

Country pays Homage to the Great Leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

Braving Nature's Adversities Lakhs Congregate at Sahid Minar Maidan

5th August this year has once again struck the unmistakable note of undying revolutionary inspiration and purposiveness our party has assimilated from the great leader and teacher of the proletariat—Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. This memorial meeting on the occasion of the first death anniversary of the great Marxist thinker and philosopher, has stood out resplendent not only on the merit of this solemn occasion, but the heroic manner in which this day of great historic significance, was observed in the face of all conceivable hazards. This day, however much fraught with deepest sorrow at the remembrance of what we and the toiling millions the world over have lost, was nevertheless, a day of immeasurable pride at what his greatest creation—the Socialist Unity Centre of India has been able to achieve under his very ideological leadership, in course of a year that bridged one 5th August with

another. One offered the challenge—the other is the proud recognition that the party has stood the test.

5th August this year returned as the historic day to recollect the immortal, revolutionary teachings of our beloved teacher and guide and the great leader of the proletariat Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, and to solemnly pledge anew to fulfil his behest with the last drop of blood. And the toiling millions of our country cannot but accept that our party, along with its thousands of workers, supporters and sympathisers, has held nothing back to stand up to this great occasion. The odds were mountain high, yet, not enough for the party to overcome with its loftier revolutionary purposiveness and determination. With all the districts of this state completely flooded by incessant heavy showers for days on, and with all communications jeopardized, few could expect the poor tillers and agricul-

tural labourers of district villages to be able to turn up for the memorial meeting, with many of them having lost their hearth and home in the current state of disastrous flood. Yet they came, and not in small numbers, but in thousands, from flood-swept Birbhum, Purulia, Nadia, Midnapur, Murshidabad, South 24 Parganas and several other districts of (Contd. to Page 4)

Life Sentence FOR TWENTY SUCI Comrades

At a time when starting from Central Government to the state Governments led by Janata Party and its allies in different states are pronouncing that all political workers, irrespective of their belief, whether detained, convicted or are under-trial, will be released, twenty leading workers along with some district committee members and even the Secretary Comrade Sew Sankar of the Mazafarpur District Committee, SUCI Bihar has been sentenced to life imprisonment in the month of July '77.

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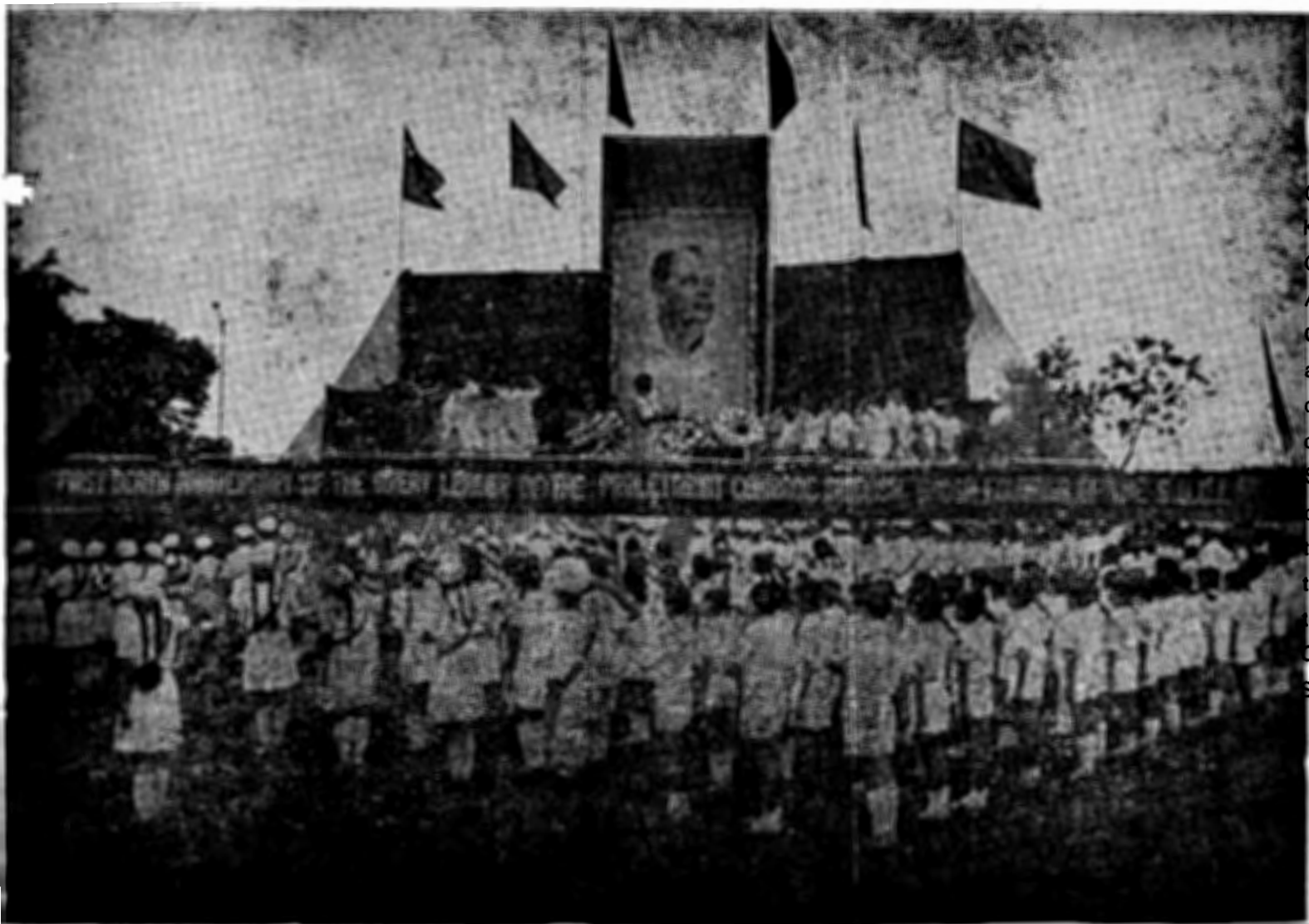
15th. AUGUST '77
 MONDAY

PRICE 30 P.
 Air Surcharge 4 P.

