, for the working people, for the factory workers and small peasants. (5)

The essence of Marx’s teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a *single* class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the *proletariat* which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire *historical period* which separates capitalism from “classless society,” from Communism. The forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but their essence is the same: all these states, whatever their form, in the final analysis, are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. The transition from capitalism to Communism certainly cannot but yield a tremendous abundance and

variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*. (1)

Simultaneously with an immense expansion of democracy, which for the first time becomes democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the moneybags, the dictatorship of the proletariat imposes a series of restrictions on the freedom of the oppressors, the exploiters, the capitalists. We must suppress them in order to free humanity from wage slavery ... Democracy for the vast majority of the people, and suppression by force, i.e., exclusion from democracy, of the exploiters and oppressors of the people — this is the change democracy undergoes during the *transition* from capitalism to Communism. (1)

Only in communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists has been completely crushed, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no classes (i.e., when there is no difference between the members of society as regards their relation to the social means of production), *only* then “the state . . . ceases to exist,” and it “*becomes possible to speak of freedom*.” Only then will there become possible and be realized a truly complete democracy, democracy without any exceptions whatever. And only then will democracy begin to *with*er away, owing to the simple fact that, freed from capitalist slavery, from the untold horrors, savagery, absurdities and infamies of capitalist exploitation, people will gradually become accustomed to observing the elementary rules of social intercourse that have been known for centuries and repeated for thousands of years in all copybook maxims; they will become accustomed to observing them without force, without compulsion, without subordination, *without the special apparatus* for compulsion which is called the state. (1)

This historical truth is that in every profound revolution, a *prolonged, stubborn and desperate* resistance of the exploiters, who for a number of years retain important practical advantages over the exploited, is the *rule*. (1)

The transition from capitalism to Communism represents an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch has terminated, the exploiters inevitably cherish the *hope* of restoration, and this hope is

converted into *attempts* at restoration. And after their first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters — who had not expected their overthrow, never believed it possible, never conceded the thought of it — throw themselves with energy grown tenfold, with furious passion and hatred grown a hundredfold, into the battle for the recovery of the “paradise,” of which they have been deprived,.... If any Marxist, or any person, indeed, who has a general knowledge of modern science, were asked whether it is likely that the transition of the different capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat will take place in an identical or harmoniously proportionate way, his answer would undoubtedly be in the negative. There never has been and never could be even, harmonious, or proportionate development in the capitalist world. Each country has developed more strongly first one, then another aspect or feature or group of features of capitalism and of the working-class movement. The process of development has been uneven. (1)

I have had occasion more than once to say that it was easier for the Russians than for the advanced countries to *begin* the great proletarian revolution, but that it will be more difficult for them to *continue* it and carry it to final victory, in the sense of the complete organization of a socialist society. (1)

It was easier for us to begin, firstly, because the unusual — for twentieth-century Europe — political backwardness of the tsarist monarchy gave unusual strength to the revolutionary onslaught of the masses. Secondly, Russia’s backwardness merged in a peculiar way the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie with the peasant revolution against the landowners. That is what we started from in October 1917, and we would not have achieved victory so easily then if we had not. As long ago as 1856, Marx spoke, in reference to Prussia; of the possibility of a peculiar combination of proletarian revolution and peasant war. From the beginning of 1905 the Bolsheviks advocated the idea of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Thirdly, the 1905 revolution contributed enormously to the political education of the worker and peasant masses, because it familiarized their vanguard with “the last word” of socialism in the West and also because of the revolutionary action of the masses.

Without such a “dress rehearsal” as we had in 1905, the revolutions of 1917 — both the bourgeois, February revolution, and the proletarian, October revolution — would have been impossible. Fourthly, Russia’s geographical conditions permitted her to hold out longer than other countries could have done against the superior military strength of the capitalist, advanced countries. Fifthly, the specific attitude of the proletariat towards the peasantry facilitated the transition from the bourgeois revolution to the socialist revolution, made it easier for the urban proletarians to influence the semi-proletarian, poorer sections of the rural working people. Sixthly, long schooling in strike action and the experience of the European mass working-class movement facilitated the emergence — in a profound and rapidly intensifying revolutionary situation — of such a unique form of proletarian revolutionary organization as the *Soviets*. (1)

