

FREDERICK ENGELS AND SHIBDAS GHOSH REMEMBERED Emulate Life Struggles And Inculcate Teachings of the Great Leaders

—Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

On 5th August, the death anniversary of Frederick Engels and Shibdas Ghosh, great leaders of the proletariat, a mass meeting was organised by West Bengal State Committee, SUCI at Netaji Indoor Stadium, Calcutta where Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of the Party was the main speaker and Comrade Provas Ghosh, member, Central Committee and West Bengal State Secretary was the President. The speech of Comrade Mukherjee is given below :

Comrade President, Comrades and Friends,

You all know, today the 5th of August is the Memorial Day of two great leaders of the world proletariat—Frederick Engels and Shibdas Ghosh. This meeting, convened, under the auspices of the West Bengal State Committee of our party, the SUCI, to observe this occasion, is being held at a time of grave international and national situation which you have just heard in brief from the President of the meeting.

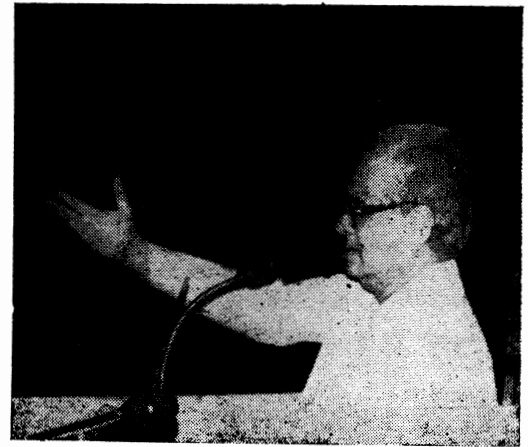
I firmly believe that the solution to the problems tormenting the life of the people and the problems pertaining to class struggles and mass movements whether in the international arena or in the national sphere, has to be sought in the light of the teachings bequeathed to us by Frederick Engels and Shibdas Ghosh, among others, who held aloft steadfastly the noble banner of proletarian internationalism. As far as I understand, and I would request you to keep in mind the lesson—the giant Marxist thinkers and their thinking cannot be understood properly in isolation from their life's struggles. It means that the thinkers and their thought can never be isolated from each other. Take up, for example, Frederick Engels or Shibdas Ghosh—the thoughts of these giant Marxist leaders also emerged through a process of interaction and struggle with the material world, through the twists and turns of the class and mass struggles. It should be understood that through co-ordinating, integrating and generalising the particular truths culled from different branches of sciences emerged a comprehensive understanding of science—the science of Dialectical and Historical Materialism—which was first given shape to by Karl Marx and his able compatriot, Frederick Engels as a product of their arduous and lifelong struggle. This philosophy of Dialectical Materialism not only provided invincible weapon for the scientific path of emancipation of the proletariat, but it also illumined the historical destiny of human civilization.

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I am sure, here is present a large number of comrades who are very eager to know the life struggles of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin-Mao Zedong and Shibdas Ghosh. But you can well understand, it is impossible to provide in a single discussion even a glimpse of their life-struggles, vastness of the knowledge, the depth and dimension of character and the versatility of genius of all these giant communists who could, in their own

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Comrade Nihar Mukherjee on Current Events in USSR

27.8.1991 : Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, in course of a statement on recent developments in the Soviet Union said :

“Following the restoration of capitalism through counter-revolution led by the reactionary Gorbachev clique, the Soviet Union is now engulfed in an all-pervading economic, political and cultural crises and as a result, deep indignation, and a sense of national humiliation have gripped its people. In the policy statement issued by the 8-member committee this feeling of the Soviet

people was reflected.

But the way the attempt to capture power was made was not in consonance with Marxist-Leninist principles, norms and values. It has once again vindicated the quintessential Marxist-Leninist teaching that no basic and radical change is possible without a correct base political line, necessary mass awakening and mass upsurge.

The reported agreement between Gorbachev and Yeltsin about sharing of power and implementing the out and out reactionary policies and measures—all in league with the US imperialists—will undoubtedly disintegrate the Soviet Union further and make it open more to naked interference by the US imperialists and help accentuate the already severe crisis in all spheres of society to yet unprecedented dimension. Obviously, all these are being done with a view to striking a deci-

sive blow on the noble ideology of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and eliminating the revolutionary forces inside the country. This once again reveals how Glasnost allows the spread of reactionary ideas of all sorts and tramples upon all progressive ideas in general and the noble ideology of communism and proletarian internationalism in particular.

Identifying ourselves with the great people of the Soviet Union at this

grim hour of test and trial, we urge the genuine revolutionaries to adhere resolutely to the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and close their ranks to resist the surging wave of reaction.

We also urge the anti-imperialist and truly democratic forces of the world to frustrate and foil the attempts of the imperialists, and particularly the US imperialists, to interfere into the internal affairs of the Soviet Union.”

Marx And Engels Jointly Laid Foundation of Scientific Socialism

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way at their times, travel with ease in every branch of science and epistemology. Therefore, I shall try to confine myself to some of their teachings which their life-struggles have unfolded before us.

First of all, we should know that during the entire course of development of Marxian movements there had been both successes and failures, victories and defeats, ups and downs. Those who plunged themselves in the revolutionary movements met with only success and no failure—such could never happen. The course of revolution is never like a simple straight line—the path is not strewn with flowers. Always and everywhere it is a zigzag course, having twists and turns, the vicissitudes of which all these giant revolutionaries had to face in their life. It is only through traversing a long course of failure that the ultimate success of revolution is attained.

Even then one point should be borne in mind that all the failures and setbacks can never be of the same dimension and magnitude. True, there may be occasions of setbacks in the communist movement, bringing in their wake disastrous consequences and causing immense damage to the movement itself. The present damage to the communist movement wrought by the counterrevolution in East Europe and Russia which restored capitalism by dismantling the base and edifice of socialism is a kind of the worst setbacks witnessed, never before. The situation calls for facing the problems boldly with stubborn determination and firm conviction, and being armed with the understanding of invincible teachings of Marxism-Leninism—not only by knowing and learning them but by grasping, realising and assimilating the essence in life and practice as finished revolutionaries. This is the teaching of Marx upto Shibdas Ghosh which all of us should emulate as our ideal of life—as the polestar. Observance of occasions as these can be really meaningful only when we know, learn and grasp the teachings of these revolutionaries and apply them correctly in today's perspective.

