

November Revolution, Imperialism, War

Some important teachings of the Great leaders on revolution and imperialism

The 78th anniversary of the Great November Revolution is being observed in an international situation when the imperialist sharks are out to dominate the entire world, taking advantage of the setback in the international communist movement after the fall of the socialist system in the erstwhile Soviet Union and East European countries. In such a situation it is incumbent on all the peace-loving and progressive people of the world to resist the imperialist conspiracies and designs, and in this, the invaluable teachings on imperialism of Lenin, Stalin, Mao Ze dong and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh would provide immense help and guideline to them. So on this occasion of the 78th anniversary of the Great November Revolution we are recalling some teachings of these great leaders, which are given below.

Lenin

"The question of imperialist wars, of the international policy of finance capital which now dominates the whole world, a policy that must inevitably engender new imperialist wars, that must inevitably cause an extreme intensification of national oppression, pillage, brigandry and the strangulation of weak, backward and small nationalities by a handful of 'advanced' powers -- that question has been the key stone of all policy in all the countries of the globe since 1914. It is a question of life and death for millions upon millions of people. It is a question of whether 20,000,000 people (as compared with the 10,000,000 who were killed in the war of 1914-1918 and in the supplementary 'minor wars' that are still going on) are to be slaughtered in the next imperialist war, which the bourgeoisie are preparing, and which is growing out of capitalism before our very eyes. It is a question of whether in the future war, which is inevitable (if capitalism continues to exist), 60,000,000 people are to be maimed (compared with

30,000,000 maimed in 1914-18). In this question too, our October Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in world history. The lackeys of the bourgeoisie and its yes-men, the socialist-revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, and the petty-bourgeois allegedly 'socialist', democrats all over the world -- derided our slogan "convert the imperialist war into a civil war". But that slogan proved to be the truth -- it was the only truth, unpleasant, blunt, naked and brutal, but nevertheless the truth, as against the host of most refined gingoist and pacifist lies. Those lies are being dispelled. The Brest Peace has been exposed. And with every passing day the significance and consequences of a peace that is even worse than the Brest Peace -- the peace of Versailles -- are being more relentlessly exposed. And the millions who are thinking about the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more clearly realizing the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war, and imperialist peace ... which inevitably engenders imperialist war, that it is impossible to escape that inferno, *except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution.*

Let the bourgeoisie and the pacifists, the generals and the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalists and the philistines, the pious Christians and the Knights of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals vent their theory against that revolution. No torrents of abuse, columnies and lies can enable them to conceal the historic fact that for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years the slaves have replied to a war between slave-owners by openly proclaiming the slogan: "Convert this war between slave-owners for the division of the loot into a war of the slaves of all nations against the slave-owners of all nations."

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November Revolution Day observed at Ghatsila

Ghatsila, November 7: At the Study Centre of Marxism-Leninism-Shibdas Ghosh's Thought at Ghatsila in Bihar, the 78th November Revolution Day was observed with due solemnity. In the morning Comrade Tapas Dutta, a senior Central Committee member of the party unfurled the red flag. In the evening at 6p.m. a meeting was held with the workers of Singhbhum district along with the comrades of the Centre. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of the Party, presided over the meeting and Comrade Tapas Dutta explained the significance of the great November Revolution.

Comrade Tapas Dutta said in his speech that prior to the November Revolution many people thought that the proletariat would not be able to capture state power, paving the way for the establishment of a society free from exploitation; but the November Revolution demonstrated that it was not a utopia. As a result of this revolution, not only the economic upliftment but the cultural, moral and ethical standard attained a new height within a short span in the Soviet

Union. In the socialist economy the worker works not for his self interest or for gaining something as incentive -- he works for the emancipation of self and society. But the revisionist leadership of the Soviet Union dealt a blow to this concept, and by following the capitalist economic law it destroyed the Soviet Union. Comrade Dutta concluded by saying that the significance of the November Revolution lied to-day in conducting a still further developed stage of struggle through merging the individual interest with that of the society.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, in his brief presidential speech said: The liberation struggles that have developed on the basis of the lessons of the November Revolution will have to fulfil three essential conditions as enunciated by Lenin for the emancipation of the people from all sorts of exploitations. These are correct theory based on dialectical materialism, correct revolutionary party to implement that theory; and correct tactics and united front politics. Revolution connotes

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Proletarian Era

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Calcutta to host Anti-Imperialist Convention

Calcutta, 9th November: In a press conference held today, Dr. Sushil Kumar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of the Preparatory Committee of Anti-Imperialist Convention announced that an anti-imperialist convention was scheduled to be held in Calcutta from 14th to 17th November '95 with delegates from India and abroad, which would be presided over by Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer. He said that this call for anti-imperialist convention evoked the most heartening response from various foreign countries including Russia, Belgium, Cuba, Germany etc. and about 30 delegates from abroad would grace the occasion as delegates. Delegates from all over India would also participate. Dr. Mukherjee focussed the danger posed by the imperialist powers and particularly by the U.S. imperialists after the restoration of capitalism in the erstwhile USSR and the East European countries, which caused weakening of the nonaligned movement as also the anti-imperialist struggle and militant peace movement. He stressed that unfettered plunder, all out domination and control by the indigenous monopoly capital in league with the imperialist multinational corporations have been established through the shackles of GATT, not only in agriculture and industry, but directly or indirectly even in the sphere of education, health service, culture and scientific research. The result is increasing unemployment, destitution and pauperization of the common people of all countries including ours.

Dr. Mukherjee showed how the U.S. imperialists had been fanning up and abetting barbarous and blood-letting skirmishes among different nationalities for keeping its trade of military hardwares unhindered. He cited the example of French nuclear tests to expose the utter hypocrisy of these 'saviours' of world peace and democracy.