Theoretically, there can be no doubt that between capitalism and communism there lies a definite transition period which must combine the features and properties of both these forms of social economy. This transition period has to be a period of struggle between dying capitalism and nascent communism — or, in other words, between capitalism which has been defeated but not destroyed and communism which has been born but is still very feeble. (2)

The dictatorship of the proletariat has done all it could to abolish classes. But classes cannot be abolished at one stroke. (2)

And classes still *remain* and *will remain* in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship will become unnecessary when classes disappear. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat they will not disappear. (2)

Classes have remained, but in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat *every* class has undergone a change, and the relations between the classes have also changed. The class struggle does not disappear under the dictatorship of the proletariat; it merely assumes different forms. ... The class of exploiters, the landowners and capitalists, has not disappeared and cannot disappear all at once under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The exploiters have been smashed, but not destroyed. They still have an international base in the form of international capital,

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The International Character of the October Revolution

On the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution

The October Revolution cannot be regarded merely as a revolution "within national bounds." It is, primarily, a revolution of an international, world order, for it signifies a radical turn in the world history of mankind, a turn from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world.

Revolutions in the past usually ended by one group of exploiters at the helm of government being replaced by another group of exploiters. The exploiters changed, exploitation remained. Such was the case during the liberation movements of the slaves. Such was the case during the period of the uprisings of the serfs. Such was the case during the period of the well-known "great" revolutions in England, France and Germany. I am not speaking of the Paris Commune, which was the first glorious, heroic, yet unsuccessful attempt on the part of the proletariat to turn history against capitalism.

The October Revolution differs from these revolutions *in principle*. Its aim is not to replace one form of exploitation by another form of exploitation, one group of exploiters by another group of exploiters, but to abolish all exploitation of man by man, to abolish all groups of exploiters, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to establish the power of the most revolutionary class of all the oppressed classes that have ever existed, to organize a new, classless, socialist society.

It is precisely for this reason that the *victory* of the October Revolution signifies a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical destiny of world capitalism, a radical change in the liberation movement of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and the forms of organization, in the manner of life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of the exploited masses throughout the world.

That is the basic reason why the October Revolution is a revolution of an international, world order...

A number of fundamental issues could be noted on which the October Revolution influences the development of the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

1. The October Revolution is noteworthy primarily for having breached the front of world

imperialism, for having overthrown the imperialist bourgeoisie in one of the biggest capitalist countries and put the socialist proletariat in power.

The class of wage-workers, the class of the persecuted, the class of the oppressed and exploited has *for the first time* in the history of mankind risen to the position of the *ruling* class, setting a contagious example to the proletarians of all countries.

This means that the October Revolution *has ushered in* a new era, the era of *proletarian* revolutions in the countries of *imperialism*.

It took the instruments and means of production from the landlords and capitalists and converted them into public property, thus counterposing socialist property to bourgeois property. It thereby exposed the lie of the capitalists that bourgeois property is inviolable, sacred, eternal.

It wrested power from the bourgeoisie, deprived the bourgeoisie of political rights, destroyed the bourgeois state apparatus and transferred power to the Soviets, thus counter-posing the socialist rule of the Soviets, as *proletarian* democracy, to bourgeois parliamentarism, as *capitalist* democracy...

The October Revolution thereby exposed the lie of the Social-Democrats that at the present time a peaceful transition to socialism is possible through bourgeois parliamentarism.

Having destroyed the old, bourgeois order, it began to build the new, socialist order. The 10 years of the October Revolution have been 10 years of building the Party, trade unions, Soviets, co-operatives, cultural organizations, transport, industry, the Red Army. The indubitable successes of socialism in the U.S.S.R. on the front of construction have clearly shown that the proletariat *can* successfully govern the country *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully build industry *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully direct the whole of the national economy *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully build socialism in spite of the capitalist encirclement...

2. The October Revolution has shaken imperialism not only in the centres of its domination, not only in the "metropolises." It has also struck at the rear of imperialism, its periphery, having undermined the

rule of imperialism in the colonial and dependent countries.

