

# Anatomy of Imperialist Economy by Lenin



(22 April, 1870 — 21 January, 1924)

*"The proletariat fights for the revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie fights for reformist 'improvement' of imperialism, for adaption and submission to it. ... This means praising reformism and submission to the imperialist bourgeoisie, and blaming and abjuring revolution."*

[The 71st anniversary of the passing away of Lenin falls on January 21, 1995. We pay our deepest and sincere most respect to the life-long struggle and teachings of this great Marxist genius under whose leadership people of one-sixth of the globe witnessed radical transformation of society from capitalism to socialism.

As the contingent of international communist movement in India, we feel it our urgent task to study the teachings of Lenin regularly and devotedly and practise them in our life unwaveringly. In the aftermath of restoration of capitalism in the erstwhile Soviet Union the bourgeois apologists and the revisionists have let loose a renewed attack against Marxism being outdated and invalid in their vein attempt to 'prove' superiority of capitalism. Lenin's analysis of fundamental economic questions of capitalism-imperialism made so many years back between 1914 and 1917, in his invaluable treatise, Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism — that too braving the scissors of czarist censorship — stands as a glaring testimony to the Marxist methodology by which Lenin foresaw the doom of imperialism, as of today, tottering on its last legs.

At present, common people are presented by the rulers of different countries with a rosy picture of 'free market economy', which is nothing but capitalism ridden with insoluble crisis.

We give below some portions from Lenin's famous pamphlet mentioned above which, we

believe, will help appraise our readers to understand the economic essence of imperialism to be judged in the background of the then historical condition. They can find an answer to the questions if Lenin's analysis holds good, in the main, even after passage of some eight decades and whether Marxism is really outdated and invalid as a science. — Editor]

Half a century ago, when Marx was writing *Capital*, free competition appeared to the overwhelming majority of economists to be a "natural law." Official science tried, by a conspiracy of silence, to kill the works of Marx, who by a theoretical and historical analysis of capitalism proved that free competition gives rise to the concentration of production, which, in turn, at a certain stage of development, leads to monopoly. Today, monopoly has become a fact. The economists are writing mountains of books in which they describe the diverse manifestations of monopoly, and continue to declare in chorus that "Marxism is refuted." But facts are stubborn things, as the English proverb says, and they have to be reckoned with, whether we like it or not. The facts show that differences between capitalist countries, e.g., in the matter of protection or free trade, only give rise to insignificant variations in the form of monopolies or in the moment of their appearance; and that the rise of monopolies, as the result of the concentration of production, is a general and fundamental law of the present stage of development of capitalism. ...

Competition becomes transformed into monopoly. The result is immense progress in the socialization of production. In particular, the process of technical invention and improvement becomes socialized.

This is something quite different from the old free competition between manufacturers, scattered and out of touch with one another, and producing for an unknown market. Concentration has reached the point at which it is possible to make an approximate estimate of all sources of raw materials (for example, the iron ore deposits) of a country and even, as we shall see, of several countries, or of the whole world. Not only are such estimates made, but these sources are captured by gigantic monopolist combines. An approximate estimate of the capacity of markets is also made, and the combines "divide" them up amongst themselves by agreement. Skilled labour is monopolised, the best engineers are engaged; the means of transport are captured: railways in America, shipping companies in Europe and America. Capitalism in its imperialist stage leads right up to the most comprehensive socialization of production; it, so to speak, drags the capitalists, against their will and consciousness, into some sort of a new social order, a transitional one from complete free competition to complete socialization.

Production becomes social, but appropriation remains private. The social means of production remain the private property of a few. The general framework of formally recognized free competition remains, but the yoke of a few monopolists on the rest of the population becomes a hundred times heavier, more burdensome and intolerable ...

Here we no longer have competition between small and large, technically developed

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### Scrap defence pact with USA

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has issued the following statement to the Press on 15.01.95 :

"We strongly condemn the signing of the defence treaty by the Government of India with USA, the number one imperialist country, much hated arch enemy of mankind, which has been continuously threatening, attacking, bullying other countries' freedom and sovereignty, ruthlessly suppressing all anti-imperialist struggles, engineering and inflaming ethnic war in different parts of the world to install 'peace-keeping force', continuing still its barbaric destruction against Iraq to force it to kneel down and inhuman economic blockade against socialist Cuba to push it to starve to death in flagrant violation of all civilised norms.

The Indian ruling class, which on the other day was vociferous as a protagonist of non-alignment policy is now aligning with the Pentagon for military build-up in its ambition to become a super power as a junior imperialist country in connivance with US imperialism, which is not only a serious menace to the democratic movement but also a threat to independence and sovereignty of the countries of South Asia.

This treaty has been made disregarding the will and anti-imperialist tradition of the Indian people. We, therefore, demand of the Central Government to scrap immediately this just concluded defence agreement with the USA."

### SUCI condemns aggression on Chechnya

Condemning Russian aggression of Chechnya, Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has issued the following statement on 10.1.95 :

"We vehemently condemn the barbaric military attack upon Chechnya, killing thousands and thousands of people, widely destroying public property, hospitals and buildings by the regime of Yeltsin, the much trumpeted champion of 'multi-party democracy', a faithful accomplice of western imperialism.

"It is an irony that the US imperialists who shed crocodile tears on so-called violation of human rights under socialism in Russia on the other day, closes their eyes on this brutal attack dismissing it as 'domestic affair of Russia.'

"We demand immediate end to this aggression, complete withdrawal of Russian troops and peaceful settlement of the problem recognising the rights of a minority nationality to secede."

# Imperialists utilise surplus capital not to raise people's living standard but for super profit

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and backward enterprises. We see here the monopolists throttling those which do not submit to them, to their yoke, to their dictation....

Translated into ordinary human language this means that the development of capitalism has arrived at a stage when, although commodity production still "reigns" and continues to be regarded as the basis of economic life, it has in reality been undermined and the bulk of the profits go to the "geniuses" of financial manipulation. At the basis of these manipulations and swindles lies socialized production; but the immense progress of mankind which achieved this socialization, goes to benefit ... the speculators....

Domination, and violence that is associated with it, such are the relationships that are typical of the "latest phase of capitalist development"; this is what inevitably had to result, and has resulted, from the formation of all-powerful economic monopolies....

The statement that cartels can abolish crises is a fable spread by bourgeois economists who at all costs desire to place capitalism in a favourable light. On the contrary, monopoly which is created in *certain* branches of industry, increases and intensifies the anarchy inherent in capitalist production *as a whole*....

