

Maoist Outlook

Special Issue

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Contents:

	Page
1. Editorial	01
2. October Revolution, Leninism and the Task Today – Com. Kiran	02
3. International significance of October Revolution – Com. Gaurav	11
4. Scientific Socialism, October Revolution and Lenin – Com. Basanta	13
5. Worldwide Historical Significance of Great October Socialist Revolution	21
6. Press Communiqué	23
7. Immediate Political Resolution	25
8. Press Statement on Mao Day	27
9. Press Statement	28
10. Joint Press Statement	29

Editorial

Long Live the Great October Revolution!

One centenary has been completed after the successful accomplishment of October Revolution in Russia. This revolution gave rise to formation of communist parties around the globe and huge preparation of making revolution in one's own country went on in a fast pace. Many countries of the world experienced revolutions under the leadership of communist parties in their own countries, especially during and after the Second World War. China, Vietnam, Korea, Cuba and many other countries accomplished revolution heading the world to 'all the way victory of socialism.' As predicted by Lenin "...we are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible", communist revolutionaries were marching forward for the complete victory of communism. They sincerely followed Lenin's vision: "Long live the world socialist revolution!" Most positive and bright experience of this century after the October revolution is that the world proletarian revolution was heading towards complete victory.

But there is also a dark experience. The invincible forward march for world proletarian revolution experienced counter revolutionary onslaught. World communism and world imperialism are enemies of each other. Counter revolutionary attack from the side of imperialism was easily understood by the revolutionary masses. But counter revolution from within the communist party, by revisionism was deceptive. One of the basic reasons for the reversal of socialism was due to emergence of revisionism within communist parties. The revisionism plays same role against socialism as imperialism does. External enemy of socialism is imperialism and internal enemy is revisionism. It was repeatedly proved correct in the entire history of the last century of the communist movement.

Let us take lessons from the October Revolution and fulfil the responsibility of a communist party. Our duty is to make revolution in one's own country and to fight against imperialism. Fight against common enemy of the socialist revolution - imperialism and all sorts of revisionism and right revisionism in the main!



October Revolution, Leninism and the Task Today

• Mohan Vaidya 'Kiran'

Introduction

The October Revolution, which was accomplished in Russia under the leadership of Lenin on October 25, 1917, deserves a special significance. It was a great proletarian socialist revolution. It had initiated new world revolution and was a harbinger of the new era in the history of mankind. It had opened up the door of new chapter to push forward the process of proletarian revolution in several countries of the world.

This year marks the completion of hundred years of the October Revolution. This year, the centenary of October Revolution is being observed in many countries of the world. Various groups in Nepal are also observing it in different ways. It deserves worldwide historical importance.

There is a close relation between the October Revolution and Leninism. The October Revolution is the foundation stone of Leninism and Leninism gave rise to October Revolution. October Revolution and Leninism are the products and manifestations of the historical process of proletarian revolution. This article will attempt to shed light on the significance of October Revolution and Leninism.

Marx, Engels and Marxism

Under the theoretical guidance of Marxism, the Great October Revolution was accomplished by the Communist Party of Russia led by Lenin. Marxism is the doctrine of the international proletarian revolution. Mainly Marx and also Engels had played important role in the development of Marxism.

Lenin had assimilated Marxism well. Marxism has developed with the totality of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. Marxist philosophy is the philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism. It stands against all sorts of idealism and metaphysics. The Marxist political economy is based on labour theory of value and the theory of surplus value. It regards the relation between people as the base, not the relation between things. The scientific socialism developed by Marxism is the sum total of class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the doctrine of establishing communism. It opposes all sorts of reactions and utopian socialism in the sphere of state power.

Lenin, in his various works, has deeply studied, analysed and synthesized the theoretical propositions of Marxism. In some of his writings, he has formulated the characteristics of Marxism in a very simple, brief and consolidated manner. In this context, the meaningful articles like, "Three sources and three component parts of Marxism" and "Karl Marx and his teachings" are most readable.

Shedding light on the importance of Marxism, Lenin says, "The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is comprehensive and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world outlook irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defence of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate successor to the best that man produced in the nineteenth century, as represented by German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism."¹

Here, three sources of Marxism: the German philosophy, English political economy and French socialism have been mentioned. Right on the basis of these three sources, three component parts of Marxism have developed, they are: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. On the one hand, Lenin, assimilated these three sources and component parts of Marxism, and on the other, developed Marxism as well. The development of Marxism took place in the midst of intense class struggle and revolution. Of such struggles and revolutions, the October Socialist Revolution was the historical climax.

Great October Revolution

The great October Socialist Revolution accomplished in Russia was a far-reaching event in the world history. It was a historical announcement of an end to the capitalist era and the beginning of the socialist one. It had brought the old bourgeois parliamentarian era to an end and had initiated the new era of the

dictatorship of the proletariat. It had conveyed a new message and encouragement to the world, not the Russia only. It was a forward-looking qualitative leap in the history of mankind.

The great October Revolution is the continuity and inheritor of the historic Paris Commune. In the context of Paris Commune, Marx had said, "If the Commune should be destroyed, the struggle would only be postponed. The principles of the Commune are eternal and indestructible; they will present themselves again and again until the working class is liberated."² As Marx had said the principles of the Paris Commune were really eternal and indestructible.

Shedding light on the objective of Paris Commune, Lenin in the article headed "In memory of the Commune", had said, "The cause of the Commune is the cause of the social revolution, the cause of the complete political and economic emancipation of the toilers. It is the cause of the proletariat of the whole world. And in this sense it is immortal."³ Here, Lenin has said that the cause of Commune i.e. the theoretical objective is immortal. Those immortal principles and objectives appeared again in the Russian October Revolution.

The main principles of Paris Commune were: first, to destroy the bureaucratic and armed machinery of the state, second, to abolish the parliamentary system and third, to initiate proletarian democracy i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat. The great October Socialist Revolution fulfilled these tasks by establishing Soviet power in Russia. Just for example, on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of October Revolution, Lenin says, "The Soviet system provides the maximum of democracy for the workers and peasants; at the same time, it marks a break with *bourgeois* democracy and the rise of a *new*, epoch-making *type* of democracy, namely, proletarian democracy, or the dictatorship of the proletariat."⁴

In fact, Lenin had laid special emphasis on the revolutionary theory to make revolution. Not only this, he had cast that theory into policy and programme. Also, he had laid emphasis on the need to develop policy and programme along with theory.

The Russian revolution, as a whole, was accomplished in two historical stages. The first one was the bourgeois democratic stage. It had completed through the period from 1905 to February revolution of 1917. The second stage of Russian revolution was that of socialist revolution accomplished in October 1917. Different strategies were taken up for two different stages of revolution. Shedding light on the strategic plan of October Revolution, Stalin says, "The Bolshevik strategy . . . planned the main blow along the line of liquidating the power of the bourgeoisie by the combined forces of the proletariat and the poor peasants, along the line of organising the dictatorship of the proletariat in the shape of a Soviet Republic. Rupture with imperialism and withdrawal from the war; liberation of the oppressed nationalities of the former Russian Empire; expropriation of the landlords and capitalists; preparation of the conditions for organising socialist economy—such were the elements of the Bolsheviks' strategic plan in that period."⁵ In Russian revolution, not only were the political policy, programme and strategy developed but in order to implement them in practice the military path and strategic plan also were chalked out. The military path of Russian revolution was that of the armed people's insurrection. Lenin had paid special attention on both of the theoretical and practical aspects while sorting out military line, policy and plan. In this context, the article "Marxism and insurrection" worked by Lenin is very much noteworthy. On the one hand, firmly pursuing the Marxist concept of taking insurrection as an art, the objective and subjective conditions have been correctly analysed, and on the other, a general military plan has also been sketched in it. In this article, Lenin confidently says, "Only to illustrate the fact that at the present moment it is impossible to remain loyal to Marxism, to remain loyal to the revolution *unless insurrection is treated as an art*."⁶

Leninism

Basing upon Marxism, the series of ideas developed by Lenin is Leninism. What is Leninism? Stalin says, "Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact,

Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.⁷ Leninism has been correctly defined here.

Lenin gave rise to Leninism in the course of defending, applying and developing Marxism amidst revolution. Revisionism emerged at the time of Lenin and it distorted and perverted Marxism. He defended Marxism by waging firm theoretical struggle against revisionism. He did not constrain only in the defence of Marxism, he applied it in Russian land. On account of the situation developed and changed in the course of defending and applying Marxism, he enriched Marxism. In this context, he waged strong ideological struggle against dogmatism and empiricism.

Marxism has three components parts, they are: philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. Lenin developed all of three component parts of Marxism. Thus, Leninism became the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

After Lenin, Mao developed Marxism-Leninism and thus Marxism-Leninism-Maoism became the guiding principle of the world proletariat. The significance of Marxism-Leninism does not diminish though Maoism has been developed now. Leninism does not exist without Marxism and Maoism does not exist without Marxism-Leninism.

In the development of Marxism, the contribution that Lenin made in philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism is worth remembering. Therefore, it is necessary to briefly shed light on the contribution made by Lenin in these three fields.

Philosophy

Lenin's contribution to the field of philosophy is very much important. Lenin assimilated the Marxist philosophy and developed it. In this field, he carried out ruthless ideological struggle against all sorts of idealism, metaphysics and the mechanical materialism as well. He paid necessary attention on the developments taking place in natural and the social sciences.

Marxist philosophy is dialectical materialist philosophy. It places matter at the first and consciousness at the second position. It accepts independent existence of matter out of man's mind. The dialectical materialism believes that this world is knowable and so it is changeable. It believes that the matter and motion present in it are eternal, the relation between them is inseparable and one transforms into another. The essence of Marxist philosophy is to comprehend and mainly to change the world. This is the world outlook of the proletariat.

Lenin waged firm struggle against the attack upon dialectical materialism carried out from different angles and the thinking that distorts it. In the philosophical front he opposed revisionism.

In the field of philosophy, first of all Lenin opposed neo-Kantianism, agnosticism, idealism, dualism and metaphysics found in the revisionists including Bernstein. He strongly attacked upon the non-Marxist thinking of Bernstein and his disciples.

