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In the News

The Death of a Restorationist



Demonstration on Parliament Hill against Gorbachev's visit to Canada, May 30, 1990.

From the Writings of Hardial Bains

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In the News

The Death of a Restorationist

The simple truth about Mikhail Gorbachev who died on August 30 and about whom much noise is heard, is that he was a restorationist, nothing more. His achievement was to make every prize-fighter of the Old World extremely cocky and confident that their greatest nightmare, that of the 1917 Great October Revolution, had come to an end.

No matter what is said about Mikhail Gorbachev on the occasion of his death -- from accolades to critical pseudo analyses of the role he played in the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union -- nothing can erase the colossal achievements of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the

Soviet Union from the minds of the peoples of the world. The euphoria of the Anglo-American imperialists at the fall of the Soviet Union was to no avail. Today, their nightmares and morbid preoccupation with defeat are greater than ever as they wreak vengeance on their rivals and the peoples of the world.



The Great October Revolution of 1917, on the other hand, was an event of colossal historic significance. The name of the Soviet Union, its birth and development, have always been connected with the names of V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin. The Great October Revolution which took place 105 years ago this year under the leadership of V.I. Lenin, created the conditions for the development of Soviet power, which put power in the hands of the people. Soon afterwards, the Soviet Union came into being on the basis of this power on December 30, 1922 -- 100 years ago this year. Socialism was constructed in the Soviet Union.





Celebrations in 2017 marking the 100th anniversary of the Great October Revolution in cities across Canada and around the world reflect its historic significance to this day.

Top photo is from Russia where communist organizations were joined by representatives of political parties and democratic and progressive organizations from more than 80 countries.

Bottom photo is from Toronto.

Besides other things, the Soviet Union was industrialized with unprecedented speed. Revolution unleashed the productive forces which were either lying dormant, chained hand-and-foot under the feudal rule of the czars, or were being squandered. The Great October Revolution of 1917 dispossessed the czars and their retinues of their aristocratic and feudal properties, titles and privileges. Since then, their descendants had dreamed and worked for restoration with every fibre of their being. And, seventy years later, along came Mikhail Gorbachev to champion their cause in the name of high ideals, like "real democracy."

While the Great October Revolution shook the Old World and brought a New World into being, Mikhail Gorbachev's great achievement was to organize counterrevolution which sent waves of glee, joy and euphoria throughout the Old World. He was hailed as a new Lenin who, in the name of *glasnost* and *perestroika* (openness and restructuring) was organizing the greatest revolution in the Soviet Union. However, unlike Lenin, he was loved by the Old World. When Gorbachev came along, everything Lenin stood for was mercilessly attacked under the guise of attacks against J.V. Stalin. The diabolical aim was complete restoration of a classical capitalist society which pleased the Old World and led to the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Naturally, the question comes to mind: What is a revolution? The notion people have of a revolution is of some oppressive power or backward system being overthrown. The Russian czars were oppressive powers and their system was backward and they were overthrown. What did Mikhail Gorbachev achieve? He managed to get whatever was left of socialism in the Soviet Union overthrown in the name of "leaving the past behind." Only by restoring classical capitalism could the Soviet Union compete with the U.S. superpower, he declared. The world bourgeoisie feverishly championed his cause to bring the Soviet Union into the world market. They brought about changes to build classical capitalism in order to seize the human productive forces of the former Soviet Republics and former people's democracies in Eastern Europe. Just as Gorbachev's promise of a "bright future," never materialized, so too the promise of then President Bush, Britain's Thatcher and others for a "peace dividend," also never materialized. Indeed, there have been more U.S. interventions since the end of the Cold War than during it. Pentagon spending is more than \$1 trillion yearly, and the U.S. is demanding yet more military spending by Canada and Europe.

The fact is that not only did the overthrow of socialism through counterrevolution lead to the collapse of the Soviet Union itself but, thirty years later, the results can be seen in the extremely dangerous situation which exists today for the peoples of the former Soviet Republics, all of Europe and the world.

