



“It is the essence of bourgeois socialism to want to maintain the basis of all the evils of present-day society and at the same time to want to abolish the evils themselves. ... Whoever declares that the capitalist mode of production, the ‘ironlaws’ of present-day bourgeois society, are inviolable, and yet at the same time would like to abolish their unpleasant but necessary consequences, has no other recourse but to deliver moral sermons whose emotional effects immediately evaporate under the influence of private interest and, if necessary, of competition.”

— Frederick Engels

On Culmination of Death Centenary of Frederick Engels

Uphold Marxism Against Attack of Imperialism and Against Vulgarisation

The death centenary of Frederick Engels, the great revolutionary teacher and leader and the lifelong compatriot of Karl Marx culminates on 5th August this year. Frederick Engels devoted his entire life in defending dialectical materialism in a most resolute and determined manner, and in fighting for the cause of the world proletariat. “The moment I will no longer be able to fight, may it be given to me to die”, wrote Engels on his seventieth birthday, and this wish of his was fulfilled true to the word. He remained a giant revolutionary leader of the world proletariat, and an ardent and uncompromising fighter for defending and establishing Marxism till his death. Marx and Engels had an enduring friendship for 40 years, and the world proletariat can be really proud of what this friendship between these two giant leaders bequeathed to them. “The European proletariat”, Lenin wrote, “may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters whose relationship to each other surpasses the most moving stories of the ancients about human relationship.” Lenin further observed, “Had it not been for Engels’s constant and selfless financial aid, Marx would not only have been unable to complete *Capital* but would have inevitably been crushed by want.” After the demise of Marx, Frederick Engels remained

the great teacher and leader of the world proletariat till his death.

While paying our profound revolutionary homage to Frederick Engels on the occasion of his death centenary we cannot remain oblivious for a single moment to the present critical situation confronting us today. The world communist movement has received a serious setback after the breakdown of the Soviet Union and the dismantling of the socialist system in the East European countries. The imperialist-controlled mass media have been systematically orchestrating that the failure of the model of the socialist economy proves the superiority of the capitalist economic system. This systematic propaganda has created confusion not only among the common people but even among a section of the rank of these who are known as communists and leftists. But what is the reality? Is the theory of scientific socialism founded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and subsequently further enriched and elaborated by Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong proved wrong? Is the essence of capitalist exploitation as proved by Marx through the discovery of surplus value proved erroneous? True, the international communist movement has suffered a serious setback, and undoubtedly the biggest one at that. But if we look at the history of the development of the international commu-

nist movement we observe that it progressed through a zigzag course, periodic and temporary setbacks notwithstanding. So this temporary setback must not obscure our vision. The present world situation does very much prove the correctness of Marxism-Leninism. Not to speak of India, even in the advanced Western countries the gap between the rich and the poor has been ever widening owing to the inexorable law of capitalism as shown by Marx and Engels. The progress made in the field of technology has further aggravated the crisis of the capitalist economy by throwing millions of

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Proletarian Era

**Organ of SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA
Founder Editor-in-Chief:
COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH**

**Volume 29 No. 16
Rs. 2.00**

**August 5, 1996
Air surcharge : 5 P.**

Grasp Present Situation Correctly, Get Rid

Marxism, dialectical and historical materialism, was developed by Marx and Engels as the science of all sciences, as a comprehensive world outlook and guide to action, through analysing, integrating and generalising the knowledges and truths discovered and culled by the different natural and social sciences. After Marx and Engels, the sciences continued to make tremendous progress and the newer and newer discoveries and extensions of knowledge have again and again confirmed the correctness of dialectical and historical materialism. Marxism is invincible because it is scientific and so it alone can help us to comprehend and interpret the developments in the ever-changing world around us, thus providing us with correct guidelines through the changing situations. After Marx and Engels, the giant leaders of the international communist movement like Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong who creatively applied Marxism from a correct understanding of it in the context of the situation obtaining, not only moved the society forward, but further developed and enriched Marxism in the process. This is what made socialism victorious over a large part of the globe. This is an indisputable historical fact. But side by side with advances, there have been reverses too. Just as correct understanding and correct application of Marxism led to tremendous progress and advancement, so also the enemies of Marxism in the garb of Marxists distorted Marxism and damaged it from within the movement, leading to reverses. Undoubtedly, the present one culminating in the fall of socialist states in the former Soviet Union and in East Europe has been the worst.

Taking advantage of the situation, bourgeois economists, sociologists, ideologues and columnists are maligning socialism and painting the globalized market economy (as capitalist economy is now called) as a heaven come upon earth, and the imperialist-capitalist mass media the world over are taking up and projecting this theme motivatedly, assiduously and concertedly. This and the very complex situation have generated misconceptions and confusions not only among the people, but also among some sections of the communist movement. The best tribute that we can pay to Frederick Engels on the conclusion of the centenary year of his demise, is to correctly understand the present situation and determine the course of action in the light of teachings of the giant leaders of the international communist movement, dispelling the current confusions.

We have discussed a number of times in articles in our organs about the causes of restoration of capitalism in the erstwhile socialist countries. We do not propose to repeat it here. In the long drawn process of replacement of capitalism by the next higher social foundation, that is communism, socialism is the transitional stage in between the two. During this stage, history is apt to move in zigzags, success and advancement may be followed by reverse and a period of temporary regression. The superstructure, as a rule, lags behind the economic base. So, even after the revolutionary seizure of power and socialist construction, the danger is there that if backwardness in the superstructure, that is, in the realm of thought, ideology and ideas, customs, habits, traditions, culture, etc., persists,

then that may interdialectically react upon the advanced economic base and degenerate it, ultimately causing a total reversal. Cautions about this danger were sounded by Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao in their writings that if a break could not be achieved with the superstructure handed down from the old society by remoulding the people through painstaking ideological-educational-cultural work to raise the level of their consciousness, the accumulating backwardness would work towards eventual restoration of capitalism. It is for the communists all over the world to grasp these teachings, learn from the past mistakes and steadfastly work for setting right the present historical aberration.