15th AUGUST The Day of taking Pledge for People's Liberation from Capitalist Bondage

Thirty years back, political power was transferred from the hands of the alien imperialist rulers to the Indian bourgeoisie. India emerged as a sovereign national state. But the freedom for which common people courted martyrdom in thousands, made countless sacrifices and put up glorious struggles for decades—the freedom from hunger, destitution, exploitation of all sorts, has not been achieved. Peoples' freedom

struggle has been betrayed. And this tragedy could take place because of the particular role played by social democrats masquerading as the 'communists'. It was for this, the bourgeoisie could so easily usurp the fruits of people's tremendous sacrifices and their glorious struggles. As a consequence, a worst kind of bourgeois exploitative rule has been thrust on the people like a mill-stone round their neck. (Contd. to Page 6)



On 5th August '77 KOMSOMAL paying Guard of Honour, Alongwith them the Central Committee and leaders of different states (On dais) paying Red Salute to the great departed leader, teacher and one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

A GLIMPSE OF THE WORLD OF HIS REVOLUTIONARY TEACHINGS

People have seen 'exhibition' of various sorts. But it was entirely different from all others. We mean the exhibition that was arranged by the West Bengal State Committee of our Party SUCI in the Calcutta Information Centre from 3rd to 9th excepting on 5th as a part of the First Death Anniversary Memorial programme of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat.

Only a few excerpts from the speeches and writings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh that have come in the print, forming only a small portion of his gigantic works covering almost all branches of epistemology, were shown in beautifully written and artistically displayed posters. Called as it was an "Exhibition of quotations from the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh" was therefore, in fact, some glimpses of the world of Revolutionary Thoughts of this giant revolutionary philosopher, leader, teacher and guide.

Inaugurating this exhibition, on 3rd August Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of our Party, called upon the party workers and the toiling people of our country to take to their heart, the great revolutionary thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh by study and restudy and constant cult. For it is the revolutionary thoughts of Comrade Ghosh that alone can provide the correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism, the correct revolutionary line and the only scientific process following which one can be a genuine revolutionary in character, in the contemporary period of history.

The exhibition was divided into several parts—the stage of Indian Revolution and problems of mass movement, Questions of united mass movement & United Front Government, on Fascism, International Communist Movement, Problems of culture and cultural movement, the characteristic features of a communist party—communist values and code of conduct.

The exhibition was a great attraction and drew streams of visitors from cross sections of the people, despite inclement weather. People from different states and distant places came and have recorded their reverence and gratitude to this great leader and teacher.

"An excellent exhibi-

tion of the thoughts of one of the greatest followers of Marx and Lenin"—wrote one.

"It is unique in its nature and requires to be displayed frequently to public" wrote another. A good number have requested for holding this exhibition widely and in different places.

A youngman confesses: "I did not come to visit the exhibition but just to give company to my friend. But what a wonder! The depth and vastness of wisdom encapsuled in the quotations have overwhelmed me and I am ashamed at my ignorance which they have laid bare. I very much like a compilation of these quotations."

A lady has hit the point: "The correct guidance to revolution of Shibdas Ghosh, one of the greatest Marxist thinkers would provide us with sustenance in our journey."

"Going through each and every word in this quotation exhibition it seemed to me that somewhere there is truly a man-making factory whose nuts and bolts are these great teachings of the revolutionary leader Shibdas Ghosh. As much pleasure as I derived, so much sorry I felt because had this quotation exhibition been arranged when he was alive then I would have derived the visual inspiration as well. I want to associate myself with this organisation.



On 3rd August '77, just after the opening at 6 P.M. of the 'Quotation Exhibition' Comrade Nihar Mukherjee (Cross-Marked), Sachin Banerjee, S. K. Pramanik, D. L. Sengupta, Sailesh Dey and veteran revolutionaries with a section of the people are going through the quotations

—was the comment of another visitor.

Besides, one could hear the comments of high appreciation, reverence and gratitude of so many visitors, young and old alike. Somebody said that one would get the correct idea about communism and the communists if he gets himself acquainted with the thoughts and teachings of Shibdas Ghosh and the party he has founded.

A young man lamented why he did not understand Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and this party before. His companion was at one with him that—"This is the only party carrying the Red Flag".

Moving round the precious gems from his treasure of revolutionary thoughts, one would come out with profound pride and pain. Pride, because such a giant revolutionary genius is as much ours, the founder, the creator of our Party which is the vanguard detachment of the revolutionary working people of our country and at the same time, the finest product of revolutionary struggles in our soil. Pain, because so early, so prematurely, in the course of revolutionary transformation of the society, his revolutionary thoughts and guidance have replaced his towering physical presence in leading and guiding the revolution that is still in the making.

But as Marx said: "When an idea grips the society, it becomes the material force of history".

By that Marx certainly meant that this "idea" must be a revolutionary one.

In our age, it cannot be anything other than the scientific thought of Marxism-Leninism. But the soul of this dialectical-materialist science is concrete analysis of concrete situation or in other words, application of this scientific process of thinking to particular phenomena—from the general to the particular. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's great revolutionary thoughts are the concretised expressions of Marxism-Leninism in the Post-Lenin period. The genius of the great revolutionary teacher and guide, the great leader of the proletariat, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh lies not merely in concretisation of the general law of Marxism-Leninism to the particular problems of the Indian revolution but what is more, in making concrete contributions to the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism with the widest connotation of the term, i.e., covering every aspect of life's problems in the contemporary world. Here lies the profound contribution of Comrade Shibdas Gohsh the great leader of the proletariat to the revolutionary cause of the world proletariat, to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism which is the invincible weapon in their hands in this era of proletarian revolution. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great revolutionary genius

is completely identified with the Indian revolution. His thoughts have become the material force of history that will not only guide the Indian revolution but will be of immense value to the world proletarian movement.

So, organisation of this exhibition was not an easy task. It required planning, much thought, great deal of devotion and hard labour.

True to the teachings of the great teacher the entire atmosphere of the exhibition, bespeaks high ethical standard, aesthetic taste, artistic skill and above all dedication, untiring zeal and utmost care of the comrades who toiled hard to make the exhibition a befitting one.

You enter the exhibition hall, with benumbed reverence to a great revolutionary of the age, one of the noblest specimens that mankind have seen. A portrait of this great man was placed at the point of intersections of the poster galleries with the inscription at the pedestal—the Central Committee's Homage after the sad demise of the great leader. This adds to the solemnity. The great teacher is very much in his presence with his revolutionary teachings. If you had occasions to hear him, you can see him in different moods of expressions in your mental projections.

Casting your look around you are halted and arrested (Contd. to Page 3)

The Kernel, the Living Soul of any Lofty Ideal, any Philosophy or any Worthy Ideology is in its Cultural, Ethical and Aesthetic standard

(Contd. from Page 2) time and again. You pause and ponder. What words of revolutionary wisdom and vision! Let us recapitulate here some of the quotations that were displayed at the exhibition. What do the exploited people need for their success in the struggles for emancipation? Is it devotion only that is all we need as the pseudo-revolutionaries, the fascists and even the fanatic communalists preach among their ranks?