Those who are acquainted with the emergence of these giant communist leaders know it well that these leaders emerged in course of painstaking struggles bit by bit covering all aspects of life. Everybody knows that the Marxists are seekers and adherents of truth. If we would for example, take a glance at the life of Engels, we would come to know what a great struggle he had to wage in his quest for learning the conditions of working class in the then England, how his vision pierced through the morass of the capitalist society and on the basis of what a great struggle he depicted the conditions of the working class—not on the basis of subjective thinking but on objective experience, materials and facts. Although he started to build up a working class movement in

England, he had to move about in different countries, wandering from one place to another, including even the USA where also he made his contribution in building up working class movement. Through this process of searching the truth he could lay bare the real condition of capitalism as well as the nature and character of its exploitation. At that time many liberal democrats also penned many touching stories, painting the wretched conditions of the working class. But there was difference, a fundamental difference between these two approaches. While the liberal democrats took the working class as a passive force and their outlook was at best one based on utopian socialism, the outlook of Engels was that of scientific socialism as he could fathom the underlying and hidden laws of change of society and along with Karl Marx he showed class struggle as the lever of social change. So the real point was not to be overwhelmed or taken over by the misery, grief and destitution of the working class and take a somewhat benevolent attitude to the class but to see in it the real force which could change the world and was destined to become the master of the new society to emerge through its radical transformation. Of course, it was a matter of long history. It was clear that those utopian socialists who sang the song of communism even, used to go to the working class and sympathised with it in a big way, these people could naturally wield a great influence on the ranks of the working people. True, they were none else than the bourgeois humanists or the liberal democrats, even then they exerted a great influence over the poor and the exploited. But it was Marx and Engels who showed the proletariat the real path of emancipation, basing their world outlook on truth and science, and giving birth to the comprehensive science of Dialectical Materialism. As I mentioned earlier, these giant communist leaders could tread all the branches of science and knowledge and did the task of scientific generalisation and integration of human knowledge to the extent possible at that time. They showed how the proletariat emerged in society as the anti-thesis of capitalist exploitation and what was the road to their emancipation.

Today most of us do very often dwell on these subjects so easily. But how can we forget that during the period of Marx and Engels science had not developed much, human knowledge also suffered from serious limitations set by history. But whatever the degree of development of human knowledge at that time, the giant communist leaders like Marx took immense pain to unravel the truth and steer clear not only of the mystic shell of idealism of the philosophy of Hegel who gave first the idea of dialectical development of all beings but he faulted seriously at his concept of 'Absolute Idea' which made his philosophy idealist. It was Marx again, who clearly showed that Feuerbach who no doubt

fought against Hegelian idealism, but on the question of religion and ethics viewed these as something eternal and absolute. Marx was the pioneer in his fight against the fallacies and falsities of the philosophies of both Hegel and Feuerbach and could lay the foundation of scientific philosophy like Dialectical Materialism before anybody else. It is known to all that Engels made a profound contribution, next to Marx, in laying the foundation of the concept of scientific socialism. Marx and Engels showed first of all that everything in this universe, starting from minutest particles to human life and society, the different ideologies etc., is in a process of constant change, nothing in this world is static, unchangeable or eternal. They also analysed that any and every change was brought about by the internal and external contradictions which were inherent in, and surrounded every entity or a phenomenon. True, Marx and Engels laid the foundation of Dialectical Materialism—which is at the same time a science and a philosophy—but this had to be developed in conformity with the fundamentals with changing time as it was a science itself. We all know that natural science as also social science develop in course of time and cannot remain static anywhere at any time.

Since Marxism is based on proven truths, it is the only philosophy that has unravelled the inexorable law of social development showing the only historical path of emancipation of the toiling people. Those who are engaged in their respective countries to build up revolutionary movements following the teachings of Dialectical and Historical Materialism, have to apply them correctly to carry through to success the task of anti-capitalist socialist revolution under the leadership of a genuine working class party fighting against all sorts of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois illusions. The genuine party of the proletariat is fundamentally and qualitatively different from all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties with a different world outlook, different methodology of analysis and a different constitution. It explains clearly why Engels interpreted Marxism as a guide to action and not a dogma. This is why Lenin observed that Marx and Engels gave the foundation of Marxism. Now it was incumbent on all of us to develop Marxism in all directions. He said that it was the task of the communists to develop and enrich this science through concrete application in concrete situation. Since all of us live in a law-governed society, it was the task of a communist to see through these laws very clearly and in its course help the society reach its logical culmination.

Elaborating and further elucidating these teachings of Marxism-Leninism it was Shibdas Ghosh who brilliantly analysed and showed that it was very urgent to constantly develop and enrich the knowledge and understanding of Marxism in the light of modern developments of science.

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Keep Alive Process of Democratic Centralism Within Party Bodies And Struggle to Achieve Higher Communist Character

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In fact, through penetrating analyses he showed how the developments of modern science in all its branches did confirm further the invincibility of Dialectical Materialism that appeared as the science of all sciences. He further explained that it was impossible for the leadership of any Communist Party to make revolution successful in their countries unless that party had been able to develop further and make its contribution towards enriching the understanding of this philosophy in the background of applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete conditions and contradictions of their own soil.

In our country, following the teachings of these great and giant Marxist authorities correctly, it was Shibdas Ghosh who, in the absence of a genuine communist party in India, came forward to shoulder the great responsibility of not only developing, enriching and concretising the general teachings of Marxism on this soil and in its process bringing the understanding of Marxism-Leninism to a new height but also laying foundation of a genuine party of the proletariat—the Socialist Unity Centre of India. Basing himself on the Leninist teachings of communist party organisation and keeping in mind the extent of cultural depravity in our society, the vile and filthy influence of typical individualism that the present decadent capitalist society of our country has generated, Comrade Ghosh released an intense socialist cultural-ideological movement inside the party, covering all aspects of life including questions of love and sex, so that the members of the party could attain a higher cultural and ethical standard to be able to meet the newer problems of life and society.