Apologists of capitalism assert that the present spate of globalization marks a new stage in history opening the doors for the ultimate in human well-being. They even say that now we are in the post-imperialist era.

By globalization they generally mean a sustained spurt on a global scale in economic activities comprising large-scale export and investment of finance capital, installation of huge production units and marketing of commodities cutting across the national borders. Gigantic multinational or transnational corporations are the chief carriers of this globalization.

No doubt, all this is now going on on a very large scale. But is the phenomenon itself all that new? A tendency of cosmopolitanism has been inherent in capitalism ever since the capitalist mode of production consolidated itself and concentration of capital started. With capitalism came the industrial revolution and new technology, and volume of production increased manifold. But profit-making is the motive force of capitalist production, not satisfying the needs of the people. When a capitalist cannot sell his produces at a price that fetches him the best possible profit under the circumstances, he stops production. The limiting factor is the purchasing power of the buyers, not their need nor the available production capacity. So, long before their minimum needs are satisfied, the market gets saturated in the capitalist sense, and so the capitalists must look for fresh markets, new sources of raw materials. Now, if capitalists from all countries resorted to this all together, wherefrom would our dear little planet provide them with markets? So, the capitalists from the advanced countries must try to subjugate the relatively backward ones stunting their growth. Herein we have the genesis of imperialism, of the inevitability of uneven development under capitalism. As technology develops and productivity increases, capitalism gets more and more crisis-ridden.

Marx and Engels saw the beginning of this process even while they penned the *Communist Manifesto* over 150 years back. Later on, recording and analysing further developments, Engels showed that the rapidly developing capitalist productive force generated endemic crises of market at intervals and such periodic crises forced capitalists to bring about a concentration of great masses of production in the form of different kinds of joint-stock companies. At a later stage of evolution, this form also became insufficient and gave way to 'trust', a union for regulating the total amount of production, par-

celling it among the constituents and enforcing a selling price fixed beforehand. Ultimately, "The whole of the particular industry is turned into one gigantic joint-stock company; internal competition gives place to the internal monopoly of this one company. ... In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite — into monopoly; ... But the transformation, either into joint-stock companies (and trusts), or into state ownership, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces."¹

Later on, Lenin analysed to show that "Developing capitalism knows two historical tendencies in the national question. First: the awakening of national life and national movements, struggle against all national oppression, creation of national states. Second: development and acceleration of all kinds of intercourse between nations, breakdown of national barriers, creation of the unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc.

Both the tendencies are a world-wide law of capitalism. The first predominates at the beginning of its development, the second characterises mature capitalism..."²

In Lenin's time, capitalism, in course of its further development, had attained maturity to give birth to full-fledged imperialism. It was Lenin who studied and analysed global imperialism in all its ramifications, most notably in his celebrated work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. In this work, Lenin recorded that production in advanced capitalist countries was now fully controlled by monopoly in the form of trusts, cartels, combines, syndicates. Lenin showed that gigantic monopoly combines now estimated all sources of raw materials on the globe and captured them; they also estimated capacities of all markets and "divided" them amongst themselves by agreement; a monopoly organisation could now control many millions, penetrating into every sphere of life, regardless of the form of government and all other "details"; bulk of the profits now went to the "geniuses" of financial manipulation. Lenin recorded that development of banking had reached such a stage that banking had become concentrated in a few hands; from humble middlemen of earlier times, the banks had grown into powerful monopolies having at their command almost the whole of the money capital of all the capitalists and also the larger part of the means of production and raw material sources of the given country, nay, a number of countries; the industrial capitalist had become more and more dependent on the bank; close connections and links even at the personal level had been established between the banks and the biggest industrial and commercial enterprises, and vice-versa; the result had been the ever growing merger, or coalescence of banking and industrial capitals and the growth of banks into institutions of "universal" character. In such a situation, naturally, the role of finance capital, that is, capital controlled by banks and used by industrialists that had emerged through coalescence of banking and industrial capital, had become dominant; through the "holding system", a small group of people controlling finance capital, whom Lenin termed financial oligarchy, through exercising control

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of Confusion, Advance Cause of Revolution

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over a principal (mother) company, could now control a host of subsidiary (daughter) companies, thus dominating immense spheres of production and other economic activities. Lenin noted that export of capital had gained in importance over export of goods; giant monopoly combines were now fast dividing the world among themselves; international cartels were springing up through international agreements between such combines; through capturing colonies, the great capitalist powers had already completed the political division of the world amongst themselves; there were no unoccupied territories left now; through colonization, the imperialist powers provided their monopolies a maximisation of profit through assuring new markets for their produce, facility of export of capital by them and control over sources of raw materials.

Regarding the tendency of capital to more and more take an usurious character, Lenin recorded that supremacy of finance capital over all other forms of capital meant the predominance of the rentier and of the financial oligarchy, the singling out of a small number of financially powerful states from among all the rest; the world had become divided into a handful of usurer states and a vast majority of debtor states.

The present phase of globalization that is being made much of as a new stage in history, has come about in continuation to and through development of the process of globalization started by imperialism which Lenin recorded and analysed. In place of the international imperialist combines of those days, the giant multinational and transnational corporations operate now. Domination of monopolies and finance capital over the world has further increased, aided by the latest sophisticated technology and communications. The modern high-tech satellite network of communication system has become an integral part of international trade and commerce, bringing in its wake large scale mobility and flow of finance capital as never before. This is highly lauded by the imperialists as a new feature of globalization and claimed as a panacea for the people. Even then the fact is that the endemic and deepening crises of capitalism have continued unabated. So have the struggle between the advanced capitalist countries for world domination, over their respective spheres of influence. International organizations like the IMF and the World Bank controlled by the imperialist countries look after the interest of a handful of rich, creditor countries against that of the vast majority debtor ones. Surplus capital, notably from the advanced capitalist countries, cannot be put to productive use in the context of the intense general crisis of world capitalism, and is being more and more diverted on a huge scale to non-productive, speculative and manipulative avenues of investment including portfolio investment at the stock exchanges and trading in fluctuations of international monetary exchange rates.