No, **Comrade Ghosh** teaches us:—Although devotion is the very basis of any achievement, we cannot win our battles by mere devotion. For our battles to be victorious, what we essentially need are a correct principle and ideology as also a correct base political line.

So, we must ask the most pertinent question to the pseudo-revolutionaries, the fascists or the communalists—what for the devotion? Is it for the good and progress of mankind and the society or to obstruct and putting the clock of social advancement back? Unless, you ask this most pertinent question, devotion means working blind-fold, may be against your own class interest, against the cause of humanity. What incalculable harm is wrought by this blindness? The pseudo-revolutionaries, the fascists, the parties of the status quo, play with the mounting resentments of the masses against this unjust social order just to capitalise for their parliamentary petty politics. Deception of the masses continues so long they fail to grasp the important lesson that the great teacher has imparted to us:

—Agitation, sporadic outbursts, spontaneous movements, however much they may be widespread, so long the masses remain unorganised, lack in adequate standard of political consciousness, these agitational form of movements can not go very far.... Only the parties

who are just parliamentary parties will capitalise this sort of movement to achieve their narrow objective in parliamentary politics.

So, if you sincerely want to channelise your movement to revolutionary goal and objectives, then for that, you need, first, a correct revolutionary line, secondly, a genuine revolutionary party in order to apply this revolutionary line properly and thirdly, you need a revolutionary alliance of the toiling masses as an instrument for conducting your revolutionary struggles.

What is the myth that these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parliamentary parties sedulously propagate to the masses in order to keep them confined within the bourgeois rule as slaves to capitalist exploitative productive system? These bourgeois and petty-bourgeois social-democratic politicians deceive the people by the oft-repeated myth that by mere change of governments through ballots, without disturbing the so-called 'law and order' which is the other name of bourgeois rule of exploitation, you can change your lot, 'peacefully' and 'slowly' by change of laws! Only the servitors of the bourgeoisie, whatever may be their flag and verbal declarations, spread this myth among the masses in order to hide the all-important truth that **Comrade Ghosh**, our great teacher reminds us, not to forget for a moment:

—You can change your governments through ballots, thousand times. The governments can change the laws in the literal sense. But by that, emancipation from capitalist exploitation protected by the capitalist state machine is not possible. The only way that lies before the people for their emancipation is to so conduct their democratic movements as to develop and consolidate their invincible political-organisational power which

under the leadership of a genuine revolutionary party alone, can accomplish the task of the Socialist Revolution in our country. There is no other shortcut to this revolutionary course for people's emancipation. All other so-called ways and means are either self-deception or wasting of time to the benefit of the exploiting class.

For the exploited people, therefore, the great revolutionary teachings of **Comrade Ghosh** must be a constant reminder.

Here is one poster containing the great teachings:—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 correct proletarian class consciousness is the correct proletarian party consciousness.

How can then the people distinguish a real revolutionary party from the fake ones? **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has provided them with all the scientific tests by which the fake ones are to be sorted out.

For example, look at the posters:

—We must never forget that like a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois party, a communist party is not conglomeration of individuals or groups.... A communist party is not a mechanical whole but an organic whole like a human body—a monolithic organism with a centre of nerves or brain,....the relation of the sense organs and the limbs with the brain is dialectical. So is the organism of a communist party...the relationship between the leaders and the rank and file, between the central committee and other party bodies down to the cell is just like the relation between the brain and the limbs and sense organs.

But when the relation between the leadership and the rank and file is mechanical instead of being a dialectical one, what happens?

—"...then this party, though communist in name has, through the process of fusion of formal democracy with centralism, virtually reduced itself to a mechanically and bureaucratically centralised bourgeois or petty-bourgeois party which invariably leads to the formation of a bureaucratic leadership at the top. As a result, in place of acquiring revolutionary characters the leaders become bureaucratic and they cannot avoid falling victim to filthiest type of individualism."

So, it is the most invaluable teaching of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** that:—"....the struggle to develop collective leadership is the principal struggle for a working class party in order to develop its internal party structure on the foundation of democratic centralism..." And he reminds us—"the principle of democratic centralism is the living soul of a communist party organisation".

Then go a few steps further.

What does collective leadership mean actually? Is it leadership by 'consensus' of the central committee composed of leaders who function as parallel authorities within the party body as the pseudo-revolutionaries would have us to accept?

No. Collective leadership is not this formal consensus of parallel leaders nor is it simply the principle of majority decision and the submission of the lower body to the higher as all these can be seen in all the bourgeois or petty-bourgeois parties.

"Collective leadership", **Comrade Ghosh** teaches us, "is the concrete and personified form of expression through an individual of collective knowledge of all the members of the party derived through conflict

and interaction of ideas and experiences not only on political and economic questions but on questions covering all aspects of life". And it is because of this scientific law of proletarian party mechanism, "emergence of Lenin's leadership in the Russian Bolshevik Party and that of Mao tse-Tung in the Chinese Communist Party are nothing but the emergence of the collective form in these parties."

Therefore, not only this crucial test of party-science there is another acid test to judge whether the party mouthing 'Marxism-Leninism' do really mean that. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has taught us: "It is not so much 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 ethics and culture in their personal, day-to-day and political behaviours."

But there are parties which talk of 'revolution' and even 'Marxism-Leninism' but leaders of these parties scoff at the very conception of morality. They are not at all ashamed to utter; 'what is morality? The concept of morality is a mere bourgeois idealist conception'!

'As if, the concept of morality is something antithetical to Marxism and dialectical materialism! What splendid understanding of Marxism and dialectical materialism!... Such utterances and the behaviours in accord with these utterances of these so-called revolutionaries are proving beyond any doubt, how bourgeois individualism, which is reduced to privilege today, and Santre's existentialism are influencing their thought process, whether they are aware of this fact or not.' Not only this is a severe indictment but also a serious warning coming

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Fruits of all the sacrifices of the people of our country was usurped by the Indian Bourgeoisie because of the absence of a Genuine Working Class Party

(Contd. from Page 1) the state, including those of North Bengal. Not only the people of this state, thousands of workers and supporters of the party staked everything to come even from distant Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Meghalaya and Haryana. More than three thousands came from Orissa, some thousands yet from Bihar and some hundreds from Assam.