Crises of every kind — economic crises most frequently, but not only these — in their turn increase very considerably the tendency towards concentration and towards monopoly....

As banking develops and becomes concentrated in a small number of establishments, the banks grow from humble middlemen into powerful monopolies having at their command almost the whole of the money capital of all the capitalists and small businessmen and also the larger part of the means of production and of the sources of raw materials of the given country and in a number of countries. This transformation of numerous humble middlemen into a handful of monopolists represents one of the fundamental processes in the growth of capitalism into capitalist imperialism ;...

In the matter of socializing capitalist economy the savings banks and post offices are beginning to compete with the banks; they are more "decentralized," i.e., their influence extends to a greater number of localities, to more remote places, to wider sections of the population....

The boundaries between the banks and the savings banks "become more and more obliterated." The Chambers of Commerce ... demand that savings banks be "prohibited" from engaging in "purely" banking business, such as discounting bills; they demand the limitation of the "banking" operations of the post offices. The banking magnates seem to be afraid that state monopoly will steal upon them from an unexpected quarter. It goes without saying, however, that this fear is no more than the expression of the rivalry, so to speak, between two department managers in the same office; for, on the one hand, the billions entrusted to the savings banks are in the final analysis actually

controlled by *these very same* bank capital magnates, while, on the other hand, state monopoly in capitalist society is merely a means of increasing and guaranteeing the income of millionaires in one branch of industry or another who are on the verge of bankruptcy....

The result is, on the one hand, the ever growing merger, or, ... coalescence, of bank and industrial capital and, on the other hand, the growth of the banks into institutions of a truly "universal character." ...

Speculation in land situated in the suburbs of rapidly-growing big towns is a particularly profitable operation for finance capital. The monopoly of the banks merges here with the monopoly of ground rent and with monopoly of the means of communications, since the rise in the price of land and the possibility of selling it profitably in allotments, etc., is mainly dependent on good means of communication with the centre of the town; and these means of communication are in the hands of large companies which are connected, by means of the holding system and by the distribution of positions on the directorates, with the interested banks....

A monopoly, once it is formed and controls thousands of millions, inevitably penetrates into every sphere of public life, regardless of the form of government and all other "details." ...

It is characteristic of capitalism in general that the ownership of capital is separated from the application of capital to production, that money capital is separated from industrial or productive capital, and that the rentier who lives entirely on income obtained from money capital is separated from the entrepreneur and from all who are directly concerned in the management of capital. Imperialism, or the domination of finance capital, is that highest stage of capitalism at which this separation reaches vast proportions. The supremacy of finance capital over all other forms of capital means the predominance of the rentier and of the financial oligarchy; it means the singling out of a small number of financially "powerful" states from among all the rest. ...

Typical of the old capitalism, when free competition had undivided sway, was the export of *goods*. Typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of *capital*.

Capitalism is commodity production at its highest stage of development, when labour power itself becomes a commodity. The growth of internal exchange, and particularly of international exchange, is the characteristic distinguishing feature of capitalism. Uneven and spasmodic development of individual enterprises, of individual branches of industry and individual countries, is inevitable under the capitalist system. England became a capitalist country before any other, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, having adopted free trade, claimed to be the "workshop of the world," the purveyor of manufactured goods to all countries, which in exchange were to keep her supplied with raw materials. But in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, *this* monopoly was already undermined; for other countries, sheltering themselves by "protective" tariffs,

developed into independent capitalist states. On the threshold of the twentieth century we see the formation of a new type of monopoly; firstly, monopolist capitalist combines in all capitalistically developed countries; secondly, the monopolist position of a few very rich countries, in which the accumulation of capital has reached gigantic proportions. An enormous "superabundance of capital" has arisen in the advanced countries.

It goes without saying that if capitalism could develop agriculture, which today frightfully lags behind industry everywhere, if it could raise the standard of living of the masses, who are everywhere still half-starved and poverty-stricken, in spite of the amazing technical progress, there could be no talk of a superabundance of capital. This "argument" is very often advanced by the petty-bourgeois critics of capitalism. But if capitalism did these things it would not be capitalism; for both uneven development and a semistarvation level of existence of the masses are fundamental and inevitable conditions and premises of this mode of production. *As long as capitalism remains what it is, surplus capital will be utilised not for the purpose of raising the standard of living of the masses in a given country, for this would mean a decline in profits for the capitalists, but for the purpose of increasing profits by exporting capital abroad to the backward countries. In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap.* (Italics ours) The possibility of exporting capital is created by the fact that a number of backward countries have already been drawn into world capitalist intercourse; main railways have either been or are being built there, the elementary conditions for industrial development have been created, etc. The necessity for exporting capital arises from the fact that in a few countries capitalism has become "overripe" and (owing to the backward stage of agriculture and the impoverished state of the masses) capital cannot find a field for "profitable" investment....

Finance capital has created the epoch of monopolies, and monopolies introduce everywhere monopolist principles: the utilization of "connections" for profitable transactions takes the place of competition on the open market. *The most usual thing is to stipulate that part of the loan that is granted shall be spent on purchases in the creditor country, particularly on orders for war materials, or for ships, etc....* (Italics ours)

The capital exporting countries have divided the world among themselves in the figurative sense of the term. But finance capital has led to the *actual* division of the world. ...

Monopolist capitalist combines, cartels, syndicates and trusts divide among themselves, first of all, the home market, seize more or less complete possession of the industry of a country. But under capitalism the home market is inevitably bound up with the foreign market. Capitalism long ago created a world market. As the export of capital increased, and as the foreign and colonial connections and "spheres of influence" of the big monopolist combines

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# Imperialism even creates privileged sections among workers detaching them from proletariat

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expanded in all ways, things "naturally" gravitated towards an international agreement among these combines, and towards the formation of international cartels.

This is a new stage of world concentration of capital and production, incomparably higher than the preceding stages. Let us see how this supermonopoly develops....

We see plainly ... how private and state monopolies are interwoven in the age of finance capital; how both are but separate links in the imperialist struggle between the big monopolists for the division of the world....