Before Gorbachev, the Soviet Union had already emerged as an imperialist superpower and contender with U.S. imperialism for the domination of the world. The collusion and contention between the two superpowers was already enveloping the world in crises and wars of aggression, with both calling for change to manipulate the demand of the peoples for change which favours them, not the rich. What kind of change, the content of the change required, became the issue of paramount importance and continues to be to this day.

The victory of the Great October Revolution signalled the end of the First World War, a terrible war which was fought between imperialist countries for the re-division of the world. The "revolution" of Mikhail Gorbachev seventy years later brought the world closer to the terrible world war the Anglo-American imperialists and their collaborators and appears are organizing today, much more destructive and cataclysmic than any other war.

Counterrevolution in the former Soviet Union was accompanied with counterrevolution in all the capitalist countries which took up the neo-liberal anti-social offensive with its denial of the existence of society and negation of social responsibility and the need to uphold the rights of all by virtue of being human.

The essence of the worldwide neo-liberal counterrevolution and offensive was and continues to be to restructure the state. This has plunged the world into a crisis of anarchy and violence of proportions hitherto unknown. By politicizing the narrow private interests of the oligarchs and their oligopolies, all hitherto legislative limitations on the exercise of the police powers in the hands of presidents, prime ministers and cabinets are removed. Governments of police powers now reign supreme through elections so fraudulent they are seen to be nothing more than a means to usurp power by one or another faction in the civil wars which are raging in the desperate fight of the rich to get richer by leaps and bounds. They persist no matter the impoverishment of ever greater numbers of people, with the destruction of human productive forces which they cannot control at a faster and faster pace through nation-wrecking and wars of aggression and occupation abroad and civil wars at home.

From the outset, Gorbachev gave the impression of being a huckster politician and a demagogue who said one thing and did another. For example, he said that his reforms were designed to build "real socialism." In actual fact, they enabled the building of a classical capitalist system. He claimed that by opening up, his reform was designed to establish "real democracy." In actual fact, he completed the process of depriving the working class of any say in the running of society and permitted the takeover of the state and institutions by a new bourgeoisie, the rich and powerful in the economy, party and state. Mikhail Gorbachev said he was for peace, but the result was more preparations for war.

Today, thirty years later, all his admirers are such huckster politicians, purveyors of historical falsifications for purposes of perpetrating historical fraud -- which is to say that their dream of depriving the peoples of the world of their own sovereign political power persists.

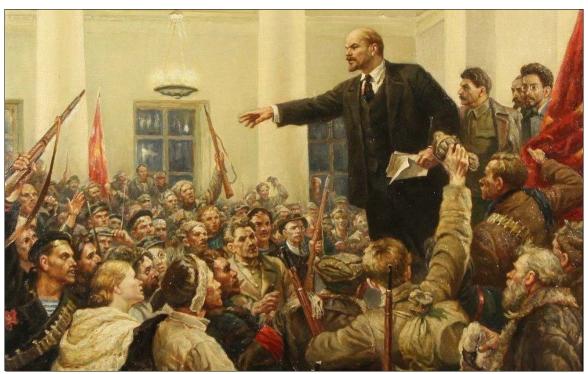
The claim that Mikhail Gorbachev was the new Lenin was mind-boggling then just as the claims of the rulers today that their restoration of the dregs of nazis, fascists and Japanese militarists can prevail are also mind-boggling. The old Lenin was a Bolshevik, an orthodox Marxist, a revolutionary and a humanitarian, an architect of peace and freedom, an organizer of revolution and builder of socialism. The so-called new Lenin emerged as a rehash of the old Russian Cadet of the time of Lenin, a liberal who seeks to retain power by providing it with constitutional legitimacy despite its anti-people essence.

The whole world knew the real V.I. Lenin and his true work and it knew the feats of J.V. Stalin, while Mikhail Gorbachev was only to be found in the corridors of secret world diplomacy. Only the likes of Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher and their secretaries of state and foreign ministers

really knew for sure where Mikhail Gorbachev stood.

From revolution to counterrevolution, history has its own twists and turns. But one thing that is certain is that humankind will always look back to the days of October of the year 1917 when the salvoes were fired which marked the dawn of the New World.