In the afternoon of 5th August, Saheed Minar Maidan, where the great memorial day was observed, wore an unprecedented look. On the one hand, there were the red flags in thousands, adorning the meeting place and adjacent areas, and fluttering in the breeze as if in red salute to the large portrait of the great, departed leader on the dais, while on the other, there was the rare sight of thousands of followers of the beloved, departed leader, pouring in into the Maidan, wading through ankle-deep mud and slush. And as they poured in, and while a thousand others crowded around the book-stall and photo exhibition centre in all earnestness, a drizzle went on making conditions even worse. But although more than a hundred thousand workers, supporters and sympathisers on the field, and the leaders on the dais dripped wet in the continuous drizzle, not one as much as turned a hair or showed the slightest feeling of discomfort. In fact, the entire maidan, from end to end, was the very picture of revolutionary determination, not to be shaken even by the worst adversities.

Before the scheduled proceedings of the meeting prominent individuals, different mass organisations and the local, district and state units of the SUCI placed wreaths at the portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. The proceedings of the meeting began with Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, the General Secretary of our party and the worthiest comrade-

in arms of the great, departed leader, offering wreaths to the portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Thereafter, Comrade Pritish Chanda, a member of the Central Committee, took the chair as president of the meeting. It was followed by two songs—the one composed on our beloved departed leader, and the 'Internationale'—both sang by the music squad of the DYO. Next Comrade marched past the dais, paying their heartfelt tribute to the portrait of their beloved teacher and Supreme Commander with red flags lowered, while the leaders standing on the dais, paid red salute. After the marchpast, the president, Comrade Pritish Chanda solemnly read out the pledge to fulfil the behest left by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. It is the revolutionary pledge that binds all who are pledged to the cause of Indian revolution and peoples' emancipation and was duly taken with full dignity by everybody like one man.

After this Comrade Pritish Chanda, the president of the meeting, paid glowing tributes to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat and said how thousands of toiling people congregated at the Saheed Minar Maidan braving such an inclement weather to pay their homage to their dearest departed leader. While it is a great source of inspiration to our party, it at the same time reminds us of the great responsibility that has been bestowed upon our party, the SUCI to lead with the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh the anti-capitalist revolution of our country. Comrade Chanda then recalled the dark days of our country when Comrade Shibdas Ghosh departed from our midst and narrated the difficulties and hurdles that our party faced even to organise the Last Journey and the memorial meetings.

He also reviewed the present situation of the country when capitalism, being confronted with growing crisis, was trying to arrest the democratic mass movement within the span of Two-party parliamentary system. He showed that those who called themselves Marxists were also doing the same thing by their very deeds. In this connection he recalled the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh regarding fascism and explained how capitalism was trying to survive by establishing fascism through social democracy. He then explained the revolutionary significance of the policy laid down by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and accepted by the United Front in 1967—'the policy that police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movement'. Lastly Comrade Chanda pointed out the heinous role of the bourgeois press which suppressed all news of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh and said that communist leaders like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung did not get any publicity from the bourgeois press during the days of their struggle and so did not Comrade Shibdas Ghosh. Comrade Chanda then said that the treasure-house of knowledge that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh left behind would not only guide the people of our country but it will also guide the oppressed people all over the world in their struggle for emancipation against imperialism-capitalism.

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary of our party the main speaker of the meeting, then addressed the gathering.

Speech of Comrade Nihar Mukherjee

On the occasion of the first death anniversary of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the founder General Secretary of our Party, the Socialist Unity Centre of India, our dearest leader, teacher and guide and one of the

foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, I like to say that those of us who have been Comrades-in-arms in his great and gigantic revolutionary activities, those who have got the opportunity to be closely acquainted with the various aspects of his life-long struggle and those of us who have seen him from the beginning of the revolutionary life till death—they know that the name Shibdas Ghosh has become synonymous with party, revolution and the emancipation of the oppressed masses. And this struggle began in his adolescence when our country was under the jack-boot of imperialism. That budding Shibdas Ghosh participated in the freedom struggle of the country. There were two trends, as you all know, in the national liberation movement of our country. One was under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie for fulfilling their class aspiration and so reformist oppositional in character and the other, the uncompromising and revolutionary trend. Comrade Shibdas Ghosh began his revolutionary journey trekking the path of this uncompromising trend. The pain and anguish of foreign rule, the exploitation, oppression and torture of the imperialists moved him very much and that was why he became a determined soldier to put an end to the British rule and lead the freedom struggle of the masses to the logical culmination. He clearly understood that it was because of the failure on the part of the CPI not only to emerge as a genuine working class party but also to lead the freedom struggle of the country correctly that the fruits of all the sacrifices of workers, peasants and the common people were usurped by the Indian capitalist class. So, it was an imperative necessity to build up a genuine working class party to liberate the people from exploitation. This realisation was firmly

rooted in him and he initiated a painstaking and arduous struggle to build up a genuine working class party through the concretisation of Marxism-Leninism in Indian soil and by doing it he occupied a unique position among the toiling and the oppressed masses of the country.

Marxism-Leninism is an invincible weapon in the hands of the oppressed people, Marxism-Leninism is not simply what Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung said and wrote but it acts as a guide to action since it is based on science which is the only way to know truth. This is why it is invincible and decisive.

And the party—together with its leaders and workers—in which this truth has taken a concrete shape—that party alone can perform the historic task of leading a successful revolution as the vanguard detachment of the proletariat. And because he realised this, he initiated a struggle—not only political, not only economic, not only social but covering all aspects of life.

If we fail to realise the dialectical process of analysing everything which he developed in him very perfectly, we will fail to grasp the profundity of his wisdom, we shall never be able to realise his great revolutionary genius. He has left this teaching for us that as a man is a social being—his everything is guided and influenced by the social thinking of that time. In order to guide the course of history one has to understand this correctly and he can do it only when he conducts an unrelenting struggle covering all aspects of life, on the basis of science and dialectics.

Today, when we have assembled here to observe his death anniversary, I cannot but mention in humility that Comrade Shibdas Ghosh gave a correct appraisal of all problems relating to ideology and epistemology in

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the post Lenin period. This treasure he has bequeathed to us is our guide to our onward march.

