

# ON CRISIS IN CULTURE AND OUR TASK

Reflecting on the dangerous degradation in the realm of morality and culture that has gripped the entire bourgeois world and more particularly our society, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher, General Secretary of our Party and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era uttered this note of warning that economic crisis, notwithstanding its devastating nature, does not pose the main disaster in our contemporary life in bourgeois societies but it is the cultural degradation, absence of ethical norms and code of conduct that constitute the biggest danger. Because we can not conceive of bringing about a social transformation which is the call of the hour, without an organised social force having higher sense of moral values, ethics and cultural base that can alone give defeat to all putrid bourgeois values, thoughts, ideas and moribund culture. The glory that the Vietnamese people have written in the pages of history would not have been possible had the force of reaction been able to corrupt the people with reactionary thoughts, ideas, sense of values and culture.

## The Social Malady— Underlying Reason.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has drawn our urgent and serious attention to the more heinous and deeper conspiracy, apart from economic exploitation, of the bourgeoisie who are skilfully and subtly fanning up all the mean tendencies and evil instincts in the people of which the breeding ground is the moribund capitalist social order itself. They do so with the ulterior class design of perpetuating their class-domination in the society by emasculating the people morally, culturally so that the down-trodden and oppressed people can not raise their heads against all sorts of exploitation, the bourgeois class-domination and tyranny.

Analysing the heinous political motive of the bourgeoisie in the midst of third stage of general crisis in the world capitalist system, which is working behind the process of cultural and moral degradation, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, has shown that the bourgeoisie the reactionaries and their henchmen who are being benefited most from the present social system are feeling that it is impossible to throttle the voice of the angry people and pacify their discontent once for all only with the help of existing coercive apparatus. If the nation can retain even the remnant of

morality, rudimentary sense of self respect it will stand up and rise again with new vitality, defying meanest of oppression and any attempt to gag it under the boots.

So, in order to dampen the fighting spirit of the people, destroy the power of resistance and damage the capacity to build up such organisation as can bring about a total transformation of this moribund bourgeois society, what has been thought to be essentially needed by the bourgeoisie and their hirelings is to cripple the oppressed people in their moral strength and stamina. The bourgeoisie and reactionary forces are therefore seeking a lease of life by resorting to all trash logic, false theories and excuses and even at times behind the smoke-screen of so called freedom of culture they are actually striving to kill and distort the very vitals of whatever good in men, the noble ideology, the spirit of dedication the moral and ethical concepts of life by pampering and indulging in all that is mean, debased and menacing to civilised code of life and behaviour.

How they are doing so, will be obvious from the large number of fall-outs of this cultural degeneration particularly in youths and students suffering from rootlessness, aimless desparateness, ego-centricism,

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# Proletarian Era

ORGAN OF SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA (FORTNIGHTLY)

Editor-in-Chief—Shibdas Ghosh

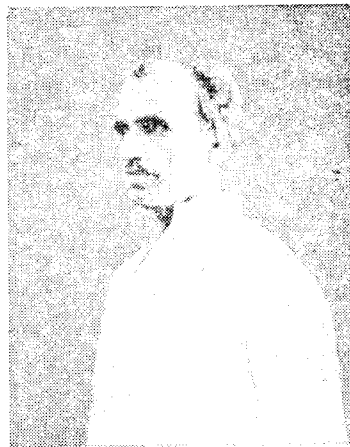
VOL 9  
No. 11

1st FEBRUARY '76  
SUNDAY

PRICE 30 P.  
Air Surcharge 4 P.

## COM. SHANKAR SINGH Transferred to Patna General Hospital in Serious Condition

Comrade Shankar Singh, a member of the Central Committee of the SUCI, Secretary of the Bihar State Committee of the Party and a renowned mass leader, fell seriously ill on 15th January '76 at Fulwari Sharif Camp Jail. While having his bath at about 12 noon, he suddenly started bleeding profusely from his nose and mouth and it continued till 3 p. m. His blood pressure also



Comrade Shankar Singh

shot up which was recorded to be 210/120 at the time of admission to Patna General Hospital where he was transferred on the same day. Comrade Pritish Chanda another member of the Central Committee rushed to Patna on 16th January 1976 immediately after the Central office received this news. It has been reported from Patna office that his condition is still unchanged.

## 21st Anniversary of AIDSO Observed

Calcutta, January 19:—The All India Democratic Students' Organisation celebrated the 21st anniversary by organising a big meeting at the University Institute Hall to-day. Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee, the Secretary of the All India Democratic Students' Organisation presided over the meeting.

The meeting started with the presentation of mass songs. A resolution mourning the death of Comrade Chou Enlai, a first ranking leader of the Chinese Communist Party as well as the International communist movement and one of the architects of modern China, was adopted. In another resolution the death caused by murderous assault by the joteders of the Purulia District on December last of Comrade Ramjatan Singh and Comrade Guhram Bauri, the two well known peasant leaders and the SUCI workers was mourned. In another resolution sympathy was conveyed to the bereaved families of those miners who lost their lives in the Chasnala mine disaster and an enquiry to the causes of the disaster by an

enquiry committee and punishment to those who would be found guilty were demanded. The main resolution which inter-alia demanded introduction of secular, scientific and democratic education system, scientific syllabus and examination system, introduction of mother tongue and English as compulsory in the Secondary and Higher Secondary stages etc. was raised by Comrade Bhakar Gupta, the Calcutta District Secretary of the All India D. S. O. and was supported by Comrade Sanjit Biswas, the Secretary of the West Bengal State Committee of the AIDSO.

The main speaker in the meeting was Comrade Provash Ghosh, the President of the AIDSO. In his long speech Comrade Provash Ghosh dealt in

detail the various problems confronting the student movement. He stressed the necessity of introduction of democratic education system which the bourgeoisie upheld in the period of industrial revolution in order to build up a new capitalist society by breaking the old feudal order. But in the changed situation when capitalism has already become a reactionary force, the bourgeoisie, themselves are trampling this demand. Comrade Ghosh showed how the policy of curtailment of education is being resorted to in order to minimise the level of the educated unemployed. Today religious and spiritual ideas are being patronised as the bourgeoisie are afraid of dissemination of real knowledge among the people.