Certain bourgeois writers (whom K. Kautsky, who has completely abandoned the Marxist position he held, for example, in 1909, has now joined) have expressed the opinion that international cartels, being one of the most striking expressions of the internationalization of capital, give the hope of peace among nations under capitalism. Theoretically, this opinion is absolutely absurd, while in practice it is sophistry and a dishonest defence of the worst opportunism. International cartels show to what point capitalist monopolies have developed, and the object of the struggle between the various capitalist combines. This last circumstance is the most important; it alone shows us the historico-economic meaning of what is taking place; for the forms of the struggle may and do constantly change in accordance with varying, relatively particular and temporary causes, but the substance of the struggle, its class content, positively cannot change while classes exist. Naturally, it is in the interests of, for example, the German bourgeoisie, to whose side Kautsky has in effect gone over in his theoretical arguments..., to obscure the substance of the present economic struggle (the division of the world) and to emphasize now this and now another form of the struggle. Kautsky makes the same mistake. Of course, we have in mind not only the German bourgeoisie, but the bourgeoisie all over the world. The capitalists divide the world, not out of any particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to obtain profits. And they divide it "in proportion to capital," "in proportion to strength," because there cannot be any other method of division under commodity production and capitalism. But strength varies with the degree of economic and political development. In order to understand what is taking place, it is necessary to know what questions are settled by the changes in strength. The question as to whether these changes are "purely" economic or non-economic (e.g., military) is a secondary one, which cannot in the least affect the fundamental views on the latest epoch of capitalism. To substitute the question of the form of the struggle and agreements (today peaceful, tomorrow warlike, the next day warlike again) for the question of the substance of the struggle and agreements between capitalist combines is to sink to the role of a sophist....

Alongside the colonial possessions of the Great Powers, we have placed the small colonies of the small states, which are, so to

speak, the next objects of a possible and probable "redivision" of colonies. Most of these small states are able to retain their colonies only because of the conflicting interests, friction, etc., among the big powers, which prevent them from coming to an agreement in regard to the division of the spoils. The "semi-colonial" states provide an example of the transitional forms which are to be found in all spheres of nature and society. *Finance capital is such a great, it may be said, such a decisive force in all economic and in all international relations, that it is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence ; ...* (Italics ours) Of course, finance capital finds most "convenient" and is able to extract the greatest profit from such a subjection as involves the loss of the political independence of the subjected countries and peoples. In this connection, the semicolonial countries provide a typical example of the "middle stage." It is natural that the struggle for these semidependent countries should have become particularly bitter in the epoch of finance capital, when the rest of the world has already been divided up....

The principal feature of the latest stage of capitalism is the domination of monopolist combines of the big capitalists. These monopolies are most firmly established when all the sources of raw materials are captured by one group, and we have seen with what zeal the international capitalist combines exert every effort to make it impossible for their rivals to compete with them by buying up, for example, iron ore fields, oil fields, etc. Colonial possession alone gives the monopolies complete guarantee against all contingencies in the struggle with competitors, including the contingency that the latter will defend themselves by means of a law establishing a state monopoly. *The more capitalism is developed, the more strongly the shortage of raw materials is felt, the more intense the competition and the hunt for sources of raw materials throughout the whole world, the more desperate is the struggle for the acquisition of colonies....* (Italics ours)

The bourgeois reformists, and among them particularly the present-day adherents of Kautsky, of course, try to belittle the importance of facts of this kind by arguing that it "would be possible" to obtain raw materials in the open market without a "costly and dangerous" colonial policy; and that it "would be possible" to increase the supply of raw materials to an enormous extent "simply" by improving conditions in agriculture in general. But such arguments become an apology for imperialism, an attempt to embellish it, because they ignore the principal feature of the latest stage of capitalism : monopolies. Free markets are becoming more and more a thing of the past; monopolist syndicates and trusts are restricting them more and more every day, and "simply" improving conditions in agriculture means improving the conditions of the masses, raising wages and reducing profits. Where, except in the imagination of sentimental reformists, are there any trusts capable of interesting themselves in the condition of the masses instead of the conquest of colonies ?

Finance capital is interested not only in the already discovered sources of raw materials but also in potential sources, because present-day technical development is extremely rapid, and land which is useless today may be made fertile tomorrow if new methods are applied (to devise these new methods a big bank can equip a special expedition of engineers, agricultural experts, etc.), and if large amounts of capital are invested. This also applies to prospecting for minerals, to new methods of working up and utilizing raw materials, etc., etc. Hence, the inevitable striving of finance capital to enlarge its economic territory and even its territory in general. In the same way that the trusts capitalize their property at two or three times its value, taking into account its "potential" (and not present) profits, and the further results of monopoly, so finance capital strives in general to seize the largest possible amount of land of all kinds in all places, and by every means, taking into account potential sources of raw materials and fearing to be left behind in the fierce struggle for the last scraps of undivided territory, or for the repartition of those that have been already divided....

Since we are speaking of colonial policy in the epoch of capitalist imperialism, it must be observed that finance capital and its corresponding foreign policy, which reduces itself to the struggle of the Great Powers for the economic and political division of the world, give rise to a number of transitional forms of state dependence. Typical of this epoch is not only the two main groups of countries : those owning colonies, and colonies, but also the diverse forms of dependent countries which, officially, are politically independent, but in fact, are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence.

A somewhat different form of financial and diplomatic dependence, accompanied by political dependence, is presented by Portugal. Portugal is an independent sovereign state, but actually, for more than two hundred years, since the war of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), it has been a British protectorate. Great Britain has protected Portugal and her colonies in order to fortify her own positions in the fight against her rivals, Spain and France. In return Great Britain has received commercial privileges, preferential conditions for importing goods and especially capital into Portugal and the Portuguese colonies, the right to use the ports and islands of Portugal, her telegraph cables, etc. Relations of this kind have always existed between big and little states, but in the epoch of capitalist imperialism they become a general system, they form part of the sum total of "divide the world" relations, become links in the chain of operations of world finance capital....

We must now try to sum up, put together, what has been said above on the subject of imperialism. Imperialism emerged as the development and direct continuation of the fundamental characteristics of capitalism in general. But capitalism only became capitalist imperialism at a definite and very high stage of its development, when certain of its fundamental characteristics began to change into their opposites, when the features of the

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## Mao Zedong Birth Centenary Observed

[ *The concluding ceremony of Birth Centenary of Mao Zedong, the great leader and teacher of the world proletariat, ended with mass meetings, quotation and photograph exhibitions, group discussions, etc., under the auspices of our party, held in a solemn and befitting manner in all the states where we have organizational activities. On the historic 26th December, the memorial meeting that was held in Calcutta, was addressed by our beloved General Secretary Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, which was reported in the last issue of the Proletarian Era. Throughout the year, many programmes were taken including study and restudy of the works of the great Marxist thinker to imbibe his revolutionary teachings. The centenary has provided us with further scope to intensify the cultivation of the teachings of Mao Zedong, which will continue to strengthen mass and class struggles more and more.*

*The reports of meeting so far received from different corners of our country are given below in brief — Editor]*

### ORISSA

**Bhubaneswar, 30.12.94:** To mark the conclusion of the Birth Centenary Year of Comrade Mao Zedong a mass meeting was held at Shaheed Bhavan, Cuttack, on 29th December. Comrade Tapas Dutta, member, Central Committee, SUCI, Secretary, Orissa State Committee addressed the house and Comrade Binapani Dash, member, Orissa State Secretariat presided.