He, therefore, drew our urgent attention to the fact that as Marxism Leninism was the beacon enlightening the path of our emancipation so also there were tremendous obstacles on the path of revolution. Apart from crisis in morality and the influence of decadent capitalist culture, there was also the influence of the feudal culture in our society as a hangover of the past. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh analysed brilliantly that any country having a capitalist socio-political economic structure was sure to suffer from serious crisis, be it a highly developed country like the USA or a relatively underdeveloped country like India. And this crisis was all-prevading, affecting not only the economic base but also its political, cultural, educational, juridical superstructure. The crisis of morality in the American society is quite well-known. The nature of underworld activities, the extent of drug addiction, sex perversion and involvement of even youth force in international smuggling, etc., have really assumed alarming proportions.

The nature of economic crisis of the USA has to be viewed keeping in mind

a very important fact that it is an imperialist country which is frantically engaged in neo-colonial exploitation throughout the world particularly in the changed international situation of today. Even then the US economy is also so much crisis-ridden that it has to take resort to militarisation of economy, create a war psychosis the world over in order to get the stockpile of arms released by resorting to the path of localised wars some with global importance and dimension. The Gulf war surely bears testimony to this observation. I am not going into other details of the nature of poverty, unemployment, etc, in this country, the bulwark of imperialism.

About India Comrade Shibdas Ghosh showed by penetrating analysis and warned again and again that the depravity of culture, declining moral standard, etc. have been eating into the very vitals of our society. He showed that it was a design of the ruling capitalist class to break the moral backbone of the students and youths so that they could not protest against any injustice and drowned themselves into the quagmire of fatalism. In the political field, he showed the principle and even minimal concern for the people's interest have been given a goodbye long ago by all the parliamentary parties belonging to the Right or the Left.

You all know how the cumulative effect of a deep and serious economic crisis in our country has been mercilessly telling upon the economy as a whole and also savagely attacking the life and livelihood of the common people. Today, we hear much about our economic crisis. It is now said by the Ministers—and as ministers they are taken for granted to be masters in all subjects—that Nehruvian economic model of nationalised industry and public sector pursued since long in our country is the root of the present crisis. So these pundits are prescribing the medicine of privatisation, liberalisation etc. as the panacea for all ills. But I like to remind you a historic warning of Shibdas Ghosh in this context. When the Five-Year Plans were introduced in our country dangling high hopes before the people by the rulers, he warned that the Indian capitalist economy, as part and parcel of the crisis-ridden world capitalist economy, was bound to be associated with a serious crisis. These plans, he observed, were bound to be chased by a shadow of crisis. He also observed that Indian capitalism could get out of the crisis only to be plunged into a greater and deeper crisis. He said further that Indian capitalism had become not only reactionary and moribund, it had become out and out corrupt too. Is it not clear, therefore, how his analyses have come true to the hilt that even the bourgeois-petty bourgeois politicians and the ministers are today rending the air with the cry of crisis of Indian economy? Those

who, therefore, hold the Nehruvian model of the economy as the source of the present-day crisis should better address themselves as to why at all Nehru had to take recourse to this path of public sector etc. After all, Nehru was not a communist. It should be understood clearly that the policy of nationalisation of industries served well, gave good dividends to the aggregate interest of monopoly capitalism during that period. It was the period when this policy was highly hailed by a section of the so-called communists, besides a good number of protagonists of bourgeois interest, as a progressive measure bearing the elements of socialist economy. Our party led by our leader Shibdas Ghosh made analysis to the contrary. This analysis was done by Engels about more than hundred years back. In our opinion all these measures were aimed at consolidating the capitalist economy as quickly as possible. It was clear that in a situation when private monopolists were cold-shouldering the idea of building heavy industries and the necessary infrastructure which required huge investment of capital then the basic and heavy industries were built up by channelising funds from the public exchequer. Nehru raised the slogan of socialistic pattern of society on the strength of all these nationalised heavy industries on the one hand, and using the policy of Non alignment which, taking advantage of the powerful socialist bloc side by side with a capitalist-imperialist bloc, was best utilised as a bargaining counter to fetch economic help from both the blocs. This was what the so-called 'welfare state' stood for and acclaimed very much even by the monopoly capitalists. But this policy could give at best a temporary respite and not a permanent solution which is not possible to get keeping the capitalist system intact.

Now we witness that more or less the same brand of politicians are praising the benefits of so-called decontrolled and privatized economy which is also bound to meet with serious crisis. Taking advantage of the ignorance of the people at large, the 'intellectuals' and propagandists most of whose names are in the payrolls of the capitalists, are trying to lull the people into slumber with a false hope for the future.

Throwing penetrating light on the inherent weakness of the leadership of our freedom struggle, Comrade Ghosh showed how, despite winning political independence and attaining the features of nationhood politically, India remained disunited on the question of nationality problem, communalism, casteism, parochialism, regionalism, separatism, etc. Because the task of social and cultural revolutions had not been integrated with our independence movement. Naturally, our society could not accomplish the task of democratization and left in its trail the curse of communalism and other vices which today have been plaguing very

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LETTER TO LEFT PARTIES

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee
appeals for united movement

The letter of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary, SUCI, of 13th August to the General Secretaries of the CPI(M), CPI, RSP, Forward Bloc, Bolshevik Party, WPI, MCPI, IPF, CPI(ML) and COI (ML) is given below :

Dear Comrade,

You are all well aware of the fact how the minority Congress(I) Government after coming to power has been unabatedly putting burdens, one after another, on the shoulders of the common people with impunity. Nobody having a minimum concern for the people and the country can remain a silent spectator to this kind of anti-people fiscal and the so-called New Industrial Policies, the Railway and the General Budgets, besides steep devaluation of rupee and selling and mortgaging of tonnes of gold from the reserves to the Bank of England. All these taken together will surely bring about untold and unprecedented sufferings for the vast multitude of the country only to reap fabulous profit by the corporate sectors and the foreign multinationals. What to speak of waiting for two to three years more to attain the promised 'bright future' for which these policies have been claimed to have been brought about by the policy makers, if one goes by the official figures about the percentage of rise in the all-commodities index in just the one week that ended on July 20, it is really alarming even by Indian standards. The figures have been showing, as you all know, steep rise in the price index in most of the primary articles which clearly indicates that the trend set by the policies is anything but disinflationary, belying all promises of the ministers and the Government.