Having overthrown the landlords and the capitalists, the October Revolution broke the chains of national and colonial oppression and freed from it, without exception, all the oppressed peoples of a vast state. The proletariat cannot emancipate itself unless it emancipates the oppressed peoples. It is a characteristic feature of the October Revolution that it accomplished these national-colonial revolutions in the U.S.S.R. not under the flag of national enmity and conflicts among nations, but under the flag of mutual confidence and fraternal rapprochement of the workers and peasants of the various peoples in the U.S.S.R., not in the name of *nationalism*, but in the name of *internationalism*.

It is precisely because the national-colonial revolutions took place in our country under the leadership of the proletariat and under the banner of internationalism that pariah peoples, slave peoples, have *for the first time* in the history of mankind risen to the position of peoples that are *really* free and *really* equal, thereby setting a contagious example to the oppressed nations of the whole world...

It was formerly the "accepted" idea that the world has been divided from time immemorial into inferior and superior races, into blacks and whites, of whom the former are unfit for civilization and are doomed to be objects of exploitation, while the latter are the only bearers of civilization, whose mission it is to exploit the former....

It was formerly the "accepted" idea that the only method of liberating the oppressed peoples is the method of *bourgeois nationalism*, the method of nations drawing apart from one another, the method of disuniting nations, the method of intensifying national enmity among the labouring masses of the various nations.

That legend must now be regarded as refuted. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt that legend a mortal blow, by demonstrating in practice the possibility and expediency of the *proletarian, internationalist* method of liberating the oppressed peoples, as the only correct method; by demonstrating in practice the possibility and expediency of a *fraternal union* of the workers and peasants of the most diverse nations based on the principles of *voluntariness* and



internationalism...

It need hardly be said that these and similar results of the October Revolution could not and cannot fail to exert an important influence on the revolutionary movement in the colonial and dependent countries. Such facts as the growth of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed peoples in China, Indonesia, India, etc., and the growing sympathy of these peoples for the U.S.S.R., unquestionably bear this out.

3. Having sown the seeds of revolution both in the centres of imperialism and in its rear, having weakened the might of imperialism in the "metropolises" and having shaken its domination in the colonies, the October Revolution has thereby put in jeopardy the very existence of world capitalism *as a whole*.

While the spontaneous development of capitalism in the conditions of imperialism has passed — owing to its unevenness, owing to the inevitability of conflicts and armed collisions, owing, finally, to the unprecedented imperialist slaughter — into the process of the decay and the dying of capitalism, the October Revolution and the resultant dropping out of a vast country from the world system of capitalism could not but accelerate this process, undermining, bit by bit, the very foundations of world imperialism.

More than that. While shaking imperialism, the October Revolution has at the same time created — in the shape of the first proletarian dictatorship — a powerful and open *base* for the world revolutionary movement, a base such as the latter *never possessed* before and on which it now can rely for support. It has created a powerful and open *centre* of the world revolutionary movement, such as the latter *never possessed* before and around which it can now rally, organizing a *united*

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of which they are a branch. They still retain certain means of production in part, they still have money, they still have vast social connections....The “art” of state, military and economic administration gives them superiority, and a very great superiority, so that their importance is incomparably greater than their numerical proportion of the population. The class struggle waged by the overthrown exploiters against the victorious vanguard of the exploited, i.e., the proletariat, has become incomparably more bitter. And it cannot be otherwise in the case of a revolution, unless this concept is replaced ...by reformist illusions. (2)

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a *more powerful* enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, *small production* is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will.The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists — that we accomplished with comparative ease — it also means *abolishing the small commodity producers*, and they cannot be driven out, or crushed; we *must live in harmony* with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organizational work....The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force. Without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in

the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully. It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralized big bourgeoisie than to “vanquish” the millions and millions of small owners; yet they, by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive, demoralizing activity, achieve the very results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to restore the bourgeoisie....(3)

Bolshevism has actually helped to develop the proletarian revolution in Europe and America more powerfully than any party in any other country has so far succeeded in doing....All this is not enough for the complete victory of Socialism, you say? Of course it is

not enough. One country alone cannot do more. But this one country, thanks to the Soviet power, has done so much that even if the Soviet power in Russia were to be crushed by world imperialism tomorrow, as a result, let us say, of an agreement between German and Anglo-French imperialism — even granted that very worst possibility — it would still be found that Bolshevist tactics have brought enormous benefit to Socialism and have assisted the growth of the invincible world revolution. (4)