Dwelling on the teachings and life-struggle of Comrade Mao Zedong Comrade Dutta said, Mao Zedong in leading the Chinese Communist Party for long decades of struggle for socialism enriched the treasure house of Marxism-Leninism. It was not only his knowledge of the society and history of China but also his enrichment of the philosophy and ethics of revolution that made him the undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist Party. He brilliantly united the people of China against Japan's colonial aggression applying concretely the principle of 'unity-struggle-unity'. Deeply conscious of necessity of conducting intense class struggle in building up a socialist society, Mao Zedong led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China involving the whole party, the army, the working class and the entire common people of China to fight reactionary bourgeois habits and culture among the people and within the party leadership.

Comrade Dutta said, Mao Zedong fought the infiltration of revisionism in CPC. But after his death the capitalist roaders led by Deng Xiaoping usurped the state power and party leadership and are now treading the out and out revisionist path. They were using deceptive capitalist methods ostensibly to develop China through the so-called 'socialist market economy'.

Comrade Mao Zedong was a great communist leader and thinker. All should learn from his life struggle, Comrade Dutta said.

### ASSAM

**Guwahati, 27.12.94:** Under the auspices of Assam State Committee of the SUCI a mass meeting was held on 26th December at the Guwahati District Library Auditorium to mark the concluding ceremony of the Birth Centenary

of Comrade Mao Zedong. Comrade Asit Bhattacharya, member Central Committee, addressed the meeting as the main speaker. He said that Comrade Mao's thought which enriched the understanding of Marxism-Leninism would illumine the path of revolutionary movements of all the countries and that it would be acting as a powerful weapon for the growth and development of revolutionary movements everywhere.

Dealing with the critical political situation in Assam on this occasion, Comrade Bhattacharya emphasized the imperative necessity of building up powerful united mass movements against the oppressive and suppressive rule of the Congress(I) Government and he urged the Left and democratic parties of the state to come forward to give birth to a Left-Democratic Front as an instrument of struggle on the basis of a common minimum agreed programme, a code of conduct and principle. Strongly criticising the military approach and policy of forcing the ULFA cadres on humiliating course to surrender instead of taking any positive steps towards a negotiated settlement, Comrade Bhattacharya at the same time appealed to the leaders of the ULFA movement to change their strategy and tactics and to come openly to join the mainstream of militant democratic movement.

Comrade Kalyan Chowdhury, Secretary, Assam State Committee of the Party, presided over the meeting.

### GUJARAT

**Ahmedabad, 26.12.94:** The Gujarat Unit of the SUCI observed the year-long Mao Zedong Centenary concluding ceremony through various programmes culminating in a mass meeting here today under the presidentship of Comrade Bhismay Shah, Secretary, Ahmedabad City Organizing Committee, SUCI. Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, Central Staff of the party and General Secretary, AIMSS was present as the main speaker.

Comrade Mukherjee in her speech explained the significance of observing the centenary celebration of the birth of Mao Zedong and the necessity of learning Marxism-Leninism and practising those in life. Refuting the charges that Marxism-Leninism was an alien ideology she said science, scientific thought and ideology had no national boundary and was universally applicable in the interest of mankind. Hence, those who say so were either ignorant or spreading the idea in the interest of exploitative capitalist society. But such people had no objection when Indian capitalists in order to reap superprofit did borrow technological knowhow from foreign countries because it was to their advantage. She cited the example of Gandhiji who accepted Tolstoy as his mentor and followed his path in India, and of parliamentary democracy which had been adopted from the West. Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee further said that the lessons of Marxism-Leninism and thoughts of Mao Zedong could show the exploited people the real path of emancipation which must be followed in the concrete Indian situation, unlike some who tried to copy them in toto, she concluded. Comrade Dwarika Rath, State-in-charge, Gujarat also spoke.

### KERALA

**Cochin, December 26:** The year long

programme observing the Birth Centenary of Comrade Mao Zedong concluded here today with a public meeting organised by the Kerala State Committee of our Party in KSEB Union Hall, Ernakulam. Comrade C.K. Lukose, Secretary, Kerala State SUCI was the main speaker. Comrade Lukose in his speech cited some of the invaluable revolutionary teachings of Comrade Mao which, he said, were of immense significance today when the world communist movement was facing challenges of severe magnitude. After the demise of great Stalin when the Khrushchevite revisionism appeared as the main danger within the communist movement, the legendary fight that was conducted by Comrade Mao against modern revisionism through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a glorious chapter in the annals of world revolutionary movement.

Comrade Lukose also said that in the present international situation when the imperialists headed by the US had intensified their onslaughts, Comrade Mao's invaluable revolutionary teachings were a source of undying inspiration for the genuine communists.

Comrade V.Venugopal, member, State Secretariat of the party also spoke. The meeting was presided over by Comrade G.S. Padma Kumar, member, Kerala State Committee.

### TAMIL NADU

The Birth Centenary of Mao Zedong was observed in different parts of the state through meetings, quotation exhibitions, etc.

The Central and South Madras Local Committee and North Madras Local Organizing Committee held hall meetings on 25th and 26th December. Comrade Narayanasamy, member, Tamil Nadu State Committee, SUCI delivered the main speech in all the three meetings. The meetings started with garlanding of Mao's portrait by the main speaker and presided over by Comrade Baskaran, member, Tamil Nadu State Committee, Comrade Elangovan, Secretary, South Madras Local Committee and Comrade Dorairaj, Secretary, North Madras Local Organizing Committee respectively. The West Madras Local Committee organised 5 public meetings with quotation exhibitions. Comrade Jawahar, a district staff of Madras District Party Unit and Comrade Chandrasekar, another district staff, spoke in the meetings. Hundreds of party activists, supporters and comrades from among the student, youth, worker and women fronts participated in the programme. The programme attracted the attention and participation of young people in particular.