While discussing the aim of education, Comrade Ghosh deprecated the present trend in thinking

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# The Social Malady—Underlying Reasons

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indifference to social problems and mental disorders like schizophrenia, split-personality, criminal mental complex etc. These are but natural for the victims of a putrid bourgeois culture particularly when a diabolical design of the bourgeoisie is working in the society.

Exposing the particular motive of the bourgeoisie, Comrade Ghosh has shown, the bourgeoisie know it very well that when there is discontent and indignation among the people it is bound to find its expression in occasional outbursts. But they are not at all afraid of them as they can put them down very easily. But a political movement determined to bring about a total transformation of the society is something qualitatively different from movements for reforms conducted from a bourgeois reformist outlook and object. While the former is not only to develop an alternate political power of the oppressed people but ultimately to consolidate it in state power defeating all the resistance of the bourgeoisie and vested interest. Naturally, it is of a protracted nature and there is no compromise in it as the very nature of contradiction is antagonistic. It has been accomplished in more than one third part of the globe.

But the bourgeois reformist movements conducted by the leadership of liberal bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties has completely different aims and objectives. It is a fight to displace the ruling bourgeois party from governmental power, to give certain bourgeois concessions, whatever is possible within this moribund bourgeois social order and lull the oppressed masses to submission and loyalty to the parties concerned.

In this race of parliamentary politics, both the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois social democratic parties have completely given up minimum democratic code of conduct and ethical norms and values.

This has further accelerated the cultural and moral degradation in all the bourgeois societies. The mental make-up of these parties also manifests all sorts of meanness like sectarian self-interest, cowardice, proneness to cowardly violence, domineering attitude in politics, attitude of intolerance to other's view points and even forcibly gagging that, blackmailing, generation of blind hatred in the ranks against opposition parties with hate campaign and tirades. The result has been that a dangerous criminal mentality has developed in the ranks against their opponents in political fields and this criminal mental make-up, however, eulogised and pampered by the leadership as valour or fighting spirit they have nothing to do with courage of conviction or fighting fervour as could be seen in characters who fought imperialism to liberate their country or those who fight the Fascists to bring about social transformation today.

So, when better ideology, superior logic and arguments have no place in bourgeois parliamentary politics, these parties are to bank not upon the dedicated, morally lifted characters and their spirit of dedication but on bands of morally degenerated youths as toughs and musclemen to scare the people and opponent political parties. As there is mutual competition amongst the parties so recruitment of youths with money and other unethical means goes on more and more. Young men are being enrolled as volunteers in different political parties in exchange for money. These so-called 'volunteers' are provided weapons and political backings. Judged from this point of view it can be said that these political parties have become, so to say, a kind of employment exchange in so far as they are providing a kind of 'job' for the desperate youths, mostly coming from lower-middle class and poor families being victims of economic

oppression. In this way an indirect social sanction is being provided to unethical means of livelihood to thousands of youths and thereby the ground is being prepared for Fascism to strike deep root in the country.

But as these youths are no 'volunteers' in the sense, one day, the youths enrolled their names in the struggles for liberation of the country from foreign yoke, they are just mercenaries subsisting on unethical means of livelihood provided by the parties who are to keep this exploitative bourgeois system intact to bar real deliverance of the youths. Naturally, as mercenaries they are devoid of any human values, possess no moral courage to face their adversaries with real heroism. They need the direct support and patronage of police and bureaucracy and even with that resort to cowardly violence. They are such heroes as need ganging up before attacking an unarmed individual. This is the sorry pass to which this land has degenerated, a land of real heroes like Khudiram, Masterda, Netaji Subhas and the fire-brand youths who are pride for any country. The parties who mouth Marxist catch-words and phrases in our country are also in the fray. No, not only they are in the fray but some of them must be credited with doing the pioneering works in the matter of recruiting youths for this vile sort of politics. It is they, who have done greatest disservice to leftist movement. Because it is no wonder that bourgeoisie and their parties placed in the period of third phase of general crisis of world capitalism resort to all vile devices to keep the society in subjugation and bar social progress by all immoral and unethical means. But the leftist parties who shed so much tears for down-trodden people in their platform lectures, were expectedly the people not to be a party to the criminal conspiracy of the bour-

geoisie to cripple the youths and students, morally, culturally, intellectually. They argue in the naive manner that "since there is capitalism and bourgeois class rule there will be degradation of culture". And in order to defend this kind of politics they even deride the idea that a working class party will give thought to ethics, morals, sense of values and culture, as if they are all bourgeois properties. In fact they evince this poverty of understanding about dialectics of social development in general and the Marxian science in particular. These parties therefore, notwithstanding their claim of adherence to Marxism repudiate Marxism in practice and thereby prove their failure to serve as anti thesis to social development in our country.

## Anti thesis : The question of developing proletarian culture

Answering to the slanderous propaganda of the bourgeoisie, Lenin putting the questions straight to the oppressed people answered them in forthright manner :—

"But is there such a thing as Communist ethics? Is there such a thing as Communist morality? Of course there is. Often it is made to appear that we have no ethics of our own; and very often the bourgeois accuses us Communists of repudiating all ethics. This is a method of shuffling concepts, of throwing dust in the eyes of the workers and peasants.....

We repudiate all morality derived from non-human and non-class concepts. We say that it is a deception, a fraud, a befogging of the minds of the workers and peasants in the interest of landlords and capitalists.

We say that our morality is essentially subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat, our morality is derived from the interests of the class struggle of

the proletariat"—(V. I. Lenin—Third Congress of the Youth Communist League—1920).

Concretely applying this basic scientific approach to social development in the concrete situation of our society, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh counterposed the question to the pseudo-Marxists and leftists that will it be correct to take a fatalistic position that as because there exists capitalist social order, we cannot put an end to cultural and moral degradation and even cannot keep our political workers free from the pernicious influence of vile bourgeois morality and code of conduct? Comrade Ghosh has elaborately dealt with this question to give a telling rebuff to the philistine defence of fatalism by showing that this so-called defence tantamounts to complete negation of the role of revolutionary forces of the oppressed people which serves as the anti-thesis of the forces of reaction that corrupt the society and it is this anti-thesis that gives ultimately defeat to the forces of reaction. Social development means this struggle of opposites.

But who can serve as the organiser of the social force for change? This task lies on the party of the proletariat which combines the question of cultural and moral upliftment of the society along with the fundamental question of development of alternate political power of the proletariat and in fact without tackling the first, the latter cannot be accomplished.