Second, we have noted that the different Governments at the Centre particularly since the eighties have been open-

ing the door of the Indian economy to the US dominated multinationals, the IMF and the World Bank to the serious detriment of people's interest. Everything starting from the extent of dependence on these U.S. dominated aid agencies and the multinationals to the stringent and humiliating conditions that the Government of India is committed to accept today is so much alarming that it has invited serious neo-colonial attacks on the Indian economy by the U.S. imperialists in particular. Of course, all this has been done in the name of 'national interest' and to survive the unprecedented crisis into which the Indian economy has been plunged hiding the failures and misdemeanour of the powers that be and trampling upon the long anti-imperialist tradition and aspirations of our people.

In such a situation found never before since independence, whatever the claim to the contrary, it is incumbent on all well-meaning people and individuals, more so the Left and democratic parties and forces, to bend their energy unitedly to thwart the impending catastrophe. We fervently hope you would agree with this observation of ours and respond to the need of the hour. We strongly feel that at this moment of gravest crisis of the people the remedy lies in nothing else than building up united and protracted mass movements with immediate effect, on the burning issues of people's life to be drawn up unitedly as the common minimum programme along with a code of conduct. No question, we consider, can assume greater importance if we

All India Protest Day Observed

At the call of the Central Committee of our Party July 26 was observed as All India Protest Day throughout the country against the anti-people economic policy, Railway and Central Budget of the Congress(I) lead Central government. Demonstrations and meetings were held at different state capitals and other important places of the country. Reports of the programme so far received are given here under.

TAMIL NADU

As part of the Central Committee's call to observe July 26 as All India Protest Day, the Tamil Nadu State Committee of the party organised a demonstration in front of the VP Hall, near the

Central Suburban Station on July 26. Despite the state sponsored bandh over the Cauvery water issue, which had paralysed all public transport in the city, people turned up in large number to join the demonstration.

On July 25, a deputation led by Comrade R. Baskaran, member Tamil Nadu State Committee of the Party met the Governor and handed over a memorandum to be sent to the President of India.

Comrade S. Narayanasamy, Secretariat member, Tamil Nadu State Committee addressed the gathering in front of the V.P. Hall in the evening.

ORISSA

On 26th July a massive protest was staged (Contd. on page 5)

ON CAUVERY DISPUTE

The Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala State Committees (SUCI) issued in July the following joint statement.

Though a scientific and happy solution of distribution of river water between contending states is, no doubt, a difficult problem yet we are constrained to see that the problem of distribution of Cauvery water between Karnataka, Tamilnadu, Kerala and Pondicherry which needed immediate settlement after the expiry of the 1924 accord, had been kept hanging for almost two decades. Rather, the history of all the negotiations that took place between these two state governments will show beyond doubt that on one plea or another they preferred to keep the problem hanging, as a bone of contention to be utilised at opportune times for their narrow political gains. People also cannot fail to notice the fact that the Central government had never taken any serious efforts to find an amicable settlement.

The conflict between the Karnataka and Tamil

are to remain true to our task and commitment.

Awaiting favourable response,

With revolutionary greetings,

Comradely yours,
Sd/- Nihar Mukherjee
General Secretary
13.8.91 S. U. C. I.

Nadu governments could reach this present stage also due to the fact that all the national political parties always tried to reap narrow sectarian benefits by simultaneously supporting these two state governments although their positions were opposite. While the Tamil Nadu State Committees of the Congress(I), Janata Dal, BJP, CPI and CPI(M) supported the bandh called by Ms. Jayalalitha, demanding implementation of the interim order of the tribunal, the counterparts of all these parties in Karnataka supported the counter-bandh called by Mr. Bangarappa, opposing the interim order, on the same day, July 26. It is to be noted with special care that while the DMK and AIADMK were vociferous over the implementation of the interim order in Tamil Nadu, the same parties in Karnataka supported Mr. Bangarappa's demand for its non-implementation.

We are happy to note that till now the people at large, in both the states, have not fallen victim to the mischievous game of these political parties.

We strongly feel that as the interests of those poor and middle peasants dependent on the Cauvery waters shall not be undermined, so also the interests of those poor and middle peasants who

could not avail of the Cauvery water because of lack of proper irrigation systems, shall not be ignored. Keeping the interests of both the sections in view, and depending on the scientific and unbiased findings by an impartial expert committee, an amicable settlement should be arrived at, without further delay. If it is found that the requirements of both states cannot be met from the Cauvery water, then alternative sources, including tapping of ground water, should also be seriously explored.

We urge all the concerned governments, particularly the governments of Karnataka and Tamil Nadu, to give up their adamant attitudes and expedite a solution to the problem.

At this grave hour when the ruling capitalist class is mounting savage attacks on the people and making their lives increasingly miserable and are trying to divide the people on communal, casteist, parochial and regional lines to suppress the growth of democratic movements, the unity of the whole of the oppressed people is of paramount importance.

We call upon the people to pressurise their respective governments and the Centre to give up their present attitudes and to solve the issue amicably.

5th August Observed Throughout the Country

5th of August, the death anniversary of the great leaders of the proletariat, Frederick Engels and Shibdas Ghosh, was observed throughout the country and public meetings were held throughout the states on that occasion. Apart from the meeting of Calcutta where Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, our beloved General Secretary addressed the vast gathering as main speaker memorial gatherings were held in Haryana, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Delhi, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Assam, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Tripura and Madhya Pradesh.

Haryana: The Haryana State Committee of the party observed the day through a state level meeting at Rohtak where Comrade Pritish Chanda, member, Politburo, Central Committee of the party was the main speaker and Comrade Gian Singh, Secretary, Haryana State Committee of the party presided. Comrade Chanda in his address appealed to inculcate the teachings of Comrade Frederick Engels and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh in order to fight the neo-revisionist and imperialist-capitalist onslaughts on Marxism-Leninism.

Rajasthan

In Rajasthan the historic 5th August was observed in a solemn manner. Com. Pritish Chanda delivered the main speech there.

Bihar: The memorial day of the great leaders of the proletariat Frederick Engels and Shibdas Ghosh was observed through a state-level meeting in Patna at Anjuman Hall packed to the capacity. Comrade Shankar Singh, member, Politburo, Central Committee of the party, was the main speaker. Comrade Singh in his address said Engels and Shibdas Ghosh throughout their life fought for the cause of

the workingclass revolution and establishment of their state. Today to get over the present crisis the teachings of Engels and Shibdas Ghosh are of supreme importance.