### ANDHRA PRADESH

**Anantapur, 27.12.94:** As a part of year-long Birth Centenary concluding ceremony of the great leader of world proletariat, Comrade Mao Zedong, the Anantapur District Organizing Committee of our party organised a mass meeting on 26th December last at Anantapur Press Club.

Comrade G.Lalitha, Secretary, Anantapur Town Organizing Committee took the chair and Comrade Sridhar, Secretary, State Organizing Committee, Andhra Pradesh addressed the meeting as the main speaker.

In his speech Comrade Sridhar reminded that born in a middle class peasant family Comrade Mao became the undisputed leader of

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## Birth Centenary of Mao Zedong celebrated

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the revolution in the most densely populated but most illiterate downtrodden country following the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and built up backward medieval China into a mighty modern socialist power. Creatively interpreting and applying the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of China, he successfully conducted New Democratic Revolution and switched on to socialist revolution in his land. He went on to say, after the demise of Comrade Mao, the Deng revisionist clique in China had discarded the thoughts and teachings of Comrade Mao and was following the capitalist path of development. If such policies and steps were continued unopposed counter-revolution is bound to take place there sooner or later.

Comrade B.S. Amarnath also addressed the meeting.

### TRIPURA

**Agartala, 26.12.94:** On the occasion of the concluding ceremony of Birth Centenary of Comrade Mao Zedong a public meeting was held at Kaman Chowmohani Crossing, Agartala today. Comrade Amalendu Bhowmick, state leader, was in the chair. Comrade Sanjit Biswas, member, West Bengal State Committee, SUCI, was the main speaker.

Comrade Sanjit Biswas in his speech said: Mao Zedong from the very early age started work among the agricultural labourers and it made him feel the deep sorrows and sufferings of the exploited and it haunted him to know the truth, real cause of their sufferings. And in course of knowing the truth he developed organisation among the peasants, workers, students and the people at large and simultaneously deeply studied various aspects of epistemology. In this way, he came in contact with Marxism-Leninism. Through his life-long struggle of theory and practice he creatively applied Marxism-Leninism in the Chinese soil and enriched it.

## Comrade Tapas Dutta condemns opportunist role of CPI(M) & CPI in Orissa

Comrade Tapas Dutta, Secretary, Orissa State Committee and member, Central Committee of SUCI, in a press release on 29.12.94 condemned opportunist politics of the CPI(M) and the CPI by shifting from their stand declared long back.

He said an unprecedented Left rally was jointly organised under the auspices of the SUCI, the CPI(M) and the CPI at Bhubaneswar on 24th March last year in which the central as well as state level leaders of these 3 parties declared that they would develop a joint platform of movement by uniting the Left and democratic forces in the state to fight against the new economic and industrial policy of the Central Congress(I) Government as well as against the Janata Dal-ruled state government's policy of transfer of state property and illegal sale of government enterprises to the private owners, invitation to the foreign multinationals to invest in Orissa and its utter failure to keep the election promises.

But when this process was on for developing this united platform the CPI(M) and the CPI suddenly dissociated from that and declared their stand to defeat the Congress(I) and the BJP only leaving aside the Janata Dal. By this declaration they virtually expressed their indirect support towards the Janata Dal and once again exposed their utter opportunist character before the people. This is an act of treachery to the people and the Left and democratic movement of Orissa.

If one probes deeply into the matter it becomes crystal clear that the role the CPI(M) and its Left Front Government in West Bengal is playing to implement fully the out and out anti-people economic and industrial policy of the Centre and inviting the multinationals to invest in West Bengal has no basic difference with the policies the Biju Patnaik government in Orissa is pursuing. So it is quite natural for the CPI(M) and the CPI to rally their support behind the Janata Dal government in Orissa.

## Coal Workers' Meeting Gears up Movement in Madhya Pradesh

**Bilaspur :** Coal miners working in the vast areas of mines of Korba, Kusmandi, Bistrampur and Johila etc., in Madhya Pradesh under the South Eastern Coal Fields Ltd., a central government undertaking, have long been organising movements demanding proper safety measures in mines, stoppage of illegal retrenchment, reinstatement of 234 retrenched workers as per High Court order, employment to the poor landholders evicted from their lands acquired by the government for mining and discussion between governments and the Koila Sramik Sabha affiliated to the UTUC(Lenin Sarani) and its recognition. With these demands, thousands of miners demonstrated before the headquarters of the South Eastern Coalfields Ltd. at Bilaspur on 28th December '94. Although informed earlier, the Chairman and the Director (Personnel) were not present at the headquarters on that day which created tremendous agitation among the miners and ultimately the General Manager (Industrial Relations) met the deputation, received the charter of demands and had talk with the members of the delegation which comprised, among others, Comrades Sunil Mukherjee, Secretary, All-India Committee of the UTUC(LS), R.N.Srivastava, General Secretary, Koila Sramik Sabha and its Vice-President V.N. Singh. As the General Manager failed to give any assurance to the delegation the workers continued stay-in demonstration there from 3.00 PM till 9-30 PM. At last only after the higher authorities promised to sit with the Union on 29.12.94 the sit-in demonstration was withdrawn.

While addressing the demonstrating workers, Comrade Sunil Mukherjee, R.N. Srivastava and others urged them to come forward to develop powerful sustained movement to achieve their legitimate demands.

The quotation printed beneath the portrait of Comrade Lenin is taken from *Proletarian Revolution And Renegade Kautsky*.

## Delhi demonstration against attack on Chechnya

**New Delhi, 12.1.95:** SUCI Delhi State Committee held a protest demonstration today in front of Russian Embassy against the barbaric aggression of Russia on Chechnya.

Hundreds of SUCI workers assembled at Teen Murti and proceeded towards Russian Embassy in a procession shouting slogans and holding placards demanding immediate end to aggression and complete withdrawal of Yeltsin's troops from Chechnya.

The processionists were addressed by the leaders of SUCI. A delegation comprising of Comrade Satyawan, a senior leader of SUCI and Vice-President of AIKKMS, Comrade Dipankar Roy, Vice-President, AIDS, Comrade Pratap Samal, member, SUCI Delhi Committee, and Comrade Rajender Singh, member, SUCI Haryana State Committee, met the Ambassador of Russian Federation and submitted a memorandum addressed to President Boris Yeltsin.



SUCI activists demonstrating on 12.1.95 at Esplanade, Calcutta against Russian aggression on Chechnya. The effigy of Yeltsin, seen above, was burnt on that spot. A delegation, on behalf of the West Bengal State Committee of our Party, met the Consul of the Russian Federation and submitted him a memorandum addressed to Boris Yeltsin.