Despite all the prizes conferred on Mikhail Gorbachev by the most reactionary champions of world reaction, he will forever remain a blip on the screen of history, a passing episode signifying nothing. The spectre of communism continues to haunt the restorationists as the peoples of the world strive for their own empowerment, to speak in their own name and create raisons d'état which vest sovereignty in the people, not the rich. We can say with certainty that history will again see revolutions of the calibre of the Great October Revolution, and youth of today will continue to proudly use the teachings of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin as a guide to action so as to turn historic successes into historic victory.



Lenin proclaims Soviet power in Smolny Palace, Petrograd, 1917.

(Original painting by Vladimir Serov in 1947)

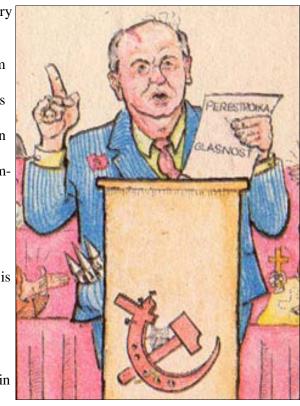
From the Writings of Hardial Bains Failure

- January 17, 1989 -

The saying that nothing succeeds like success has a meaning for failure as well. When a person succeeds it is very easy to accept, but in the case of failure it is quite a different matter. The person just does not want to accept it, and this multiplies the difficulty. This is the case with Mikhail Gorbachev, President of the Soviet Union and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He has gone to extremes, from liberalization to sending tanks and shooting down people, but he has not succeeded. He has failed. He may not want to acknowledge it, but this is something he will have to accept one day.

When a student fails an examination in chemistry or physics, it is not the fault of chemistry or physics, it is the student's fault. Similarly, just because all the leaders of the Soviet Union from Nikita Khrushchev to Mikhail Gorbachev have failed in Marxism-Leninism, one cannot say this is the fault of Marxism-Leninism. Khrushchev, Gorbachev and all the Soviet leaders in between applied an ideology to the national and international conditions which was not Marxism-Leninism. They themselves described their thinking as "new." In his book Perestroika, Gorbachev waxes eloquent about his "new thinking" regarding his country and the world. Either Marxism-Leninism is "old" thinking for him, or he openly admits that what he presents is not Marxism-Leninism.

We cannot either be dogmatic and dismiss Gorbachev merely because he does not follow Marxism-Leninism or become pragmatic and uphold that truth is what works. We must bear in mind both principle and concern about the



problems facing the working people nationally and internationally. Principles and permanent solutions to problems are interrelated. One cannot exist without another. A solution which lacks a sound basis, that is principle, is no solution at all. In the same fashion, a principle cannot be sound if it is merely an abstraction and a moralism devoid of any relevance to real life. Gorbachev's historical destiny is that he will fail both in principle, which he had already abandoned, and in practical terms as well.

Each one of the leaders who came after J.V. Stalin in the Soviet Union talked about how bad the past had been and bitterly denounced the previous leaders, promising a brilliant future. When Nikita Khrushchev became leader of the Soviet Party and state, he condemned the "crimes of J.V. Stalin" and embarked on a retrogressive path. When I visited the Soviet Union in April of 1965 --about six months after the ouster of Khrushchev -- there was an eerie silence about the new leadership. Nobody talked about Leonid Brezhnev and Alexei Kosygin, who had captured power, but the atmosphere was created that from now on, "things will be better." This became the pattern of successive Soviet leaders, and when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985 he also said the same thing, and he has been doing so on a broad scale. According to press reports we receive here, and according to the documents released by the Soviet official circles, Mikhail Gorbachev has condemned the past and promised a bright future.

Mikhail Gorbachev has condemned two periods in Soviet history most vehemently. He condemned the period from 1924-1953, that is, the period of J.V. Stalin. This was the period when socialism was constructed, when the victory over the Axis powers was won and the war-torn economy was restored in the short span of just under eight years. The second period he denounces is the period from 1964-1985, the period of Brezhnev, Kosygin, Chernenko and Andropov. He calls the latter period one of economic stagnation. He has even returned to Britain the private property confiscated by the Great October Revolution! It is not my intention to detail everything Gorbachev has done, but it is important to find out why he condemns these two periods.