In this situation it was the burning question, Dr. Mukherjee continued, whether any country could keep its free and independent existence and develop its own economy independently without bowing down to US imperialism or not, whether human and democratic rights would exist at all in the world, and whether the danger of world war could be averted.

Dr. Mukherjee stressed that the need of the hour was to develop a cohesive struggle to foil the imperialist design by uniting all the democratic, freedom and peace loving people of all countries. He appealed to all sections of people to join hands to make this convention a success.

Important Teachings of Great November Revolution

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For the first time in hundreds and thousands of years that slogan has grown from a vague and helpless waiting into a clear and definite political programme, into an effective struggle waged by millions of oppressed people under the leadership of the proletariat; it has grown into the first victory of the proletariat, the first victory in the struggle to abolish war and to unite the workers of all countries against the united bourgeoisie of different nations, against the bourgeoisie that makes peace and war at the expense of the slaves of capital, the wage-workers, the peasants, the working people.

This first victory is *not yet the final victory*, and it was achieved by our October Revolution at the price of incredible difficulties and hardships, at the price of unprecedented suffering, accompanied by a series of serious reverses and mistakes on our part. How could a single backward people be expected to frustrate the imperialist wars of the most powerful and most developed countries of the world without sustaining reverses and without committing mistakes! We are not afraid to admit our mistakes and shall examine them dispassionately in order to learn how to correct them. But the fact remains that for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years the promise "to reply" to war between the slave-owners by a revolution of the slaves directed *against* all the slave-owners *has been completely fulfilled* — and is being fulfilled despite all difficulties.

We have made the start. When, at what date and time, and the proletarians of which nation will complete this process is not important. The important thing is that the ice has been broken; the road is open, the way has been shown.

Gentlemen, capitalists of all countries, keep up your hypocritical pretence of "defending the fatherland" — the Japanese fatherland against the American, the American against the Japanese, the French against the British, and so forth! Gentlemen, knights of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, pacifist petty bourgeoisie and philistines of the entire world, go on "evading" the question of how to combat imperialist wars by issuing new "Basle Manifestos". ...*The first Bolshevik revolution* has wrested the first hundred million people of this earth from the clutches of imperialist war and the imperialist world. Subsequent revolutions will deliver the rest of mankind from such wars and from such a world." (CW : Lenin, Vol.33, pp-55-57)

Stalin

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

Revolutions in the past usually ended by one group of exploiters at the helm of government being replaced by another group of exploiters. The exploiters changed, exploitation remained.

Such was the case during the liberation movements of the slaves. Such was the case during the period of the uprisings of the serfs. Such was the case during the period of the well-known "great" revolutions in England, France and Germany. I am not speaking of the Paris Commune, which was the first glorious, heroic, yet unsuccessful attempt on the part of the proletariat to turn history against capitalism.

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

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

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

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

1. The October Revolution is noteworthy primarily for having breached the front of world imperialism, for having overthrown the imperialist bourgeoisie in one of the biggest capitalist countries and put the socialist proletariat in power.

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

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

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

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

...the October Revolution broke the chains of national and colonial oppression and freed from

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

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

This means that the October Revolution *has ushered* in a new era, the era of *colonial* revolutions which are being carried out *in the oppressed countries of the world in alliance* with the proletariat and *under the leadership* of the proletariat.

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

That legend must now be regarded as shattered and discarded...

It was formerly the "accepted" idea that the only method of liberating the oppressed peoples is the method of *bourgeois nationalism*, the method of nations drawing apart from one another...

That legend must now be regarded as refuted. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt that legend a mortal blow, by demonstrating in practice the possibility and expediency of the *proletarian, internationalist* method of liberating the oppressed peoples, as the only correct method; by demonstrating in practice the possibility and expediency of a *fraternal union* of the workers and peasants of most diverse nations based on the principles of *voluntariness* and *internationalism*. The existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is the prototype of the future integration of the working people of all countries into a single world economic system, cannot but serve as direct proof of this...

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

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Civil War in Yugoslavia : Role of Imperialists

The recent massive NATO airstrikes in Bosnia, in what has been the largest NATO operation since its inception, coupled with the imperialist backed offensives in Croatia and Bosnia that has driven out hundreds of thousands of Serbs from the affected territories has brought imperialist interference and aggression, under the cover of peace efforts, to new heights. This is continuously widening the ever more murderous civil war, threatening to pull in other countries as well. Even if some or other peace deal is finally agreed on between Croatia, Bosnia, and Serbia-Montenegro (rump Yugoslavia), or forced down their throats by the powerful imperialist countries, especially the USA, the sufferings of the people will be far from over. The people who have been dragged into an irresolvable ethnic, or rather communal divide, where conflicting loyalties are not only pitting neighbour against neighbour and friend against friend, but even brother against brother and son against father and mother in a never ending nightmare and human tragedy in a modern society that has not only intermingled, but where in some areas almost half of the population has intermarried among the different communities. But how could it happen at all? Surely, the situation has not come to such a pass overnight.

Before examining the issue, let us recapitulate some of the main events of the conflict in a nutshell to refresh the memory of our readers.