The bourgeoisie sees practically only one side of Bolshevism, viz., insurrection, violence, terror; it therefore strives to prepare itself for resistance and opposition particularly in this field. It is possible that in certain instances,

in certain countries, and for certain brief periods, it will succeed in this. We must reckon with such a possibility, and there will be absolutely nothing terrible for us if it does succeed. Communism “springs” from positively every sphere of public life; its shoots are to be seen literally everywhere...Life will assert itself. (3)

Source :

1. The State and Revolution
2. Economics and Politics in the era of the dictatorship of the proletariat
3. Left-wing communism, an infantile disorder
4. The Proletarian revolution and Renegade Kautsky
5. The Third International and its place in history

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revolutionary front of the proletarians and of the oppressed peoples of all countries against imperialism...

History repeats itself, though on a new basis. Just as for merly, during the period of the downfall of *feudalism*, the word “Jacobin” evoked dread and abhorrence among the aristocrats of all countries, so now, in the period of the down fall of *capitalism*, the word “Bolshevik” evokes dread and abhorrence among the bourgeois in all countries. And conversely, just as formerly Paris was the refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising *bourgeoisie*, so now Moscow is the refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising *proletariat*. Hatred of the Jacobins did not save feudalism from collapse. Can there be any doubt that hatred of the Bolsheviks will not save capitalism from its inevitable downfall?

The era of the “stability” of capitalism *has passed away*, carrying away with it the legend of the indestructibility of the bourgeois order.

The era of the collapse of capitalism *has begun*.

4. The October Revolution cannot be regarded merely as a revolution in the sphere of economic and social-political relations. It is at the same time a revolution in the minds, a revolution in the ideology, of the working class. The October

Revolution was born and gained strength under the banner of Marxism, under the banner of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the banner of Leninism, which is Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Hence it marks the victory of Marxism over reformism, the victory of Leninism over Social-Democratism, the victory of the Third International over the Second International....

Formerly, *before the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat*, Social-Democracy, while refraining from openly repudiating the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat but doing nothing, absolutely nothing, to bring nearer the realization of this idea, could flaunt the banner of Marxism, and it is obvious that this behaviour of Social-Democracy created no danger whatever for capitalism. Then, in that period, Social-Democracy was formally taken as identical, or almost identical, with Marxism.

Now, *after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat*, when everybody has seen for himself *to what* Marxism leads and *what* its victory may signify, Social-Democracy is no longer able to flaunt the banner of Marxism, can no longer coquet with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat without creating a certain danger for capitalism. Having long ago broken with the spirit of Marxism, it has found itself compelled to discard also the banner of Marxism;

it has openly and unambiguously taken a stand against the offspring of Marxism, against the October Revolution, against the first dictatorship of the proletariat in the world....

Present-day Social-Democratism is an *ideological support* of capitalism. Lenin was a thousand times right when he said that the present-day Social-Democratic politicians are “real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class,” that in the “civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie” they would inevitably take “the side of the ‘Versailles’ against the ‘Communards.’”...

It is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to Social-Democratism in the labour movement. That is why the era of dying capitalism is also the era of dying Social-Democratism in the labour movement.

The great significance of the October Revolution consists, among other things, in the fact that it marks the inevitable victory of Leninism over Social-Democratism in the world labour movement.

The era of the domination of the Second International and of Social-Democratism in the labour movement *has ended*.

The era of the domination of Leninism and of the Third International *has begun*.

Panchayat raj**Aims at throttling class struggle,
muzzling voice of protest***Contd. from page 2*

Guarantee Scheme) are dished out. The funds are meager enough for the massive demand for development of long-neglected and exploited villages of this vast country, but the hype is high and the funds prove big enough for the greedy, unholy nexus referred above to reap harvest through one and all corrupt means. Thus, MPs and MLAs endorse the funds and their counterparts, people's 'representatives' or 'guardians' in charge of or associated with the Panchayat raj, make use of that fund ostensibly for the panchayat and people. The equation is quite simple. The more the input, the greater is the lure attraction and the higher is embezzlement.