Following the failure of revolution in 1905, idealism raised its head forcefully in the form of neo-Kantianism and neo-positivism in the philosophical field. Negatively presenting the inventions made in the then natural science, the idealists started shouting that matter has disappeared, materialism has become non-existent and matter and motion have separated from one another. They distorted the invention of electron in physical science. In this situation, Lenin wrote a very important article entitled: "Materialism and empirio-criticism." In the situation when the atom was considered to be indivisible, the invention of electron created a serious doubt on the concept of atom based on physics. Right in this situation, Lenin said, "And while yesterday the profundity of this knowledge did not go beyond the atom, and today does not go beyond the electron and ether, dialectical materialism insists on the temporary, relative, approximate character of all these milestones in the knowledge of nature gained by the progressing science of man. The electron is as inexhaustible as the atom, nature is infinite."⁸ In this course, Lenin vividly deliberated the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. He provided a new

height to the issues including the source of knowledge and its objectivity, relativity and the absoluteness of truth, and the criterion of truth. In this way, Lenin also developed the concept of partisanship between idealism and materialism in the philosophical front and exposed all kinds of dualism and neutralism.

Lenin made a vivid study of the materialist dialectics also. Here, his famous work the “Philosophical Notebook” is most remarkable. On the one hand, he made an in-depth review of Hegelian logics and dialectics and on the other developed in a new way the main concept of dialectics and the law of opposites. He said, “In brief, dialectics can be defined as the doctrine of the unity of opposites. This embodies the essence of dialectics, but it requires explanations and development.”⁹

Also, in his famous work “Philosophical Notebook” he has also reviewed the history of philosophy. It is a profound, scientific and meaningful matter that studies different streams and trends in the history of philosophy.

Political economy

Lenin has made an important contribution to the field of political economy. In his works like ‘what the friends of the people are’ and ‘economic romanticism’ Lenin has defended the trends that distort the Marxist view on political economy. In his work entitled: ‘Development of capitalism in Russia’ Lenin says capitalism has developed in Russia, on the one hand, and he says that a vast population has been trapped in the feudal ownership, on the other.

Lenin’s far-reaching contribution to the field of political economy is the analysis of imperialism. By analysing the process of development of capitalism into imperialism, he said that the imperialism is monopoly capitalism. He said that imperialism is not only the highest stage of capitalism but also it is a decaying and moribund capitalism. Elucidating imperialism, Lenin says, “Imperialism is capitalism at that stage of development at which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital is established; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed.”¹⁰

In the course of analysing imperialism, Lenin has laid special emphasis on three aspects. They are: first, the relation between imperialism and war. Lenin has presented imperialism as a source of war and says war is unavoidable so long as imperialism exists. He has laid emphasis that the proletariat should wage civil war against the imperialist war. Second, the relation between imperialism and opportunism. Lenin has said that the emergence and development of imperialism cause to emerge labour aristocracy, elite class labours with bourgeois colour and revisionism in the party of the proletariat. He has termed such aristocrat labours as the real agents of the bourgeoisie. Third, the relation between imperialism and proletarian revolution. Synthesising imperialism, he has concluded that imperialism is the eve of the socialist revolution.

In addition, he also developed the political economy of socialism. Following the October Revolution, in the field of economy he laid special emphasis on the tasks like: public accounting of producer’s production, distribution and control, growth in labour productivity, organization of competition and the socialization of production in practice.

As a result of imperialist war and war against external intervention, the economic condition of Russia had become shabby. In that situation, Lenin followed new Economic Policy after war communism. He creatively practiced state capitalism too under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was aimed at preparing base for building socialist economy by strengthening peasant economy. Right in this course, he put forward a plan of cooperative. All this policy, work and plan helped strengthen the foundation of socialist economy.

Scientific Socialism

Lenin has very much enriched and developed the scope of scientific socialism. He has very correctly and profoundly deliberated the issues that show importance of theory in revolution, connect theory with the goal, programme and policy of revolution and decide and implement them through party.

Lenin has laid special emphasis on the fact that the party of the proletariat must objectively discuss the relation between the given society and the world by firmly following the dialectical materialist outlook while determining the goal, programme and policy of revolution.

Is the revolution possible in one country? In answer to this question, Lenin said that it is necessary to have a profound analysis of imperialism and pick out its weak link. He changed the concept that the socialist revolution will be simultaneously accomplished in some or many countries propounded by Marx and Engels and proved it by applying in the land of Russia.

One of the most important questions developed by Lenin in the field of scientific socialism is related with democratic republic and Soviet republic. Clarifying it Stalin says, “Before the Second Russian Revolution (February 1917), the Marxists of all countries assumed that the parliamentary democratic republic was the most suitable form of political organization of society in the period of transition from capitalism to Socialism. It is true that in the seventies Marx stated that the most suitable form for the dictatorship of the proletariat was a political organization of the type of the Paris Commune, and not the parliamentary republic. But, unfortunately, Marx did not develop this proposition any further in his writings and it was committed to oblivion. Moreover, Engels’ authoritative statement in his criticism of the draft of the Erfurt Program in 1891, namely, that “the democratic republic . . . is . . . the specific form for the dictatorship of the proletariat” left no doubt that the Marxists continued to regard the democratic republic as the political form for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Engels’ proposition later became a guiding principle for all Marxists, including Lenin. However, the Russian Revolution of 1905, and especially the Revolution of February 1917, advanced a new form of political organization of society—the Soviets of Workers’ and Peasants’ Deputies. As a result of a study of the experience of the two Russian revolutions, Lenin, on the basis of the theory of Marxism, arrived at the conclusion that the best political form for the dictatorship of the proletariat was not a parliamentary democratic republic, but a republic of Soviets.”¹¹ In the field of scientific socialism, Stalin’s remark on the concept developed by Lenin is noteworthy. Let it be remembered, the democratic republic mentioned here should be understood in the sense of bourgeois democratic republic not in the sense of People’s Republic.

The immediate task before the October Revolution was, on the one hand, to destroy the remnants of the medieval era i.e. to complete the bourgeois democratic revolution, while on the other, the long-term or the basic task was to push forward the process of building socialism. That revolution took a concrete step along the direction of eliminating the feudal class distinction, destroying the feudal land ownership, bringing the national, sexual and religious oppression to an end and pushing forward the process of building socialism under the leadership and dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin developed a concept of building new type of party. The parties of the Second International were the groups limited in electoral and legal struggles. Those parties were unable to make revolution in the new era in which the class struggle and class war had advanced. In that situation, Lenin developed a concept that a new, militant and revolutionary party is urgently necessary to build up in order to lead the intense struggle for attaining state power. Right in this context, he also put forward a concept of democratic centralism as an organisational principle of the party. Also, he said that self-criticism and criticism are necessary to forge the party.

Lenin had paid especial attention to military theory and tactic as well in addition to political principle, strategy and tactic of scientific socialism. In this context, his works like, “The armed forces and the revolution”, “Guerrilla warfare”, “Bellicose militarism and the anti-militarist tactics of social-democracy”, “Armaments and capitalism” are especially notable. In his article entitled: “Advice of an onlooker”, Lenin writes, “Armed uprising is a special form of political struggle, one subject to special laws to which attentive thought must be given. Karl Marx expressed this truth with remarkable clarity

when he wrote that ‘insurrection is an art quite as much as war’.”¹² This statement by Lenin on armed insurrection is important. Armed uprising is a form of political struggle and is based on especial laws. Lenin centred attention on them.

In the field of military science, Lenin, on the one hand, assimilated well the Marxist concept that Marx and Engels regard armed insurrection as an art and, on the other, laid emphasis on the study of and preparation for the revolutionary army, armaments, development of war art etc. by relating the emergence and development of imperialism to the context of war. Synthesising the experiences of 1905 revolution and February revolution of 1917, he prepared concrete strategic and tactical plan for October Revolution. Also, he laid emphasis in building small squads of workers and Soviets within the ruling class army. The concept that guerrilla war plays a tactical role in the regular war was also pursued in the October Revolution. The political line of all power to the Soviets and the military line of armed people’s insurrection were synchronised well.

Opposition of revisionism

Lenin has not only opposed the reaction but also revisionism to make revolution and Leninism has developed in the midst of this struggle. The revisionism distorts and misinterprets Marxism. To trail behind metaphysics and idealism against the dialectical materialism, to favour class collaboration in place of class struggle, to hold peaceful parliamentarian path against the principle of violence are the main characteristics of revisionism.

The revisionism is manifested in different forms: right, ultra-left and centre. The right revisionism is a reformist stream. It regards the cabinet and parliamentarianism as its ideal. Although, the ultra-lefts talk at times about revolution loudly, but ultimately follow the path of right opportunism. Though, the centrists at times vacillate between rightist and the Marxist trends, but ultimately they embrace right revisionism. Lenin has opposed and refuted all these three forms of revisionism. He carried out strong ideological struggle against various streams and trends including Bernsteinism, cabinetism, economism, legal Marxism, Menshevik reformism, liquidationism and Kautskism.

According to Lenin, there is a close relation between imperialism and revisionism. He has shed light on the fact that aristocratic or bourgeois labour parties came into being right with the development of monopolistic capitalism in England and the revisionist parties were formed in different countries with the development of imperialism. He has explicitly mentioned that imperialism plays a role behind the split of the revolutionary communist party. And, he has laid especial emphasis that the revolutionaries must rupture with and get rid of the revisionists from the party to build a genuine revolutionary communist party.

Revisionism has a peculiar type of characteristic. It is: to go on holding the banner of Marxism even after abandoning it. On this Lenin says, “Wherever Marxism is popular among the workers, this political trend, this “bourgeois labour party”, will swear by the name of Marx. It cannot be prohibited from doing this, just as a trading firm cannot be prohibited from using any particular label, sign or advertisement. It has always been the case in history that after the death of revolutionary leaders who were popular among the oppressed classes, their enemies have attempted to appropriate their names so as to deceive the oppressed classes.”¹³ These assertions by Lenin have well been verified today in the context of Nepal and the world as well.

The experience after October Revolution

One hundred years have passed after the great October Revolution to now. This period of hundred years has moved ahead amid revolution and counter-revolution, gruesome Second World War and several rise and fall of victory and defeats. The world proletariat has acquired pleasant and tragic experiences in these 100 years. It is necessary to have a short review of the positive and negative experiences achieved in this century.

Seven years period till Lenin was alive after October Revolution is rich with positive events like the culmination of revolution, amazing resistance against the foreign intervention, worldwide influence of October Revolution, organisation of Third Communist International and the construction of socialism. It is a period of worldwide influence and sway of October Revolution.

