

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΩΝ
ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ

ΔΩΔΩΝΗ

ΜΕΡΟΣ ΤΡΙΤΟ

ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΗ ΕΠΕΤΗΡΙΔΑ ΤΟΥ ΤΜΗΜΑΤΟΣ
ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ ΠΑΙΔΑΓΩΓΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΨΥΧΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

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ΙΩΑΝΝΙΝΑ 1999

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Τα άρθρα του τόμου αυτού δημοσιεύονται με την προσωπική ευθύνη των συγγραφέων τους ως προς το περιεχόμενο και τη μορφή.

Απαγορεύεται κάθε μορφής αναδημοσίευση χωρίς τη γραπτή άδεια του Τμήματος Φ.Π.Ψ. του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων.



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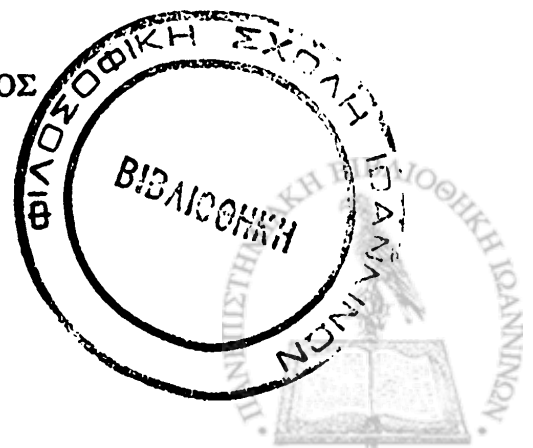
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Δ Ω Δ Ω Ν Η

Μέρος Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα του Τμήματος Ιστορίας - Αρχαιολογίας της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων.
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Μέρος Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα του Τμήματος Φιλοσοφίας, Παιδαγωγικής και Ψυχολογίας της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής του Πανεπιστημίου Ιωαννίνων.
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PANAGIOTIS NOUTSOS

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION

«In October' 17 I cried out
of endless joy.
Now with the rags that
have remained
I am trying to build
an image of man».

T. Livaditis, «A history lesson».

Nowadays the stimuli, of a political and historiographical nature, have been multiplied for a re-evaluation of the October revolution and, furthermore, for an understanding of its outcome. One could mention again the immediate reaction of the young Gramsci who detected, in the success of the Russian «maximalists», the «revolution against *Capital*»¹. What this provocative formulation stressed was the priority of the initiative of the «popular masses» which seemed to falsify the analyses of *Capital*: what, in other words, Marx had concluded in his monumental synthesis about the laws of history which appear to work with «iron necessity»² and thus show with precision to the less developed countries the road which they will inevitably follow, according to the paradigm of the forerunners, ie. the industrially developed countries.

This is, of course, the interpretation which was established, in the context of the codification of the principles of the «materialist view of history», by Kautsky and was popularized by German Social Democracy giving priority to the economic law-governed necessity rather than to political struggles. The Bolsheviki moved in precisely the opposite direction when through Lenin's intervention they stres-

1. *Ordine Nuovo*, 5-1-1918, p. 1.

2. *Das Kapital*, v. I [1867], *MEW*, v. 23, p. 12.



sed that «politics necessarily takes the lead in relation to economy; if we argue differently, it only means that we have forgotten the abc of marxism»¹.

Gramsci² himself, after the conflict among Lenin's descendants the prevalence of fascism in Italy, returns to the issue concerning the fundamental difference between Western and Eastern Europe: in the former the state is simply an «exterior trench» and «civil society» is a «lasting complex of fortresses and earth-works», whereas in the latter the state is everything and «civil society» is «primitive and formless». Thus, he rejected the certainty (which was introduced mainly by Stalin³ who argued that «Leninism» constituted an «international phenomenon which had its roots in world development», and was then established by Communist International in various national parts) to the effect that the Russian revolutionary experience could be repeated in the West. The strategy which takes place in the latter is the «war of position» which involves a hard and painful process of achieving «hegemony» through a «permanently organized consent». It requires a coordinated attempt of «long duration», whereas the «war of movement» (a strategy which was applied in 1917 in Russia) meant a frontal confrontation for the conquest of state power.

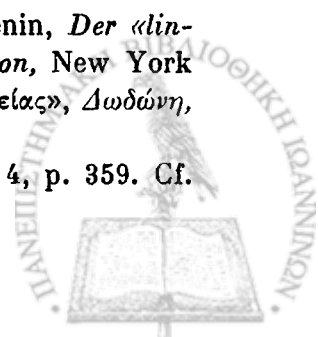
Gramsci's remarks, formulated in the early thirties, constitute one of the many kinds of criticisms exerted by Western European marxists of the way soviet power was imposed and mainly reproduced, marxists who thus refrained from planning a similar road for the successful outcome of social and political struggles in their place. A similar criticism had been voiced by R. Luxemburg, when she argued against the Bolsheviks that «freedom is conceived always as freedom for him who thinks differently»⁴. Within USSR also the «oppositional» movements were multiplied and Bukharin, long

1. «Noch einmal über die Gewerkschaften, die gegenwärtige Lage und die Fehler Trotzki und Bucharin» [1921], LW, v. 32, p. 73; cf. *Der «linke Radikalismus», die Kinderkrankheit im Kommunismus* [1920], LW, v. 31, p. 90.

2. *Quaderni del carcere*, v. II, ed. by V. Gerratana, Torino 1977, p. 865-866, cf. P. Noutsos, *Le marxisme européen. Une théorie en construction*, Jannina 1989, p. 39-46.