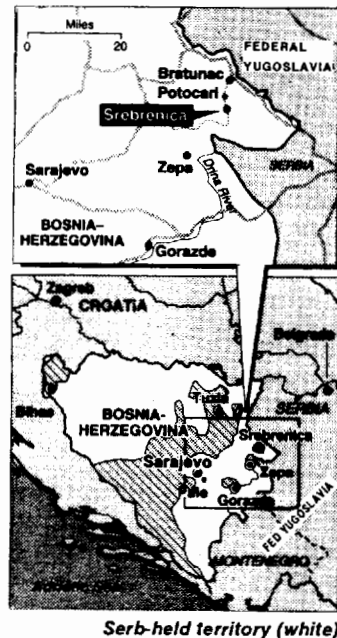
Break up of Yugoslavia in a nutshell

In June 1991, Slovenia and Croatia, two of the six republics of former Yugoslavia, declared their secession. The Federal Government of Yugoslavia, perceiving the hand of German imperialism, tried to prevent this extreme step, resulting in fighting between the republics' militia and the National Army. In Slovenia, mainly populated by Slovenes, the fighting was soon over, but in Croatia the situation was more complicated. The Serb community that accounts for more than 12.5% of its population, facing harassment at the hands of the Tudjman neo-fascist regime, wanted to remain in Yugoslavia as the new Constitution set up by the neo-fascist regime, (that also started to revive many of the Nazi characteristics) negated the constitutional rights of the minorities. Finally, at the request of the Federal Government of Yugoslavia, negotiations with the EC members and the two breakaway republics took place. Yet "the process of disintegration and international intervention had already begun. Within a few months, EC mediator Lord Carrington was to propose a plan not only confirming *de facto* separation of Slovenia and Croatia, but also suggesting the same for all the remaining Yugoslav republics," commented A.N.D.

Haksar, Last Indian Ambassador to Yugoslavia. (*The Lessons from Yugoslavia*, in *World Focus*, October, 1993)

Later on, when the Federal Government of Yugoslavia brought the problem before the UN, that did not yield the desired results either. After Germany unilaterally extended diplomatic recognition to Croatia and Slovenia in December, 1991 and the other EC members and the USA followed suit, the break up and disintegration of former Yugoslavia was irrevocably set in motion.

It was only a matter of time before Bosnia-Herzegovina too, spurred on by the imperialist powers, declared their independence in March '92. This time the USA hastened to extend diplomatic recognition to Bosnia in a record short time of one month only, followed by the EC members. Already one month later, in May '92, Bosnia was inducted into the UN as a member. It was this international recognition that really fuelled the flames of the vicious civil war that was bound to ensue in this multi-ethnic state.



Serb-held territory (white)

For the nationalist forces of Bosnian Muslims, encouraged especially by the USA, were adamantly opting for independence while the nationalist Serb forces equally vehemently opposed it. It must be remembered that Bosnian Muslims constitute about 42% of the Bosnian population, Serbs about 32% and the Croats 18%. As the nationalist Serbs refused to live under Muslim rule, wanting to remain in Yugoslavia or have an independent republic, and the Bosnian Muslim nationalists showed equally vehement insistence on ruling over an undivided state, therefore conflict and strife was bound to ensue. The Croats initially supported the Bosnian Muslims, for reasons of their own, that were revealed by their later actions when they turned against that former allies and started to grab territory to build greater Croatia.

Thereafter, one EC-UN negotiating team after another has drafted one peace plan after another, but far from bringing peace, the manoeuvres of the imperialist powers are embroiling the state ever deeper and deeper into a bloody civil war.

At the same time, the powerful imperialist countries are trying to manipulate and regiment public opinion through manipulated and one-sided news and disinformation campaign on a scale that has only one precedent in recent years : the Gulf war.

Balkan nationalism creates ground for imperialist intervention

To understand the proper perspective of the present problem we have to take a brief glance at

the happenings when the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia emerged after the second world war. Although Yugoslavia broke away from the shackles of capitalism and emerged with a new system along with other East European socialist countries under the leadership of Tito, the then frontranking communist leader, but within a very short span of time Yugoslav leadership showed a dominant trend of extreme Balkan nationalism, having nothing in common with proletarian internationalism. It is known to the communists in particular, how Tito proved himself as a disruptor in the international communist movement and was expelled from the Cominform during 1948. It goes without saying that the Yugoslav leadership became out and out revisionist and the different economic and other policies pursued pushed this country to degenerate into capitalist restoration in no time with resultant impoverishment of the people and more particularly the rise of ultra Balkan nationalism. It must be kept in mind that long ago when capitalism has become a spent force, out and out reactionary and rotten to the core, it can by no means act as a uniting force, as it did in its heydays, in the revolutionary stage. Instead it engenders all sorts of regional animosity, national chauvinism and fissiparous tendencies, which have steadily grown in former Yugoslavia throughout the years, and which especially in conjunction with the growing weakness of the socialist camp, opened wide the doors for imperialist interference and machinations.

And the imperialists, on their part, did not miss their chance. With growing weakness of the socialist camp the major imperialist powers, with USA in the lead, started to take a series of measures and manoeuvres, in a well planned strategy, aimed at dealing the death blow to the last vestiges of socialism and to bring the economies of the concerned countries under their control. They continuously tightened their grip over indebted countries with the help of US-dominated World Bank and IMF. Thus, in the eighties Yugoslavia too, became deeper and deeper ensnared into debt, due to sudden extreme hike in interest rates and increasingly harsh and unfavourable conditionalities invariably attached, which push the receiving countries deep into debt and further and further into economic crisis. In Yugoslavia the measures imposed along with growing liberalisation of the economy, led to soaring unemployment and inflation. At the same time the donor countries' insistence on dealing increasingly with different republics separately, favouring consistently the more developed ones, even further increased regional disparity and gave rise to increasing regional frictions, discontent and antagonism among the different nationalities.

US-German duo engineer break up of Yugoslavia

With the fall of the socialist camp, especially the USSR, the last restraints on the imperialist aggression and hegemonistic designs were removed. At the same time age-old imperialist intrigue and rivalry over control over those countries and the strategic Balkan region in particular, began to surface in the new conditions.