Mikhail Gorbachev calls the 1964-1985 period one of economic stagnation and corruption. But he fails to find the scientific reason for it. Could it be that the Soviet leaders of the time were clumsy

in capitalist restoration, or that capitalism itself means stagnation and corruption? As to why he denounces the period of J.V. Stalin, it is quite clear. He does not like socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the uninterrupted revolution in all fields as a means to expand the material and technical base, as well as to perfect the relations of production, eliminating private property in a stepwise manner and strengthening the political power and the role of the masses in running the state, economy and all spheres of life. The word and deed of Gorbachev have shown that he is no Marxist-Leninist and no builder of a socialist and communist society. Far from being its builder, he is the enemy of such a society.

The reason he condemns the period from 1964-1985 is to throw dust in the eyes of the masses; it is for demagogic purposes, using the same tactics as his predecessors between 1953 and 1985. In this way, he thinks he can fool the people about the causes of economic stagnation and corruption during the Brezhnev period. But the reality of the Soviet Union since March 5, 1953 the day J.V. Stalin died is one of a consistent, unbroken, counterrevolutionary thread. Capitalist reforms finally led to economic stagnation and national conflicts, which prevail at the present time. Gorbachev wants to create a distance with his predecessors by accusing them of being "Stalinist," but it does not work. He is caught by the reality of capitalist reform, of bourgeois liberalization and bureaucratism. No amount of words or denunciations of the past will be able to turn the dismal failure into brilliant success.

Just as the bourgeois ideology fails to deal with any problem in capitalist society, the same is true of the ideology of Mikhail Gorbachev, his "new thinking," which is a form of bourgeois ideology. Big claims are being made by both Gorbachev and Reagan, one the head of modern revisionism and the other the head of imperialism, but there are no facts to back them up. For example, *perestroika* and *glasnost* have not ended economic stagnation or corruption, nor are they going to. On the contrary, they will contribute to the further deepening and broadening of the capitalist offensive and along with it to the deepening of the crisis in all spheres. It can be said with utmost confidence that failure is the historical destiny of Mikhail Gorbachev.

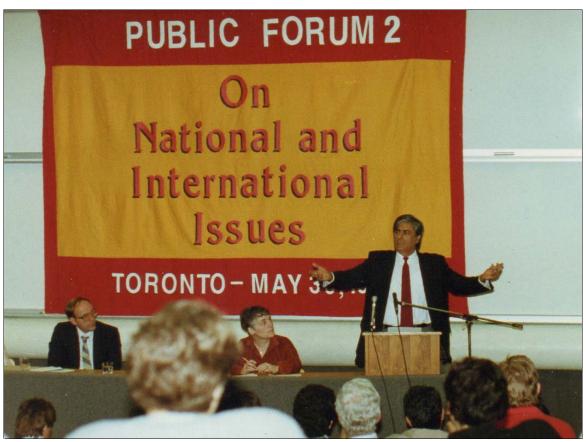
(Communism 1989-1991 by Hardial Bains, ISC 1991)

Revolution

- October 4, 1989 -

According to the Western news services, a revolution is in the making in Eastern Europe. Eastern Europe actually came into being as a result of a revolution. What, then, is the kind of revolution they are talking about which is in the making today? The greatest of all revolutions was the Great October Revolution, which led to the creation of a new state of Soviets, or the first proletarian state, a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a democracy of the new type, a proletarian democracy. All revolutions hitherto had replaced one exploiting class by another. The Great October Revolution created a society without exploiting classes, a new society where exploitation of man by man became a thing of the past.

It is being asserted that a new revolution has broken out in this society, but those who say so do not tell us what the aim of this revolution is. According to them, this "revolution" began when Nikita Khrushchev came to power. But, again, what is its aim? The aim, of course, if one reads between the lines, or goes by the excitement and euphoria of the capitalist and imperialist governments, is retrogression; it is to undo the gains of the Great October Revolution and completely dismantle the socialist society. How can the aim of a revolution be retrogression? This is indeed a strange and peculiar kind of revolution we are witnessing which even defies scientific description, and to describe it, words are being given a meaning which they do not normally have.