The only major difference that has come about since Lenin's time is that the colonies, as such, do not exist now. The upsurge of victorious national liberation struggle from country to country in the post-Second World War period,

by and large, put an end to colonies, and sovereign national bourgeois states emerged in most of the former colonial territories. Imperialist powers now dominate the world with high technology and sophisticated finance capital network.

Such are the indisputable facts. These show that just as market economy is nothing but capitalist economy, globalization is not an entirely new stage but practice of imperialism on a more organized basis, in a more sophisticated and intensive manner and on a much wider scale than ever before. The talk about the present era being a post-imperialist one is bunkum.

Those who advocate the present globalization as the panacea, should take a look at the reality. The process of present phase of globalization was set in motion decades back, after the Second World War, and has now culminated in the New GATT in accordance with the Dunkel draft. What have been the results? Take the case of advanced imperialist-capitalist countries. Even in these, the picture is one of recession, slowing down of industrial progress. Available statistics show that the average annual percent increase in industrial production in the USA was 4.9% between 1960-70, 3.3% between 1970-80 and 2.6% between 1980-90. The corresponding figures for Japan were 15.9%, 4.1% and 3.9% respectively and those for West Germany were 5.2%, 2.3% and 1.8% respectively. Figures for the other industrially advanced countries broadly follow similar patterns.³ The people in the advanced imperialist-capitalist countries including their doyen, the USA, face lay-offs, retrenchment and even closure of factories resulting in unemployment and destitution unprecedented since the great depression of the thirties. And what about the third world? The per capita GDP there as a percent of the developed countries, is declining over the years. In 1989, the new loans advanced to 111 less developed countries totalled 86.9 billion US dollars whereas the total debt-servicing they had to do reached to 129.80 billion, resulting in a staggering net outflow of 42.9 billion dollars. This shows that these countries are irretrievably caught in the jaws of debt-trap.⁴ As per the figures published by the UNCTAD, 82% of the total GDP of the world is in the hands of a few powerful imperialist states. Referring to the catastrophic disparity in trade earning between countries, Dr M.V. Haq, compiler of the UN Report on Human Resources Development, said in 1992: "Income disparities between the world's richest and the poorest have widened considerably over the last three decades, reaching a dangerous high level of 150 times. What would be considered politically and socially unacceptable within nations, is being quietly tolerated at the global level." The result has been that country after country in the third world has gone bankrupt or is approaching bankruptcy. Epidemics and famines kill in tens of millions. The bulk of those who live on, leaving aside a small privileged upper crust, face dire poverty, pauperisation and destitution. Add to this the many hundreds of thousands the imperialist powers kill these days in local or partial wars, in wars by proxy, often in the garb of UN "peace keeping force", Capitalism can neither mitigate its endemic

crises, nor can it solve the burning problems in people's life.

Perusal of provisions of the New GATT including the TRIPS, TRIMS, GATS and those related to agriculture leaves one in no doubt that in the name of "equality" among unequals, the New GATT forces the relatively backward countries into unequal competition with the advanced ones to their utter detriment, makes for unfettered flow and operation of imperialist finance capital on a global basis and seeks to bring all areas of economic activities — agriculture, manufacturing, trading, services, communications and even science, research and technology under total domination of imperialist finance capital on a world-wide scale. This will mean that the present glaring disparity between the advanced imperialist-capitalist countries and the relatively backward capitalist countries will further widen and the third world will be more and more pushed to bankruptcy, starvation and destitution. The people of the advanced countries will also not be spared. Imperialist finance capital, to maximise profit, will more and more resort to closing down factories in the home country and setting up new ones in the third world countries to exploit the cheap labour and raw materials there. Newer and newer technologies will further aggravate the unemployment problem. Poverty and destitution will rise.

Imperialism-capitalism, despite all claptrap about globalization, sophisticated technology, militarization of economy and gaining of new markets in the erstwhile Soviet Union and East Europe, remains crisis-ridden and has led to worsening of the condition of the people. Every newer technology will further deepen the crisis and worsen the people's lot. Imperialism-capitalism stands today as the stumbling block on the course of further progress of mankind and must be overthrown through intensifying the class and mass struggles on a correct base political line.

Overt apologists for imperialism will try their best to hide this reality, for they are directly on the pay-rolls of monopoly capital. But what about the revisionists of various hues who call themselves Marxists or even communists but eschew the path of class struggle, revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat and hold up the prospect of millennium through reforming the capitalist system on the plea that the "new" situation calls for "new" theories? They are the successors of Bernstein, Kautsky and Khrushchev in the movement. To prove that the situation has radically changed, they would have to show that Lenin's characterisation of the present era as the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution is no longer valid. And they can do this only if they can show that capitalism is not capitalism and imperialism is not imperialism any more, that is, the reality does not exist. They have gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie, distorting Marxism-Leninism in various ways to suit the ruling class.

What about the neo-Trotskyite leanings of various shades that have surfaced taking advantage of the present reverse in the movement? Their "new" theories, in essence, boil down to this: As a "new" situation has arisen through internationalisation of capital, the working class

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Neo Trotskyites actually work against revolution and help bourgeoisie

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revolution must also be internationalised through being organized simultaneously in a number of countries; henceforth, revolution will not be within national boundary — international revolution will combat international capital. These “theories” totally disregard the uneven development of capitalism from country to country which is being further accentuated as imperialism develops more and more, resulting in wide disparity in maturity of contradictions, of the objective and subjective factors that determine the ripening of the revolutionary situation in a given country; they forget that revolution can neither be imported nor exported; by their outcries about “international” revolution all at a time, they divert attention from the painstaking task of the genuine revolutionary party of a country to prepare the groundwork for revolution in the particular country through class and mass struggles; in this way, they sidetrack the objective process of developing revolution within the confines of the national state although revolution is still national in form but international in content, being an inseparable part of the world revolution. If the revolution is not within the confines of any national boundary, where will it come about then? Can revolution be viewed concretely without combating the bourgeoisie of the particular countries? In this way, the neo-Trotskyites, too, from another angle, in the name of world revolution actually work against revolution and objectively help the bourgeoisie to perpetuate its rule.