In reality, these projects and measures are nothing but the means to befool people. Unrelenting capitalist exploitation tends to generate strong resentment and wrath in the toiling people in villages, in the same way it does in their counterparts in cities and towns. Out of fear that this resentment may burst out some day or other against the rulers and the system, the rulers frantically try to mitigate it with the help of dishing out this or that project and pose with all fanfare and media hype that they are benevolently trying to release so many crores of rupees to act for the betterment of the hapless villagers. But at the same time they play the most heinous tricks. With the help of the nexus, referred and defined above, which is really the representative of the ruling class in the rural settings, they themselves usurp the lion's share of the same money allotted by them for the poor through all devious, corrupt means whatsoever. Thus if they release ten rupees for the masses, this or that way they rob tens of crores of rupees. Mind that, the sum they allot are plainly people's money, robbed through taxes and other means; even the panchayats are nowadays imposing taxes on people on such counts as on the charges for a ferry in remote areas where there is no other means of communication, or on the meager poultry assets with the help of which the villagers may happen to earn a minimum of livelihood, or even on the number of trees owned by a family, and so on. Thus they rob twice; once with taxes etc., and then through shameless corrupt or other devious means of usurping money from the so-called development projects.

Pilferage of public fund with alacrity

Besides, using a portion of that 'ill-gotten' money, the nexus raises and maintains bands of hired goons, the village mercenaries to create a reign of terror and intimidation with a view to protecting the interests of the rural rich, the rural bourgeoisie, for keeping mouth of people shut and even for rigging and manipulating elections. Using the servitor media, the union and state governments try to make people believe that they are releasing huge funds, but they are not being utilized, even are being sent back unutilized. But at the same time, they bother least for checking and preventing it, if there is any. As they claim to be spending huge amounts of hundreds of crores of rupees for the villages, it was required for them to strictly and effectively audit the allotment-expenditure accounts with the help of the permanent institution that are there running on people's money itself. Instead of performing this extremely important task, they let the corrupt nexus squander the public money only to make fortune for their own and then cry hoarse about misuse or no use of money. On the contrary, in the face of criticisms, they submit that they stand helpless against panchayat corruptions. Thus with all indulgence and active or tacit patronization of the governments and all the state machineries, the panchayats have become a veritable source of all sorts of evils: corruption, terror, deceit and what not.

For instance, as mentioned earlier in this write up, in community or relief project under panchayats on construction, erection or maintenance, such as the much-hyped 100 days' work programme, invariably there is manipulation in the master rolls or in disbursement of money involved. The difference in the latter case never reaches the villagers, but goes to them who control the panchayats and villages, which is the nexus or any part of it. On a bigger scale large amounts of 'cut money' or commissions in public works and procurement deals are usurped by the honourable members of the nexus, for instance panchayat representatives and officials, associated government officials from top to bottom as also key individuals like the all-powerful local high-ups, MLAs or MPs,

strongmen and others. By virtue of such acts these 'representatives' or 'guardians' of the panchayats amass fabulous wealth in no time, in front of wide open eyes of the villagers.

Diffusing voice of protest

But these make just one side of the story: defalcation or misappropriation of people's money. On the other side with dangling this carrot of development work and some earning from it, panchayats are dragging poor people of villages into the quagmire of meek submission to their condition for grabbing some easy money by coming into the favour of the panchayats, thus accepting the pittance that the panchayats dole out to them. Those people who needed to rise boldly and courageously against corruption, are thus being reduced to beggars, who meekly rely upon the dales of the corrupt and reluctant governments which are in no way anything more than the political managers of the ruling monopolists and their henchmen. Clearly the latter intend to rob people of their spirit to protest and resist the ongoing stupendous corruption and injustice. Thus the rulers are freed of their task of facing protests against their failure to solve the real mammoth problem of development of villages which include eradication, even alleviation of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, absence of proper medical facilities even clean sanitation and potable drinking water. Along with that, common village people who should have the benefits of development projects as a matter of right, are not only denied of it rather taking advantage of their poverty and helplessness, people in power make these hapless poor beg for doles or favours and thereby turn them into a meek, submissive vote-bank to always stand in their stead in parliamentary politics. Side by side, such projects also provide to some businessmen or industrialists or financiers new and newer avenues to invest and fetch as much profit from these as they can in normal or any corrupt ways, particularly in the situation when recession prevents investment in productive industries. Thus panchayat 'development' turning out projects work in a two way: keeping the poor people away from movement and helping the rich to make money on and from panchayat funds.