# The yoke of a few monopolists on the rest of the population becomes a hundred times heavier, more burdensome and intolerable

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epoch of transition from capitalism to a higher social and economic system had taken shape and revealed themselves all along the line. Economically, the main thing in this process is the displacement of capitalist free competition by capitalist monopoly. Free competition is the fundamental characteristic of capitalism, and of commodity production generally; monopoly is the exact opposite of free competition, but we have seen the latter being transformed into monopoly before our eyes, creating large-scale industry and forcing out small industry, replacing large-scale by still largerscale industry, and carrying concentration of production and capital to the point where out of it has grown and is growing monopoly: cartels, syndicates and trusts, and merging with them, the capital of a dozen or so banks, which manipulate thousands of millions. At the same time, the monopolies, which have grown out of free competition, do not eliminate the latter, but exist over it and alongside of it, and thereby give rise to a number of very acute, intense antagonisms, frictions and conflicts. Monopoly is the transition from capitalism to a higher system.

If it were necessary to give the briefest possible definition of imperialism we should have to say that imperialism is the monopoly stage of capitalism. Such a definition would include what is most important, for, on the one hand, finance capital is the bank capital of a few very big monopolist banks, merged with the capital of the monopolist combines of industrialists; and, on the other hand, the division of the world is the transition from a colonial policy which has extended without hindrance to territories unseized by any capitalist power, to a colonial policy of monopolistic possession of the territory of the world which has been completely divided up.

But very brief definitions, although convenient, for they sum up the main points, are nevertheless inadequate, since very important features of the phenomenon that has to be defined have to be especially deduced. And so, without forgetting the conditional and relative value of all definitions in general, which can never embrace all the concatenations of a phenomenon in its complete development, we must give a definition of imperialism that will include the following five of its basic features :

- 1) the concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life ;
- 2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation, on the basis of this "finance capital," of a financial oligarchy ;
- 3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance;
- 4) the formation of international monopolist capitalist combines which share the world among themselves, and
- 5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; 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.... (Italics ours)*

We now have to examine yet another very important aspect of imperialism to which, usually, insufficient importance is attached in most of the discussions on this subject. One of the shortcomings of the Marxist Hillferding is that he takes a step backward compared with the non-Marxist Hobson. We refer to parasitism, which is characteristic of imperialism.

As we have seen, the deepest economic foundation of imperialism is monopoly. This is capitalist monopoly, i.e., monopoly which has grown out of capitalism and exists in the general environment of capitalism, commodity production and competition, in permanent and insoluble contradiction to this general environment. Nevertheless, like all monopoly, it inevitably engenders a tendency to stagnation and decay. Since monopoly prices are established, even temporarily, the motive cause of technical and, consequently, of all progress, disappears to a certain extent and, further, the economic possibility arises of deliberately retarding technical progress....

*One of the special features of imperialism ... is the decline in emigration from imperialist countries and the increase in immigration into these countries from the more backward countries where lower wages are paid. ...*

*Imperialism has the tendency to create privileged sections also among the workers, and to detach them from the broad masses of the proletariat. (Italics ours)*

It must be observed that in Great Britain the tendency of imperialism to divide the workers, to strengthen opportunism among them and to cause temporary decay in the working-class movement,...

We have seen that in its economic essence imperialism is monopoly capitalism. This in itself determines its place in history, for monopoly that grows out of the soil of free competition, and precisely out of free competition, is the transition from the capitalist system to a higher social-economic order. We must take special note of the four principal types of monopoly, or principal manifestations of monopoly capitalism, which are characteristic of the epoch we are examining.

Firstly, monopoly arose out of a very high stage of development of the concentration of production. This refers to the monopolist capitalist combines, cartels, syndicates and trusts. We have seen the important part these play in present-day economic life. At the beginning of the twentieth century, monopolies had acquired complete supremacy in the advanced countries, and although the first steps towards the formation of the cartels were first taken by countries enjoying the protection of high tariffs (Germany, America), Great Britain, with her system of free trade, revealed the same basic phenomenon, only a little later, namely, the birth of monopoly out of the concentration of production.

Secondly, monopolies have stimulated the seizure of the most important sources of raw materials, especially for the basic and most

highly cartelized industries in capitalist society: the coal and iron industries. The monopoly of the most important sources of raw materials has enormously increased the power of big capital, and has sharpened the antagonism between cartelized and non-cartelized industry.

Thirdly, monopoly has sprung from the banks. The banks have developed from humble middlemen enterprises into the monopolists of finance capital. Some three to five of the biggest banks in each of the foremost capitalist countries have achieved the "personal union" of industrial and bank capital, and have concentrated in their hands the control of thousands upon thousands of millions which form the greater part of the capital and income of entire countries. A financial oligarchy, which throws a close network of dependence relationships over all the economic and political institutions of present-day bourgeois society without exception — such is the most striking manifestation of this monopoly.

Fourthly, monopoly has grown out of colonial policy. To the numerous "old" motives of colonial policy, finance capital has added the struggle for the sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for "spheres of influence," i.e., for spheres for profitable deals, concessions, monopolist profits and so on, and finally, for economic territory in general. When the colonies of the European powers in Africa, for instance, comprised only one-tenth of that territory (as was the case in 1876), colonial policy was able to develop by methods other than those of monopoly — by the "free grabbing" of territories, so to speak. But when nine-tenths of Africa had been seized (by 1900), when the whole world had been divided up, there was inevitably ushered in the era of monopoly ownership of colonies and, consequently, of particularly intense struggle for the division and the redivision of the world.

The extent to which monopolist capital has intensified all the contradictions of capitalism is generally known. It is sufficient to mention the high cost of living and the tyranny of the cartels. This intensification of contradictions constitutes the most powerful driving force of the transitional period of history, which began from the time of the final victory of world finance capital.

Monopolies, oligarchy, the striving for domination instead of striving for liberty, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by a handful of the richest or most powerful nations — all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define it as parasitic or decaying capitalism. *More and more prominently there emerges, as one of the tendencies of imperialism, the creation of the "rentier state," the usurer state, in which the bourgeoisie to an ever increasing degree lives on the proceeds of capital exports and by "clipping coupons."* (Italics ours) It would be a mistake to believe that this tendency to decay precludes the rapid growth of capitalism. It does not. In the epoch of imperialism, certain branches of industry, certain strata of the bourgeoisie and certain countries betray, to a

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# Industrial policy of W B Govt.