Thus, in November, 1990 the USA suddenly stopped all aid, loans and trade to Yugoslavia.

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On revolution and imperialism

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

... the October Revolution inflicted a mortal wound on world capitalism from which the latter will never recover. For that very reason capitalism will never recover the "equilibrium" and "stability" that it possessed before October.

Capitalism may become partly stabilised, it may rationalise its production, turn over the administration of the country to fascism, temporarily hold down the working class; but it will never recover the "tranquility", the "assurance", the "equilibrium" and the "stability" that it flaunted before; for the crisis of world capitalism has reached the stage of development when the flames of revolution must inevitably break out, now in the centres of imperialism, now in the periphery, reducing to naught the capitalist patchwork and daily bringing nearer the fall of capitalism. Exactly as in the well-known fable, "when it pulled its tail out of the mud, its beak got stuck; when it pulled its beak out, its tail got stuck."

This means, secondly, that the October Revolution has raised to such a height the strength and importance, the courage and the fighting preparedness of the oppressed classes of the whole world as to compel the ruling classes to reckon with them as a *new*, important factor. Now the labouring masses of the world can no longer be regarded as a "blind mob", groping in the dark and devoid of prospects; for the October Revolution has created a beacon which illumines their path and opens up prospects for them. Whereas formerly there was no *world-wide* open forum from which the aspirations and strivings of the oppressed classes could be expounded and formulated, now such a forum exists in the shape of the first proletarian dictatorship...

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

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

The October Revolution cannot be regarded merely as a revolution in the sphere of economic and social-political relations. It is at the same time a revolution in the minds, a revolution in the ideology, of the working class. The October Revolution was born and gained strength under the banner of Marxism, under the banner of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the banner of Leninism, which is Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Hence it marks the victory of Marxism over reformism, the victory of Leninism over Social-Democratism, the victory of the Third International over the Second International.

The October Revolution has brought into being an impassable chasm between Marxism and Social-Democratism, between the policy of Leninism and the policy of Social-Democratism...

The October Revolution went further than drawing a demarcation line between Social-Democracy and Marxism; it relegated Social-Democracy to the camp of the direct defenders of capitalism *against* the first proletarian dictatorship in the world...

Present-day Social-Democratism is an *ideological support* of capitalism. Lenin was a thousand times right when he said that the present-day Social-Democratic politicians are "*real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class*"...

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

The great significance of the October Revolution consists, among other things, in the fact that it marks the inevitable victory of Leninism over Social-Democratism in the world labour movement." (Stalin: *The International Character of the October Revolution*)

Mao Ze dong

"The United States is flaunting the anti-communist banner everywhere in order to perpetrate aggression against other countries.

The United States owes debts everywhere. It owes debts not only to the countries of Latin America, Asia and Africa, but also to the countries of Europe and Oceania. The whole world, Britain included, dislikes the United States. The masses of the people dislike it. Japan dislikes the United States because it oppresses her. None of the countries in the East is free from U.S. aggression. The United States has invaded our Taiwan Province. Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam and Pakistan all suffer from U.S. aggression, although some of them are allies of the United States. The people are dissatisfied and in some countries, so are the authorities...

Now U.S. imperialism is quite powerful, but in reality it isn't. It is very weak politically

because it is divorced from the masses of the people and is disliked by everybody and by the American people too. In appearance it is very powerful but in reality it is nothing to be afraid of, it is a paper tiger. Outwardly a tiger, it is made of paper, unable to withstand the wind and the rain. I believe the United States is nothing but a paper tiger.

... Only when imperialism is eliminated can peace prevail. The day will come when the paper tigers will be wiped out. But they won't become extinct of their own accord, they need to be battered by the wind and the rain.

When we say U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger, we are speaking in terms of strategy. Regarding it as a whole, we must despise it. But regarding each part, we must take it seriously. It has claws and fangs. We have to destroy it piecemeal. For instance, if it has ten fangs, knock off one the first time, and there will be nine left; knock off another, and there will be eight left. When all the fangs are gone, it will still have claws. If we deal with it step by step and in earnest, we will certainly succeed in the end.

Strategically, we must utterly despise U.S. imperialism. Tactically, we must take it seriously. In struggling against it, we must take each battle, each encounter, seriously. At present, the United States is powerful, but when looked at in a broader perspective, as a whole and from a long-term viewpoint, it has no popular support, its policies are disliked by the people, because it oppresses and exploits them. For this reason, the tiger is doomed. Therefore, it is nothing to be afraid of and can be despised. But today the United States still has strength,...and hitting out everywhere. That is why we must continue to wage struggles against it, fight it with all our might and wrest one position after another from it. And that takes time.

It seems that the countries of the Americas, Asia and Africa will have to go on quarrelling with the United States till the very end, till the paper tiger is destroyed by the wind and the rain.

... We are of the same nature as you in our opposition to imperialist oppression, differing only in geographical position, nationality and language. But we are different in nature from imperialism, and the very sight of it makes us sick. What use is imperialism? The Chinese people will have none of it, nor will the people in the rest of the world. There is no reason for the existence of imperialism." (SW: Mao, Vol-V pp 308-311)

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GHATSILA

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radical change for the emancipation of the oppressed masses, and this can be achieved only by a correct working class party following correct theory and correct tactics.

The best sons of the soil participate in the revolutionary movement for the emancipation of the entire people. The emancipation of the

proletariat is essential for the emancipation of self, and those who will bring revolution will have to change themselves. And not mere change, he will have to identify himself with revolution.

Today the communists are getting organised against counter-revolution in different countries. In this November an anti-imperialist convention is going to be held, and this will help in building an international forum against the forces opposed to revolution in the international arena, and in building militant movement against imperialism through struggle against the bourgeoisie at the

national level. All these will be conducive to realising the hopes and aspirations of the people even in such an adverse situation. Leaders and cadres are to initiate this movement by releasing relentless struggle for rectification and elevation, which we had begun from the First All India Plenum of our party.