Uttar Pradesh: On 8th August the occasion was observed at Allahabad and on 11th at Moradabad where Comrade Shankar Singh, member, Politburo, Central Committee, was the main speaker in the meetings.

Orissa: 5th August was observed throughout the state of Orissa and on the day a statelevel meeting was held where Comrade Tapas Dutta, member, Central Committee of the Party, was the main speaker. Comrade Binapani Dash, member, State Secretariat of the party was in the chair.

Delhi: The Delhi State Organising Committee of the party observed the day through a public meeting on 5th August in which Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee, member, Central Committee of the party, was the main speaker.

Tamil Nadu: The Tamil Nadu State Committee of the party held a mass meeting at Madurai on 5th August to pay tribute to Frederick Engels and Shibdas Ghosh, great leaders of the proletariat. Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta member, Central Committee was the main speaker and Comrade Jagannathan State Secretary of the party was the president.

Kerala: This occasion was observed throughout Kerala and on the occasion a statelevel meeting was held at Kayamkulam, Alleppey district on 8th August '91 where Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, member, Central Committee, was the main speaker. Com. C. K. Lukose, Secretary, State Committee of the party, was in the chair.

Assam: The Assam State Committee of the

party paid homage to the two great leaders of the proletariat through district-level mass meetings on 5th August. At Guwahati a mass meeting was held on the occasion where Comrade Asit Bhattacharyya, member, Central Committee was the main speaker.

Karnataka: The day was observed through a public meeting at Bangalore at Gokhale Institute for Public Affairs on 5th August in which Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, member, Central Committee, addressed as the main speaker. Memorial Meetings were also held at other places.

Andhra Pradesh: Com. Krishna Chakraborty, member, CC addressed a mass meeting on 9th August at Hyderabad.

Gujarat: on 12th August memorial meeting was held at Ahmedabad addressed by Comrade K. Chakraborty at Gujrat Sahitya Parisad Hall.

Maharashtra: Mass meetings were organised at Nagpur on 5th August on this occasion at Rajasthan Library Hall where Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Central Staff was the main speaker. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Namdeo Lagbe. Comrades Harne and Gangothri also addressed the gathering.

In Dadar, Bombay a public meeting was organised on the occasion on 8th August at Chhabildas School Hall where Comrade Ranjit Dhar, Central Staff, addressed as the main speaker. Comrade Madan Kumar presided over the meeting and Comrade Harne also spoke.

At Chandrapore the day was observed through a mass meeting on 11th August at Sada Hashmi Memorial Hall where Comrades Gangothri, P. Muktibodh and D. Sirsagar addressed and Comrade Namdeo Karake was in the chair.

Tripura: A public meeting was organised at Kaman Chowmuhani, Agartala, where Comrade Prativa Mukherjee, Central Staff and member, W.B. State Secretariat addressed as main

ALL INDIA PROTEST DAY

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by the Orissa state Committee of the party in front of the State Secretariat in Bhubaneswar. PMG Chhak the protest meeting was held under the presidency of Comrade Bishnupada Dash, member of the Orissa State Committee of the Party. Comrade Mayadhar Nayak, the distinguished Trade Union leader addressed the gathering. Comrade Bijoy Kumar Sahoo, one of the members of the Orissa State Committee of the Party also addressed.

On behalf of the demonstrators, Comrades Mayadar Nayak, Binapani Dash, Balam Sahoo, Raghunath Dash, all members of the State Committee, SUCI submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister through the Governor of Orissa at Raj Bhavan.

Similar demonstration was held at the Steel city Rourkela where more than 1000 people marched in a procession led by Comrades S. K. Quasim, Sankar Dasgupta, G. N. Tripathi and others and submitted a memorandum to the District Authority.

KERALA

All India Protest Day was observed on July 26 in Trivandrum when hundreds of party volunteers marched to Rajbhavan in protest against the anti-people fiscal policies, Railway and Central budgets of the Central Congress(I) govt. the march started

speaker with Comrade Milan Majumder Secretary, Agartala SUCI in the chair.

Madhya Pradesh: In Jabalpur tributes were paid to the great leaders of the proletariat on 5th August through a mass meeting at Sri Makhmal Chaturvedi Sabha Bhawan where Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, Central Staff was present as the main speaker. Com. Badsha Khan, Central Staff was in the chair. Com. K. D. Sharma, member, organising committee, of the state, also spoke.

from Gandhi Park maidan Comrade C. K. Lukose, Kerala State Secretary addressed the gathering.

A delegation led by Comrade C. K. Lukose, then went to the Rajbhavan to submit a memorandum. Though prior appointment was made neither the Governor nor any responsible officer was present to receive the memorandum.

U.P.

On 26th July All India Protest Day was observed by the SUCI District Committee, Sultanpur (UP) by organising a big procession which started from Tikania Park and passed through different parts of the city and ultimately reached Azad Park. A mass meeting was held there. Comrades V. N. Singh, Secretary, UP State Committee and Jagannath Verma, Sultanpur District Secretary, SUCI addressed the meeting.

Another meeting was held on 31st July at Patti by Pratapgharh District Committee of the Party in front of the Dakbangalaw. The meeting was presided over by Comrade Bechan Ali, the District Secretary. Comrade Jagannath Verma, member of the UP State Committee of the party was the main speaker and others who spoke included Comrades Ram Kedar Verma, Pushpendra Kumar and Avadh Narain Tiwari.

BIHAR

The report of the observance of the All India Protest Day had been received from Munger District. On 26th July street corner meetings were held at Jamalpur, Haveli Khargpur, Lachmipur, Tarapur and Sangrampur in Munger District.

At Jamshedpur Comrades Rama Gupta and M. L. Singh were the main speakers while Comrades Jyoti Kumar and Rajkishor also spoke. At Kharagpur Comrade Sukhdeo Yadav, member of the Bihar State Committee of the Party was the main

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Setback in Communist Movement Providing Fresh opportunity to Reactionary Forces

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much our country's socio-political-cultural fabric. If it was the 'divide and rule policy' of the British rulers when our country was a British colony it is another variant of 'divide and rule policy' of our self-seeking power-greedy nationalist leaders who cannot shirk their responsibility of the present-day vicious atmosphere of communalism, casteism, etc., that has so much kept divided our country.