Following the death of Lenin, Stalin emerged as an impressive leader in the political stage of Russia and the world. Stalin, on the one hand, confronting the internal complexities and inner-struggle and fulfilling basically the responsibilities handed over by Lenin, propelled ahead the process of socialist construction, and on the other, shattered Nazism and Fascism by providing political and military leadership to the Second World War. In spite of some shortcomings, weaknesses and limitations, Stalin era remained very much commanding in the world history.

After the death of Stalin, modern revisionism emerged victorious and capitalism restored in Russia. Subsequently, opposing modern revisionism and raising high the banner of Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution according to the principle of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, Mao played very important role in the world politics and the ICM as well. In course of time, also the socialist countries including China suffered counter-revolution. It led to a serious setback to the world revolution and the communist movement as well. It created a big noise in the world.

After the death of Mao, many communist parties and organisations of the world pushed revolution and tasks of the communist movement ahead in keeping with the given situation. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) was constituted in this course. The process of People's war in the countries including Peru, Philippines, India and Nepal continued advancing. These events created a new hope and encouragement.

However, the revolution and the communist movement suffered another setback. The people's war in Peru reached almost to extinction. A part of leadership, Prachanda and Baburam, severely betrayed revolution in Nepal. Bob Avakian from the USA followed the path of deviation other than Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. The RIM reached almost to a defunct condition.

At present, the international communist movement is mainly divided into two streams. They are: right revisionist stream and the revolutionary stream. The right revisionists, following the path of class collaborationism, parliamentarianism and cabinetism as opposed to class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat and the theory of violence and becoming agents of imperialism, have joined the reactionary rank and state power. Their utterance of Marxism and Communism is merely to hold an advertisement and a hoarding board to deceive the people. Contrary to this, the revolutionary stream in the world is also advancing facing many complexities. The process of people's war and new democratic revolution is advancing in many countries including Philippines and India.

After the dissolution of socialism and restoration of capitalism in the countries including Russia, the apologists of imperialism and reactionaries have been forcefully creating noise that "Communism is dead" and the bourgeois democracy has been without alternative. However, the fact is not that, the globalised imperialism has been entangled in serious crisis, the liberalism to which they claimed to be without alternative has completely failed and the proponents of liberalism have now started favouring protectionism. The imperialism is getting destroyed in itself.

The synthesis reached by Marx that though the Paris Commune has been destroyed, its principles are eternal and they will appear time and again till the oppressed classes are liberated is a scientific truth. Though the socialist countries have suffered counter-revolution, the principles of October Revolution, like the principles of Paris Commune, will remain immortal and they will appear time and again until the world proletariat and the broad masses of the people are liberated. The birth of the Communism is inevitable.

Lesson from history and our task

In studying October Revolution and Leninism, on the one hand, we must learn from history, and on the other, we must pay attention to our task. In regard to this, the important questions we need to seriously keep in mind are as follows:

First: Dialectics of revolution. The revolution advances dialectically ahead, not in a straight but in a zigzag line, amid rise and fall. According to Lenin, one of the laws of revolution is that the defeated exploiter class firmly resists for long keeping all of its things at risk. After one's state power has been destroyed and the heaven of plunder has been snatched, he furiously, emotionally and passionately engages in restoring the lost power. Lenin says, "The transition from capitalism to communism takes an entire historical epoch. Until this epoch is over, the exploiters inevitably cherish the hope of restoration, and this hope turns into attempts at restoration."¹⁴ From this assertion by Lenin a conclusion can be drawn that the possibility of counter-revolution always exists and a historical era is required for the final victory of proletarian revolution.

Second: Petty-bourgeois attitude: Petty-bourgeois attitude always vacillates. The petty-bourgeoisie swing towards revolution when it approaches victory and swing towards counter-revolution when it is defeated. Lenin says, "In the train of the capitalist exploiters follow the wide sections of the petty bourgeoisie, with regard to whom decades of historical experience of all countries testify that they vacillate and hesitate, one day marching behind the proletariat and the next day taking fright at the difficulties of the revolution; that they become panic-stricken at the first defeat or semidefeat of the workers, grow nervous, run about aimlessly, snivel, and rush from one camp into the other – just like our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries."¹⁵ These assertions by Lenin apply well in the context of today's world and Nepal as well.

Third: The whim of becoming a so-called new. There seems a whim of becoming new in the world and Nepalese communist movement. The utterances like the propositions of Marx, Lenin and Mao have lagged behind, one must not stick to the old and the theory should be creatively developed seem to have been presented in an attractive way. The old path, conservatism and dogmatism are opposed but that "new" and "creativity" have ultimately gone to serve the reaction. If we talk of Nepal, the erstwhile CPN UML and the present Prachanda and Baburam, in their whim to become new, have degenerated into reaction. We must firmly oppose the old path, conservatism and dogmatism to make revolution; however that opposition must not be from the empiricist, right revisionist and reactionary perspective but from Marxist one. Great Lenin had vehemently opposed dogmatism and empiricism in the course of developing theory and the angle of his opposition was Marxist.

Fourth: Democratic republic and cabinetism. Till the whole twentieth century and the initial period of the twenty first century, the "spectre" of democratic republic and cabinetism caused to frighten the ICM. And it is frightening now in Nepal very much. The communists had accepted democratic republic during a period of struggle against feudalism, nevertheless after capitalism changed into imperialism and reaction they opposed it. Lenin put forward a slogan of the Soviet Republic against democratic republic. The democratic republic is the main form of old democratic revolution and the bourgeois parliamentarian system. After the First World War and the Russian October Revolution, the era of democratic republic and bourgeois parliamentarian republic ended, and the era of proletarian socialist revolution begun. The democratic revolution that is accomplished in the underdeveloped countries became a part of socialist revolution. Let it be remembered, Mao has explicitly clarified it in his article headed "On new democracy." Nevertheless, what is strange is that those who want others to call them communist shamelessly say that the establishment of democratic republic is the beginning of new chapter of new era. What more theoretical and political degeneration can be other than this?

So far as the question of cabinetism is concerned, it has dangerously appeared in Nepal before us. Lenin says, "The petty-bourgeois democrats, those sham socialists who replaced the class struggle by dreams of class harmony, even pictured the socialist transformation in a dreamy fashion—not as the overthrow of the rule of the exploiting class, but as the peaceful submission of the minority to the majority which has

become aware of its aims. This petty-bourgeois utopia, which is inseparable from the idea of the state being above classes, led in practice to the betrayal of the interests of the working classes, as was shown, for example, by the history of the French revolutions of 1848 and 1871, and by the experience of “socialist” participation in bourgeois Cabinets in Britain, France, Italy and other countries at the turn of the century.”¹⁶ After the February revolution in Russia, the social democrats and Mensheviks had joined the reactionary bourgeois cabinet and Lenin had termed them agent, pawn and puppet of the bourgeoisie. Yes, same type of new puppets is emerging now in Nepal in the name of communists.

Fifth: Preparation of revolution. The revolutions that were carried out in 1905, 1917 February and October in Russia were the consequences of planned theoretical, political, organisational and military preparation made by Lenin. In this context, Lenin had carried out ruthless ideological struggle against spontaneity, legal Marxism, economism, liquidationism, Menshevism and cabinetism and on the other, he had deeply studied and synthesised the questions including degeneration of capitalism into imperialism, imperialism and war and the relation between imperialism and opportunism. We must learn well on the preparation of revolution from Lenin and we must very much responsibly carry on the task of revolution that goes ahead from new democracy to socialism and communism.

Sixth: The question of organising communist international. The establishment of the communist international is an urgent necessity for the world proletarian revolution to advance. Lenin had played important role on this question after Marx and Engels. He had carried out preparation of the Third International around the First World War by waging ideological struggle against right revisionism present in the Second International and organised the Third International right after the October socialist revolution. At the time of the Second World War the Third International was dissolved and later Comminform was organised. It did not work after the demise of Stalin. Mao did not have opportunity to organise new international. Various efforts have been done to organise communist international after Mao. Now the ICM is divided in various streams. At present, learning from Lenin and waging ideological struggle against right opportunism present in the ICM, a concrete initiative to organise the communist international is necessary to take up.

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16. Lenin collected works Vol. 25, page 408

International significance of October Revolution

- Com. Gaurav

The year 2017 is marked by a centenary of the most famous and epoch making event of October Revolution. October Revolution has hardly any parallel in the entire history of mankind. It is so much popular and so deeply engraved at the hearts and minds of the masses even after it has completed one complete century. It has been reflected in the facts that revolutionary organisations and people have celebrated its centenary with vigour and enthusiasm in various countries of the world. It is manifested that real communist revolutionaries, who are genuine followers of October Revolution, celebrated the centenary with enthusiasm and zeal. But some people who have already abandoned and also those who have stood against the basic line of October Revolution are also pretending to celebrate this world famous revolutionary event in a bid to hoodwink the masses that these elements are still at the right path of October Revolution.

Nepal is no exception. The communist movement of Nepal is undergoing through twists and turns, and ups and downs. During the historic period of world shaking event of Peoples' War (1996-2006), genuine Marxist-Leninist-Maoist line, the October Road was predominating in Nepalese communist movement. But one section of major leadership of the erstwhile Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) capitulated and the fruits of revolution were taken away step by step thus paving the way for counter revolution. At the present situation the New Democratic Revolution has suffered a setback and neo revisionism seems to have become predominant. But the setback is temporary and genuine communists are trying to learn lessons from October Revolution and apply in particularity of Nepal to overcome this setback.

International character of October Revolution

Most important revolution in the entire history of the world definitely took place in Russia on October 25. 1917, but its influence was really international. The revolution of tremendous importance gave rise to formation of communist parties at the nook and corners of the world and speedy preparation of anti-feudal, anti-imperialist revolutions at the oppressed countries and socialist revolutions at the capitalist countries. Most important fact about the October revolution is that its proclaimed aim of reaching to communism was not possible without success of world proletarian revolution. Without the rise and success of the international socialist revolutions, to achieve this aim was impossible. Therefore the whole thrust, the whole spirit of the October revolution is to serve the world proletarian revolution by accomplishing Socialist revolution in Russia.

Great event of human history

Numerous articles, several books have been published written by many authors and revolutionary leaders regarding the importance of October Revolution. Among them, a book entitled 'Ten days that shook the world' written by John Reed is most famous and is considered as most authentic account of the revolutionary events of October revolution. In this book Mr John Reeds writes, "No matter what one thinks of Bolshevism, it is undeniable that the Russian Revolution is one of the great events of human history, and the rise of the Bolsheviks a phenomenon of worldwide importance. Just as historians search the records for the minute details of the story of the Paris Commune; so they will want to know what happened in Petrograd in November 1917, the spirit which animated the people and how the leaders looked, talked and acted." (Ten days that shook the world—John Reed, pp 22). Here John's evaluation that "the Russian Revolution is one of the great events of human history" seems to be a realistic approach.