The guns do not determine the fate of man. Human civilisation cannot regress. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed the causes of the regression in the international arena as (1) lower level of consciousness, (2) mechanical relation instead of dialectical relation between the leaders and the cadres. Everything has to be analysed on the basis of Marxism and dialectical materialism, and there must not be any blind allegiance to any particular leader. In 1973 Comrade Shibdas Ghosh said at the school of politics held at Muzaffarpur - 'Please drive me out, if you find me degraded.' By seeing the degradation of Plekhanov and Liu Shao Chi he commented that no one was infallible. Leaders and cadres will have to advance through relentless struggle in the right direction. The internal and external contradictions influence the course of the struggle. The party tries to develop a comrade as far as possible, but if the leaders and cadres compromise in their struggle, they will deviate from the path of Marxism-Leninism, unless they rectify themselves by taking lessons from the mistakes.

Through setting up examples in life by the leaders, the people can repose their faith and hopes, not by their words but by seeing their life and character. It is not blind allegiance, blind allegiance is an enemy to revolution. So it is necessary to advance in every movement by making the struggle for rectification and elevation as the focal point.

In Russia as Stalin strengthened the party through great purges after defeating the left and right deviations through intense ideological political struggles, Hitler who was able to set up quislings in every country, could not do so in Soviet Union. Mao also had to initiate rectification struggle thrice before the New Democratic Revolution in China, and later the Chinese Party had to advance through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Lenin taught us, cultural revolution precedes technical revolution. That is cultural revolution complementary to a particular revolution is essential. Despite unprecedented setback in the international socialist movement, it is a temporary phenomenon as is being reflected in the resurgence of the working class and communist movements in those countries where counter-revolutions had taken place. The bourgeoisie of our country in league with the imperialists including the US imperialists are shifting the burden of their crisis to the shoulders of the common people, and the historic task to resist this design by uniting all sections of the people has devolved on the genuine working class party in India built by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat. And to be equal to this task the struggle for elevation and rectification has to be given the shape of a cultural movement. The cultural revolution within the party has to be made complementary to the anti-capitalist socialist revolution, and on this rests the victory of the revolution of our country. We must take this lesson from the great November Revolution so as to move further ahead.



On the eve of anti-imperialist Convention, graffiti and hoardings are coming up at important places in Calcutta. Some of the hoardings are seen above.

Some Important Teachings of Great Leaders

(Contd. from page 4)

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

"Broadly speaking, the point is that the American economy is a capitalist economy and its problem is the problem of excess capital, that is the problem of excess finance capital. You know, capital cannot remain idle. A common man may not know all this, but the students of economics should. In case you do not know, please try to understand it in this way that capital is a thing which cannot remain idle. 'Mr. Capital' cannot sit idle. If 'he' is to sit idle, 'he' would definitely do some mischief or harm. Capital requires to be in motion all the time. What harm is caused if capital remains idle? It begets a tendency for inflation, prices of commodities keep on soaring rapidly. The reason is that if capital is not invested then production cannot increase. As a result, when production is low compared to the money in circulation, the value of money goes down steeply. Even this steep decline would not have mattered much had the common people's income risen to compensate the loss. But in the capitalist economy, common people's income cannot go up in proportion. No doubt, their income in terms of money may increase a little, but even then the real income does not increase; rather it falls. And if inflation assumes serious proportions, then the prices of commodities soar tremendously and life becomes unbearable for people. Accumulation of surplus money means that the channel of investment in industry has got blocked. When that becomes the case, production would necessarily slump. This would inevitably aggravate the problem of unemployment. Besides, the increase of population remains an additional problem. If we assume for argument's sake that population remains constant, even then, with the existing population level, unemployment problem would go on intensifying.

This is because production cannot remain fixed for long at a definite level. If production does not increase, it is bound to decrease, because, in capitalist system, demand for 'market' either increases or decreases. Again, in the capitalist system, this demand is not determined by yardstick of man's actual needs and requirements; rather a man's 'needs' are decided solely by his purchasing power. His 'needs' are determined by taking into account his purchasing power according to his income and the market prices. Besides, when production falls, the market prices of commodities soar and the purchasing power of the low-income group of people and the unemployed naturally falls further. Therefore, the market shrinks more and more. That is why, in accordance with the law of capitalist economy, there must be a channel to invest capital in other countries. Secondly, whatever industries, whatever employment opportunities are there in a capitalist country, this cannot provide jobs to all. But neither can they accept the situation of the whole country teeming with the unemployed because, that too, would create crisis even deeper. Therefore, when they cannot increase production in the normal course by way of adequate industrialisation, an urge for production of

armaments, a tendency of militarisation of industries appears in the economies of all capitalist countries. The advantage is that it is possible to create an artificial stimulation in the market by this measure, even if temporarily. Since the industries cannot run without a boom in the market, production does not pick up and there is no urge for investment of capital and consequently the number of 'shifts' are reduced in the factories, the factories close down and the number of the unemployed increases further. This is why unemployment is on the increase even in the USA. If the number of the unemployed goes on swelling on such a scale, then the whole production system may collapse one day under the impact of mounting unemployment and it may become impossible to keep the production and industries growing. Therefore, from the urge to stave off such a catastrophe they need create a boom in the market by such artificial means. The tendency of militarisation appears in such a specific situation.