Comrade Ghosh, teaches us that the principal objective of the mass movement should, therefore be to give birth to a new political power of the oppressed masses imbued with new ethical and moral values which are the products of proletarian culture. It means, therefore, that the youths, the students and the mass of the working people will be

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# THE QUESTION OF DEVELOPING PROLETARIAN CULTURE

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ideologically and organisationally united with a singleness of political objective of bringing an end to this old and outworn capitalist social order and to replace it with proletarian socialist social order. Being conscious of the historic task to be accomplished and the role to be played in accomplishing it, this organised social force which will be the 'motive force' or 'directive force' for social transformation must reflect in their life practices, moral and ethical standards, cultural enrichments, higher and nobler values—the products of proletarian culture. This is essential to any social movement for total transformation of the society. In every historic stage of social changes, this has been witnessed. Men must know what they are fighting for. Men must taste the higher human relations, code of conduct, ethical and moral standards, cultural accomplishments, in the vanguards, which will be prevailing code of conduct, moral and ethical values in the incoming higher socialist social order.

Does it mean, then, that all the oppressed people, say ninety percent of them are to be morally, culturally elevated before a social revolution can take place. No, this is erroneous being unscientific and unhistoric. The real reason for the moral and cultural decay lies in the moribund capitalist productive system. So long, this anarchic productive system keeps its existence, it will breed moral and cultural degeneration to millions of people who are enmeshed in crises all around in their life, being victim of the system and they will definitely outnumber the socially, politically, culturally conscious or alert persons who are the products of sincere and untiring efforts of politico-cultural movements conducted by a real proletarian party. So, it is sheer absurdity and an illusion to think in terms of of changing the people of

the society so long capitalism keeps its existence.

What is therefore to be realised, concretely, from the scientific law of development of society verified by historic experiences, is that only after replacing the old state machinery and the anachronistic bourgeois productive system, by proletarian state power defending the socialist productive system that an all round upliftment of the society and the people can be accomplished. But in order to bring about this replacement what is needed is a total transformation of the society.

Comrade Ghosh has taught us always to remember that even if a nation starves, it can stand up against oppression. Even with stomach not filled enough, a nation can fight meanest of oppression if it has not entirely lost self-respect and manliness. But when Fascism strikes its root in the soil, very few remain who are men in the real sense. This is precisely because of the reason that without destroying man-making process in the society, Fascism can hardly expect to survive.

Reminding our people, Comrade Ghosh, has said again and again that notwithstanding the magnitude of economic oppression and poverty, the spirit of a nation cannot be destroyed. The British imperialists failed to do that despite their colonial rule for two hundred years. The US imperialists turned the fields into deserts in Vietnam by bombing round-the-clock, forcing the people there, to live underground. Yet all these naked brutalities could not break the moral backbone and revolutionary spirit of the Vietnamese as a Nation. Thanks to them and their leadership that their understanding about Marxism did not lead them to any fatalist defence or contributing to and taking share in vile bourgeois politics and morality. They have truly interpreted the dialectics of social development

whose essence lies in the fact that in order to change the world, the working people will have to change themselves first.

## Culture-Morality-Ethics— class based and changing concepts

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker, our beloved leader and teacher has made great contribution in analysing the questions of culture, ethics and morals from a Marxian scientific outlook which are of immense value and work as correct guide to action for the working class in their fight against bourgeois pacifists and Fascists. Comrade Ghosh has given telling rebuff to all the mischievous propaganda and ideological trash of the bourgeois apologists.

Comrade Ghosh has taught us that the claim of moral impartiality to an ethics above classes, is either an illusion or a conscious instrument for maintaining existing class relationships and class exploitation. The fact that ethics is still largely conceived by the bourgeois thinkers in terms of individual virtue is reflected in so far as our vast and complex social problems are recognised and dealt with, has the tendency to treat them as if they arose solely from individual moral betterment. Behind this is either the uncritical assumption or deliberate distortion that if only all men would be properly ethical in their activities and relationships, all social problems would thereby be solved.

So, those bourgeois philanthropists and thinkers who proclaim that the evils from which our world suffers are primarily moral may be right in so far as they charge that greed, mean selfishness, avarice and loss of values have ruined the society but they are definitely wrong if not deliberately hiding the fact these vices are inevitable concomitants of a productive system sustained by political institutions which profits the few at the expense of the

great masses of the people.

Problems of ethics, of human upliftment or right ordering of human relations are with us, no doubt. But these are not problems to be solved by abstract deduction from, "eternal" moral laws. Nor can they be solved by moral exhortations of 'Do's or 'Dont's. We are to remember the social truism that all class-divided societies tends to produce the 'virtues' (and also vices) necessary for its own preservation. In a class-divided society with exploitative productive relation and motive force of production our virtue and vice are to be considered in terms of their definite service to the maintenance of the particular property relations concerned which can only be changed with the change in the relations and motive force of production.

Dealing particularly with the bourgeois pacifist philosophy of our country, Comrade Ghosh exposed not only the ideological trash of this variety but showed the latent danger of fascism in it, long back in 1948-49. Unlike the christians, this school of bourgeois pacifism which has its political root in class-collaboration or what has been precisely defined by Comrade Ghosh as a "fusion between bourgeois moral values and fear complex of revolution" of the bourgeoisie, resulting in "sublimatic transformation of bourgeois class instinct" presupposes that man is originally good. This school, tries to be solemn by holding that men's inherent goodness is eclipsed by the villain in him and that's the reason why mean selfishness, greed and avarice generate in him resulting in oppression of man in the society. This queer conclusion flows from an equally queer premise neither of which is supported by science and history.

It is a fusion of spiritualism with science which takes only the technological aspect of science and serves as a philosophical base of Fascism.

Comrade Ghosh has taught us that anybody conversant with the law of social development can hardly accept this ideological trash. He would, instead, trace the history of development of human brain, history of development of men's mental world, sense of value, morals, ethics and culture as also the development of society, its productive forces, in general. It would then be crystal clear that man enters into productive relation in his social existence and this productive relation means both spiritual and material production. This production relation exists independent of human consciousness of will. Man's thoughts and ideas, his mental horizon are defined by the material condition or in other words the historic time, social development and environment. It is only after the ingredients, the materials or to be more precise, the material conditions come into being inside the society that ideas can grow and blossom through the interaction in human brain. So, it is not a fact that man's mean selfishness, greed and avarice bring forth oppression or exploitation of man by man in the society but the other way round. It is the material system with maximum profit motive that generates greed, avarice, mean selfishness in man in this particular society, notwithstanding individual's role and struggle to mould the character differently.