There are other confusions too. Some argue that since colonies and semi-colonies, as occupied or more or less exclusive preserves of particular imperialist powers do not exist now and since even the relatively backward countries are now part and parcel of a unified single global market economy subjected to exploitation by all imperialist powers, Lenin’s formulation about the inevitability of imperialist wars to re-divide the already divided world is no longer valid.

It is true that colonies, as such, are non-existent now. But what were the colonies for, in the first place? Lenin showed that “Finance capital is ... such a decisive force ... that it is capable of subjecting, and actually does subject to itself even states enjoying the fullest political independence; ... 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. ... 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 interests pursued in exporting capital also give an impetus to the conquest of colonies, for in the colonial market it is easier to employ monopolist methods ... to eliminate competition, to make sure of contracts, to secure the necessary ‘connections’, etc.”⁵

So, colonisation was resorted to by imperialist powers for securing assured markets, cut-

ting off competition from others. Surely then, the wars between them to re-divide the already divided world that Lenin spoke about and the world witnessed during the two world wars, represented the climax of the tussle between them for domination over the markets of the world? War over the colonies was the political extension of the war over markets. So long as imperialism-capitalism exists, stiff competition between imperialist powers for supremacy over markets remains, and so the danger of war between them remains underlying the international developments. On the morrow of the Second World War, the USA reigned supreme in a unipolar capitalist world, with no competitors challenging its position. But even then, in 1952, Stalin made some profound observations about the imperialist potential of West Germany and Japan and the danger of imperialist war: “These countries are now languishing in misery under the jackboot of American imperialism. Their industry and agriculture, their trade, their foreign and home policies, and their whole life are fettered by the American occupation regime’. ... To think that these countries will not try to get on their feet again, will not try to smash the US ‘regime’, and force their way to independent development, is to believe in miracles. ... Some comrades hold that, owing to the development of new international conditions since the Second World War, wars between capitalist countries have ceased to be inevitable. ... These comrades are mistaken. They see the outward phenomena that come and go on the surface, but they do not see those profound

to this the industrial development in the new independent national bourgeois states that emerged in the post-Second World War period, breaking the shackles of colonialism, and we have a picture of the huge imperialist-capitalist productivity and surplus capital seeking markets. The powerful socialist camp exists no more as a result of dismantling of in a number of socialist states, particularly in the Soviet Union. “The most important and indicative development in the changed international situation, with the balance of power definitely tilted against socialism, peace and progress, is the fast sharpening of the contradiction between the imperialist powers, another major contradiction amongst the four. This contradiction has, in fact, come to the fore with its grave implications.”⁷

In this background, rivalry between the imperialist-capitalist countries has increased and not decreased. The intense trade wars, cut-throat competition to preserve and extend the respective markets and spheres of influence, that go on all the time between the leading imperialist powers, can be denied only if one chooses to be blind. On the one hand, there are attempts to control the dissensions through regulatory devices like the GATT and WTO at the cost of the third world so that the situation does not go out of hand; on the other, the intense struggle over markets continues. Clashes between the big imperialist powers on this issue have punctuated all stages of GATT negotiations. Trade wars going on between the USA and Japan, USA and Germany, USA and the EU are there for all to see.

Otherwise, what are the groupings like NAFTA or EU for? Monopoly capital, finance capital operates internationally, but it operates on the basis of national bourgeois interest of the country of its origin, with the respective subservient governments backing them up with state power. The wranglings over the GATT negotiations at every stage were not between rival in-

“It is the representatives of the petty bourgeoisie, who are here making themselves heard, full of anxiety that the proletariat, under the pressure of revolutionary position, may ‘go too far’. Instead of determined political oppositional, general mediation; instead of struggle against government and bourgeoisie, an attempt to win over and persuade them; instead of defiant resistance to ill treatment from above, humble submission and confession that the punishment was deserved.”

(Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondences, p -325)

forces which, although they are so far operating imperceptibly, will nevertheless determine course of developments. ... It is said that the contradictions between capitalism and socialism are stronger than the contradictions among the capitalist countries. Theoretically, of course, that is true. It is not only true now, today; it was true before the Second World War. And it was more or less realised by the leaders of the capitalist countries. Yet the Second World War began not as a war with the USSR, but as a war between capitalist countries.... It is said that Lenin’s thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as obsolete, since powerful popular forces have come forward today in defence of peace and against another world war. That is not true.”⁶

What is the situation today? Not only have Germany and Japan stood on their feet again, they have emerged as strong contenders to the USA for global supremacy. Britain and France are trying to re-assert their position. Other advanced capitalist countries, too, are there. Add

international monopoly combines but between the powerful states subserving their respective imperialist finance capitals. The rival groupings like NAFTA, ASEAN, EU, etc., are on the basis of nations, countries. It is not an uncommon sight on the international scene that whenever the monopoly finance capital of a country faces serious difficulty in operating in a foreign land, it is its home government that comes to its rescue by defending it. So, the danger of imperialist war still remains inherent in the system, although a war now may be for a re-division of markets and spheres of influence rather than for physical re-division of territories. Whether a full-scale war will actually break out or when, and whether it will be a global war, depend on many factors. Amidst the vicissitudes and developments on the international scene, the danger of imperialist war runs like a thread binding them together. This should never be lost sight of, although there may be periods of outward calm between periods of overt, intense rivalry as

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Red Salute Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

After the demise of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our party and one of the eminent Marxist thinkers of the era on August 5, 1976, our party published a booklet, depicting only a few aspects of the life-struggle of Comrade Ghosh. On the occasion of his 20th Death Anniversary we are reproducing here some excerpts from the booklet to pay our homage to the great leader.]

In the SUCI the only revolutionary party of the proletariat on our soil, which Comrade Shibdas Ghosh built up through arduous struggle of his life as all his thoughts and ideals are concretised. The history of the SUCI is the history of the great revolutionary life and struggles of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. He completely identified himself with the cause of revolution, the class and the party, i.e. the SUCI. In him was concretised and personified the collective knowledge and leadership of the party.