Lenin's address after victory

The October Revolution is unique world event. It was accomplished relatively in a peaceful way without loss of lives at the moment the state power was seized. A lengthy quote from Alan Woods' book 'Bolshevism – The Road to Revolution' has been presented here which provides a vivid picture of how the state power was seized: "At 2.35 p.m. Trotsky opened an emergency session of the Petrograd Soviet.

Stepping up to the tribune, he shouted the words everyone had been waiting for: "On behalf of the Military Revolutionary Committee, I declare that the Provisional Government no longer exists! Long Live the Military Revolutionary Committee!" One after another, he listed the conquests of the insurrection, pausing only to explain the situation of the Winter Palace.

"The Winter Palace has not been taken, but its fate will be decided momentarily....In the history of the revolutionary movement I know of no other examples in which such huge masses were involved and which developed so bloodlessly. The power of the Provisional Government headed by Kerensky, was dead and awaited the blow of the broom of history which had to sweep it away...The population slept peacefully and did not know that at this time one power was replaced by another"

At that point, Lenin entered the hall, still disguised as a workman. In the middle of his speech, Trotsky paused and turned to the man to whom he was now completely united as a comrade-in-arms. All the differences of the past were forgotten in the heart of struggle. "Long live Comrade Lenin, back with us again," were Trotsky's words as he ceded the speakers' platform to Lenin, who now addressed the delegates for the first time. In his historic speech to the Congress of Soviets on October 25, 1917, he said;

"The workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has been accomplished.

"What is the significance of this workers' and peasants' revolution? Its significance is, first of all, that we shall give a Soviet government, our own organ of power, in which the bourgeoisie will have no share whatsoever. The oppressed masses will themselves create a power. The old state apparatus will be shattered to its foundations and a new administrative apparatus set up in the form of the Soviet organisations.

"From now on, a new phase in the history of Russia begins, and this, the third Russian revolution, should in the end lead to the victory of socialism.

"One of our urgent tasks is to put an immediate end to the war. It is clear to everybody that in order to end this war, which is closely bound up with the present capitalist system, capital itself must be fought.

"We shall be helped in this by the world working-class movement, which is already beginning to develop in Italy, Britain and Germany.

"The proposal we make to international democracy for a just and immediate peace will everywhere awaken an ardent response among the international proletarian masses. All the secret treaties must be immediately published in order to strengthen the confidence of the proletariat.

"Within Russia a huge section of the peasantry has said that they have played long enough with the capitalists, and will now march with the workers. A single decree putting an end to landed proprietorship will win us the confidence of the peasants. The peasants will understand that the salvation of the peasantry lies only in an alliance with the workers. We shall institute genuine workers' control over production.

"We have now learned to make a concerted effort. The revolution that has just been accomplished is evidence of this. We possess the strength of mass organisation, which will overcome everything and lead the proletariat to the world revolution.

"We must now set about building a proletarian socialist state in Russia.

"Long live the world socialist revolution!"(Stormy applause). (Lenin Collected Works Vol. 26, page 239-240)

From the last sentence that Lenin mentioned in his historic speech delivered by him at so tremendously important occasion the aim set by October revolution is self-evident and no further explanation may be required.

Lenin's letter to American workers

Almost ten months after the victory of October Socialist Revolution under his leadership Lenin wrote a famous letter addressing to the workers of America. The letter amounts to an important document in which he has very clearly presented Marxist-Leninist approach of world proletarian revolution and international feature of October Revolution. He also gave emphasis that the world proletarian revolution was invincible. This letter was translated in various languages and published in booklet forms and distributed in many countries. It was also published in Pravda. With a hope that it may help to provide enough knowledge about the subject relatively long quotes have been presented here:

“We are banking on the inevitability of the world revolution, but this does not mean that we are such fools as to bank on the revolution inevitably coming on a definite and early date. We have seen two great revolutions in our country, 1905 and 1917 and we know revolutions are not made to order, or by agreement. We know that circumstances brought our Russian detachments of the socialist proletariat to the fore not because of our merits but because of the exceptional backwardness of Russia, and that before the world revolution breaks out a number of separate revolutions may be defeated.

“In spite of this, we are firmly convinced that we are invincible, because the spirit of mankind will not be broken by the imperialist slaughter. Mankind will vanquish it. And the first country to break the convict chain of the imperialist war was our country. We sustained enormously heavy casualties in the struggle to break these chains, but we broke them. We are free from imperialist dependence; we have waged the banner of struggle for the complete overthrow of imperialism for the whole world to see.

“We are now, as it were, in a besieged fortress, waiting for the other detachments of the world socialist revolution to come to our relief. These detachments exist, they are more numerous than ours, and they are maturing, growing, gaining more strength the longer the brutalities of imperialism continue. The workers are breaking away from their social-traitor-the Gomperses, Hendersons, Renaudels, Scheidemanns and Renners. Slowly but surely the workers are adopting communist, Bolshevik tactics and are marching towards the proletarian revolution, which alone is capable of saving dying culture and dying mankind.

“In short, we are invincible, because the world proletarian revolution is invincible.” (Collected Works of Lenin, Volume 28, page 75).

October 20, 2017

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Scientific Socialism, October Revolution and Lenin

- Com. Basanta

1.0 Introduction:

The working class in Russia accomplished the October Revolution in 1917 under the leadership of the Russian Socialist Democratic Labour Party (Henceforth referred to as RSDLP). This revolution, which shook the whole imperialist world, is going to complete one hundred years in the upcoming October 2017. In the context of the hundredth anniversary of October Revolution, the genuine communist parties, working class people and the entire oppressed people all across the world are making study of and learning from the ideological and political line it had sketched towards communism. In this very occasion, our party has decided to observe this centenary all through the year by organising various political events and publish the party organ in Nepali, **Maobadi**, as a special issue of the October Revolution. This article will mainly focus on the basic concept of scientific socialism, the victory of October Socialist Revolution and Lenin's role in it.

2.0 Concept of Socialism:

The invention of steam engine in 1781 by a Scot scientist, James watt, brought about a qualitative change in the sphere of industrial production. It is known as the First Industrial Revolution. Subsequent to this, the social and economic relations of the old feudal system thoroughly changed. The feudal lords changed into industrialists and the peasants into workers. On the one hand, the industrial revolution increased the production of goods in a qualitative manner, and on the other, resulted in the division of society into two classes: bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

The capitalists, who appropriated the means of production turned exploiter and the working class people, who owned nothing other than their labour power, turned to be exploited. Thus the industrial revolution not only caused to increase production but it also gave rise to a new contradiction in the capitalist society: the contradiction between bourgeoisie and the proletariat. As a reaction to class contradiction developed in the capitalist society and the oppression and exploitation brought about by it, new idea of egalitarian society started taking its shape. French thinkers, Saint Simon and Charles Fourier and British thinker, Robert Owen were the ones, who first introduced this idea. According to their opinion, the establishment of an ideal government, which brings the private property and business under its control, administers the activities of various individuals and groups and helps maintain social harmony between them, brings about changes in the human character by creating a conducive environment can be instrumental to solving the contradiction between bourgeoisie and the worker. And they believed through this whole process an egalitarian social system can be established. In this way, the industrial revolution not only developed capitalism it came up with a concept of the socialist society. However, the socialism they envisioned was not the one based on scientific principles. It was a utopian socialism.

3.0 Scientific Socialism:

On the eve of 19th century, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels carried out a profound and critical analysis of the capitalist economy developed in Britain by the economists Ricardo, Malthus and Adam Smith, the utopian socialism put forward by Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen and the classical philosophy developed by Hegel and Feuerbach in Germany. During this process, the political economy, scientific socialism and dialectical materialism, which are known as three component parts of Marxism, acquired their concrete shapes. All this established well the scientific foundation of Marxism. The first ever text of the scientific socialism is the comprehensive interview given by Frederick Engels. It is entitled with: The Principles of Communism. Written by the duos Marx and Engels, the Communist Manifesto, which was adopted by the Communist League in 1848, is the fundamental document of the communist party centred on scientific socialism.

On the history of human society, the Communist Manifesto writes "..... the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles." It has stressed that the class struggle is the driving force of class society and it must be linked with the goal of attaining political power by the proletariat. Right in this context, the Communist Manifesto writes, "...the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy." This excerpt explicitly says that the proletariat cannot win the battle of democracy without having its own power. This is the foundation stone on which the principles of scientific socialism stand.

The communism is not simply a hypothesis, but it is an objective reality. Under which conditions is the communism established, the Communist Manifesto has elucidated it. The Manifesto writes, "In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labour, and with it also the antithesis between mental and physical labour, has vanished, after labour has become not only a livelihood but life's prime want, after the productive forces have increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly -- only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois law be left behind in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!" Here Communist Manifesto

has mentioned about the prerequisites based on which the humanity can enter into communism. Scientific socialism is a transitional class society, which bridges capitalism and communism.

With the passing of time, the principle of scientific socialism developed further. In the letter dated March 5, 1852, to Wedeyemer, Marx has excellently synthesised the theoretical concept on how does a class society transform into the classless society and how does the whole humanity reach to communism. In that letter he writes: "No credit is due to me for discovering the existence of classes... . . . bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this class struggle... What I did that was new was to prove: (1) that the existence of classes is only bound up with the particular, historical phases in the development of production (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat, (3) that this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society." Marx has brilliantly synthesised the fundamental concept of scientific socialism in this excerpt.

Marxism is a science, so it necessitates application. And application develops it further. Marx and Engels did not have opportunity to lead the socialist revolution in person. Nevertheless, they obtained a good opportunity to study the civil war in France at close and learn from the whole experience acquired from the establishment of Paris Commune to its collapse, among many others. Subsequent to the failure of Paris Commune, Marx reached to one more synthesis: "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." This is the crux of scientific socialism. In a letter to Kugelman written on April 12, 1871, Marx further emphasised, "... . . . I declare that the next attempt of the French Revolution will be no longer, as before, to transfer the bureaucratic-military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it and this is the precondition for every real people's revolution on the Continent." This last synthesis Marx and Engels had made in their life time on scientific socialism is the cornerstone of scientific socialism.