But, notwithstanding the divide-and-rule policy of the British rulers, the case could not have been so had there been a genuine working class revolutionary party at the helm of the national independence movement and, like Bolshevik Party under the leadership of Great Lenin in Russia, completing the task of the bourgeois democratic revolution in quick succession, as in the case of the February Revolution, to lead it through to its logical culmination of socialist revolution. Those in our country who called themselves communists at that time—the then undivided CPI—had not been really able to develop with the true communist character. In many different ways, since the days of the independence movement, their role went against the people's interest in the freedom struggle. Analysing all this, as I mentioned earlier, Comrade Ghosh had observed that political independence had been attained but not the people's emancipation. Following Lenin's teachings Comrade Ghosh showed that, with the bourgeois usurping the state power following independence, the Congress Government under the stewardship of Jawaharlal Nehru took all those steps of Five-Year Plans and state-owned industries to ensure the maximum possible development along the capitalist course at that time. In the given context with all its limitations and hurdles and exploiting the vast natural resources and manpower of the vast country, they developed it rapidly, in the capitalist sense, into a big regional power. Through recourse to industrialisation and setting up of state-owned factories and by promoting the Non-aligned movement since the days of the Bandung Conference to reap the maximum of dividends by playing between the imperialist camp and the then socialist camp, India appeared as a regional superpower. As many people including some intellectuals who did not critically analyse the real character of this development in all its aspects, had confused it at that time to be the ushering in of socialism, so also many confused it to be a socialist move when Indira Gandhi took the step to nationalise 14 scheduled banks and abolish the privy purse in the aggregate interest of the crisis-ridden Indian capitalism. Is it possible to usher in socialism in a social order with capitalist exploitative system and capitalist state structure? However, the ruling class in the country has not been able to pursue this course to all-out nationalisation of banks and industries. Had they been able to do it here, that would have set the blueprint for all-out fascism as was done by Hitler. Through merger of banking capital

and industrial capital and thereby giving birth to finance capital and a financial oligarchy and, thus, through export of the finance capital to some foreign markets to exploit the cheap labour power and raw materials of those countries, Indian capitalism has acquired an imperialist character. This export of finance capital, which is the basic trait of imperialism, is something that is fundamentally and qualitatively different from export of commodities. These are the features which you ought to examine critically and deeply; otherwise, it will not be possible for you to understand the nature and implications of the all-out crisis of world capitalism in general and of Indian capitalism in particular and all the problems including the pervasive ignorance and illiteracy among the masses and cultural depravity which arise from this crisis. Taking advantage of the absence of democratic mass movements in the country, the ruling capitalist class is snatching away one by one the hard-won democratic rights of the people, and bourgeois onslaughts are coming on the people in every sphere. Against this bourgeois conspiracy to wreck in particular the moral backbone of the people by spreading cultural degeneration that Comrade Ghosh warned us of that people could stand up against injustice, oppression and onslaughts even if it was starving, provided it had its moral backbone intact. But if the moral backbone was lost it could not fight against anything.

The moot question now is how can the oppressed, exploited and downtrodden masses of this country wage the struggle for their emancipation? One of the basic pre-requisites is a correct revolutionary party to lead this struggle. Until and unless a correct revolutionary party emerges in the leading role on this soil on the basis of a correct revolutionary ideology and with the necessary strength, this struggle cannot be developed and guided to its logical culmination.

The working class needs its own party as its own instrument of struggle to win its emancipation. Critically and comprehensively analysing all the different aspects of the country's situation—political, economic, social, cultural—and in particular by applying the teaching of Marx that the worker who was to change the world had to change himself first and that the trade union should be developed as the schools of communism, and also Lenin's teaching that communism came from without, Comrade Ghosh built up the SUCI by waging a socialist struggle in every sphere of life on the edifice of higher proletarian culture. The humanist ideals which once inspired man to make secondary the personal interest to the interest of the country had become inadequate in the context of the far more complex social situation of today. In the context of today's revolutionary needs, when the bourgeois decadent culture has spread its vile influence everywhere, it is not sufficient to make secondary the personal interest to the interest of the people and the working class. To acquire the truly communist character in

the context of today's complex international and national situation, it is essential to go a step further and submit voluntarily and happily to the revolutionary party and to identify one's interest with the interest of revolution, the class and the party. It is impossible to acquire the communist character of the necessary standard in today's perspective without undertaking this struggle of identification.

Look at the national situation today. I cannot go into its details and all its aspects. In a space of less than two years two Lok Sabha elections have been held, each time resulting in a hung Parliament with no party or group of parties having won absolute majority. This time, at the recent elections, the ruling class tried to avoid another spell of a hung Parliament, but it did not succeed. Why couldn't it? The basic reason is the crisis of capitalism which is aggravating more and more. There are other causes relating to the basic one. The rapid emergence of the BJP is one. How could this be made possible? The concerted media propaganda, money and muscle power—all contributed to the BJP's emergence with this strength. The Congress(I) has had a role in this. The Congress(I) itself raked up the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue and fanned up Hindu communalism. It played the role of the main architect. The BJP reaped dividends out of this. The CPI(M) which poses to regard the BJP as untouchable has not hesitated to join hands with the BJP in its petty parliamentary interest on many occasions.

One of the greatest dangers facing our country today and the world at large as well is the rise of the fundamentalist forces. It is the Congress(I) which has opened the floodgate to this onrush of fundamentalism in our country. The menace has raised its ugly head in different countries of the world. Think of racialism or apartheid. Look at the USA where vulgar materialist ideas have gripped the people, giving way to proliferation of crimes. Time and again, Comrade Ghosh sought to draw our attention to the root cause of the rise of this menace—it is the ideological vacuum. Marx and Engels laid the foundation of scientific socialism, the historically tested ideology which could lead mankind from this vacuum on to the course of emancipation. Lenin and Stalin concretised it on the soil of Russia and founded and consolidated there the first working class state of the world. There was unleashed a tide of socialist movement across the world. It gave a momentum to the anti-imperialist independence movement of our country too. The noble ideology of communism, rising over the ashes of decadent bourgeois humanism, inspired millions of the working people all over the world. The backlash of modern revisionism-reformism has created again an ideological void today. This is being availed of as an opportunity by the reactionary

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Marxism-Leninism, the only Scientific Philosophy for Emancipation of Mankind

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imperialist forces on the one hand and the fundamentalist forces on the other. The BJP is taking this advantage and trying to spread its tentacles on the people by promoting Hindu communalism in this country. They are exploiting the religious sentiments of the common people to fulfil their petty and sectarian political interest. With this objective they are spreading the venom of militant Hindu fundamentalism. Unless we are able to understand this point, we shall not see how corrupt has become the political character of the BJP. In all the states this party is in power, it has already fallen victim to corruption.