So, the class struggle does exist as a matter of fact whether it suits one's liking or not and despite all attempts to hide this fact by giving the false cry of social partnership between antagonistic classes. Law of social development holds that given the capitalist antagonism of economic interest generated out of bourgeois profit motive, recourse to "pure" and "eternal" principles of fairness and justice is

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## PROFITS SOAR

According to a study published in the September 1975 issue of the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, "the potential production index (1960=100) of 72 manufacturing industries in India went up by only 2.2 percent as against 4.3 percent in 1972. The potential utilisation ratio declined to 77.9 percent from 79.6 percent and the growth rate of actual output was at 0.2 percent in contrast with a rise of 6.7 percent in 1972.

"The decline in the level of potential utilisation in 1973 was marked in major industries like Cement, Iron and Steel, basic industries, Aluminium manufacturing, spinning, weaving and finishing of jute manufactures, flour milling and grinding, Vanaspati, Soaps and other washing and cleaning compounds and paper and paper products." (Economic Times, 16th Dec. '75).

But "increase in the rate of growth in both value of production and total income, a further slowing down of growth rate in net sales (net of rebates and discounts and excise duty and cess) and a substantial rise in profits after tax accompanied by a decline in the amounts of dividends distributed due mainly to legislative restriction, resulting in a steep rise in retained profits are the salient features of the performance of the private corporate sector during 1973-74", according to its study entitled "Finances of medium and large Public Limited Companies, 1973-74", the Reserve Bank of India Bulletin. It said, "the rate of capital formation in both fixed assets and inventories, was higher and there was continued reliance on owned funds for financing the major part of the assets formation".

(ibid)

There was a sharp increase in bank borrowings in contrast to net repayment in 1972-73, says the study which covers about 1650 medium and large non-financial non-government public limited companies.

"While the value of production went up by 11.0% to Rs. 9,665 crores in 1973-74 (9% in 1972-73) the rate of growth declined to 8.7% (11.0% in the previous year). Consequently there was a sub-

stantial increase of Rs. 192 crores in the stocks of finished goods and work in progress. The growth of 11.0% in total expenditure (including interest payment); as a result there was a marked improvement in the rate of growth of operating profits from 5.3% in 1972-73 to 27.0% in 1973-74

"This was reflected also in the impressive growth rate in pre-tax profits which was 25.2% against 6.8% in 1972-73.

"Despite a relatively larger growth in tax provision (25.4 percent against 8.9% in 1972-73), the profits after tax recorded a steep rise of 25.0%, against 5.1%.

"On account of the restriction imposed by the Companies (temporary restriction on dividends) Act 1974, the total amount paid as dividends declined by 8.7% in contrast to a rise of 7.8% in 1972-73. Consequently retained profits moved up sharply by 62.8%, against 2.1% and cash flow (depreciation provision plus retained profits) increased by 23.4% against 6.3%.

"The following table compares the working results of the 1650 companies for the year 1973-74 with those for the previous year ;

	1972-73. Rs. crores.	1973-74. Rs. crores
Value of Production	8,703	9,665
Sales	8,114	9,473
Total Income	8,889	9,871
Total Expenditure (excluding interest payment)	8,062	8,880
Gross profits	827	991
Less interest	227	286
Operating profits	555	705
Profits before tax	583	730
Tax provision	270	338
Profits after tax	313	392
Dividends	166	152
Profits retained	147	240

"The year under review witnessed a reversal of the declined trend in the profitability of the selected 1650

companies since 1970-71. The profit margin on sales (as measured by the ratio of gross profits to sales) was 10.5% in 1973-74 against 9.5%. The return on total net assets (as measured by the ratio of gross profits to net assets) and the return on shareholders equity (the ratio of profits after tax to net work) both of which stood at 10.3% in 1972-73 improved to 11.0% and 11.9% respectively in 1973-74.

"The gross assets formation of the 1650 companies, which had declined from Rs. 819 crores in 1971-72 to Rs. 732 crores in 1972-73, rose to Rs. 1265 crores in 1973-74. The growth in gross fixed assets at Rs. 526 crores constituted 41.6% of gross assets formation during the year under review. The growth in inventories (Rs. 412 crores) accounted for 32.5% and increase in loans and advances and other debtor balances (Rs. 202 crores) for 16% of gross assets formation.....

"Internal sources amounting to Rs. 647 crores financed 51.1% of the gross assets formation in 1973-74 ....(ibid)

From the above it is revealed that though industrial production rate remained practically at 1972-73 level, the profit ratio went far ahead during the year 1973-74.

Of course it is but natural. Ours is a capitalist productive system and capitalism has for its motive force of production of maximisation of profits and has no relevance to all round social and cultural development of the society.

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So long capitalism will exist, be that under whatever name, miseries of the people despite all assur-

## CREDIT POLICY TO WEST BENGAL RICE MILLERS LIBERALISED

Sri P. K. Ghosh the food Minister of West Bengal has been claiming that the target of the procurement of paddy will be definitely achieved without any difficulty. Not only that, he is of opinion that actual procurement will far exceed this target. But after the announcement of the food policy of the West Bengal Government for the current year, we expressed a note of caution about the possibility of the cliques of the rice mill owners, hoarders and joteders in collusion with a section of corrupt administration to frustrate the procurement. In fact it was seen that the Government heavily depended on the rice mill owners to fulfil its procurement target. (Out of 3 lakh tonnes 2'90 tonnes will be obtained as levy from rice mills). We have cautioned about the danger of depending on the rice mill owners who brought immense miseries in the life of the common people of the state in the past. It seems that our caution has gone unnoticed. On the contrary it is seen from a report published in the Statesman that credit policy of the Reserve Bank of India has been liberalized in favour of the mill owners at the request of the West Bengal Food Minister, Sri P.K.Ghosh. The report runs as follows:—

"The Reserve Bank of India has agreed at the instance of the West Bengal Food Minister, Sri P. K. Ghosh, to instruct banks to liberalize the credit policy for rice millers. This will enable the millers to purchase enough paddy to meet their levy commitments.