We discussed above the development process of the theory of scientific socialism. While arriving here, not only had the scientific socialism enriched but also the political economy and the dialectical materialist philosophy had enriched as well. The enrichment of all of its three component parts, Marxism elevated to a new height. Thus, while reaching towards the last decade of the 19th century, Marxism had established almost all over the world, not merely as a proposition, but as a scientific world outlook and the liberating ideology of the proletariat and oppressed masses.

4.0 October Socialist Revolution and Lenin

During the time of Marx and Engels, the capitalism was competitive and so it was progressive. In view of the inherent characteristics of the competitive capitalism they had concluded that the socialist revolution is not possible in one country, but it simultaneously takes place in the entire European countries including Britain, France and Germany in which the capitalism has developed well. Later on, the capitalism did not remain competitive anymore, it acquired monopolistic character. In spite of the full-fledged development of capitalism in those countries, the socialist revolution did not take place as Marx and Engels had envisioned. In this situation, Lenin made a thoroughgoing examination of the Russian society, brilliantly analysed the imperialism and studied the inter-imperialist contradictions, and on the basis of this, he developed general strategy and specific tactics to agree with the then global and Russian situation. Thus, the Socialist Revolution succeeded in October 1917 in Russia. Not only was the socialist revolution accomplished but its success proved in practice that socialist revolution is possible in one country with which imperialism has a weak link.

The deep study of Marxism by Lenin, the determined ideological and political struggle he waged against the wrong trends in his party had a special role to play behind the success of the socialist revolution in Russia. The ideological and political preparation was made amidst the intense struggle against the wrong trends prevailing in the party he had led, by means of the concrete analysis of the concrete condition of the Russian society and from the experience of class struggle in the contemporary world. The struggle he had waged against the wrong thinking and trends more than 100 years back and the investigation he had

carried out then contain basically the same essence even now, though they have some differences in form. So, they are important sources for us to make study of and learn from even today. They can mainly be presented as stated below.

4.1 Struggle against economism

The socialist ideology had widely spread in Russia towards the end of the 19th century. There were several communist groupings organised in different cities of Russia. However, almost all of those groups had very strong influence of economist thinking with them. The development of labour movement was not possible in Russia without defeating economism, the main ideological hindrance facing the movement at that time. Lenin emphasised on the publication of a theoretical organ to develop ideological and political clarity all through the party and defeat wrong trends prevailing in the then movement. Party decided to bring out a publication, Iskra, in 1900 to help materialise that goal. He thoroughly exposed economism by publishing in it the article headed: Where to begin. Many of his articles published then in Iskra were sharp ideological weapons aimed at attacking economism.

Lenin published in 1902 an important work entitled "What is to be done." How do the economists, paying lip service to Marxism, confine labour movement within the constraint of economic benefits and how do they annihilate the revolutionary essence of labour movement by belittling the importance of theory has been thoroughly exposed in it. In fact, the sharp struggle waged in this very course destroyed well the theoretical foundation of economism in Russia and built up a correct ideological footing for the RSDLP in the eve of its upcoming second congress.

4.2 Struggle to build a revolutionary party

Revolutionary ideology is inevitable for any revolution to succeed. However, merely a correct ideology does not make revolution. The proletariat needs an organisation to apply that ideology into revolutionary practice. In his collected work, Vol. VII, page 415, Lenin writes, "The Proletariat, in its struggle for power, has no weapon other than organization." Lenin used to lay more stress in building organisation. But he never let the question of building organisation get detached from correct ideology. He had a clear grasp of the fact that only a disciplined party guided by Marxism can be revolutionary. Whether it was the party led by him or an international organisation, he always placed ideological struggle against wrong trends at the first place. He developed organisational principle of the communist party. It is known as democratic centralism.

The RSDLP organised its second congress in 1903. Lenin presented the political report. There was no any difference as such in the ideological and political questions. However, sharp difference emerged on the question of organisation. Lenin had proposed three minimum conditions necessary for an individual to acquire the party membership. They were: one, he must support party's political programme two, he must pay levy to the party and three, he must be organised in a certain committee. However, Martov placed dissension on it. He opposed the third condition. In his opinion, it was not necessary for any party member to remain in the committee. Thus, Martov favoured a loose party organisation, which is formed of individuals without any specific responsibility for them. But on the contrary, Lenin was in favour of the militant party formed of disciplined and professional revolutionaries, organised in the committee. Lenin never compromised on it. It was in fact an ideological struggle manifested in the organisational question. As a result, two distinct trends appeared in the party. Majority were called Bolsheviks and the minority as Mensheviks.

4.3 Two-line struggle

The difference that had surfaced in RSDLP on the criterion of party member did not confine within it. It spread into many other questions of two-lines. It is not possible in this short article to analyse in detail the piercing two-line struggle undergone between Bolshevik and Menshevik. In essence, it can be pointed out thus. Mensheviks were of the opinion that party structure should be open and loose, proletariat should unite with the liberal bourgeoisie and the later one should be the leader of revolution, the bourgeois

democratic republic should be the immediate goal of revolution, the peaceful method of struggle should be applied, the socialist programme should not be implemented for long even after the seizure of power etc. Quite the opposite, the Bolshevik's position was that party structure must be clandestine and active, workers must unite with the peasantry, proletariat must be the leader of revolution, armed struggle is decisive for the seizure of power and the proletariat must implement socialist programme right after the seizure of power by the proletariat etc. In fact, these questions were not the issues of mere intra-party struggle within RSDLP. Evidently, it was the serious two-line struggle centred on reform or revolution within the party.

In addition to this, the concept based on which the Mensheviks had carried out two-line struggle in the party was not the one related to them only. It was the concept of the then world communist movement. Kautsky, who was the main leader of the erstwhile Second International, was the key person to formulate policy and line for the then international communist movement. Thus, the then two-line struggle between Bolshevik and Menshevik was in fact the two-line struggle between Lenin and Kautsky, who respectively represented Marxism and revisionism in the then International Communist Movement. Kautsky was opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin firmly avowed that those who do not agree with the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be Marxists. In this regard, his works: 'Marxism and revisionism' published in 1908 and 'the proletarian revolution and the renegade Kautsky' published in 1918 are very much important.

4.4 Second Congress and the 1905 Revolution

After the Second Congress, the Mensheviks spread several divisive activities and a number of confusing nonsense all through the country. It created a widespread despair in the entire party rank and the masses. Without defeating ideologically their wrongdoings against revolution, development of the movement was not possible. Pointing towards their anti-party activities, Lenin prepared in 1904 a very important work entitled "One step forward two steps back". After its publication, the confusions created by Mensheviks got crushed, party situation got changed and the base of building party organisation strengthened. It was a good thing for the party and revolution both.

With this background, some important political events came up in the beginning of 1905. Mensheviks separated from the RSDLP, Bolsheviks organised the Third Congress and consolidated their party, Japan attacked upon Russia, Tsars suffered a humiliating defeat resulting chaos in the Russian military and workers' strikes caught up momentum substantially. It was a favourable condition for the revolution to advance. The revolutionary movements spread all across Russia and People's Soviets were established. Right in this situation, Lenin called on an armed uprising in 1905 in Russia. However, in spite of heroic fighting on the part of the revolutionaries, the revolution did not succeed. Notwithstanding its failure, the armed uprising shook the Tsar aristocracy deep to its root. Lenin has termed the 1905 armed insurrection as the rehearsal for the October Socialist Revolution.

4.5 Analysis of imperialism

During the time of Marx and Engels, the capitalism was competitive and progressive. Later, it changed and entered into its next stage: imperialism. The imperialist countries entered into colonial wars in their bid to expand market and milk cheap labour and natural resources from the underdeveloped countries. In a short span of time, it changed into the First World War. According to Kautsky, the ideologue of the Second International, it was a leap made by imperialism into "ultra-imperialism". For him the "Ultra-imperialism" was a positive thing. He said that "ultra-imperialism" is good because it brings stability in the world and there will be no risk of war anymore. It was the result of his right opportunist deviation.

The analysis Marx and Engels had made turned inadequate after the competitive capitalism changed into imperialism. The socialist revolution was not possible in any country without a profound study of the later developments the imperialism had gone through. Lenin studied it thoroughly. Drawing a conclusion that imperialism is a particular stage of capitalism, he pointed out its basic characteristics. According to him

imperialism is: one, monopoly capitalism two, parasitic or decaying capitalism and three, moribund capitalism or the capitalism on its deathbed. This analysis made 100 before years by Lenin holds good even today. In one sentence, the imperialism is monopoly capitalism developed by replacing competitive capitalism. It further sharpens the basic contradiction between the collective production and private appropriation, the characteristics of the capitalist system. No ways other than the socialist revolution can solve this contradiction. Precisely for this reason, Lenin has said, "Imperialism is the eve of proletarian revolution."

4.6 The First World War and revolutionary tactic

Ever since the beginning of the 20th century, the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and Japan had begun to impose wars upon many other countries. The war between Russia and Japan mentioned above was a part of this war. When the danger of world war was smouldering, the Second International held its congress in 1907. Taking into account of the impending World War, the congress adopted a tactic for the Social Democratic Parties amid sharp debate. Prevent World War before it breaks out and convert it to civil war, in case it starts, was the tactic adopted by the congress. Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht were the main leaders, who played crucial role to develop this tactic. And it was correct. The congresses organised later decided to stand against the war budget if the war breaks out, in addition to ratifying the previous decisions.

The First World War began in July 1914. The Social Democratic Party of Germany called on a meeting to discuss the war budget tabled by the government. But, many of the leaders placed their opinion in favour of the budget. Only a few of them including Rosa Luxemburg adhered to the decision adopted by the Second International, whereas Kautsky opted for abstaining the parliamentary session. Eventually, the German Social Democratic Party led by Kautsky supported the war budget in contradiction of the decision taken by the Second International. Many other social democratic parties followed it. In fact, it was an ideological death of the Second International.

Hence, only the RSDLP (Bolshevik), no others, remained in favour of the decision adopted by Second International. After the First World War began, RSDLP called on again the social democratic parties to convert the World War into civil war. However, none of the parties agreed it. The RSDLP (Bolshevik) was the only party that applied the decision.

4.7 End of the reaction period and February Revolution

The period after the failure of 1905 revolution was the period of extreme repression and wide frustration. The Tsars used to issue brutal commands like "take no prisoners" and "spare no bullets." While arriving at 1912, the situation changed to a certain extent. When the struggles had just started developing in a sporadic way, the First World War began in July 1914.