3. *Les question du léninisme*, Paris 1926, p.11-12, 69-70. See Lenin, *Der «linke Radikalismus»*, op. cit., p. 6, L. Trotsky, *The Spanish Revolution*, New York 1939, p. 360. Cf. P. Noutsos, «Η σκέψη του Marx. Προβλήματα ερμηνείας», *Δωδώνη*, part III, v. 15 (1986), σ. 11-12.

4. «Zur russischen Revolution» [1918], *Gesammelte Werke*, v. 4, p. 359. Cf.



before he was accused for coalition with them, warned that «if we apply the right politics, we shall not be forced to make a second revolution»¹.

Nowadays, we are to a large extent familiar with the details of the events which led to the overthrow of Kerensky's temporary government by the «Military revolutionary committee of the soviet workers and soldiers» of Petrograd and to the establishment of the «Council of the People's Commissioners» under Lenin's leadership. However, the understanding of the dynamics which characterizes these events as well as, more specifically, of those aspects of the articulation of social and political factors, especially in the conjecture of the first world war, has been the subject of controversy and diverse interpretations.

Be it as it may, the structural crisis of the tzarist regime, despite the hesitant reforming attempt of Stolypin's government², mainly concerned the slow (and supported by foreign capital) industrialization of the multi-national Holy Russia and at the same time the insufficient productivity of the underdeveloped agricultural production. During the time of the war the Bolshevik Party (which had just 23.000 members) made propaganda for peace (even under unfavourable conditions), the distribution of the land to the peasants and the conquest of all power by the «Soviets», that is by the councils of workers, peasants and soldiers whose function was based on principles of direct democracy.

On the other hand, the fate of the revolution has become nowadays gradually clearer, as the conditions of its birth and the stabilization of the «stalinist» phenomenon, ie. of the conditions of the reproduction of new class conflict in USSR, have become apparent. They concern the violent «collectivization», the taking away of agricultural income for the acceleration of industrialization (the aim was to reach and exceed that of the West), the establishment of hierarchical structures in the sphere of production (the criterion was that the experts decide on everything)³, the autonomy of the state and its particular institutions, the expulsion of party de-

P. Noutsos, «R. Luxemburg: Déterminisme économique ou activisme politique?», *Δωδώνη*, part III, v. 18 (1989), p. 140.

1. *La Nouvelle Politique économique et nos tâches* [1925], Paris 1971, p. 159.

2. Cf. Lenin, «Auf ausgetretenen Pfaden!» [1908], *LW*, v. 15, p. 33-35.

3. Cf. P. Noutsos, «Η πρόσληψη των ιδεολογημάτων της 'Technocracy' στην Ελλάδα», in: *Μνήμη Σ. Καράγιωργα*, Athens 1988, p. 351.



mocracy and the establishment of a terrorist and terrorizing «totalitarianism» which wanted to transform even the intellectuals into «engineers of the soul».

The way of understanding the October Revolution, as regards both the conditions of its rise as well as its outcome, is a *sine qua non* presupposition for approaching the problem of the self-determination of the peoples. The priority of politics, in the preparation (through «professional revolutionaries»)¹ and the realization of the revolution, is assumed in Lenin's criticism of the theory of «world capitalism» and more specifically concerning the conclusions drawn to be used in ordinary political practice. If what is required is the «breaking of the weakest ring of the capitalist chain»², its weakness is detected in the «generalized national crisis» which characterized Russia, when in other words it is necessary (apart from the demand for «change» on the part of the lower social classes) that the «ruling class itself becomes unable to live and rule as before»⁴. In the February revolution there came about a «unique historical situation» which made possible the «unification of the most diverse class interests»³, while in the October revolution it was perceived how easy it was - according to Lenin's opinion - to «make the revolution in a country so backward», «as easy as it is to lift a feather»⁵. These remarks referred to the state as a condensation of power relations which in the context of the «capitalist» chain» appears as its specific ring with varying strength that acquires its limits within the scope of the national state. From this point of view, the self-determination of the nations, as a right to their complete separation too, is inscribed in the politics that undermines the articulation of the imperialist states and above all guarantees the national-state substance for the success of the social revolution.

If in what followed the construction of socialism was to be suffocatingly limited to one country, the self-determination of nations could get subordinated to the defence of the «first socialist state»,

1. Lenin, *Was tun?* [1902], *LW*, v. 5, p. 466.

2. See N. Poulantzas, *Fascisme et dictature*, Paris 1970, p. 26-30, G. Milios, *Ο ελληνικός κοινωνικός σχηματισμός*, Athens 1988, p. 26-35.

3. Lenin, *Der «linke Radikalismus»*, op. cit., p. 71.

4. Lenin, «Briefe aus der Ferne» [1917], *LW*, v. 23, p. 316.

5. Lenin, «Ausserordentlicher Siebenter Parteitag der KPR (B)» [1918], *LW*, v. 27, p. 85.



the only ring¹ as yet of the «capitalist chain» which has become autonomous and is not subject to the «general crisis» of «world capitalism». As soon as Lenin becomes aware of this, he remarks in a revealing way:

«What concerns us is not at all the unavoidable victory of socialism but the «tactics which we, the Communist Party of Russia, ought to follow» in order to «prevent the counter revolutionary states from crushing us». In order to secure our existence «until the coming military confrontation between the counter-revolutionary imperialist West and the revolutionary and nationalist East, between the most civilized states of the world and the backward countries of the East, which are however the majority, this majority must have the time to get civilized»¹.

1. Lenin, «Das Militärprogramm der proletarischen Revolution» [1917], *LW*, v. 23, p. 74.

2. Lenin, «Lieber weniger, aber besser» [1923], *LW*, v. 33, p. 488; cf. «Referat über die Revision des Parteiprogramms» [1918] *LW*, v. 27, p. 118.