"The Minister told reporters in Calcutta on Monday that after his talks with R.B.I. it had been decided that the rate of margin money, paid by the rice millers would be reduced from 35% to 17.5%.

"He expressed the hope that the mills would now buy a larger quantity of paddy".....(the Statesman, dated 20.1.1976)

So it is apparent that the rice mill owners have refused to fulfil their early commitment on the plea of paucity of fund and demanded liberal credit from the banks, which is however, conceded. But will it satiate their insatiable greed? From the past experience it can be said that with liberal credit from the bank, these rice millers will corner the food of the common people to reap maximum profit and will avoid payment of the committed levy under one pretext or another as has always happened in the past. So if Sri Ghosh thinks that his intervention to liberalize bank credit to the rice millers will ensure the procurement target, he is wrong. The action of the R.B.I. will only help the rice millers to carry on their nefarious game. So this policy should be changed.

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**SUCI Publication**

**On Fascism**

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48, Lenin Sarani  
Calcutta-13

ances to the contrary will, instead of being alleviated, aggravate more and more. To get relieved of this deadening condition, toiling people have the only alternative left to them, history has determined. They will have to unite and prepare themselves to bring an end to capitalist system with its motive force and relation of production. They will have to establish socialism, not the socialism of the capitalist class but proletarian socialism or scientific socialism.

# THE TASKS OF THE YOUTH LEAGUES

## Speech Delivered at the 3rd All Russian Congress of the Russian Young Communist League

(The Congress greets Lenin with a tremendous ovation.)

Comrades, today I would like to talk on the fundamental tasks of the Young Communist League and, in this connection, on what the youth organisations in a socialist republic should be like in general.

It is all the more necessary to dwell on this question because in a certain sense it may be said that it is the youth that will be faced with the actual task of creating a communist society. For it is clear that the generation of working people brought up in capitalist society can, at best, accomplish the task of destroying the foundations of the old, the capitalist way of life, which was built on exploitation. At best it will be able to accomplish the tasks of creating a social system that will help the proletariat and the working classes retain power and lay a firm foundation, which can be built on only by a generation that is starting to work under the new conditions, in a situation in which relations based on the exploitation of man by man no longer exist.

And so, in dealing from this angle with the tasks confronting the youth, I must say that the tasks of the youth in general, and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organisations in particular, might be summed up in a single word: learn.

Of course, this is only a "single word". It does not reply to the principal and most essential questions: what to learn, and how to learn? And the whole point here is that, with the transformation of the old, capitalist society, the upbringing, training and education of the new generations that will create the communist society cannot be conducted on the old lines. The teaching, training and education of the

youth must proceed from the material that has been left to us by the old society. We can build communism only on the basis of the totality of knowledge, organisations and institutions, only by using the stock of human forces and means that have been left to us by the old society. Only by radically remoulding the teaching, organisation and training of the youth shall we be able to ensure that the efforts of the younger generation will result in the creation of a society that will be unlike the old society, i. e. in the creation of a communist society. That is why we must deal in detail with the question of what we should teach the youth and how the youth should learn if it really wants to justify the name of communist youth, and how it should be trained so as to be able to complete and consummate what we have started.

### V. I. LENIN

I must say that the first and most natural reply would seem to be that the Youth League, and the youth in general, who want to advance to communism, should learn communism.

But this reply—"learn communism"—is too general. What do we need in order to learn communism? Here a number of dangers arise, which very often manifest themselves whenever the task of learning communism is presented incorrectly, or when it is interpreted in too one-sided a manner.

Naturally, the first thought that enters one's mind is that learning communism means assimilating the sum of knowledge that is contained in communist manuals, pamphlets and books. But such a definition of the study of communism would be too crude and inadequate. If the study of communism consisted solely in assimilating what is contained in

communist books and pamphlets, we might all too easily obtain communist text-jugglers or braggarts, and this would very often do us harm, because such people, after learning by rote what is set forth in communist books and pamphlets would prove incapable of combining the various branches of knowledge, and would be unable to act in the way communism really demands.

One of the greatest evils and misfortunes left to us by the old, capitalist society is the complete rift between books and practical life; we have had books explaining everything in the best possible manner, yet in most cases these books contained the most pernicious and hypocritical lies, a false description of capitalist society.

That is why it would be most mistaken merely to assimilate book knowledge about communism. No longer do our speeches and articles merely reiterate what used to be said about communism, because our speeches and articles are connected with our daily work in all fields. Without work and without struggle book knowledge of communism obtained from communist pamphlets and works is absolutely worthless, for it would continue the old separation of theory and practice, the old rift which was the most pernicious feature of the old, bourgeois society.

It would be still more dangerous to set about assimilating only communist slogans. Had we not realised this danger in time, and had we not directed all our efforts to averting this danger, the half million or million young men and women who would have called themselves Communists after studying communism in this way would only greatly prejudice the cause of communism.

(TO BE CONCLUDED)

# PRESS CLIPPING

P.M urged to visit China

An Australian delegate to the Indian Science Congress today suggested that Mrs. Indira Gandhi, accompanied by experts in agriculture, nutrition visit China to see its achievement and decide to what extent "you might adopt some of their methods to help solve your problems", reports P. T. I.

Professor Thomas Stapleton of the University of Sydney, who visited China several times, said that China had controlled many preventable diseases, provided primary health care and adequate nutrition for every person and modified education.

In his key note address on "Approaches to integrated rural development", he said that China and India were two most popular countries in the world "but it distresses me to find each so uninformed about the other."

(Statesman. 5.1.76)

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Almost 70% of the miners in the Bihar Coalfields are in the grip of money lenders and they have virtually no hope of escape. The money lenders do not want their loans to be returned. They just want an ever-lasting flow of interest, which sometimes goes up to 100 p. c. per year.

There are laws against this sort of extortion but those are useless as the money lenders rarely worry about legal mechanism to secure payment. They own illicit arms and hire hoodlums to beat the miners into submission. Murders are common in the area.

On pay day....in many cases, the money lenders, themselves have custody of the miners' identity cards and pay cards and collect the wages directly. They then magnanimously give ten or 20 p. c. of the cash to the miners concerned, keeping the balance as interest on real or imagined loans....