The war brought about further hardship, misery and starvation broadly among the workers, peasants and low-paid government officials. Even many of the bourgeois intellectuals badly suffered from this. It made a big section of them stand against the Tsars. The anger had heightened to the extent that someone aided by foreign agencies plotted to depose the Tsars. However, it did not happen. In this situation, the party called on the workers to come forward to launch political strikes and the armies to help them. Strikes caught up momentum after January 1917. Women's protest rally on March 8 remained unprecedented. With this favourable background, the RSDLP (Bolshevik) called on the workers, armies and the broad masses to come forward for the armed uprising. Right on the following day, 60,000 soldiers rebelled from the army and joined revolution. Following the heroic battle on the part of revolutionaries, the Tsardom crumbled and the bourgeois democratic republic was established in Russia. It is known as February Revolution.

4.8 April Thesis and the October Revolution

Right after the success of February Revolution, the Bolsheviks started organising Soviets from among the deputies of workers, armies and the peasants. Till then Bolsheviks were not strong enough among the workers. Soviets were formed in Petrograd and Moscow, but the Bolsheviks did not have clear majority in them. In addition, a provisional government was set up comprising of the deputies of Mensheviks, the Soviets, in which Mensheviks had majority, and other deputies of liberal bourgeoisie, who were in Duma. The Bolsheviks did not participate in it. On the contrary, they organised separate Soviets comprising of deputies from workers, armies and the poor peasants. Thus, the dictatorship of bourgeoisie led by the provisional government and the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Soviets formed of deputies of workers, army and peasants came into being simultaneously in Russia. Lenin termed it a state of dual power.

Right in this situation, the RSDLP (Bolshevik) organised its seventh conference in April 1917. Lenin presented a four-paged short note in it. However, the very note was an outstanding document that still has a far-reaching significance in the international communist movement. The positions placed in it include: one, no "revolutionary defencism" is permissible; two, the provisional government cannot be supported and the power must remain in the hands of Soviets; three, the parliamentary democratic republic is a retrograde step; four, police, army and the bureaucracy must be entirely abolished; five, the land must be confiscated and nationalised; six, entire banks must be merged into a single national bank led by the Soviet; seven, formation of the revolutionary international must be emphasized etc. Mensheviks opposed it and concluded that the revolution in Russia was in serious danger. The conference adopted the said document and decided the main slogan to be "All power to the Soviets". That very short note is popularly known as "April Thesis" in the international communist movement.

Only after four months of the conference, Bolsheviks organised their 6th congress in August. The congress was held in absence of Lenin for security reasons. Stalin presented the report. The congress decided to prepare for armed uprising. It was a death warrant for the Russian reactionary power. In view of the danger before them, the commander-in-chief of the Army, Kornilov, called on the army to attack upon Bolshevik party and the Soviets. Nevertheless, many of the divisions refused to accept his command. As a result, the army ruling did not work. More than that, it created a question how the army, which does not follow its command, can safeguard the provisional government, let alone the nation and people. All this led to create a very favourable situation for revolution in Russia.

Lenin, who was watching from close the aforesaid situation in army and the state of dual power in Russia, had well understood that if the time draws out it would not be good for revolution. However, it was an urgent task before the party to clearly put forward the concept of proletarian democracy and state power before it has been created. He wrote a very important book "The State and Revolution" to elucidate the Marxist concept of state, even when he was in exile for security reasons. Hence, with clear concept of the proletarian socialist revolution and form of the state power, Lenin landed in Russia on October 20. Party completed necessary preparation for the armed insurrection by organising CC meeting right on the third day of his arrival. With common slogans: **Peace, Bread and Land**, the leaders moved to their respective fronts to lead people's armed uprising.

The provisional government, which was aware of the plan of people's uprising, attacked upon Bolshevik party and the Soviets right on October 25 (as per the old calendar). But, the Red Guards and Bolshevik Army strongly struck back the military offensive. The reactionary army could not withstand the Red Guards, as a consequence, the reactionary state power crumbled and the revolutionary power came into being in Russia on October 25, 1917. The very next day, the congress of Soviets announced the formation of Soviet Government under the leadership of Lenin. Thus, the battle of democracy succeeded and the dictatorship of the proletariat established in Russia. It is known as October Socialist Revolution.

The victory of socialist revolution in Russia was not a thing tolerable for the imperialist marauders. Right after the success of revolution, Germany attacked upon Russia. Lenin courageously led to reach Brest Litovsk treaty between Socialist Russia and the imperialist Germany, as a result the war stopped. But,

after the termination of world war Japan, France, Britain and the USA again intervened upon Russia as their futile bid to re-establish the deposed Tsars in power. It took a form of civil war. Ultimately, the imperialist army could not withstand the Red Guard's offensive. The civil war ended in 1920 and Russia entered into the process of building socialism. It marked a glorious initiation of far-reaching process of socialist construction.

5. Conclusion

In fact, the success of October Revolution was the result of victory of socialism over capitalism. It was a torch bearer that showed the path of liberation for the proletariat and the entire oppressed masses of the world. It was also the initiation of the new era. The success of October Revolution not only proved the correctness of Marxism but also developed Marxism to Marxism-Leninism. Leninism developed as the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Chairman Mao said that the "The flag of October Revolution" is invincible. In this whole process, Lenin became an epochal leader of the world proletariat and the pioneer of the new era.

In the course of advancing world socialist revolution, Mao, the true successor of Lenin, successfully applied Marxism-Leninism in China. In the course of initiation and accomplishment of New Democratic Revolution to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, Marxism-Leninism developed further. Today the world proletariat has obtained Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, as their ideological guide to world proletarian revolution. Mao asserted that those, who do not grasp the theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot be Marxists. It is the latest synthesis reached in the theory of scientific socialism. Those who do not accept it cannot be even Marxists today.

The right revisionism is the main danger before the international communist movement at present. It is mainly manifested in right neo-revisionism and now it has started appearing in the form of post-Marxism as well. These two trends have no difference as such in their essence. The right neo-revisionism states that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a scientific principle and pays lip service to it as well, but in the pretext of developing MLM attacks upon its revolutionary essence. On the other, in the pretext of MLM has been old and so it needs renovation, the post-Marxists annihilate the revolutionary essence of Marxism. In the latest situation of the world communist movement, the CPN (MC) represents the first trend and the RCP, USA represents the second one. The "New Synthesis" put forward by the RCP, USA is the ideological manifestation of post-Marxism. These two parties, who have divorced from MLM recently, have become hurdles on the way to advancing the proletarian revolution ahead at present.

Our party has decided to celebrate the centenary of October Revolution all through this year. We are not celebrating it merely as a routine programme. On the contrary, we have decided to utilise this centenary as an opportunity to study the contribution of Lenin and the October Revolution led by him in developing the principles of scientific socialism, proletarian political economy and Marxist philosophy as well. And the study and investigation has centred on the goal of grasping MLM in uniformity, defeating right neo-revisionism and post-Marxism present in the ICM and preparing for new democratic revolution in Nepal. Right in this process, our party will creatively apply MLM in the particular context of Nepalese new democratic revolution and help the world socialist revolution go ahead in the days to come. It is and must be the objective of celebrating the centenary of October Socialist Revolution.

September 15, 2017

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Worldwide Historical Significance of Great October Socialist Revolution

1. The Great October Socialist Revolution, led by the proletariat under the guidance and leadership of comrade Lenin, was accomplished in Russia on the 25th of October, 1917 as per old calendar and 07th November as per new calendar. The October Revolution was the commencement of a new era in the history of world revolution which was directed against the capitalist class including all forms of feudal remnants. The first centenary or 100th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is being observed with various events and programs all over the world during this year.
2. The Great October Socialist Revolution was the rightful application of Marxism. Karl Marx had formulated dialectical and historical materialism, political economy of the proletariat and scientific socialism as theoretical foundations of Marxism. Lenin made a successful translation of Marxism into practice in Russian soil and he evolved Marxism into Marxism-Leninism as well.
3. The Successful completion of Great October Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union caused the whole world obsessed. Overwhelmed by this historical episode, the process of establishing of the communist parties in other countries caught momentum on the one hand, and, the process of preparing of democratic and socialist revolutions led by the proletariat rapidly speeded up, on the other hand. During these occurrences, communist parties had been emerged into existence in our two immediate neighboring countries China and India. Following the triumph of New Democratic Revolution in China, the communist party of Nepal was founded on the occasion of V. I. Lenin's birth day, that is to say, 22 April, 1949.
4. The capitalist revolution in Russia was succeeded in February, 1917. Then the Bolshevik party did not join the provisional government. V. I. Lenin placed special emphasis in terms of the preparation of socialist revolution by making intense criticism and exposure against reactionary state power and system. Eventually, Lenin furnished the slogan "all powers to the soviets". He accomplished the Great October Socialist Revolution through armed insurrection by organizing militant forces and revolutionary personnel of army. Lenin, as it were, championed the insurrection as an art based upon Marxist teachings and point of view. The October Revolution revealed a new era in world history by placing attack against bourgeois democracy or detaching from it and giving birth to the dictatorship of proletariat.
5. There has been an important role of a long subjective preparation in order to make the Great October Socialist Revolution a success in Russia. Lenin explained that a revolutionary theory and a revolutionary party are inevitably necessary component parts for the revolution. For this reason, he defended, applied and developed Marxism along with making criticism and exposure of revisionism. In this course, he constituted a communist party of new type by ending relation with the revisionists of the Second International on the one hand and also carried out a fierce ideological struggle against rightist, centrist and ultra-leftist trends prevalent within the party on the other.
6. The objective grounds for the Great October Socialist Revolution were being burgeoned during the first imperialist wars. Lenin adopted the policy of converting imperialist wars into a civil war through making correct analyses of crises ridden imperialism on the one hand and synthesizing the contradictions among the imperialist powers on the other. In this way, the salient features of crises ridden imperialism as well as proletarian revolution were embraced, and, at the same time, the course of actions, tactics and strategies of revolution were worked out and applied in practice.
7. In Russia, the bourgeois democratic revolution and socialist revolution had been burgeoned and concluded as corresponding phenomena. The main obligation of bourgeois revolution that occurred in Russia had to establish people's democratic state power by renouncing medieval feudal remnants including monarchy, feudal class exploitation, feudal land ownership and oppression committed against women, nationalities and on religious grounds.