He taught us : "simply to speak of revolution is no revolutionary consciousness. So again, to speak for the working class, for the proletariat — this, too, is no proletarian class consciousness. The correct revolutionary consciousness is the correct proletarian class consciousness, and the correct proletarian class consciousness is the correct proletarian party consciousness." ...

He taught us : to a communist, there is no artificiality in his love for the people. No separate entity of love exists in him for his near and dear ones, his love for them in reality manifests itself in his love for the people. His endless love for the proletariat completely identified his deeper and finer emotions of love, affection, sympathy and compassion with the cause of revolution making them completely free from the narrow bounds of individualism. ...

He was gravely concerned and deeply shocked to see that the ethics, morality and the finer sense of human values were disappearing from all walks of the society, starting from the mass movement, political movement to family life even. He observed : "even a starving nation can stand up against injustice if it possesses human values. But if it loses human values it loses everything." He said : "with deep anguish and pain I see the stark reality that the mass movement in all its aspects has become devoid of any sense of ethics and morality... The cultural tune has been lost and all vestiges of ethics and morality have almost been eroded." ...

Time and again he reminded us that mass struggles were to be built up on the basis of higher proletarian morality also and culture. He said : "It is not so important whether a party talks of great ideologies. Whether the ideal it preaches is really great is proved by whether the leaders, workers and supporters of the party reflect a high standard of ethical and political conduct." ... He taught us : "the kernel, the living soil of any lofty ideals, any philosophy or any worthy ideology lies in its cultural, ethical and aesthetic standard. Marxism is a lofty revolutionary ideal. Its kernel, the living soul of this noblest revolutionary ideal also is ingrained in cultural and moral values." He said : "the acid test as to whether a man has correctly realised Marxism-Leninism is whether a high cultural-ethical standard is being reflected in his life." ...

He said to the workers : "Impossible is a word which should not find place in the dictio-



nar of a communist." ... a failure in a party, bourgeois party, but a real

In his life there was no gap between realisation of truth and its application. Nothing, not even mountain high adversities and difficulties could daunt him from doing whatever the realisation of truth urged him to do. Only at the age of 20, the moment he realised that without a real revolutionary party of the proletariat the emancipation of the people from all sorts of exploitation was impossible, he engaged himself wholeheartedly to build up a real revolutionary party of the proletariat in our soil. He never thought for a moment whether it would be possible or not. No adverse situation, no obstacle, no amount of difficulties could swerve from applying this realisation to practice. How amazing was the firm foundation of his revolutionary character and what we call tenacity of purpose or revolutionary audacity even at the age of 20 that made it possible for him to brave the unthinkable adverse situation for the building up of this party. ...

...he has always urged the revolutionary workers and toiling people : "If you are to learn revolutionary ideas you are to learn from them and them only who are consciously trying to conduct their life on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, are in the midst of such struggles and have been successful... A party whose leaders and cadres are in the habit of behaving in their personal life according to their individual whims, a party whose leaders and cadres constantly rationalise their behaviours and provide individual explanations with regard to ethics, aesthetics and culture — this may be

Marxist party can never allow such things to grow." ...

It is really hard for anyone to believe and conceive even, at this stage of development of our party how inconceivably strenuous and painstaking was the struggle that he had to wage, what mountain high difficulties he had to face, only with a handful of revolutionary compatriots against the extremely adverse situation in order to build up this party, the SUCI. And with what revolutionary dedication, with what revolutionary purposiveness did he make it possible is even inconceivable to other ! Perhaps, there is no parallel in the entire history of formation of communist party of the world. ...

He said : "I would rather die on the street and think that it was necessary for revolution. If I am to die, I will die with honour raising my head high." Afterwards many a time he used to tell the party workers : I could never imagine to indulge in thought even that I shall not be able to perform whatever the realisation of necessity of revolution would prompt me to do, I feel extremely humiliated to think that anything is impossible to a revolutionary."

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh often said : "To a revolutionary, nothing is nobler than revolution, nothing is more precious than the revolutionary life. And that is why when in the interest of revolution and for leading the life of a revolutionary he is to give up anything, even his life, he never considers this, at all a sacrifice." ...

On the basis of Marx's historic teachings
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Communists advance by fighting vulgarisation of Marxism

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the imperialist powers move with collusion and contention. Already, there are local wars, partial wars and even the war among the imperialist powers by proxy in Bosnia and some other countries.

Even in Lenin's time, witnessing the growing internationalization of capital and various international alliances monopoly combines were entering into, some people, from genuine confusion or motivatedly, started thinking in terms of a durable peace under imperialism. Notable among them was Kautsky the renegade. It is worthwhile to recall what Lenin said in refutation of Kautsky and such others: "Finance capital and trusts do not diminish but increase the differences in the rate of growth of the various parts of the world economy. Once the relation of forces is changed, what other solution of the contradictions can be found *under capitalism* than that of *force*? ... Therefore, in the realities of the capitalist system, and not in the banal, philistine fantasies of English parsons, or of the German 'Marxist' Kautsky, 'interimperialist' or 'ultraimperialist' alliances, no matter what form they may assume, whether of one imperialist coalition against another, or of a general alliance embracing *all* the imperialist powers, are *inevitably* nothing more than a 'truce in periods between wars. Peaceful alliances prepare the ground for wars, and in their turn grow out of wars; the one conditions the other, giving rise to alternating forms of peaceful and non-peaceful struggle out of *one and the same* basis of imperialist connections and relations within world economics and world politics."⁸

Danger of war is real. The necessity to thwart imperialist machinations through a worldwide anti-imperialist militant peace movement is also real. But there are some detractors whose arguments run like this: Today, every country, small or big, backward or advanced, is independent and has sovereign national bourgeois state of its own, and so far as the primary question of state power is concerned, all countries are already on the threshold of anti-capitalist socialist revolution; in such a situation, to see and show the root cause of social maladies in imperialism, to speak of and lay emphasis on all-out fight against imperialism is objectively an effort to shield the national bourgeoisie from the wrath of the people and is a deviation from the line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