Miners can not even turn to the police, who allegedly get a cut from the big money lenders. Some policemen are also alleged to be money lenders. The

security guards at the mines are themselves the toughest and cruelest of money lenders. Many of them were musclemen hired by private mine owners to subdue labour. After nationalisation, they have been given jobs as security guards.

Even trade union leaders are money lenders. Many trade union bosses own palatial houses; they are very powerful politically. Some of the gangsters are employees of Bharat Coking Coal Ltd. and attempts to transfer them have always been resisted by trade union bosses.

The nationalisation of the coal industry has not changed the situation materially. The reign of terror continues. (Times of India. January 5)

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New agriculture strategy evolved during the decade has ushered in the Green Revolution. (A Government Advertisement.) Amrita Bazar Patrika 24. 1. 76

The paddy procurement has faced a great difficulty due to the sudden rise of paddy prices in the districts of West Bengal. To have an assesment of the latest situation Sri Prafulla Kanti Ghosh, the State food Minister has called an urgent meeting at the Writers' Buildings in Calcutta. Specially the rice mill owners have been invited to be present at the meeting.

(Ananda Bazar Patrika. 14. 1. 76).

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Integrated medical and health services have been introduced with accent on rural health. There are more doctors, nurses and hospital beds.

(A Govt. Advertisement, Amrita Bazar Patrika 24. 1. 76).

The programme laid down by the West Bengal Government headed by Dr. B. C. Roy over two decades ago for providing the minimum health facilities in every block by setting up health unit and a couple of subsidiary health centres each with two non-dieted emergency beds is

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nothing but a bourgeois trick to conceal the real underlying conflict which, is got to be resolved on a higher plane of social order—a true socialist society.

### Crisis in Culture and Fascism

One of the most valuable contributions of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker of this era, our beloved leader and teacher is in providing a scientific and proper understanding about the various rotten ideas and values that being used as cultural base of Fascism. Comrade Ghosh has shown that placed in the changed context of third phase of general crisis of world capitalism and sharp accentuation of class struggle, humanist philosophical outlook and values have reduced to privileges at the hands of the bourgeoisie, vested interests and forces of reaction. The humanist values at their hands are being used as cult of Fascism.

Comrade Ghosh has taught us: "Just like all other religious moral values, bourgeois humanist values today have become exhausted and obsolete. Therefore, unlike in the past, the bourgeois humanist moral values today can no more imbue people with an uncompromising spirit to fight resolutely against injustice and develop scientific and revolutionary bent of mind which alone can act as a lever for bringing about a fundamental social transformation towards progress. But in its place, the ethical and moral values based on the scientific and revolutionary ideology of Communism have not yet developed and spread enough in the society, so as to provide our people with guide to action. This unmistakably shows the weakness in the ideological cultural struggle of the communist movement. As a result the vacuum that persists in the fields of morality and ethics within social life has been the principal cause for steady decline in our moral standards and the overall crisis

## CRISIS IN CULTURE AND FASCISM

in culture, as can be easily noticed in every walk of life in our society as we are witnessing today".

(A free translation from a Bengali article of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, "Sanskritir Sankot-O-Fascibad (Crisis in culture and Fascism) published in a weekly, 'Darpan' Autumn Annual, 1968).

Giving a detailed study (a portion of which can be found in our publication, 'On Fascism') on Fascism, Comrade Ghosh has shown that "Fascism is a peculiar fusion of spiritualism with science" which adopts only the technological aspects of science for building up military might and economic base of a Fascist state and dishes out all sorts of anti science religious fads and spiritualistic hocus-pocus as the panacea of all the ills which are concomitant evils of the exploiting capitalist system. The aim is to turn the mental process of the people, from the scientific path of causality to the mystic alley of blind faith, pre-conception and obscurantism, ultimately developing contempt for social action. In keeping with its unscientific illusory social outlook fascism rejects the scientific law of class-struggle as the motive force of the development of class divided society and in its stead, postulates the theory of class harmony and class collaboration. As such non-class or supra-class ideas which are unscientific and unhistoric dominate fascist culture.

And comrade Ghosh has given the caution that only the radical section of the bourgeoisie that can alone confuse the masses with so-called radical slogans and implant fascism in any country.

### Assimilate Proletarian Culture—Where Humanism ends, Communism begins

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has imparted on us, the valuable guidance to defeat the Fascist counter-revolutionary upsurge which entrenches in social life in this era of moribund capi-

talism through the realms of morality, ethical values and culture where a vacuum exists because the bourgeois humanist values although exhausted and obsolete, have not been replaced by proletarian higher moral and ethical values and culture.

So, the very urgent and important task that remains to be assiduously taken up by the working class movement is to release a current of proletarian cultural movement with higher moral and ethical values in the social field to rouse the masses with freshness and vigour, with a scientific outlook which will be a level for social transformation.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has pinpointed the historically verified truth that 'Cultural Revolution precedes technical revolution', and in order to bring an end to political power of a class, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological field. This is equally true both for a revolution as well as for counter-revolution in a society. And as Comrade Ghosh said, the kernel of any noble ideology that is a precursor to social transformation lies in its moral and ethical values. Communism is a noble ideology and therefore its kernel must be reflected in higher sense of moral and ethical values, code of conduct in the standard-bearers of proletarian revolution.

Providing a very valuable guide to action in the proletarian cultural movement Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has taught us that there is no inherent contradiction with internationalism and proletarian social order between true sense of nationalism or patriotism of the masses which are mutually conducive to each other. Ultra-nationalism, national jingoism of the bourgeoisie is reactionary in character as it sets serious impediment in the path of human progress and social development.

So, in order to defeat

the bourgeois trickeries in cultural moral field, sense of patriotism and love of country will have to be integrated with the moral and cultural content of proletarian socialism by those who will have to organise proletarian cultural movement. They will have to show the historic continuity as also the break in between the guiding ideology, moral and ethical values of two distinctly different historic stages of social transformation.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader, reflecting on the cultural-moral degradation has cautioned that culturally and morally we cannot allow ourselves to be rootless. We must find our roots in the highest cultural and moral plane that we have inherited from the past. Because, unless we can do that it will not be possible for us either to establish our living link with the soil and the people or to exhaust the highest cultural and moral values that old social order has handed down to us. And this is essential to building up a higher proletarian social order. So, as communists we should prove ourselves to be the true inheritor of whatever is noble creativeness, whatever worth-taking pride of that the past societies have handed down to us. As communists we must therefore, bear the historic continuation as well as the break in moral and ethical values,—in conformity with the need of time and social advancement.