Comrade Hardial Bains addressing one of two public forums held in Toronto, April 25 and May 30, 1992 to discuss the historical turning point given rise to by the fall of pseudo-socialism in the Soviet Union.

This "revolution" is also strange from another angle. When Soviet power was established by the Great October Revolution, fourteen imperialist states militarily intervened to crush it. Winston Churchill called for the crushing of the baby "in the cradle." Today's "revolution," however, is receiving the congratulations of the heads of the same imperialist states. How did this turn of events come about? Perhaps because the revolution going on in Moscow today is a continuation of the counterrevolution started by Nikita Khrushchev. Only counterrevolution, not revolution, inspires the capitalist and imperialist states to send flowers and congratulations.

A real revolution leads to the advance of the society, to its vigorous development and the unprecedented release of human initiative, as happened in Russia after the Great October Revolution in 1917. Besides other things, the Soviet Union was industrialized at a record rate, a phenomenon previously unheard of. The Soviet Union recovered from the devastation of the Second World War within a matter of a few years, without receiving any help from any other country and under the continuous threat of another war being unleashed by the United States. From 1917 to 1953, Russia provided the example of a triumphant march. No matter what enemy it faced, it knew no defeat. This was the kind of revolution the working classes of all countries came to know was a real revolution.

But all the news which came out of Khrushchev's "revolution," or which today comes out of Gorbachev's "revolution," is of one disaster after another, one shooting of demonstrators after another, one split after another, and about how the crisis continues to deepen and broaden. The penetration of the influence of the decadent American culture becomes a headline. Another perfidy, another slander, against J.V. Stalin, or the socialist society, or another threat against the national minorities, or the workers, becomes a headline. This is what is coming out of the Soviet Union today. This is chaos and retrogression, the consequence of counterrevolution and capitalist

restoration. It cannot be called a revolution. No worker can be inspired to organize and take the road of this kind of "revolution."

The Western press has the habit of fooling itself, just as it wants to fool its readers. Toward this end, it calls the developments in the Soviet Union and the former people's democracies, the "crisis of communism" and its retreat. But, in actual fact, it is the crisis of modern revisionism, a form of bourgeois ideology, and the capitalist restoration. The more these countries follow the path of retrogression or counterrevolution, the more there will be chaos and crisis, and the only recourse the workers will have is that of revolution and communism. There is no other way out of the crisis which is rocking the Soviet Union and other countries.

The Western press has even declared this to be a victory for capitalism over communism. How can one reach such a conclusion? When socialism was constructed in the Soviet Union, this was a victory over capitalism. The retrogression in the Soviet Union, however, is a setback for the revolution and socialism. It does not prove that capitalism is right, or that socialism does not work. With countries like Britain going down the tubes and other capitalist and imperialist countries in a similar situation, it is hardly a time to celebrate the victory of capitalism!

Even elementary logic is not adhered to by the Western press. For instance, if a person fails a physics examination, or abandons his studies in physics, it in no way means that physics as a science has failed. It only means that, for some reason, that person failed. Perhaps he was not a good student, or it was not in his interest to pursue this field of study. Similarly, if various countries like the Soviet Union have taken the road of retrogression, the road of counterrevolution, this does not mean that communism has failed or that capitalism has triumphed. The kind of economic and other crises which exist in these countries is hardly the occasion for celebration by world capitalism.

It is quite pathetic and most despicable and self-serving to see the Western press call revisionists like Gorbachev "Marxist-Leninists." In just the same way, Adolf Hitler was called a "socialist." They are crowing that the "Marxist-Leninists" have realized the folly of their ways and are opting for capitalism. It is like saying that science has finally realized its folly and now believes that the earth is flat after all, and that all the heavenly bodies rotate around the earth. In order to confuse the workers, on one hand, they say that Gorbachev is a "Marxist-Leninist," on the other hand, they write reams about all the rotten things Gorbachev does.

The fact of the matter is that all the developments in Eastern Europe show that these countries suffer from the same ills which affect any capitalist society. The form may be different, but the content is the same. There is economic crisis, as in any other capitalist country; there are political dogfights, as in any other capitalist country; there is cultural decay and spiritual devastation, as in any other capitalist country. The fact is that with the Solidarity-backed government in Poland, everything in that country has remained the same. It shows that the country was already capitalist when this government took over; the contradiction between Solidarity and the "communist" government was merely a dogfight between two bourgeois and reactionary parties.