The October Revolution accomplished those obligations that could not have been fulfilled during the February revolution, at the same time, it ensured the nationalization of lands, confiscated the wealth of bourgeoisie and transferred the ownership of factories, railways and banks to the people and public and toppled the bourgeois state power, constituted socialist state power of working class along with poor peasantry and stepped forward for building up of socialism.

8. Afterwards the death of Lenin, the process of building up of socialism continued to advance under the leadership of Stalin. Stalin, including some of his weaknesses, mistakes and limitations, played an important role to build up socialism in Russia by fighting against both internal and external threats on the one hand, and, strengthened international communist movement on the other. Stalin, in this course, safeguarded socialism too by emerging victorious against the wars with fascism during the Second World War. Over this period of time, the countries including China, Vietnam, North Korea and Eastern European countries marched ahead to socialism with the completion of bourgeois democratic revolutions.

9. Right after the death of Stalin, modern revisionism became triumphant in the Soviet Union and the socialist Soviet Union transformed into social imperialism. Mao Tsetung, at that point of time, showed right path to the international communist movement by waging ideological struggle against modern revisionism, on the one hand, and, advanced the process of building up of socialism in China through Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR).

10. It is a matter of regret that socialism has encountered with serious blow and setback by virtue of various subjective and objective complexities, all round attack launched by imperialism and rightwing revisionism and the revolutionary communists not being able to face these matters. Counter revolution became dominant against revolution. The sham socialist Soviet Union also collapsed. The imperialists and reactionaries from around the world blew the trumpet proclaiming the end of history and communism and triumph of capitalism.

11. Even though the globalized imperialism along with neocolonialism and neoliberalism has been predominant and international communist movement has been feeble in today's world. At present, rightwing revisionism has been main threat for revolution both in terms of international and Nepal's communist movement. It is, however, a temporary and momentary phenomenon. At this juncture, imperialism is getting entangled into serious financial, political and cultural crises as well as getting enmeshed into bi-polar or multi-polar contradictions on the one hand, and, national liberation movement, democratic and socialist movements too are grasping momentum in their own way. Necessary initiatives have been taking place in the direction of constituting a new international communist movement in various ways.

In today's world, revolution and communist movement has been evolving in a curvilinear mode. Despite having realized so many multifaceted problems at this very moment, the only alternative to the crises ridden capitalism and imperialism is scientific socialism and it has a bright future alike. This has been proved by the dialectics of history. This is equally true in terms of a particular country and the world as a whole.

12. With the emergence of communist party, a robust influence of communism has been prevailing among the masses of people by means of numerous movements. In our country Nepal too, many of the loving sons and daughters of people have attained martyrdom in the course of various people's movements and decade long people's war. In addition, because of influence of rightwing revisionism, division and splits, weaknesses and limitations on the part of revolutionaries, a qualitative achievement in the movement has not been attained. As a result, establishment of people's democratic state power has not been realized. Though the objective conditions have been getting favorable for revolution both in Nepal and the world over, however, the subjective conditions have remained feeble.

13. Now, we are marching forward by celebrating various events and programs on the occasion of the first centenary or 100th years of Great October Socialist Revolution. On this occasion, it is essential that

we have to decisively march forward to the direction of fulfilling our historical responsibilities by making serious inspection of stronger and weaker facets of the past history of socialist and democratic revolutions and communist movements and learning necessary lessons from the past experiences.

14. The major tasks and responsibilities bestowed by history upon our shoulders are:

- To constitute a new type of communist party by unifying genuine revolutionary communists under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism,
- To unite the proletariat and the masses of oppressed peoples,
- To make necessary preparation in order to march ahead towards scientific socialism and communism by accomplishing new democratic revolution, along the lines of People's Armed Insurrection of Nepali characteristics,
- And to lay emphasis upon constituting of new Communist International,

15. Our party expresses resolute assurances in favor of fulfilling these historical tasks and responsibilities. Herein rests the propriety and significance of organizing and concluding of the centenary of Great October Socialist Revolution. The red flag of Great October Socialist Revolution is Invincible. Let's resolutely come forward!

Long live, Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live, Proletarian Internationalism!

Down with, Imperialism and Expansionism!

Down with, Revisionism and Opportunism!

Long live, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

[Note: This paper was presented as a contribution of the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) at the seminar organized by ICOR in Germany on the occasion of 100th year of October Revolution from 27-29 October, 2017. Party policy has been to work with ICOR as an anti-imperialist front.]

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Press Communiqué

The First National Conference of the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) was held on October 8-12, 2017, in the beautiful tourist city of Pokhara. The important decisions adopted in this historical National Conference have been publicized through this communiqué.

1. Inaugural Session:

- a) The inaugural session of the National Conference, conducted by the headquarters member, Comrade Gaurav, began with the chairmanship of Chairman Comrade Kiran in a big assembly hall decorated with red flags and banners and filled up by party representatives, in and abroad, observers, cultural artists and various guests from different leftist parties.
- b) At the outset, emotional homage was paid to the entire immortal martyrs, national and international, along with those of the great people's war and different mass movements in Nepal by observing one minute silence.
- c) The internationale was sung by the singers of the Samana Pariwar.
- d) The Chairman Comrade Kiran inaugurated the First National Conference by kindling the Panas lamp.
- e) The headquarters member, Comrade Rajbir, delivered the welcome speech.
- f) Samana Pariwar sang the welcome song.

- g) The standing committee member of the Communist Party of Nepal, Comrade Hemanta Prakash Oli, Chairman of the Communist Party of Nepal, Comrade Rishi Kattel, representative of the Communist Party of Nepal (Masal), Comrade Ram Prakash Puri and left intellectual Teknath Baral, emphasizing on the unification of communist and left parties, wished for the successful conclusion of the national conference.
- h) In his inaugural speech, party Chairman Comrade Kiran, yearning for the success of the First National Conference organised to materialise the goal of enriching party's political line further, unifying the revolutionary communists against right revisionist alliance and marching ahead along the direction of preparing for new democratic revolution against the present regressive state and system and giving thanks to all concerned, concluded the inaugural session.

2. Closed Session

- a) In order to conduct the closed session, a five-membered presidium comprised of the Headquarters member Comrade Gaurav, secretariat member Comrade Ramesh, CCM duos comrade Meena and comrade Amar Pariyar and comrade Sri Krishna from the house was elected.
- b) Chairman Comrade Kiran presented political proposals on: the political report, the form of the Nepalese society and party's general line and use of election.
- c) Headquarters member Comrade Rajbir presented the Party Constitution.
- d) Comrade Rajbir presented his proposal related to his dissension and Comrade Kiran also presented the clarification to the former's dissension.
- e) Nine groups were formed to organise debate and discussion upon the said documents and reports and then the collective discussions and debates started.
- f) The Comrades, who had led different groups, presented their groups' conclusion and opinion before the house on the documents. Also, the secretariat members presented views, in between, on the said documents.
- g) Comrade Kiran and Comrade Rajbir, who had presented their documents, provided clarification to the different questions and positions raised from the house. Also, in view of the situation developed after debate, the presenters placed their opinion and clarified their views on the dissensions.
- h) After debate, discussion and clarification, the presidium presented the documents and proposals, one by one, before the house for approval and all of them were unanimously adopted. In this context, some comrades presented their different opinion as record before the house.

The essence of the documents and reports adopted in the conference is as follows:

- Admitting that Nepal is in the semi-feudal, semi-colonial and mainly in neo-colonial condition, the general line of the new democratic revolution as against the comprador and bureaucratic capitalism and feudalism and, imperialism and expansionism has been enriched further.
- Studying the political forces and the developing national and international situation, a conclusion has been drawn that two or three party's syndicate system has emerged, fascism has started growing up, communist-named rightists have turned reactionaries and the danger of world revolution has emerged.
- Decision has been taken to organise in a new way the class struggle, national liberation struggle and resistance struggle and to develop struggle by developing unity in action with different forces.
- A policy of taking necessary initiative to unify genuine communist revolutionaries has been agreed.
- Party constitution has been enriched and amended as to make party a real vanguard of the proletariat under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and to emphasise on building a disciplined, unified and new type of party. The provision of General Secretary has been taken in the constitution.
- Decision has been taken to use provincial and federal elections in a revolutionary way by helping the candidates of Patriotic People's Republican Front, Nepal.
- Paying respect to dissensions, the decision has been taken to resolve them in a new way and go ahead amid the process of transformation.
- Contemporary resolutions on the different issues of national and international significance have been adopted.

- i) On behalf of the presidium, a proposal had been presented to form the Central Committee, along with its criteria, of 95 members, 77 full and 18 alternate, before the house and it was unanimously adopted.
- j) Comrade Gaurav, on behalf of the presidium, presented the names of 77 full members for the central Committee and proposed that the full CC would decide about the alternate members. This proposal was adopted unanimously.
- k) Central Committee meeting of the newly elected members was held on the chairmanship of the oldest member Comrade Mansingh and it elected comrade Kiran as the General Secretary. And decision was taken to elect politburo the standing committee in the next CC meeting.

3. Concluding session

- The concluding session announced by comrade Gaurav began.
- On behalf of the newly elected Central Committee, Comrade Kiran, a) making collective commitment to implement the adopted line and decisions, b) asserting that the National Conference has brilliantly succeeded to unify party in a new way and push forward the revolutionary communist movement, as an alternative force, towards the direction of victory by adopting a correct line and c) giving thanks to all concerned who helped to make the conference a success concluded the conference.

Kiran
General Secretary

October 14, 2017

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Immediate Political Resolution

(Adopted by the CC meeting held on Dec 21-24, 2017)

1. Present political situation

- a) Recently a drama of parliamentary election has been staged in the country under the regressive state power and system. The so-called major parliamentarian political parties have manoeuvred various tricks to make their hold strong in the state power and the system both. In this context, the enactment of threshold and the formation of so-called alliances are mainly notable.
- b) On the one hand, the provision of threshold has provided help for some of the Nepalese political parties to strengthen their monopoly and syndicate system in the Nepalese parliamentarian politics and on the other has raised a serious question on the multiparty system and pluralism they plead for. It must be understood theoretically as an indication of moral defeat and failure of the parliamentarian system itself.
- c) In the course of parliamentary elections, two kinds of political alliances have been built up, they are: so-called left alliance and democratic alliance. The democratic alliance led by Nepali Congress has emerged as a counter to ‘left’ alliance and it cannot create new confusion among the people. But, the so-called left alliance led by the UML, communist by name, has created a big confusion among the people. The ‘left’ alliance has attained ‘victory’ in the present parliamentary elections. This is a big challenge and adversity facing revolution and the Nepalese people.
- d) The imperialist and expansionist forces are very much contented to see that the elements, who have already abandoned the great ideal of communism and have accepted the reactionary state power and system, have on the one hand decorated themselves by communist name and red banner and, on the other, have provided great help to confuse people against revolution and that the new puppets have emerged for them in the place of old ones.