While analysing the content of higher moral and ethical values of proletarian culture, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era, has drawn our attention to a very significant comment of Marx, that serves as a clue to its proper understanding which has been brilliantly developed and further elaborated by Comrade Ghosh.

When asked as to why he was not defining the idec-

logy of the proletariat as a new kind of humanism, Marx answered from a dialectical materialist interpretation of ideological category of humanism, it being the superstructure of the material basis of private property relation of bourgeois society, being the historical product of bourgeois revolution. So, in defining Communism, Marx showed its historic continuity as well as the break: "Communism is humanism minus private property".

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, while further developing and elaborating it in order to remove the impreciseness and scope for misinterpretation if any has emphasised the point that it is a misnomer that anything humane is humanism because anything humane has nothing to do with humanism which has been the guiding philosophy of the bourgeoisie on the material basis of private property relation grown and developed at a particular historic phase of development of production.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh has therefore given this very important teaching that: "Communist moral is fundamentally different from humanistic moral value both in content and character. In the annals of human society humanism is not the last word. It is undoubtedly, the most lively air that the oppressive bourgeois thinking is capable of producing. But the march of progress of society does not find its zenith in humanism. Communism begins where humanism ends....."

In fine, let us recall this valuable guidance of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era that whoever stand for social transformation and liberation of mankind are to always remember that as because proletarian culture contains within it higher sense of moral and ethical values, they are to assimilate them if we are to take part in this glorious struggle.

How far we have been

(Contd. to Page 8)



# FOR THE SOCIALLY-CONSCIOUS PRIVATE SECTOR

Speaking on the economic policy resolution, adopted at the 75th session of the Congress Party at Kamagata Maru Nagar, Mr. T. A. Pai, Union Minister of Industries declared that the government would not give "any artificial prop to any particular industry to perpetuate a seller's market", reports P. T. I.

Noting how huge investments had been made by public financial institutions in certain private units, Mr. Pai said it was a question of common sense not of ideology if government were to tell those units they must manage the things properly. For: "those who invest money have right to say so." (Economic Times, 31.12.75)

While the minister was uttering these words of warnings, the resolution noted: "It is a matter of considerable satisfaction that the performance of public sector enterprises has improved significantly in recent years." It further said, "while the commanding heights of the economy must continue to rest with the public sector, the congress recognises the useful role of a socially conscious private sector in accelerating the development process. Recent changes in industrial licensing policies have been designed to facilitate this process."

(Economic Times—29.12.75.)

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Mr. Pai's ministry earlier announced, Government's decision to allow automatic expansion to the extent of 25 p.c. of licensed capacity over a period of five years to 15 export oriented engineering industries.

In October '75 another 21 industries in medium sector as also foreign companies and monopoly houses in 30 other important industries were granted exemption from licensing.

In November, it was

further announced that the procedure for regularising unauthorised capacity installed by monopoly houses and foreign companies had been liberalised.

All these steps on the part of the government have been in continuation of its policy in 1972 and '73. In 1972, unauthorised capacity built by units in 65 industrial groups was regularised and the following year, industrial units were permitted 100 p.c. expansion on the ground of diversification.

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Be that as it may, what has been the impact of all these liberalising schemes and measures on the production and prices of essential commodities and improvement in the lot of the poor working people how far this 'socially conscious private sector' has moved in these declared directions, is all there for the common people to feel

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The same, Mr. T.A. Pai, Union Minister for Industries and Civil Supplies, disclosed sometime back that the government was thinking of allowing development rebate and other fiscal incentives to industries to encourage modernisation.

To quote the minister "I have asked my colleagues to consider whether it will be necessary to insist on modernisation of the industry in respect of essential commodities and also give fiscal concessions as are necessary for such modernisation."

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As to dividends also, the 'socially' conscious private sector, has secured recognition of its demand for revising the government's earlier decision. The government has therefore, decided to relax "the requirements for

bonus issue, which had been earlier stiffened following the imposition of the limitation on dividends together with the restriction of increases in wages and dearness allowance of workers. Though the latter restriction remains and has been added to in the form of the ordinance slashing bonus payments, first the ceiling on bonus was removed and now the rules governing bonus issue from 40 months to 24 months and between one bonus issue and applying for permission for the next from 26 months to 12 months." (EPW—same issue)

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Besides, the Finance Minister has assured "a package of further measures to relax the fiscal and monetary policies" in the next budget.

But, even before the budget, the private sector has been able to get many other encouragements ... For example ... the cement prices have been allowed to be raised, the controlled cloth scheme whittled down, control on product pattern of paper industry relaxed, upward revision in controlled cloth price assured besides other monetary-fiscal concessions to the textile industry as a whole. Sugar industrialists have also not lagged behind ...

...

The government's decision relates to a higher percentage of levy free sugar to new sugar factories and expansion projects in existing units as also generous concession on Excise duty. For certain new plants the freedom levy is cent percent.

('Blitz' December, 6, '75)

Now, if you are really interested to know the performance of this 'socially conscious' private sector, you are to go through a few facts and figures supplied by the government agencies and a recent study of 1650 medium and large public limited companies in the private sector published

in the Reserve Bank of India bulletin for September, 1975. As the study covers 90 p.c of the total paid up capital of private sector it reflects fairly well the performance of this sector.

The performances may be summarised as follow: According to CSO (Central Statistical Organisation) the rate of growth decelerated consistently during the plan period—from 5.7 p.c. in 1969-70 to 4.9 p.c. in 1970-71 to 1.4 p.c. in 1971-72 and further to a negative rate of 0.9 p.c. in 72-73 though in 1973-74, there is stated to be a recovery to 3.1 p.c.

Employment in the organised private sector, which had been expanding at the compound rate of 6.2 p.c. per annum during the third plan period remained static for sometime before actually declining by 1.9 p.c. in 1966-67, 2.4 p.c. in 67-68 bringing down the level of employment from 68.10 lakhs in March 1965 to 65.2 lakhs in March 1968. The latest figure in 1973-74 shows that it is still below the level of 1965 and is around 67 lakhs.