Power concentrated in a noxious nexus

It is also a fact that in addition to panchayat representatives hailing from the nexus of jotedars-mahajans and their favour-seeking elements, including criminally notorious, even murderers, they themselves set up some candidates from the poorer section of people. These may include even unemployed and uneducated acting as agents of some or other influential character of the village or locality, or women for seats reserved for them to act at the behest of their kins, mostly husbands, fathers or brothers. It turns out to be an easy source of money-making for these newcomers and a hazard-free method for their mentors or masters to enjoy power and pelf without sharing any responsibility and remaining insulated from any criticism or wrath of people for any failure. Even local MPs and MLAs push their kins and hang-ons as members and chairpersons of panchayats to have grip upon local governance, rather upon the village vote-bank, by using the panchayat power through them. Here again they take advantage of the lack of political consciousness of those set-up candidates and use them as they desire. As a result they become cogs and screws of the system. All along through their activities they come in interaction with the representatives of the bourgeois state machineries, the administration, the bureaucracy, the police, the government, the banks and all such others. These incessantly indoctrinate them with the bourgeois outlook behind running administration, chant the hymns of rotten bourgeois culture in their ear and over and above everything, vitiate them with the abject self-seeking attitude towards life. Without a political consciousness these representatives from the lower stratum of village society themselves fall victim to the bourgeois politics- culture and outlook of life and are soon swamped in the vortex of panchayats, degraded and corrupt, as others are.

Polluting the poor

It must be recalled here that it is the same ruling class and their subservient governments who are fostering and promoting the Panchayat raj, who have, during these more than six decades of independence, trounced upon

Contd on page 7

Panchayat raj**Fight against corruption is part and parcel of class and mass struggles***Contd. from page 6*

democracy at any and every pretext, have enacted one after another stringent to more virulent black acts to curb democratic even fundamental rights of people, have turned the parliament and the assemblies largely into houses of criminals- mafias- self-seeking politicians- monopolists and such other parasites of society that live on vulgar wealth amassed through corrupt, devious processes. It is the same ruling class that has shamelessly robbed the country including the villages to bleed people white. And even with such a track record they are pleading for extending democracy to the villages, 'empowering' villagers for self-governance and self-sufficiency. And with that they are fostering and promoting a putrid system, which is part and parcel of this crisis-ridden totally degenerate capitalist system of the country.

All these contributions of the panchayats, the maladies they are producing are directed and designed ultimately towards shattering the ideological- cultural-ethical- moral fabric of the village community at the stroke of a virulent debasement self-centred bourgeois culture based on corruption and degradation. In spite of capitalism relentlessly consolidating itself in the independent India, despite the most abominable crisis of capitalism engulfing all spheres of life economic-political-social- cultural, the ruling monopolists could not put a bridle to determined struggle of the toiling people against exploitation-oppression- discrimination, could not bend the fighting people to their knees. In spite of the abject cultural-moral degeneration that has been given birth to by the crisis-ridden capitalist system of the country, and that has been pervading people's life in cities and towns to a greater or lesser extent, the vast rural hinterland of the country was to some extent free from those vices. Morality, values, ethics used to have some meaning, some appeal to people there. Resistance against injustice, protest against oppression, indignation at the discrimination used to stem from this cultural ethical ambience still prevailing in the villages. Life and living still had warmth, charms and beauties even in those illiterate poverty-stricken hinterland of the country. But those were the last things which the