Such a preposition is preposterous. The protagonists of this 'theory' have failed to distinguish between the absolutely correct base political line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution and the urgent necessity of strengthening anti-imperialist movement in the present day world where imperialism in general and US imperialism in particular is on the rampage taking advantage of the absence of the deterrent role played by the socialist camp. The question of finding the root cause of all social maladies in imperialism could appear only if anybody would have suggested that the phase of revolution is not anti-capitalist socialist but anti-imperialist democratic in nature. They have also failed to understand the urgent necessity of building up militant anti-imperialist movement, making the same conducive to anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

Secondly, we do not consider such blanket prescription of laying down the stage of revolution for all countries to be correct. It is true that for most of the countries, the stage of revolution is that of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. But it is not correct to assert that colonies and semi-colonies are totally extinct and do not exist on any corner of the globe, if not *de jure* then *de facto*. What about countries like Rwanda etc. ? Decades back, the Chinese Communist Party advocated the New Democratic or People's Democratic Revolutions in all countries which have subsequently come to be known as the Third World collectively, including a country like India. We did not agree to such formulation because the reality in India was that the national bourgeoisie, after coming into state power, had developed and consolidated capitalism to a stage where it had given rise to monopoly and finance capital showing distinctive imperialistic traits and a growing tendency for all-out fascistization, and therefore the stage of revolution in India could not but be anti-capitalist socialist. Even if a general formulation holds good for the bulk of the countries, there will be exceptions leading to a contradiction between the general and particular. Only through a concrete analysis of the concrete situation can the stage of revolution be correctly determined. This is the task of the genuine working class party on the soil.

Secondly, can a socialist revolution be accomplished today in any country without taking into account the virulent onslaughts let loose on a global scale by world imperialism, headed by US imperialism, taking advantage of the absence of a socialist camp? Can imperialism be wished away as if it did not exist? So long as the powerful socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union existed, it acted as a strong deterrent to imperialist machinations and stood like a bulwark guaranteeing peace, safety and security of nations, especially the weaker ones. After its disappearance from the international scene, the US-led imperialist powers have been carrying on international overlordism and brigandage with impunity. They resort to direct attacks in local or partial wars, foment wars by proxy, engineer fratricidal conflagration by stoking up ethnic or tribal strifes. The savage attack on Iraq, threat of attack on Libya, intrigue in Somalia, invasion of Haiti with UN sanction, continuing embargo and hatching of conspiracies against Cuba, attempted bullying of North Korea, the bloody ethnic war in Bosnia, the massive attacks by imperialist troops in Rwanda — are examples. The situation today is such that the imperialist powers try to crush even a democratic movement in any country and interfere in the functioning of bourgeois democratic parliamentary institutions there, not to speak of anti-capitalist revolutionary movement. For instance, when Yeltsin despotically crushed the dissension by force by shelling the Parliament, he had the full support of the imperialist countries and even of the Government of India. During the recent presidential election in Russia, representatives of imperialist states, some of them stationed in Moscow, advised Yeltsin, their favoured candidate, and even engaged in manipulations to ensure his victory. In the changed international situation after dismantling of the socialist camp it is the task of the genuine com-

munists to make correct analysis of the concrete situation obtaining at present. Today, the task of building up and strengthening militant anti-imperialist movement has become imperative not only to guarantee world peace but also to foil imperialist conspiracies.

This does not, however, change the stage of revolution which remains anti-capitalist socialist. In determining the stage of revolution, the question of the principal internal contradiction in the country is the deciding factor. As Lenin said, "The main question of every revolution is the question of state power". Stalin elaborated this point thus: "In the hands of which class, or which classes, is power concentrated; which class, or which classes, must be overthrown; which class, or which classes, must take power - such is the main question of every revolution".⁹

Therefore it is clear that today, in the absence of the socialist camp, when the revolutionary or even the democratic movement is at a low ebb, when the ruling bourgeoisie from country to country are in connivance with the imperialist powers who are prone to launch attacks on revolutionary or even democratic movements anywhere, the working class party of a country cannot fight out its own ruling capitalist class and settle scores with it without resisting imperialism even if the stage of revolution is anti-capitalist socialist. It is not that the imperialist countries have just forced globalisation on the bourgeoisie of the other countries. Take for example, the case of India. The Indian Government subserving Indian monopoly capital has signed the New GATT accord voluntarily, and the Indian monopoly houses are welcoming foreign imperialistic capital into the country, because by collaborating with giant imperialistic multinationals as junior partners they hope to enjoy thin slices of markets abroad in return for opening up the domestic market to foreign capital.

In this background the question of building up world-wide militant anti-imperialist movement assumes great importance. Such a movement is needed to loosen the stranglehold of the imperialist powers over the affairs of the world so that the working class parties can work towards revolutionary uprisings in their respective countries, relatively free from imperialist interference. Anti-imperialist struggle is not a substitute for anti-capitalist struggle and does not mean a shift from the line of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. These two struggles are not mutually exclusive with a Chinese Wall dividing the two. Anti-imperialist movement is a real tactical necessity at present. Need we explain that even if the main aim of revolutionary movement remains unaltered, tactical shifts conducive to the main objective may become necessary in the interest of revolution itself? Domestic capitalism cannot be effectively fought against without conducting an anti-imperialist movement as well.

Those who do not realise this, do not understand the real import and complexity of the present situation. Nor have they understood the significance of the policy of peaceful co-existence formulated by Lenin and correctly applied by Stalin subsequently, and the stress Stalin leadership laid on militant world peace move-

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“The moment I will no longer be able to fight, may it be given to me to die.” — Frederick Engels

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people out of employment. The growing concentration of capital in the hands of a few, and unemployment, poverty and destitution of the masses have landed the entire capitalist world in the vortex of a serious crisis. On the theory of surplus value propounded by Marx, Engels wrote, “... It was shown that appropriation of unpaid labour is the basis of capitalist mode of production and of the exploitation of the worker that occurs under it; that even if the capitalist buys the labour — the power of the labourer — at its full value as a commodity on the market, he yet extracts more value from it than he paid for; and that in the ultimate analysis this surplus value forms those sums of value from which are heaped up the constantly increasing masses of capital in the hands of the possessing classes”. (*Socialism : Utopian and Scientific*)

This theory is not obsolete but very much valid even today. The basic contradiction that afflicts capitalism is irreconcilable and cannot be resolved within the framework of capitalism as shown by Marx and Engels long ago. Capitalism today is moribund and out and out reactionary. It can no more lead the society to progress, enmeshed as it is with endemic crisis arising out of its basic contradiction. Its role has been completely exhausted historically. Capitalism is today outdated, obsolete and must make way for a higher order of civilization.