What is meant by this militarisation of industries? It means that the Government places orders and the Government itself buys up the products. It is not necessary to depend upon the market, that is, the purchasing power of the common people for selling the products. Only, Government's military budget keeps on increasing. Therefore, even if temporarily, the industries escape what we call recession — a situation when there is no market, no work, no orders. The position becomes like this that the Government places orders for manufacture of, say, bombers, fighters, and other such military equipments and hardwares or for other similar wasteful products and the Government itself purchases those. And since it does not have to depend on the market or purchasing power of the people, the economy can be protected to an extent from the mounting pressure of recession for the time being. But there is within it an inherent contradiction. It is like this: as more and more military hardwares and armaments are produced, if these are not released, then owing to continuous stockpiling of war materials so produced, a tendency of stagnation is sure to appear in the economy consequent upon which the war industries would have to close down one after another. But the Government, too, cannot buy up these materials and stock them endlessly and without purpose. Therefore, to release the war materials, they need local and partial wars. This basic economic feature is giving rise to crisis one after another which are at the root of the present war policy.

IMPERIALISM NEEDS WAR

This is the crux, the mystery of the policy of the US imperialism to instigate one country against another, and boss over them around the globe and make forcible entries to deliver them 'good' in the name of protecting their 'independence.' Today, for the US imperialist economy, peace is as good as grave. Therefore,

whether they succeed in triggering off a world war or not, they badly need local and partial warfares here and there around the globe. For, they have to enhance their military strength continuously. And if they go on increasing their military strength and keep the arms race unrelenting, they have no other alternative than to engineer localised and partial warfares, conflicts and conflagration from time to time, to release their stockpile. Now, does war mean only world war? When someone is against war, does it mean he is against only world war? Are not these local and partial wars engendered here and there by the imperialists wars too? The way the USA is encroaching on other nations and pushing them to war against one another, or is supplying information to one about another to drag them into conflicts and warfare are machinations for war. ...

During the last Indo-Pak War (the war of 1965), the USA helped Pakistan with armaments. Whatever the official justification might have been given by it, its objective was very clear. By lending political support to Pakistan's demand for Kashmir, it did everything it could, right from creating tension in the sub-continent. In point of fact, infiltrators from Pakistan entered India with advice and help of American and British lobbies. Again, the CIA secretly supplied the information to India that Pakistani infiltrators were entering into her territory and it cautioned India against the danger. Thus, they urged both the sides to gird up loins. They advised Pakistan to send infiltrators to India and then raised the question of Azad Kashmir in the UNO as otherwise the US could not be of any help to Pakistan; at the same time, they were informing India that Pakistani infiltration was going on and India had to be alert. Report goes that it is the CIA which first gave India the information about Pakistani infiltration. In this way, the USA did string-pulling from behind the screen so that both the countries got entangled in war. What role the Indian ruling class did play on that occasion is an altogether different matter. I cited this example only to point out the nature of politics the USA is pursuing.

... There is no heinous crime that the USA does not perpetrate. The Nazis were condemned as war criminals. What the USA is doing today in Vietnam and in many other countries of the world puts even the Nazis to shame. The Gestapo activities and the activities of Fifth Columnists are known as grievous conspiracies against civilization. I would like to put the question: What are the CIA and FBI doing today all around? Is there any kind of mischief which they do not commit? They are engaged in all sorts of nefarious activities — committing political murders, engineering coup d'etat, etc., all over the world. The one and the only aim of all these activities is to maintain a war psychosis here and there all over the world; engineer local and partial

(Contd. on page 8)

Imperialists' interventions making Bosnian War protracted and Bloody

(Contd. from page 3)

This was done through inclusion of a point in a general bill on foreign appropriation, passed by both houses of the Congress and signed into law by President George Bush. Sara Flounders in *Workers World* (USA), June 9, 1994, reports :

"The Foreign Appropriation Bill of 1990 Public Law 101-512 not only cut all U.S. aid, loans and credit but also ordered 'the U.S. Executive Director of each international financial institution (International Monetary Fund-IMF, World Bank S.F.) to use the voice and vote of the U.S. to oppose any assistance.'

"In other words, the U.S. government...used its vast power to end all other international financial aid to Yugoslavia."

Making the renewal of aid conditional on elections in the different republics, funds were however freely sanctioned for 'democratic parties or movements, emergency or humanitarian assistance or the furtherance of human rights' — an imperialist parlance, especially in Eastern Europe, for rightwing, pro-capitalist and pro-imperialist forces. Its fallout was quite predictable. While the political forces that were committed to a united federal republic and pro-socialist forces suddenly lost credibility and standing, it was the reactionary bourgeois extreme nationalist and secessionist forces that came to the political forefront in the republics and won the elections.

Initially, the US imperialists reportedly courted the Yugoslav leader Slobodan Milosevic. It is only when Milosevic did not go along all the way with US dictates, despite capitalist economic liberalisation, and for one because he "blocks the entry of the finance-banking and real-estate sharks of international high-finance" (J. Goldammer and E. Friedweg in *The Betrayed East, Der betrogene Osten*, Translation ours) that the US imperialists subsequently turned against him and Serbia with a vengeance.

With Serbia being politically the most influential republic and Serbs in all the other republics, the US imperialists at first wanted a strong Serbia, obviously to extend their own control over the region and pre-empt or counter German hegemonistic designs. For Germany whose growing economic power is rivaling that of the USA, is emerging as a superpower and a serious contender of US world supremacy, in that region at least. After its unification with former GDR the shadow of hegemonistic designs and growing aggression of German imperialism is falling over Europe, especially over the East where its tentacles have spread deep and far and over the Balkans. And for attaining its aim in the latter region, a united Yugoslavia with its large and strong army and strong anti-German Serbian core constituted a hurdle that needed to be removed. Because a united Yugoslavia would in the present disposition of forces tend to unite with France and the USA. Besides, Serbia is German imperialism's traditional enemy, having blocked its advance in the Balkans both during the First and Second world Wars. A strong Serbia, which the USA initially aimed at, was therefore totally opposed to German hegemonistic interest.