Retrogression and counterrevolution, on the world scale, are the official policy of the United States, the Soviet Union and all reactionary states. They are trying to present this as a "revolution" in order to fool the people. It is really laughable to see the U.S. financing counterrevolutionary cutthroats in Central America, while they pretend to be for "revolution" in Eastern Europe. This does not fool anyone. The workers are themselves seeing what kind of a society they live in and what kind of society the capitalists want to establish in other countries. At the same time, it is important for the workers to heighten their vigilance and defeat this offensive against revolution, against freedom and progress which the U.S and the Soviet Union and other reactionary states are waging.

The world situation is very complicated. Reaction is on the offensive. What is happening in Eastern Europe, for example, especially in the Soviet Union, Hungary and Poland, is one front of the offensive of world reaction for the destruction of revolution and socialism, for changing the course of history. The revisionists of the Communist Party of Canada and social-democrats of the New Democratic Party are extremely happy about this offensive, proving once again that they are despicable comrades-in-arms of world reaction. The workers must master Marxism-Leninism in order to ideologically arm themselves for the ever more complex and decisive battles which lie ahead.

Revolution and retrogression do not mix. The one cannot be part of the other. It does not matter how many times the developments in Eastern Europe are presented as being "revolutionary" and "democratic," they will come to be known by their true names: counterrevolution and retrogression.

	(Communism	1989-1991	by Hardial Bains,	ISC 1991
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Developments in Russia: The Raising of the Flag

- December 26, 1991 -

On December 25, the Czarist flag minus the Czarist crown was again raised over the Kremlin, more than seventy years after it was brought down. Nearly all of the main imperialist countries applauded this development calling it a victory for freedom and democracy. They also hailed it as a great advance against totalitarianism, and said that a new world with no "Cold War" has been created.

I find cause for neither happiness nor sadness in this development. The pseudo-socialist system which came into being in the Soviet Union following the death of J.V. Stalin had no hope whatsoever. Whether we speak of the regime of Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev or Mikhail Gorbachev, it was bound to fall. This is because it failed to deal with the problems of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Instead of doing so, it came into being in the fifties and sixties as a substitute and alternative to socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Thus, the raising of the Czarist flag over the Kremlin marks the end of pseudo-socialism, just as the coming to power of Nikita Khrushchev spelled out the end of socialist revolution and construction. It signals the victory of capitalism and imperialism over the cause of revolution and socialism. This is the key thing in the raising of the Czarist flag over the Kremlin.

Furthermore, the raising of this flag over the Kremlin is the result of the rise of Russian chauvinism and it increases the danger of a world war. Russia has openly emerged as an imperialist country for the first time since the Great October Revolution which took place in 1917. At other times, from the time of Khrushchev through to the time of Gorbachev, Russia has concealed its imperialism under the slogans of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

Can it be said that a country which is now being governed by presidential decree will be democratic towards the other countries which now comprise the Commonwealth of Independent States? Will such a country accept and respect the independence and sovereignty of the other Republics? Will it respect the independence and sovereignty of other states outside of the Commonwealth?

What has happened in the Soviet Union is two-fold:

1) Pseudo-socialism has been overthrown, at least in Russia, raising once again the question of

the necessity for socialism. This is an historical inevitability. From the time of Nikita Khrushchev in the fifties to that of Mikhail Gorbachev who took over power in March 1985, it has been quite clear that the situation could not go on as it was. Khrushchev did not pinpoint where to take action in order to ensure that the economy would keep growing. According to him and the others who followed him, the problem was one of efficiency. They claimed that what was needed was to run the productive forces better. In actual fact, the economy could not go anywhere on the basis of the Khrushchevite policy which was to reshuffle the bureaucracy. This did not and could not release the initiative of the working people who steadily became apathetic, while the state, Party, army, police and secret services created their own class of exploiters. In lieu of the rule of the working people, it became the rule of the Party, army, police and secret services.