By a scientific discourse on the historical path of social development and through an anatomical dissection of capitalism, Marx and Engels showed that communism is the destiny of mankind, and man will reach that stage after passing through the intermediate transitional stage of socialism. This transitional phase of socialism cannot be anything but the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is essential in this transitional phase, when the class struggle will be more intense. Lenin long ago pointed out that the overthrown bourgeoisie would dream of restoration of capitalism and sometimes this dream would turn out to be attempts at restoration. Lenin also pointed out that this attempt might succeed in one country or another but no one can stop the storm of world revolution sweeping over the entire globe. The debacle of the socialist system in the Soviet Union and the East European countries is mainly due to the revisionist attack from within since the days of Khrushchev clique which refused to recognise the existence of class struggle within the Soviet society, and instead advocated the preposterous theory of ‘the state of the whole people’ and ‘the party of the whole people’. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the leader, teacher and guide of our party and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, whose 20th death anniversary is also observed on 5th August this year had sensed the danger posed by the Khrushchev leadership immediately after the 20th Congress of the CPSU and warned against the opening of the floodgate of revisionism. But this warning went in vain, and ultimately came the debacle.

Revisionism today has appeared as the main danger before the working class movement. Unless revisionism is fought out and defeated and the entire working class movement is freed from the pernicious influence of revisionism, the revolutionary movement cannot advance even a

step further. The objective conditions of the socialist revolution are ripe within the society. It is true that objective condition is prior and determinant in the final analysis. But revolution cannot be automatic when the objective condition is ripe. Unless the subjective condition is ready revolution will not materialise. Engels stressed this when he wrote, “In one point the history of the development of society proves to be essentially different from that of nature. In nature — in so far as we ignore man’s reaction upon nature — there are only blind, unconscious agencies acting upon one another out of whose interplay the general law comes into operation. Nothing of all that happens — in the innumerable apparent accidents observable upon the surface, or in the ultimate results which confirm the regularity inherent in these accidents — happens as a consciously desired aim. In the history of the society, on the contrary, the actors are all endowed with consciousness, are men acting with deliberation and passion, working towards definite goals ; nothing happens without a conscious purpose, without an intended aim. But this distinction, important as it is for historical investigation, particularly of single epochs and events, cannot alter the fact that the course of history is governed by inner general law.” (*Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*)

It is due to the inexorable inner general law of history that capitalism has come to the present stage where the contradiction between the productive forces and production relations has become irreconcilable. The present contradiction can be resolved only by overthrowing capitalism and this can be done only by the conscious effort of man. Herein comes the necessity of the revolutionary party of the proletariat, the most advanced class in the present era, which can lead the revolution to victory. This revolutionary party must be equal to the task confronting us today. It is to be admitted that after the setback in the world communist move-

ment the reactionaries have unleashed a virulent attack not only in the political and economic arena but in the sphere of culture, ethics and morality also. With the infiltration of the decadent imperialist culture, the present society is seriously suffering from decadence, depravity and unprecedented moral crisis. The crisis is so grave that this imperialist culture and moral depravity will permeate even among the rank of the communists not to speak of the broad masses of the people, if not checked through countervailing cultural movement. Our party, the SUCI, founded by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has been engaged not only in arduous class and mass struggle following the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong, besides being guided by the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh since inception, but also in a serious rectification and elevation struggle to free ourselves from bourgeois individualism, all other fads of the bourgeois thinking and the pernicious influence of degraded culture, and to elevate ourselves to a higher communist character having proletarian cultural outlook.

Today the entire society is in the birthpang of a newer civilization, a civilization where all sorts of exploitation of man by man is abolished. The enchained working class is yearning for emancipation from the yoke of the rule of capital. The real revolutionary party of the proletariat will have to act as the midwife for bringing about the cherished society where the working class will be free from the grip and tentacle of capital. So we can pay real revolutionary homage to Frederick Engels, the great revolutionary leader on the occasion of his death centenary by resolving and taking firm pledge to strengthen the SUCI, the only revolutionary party of the proletariat in Indian soil to carry forward the class and mass struggle by giving defeat to all sorts of vulgarization of Marxism-Leninism with the ultimate goal of accomplishing emancipation of the entire people from the yoke of capital.

Red Salute Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

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that — ‘to change the world, the workers will have to change themselves first’ — he started his mission with the guiding principle that those who would come forward to build up this party and take up leading role, have to engage themselves collectively into the struggle to acquire communist character. He said : “We must bear in mind that in the present society the ethics and morality, sense of duty and obligation or the values which we are still today guided by in every aspects of life, are all bourgeois concepts, and so, only by conducting constant and continuous conscious struggle to acquire the communist moral values replacing the bourgeois value and develop, instead of bourgeois outlook, proletarian class outlook or what we call dialectical materialist or Marxist approach, we can develop ourselves as communists.” ...

He said : “The high standard of communist morality in the revolutionary politics of the proletariat was so long conceived as — submission of individual interests to the greater social interests.” As against this, he for the first time in the

history showed that in this era, in order to acquire higher communist character, “an individual must identify himself, indubitably, happily and unconditionally with the interest of the proletarian class, revolution and the party.”