While pointing to the root cause of the communal menace in our vast multilingual, multi-religious country, Comrade Ghosh repeatedly emphasized that the danger of communalism could no be rooted out by appealing to maintenance of communal harmony only. What is essential is to carry the message of the noble ideology of communism among the people, however much may the modern revisionist-reformists, especially the counterrevolutionaries headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, try to denigrate communism. It should be understood that the fact that the USA has started prying almost all over the world today, dictating its terms everywhere—what to speak of India even the Soviet Union itself, not only in regard to its foreign policy but in regard to its internal policies namely the question of introducing the market economy, the ethnic problems—is because of the counterrevolutionary policies and machinations of the renegade Gorbachev clique. That bulwark of imperialist power—the USA—is posing itself as the champion of democracy and freedom. Whose freedom is it? Freedom of the common people? Is there any such freedom—freedom of the downtrodden masses, freedom to have education, freedom to employment, freedom to enjoy the right to live as a civilized man—in the USA, and for that matter in any of the capitalist-imperialist countries? How can the USA pose itself today as the champion of democracy and freedom? It is because the modern revisionist reformist headed by the renegade Gorbachev clique has succeeded, temporarily though, to strike down the communist movement.

The only course to fight this tide of counterrevolution is to unleash a revolutionary countercurrent on the basis of the correct understanding of the teachings of the giant leaders of the communist movement—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong and Shibdas Ghosh. For this, I would request you, particularly all the workers of the SUCI, to radically transform their life and acquire the high standard of the communist character. We ought to fight against the weaknesses, inadequacies, limitations and deviations in the communist movement. In this struggle the

relation within a genuine Marxist-Leninist party of a country or between the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties of different countries has to be governed by the principle of unity-struggle-unity. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh emphasized this vital aspect again and again and showed us how to maintain this dialectical relation as a living process. The only guarantee to elevate the standards of the workers and leaders of the party is to keep alive this struggle inside the party through the inter-dialectical process. This has to be the guiding principle for the body functioning in the party from the level of the cells at the grassroots through the local committees, district committees, state committees to the Central Committee. Our Party Congress provided you the documents on International and National Situations, the General Secretary's Report, the Party Constitution. These are all with you. But will this by itself do? The essential point is that we must transform ourselves radically and acquire the high standard of communist character. We ought to assess and reassess constantly how far have we been able to change ourselves radically, how far have we been able to acquire the high standard of the communist character. This is particularly important in view of the very complex international and national situation we have to confront today. The dialectical process, the living dialectical process from the cells to the topmost leadership is the soul of every genuine Marxist-Leninist party. It is this struggle—the struggle within every worker, between the workers and the leaders covering all aspects of life—which the Central Committee is directing the rank and file and the leaders to carry on in the correct course through inter-dialectical relation to overcome all weaknesses, inadequacies and limitations and be equal to the task history has imposed on the party now.

So, keep your eyes open and maintain constant and conscious vigil against these weaknesses and shortcomings. You should seek guidance, help, and assistance for that from the leaderships at the various levels—the local, the district and the state committees, as may be the case. It is through this process that our party has developed into an organic whole.

These are points difficult to follow no doubt. But if we are willing to face the grave crisis confronting us we have got to understand these intricate points. We have to make every attempt to understand them. It should also be kept in mind that without individual effort and individual initiative there cannot be any proper and collective functioning of the party bodies. Comrade Ghosh urged us repeatedly to release our political initiative both individually and collectively and to steel ourselves through unrelenting struggles for attaining the high standard of communist character. Comrade Ghosh also urged us to

keep alive the dialectical process of interaction of thoughts in the party bodies between the leader and the led to guide the activities of these bodies along the correct course. It is through this process and by staying among the people and moving with them that these weaknesses and shortcomings in the party body functioning may be removed, when they will grow truly dynamic and will emerge with greater potential. Party workers will then emerge as the natural leaders of all sections of the people with whom they stay and move—workers, peasants, students, youths, women and intellectuals. By functioning this way and keeping alive the dialectical process of inner party struggle the secretary or in-charge of every party body—whether elected or nominated as per the provision of Constitution—will emerge as the cementing force of unity and cohesion ideologically, politically and organisationally.

Here comes another important point to be understood and borne in mind. The foundation of genuine Marxist-Leninist party is democratic centralism which develops through fusion of proletarian democracy and centralism and, as Lenin taught, this democratic centralism can grow only by keeping alive the practice of constant common association, constant common discussion, constant common activities and constant common struggle in the party bodies. Comrade Ghosh always stressed this aspect of struggles including every sphere of life for acquiring the higher standard of communist character.

How far this dialectical process is alive is borne out by emergence of the leader in the party bodies at the different levels—in the cell the local committee, the district committee, the state committee, even in the Central Committee—leaders who will act as the cementing ground of ideological, political and organisational unity on which develops the cohesion of the party. This is essential for developing and steeling the party as an ideologically centralised organisation with adequate strength, capability and dynamism, in particular now, to face the challenge of the present situation. I would urge the district and state leaders to realize all these deeply and thoroughly so that we can comprehend the base political line of the party to advance the mass and class struggles from grassroots level to face the challenge posed by the bourgeoisie who are bidding to drive the country to their goal of imposing an all-out fascism in the country and give a fresh lease of life to moribund capitalism. Remember the teaching of Comrade Ghosh that organisational centralism grows on the foundation of ideological centralism. The more we can keep alive the dialectical process in achieving this ideological centralism, the more shall we be able to guard the party against all fads of this society which

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Speech of Comrade Mukherjee

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tend to pollute from within. Thus shall we be able to discharge our international and national obligation. You know, the party is called the supreme command. Only when the level of ideological consciousness of the rank and file and the leaders has developed adequately, unity and necessary cohesion within the party is attained and the mass organisations led by the party follow the behest of the party properly, can the party act truly as the supreme command in attaining its noble mission of emancipating the society from the rule of capital.