He asked the toiling people again and again throughout his life—know truth embracing all aspects of life and know the material condition of the society in which you live. Those who assert that Marxism is a foreign philosophy, he ridiculed and asked them whether the concept of nationalism of which they are so proud that grew in our country during the freedom struggle was our original or this concept was the product of classical bourgeois revolution which first made its debut in French Revolution? A student of science will easily understand that scientific truth has no national boundary. It is true that once nationalism built up industrial civilisation by fighting against feudalism and absolutism and in doing so it did play a progressive role, but while analysing the progressive role of bourgeois nationalism at a particular historical juncture we must take into account its limitations as well. Today when capitalism is not only decadent but acting as a stumbling block to social progress all the lofty ideals of humanist social values like liberty, equality and fraternity which bourgeois nationalism once upheld have been given a goodbye. We must understand, why? We must understand what is that force that is standing as the stumbling block before progress, before the advancement and emancipation of the people of not only the relatively backward country like India but the advanced capitalist country like USA as well. We must know how to remove that obstacle from our path. And for that is needed a genuine working class party that can lead the masses in the struggle to their emancipation. Otherwise what will happen? Comrade Ghosh has taught us that people from exasperation may rouse in revolt, may come down to the street sporadically—but this will not bring them their

By Adopting So-called Progressive Social-Democratic Measures Fascism on the One Hand Tries to Control Anarchy of Capitalist Production While on the Other tries to Pacify People's Resentment Against Capitalist Rule And Exploitation

desired objective. The ruling capitalist class is not afraid of sporadic movement, rather they welcome it. But people armed with revolutionary consciousness, led by a genuine revolutionary party with a correct base political line are invincible.

Look at Vietnam! Even the mighty military might of US imperialism and its henchmen, employing all their might could not keep the people of Vietnam, a tiny country with a meagre population, subjugated. But why? Because they were led by a genuine working class revolutionary party, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party with a correct base political line.

Comrade Ghosh has said times without number that it is not true that our people do not want to fight. They have fought time and again, they will fight again. But because the base political line before them was not correct, because a genuine revolutionary leadership over their struggle was not established—the fruits of all their struggles were usurped by the vested interest. It happened so in the freedom struggle, it is happening now in the post-independence India too.

We must understand that to advance our society, to open the path of Indian peoples' emancipation—the shackles of capitalism is to be smashed. We must realise that it is capitalism that is the main obstacle today. So capitalism is to be overthrown. We must realise that for every revolution, the main question is from which class or classes power is to be wrested by which class or classes. We can never afford to miss this point.

We must also understand that in this era of moribund capitalism, the capitalist class, be it of an advanced capitalist country or of a backward capitalist

country, in order to stave off their imminent destruction at the hands of the toiling masses take recourse to fascism. Contradicting the age old idea about fascism that it is only an autocratic rule Comrade Ghosh has shown, laying bare its politics, its philosophy, everything that fascism comes with dual characteristic. By adopting certain so-called progressive social democratic measures it, on the one hand, tries to control the anarchy of capitalist production while on the other, tries to pacify the people's resentment against capitalist rule and exploitation. It brings concentration of power in the hands of the bureaucracy—even sometimes keeping the parliament intact, though limiting its power. And you have seen it, you have all experienced it in our country during the Emergency. What did Indira Gandhi try to bring in our country? Undoubtedly she tried to serve the master, the capitalist class. While announcing the promulgation of Emergency she declared that so long she could not serve people's cause because of the conspiracy of the imperialist and the right reactionary parties—but now she would do so. But who were benefitted during the Emergency? The monopolists or the people? She introduced a twenty-point programme with the declared objective of bringing peoples welfare, and to this not only the CPI but also the CPI(M) and its allied parties gave support calling them as progressive measures. But who gained other than the monopolist class? It is painful to note that those who talk of Marxism-Leninism and revolution, who claim that they will lead the Indian people to their emancipation from exploitation not only failed to grasp this heinous move of the Indian

bourgeoisie, but by supporting these social-democratic moves have tried to confuse the people—have shielded the real enemy of the people. And they talk of revolution! Should not our people realise their real character? Comrade Ghosh has taught us that not only the branded bourgeois parties, the social-democratic parties, even some of those parties who talk of Marxism-Leninism and hold red banner are in reality petty-bourgeois parties, betray the people and serve the bourgeoisie. People should be aware of them, people should realise their real character.

Look again at their role during the Emergency! While it was the imperative duty of every party who talk of upholding people's cause to unite all the forces in the country against the anti-democratic measures of Indira Gandhi and Congress on a common agreed minimum programme—the CPI(M) not only did not make any effort to that end but did not respond even to our call. Whom did it help other than Indira Gandhi and Congress?

Again, when the election to the Parliament was declared our party guided by Comrade Ghosh's teachings proposed that all the anti-Congress forces, in order to give defeat to Congress, should be united on a common agreed minimum programme—so that the forces of reaction too—the forces who no doubt will serve the bourgeois class if they attain power remain pledge-bound to the people to restore and extend the democratic rights and civil liberties, even in the limited bourgeois sense, that were taken away by Congress and Indira Gandhi. Anybody with a modicum of grey matter would realise that in it was hidden the idea that the left forces will act

as a core in that unity and in course of time when the forces of right reaction will be able to move no more with the cause of the people, they will expose themselves and will get isolated from the people.

But the CPI(M) did not respond to this proposal of ours. The funniest part of it is that they said that the CPI(M), not to speak of forming a government, could not even unite with the right reactionary parties on a programmatic basis because there is such a basic difference of policy with them. But they proceeded for adjustment of seats, in the name of avoiding splitting of anti-Congress votes with Janata Party formed out of the combination of the avowedly reactionary parties like Jan Sangh, Cong(O) and BLD and the Socialist Party together with a few expelled leaders of Congress.

The fact remains that despite repeated attempts by no less a person than Sri Jayprakash Narayan these parties could not unite earlier. But within forty eight hours of the declaration of the Lok Sabha poll the Janata Party was formed. How was it possible? How could they unite and merge so easily? It was in fact the compulsion of the bourgeoisie, that made them unite with full support, co-operation and patronage of the major section of the Indian bourgeoisie, its money bag and the monopoly press. The Indian bourgeoisie did not fail to notice that the deep-seated anti-Congress sentiment of the common people, if not diverted in time, may, under favourable situation, take revolutionary orientation only at the peril of the very exploitative capitalist system. To build up a bourgeois alternative was, therefore, the necessity of the bourgeois class despite the fact that Sm. Indira Gandhi and her Congress served so long the aggregate interest of the Indian bourgeoisie quite faithfully.

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We must turn our grief as taught by him, into firm determination, courage and revolutionary purposiveness

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from the great teacher which working people must take note of about the fake revolutionaries. The working people must take to their heart the great revolutionary teaching of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** "The kernel, the living soul of any lofty ideal, 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 its cultural and moral values".