ruling monopolists could digest, could accept. So instead of effectively eradicating the maladies of illiteracy, poverty, unemployment and such others from the villages, the rulers and their subservient governments and other agents desired, and desire, to ravage these villages along with their warmth-charms-beauties. They intend to totally destroy the yet-humane village life and turn the village community into a degraded-corrupt-dehumanized-self-centred populace with their moral backbone shattered and thus totally emasculated, unable to stand against any injustice-oppression-discrimination, miserably helpless to rise in demand of alleviating even the most acute burning problems of their life and livelihood. They will simply be converted into a congregation of inert masses, either dipped into corruption-degeneration or pushed to a life resigned to fatalism and all sorts of obscurantism. This is what the fascists would always try to create so that the genuine revolutionary force find it hard to develop mass and class struggles on the edifice of higher culture and ethics. And this is precisely the heinous design with which the rulers, the ruling capitalists, including the rural bourgeoisie, their pillar bureaucracy, subservient national or regional bourgeois parties including social democratic forces and parties, the governments formed by this or that of these parties and their henchmen represented by various kinds of vested interests are leaving no stone unturned to promote panchayats. It is being found that in this bid of theirs to promote and reign over the panchayats there often develop bitter and deadly conflicts even among such forces or individuals serving the capitalist system, centring round distribution and division of power and pelf. As inevitable consequence of these, villages are turning out to be war-fields, having been vertically split into mutually conflicting forces, each resting on money and mafia and rising alternately to the power on their strength. But whoever may be in control, whoever may be the operator of the panchayats, the object remains the same: to subservise the existing system with all its vices. However, the clashes and conflicts they bring in only add to vitiate the social ambience of villages further.

Vote-birds irrespective of hues thrive

It must be added here that to give effect to this design of the ruling class, all the ruling bourgeois parties including social democrats sustaining upon vote-politics and subserving the capitalists are engaged in a rat race to win the favour of the class. There is no difference among these political parties in this regard whatever be their political jargons and slogans, rightist or so-called leftist.

However, even among these instances, that of the more than three decade long rule of the social democratic force CPI(M) has amply demonstrated that in their frantic attempt to serve the capitalist system and the monopolists, this party masquerading as Marxists could make all the vile processes of corruption nearly perfectly organized, all the processes of winning elections through any means whatsoever almost foolproof and all the processes of retaining power over the panchayats and thereby control the village vote-bank unaffected, virtually free of opposition, particularly through reckless use of armed and organized criminal gangs to unleash unbridled threat and intimidation, going to the extent of ruthless killing, with a view to terrorizing the village people.

People's conscious struggle is only deterrent

In conclusion then it must be realized that once the ruling capitalist class and their subservient parties can successfully give effect to their design, it will rob the poor toiling people of villages of their minimum moral-ethical strength to stand against any injustice or irregularity, to develop any organized movement for their own rights. It is true that the extremely filthy corrupt politics and practices in panchayats have made the rural ambience so vitiated, so sluggish that it is becoming harder and harder day by day to raise any kind of struggles even on minimum democratic demands of life. However, SUCI (Communist) as the real revolutionary party of the country stresses emphatically that there is no question of letting the evils reign unopposed, more so if we do not want to pass into total doom. Panchayat corruption must be

fought hard and thwarted. Hence struggle against corruption and degradation, even any struggle for any relief or demand from the panchayats must be developed as a part and parcel of the broader mass and class struggles of the exploited people in every corner of the country, in cities and towns as well as villages on the edifice of higher ideology and culture with people's committees formed as instruments of struggles to steer these struggles, equipping people with alternative power and thus paving the way for making them conducive to the revolutionary struggle against capitalism under the leadership of the revolutionary party of the working class. So long as that struggle is not developed to its desired strength, so long as the masses of toiling people are not prepared for revolution ideologically and organizationally, the revolutionary party will have to participate in panchayat elections just as it participates in the assembly and parliament elections with the final object of freeing people from the illusion of parliamentary politics. In the manner a revolutionary party leads people to fight elections as part of broader democratic struggles without succumbing to the parliamentary outlook of winning it by any means fair or foul, it also calls upon common people of villages to fight panchayat elections with all vigour and intent taking every step to win it but always on the edifice of higher culture and ideology. People must fight to get such candidates elected in the panchayats who would not only strive to run panchayats free from corruption, but also stand resolutely for their legitimate democratic demands in broader fields of life, who will combine the struggle inside the panchayats with the intense class and mass struggles going on in the broader fields of people's life. Only then will be the pressure created to keep a control or curb on corruption in panchayats. It is incumbent upon every right-minded person to add his or her mite to this arduous process of building up an indomitable struggle that would fight for every democratic demand including putting effective curbs upon corruption. SUCI(C) pledges to stick to the task it has set for itself; it fervently calls upon people to come forward and strengthen its effort.