Now, returning to the national situation you, will find there are many aspects of it in a complex mesh of deep crisis. Time would not permit me to go into detail. I would concentrate on three main aspects only. I have already referred, in the first place to the fiscal savagery now being perpetrated by the Congress(I) Government. There is no precedent to it. Second, the crisis is so acute that the ruling bourgeoisie is out to barter away the country's honour and trample the anti-imperialist aspirations of the people.

The US imperialist are trying to spread their tentacles through the imperialist agencies like the IMF and the World Bank and mount a neocolonial attack on this country. Third, so long the nature of the crisis had been such that the bourgeoisie and the social democratic parties could maintain a camouflage; but the dimension of the crisis today has forced them to advocate openly a 'politics of consensus.' What does it mean—this 'politics of consensus'? They all have taken to the course of safeguarding the aggregate interest of the crisis-ridden capitalism through mutual understanding and compromise among themselves.

So, for all who feel concerned for the common people, the task is to instill a sense of dignity and self-respect among the people. How can this be done? On the one hand we are to restore, protect and extend whatever remains of the bourgeois humanist moral values, bourgeois democratic values and democratic rights. On the other, and simultaneously, we are to inspire and imbue the people with the noble ideology of communism. However difficult may seem the situation, we must not lose heart and forsake reasoning. We must try to follow the teaching of Comrade Ghosh to turn disadvantage into advantage. In one sense, this situation is potent with a great opportunity. The revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism beckons unto the workers of India and the toiling people of the entire world the historical course of emancipation of mankind. How soon in the present complex situation can we acquire and put into application the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Thoughts in our life largely determine how far shall we be able to make use of

this opportunity.

I say, the leaders have to set the example first. Take me in the first place. I am not keeping well. So if you think that the General Secretary has been neglecting his duty, I urge you not to spare me, because if you do so that will harm revolution. Nihar Mukherjee is the General Secretary, but he may not hold that post tomorrow. Nobody is immortal nor infallible. This has to be borne in mind seriously.

You know, the Central Committee decided in July last to launch a countrywide movement against the anti-people policies of the Congress(I) Government. Remember, this movement will not be a short-lived one. The hike in railway fare and freight comes into force on 16th August and we shall start the movement from propaganda level to 'Rail roko' stage wherever possible. Gaining experience through small and big movements and carrying the message of the noble ideology of communism to the masses shall we be able to reach ultimately the road to the goal of revolution.

Attacks have come on Marxism-Leninism since the days of Karl Marx. During their 40 years of association Marx and Engels fought jointly all the deviations, distortions and attacks during their time. After Marx, Engels filled up the vacuum, took this responsibility on to his shoulder and participated in the labour movements along with his compatriots. Marx founded the First International to advance the cause of the international proletariat, but he later dissolved it to protect the proletarian movement from deviations through Paris Congress. Engels later led the move for inception of the Second International. He

actively participated in the demonstrations of London workers to give the working class movement a consolidated form throughout the world.

To face the present challenge in the international and national spheres we have to apply in our lives the lessons from the lives of Marx, Engels and other giant leaders of the communist movement. Whatever the attempts of the modern revisionists and their imperialist cohorts to malign communism, we should not forget that truth has an appeal. Truth is concrete, relative and precise and it is our task to uphold this concept of truth to enlighten the people in their struggle against injustice, oppression and exploitation.

In fine, I like to say that we can pay real homage to Frederick Engels and Shibdas Ghosh, the two great teachers and leaders of the proletariat and the communist movement, by engaging ourselves in the constant task of building up mass and class struggles on the correct base political line, and on that basis overcoming the adverse effects of the present debacle in the communist movement. The task is to release a powerful current of liberation movement against the counter-revolutionary attacks of modern revisionism-reformism and imperialism. With the pledge to carry forward the noble ideology of communism and the banner of proletarian internationalism to the goal of ultimate victory I conclude my speech here.

Long Live Frederick Engels!

Long Live Shibdas Ghosh!

Long Live Revolution!

Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!

Long Live SUCI!

PROTEST DAY

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speaker while Comrade Mrityunjoy Pathak and others also spoke.

At Lachmipur Comrade Anandev Yadav, at Tarapur Comrade Mithlesh Singh and at Sangrampur Comrade Krishnadeo Singh were the main speakers.

Karnataka :

In view of the situation arising out of the Govt. sponsored bundh on 26th July against the tribunal award on the Cauvery Water dispute, the protest Day in Bangalore, Gulbarga, Bellary and Raichur was observed on July 27 with massive participation.

Against Rail Fare Hike

At the call of the ten left parties of West Bengal, viz the SUCI,

CPI(ML), Agami Yug, CCCR, Workers' Party of India, IPF, MCCI, Bolshevik Party, RCPI, COI (ML) and CRGU, 'Rail Roko' movement was organised in West Bengal on August 16 to protest against the Railway fare and freight hike.

At all the important railway stations of West Bengal including Sealdah and Howrah stations in Calcutta 'Rail Roko' was organised.

Police suddenly started lathi-charge and teargas shelling at the Sealdah South Station.

After this incident when the ten parties including our party were holding protest demonstrations, the police again resorted to sudden lathi-charge without any provocation. At this sudden attack Comrade Probodh Purkait, the SUCI MLA

was injured among others. 'Rail Roko' continued till 20th August.

Tamil Nadu : The SUCI staged a protest demonstration at Madurai Junction on 16th August.

Com. Balaram Mondal, SUCI worker, was brutally murdered by CPI (M) at Joynagar on 26th August 1991.

At the end the TN State Secretary Com. Jagannathan addressed.

Bihar : At Bhaga Station near Dhanbad a picketing was held on the platform on 16th August morning and a memorandum was submitted to the station suptd., Bhaga.

Ahmedabad : On 16th at Gandhigram Rly. St. SUCI held protest meeting.

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