- e) One of the main features of the parliamentarian elections now has become the flooding of much more amount of money than before. Thus, the election, on the one hand, has become a place of perversion, as the climax of buying and selling of the vote and, on the other, it has provided an additional basis to institutionalise more corruption.
- f) The reactionaries and the right revisionists, who have degenerated into reaction, have said that this election has ended transitional period, implemented the constitution of democratic republic and begun new chapter and new era. The foreign reactions also have appreciated and congratulated the election. But in real sense, next chapter of counter-revolution has started in Nepal. We have to work hard to end this chapter of counter-revolution and initiate the new chapter of new democratic revolution.
- g) The forthcoming government will try to present oneself as a progressive regime by carrying out some reformist work and prattling about socialism. However, the torn out net of reform can in no situation sustain the economy dilapidated by comprador capitalism, neoliberalism and foreign oppression. It can never address the expectation, aspiration and necessity of the people who had participated in various mass movements and 10 years' people's war with unprecedented sacrifice and valour aimed at revolutionary change. Though, the base of neo-reactionaries as right opportunism can be stronger after the dissolution of the Maoist Centre into UML, however it is a temporary thing. Now the place for any pretension by which the Maoist Centre can show revolutionary has ended and the neo-reaction is going to face the same misfortune the old reactionaries did before. On the one hand, the problems related to national independence, democracy and people's livelihood and those related to class, nationality, region and sex will become more acute and serious in the days ahead and, on the other, the contradiction between the ruling coalition and the opposition will sharpen in a new way. Now the ground is unoccupied to push forward the process of revolution in favour of country and the people. We should strive to prepare for and develop struggles on the basic problems of workers, peasants, women, Dalits, indigenous nationalities, Madheshis, Muslims and people of the remote areas along with the burning issues. Taking into consideration of the situation and looking for new possibilities we should consciously and laboriously strive to change the adversity into compatibility and face the entire challenges.
- h) In the present situation, we must be active in a planned way to consolidate the party organisation, take concrete initiative to push forward the process of unification and polarisation among revolutionary communists and independently and jointly organise and develop struggles in a planned way and must firmly go ahead along the direction of preparing for new democratic revolution.

2. Review of the parliamentary election

"Real life and the history of actual revolutions show that quite often the "sympathy of the majority of the working people" cannot be demonstrated by any elections. The proletarian revolution is impossible without the sympathy and support of the overwhelming majority of the working people for their vanguard—the proletariat. But this sympathy and this support are not forthcoming immediately and are not decided by elections. They are *won* in the course of long, arduous and stern class struggle."

— Lenin, Vol.30 page 59

This statement by Lenin is very much noteworthy for us.

Recently the parliamentarian election has taken place. The 'left' alliance has been 'victorious by majority' in this election.' Party had taken policy of using this election by supporting the candidates nominated by Patriotic People's Republican Front, Nepal. There were some shortcomings and limitations in it. A brief review is necessary on these issues.

- Nepali Congress lagged behind in this election. NC, on the one hand, presented itself as the synonym of democracy as before and, on the other, failed to give any slogan other than opposing 'communist' system as a dictatorship.

- The so-called left alliance presented the slogans of reform, stability and prosperity in the cover of Marxism. Nepalese people who are attracted to left politics did not see any alternative in a little while and inclined towards the 'left' alliance. Or say, the 'left' alliance succeeded to confuse the people.
- The threshold system, propaganda style of the 'left' alliance and economic dealing became very much operative in this election.
- Though the candidates supported by party were not expected to win, an honourable vote was expected in certain constituencies but it did not happen.
- We did not make alliance with any force and there was no situation to make alliance with any close ally. The NC, UML and MC were of the same parliamentarian category, so there was no question of making alliance with them.

In addition to aforesaid questions, it is necessary to have a review of our own condition in the election. In general, some achievements have been gained in 1) making party's line reach to the people by exposing to some extent the state and system, 2) mobilising party organisation and 3) preparing some mass base in favour of party and revolution. The policy of utilising election has relatively succeeded. Our shortcoming, weakness and limitation have been manifested in the election. Mainly they are: i) the weak condition and limitation of organisation have been exposed well, ii) our own rank could not be mobilised well in some places during propaganda work iii) a big lacking was visible in the field of people's service and people's relation iv) economic problem became a serious issue during propaganda. v) Trends preferring to PR than FPTP and hesitation to become a candidate due to fear of defeat also surfaced.

In the course of election, our shortcoming, weakness and limitation have been exposed to the outside world. Some feeling of frustration also manifested from this. Some serious events of violating discipline have also taken place. From all these things, very valuable experiences and teachings have been gathered for the party to go ahead and most important of them is that party must lay emphasis to expand and consolidate organisation. It is necessary to go ahead by assimilating these experiences and teachings well.

There is no any reason to get disappointed for not getting any honourable vote. In the situation when, a forceful surge of right opportunism has appeared in the name of left alliance, those who used to talk of revolution have turned to be the carrier of counter-revolution, the revolutionary force have been weak and masses of the people are confused, this type of result must not be understood as a disaster. It is only a use of election. In this context, the aforesaid assertion by Lenin is memorable and noteworthy.

3. Upcoming tasks

(Note: In the points numbering a, b, c and d, the document talks about the tasks related to theory and politics, organisation, mass mobilisation and struggle, and economic tasks. Other two points: e and f write as follows.)

- e) Special initiative should be taken soon on the tasks related to party unification and polarisation.
 - f) Struggle should be waged by building unity in action with those forces that have common understanding on the agenda or issues of struggle.
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Press Statement on Mao Day

Today, December 26, 2017, is the 125th Birthday of Comrade Mao. On this historical occasion of Mao Day, with especial remembrance, we highly honour Comrade Mao, a great leader of the world proletariat. On this occasion of Mao Day, we offer red salute to the entire party comrades, broad masses of the people and the world proletariat.

Mao had provided a theoretical weapon of Maoism for the world revolution, not only for China. Mao had provided leadership to the world revolution after Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Waging firm struggle against feudalism, imperialism and all sorts of reactions along with modern revisionism, Mao had put forward the concept of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution according to the principle of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to stop counter-revolution after revolution. Mao's historical contributions are memorable for us.

Today, the imperialism and right revisionism have erected gruesome barricades and challenges before the revolution in Nepal and the whole world. In this situation, in order to attain the great goal of communism, to prepare for new democratic revolution in Nepal and proletarian socialist revolution in the world on the theoretical guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is our historical task. Mao Day provides us especial energy and inspiration to shoulder this type of task. Comrades, let us observe 125th birthday of Mao in an impressive way! Let us resolutely go ahead along the path shown by Mao to propel the Nepalese new democratic revolution and world proletarian revolution forward!

Kiran
General Secretary

December 26, 2017

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Press Statement

Chaired by the General Secretary Comrade Kiran, our Party's Standing Committee Meeting was held on January 15 and 16, 2018. The important decisions, adopted on the issues including party unity and unity in action, have been publicized through this press communiqué.

1. It is today's historic necessity to unify the genuine communist groups and individuals, who follow the policy, programme and objective of going ahead to socialism and communism after accomplishing new democratic revolution, when the regressive state power and system have been prevailing and the hegemony of right revisionism has increased. Therefore, this meeting has taken decision of taking concrete initiative by constituting a talk team to prepare the basis for party unity with the Communist Party of Nepal led by Comrade Biplab, the Communist Party of Nepal (Masal) led by Comrade Mohan Bikram Singh and the Communist Party of Nepal led by Comrade Rishi Kattel and other revolutionary communists scattered in different places.

2. Also decision has been taken to make necessary preparation for joint struggles by way of unity in action on the concrete issues including national independence, democracy and people's livelihood.

3. The Indian ruling class has been encroaching since long huge amount of Nepalese territory in various places including Susta, Maheshpur, Kalapani of the bordering region. Several bordering pillars have been disappeared since long. Recently news has been published that bordering pillars are shifted by invading more than 50s of Bighas of land at Chhapkaiya in Birgunj Municipality. In this situation, our party strongly opposes and condemns the border encroachment carried out by Indian expansionism and forcefully demands with the government of Nepal to take immediate step on it.

Mohan Vaiddya (Kiran)
General Secretary

Date: January 18, 2018

Joint Press Statement

In the context of contemporary Nepalese politics, a high level meeting between the top leaders of the Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist) and the Communist Party of Nepal has taken place recently. The said meeting has reached to the conclusion as follows:

1. While arriving at the so-called parliament and state assembly elections, the unity and alliance between and comprador bourgeoisie and revisionist parties has reached to a new level. The Maoist Centre has degenerated into UML and the Nepali Congress has tried to build up an alliance with the comprador bourgeoisie and regressive forces. In this context, the meeting reached to the conclusion that the ideological, political and organisational unity and polarisation between the revolutionary communists has been an urgent necessity to bring about a revolutionary change in national independence, democratic right and social, political and economic field as well and decided to take up initiative towards that direction.
2. Today, the imperialist foreign elements have been vigorously working to plunder the natural resources of our country through their old and new agents. On the one hand, the Indian ruling class, through the unequal treaty of 1950 to the 46-point agreement with Deuba government, has intervened upon the big rivers like Koshi, Gandaki, Mahakali, Karnali and Arun and, on the other, has been carrying out economic, political and cultural interferences including border encroachment. The meeting has decided to carry out joint struggle on the issues like national independence, democratic and professional rights and jointly observe people's war day, martyrs week and mass movement day.
3. Condemning the inhuman sanction imposed upon North Korea by the countries including the US, the interventionist step of declaring Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and the intrusion and interference carried out the world over by the imperialists, the meeting opposed these acts and has decided to wage struggle in favour of independence and liberation of the oppressed nations. The meeting specially calls upon the workers and the masses for necessary support on the said issues.

Kiran

General Secretary

Communist Party of Nepal (Revolutionary Maoist)

Biplab

General Secretary

Communist Party of Nepal

Date: December 24, 2017

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