German imperialists on their part proceeded to engineer the break up and fragmentation of Yugoslavia in a well planned strategy, so as to bring the resulting small states completely under their dominance and control. That in today's world situation and world crisis of capitalism small secessionist states find no scope for independent development but remain totally at the mercy of the powerful imperialist countries and become the playground or playball of imperialist intrigues has been pointed out by our party time and again in different contexts.

Accordingly, the German imperialists, whose economic grip over Slovenia and Croatia was steadily growing, began to woo the right-wing extreme nationalist bourgeois forces in the two republics, manipulating their discontent and reviving pro-Nazi elements and forces, setting the Croats against the Serbs. And while encouraging secession from Yugoslavia in the name of right to self-determination of nation's minorities, German imperialists smuggled large amount of arms into Croatia.

Handling the discontent of Slovenia and Croatia, the two richest and economically most developed republics of former Yugoslavia over the sluggish economic growth, the imperialists propagated that Yugoslavia was subsidizing the poor southern regions at their cost. But the reality is that Slovenia and Croatia gained from the economic Yugoslavian system ; they were compensated in more ways than one for their nominal contribution towards subsidy of other republics. This is also borne out by their present economic situation, after the secession. Both in Slovenia and Croatia there has been a shattering fall in industrial production, especially Croatia where it declined by 22% in 1992 compared to the previous year and again by 25% in 1993 compared to the year before. (*The Betrayed East : Der betrogene Osten*) in keeping with the general trend in the East European countries.

Hence, by inciting and fomenting divisive tendencies and pushing the different communities into a fratricidal blood bath to break their unity and weaken them all the German imperialists followed an old imperialist and Nazi tactics. It is reminiscent of the way Hitler manipulated the grievances of the Croats, setting the Croats against the Serbs, and built up a fascist force — the Ustasas in Croatia, pouring in funds and extensive support, which finally ended in a terrible bloodbath in the Second World War with the Ustasas massacring hundreds of thousands of Serbs, and Serb nationalist forces, the Chetniks, retaliating with atrocities against Croats and Muslims.

Hence the heinous US and German imperialist role in the break up of former Yugoslavia and triggering a bloody civil war, is undeniable. From different press reports it is clear that the EC countries are not at all happy about the present civil war in Yugoslavia : especially France and Britain have repeatedly criticised Germany for its hasty recognition of Croatia and Slovenia and accused the USA of scuttling peace efforts. Even though France and Britain were not

happy with the fall out of secession of the former republics, fearing the backlash on their own subnationalities, still they did not want to be left out in trying to carve out their own sphere of interest in a region where the major European powers had traditionally competed for hegemony.

Apart from this in the present international situation, when the fall of socialist camp and former USSR, far from easing economic crisis for capitalism-imperialism, has led to sharpening of contradictions and bitter trade war is taking an explosive character, the need for a united Europe to counter US imperialists trade attacks is very much felt by the European imperialists and their multinationals. So even though they themselves regard the growing hegemonistic designs of United Germany with displeasure and suspicion, at the same time they do not want to break the unity of the European Union (EU), by coming out openly in opposition to Germany. Perhaps it is also a sign of Germany's growing political clout and hegemony over the EU. Using both the NATO and European Army (Eurocorps) German imperialism has overcome all military restrictions imposed on it after the Second World War. Signs of growing aggression and fascisation of German imperialism can also be seen from its attempts to reopen the questions of Potsdam agreement and the tension it is creating in Slovakia and Czechia, the former Czechoslovakia, between the German and Czech people.

Imperialist rivalry intensifies and prolongs civil war

The US imperialists, on the other hand, whose avowed aim is not to allow the growth of a regional superpower, tried to get the upper hand in former Yugoslavia and get one up on Germany by backing the Bosnian Government of Izetbegovic after encouraging its secession. The imperialist machination have not only prolonged the conflict but given it an ever more murderous dimension. This is also clear from the way the USA virtually enforced a confederation on the Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats, when it was found that negotiations on the battlefield in Bosnia were starting between Croat and Bosnian Serb military leaders that had no imperialist sponsors, or the way the US imperialists have been known to dissuade the Bosnian government to accept the Owen-Stoltenberg peaceplan which Serbs, Croats and even Bosnian delegation had signed. That prompted a section of Bosnian Muslims to turn against the government for its unwillingness to reach a compromise, and going over to Bosnian Serbs. That the US imperialists care in the least for Bosnian independence and freedom, despite their rhetoric, has long become clear. By prolonging the conflict in the region the USA has nothing to lose even if it spreads to engulf some more neighbouring countries like Greece and Russia for example. They live far away at a safe distance. And if millions of refugees seeking asylum cause pressure on European countries' economy, all the better for the US imperialists. Not to speak of the political capital the US imperialists are trying to gain by posing before the Islamic world as champion of Islam cause.

On the other hand, the vicious civil war has brought US imperialism gains of strategic importance in the Balkans. The enforcement of UN-imposed total sanctions on Serbia gave the imperialists in general and US imperialists in

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Imperialist rivalry in Balkan region

(Contd. from page 7)

particular an opportunity for control and inspection of shipping on the Danube river, the major waterway for eastern Europe. And the sanctions served as a pretext to send US aircraft carriers in the Adriatic Sea and control the overland movement of trucks through the Balkans. By establishing no flight zones the imperialists have gained control of all air traffic. How deeply the US imperialists have entrenched themselves in Bosnia and to what murderous purpose is clear from the following report about the role of US in the bloody offensive launched by Croatia, that led to about 200,000 Serbs fleeing Croatia, that came as a prelude to the even more murderous joint Croat and Bosnian Muslim offensive recently in Bosnia. At that time Sean Gervasi, an economist who worked for many years at the United Nations wrote in an article in March 1995, in *Defense & Foreign Affairs*, that the USA has "provided the Izetbegovich government (in Bosnia) with the same kind of resources it provided to south Vietnam...It has created a Muslim-Croat confederation in Bosnia.