The pseudo revolutionaries fear criticism and self-criticism within the united mass movement as red rags. Renouncing the Leninist principle they want to gag all criticism against their social-democratic opportunism and treachery to the cause of the working people. Under cover of the deceitful cry of disruption against our party, they actually disrupt the unity of left and democratic forces, in their bid to come to an accord with the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie and to their rescue.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat gave us the very important teaching and guidance that: Those who understand what is meant by the law of dialectics according to Marxism-Leninism should not find it difficult to understand that when we mean unity we also mean struggle within it because we cannot conceive of unity according to this dialectical law of Marxism-Leninism where there is no struggle. To conceive a phenomenon is also to conceive of struggle of opposites within it. ... Mass struggle is a particular phenomenon. Within the sphere of its unity there is struggle, constant and relentless, centring round different political lines, angularities and approaches. Had there

been no such differences there would have been no question of Unity or United Front as, in that case, all would combine in a single party.

Lenin compared the revolutionary leadership to a mountain eagle. Unlike the crows of social-democratic politicians, the political vision, analytical power and judgment of the proletarian leadership is stretched to distant future. The incoming events come to its judgment so easily. That is why it is a giant compared to the 'pigmy' of social democracy. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** was such a giant revolutionary leader and guide. That is why, more than fifteen years back, he was cautioning the Indian working class about the danger of Two-party device of fascism in the context of Indian politics. It was his very significant warning that—"The appearance of fascism in democratic form through Two-party parliamentary system of government is certainly a post-war social phenomenon, having no historical precedent and because of its seemingly democratic appearance, it is at the same time the most deceptive."

Today, the pseudo revolutionary social democratic parties are actually playing the second fiddle to this new design of the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie for installing Two-party parliamentary system in our country.

About this development also, how timely was the guidance and warning of the great teacher. Here is another important teaching of **Comrade Ghosh**:

"In our time those Communist Parties within the International Communist Movement who have already degenerated to revisionist parties and reduced themselves to the position of national communist parties (or in other words who are communist in name only but social democratic parties in practice) do have every possi-

bility of turning themselves into fascist parties, if these parties while waving the red banner and moving under the cover of Marxism can combine blindness and fanaticism with their so-called militant character".

The truth is coming out as day-light, more and more, even to the rank and file of these so-called 'Marxist' and 'revolutionary' parties.

So, the only hope for the oppressed people of our country lies in this party, SUCI, the party founded and reared by the giant Marxist thinker and the great leader of the proletariat, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**,

It is He who pointed out to the Indian working people that SUCI is the only party in our soil that has grown and developed on a completely new model and with a new principle by successfully applying the concretised knowledge of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete problems of Indian situation. Its process and method of formation and development was distinctly different like of which will not be found in any other party. Along with political education, the new workers of this party are to acquire the ideological-cultural tuning of the party in order to build themselves up as truly revolutionary characters.

And on this party, the working people have pinned great hope for their emancipation. Have the leaders and workers of the party proved themselves equal to this great hope and expectation of the masses, to the great task that **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** has left as his behest?

After the sudden and premature demise of the great leader, teacher and guide, the Central Committee of our Party took the solemn pledge in its Homage.

"We must turn our grief as taught by Him, into firm determination courage and revolutionary

purposiveness. We take vow to stand as 'One Man' and strive hard to fill the void created..." The Central Committee gave the strident call:

"Let all of us, thousands of disciples and admirers of **Comrade Ghosh** hold aloft the banner of revolution and proletarian internationalism by every drop of our blood".

A year's experience since our most beloved departed leader, has shown to the world that with high political consciousness and ethical cultural standard, unflinching devotion to the base political line of the proletariat, dedicating spirit and revolutionary dare, the Party under the able leadership of the Central Committee has braved all the twists and turns and foul political weather one after another, to keep the banner of revolution flying, alone, in this soil—true to the great teachings and trust of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

People's Liberation Pledge Day

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During the last thirty years, all round miseries have been ever on the increase. Behind the drum beatings of freedom, democracy, economic planning, vague talks of socialism and all that, the bourgeois parties and their leaders have striven hard to consolidate the base of capitalism by giving the rock-bottom foundation of Fascism. And in the process, Indian capital has given birth to monopoly finance capital and financial oligarchy and is now exporting capital and thereby revealing the distinct characteristic features of imperialism.

The bourgeoisie, in this third phase of intense general crisis of world capitalist market, faced with the mounting discontents of the people, has been taking recourse more and more to fascist devices in order to stem the tide of peoples' movements. There has been steady centralisation of economic and political power and the last vestiges of relative administrative neutrality,

'Remember the struggle to be a communist is a hard one. It is an all out struggle covering all aspects of life starting from private to politico-economic and socio-cultural life from even sex to love'—was the most important revolutionary teaching of the great leader of the proletariat. Thousands of party Comrades have taken this great revolutionary teaching to their heart and are determined to carry this struggle through.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's great revolutionary thoughts have become the material force of history to lead and guide the destiny of the toiling people. No power on earth can put a halt.

Long Live

**Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's
Great Revolutionary
Thoughts**

Red Salute

**Comrade Shibdas Ghosh
the great leader
of the Proletariat.**

minimum democratic norms and values, political and civil rights, freedom of movement have been given a good bye. They all now hang on the merciful discretion of the parties in power. A vast army, para-military and police force are undergoing modernisation and sophistications.

Today, the bourgeoisie faces a 'state of emergency' which they want to foist on the people whether they do it by formal declaration or other devices is altogether different. Faced with unprecedented crisis, the bourgeoisie is mortally afraid of peoples' militant movements and want therefore to channelise peoples' resentment within the narrow bounds of bourgeois parliamentarism-legalism-reformism.

With this end in view the bourgeoisie has taken recourse to the new design of Two-party parliamentary system, in order to isolate the real revolutionary party of mass movements which serve as a precursor to revolutionary struggles

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Fascism may appear in different countries not only through rejection of Parliamentary

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It is really astonishing that not only CFD joined hands with the Janata Party but even the CPI(M) which did not join the Bihar movement in view of 'rightist participation' did not hesitate to come in electoral adjustment with the Janata Party in the Lok Sabha poll and all on a sudden they discovered that the Janata Party was 'less dangerous' and 'less reactionary'! No body can forget the eulogy and compliment which the CPI(M) leaders used to shower upon Sm. Gandhi till the other day. The pages of 'People's Democracy', 'Ganasakti' and other organs of CPI(M) are replete with instances of Central Committee or Politbureau resolutions of CPI(M) painting Sm. Gandhi as progressive and champion of people's cause. Even during the Emergency, as I have already pointed out, this party supported the contention of the politics of Sm. Gandhi. But the very moment the Indian bourgeoisie gave up supporting Sm. Gandhi—the CPI(M) also shifted allegiance from the ruling Congress to the Janata Party probably in conformity with their 'sacred' task of People's Democratic Revolution!