Bihar Bandh called by SUCI (C) and other left parties, a grand success

Incidents of rape, gang rape, murder, loot and abduction have got at its zenith in the recent past in the state of Bihar. Corruption has registered its sinister presence at every level of administration. The administration turned out and out anti-people. The Chief Minister Nitish Kumar seems totally indifferent to the legitimate demands of different sections of the people. Attitude towards protests registered in the meetings in different districts by different sections of people in different ways shows clearly the anti-people character of the government and it's CM Nitish Kumar. People's movements are being curbed with batons and bullets. Not only this, the liquor shops are mushrooming in every corner of towns and cities and even in rural areas. Recently 12 people died consuming poisonous liquor at Paroo Block in Muzaffarpur district. 6 People lost their lives in Saran district due to same reason. In the meantime CM Nitish Kumar told in one of his mass meetings, "If people do not consume liquor, wherefrom revenue will be collected, how school girls will get bicycles." School girls came out on streets and demanded to stop consumption of liquor refusing to have bicycles from the

revenues collected by selling liquor. While leading a procession against liquor at Muzaffarpur Collectorate premises an old former minister was beaten up mercilessly by the liquor mafias in broad day light in presence of high ranking Police and administrative officers. This incident exposed the nexus of leaders of ruling parties, liquor mafias and police-administration. Such a situation reflection of anger amongst the people is quite natural. Bandh against these rising crimes in the state, corruption in every level of administration, irregular supply of power and its tariff rise, worst condition of education and health expressed the anguish of the common people was unprecedented. In absence of proper action on time by police and administration the situation of Madhubani went explosive and 3 people lost their lives in police firing.

SUCI (Communist) workers came out on streets holding placards on 15 September, 2012 on the day of Bihar Bandh and appealed to the people to support the Bandh. Comrade Shiv Shankar, Secretary, SUCI (C), Bihar State Committee congratulated the people for making the Bandh a grand success.



Comrade K. Radhakrishna, member, Central Committee addressing a school of politics in Bangalore. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, Member, Polit Bureau, SUCI(C) (5th from left) conducted the school. This 4-day school was held from 12-15, October, 2012

Corrigendum

In Proletarian Era issue dated 1 May, 2012, a line "But he gave it up once doctors advised him to do so" was omitted through inadvertence after the lines "Along with it he had developed a habit of excessive smoking. That too of strong Charminar brand." on p.10. Omission sincerely regretted.

Massive public response to Party's literature in West Bengal Puja stalls

This year, during the Durga Puja days around 1000 stalls, fixed or mobile, were put up throughout the state for selling Party literature. There was overwhelming response to these stalls by the people eager to be acquainted with the Party thoughts and analyses of various issues. Total sales as per rough estimation have crossed Rs. 15 Lakhs. Apart from the base document "Why SUCI(C) is the only genuine communist party in India" authored by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's recently published speeches, books on the evaluation of the renaissance stalwarts like Vidyasagar, Saratchandra, Party literatures on the problems of students, youths and education, and Party's analysis on current issue like FDI in retail etc. were among the best sold publications. Many visiting people have also provided their names and addresses for future contact.



A section of the gathering at the conference at Shalimar Bagh, Delhi, on 7 October organized by AIMSS against the rising crime against women



Save Education Committee's Protest against anti-education policies of the government at Allahabad (Subhash Chauraha, Civil Lines) on October 16, 2012



All India Save Education Committee, Odisha held a Dharna in front of State Governor's House at Bhubaneswar on 16 October. Former Vice Chancellor of Utkal University Prof. Gokulananda Das, Prof. Birendra Kumar Nayak, ret'd. Prof. of Utkal University & President of Save Education Committee Odisha Chapter and others also sat on the Dharna. Memorandum was given to the Governor of Odisha addressed to Prime Minister of India.