"It has created a joint command in that 'confederation' and staffed it with 'retired' US officers. It has sent US special Forces to provide support for the new Bosnian army.

"It has been helping that army with planning tactical training forward air control, the building of bases and command, control, communications and intelligence support, and it has been providing the Bosnian-Croat army with large quantities of modern weapons..." (Quoted in *The New Worker*)

With the USA asserting its role as military world power, and trying to outmanoeuvre German imperialists, mounting imperialist intrigue and aggression is embroiling former Yugoslavia ever deeper into the barbaric civil war. In fact, their powerpolitics is turning the civil war more and more into a war by proxy, that is

threatening to draw in other countries as well. And it is the common people who have to pay the heavy price in an endless nightmare of suffering and human tragedy. Even if some peace settlement or deal is finally concluded under the aegis of the imperialist powers, peace will remain elusive as that is bound to reflect the interests of the imperialists and leave them, especially Germany and the USA, firmly entrenched in the region putting them in a vantage position for perpetrating their neo-colonial exploitation. Hence all genuine left and democratic people and forces cannot but demand the immediate withdrawal of the imperialist powers from former Yugoslavia, to give the people of former Yugoslavia the opportunity to settle their conflict themselves.

SUCI Condemns Execution of Nigerian Opposition Leaders

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has issued the following statement to the Press on 11th November, 1995 :

"We cannot but condemn in most severe terms the execution of noted writer and human rights activist Ken Saro-Wiwa and his eight comrades, the Nigerian Opposition leaders, who had been waging powerful mass movement against multinationals' turning the oil-rich southern Nigeria into their happy hunting ground. This execution, perpetrated on fabricated charges by the military dictatorship ignoring worldwide protest, has been possible only due to the backing of the imperialists, who must be fought with renewed vigour by the toiling millions in every country."

Movement in Moradabad against Police-anti Social Nexus

Moradabad, October 17 : A dharna was organised in front of the office of the Senior Superintendent of Police, Moradabad under the banner of 'Rohtash Saroj Hatyakand Virodhi Sangharsh Samiti', demanding immediate arrest of the culprits guilty for the suicide of Rohtash and Saroj. Mr. Rohtash and Saroj, wife were forced to commit suicide by anti-social elements. Police did not take any action though the deceased declared the names of the persons responsible for their suicide.

A delegation of the M.S.S. under the leadership of Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee met District magistrate Moradabad on 10-10-95. After that a meeting under the auspices of different organisations was convened and a Sangharsh Samiti was formed. Then a delegation of different organisations met S.S.P demanding immediate arrest of the culprits. But as no action was taken by the police, this dharna was held, and the S.S.P was forced to register a case immediately and ordered to arrest the culprits.

Comrades Kamlesh, Vashudhara Pathak, Maya Rajput, Sadhana Vishnoi, Rameshwri Tyagi, Veer Singh Harkishore Vijoy and Neeraj Tyagi addressed the demonstration.

Bandh in Kerala against Police atrocities

Trivandram, November 8 : Today at the call of the left parties, supported by the SUCI, Kerala observed a total bandh in protest against brutal police attack yesterday on student leaders and Satyagrahis who are on indefinite hunger strike for the last 9 days demanding ban on privatisation of education, curbing of staggering fee hike, etc. The movement is going on under the joint leadership of AIDS, SFI, PSU, KSUS. Among those injured are Comrades B. K. Rajagopal, State President, AIDS, K.N. Balagopal, State Secretary, SFI and convener, Joint Students Struggle Committee and V. S. Sunit Kumar, State Secretary, AIFS.

Police also conducted another round of savage attack on striking medical students and leaders in front of Trivandrum Medical College. Police barbarity went to such an extent that even students were beaten inside police stations. Girls were not spared.

The joint action committee has called upon for indefinite education bandh.

Important Teachings

(Contd. from page 6)

wars, embroil one in conflict and battle with another so that the conventional weapons which are getting stockpiled and becoming obsolete can be released by inducing different countries to consume these. So, the more the wars, the more the war psychosis in the world, the more is the gain for them — the imperialist-capitalists, and especially the US imperialists." (SW: *Shibdas Ghosh*, Vol.1; pp.254-259)

US Troops Around the World as of June 30, 1993

EUROPE		NORTH AFRICA, NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA		WESTERN HEMISPHERE		SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA		EAST ASIA & PACIFIC	
1,71,904		9,456		16,204		12,810		1,10,054	
Germany	1,09,888	Diego Garcia	1,230	Panama	10,320	Somalia	7,300	Japan	46,821
Britain	15,786	Saudi Arabia	979	Cuba	2,035	Afloat	5,510	S. Korea	34,800
Italy	12,319	Egypt	586	Honduras	787			Philippines	241
Turkey	4,536	Bahrain	349	Bermuda	574			Australia	373
Spain	3,889	Kuwait	262	Canada	546			Singapore	154
Iceland	2,645	Afloat	6,050		1,942			Thailand	103
Belgium	1,973							Afloat	27,562
Portugal	1,349								
Netherlands	1,057								
Greece	1,013								
Macedonia*	541								
Noeway	210								
Greenland	129								
Afloat	16,749								

* Troops as of Oct 15, 1993

Source : Time, Oct 26, 1993

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