## CPI(M) fulfils, in collusion with Cong. (I), the designs of Indian monopolists and multinationals

*Comrade Provash Ghosh, member, Central Committee and Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, SUCI, said in course of a statement issued on January 8 :*

"The way the CPI(M)-led Left Front government, the foreign multinationals and the Indian monopoly capitalist class, the rulers of the imperialist countries including the USA and the UK, different chambers of commerce and the monopoly Press vociferate in a chorus that wide industrialization is afoot in the process of 'rejuvenation of industry' in West Bengal is nothing but a cruel deception played on the poverty stricken millions.

Today when in the industrially advanced countries, thousands of industries are closing, millions of workers retrenched, crores of unemployed languishing in utter frustration, when in India too, a few lakhs of industries are getting sick and closing, crores of workers retrenched, crores and crores of unemployed are begging for jobs everywhere, can anybody believe in the rosy promise that industries will actually be rejuvenated in West Bengal? People should deeply ponder over this question.

We do not consider that even in the present situation a few industries may not grow here and there. But is it industrialization worth its name when, say, 2 industries are established while 5 more are closed and 10 more get sick?

Observing the manner the foreign capitalists are given red carpet ovation and entertained at five-star hotels, their 'sermons' are being accepted in a servile mentality and they are being appeased and flattered in every step, it may seem that some *badshah* has arrived in a poor man's abode with Aladdin's magic lamp. Donning Marxist garb the CPI(M) leadership may forget, but the people of our country cannot, as to how in the past the imperialists looted our country, to drive whom out countless youth had laid down their lives. Today those very imperialists are coming to India and similar other countries to plunder all the same in different form but posing as the saviour of the people. And the CPI(M) leadership resorts to appeasement by kneeling down before them. What more shameful can it be than this? We hope, the CPI(M) activists will deeply think over it.

It is our considered view that foreign and domestic capital as also the CPI(M) and the Congress(I) have today combined together only to satisfy their respective self-interests. In order to get even a little breathing space from steady slump it is the need of the imperialists to provide loans to other countries on high rates of interest, sell advanced technology, invest finance capital in other countries for super profits, to exploit relative cheap labour and cheap raw material and to capture guaranteed markets in those countries for commodities produced by themselves. They also want that possibilities of working class movement will be eliminated in those countries and that they have the impunity to exploit indiscriminately.

Afflicted by unprecedented market crisis, particularly after losing the market of erstwhile Soviet Union and the east European socialist countries, the Indian monopolist capitalists are seeking newer avenues in foreign countries for selling commodities on the understanding of give and take with the foreign multinationals in their respective markets and in its need to keep unabated the flow of Indian finance capital to the relatively underdeveloped countries, and to improve their competitive power in the foreign markets they need advanced foreign technology. For these reasons, in their own interests the Indian capitalists come into understanding with foreign capital.

At the same time the CPI(M), in order to stabilize its power in West Bengal and Tripura, to regain power in Kerala and to become more influential in all-India politics, etc., wants not only to remain in the good book of the Indian monopoly capitalists, but also wants to win the confidence of the foreign multinationals.

It is to be noted that in this race the CPI(M) has now been able to outsmart even the Congress(I), the BJP and the Janata Dal. The CPI(M) is alluring the unemployed youths by creating an air that 'many industries are coming up' and thus is striving to refurbish its image to gain in the coming elections.

The Congress(I) wants to make the CPI(M) accept the GATT and programme of liberalisation in order to diffuse popular discontent against these policies and it also wants to make closer its ties with the CPI(M), their friend in need, only to protect its tottering throne at the Centre. So, people of West Bengal should realize that not in the interest of the masses, but it is in their own interest that these two parties are joining hands.

People should remember that imperialists will invest only that amount of capital for a certain period in India and in such other countries as would enable them to earn maximum profit. In India still now, they are investing capital in the share market for quick profit without risk by speculation, and in the field of manufacture of sophisticated luxury items, food processing, tourism, hotel, etc., and in transport and power manufacture also, necessary to run these industries. This investment is made keeping in view the market comprising a few crores of the rich, who constitute only a meagre percentage of the entire population. And these industries will be mainly capital intensive and not labour intensive; that means production will be conducted with the aid of advanced technology and minimum labour strength from which they will extract maximum profit. As a result, retrenchment will continue unabated, no way out will be there for crores of unemployed. Rather the middle and small industries, where the majority workers are employed, will go to liquidation failing to compete with advanced technology resulting in further widescale retrenchment; and price will rise continuously due to national and foreign capital's complete

monopoly control over market. While, the capitalist class will go on curbing the workers' rights, acquired through long hard struggles.

It goes without saying that the class conscious workers will fight for extensive industrialization and no question arises to oppose it. They know full well that today capitalist production relation is the insurmountable obstacle in the way of all-out industrialization, and for that the need is the socialist revolution, where the doors of uninterrupted industrialization will be thrown wide open. The workers also know that the capitalist class invests capital not in the interest of society and its people, but only in the interest of their super profit. And this is what they cannot but do. There is no question of begging or appeasement for that.

This is particularly a matter of grave anxiety that, to please the Indian and foreign capitalists and to make the working class spineless, Shri Jyoti Basu, the CPI(M) leader and West Bengal Chief Minister, is dishing out a novel theory — 'let the capitalists profit, there is no objection; it is quite acceptable if they do not exploit the workers.' But any man conversant with the ABC of Marxism knows that Marx, exposing the falsity of bourgeois economists, showed for the first time in history that the capitalists pay the workers the price of only a fraction of his entire labour as wage, and the rest is the surplus value from which they usurp profit. That means, without depriving their rightful share of the workers, the capitalists cannot reap profit. This CPI(M) leader exhorting Marxist vocabulary went against this basic Marxist tenet only to serve decadent capitalism; the revisionists of the past could not debase themselves so low. The Chief Minister is also advising that, 'the workers must look not just after their own interests, but also after the interests of the industrialists', which means workers must look solely after the interest of the industrialists. He further said, 'we need responsible trade unionism', 'maintain peace in industry', thereby asking the workers to maintain peace for the bourgeoisie accepting exploitation, oppression and deprivation in their life. He is also trying to make people accept that 'strike is not the first, but the last weapon which too, must be used only with the consent of the Left Front Government.' Clearly, these are against class struggle, and a putrid theory of class collaboration which social democrats of all countries chant. Also, the 'Marxist' Chief Minister has instructed the police to take stern measures 'to maintain peace in industry' and 'to stop irresponsible trade unionism'. As a result, not only the Indian monopolists, but also the foreign multinationals are considering the CPI(M) as a very dependable and trustworthy friend, praising the CPI(M) off and on and, not in so many words, they want other Left parties and those parties engaged in workers' movements in foreign countries to eschew the path of 'destruction' and to pursue the