When the capitalist system runs into problems, whether it is an individual enterprise or the system as a whole, the measure is invariably taken to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the workers. The same began to take place in the Soviet Union. Every reform intensified the exploitation of the working people, comprised of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and others. This was all done in the name of revolution and socialism. Using the excuse that socialism is built on the basis of heavy industry, Khrushchev and his followers began to develop a military and industrial complex which, by the time Leonid Brezhnev died in 1979, had been fully bankrupted. The needs of the working people were always put in the last position while the bureaucracy and the military-industrial complex were put in first place.

These developments were also encouraged by the imperialist countries who loaned the Soviet Union and its satellites billions of dollars to finance the bureaucracy and the military-industrial complex. They coupled this with calls for the respect of human rights, diverting national and international public opinion on the issue of what was really happening in the Soviet Union. While Khrushchev rested his deviation on attacks against Stalin, according to which Stalin was to be blamed for every real or perceived problem, Gorbachev rested his policy on the discontent which had swelled amongst the people in the Brezhnev era. With the Soviet Union heading for economic bankruptcy, Gorbachev elaborated his plan for *perestroika* (restructuring) and *glasnost* (openness) to smash the pseudo-socialist system and build a classical capitalist society. In spite of all his claims about constructing socialism, Gorbachev was fascinated with the capitalist system and used the discontent of the people to eliminate the vestiges of socialism which had become fetters on the unrestricted development of the capitalist system.

2) Along with strengthening the bureaucracy and military-industrial complex, Khrushchev and his followers began to implement their program of Russification by calling the USSR a "nation," a euphemism for Russia. On this basis, they slowly and steadily aroused discontent in all the Republics, who saw in the USSR an oppressor. In this way the final stage in which all the Republics declared their independence, gave rise to a Russia with the economic and military superiority, to keep the other Republics in line. Thus, the demand for Russian independence was to use everything, especially the economic and military force of the USSR, for the purposes of destroying the USSR and giving rise to Russia as the most powerful Republic with all the means to cause trouble and subjugate the other Republics.

Russia has now taken over all the Soviet embassies abroad and the Soviet seat on the Security Council of the United Nations. It has now been acknowledged as a "big power," which can use its veto in the Security Council not only against other big powers, but mainly against the other Republics which constituted the former USSR. The fact that Russia has a seat on the Security Council and is one of the five permanent members with a veto, along with Britain, China, France and the U.S., means that Russia can veto any move by the big powers which may not serve its interests anywhere in the world. This means that all the Republics which make up the new Commonwealth of Independent States will have to worry. Russia, like all the other big powers, can now do whatever it wishes.

The USSR was created on December 30, 1922 as a Union of equal republics. Any one of the Republics could secede from the Union if it so desired. From 1953 on, Khrushchev and others called the USSR a "fatherland" in order to ensure that this Union could be used as a stepping stone for the resurgence of Russia. It is this policy which has finally created a Russia which is free to molest any other Republic of the former Soviet Union, as well as others, because it is no longer contained by the military might of the USSR, established in the first place to deter Russian chauvinism from pursuing just such an expansionist and enslaving path. The basic principle of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was proletarian internationalism -- the fraternal unity of the peoples in defence of each and everyone's interest. This is why, so long as this policy was pursued, the Republics flourished and stood together. This was the case until the policy of Russification took hold after Khrushchev came into power.

There is another factor which will weigh heavily on future developments: the factor of the ex-satellites. These countries prior to the Second World War, with the exception of Yugoslavia, had constituted a *cordon sanitaire* against the USSR. Several of them invaded the USSR on the side of Hitler Germany. After the victory of the USSR over Germany, these countries fell under Soviet influence and people's democracies were established there. In 1955, Khrushchev established a military alliance with them at a time the military-industrial complex began to be established. This alliance, known as the Warsaw Pact, is now disbanded. These countries are no longer satellites of the USSR or Russia. Present-day Russia, with all its economic and military might, will have to establish new relations in the face of the other big powers. Besides conflicts with other Republics, friction is bound to develop with the countries which encircle Russia. Old Russia had a long history of aggression and war against its weaker neighbours.

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