Despite such poor performance in growth of output and employment, production of profits of private sector has been far from being poor. In fact, it has been almost always been on the increase as the RBI study shows: Gross profits as a proportion to sales (net of discount and excise duty) was in the range of 9.5 p.c. to 10.5 p.c for about a decade upto 1966-67. Likewise, gross profit as proportion to total capital employed ranged from 10 p.c. to 11 p.c. during the same period.

...In the last four years of the Fourth Plan period (1970-71 to 1973-74) gross profit ranged from 12.2 p.c to 13 p.c. levels never reached before.

And how the private sector has demonstrated its 'social consciousness' in its relation to the working class who are the real creator of values? Figures

tell this in vivid colours.

Manufacturing expenses as a proportion of the value of production were 63 p.c. in 1970-71 but declined steadily to 61 p.c. in 1973-74. Remuneration to employees remained almost static in the two end years of the Fourth plan, 15 p.c. in 1970-71 and 15.8 p.c. in 1960-61 to 15 p.c. in 1970-71 and 15.8 p.c. in 1973-74 which was 17.8 p.c. in 1960-61.

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...The Prime Minister reminded her partymen and supporters that when the Congress adopted the path of socialism, "we did not say that it would be the Russian Socialism or the Chinese Socialism or the Scandinavian Socialism. We have always said that it would be Indian Socialism" where as the resolution added, "the useful role of a socially conscious private sector" ...would always get due recognition, encouragements and protection.

It has, however, been the most important lesson testified by concrete experiences of history and therefore not to be missed by the class-conscious working people throughout the globe that socialism and capitalist exploitation are contradictory terms. Without making an end to and a complete break with the exploitative capitalist motive of production which is maximisation of profit and....., it can never be possible to establish a genuine socialist system, free from exploitation. And in judging the character of the production system, forms of productive units whether it is under individual capitalist proprietorship or co-operative or public corporate bodies are of no consequence, because, as we know, capitalist exploitation adjusts itself to forms—in cases, even to old forms to give a deceptive look.

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# PRESS CLIPPING

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still unfulfilled.  
(Amrita Bazar Patrika, 24.1.76).  
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The All India Acharya Sammelan convened by Vinoba Bhave at Pauner Ashram, Wardah, felt that every efforts should be made to find an honourable, just and early solution of the present impasse. Undue delay might worsen the situation leading to unexpected developments. "Democratic values, methods and institutions alone can serve the true interest of our people and are also the surest way of meeting possible external dangers".

While agreeing that the Constitution should facilitate speedy social and economic progress, the conference suggested that change in the constitution be effected only after discussions at various levels throughout the country.

(Statesman, January 20)  
He (Home Minister, K. Brahmananda Reddy) could not give the figures of people detained after the emergency. Even before the emergency, there were about 5000 detenus. All he could say about the present situation was that the number of those detained now was not "significantly large". He described as wild rumours reports that the number exceeded one lakh or so. (Indian Express, 23.1.76)  
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## CRISIS IN CULTURE

(Contd. from Page 6)  
able to assimilate proletarian moral values and culture will be proved in their actual reflection in our cultural standard and conduct. This is what has been true in every phase of social transformation in history. Those who have been the standard bearers of social progress have been the best sons and daughters, in every age and clime. They have always been the source of inspiration to the oppressed people, the symbol of hope and progress, the pride of the soil. We are to prove ourselves worthy of the historic task.

The Prime Minister denied that she had concentrated all powers in her hand after the Emergency. The executive in many countries enjoyed far more powers than India.

(Statesman, 24.1.76).

Mrs. Gandhi is in favour of preserving the present system of parliamentary democracy, "with perhaps modifications." She does not think that a presidential form a government on the French or the U.S. model will suit India.....

"We want the legislature plus the executive to be able to function more effectively. An additional problem is whether the judiciary can negate essential measures of social reform and economic egalitarianism", said Mrs. Gandhi.....

The prime Minister said that the suspension of Article 19 of the Constitution "does not mean taking away of fundamental rights". This was necessary only because certain people who had been arrested had filed cases.

(Statesman. 22.1.76)

Article 31(A) has given a cart blanche to the State to carry out its projects of genuine agrarian reform...  
...Most land reform legislations, as also important socio-economic legislation, is included in the ninth Schedule which at present comprises 124 Acts. Once an Act is placed in the ninth Schedule, it can not be challenged even if it violated all the fundamental rights in Part III including the right to property. There should be no difficulty in carrying out these socio-economic reforms when there are such wide and extensive powers.

The true remedy lies in ensuring that these Acts are administered with efficiency and not in amending the Constitution to curb the power of judicial review. ("The Constitution-No Obstacle To Economic Reform"—Seli J. Sorabjee (Statesman, January, 22)

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Notice in a public library in north Calcutta: "On and from the 1st January, 1976 daily newspaper will be found in the Fiction Section".

(Statesman, 5.1.76)

## 21st ANNIVERSARY OF AIDS OBSERVED

(Contd. from Page 1)  
which is surreptitiously being implanted by the bourgeoisie that the only purpose of education was to get employment. By this the people are also being confused as to the main cause of the unemployment problem. The stalwarts like Rammohan, Vivekananda never wanted spread of education only for getting employment—education to them was an instrument to acquire character in the struggle of life. But today capitalism wants to put an end to this and so the real aim of education is being distorted. While discussing on the crisis of democracy Comrade Provash Ghosh said that to-day fascism had become the general rule in all the capitalist countries. Here he drew the attention of the audience to the teachings of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, one of the foremost Marxist thinkers of the era, on fascism.

Comrade Provash Ghosh said that other

students' organisations failed to realise that all the problems confronting the student community were due to the capitalist system and the establishment of socialism could alone resolve these problems. The AIDS O, being enlightened with the thoughts of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh had been building up organisation by adopting the programme of socialist revolution and in this way the AIDS O was able to provide a correct path in the students' movement.

In fine Comrade Provash Ghosh appealed to the students community to come forward to discharge their social responsibility by shaking off all individualistic thoughts.

The meeting ended after the presidential address by Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee and then certain cultural functions including staging of a drama based on the novel 'Pathar Davi' by Sarat Chandra were organised.



On the occasion of the 21st Anniversary of AIDS O :

Above : Comrade Provash Ghosh, President of the AIDS O delivering his speech.

Below : A section of the student-gathering at the University Institute Hall, Calcutta.