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## Red Salute Comrade Chitta Roy

Comrade Chitta Roy is no more. He breathed his last at his residence in Calcutta on November 3 after a prolonged illness. Comrade Roy hailed from a poor slum dwelling family of Tangra-Beliaghata locality of Calcutta. Inspired by the thoughts of the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, with which he came in contact at a tender age, he joined the SUCI. He was closely associated with different clubs, trade unions and mass organisations of Tangra-Beliaghata locality. Because of his deep devotion to the cause of struggle of the toiling people afflicted with injustice, exploitation, oppression and torture, he earned spontaneous love and affection of common men.

As a dedicated party activist he acquired in a short time such struggling qualities that he was elected to the Lok Sabha as an SUCI candidate from the Joynagar (Reserved) constituency in the 1967 general elections. He was the youngest member of the 4th Lok Sabha. His life struggle and extraordinary eloquence evoked deep regard of the people. It may be mentioned here that the life span of the 4th Lok Sabha was four years from 1967 to 1970. During this short spell too, Comrade Chitta Roy as member of Parliament played a very commendable role in the legitimate democratic struggles of the agricultural workers, poor and marginal peasants and other exploited sections of the population in the vast deltaic tracts of South Bengal. Besides, Comrade Roy as an M.P. highlighted emphatically among the wider sections of the people the real significance of the labour policy of the First United Front



Government of West Bengal of 1967, which was propounded by our beloved departed leader Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, and boldly implemented by Comrade Subodh Banerjee, the then Labour Minister and Central Committee member of our party. In demise of Comrade Chitta Roy the party has lost a dedicated and struggling activist. As a mark of respect, the Red Flag was dipped half-mast at the Tangra-Beliaghata Party Office. At a memorial meeting held on 24th November '94, different speakers recalled many brilliant aspects of his life.

The Lok Sabha, in its session on 22nd December last, adopted a condolence resolution on the demise of Comrade Chitta Roy. The resolution read: "Shri Chitta Ranjan Roy was an active social and political worker. A popular leader of labour movement of his area, he worked tirelessly for the benefit of the working class.

"He took keen interest in the proceedings of the House."

The Lok Sabha Speaker also conveyed his deep sense of loss and sympathy to the bereaved family of Comrade Chitta Roy.

## West Bengal Industrial Policy

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'constructive' and 'responsible path' as shown by the CPI(M).

We consider that as the social democrats of the erstwhile USSR and the east European socialist countries acted as the agent of world capitalism for destroying socialism, so also in our country, the CPI(M) is playing the same role to destroy class struggle and revolutionary movement.

Whereas the CPI(M) is arguing that the Central Government is destroying the economic dependence of the country through GATT and liberalization and is endangering economic sovereignty by selling out our country to the imperialists, in the same breath it is saying that it is making West Bengal more prosperous taking advantage of these very policies of the Centre; and if done otherwise 'in industrialisation West Bengal will turn into a desert', that means in their view GATT and liberalization will help to create oasis in West Bengal in industrial sector. For a social democratic party which is overzealous in serving decadent capitalism and spreading deception while posing itself as the friend of the working class, it is natural to present such contradictory, ludicrous arguments. The CPI(M) leadership, in order to misguide its honest

activists, whose emotion about communism couldn't have been destroyed yet, is saying that 'West Bengal is not a sovereign country, only a province of India, so central policies must be implemented if to remain in power'. It is true that to remain in power anyhow, it cannot but implement capitalist policies. But does a real Marxist Party with this very purpose take part in the elections or form a government when there is a chance?

If so, then where lies the difference between a bourgeois party and a working class party? The working class party takes part in elections not for lust for power, but to free people from the illusion of bourgeois parliament and capitalist state and simultaneously to build up ground for revolutionary uprising by strengthening class and mass struggles. If there is any scope it forms a government with this sole objective. Whatever welfare or reform measures it takes, it implements them on the basis of class and mass struggles and not depending on administrative bureaucratic machinery. To fulfil this revolutionary purpose, in the eventuality of a conflict with the capitalist class and its state machine, working class party combats it on the basis of class struggle and mass movements; and while conducting these struggles if it is ousted from governmental power, it faces that risk which in turn strengthens revolutionary movement. It does not cling to governmental power at the cost of class

## Lenin on Imperialism

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greater or lesser degree, now one and now another of these tendencies...

The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the numerous branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this striving. And so there is created that bond between imperialism and opportunism, which revealed itself first and most clearly in England, owing to the fact that certain features of imperialist development were observable there much earlier than in other countries.

## SUCI-supported candidate wins Rohtak Civic Poll

Kumari Sujata, Advocate, organizer of the AIMSS, engaged since long in the legitimate struggles of the women as also of people at large, won as an Independent candidate supported by our party, in the recently concluded Municipal Election of Rohtak, Haryana. She voiced the longstanding demands of the local people for regular supply of drinking water, electricity, proper sanitation, roads and other basic civic amenities as also against repression on women, fast spread of obscenity in the media and mushrooming of liquor shops, among others.

Elected as councillor, she shall raise these demands within the Council and also build up struggle outside for their realization by organizing the people in People's Struggle Committees and Volunteer Corps.

and mass struggles. This is the revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism. The CPI(M) activists should deeply ponder — which class interest is their leadership protecting at the cost of their sacrifice and struggle!

People, too, must realize that the CPI(M) in the interest of foreign and Indian capital is committing utter treachery to the interest of the working class and the people.

They must clearly recognize the real nature of this deceptive and crafty politics and must unleash powerful mass and class struggles recognizing real revolutionary ideology and party. Through this process of mass movements, people must build up their own instruments of revolutionary political power capable of developing politically conscious sustained revolutionary movement basing it on higher ethics so that a society free from exploitation can be established as soon as possible by overthrowing capitalism. We believe that people, without getting deceived by the CPI(M) leadership any more, will tear asunder all tricks and conspiracies of the bourgeoisie, will march ahead through this path by uplifting their consciousness and by organizing themselves on the path of true emancipation. We also hope that the honest workers and supporters of the CPI(M) will join in this great struggle being free from all illusion."

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