Be that as it may, some questions are there in mass mind centring round this last Lok Sabha poll. These questions are—did not Sm. Gandhi understand that a simmering discontent was there in mass mind? Was she not posted with intelligence report about the volcanic situation of the whole country? Then did Sm. Gandhi go for poll with this conviction that people would vote her to power? Or even if defeated would she take this defeat sportingly and bow down to popular verdict? Why do we find a diametrically opposite trend of voting in Northern and Southern India!

If we apply the logic and science of probability then we will get the answer. In fact Sm. Indira Gandhi made elaborate arrange-

ment of large scale administrative rigging in her favour and built up necessary rigging machinery. But excepting South India, with the shifting of support of the Indian monopolists from Sm. Gandhi to Janata Party—the rigging machinery throughout the whole country worked rather against but not in favour of her. Those who raised hue and cry about rigging have not cared to institute any enquiry to go into these allegations of rigging and all that. And the funniest part of the whole thing is this, those who demanded postponement of election in West Bengal only three days before the Lok Sabha poll and called it a farce promptly took it as "people's verdict" after the result was declared. And it is true no body can go against people's verdict!

Let the social democrats and the pseudo-Marxists play with people's interest. But the common people, the exploited masses will have to pause and ponder over the sorry plight into which the left movement of the country has been plunged today. These pseudo-Marxists do not hesitate to call us a divisive force! But why? What at fault with us? What wrong in us? We demanded that in our united struggle against the main enemy, while striving hard to maintain unity, there must be the freedom to conduct ideological struggle with a view to making people politically conscious when and only when they can find out the correct base political line of the Indian revolution. Comrade Ghosh has, again and again, pointed out the supreme importance of maintaining the principle of unity-struggle-unity. We tell them, if need be, we are always ready to even lay our lives for their sake in united struggle against main enemy, but while doing so we will not desist from telling this truth to the people that the forces

for which we are laying our lives are nothing but pseudo-Marxist—the forces of compromise between labour and capital. All the great Marxist leaders from Lenin to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh pointed out that in order to lead revolutionary battles successfully one must be able to find out the correct base political line and the correct revolutionary leadership. However painstaking it may be, intense ideological battle is an indispensable necessity to steer-clear all confusions and find out the truth. They must find out which party is holding aloft the red banner of revolution!

Comrade Ghosh warned us again and again that maintaining the exploitative capitalist system it is not possible to emancipate the people through change of government in election. Long ago he warned us about the diverse nature through which fascism may appear in different countries not only through rejection of parliamentary system but also by maintaining the facade of parliament and even maintaining the seemingly democratic arrangement of so-called Two-party system. The bourgeoisie takes recourse to it with the object of arresting people's discontent within the span of parliamentarianism and smashing all possibilities of growth and development of revolutionary mass movement. In the pursuit of fulfilling this class objective, it is not that the bourgeoisie will depend only on the known parties serving the aggregate interest of the ruling class. Our beloved leader taught us, that even in certain circumstances we cannot rule out the possibility that the social democratic parties with 'Communist' or 'Marxist' nomenclature who have no programme of anti-capitalist revolution and who can serve the interest of the bourgeoisie in a better way as they are capable of deceiving the people more because of

their so-called left vocabulary—may come to the rescue of the bourgeoisie at moment of crisis. One can easily find out the truth when these parties are raising slogan that to solve the problems of people's life it is necessary for them not only to form government in a single state but in a number of states and particularly at the centre—as if the solution really lies there! May be, that is the prescription for their 'People's Democratic Revolution' but alas capitalism remaining in tact, these 'champions' of people's cause should learn from history—it is not possible to solve any basic problem of peoples' life.

We cannot forget for a moment that capitalism today, has not only become reactionary, it has reduced itself, under whatsoever cloak, to fascism, the most hated enemy of the humanity as a whole. In such a situation a political party, if it is really pro-people and progressive, it need not be even Marxist-Leninist, must understand the truth that keeping the three organs of the state, that is the military, bureaucratic administration along with police and the judiciary, keeping the capitalist state machine, the capitalist economy with the law of maximum profit—it is impossible to bring down the prices of essential commodities simply banking on so-called 'Gentleman's agreement' with the hoarders, profiteers and the black marketeers. But it is surprising to note that the Janata Government at the Centre and even the 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal, I am sorry to mention, have taken recourse to that tactics on such an issue which is a serious concern of the common people.

The CPI(M) leaders, on and often brand us as a divisive force! Well, let them do it. But how is it that they are extending their hands of co-operation

not only to Janata Party, the bourgeois alternative, but at times, even to the Congress and the CPI? Will their honest and serious cadres ponder—what for this unity and against whom?

We are accused of crossing the limits of friendship in our political criticism. But on the question of political criticism the words 'friendly' or 'unfriendly' are in a sense irrelevant. On ideological questions criticism—not slander, not vilification—must be political and uncompromising in order to determine the correct path. Leaders like Lenin, Stalin, Mao tse-Tung and Shibdas Ghosh have taught us that the revolution can not be made successful by the party alone. A revolution becomes successful only when a considerable section of the toiling people come to participate actively in the revolutionary battle for a radical transformation of the society and the rest, the vast section of the masses, who do not take active part or who are not supporters even, remain at least benevolently neutral.

So in order to prepare the mass mind in favour of revolution, the necessity of ideological struggle within the united movement is vital. The revolutionaries know that in the present phase of democratic mass movement the utility of building up of a left and democratic united front is very important to provide an instrument of struggle in the hands of toiling people.