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, whose entire life was dedicated to the cause of emancipation of the proletariat, has, with the vast knowledge and experiences accumulated through his life-long struggle created the real revolutionary party of the proletariat, the SUCI, an indispensable instrument for revolution and a band of professional revolutionaries competent enough to lead the revolution. The fruits of this struggle is finding expression in the gradual expansion and consolidation of the party through the length and breadth of the country. So it is only through the constant cult of the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great revolutionary leader of the proletariat, and by making the SUCI the only real revolutionary party of the proletariat, founded by him, strong enough to lead the revolutionary struggles, that the Indian proletariat can achieve its emancipation from all sorts of exploitation.” ...

Strengthen SUCI for Emancipation of Indian People

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ment even though there was a powerful socialist camp in existence and the revolutionary forces of the world were stronger than now. Has the necessity of this militant anti-imperialist movement decreased or increased now? At present, the revolutionary forces are relatively weakened, the powerful socialist camp does not exist and imperialist finance capital has more and more perfected the technique of economically dominating other countries without occupying them. So, the need for world-wide anti-imperialist movement has increased manifold, for helping and protecting the revolutionary movement itself.

Imperialism is now more virulent, more aggressive than ever before. Those who deny the necessity of building up a movement to mobilise public opinion against imperialism, objectively shield imperialism. And who can organise this movement except the communists? This will be a militant anti-imperialist peace movement, not to be confused with bourgeois pacifism. We recall that in the fifties and sixties, when the then undivided CPI in our country suffered from bourgeois pacifist illusion and hailed Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of the Indian bour-

geois State, as an apostle of peace, our departed leader, teacher and guide Shibdas Ghosh gave a thorough ideological exposure to such anti-Marxist conduct and stressed the necessity of building up militant peace movement free from pacifist illusion. Therefore distinction between pacifism and militant peace movement should not be lost sight of.

Communists everywhere have to advance through a correct evaluation of national and international situation, developing Marxism in all directions as Lenin enjoined upon them.

We recall on this occasion Frederick Engels' lifelong struggle to establish Marxism, the philosophy of scientific socialism as a comrade-in-arms of Karl Marx, and his very many valuable contributions to the treasury of Marxism which provide guidelines even now.

In our country, Shibdas Ghosh, following in the footsteps of the great leaders of the international proletariat Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Zedong, in course of lifelong struggle to build up the SUCI as the genuine communist party on the Indian soil, concretised, elaborated and enriched Marxism-Leninism and raised its understanding to a new height. He has bequeathed to us the SUCI, a party built up on the

Leninist model, steered in battles. Let us grasp his teachings and advance and through class and mass struggles, as an inseparable part of the world communist army striving to move forward the wheels of history again.

— Long live Revolution !

— Long live Proletarian Internationalism !

— Ultimate victory shall be ours !

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Movement against price hike

The hike in the prices of petroleum products was protested throughout the State of Orissa through road blockades, dharnas and other agitational programmes. Besides party volunteers a large number of common people of this State actively participated in the agitational programmes. The news in brief are given below:

CUTTACK : For two days, on 5 and 6 July hundreds of party workers and common people put up a road block near Press Square in Cuttack. The police resorted to lathicharge to remove the road block, causing serious injury to Com. Binapani Das, member Orissa State Committee SUCI and two student leaders. All the agitating activists were arrested.

ROURKELA : More than 3000 students, youth, women and workers demonstrated near the daily market square for 3 consecutive days. 500 party activists were arrested by the police.

JAJPUR : More than 500 party activists put up a road block for more than 3 hours near the Gandhi Square on 8 July.

BINAJHARPUR : Party activists staged a sit in demonstration near Mainda square in Binjharpur in Jajpur district. The police arrested the agitating activists.

BARI : More than 150 party activists and common people put up a road block and disrupted vehicular traffic for more than 4 hours near Baruhan square.

School of Politics at Ghatsila

A three day state level school of politics organised by the Orissa State Committee of SUCI was held at Study Centre, Ghatsila from

13 to 15 July, 1996. The school attended by 142 members of the party was conducted by Comrade Sitesh Das Gupta, member Central Committee, SUCI.

Comrade Tapas Dutta, Secretary, Orissa State Committee and member, Central Committee, SUCI attended the concluding session of the school and discussed in brief the necessity and process of building the party from the cell level and to organise mass movements on the burning issues of the people.

Movement scored victory in Mysore

The people of Jayanagar extension in Mysore city have scored victory in an important movement under the leadership of our party.

Reduction of the frequency of the city transport buses and diversion of the existing buses were causing extreme hardship to the people. Party volunteers during their regular work found the people seething with anger against this atrocious negligence.

The Mysore city Organising Committee of SUCI immediately jumped into action and started organising the people. The citizens who rallied together under the banner of our party gheraoed the local BJP MLA Mr Ramdas who was on a visit to the area on 7 July. The people went in a mass deputation to the Divisional Controller of Karnataka State Road Transport Corporation on 9 July and submitted a charter of demands. The citizens, particularly a large number of office-going working women participated with extraordinary zeal and enthusiasm.

After this, just as the people were preparing to launch higher phases of movement the KSRTC conceded to all the demands.

Protest Demonstration at Madras

The Madras-Chingleput District Organising Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India staged a demonstration in front of V.P. Hall (near Moor market) on 12.7.96 between 5.30 P.M. and 6.30P.M. demanding a complete withdrawal of the steep price hike of petroleum products. by the central United Front Government recently.

At the end of the demonstration, Comrade S. Narayanasamy, the Secretary of the Madras-Chingleput District Organising Committee of SUCI spoke.

SUCI Condemns Anti-People Budget

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, has issued the following statement to the Press on the General Budget on 22nd July, 1996 :

Chanting the *mantra* of 'serving the poor people' Mr. P. Chidambaram, the finance minister of the UF government, like his mentor Mr. Manmohan Singh has further imposed tax burden on the people even after pre-budget imposition of more than Rs. 7000 crores by administered price-hike of petroleum products. The smokescreen of some so-called pro-people schemes cannot hide the fact that the real benefit of this budget will undoubtedly go to the corporate sector through tax reduction while the people will continue to suffer the stifling burden of price rise and unemployment — the real problems of the people which has failed to draw the attention of the *realist* finance minister.

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF : NIHAR MUKHERJEE