A revolution becomes successful only when a considerable section of the toiling people come to participate actively in the revolutionary battle for a radical transformation of the society and the rest, the vast section of the masses, who do not take active part or who are not even supporters remain at least benevolently neutral. But the CPI(M) and its allies have abandoned this path. But what is their path? Are they

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The success of the struggle for emancipation depends on peoples' alternate political power built on the edifice of higher and nobler Proletarian Culture

(Contd. from Page 7) pursuing a left oriented policy in conducting the Government? What should be the approach of a left party when in governmental power in running the administration? Wherein should lie the difference between a bourgeois party and a left party in their approach to run the government? It is the great contribution of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader of the proletariat who pinpointed the fundamental difference in approach that should differentiate a left party from a bourgeois party in running the administration. Comrade Ghosh enunciated the policy before 1962 election when the 'leftist friends' raised the slogan of an alternative Government in West Bengal. When the first United Front Government was formed in 1967, our party placed the principle before the United Front and it was accepted, that 'police must not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements.' The underlying significance of this policy is that when the leftists are in governmental power, the democratic mass movements are to be freed from police interference and repression in order to build up powerful organisations of different sections of the toiling people on the basis of class consciousness and proletarian ethical and cultural values. What pains me most is the recent declaration of the CPI(M) leaders that 'gherao' is no programme of militant mass movement. It is true that gherao has developed in course of the development of trade union movements. But I feel ashamed when those who claim themselves to be 'Marxists' and leftists make such statements just after being installed in governmental power! Have they ever thought whose interest they are serving? No one, let alone a Marxist,

believes that 'gherao' will hasten revolution. But can any leftist deny that 'gherao' is also a form of movement? When the workers are daily subjected to inhuman tortures and exploitations, is it not a sheer betrayal to democratic mass movements to undermine the 'gherao' form of movement? It is no wonder that the Chambers of Commerce have conveyed their blessings to this policy of the 'left front' government.

Should you allow these sorts of things to continue? Should we not think over it deeply and criticise them whenever necessary? We must criticise them for taking the incorrect path and at the same time if there is attack from the right reaction we shall defend them with all the might we have, both within the legislature and outside. It is immaterial whether a leader of this party or that becomes a Minister or not but what is important is the development of the consciousness about anti-capitalist revolution through democratic mass movements. But this process is being obstructed as the atmosphere congenial for mass movements is being destroyed. The bourgeoisie are, no doubt, attempting to arrest the mass movements within the fold of two-party parliamentary system. But are not the CPI (M) and its allies giving a handle to this?

Comrade Ghosh has taught us that revolution cannot attain its desired goal unless a real revolutionary working class party grows up with sufficient strength on the basis of the correct base political line of the proletariat—which is the anti-capitalist socialist revolution in our country—and secondly unless along with the consolidation of trade unions, peasant organisations, student and youth organisations and organisations

of other sections of toiling people, people's committees in villages and localities—the people's own instruments of struggle are built up. These people's committees are to be built up in such a way so as to become conducive to the main line of revolution. But this cannot be done unless it is built up on the basis of higher proletarian culture. Comrade Ghosh has taught us that the workers can change this system only when they have changed themselves first. So it is necessary to wage relentless struggle to fight against the decadent and vile culture of the present bourgeois society in order to establish higher and nobler culture of the proletariat. It is only when the people's committees are built up on the edifice of this higher and nobler proletarian culture that alternative political power of the people is developed and on it depends the success of peoples' liberation. Comrade Ghosh has bequeathed the treasure-house of knowledge to this party, the SUCI, to lead the struggle for emancipation to its logical culmination. But this treasure does not belong to our party or to our country alone but it belongs to all the oppressed people of the world, who are fighting against imperialism capitalism for emancipation.

**Red Salute
Comrade Shibdas Ghosh!
SUCI Zindabad!**

As announced earlier, the meeting ended with the replay of the recorded voice of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh—the great leader and teacher of the proletariat, in the midst of pin-drop silence that fell over the maidan. With surging emotion the listeners waiting eagerly all along, heard the very familiar voice that once rang out on another tragic occasion at the meeting held to remember Comrade Subodh Bannerjee. It was the same inspiring voice that re-

People's Liberation Pledge Day

(Contd. from Page 6) and by all this further consolidate fascism behind the facade of two party democracy. That is why the Central Committee of our Party, struck a serious note of warning and provided an important pointer in its resolution of 6th April '77.

'...it (two-party democracy) will now make serious efforts to more and more squeeze the scope of legitimate democratic movements of the people by arresting them within the bounds of parliamentary politics or at best allow restricted form and nature of mass movements which will be conducive only to the parliamentary political objectives and will take resort to diverse forms of fascism by maintaining as far as possible the facade of parliamentary democracy, even if under the garb of 'two-party democracy'.

Social democracy is giving willing help and active support to this new design of the bourgeoisie and has therefore kept its record of last thirty years or more, unbroken. Since Jawaharlal Nehru's time down to Indira Gandhi regime, during the nineteen months 'Emergency' and when the bourgeoisie conspires to impose 'two-party democracy' to the serious detriment of democratic mass struggle, all through these crucial phases, social democracy has come to the defence and rescue of crisis-ridden capitalism and the bourgeoisie, by throwing cold water on peoples struggling mood, divesting their movement against

mind all once more: "...Mere expression of grief, mere emotional outburst carries no meaning to the revolutionaries if they do not realise the real significance of the cause of grief that has pained them so much and what it really demands of them to perform in their life." Yes, his worthy followers returned from the memorial meeting of the 5th of August imbued with this noble teaching

capitalism to bourgeois constitutionalism-legalism-economism. It has spread confusions among the working people by eulogising the various devices and designs of the bourgeoisie as 'progressive steps' 'socialist measures' etc with the ulterior motive of arresting the growth of revolutionary consciousness and organisation of the oppressed. By its sordid records of treacheries to the cause of revolution, social democracy has fully justified the very important Marxist-Leninist teaching that 'social-democratism is the last prop of capitalism' and "without putting an end to social democratism, it is impossible to put an end to capitalism".

Today, the political rule and behaviour of these social democratic parties whether they are in governmental power on the terms set by the bourgeoisie or in parliamentary opposition, reveal their utter bankruptcy and rabid opportunism.

As against the despicable role of the social democratic parties our party, SUCI, the only revolutionary party in our soil, founded and reared by the great leader of the proletariat one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the age, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, has kept the banner of revolution flying by steadfastly adhering to the base political line of the proletariat, the anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution in our country.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught our working people that no amount of struggle and sacrifices of the people can bring an end to their miseries unless the base political line, the political leadership and the ideology are correct and the people can develop their own political power.

On 15th of August, let the toiling millions in our country take the solemn pledge to bring an end to capitalist exploitation which is the root cause of their miseries and in order to accomplish this great task of anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution, come in thousands to strengthen SUCI the only revolutionary party of the proletariat in our soil which alone is upholding their genuine cause, the nobility of Communist ideology and the Flag of Revolution.

Editor-in-Chief—NIHAR MUKHERJEE