

**INDIA
TO BUILD
HER OWN FREEDOM**

MANIFESTO OF
THE DEMOCRATIC VANGUARD

Price Four Annas

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This Manifesto in every sense and in all its details has been the product of Democratic Vanguard. It was finally accepted by them in their Conference on the 28th., October, 1943.

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THE STRUGGLE EVOLVES

The people of India, in their attempt to live and to live happily within the limitations permissible in our society, come into conflict with exploitation and oppression and a number of difficulties and impediments. Hence arises the necessity of various kinds of movements to remove all these ills. With the progress of these movements, they are broadened, linked up and get themselves co-ordinated into a general movement of liberation.

The movement of liberation also changes in form, content and concept with the change in the alignment of forces participating. So far as the concept of freedom is concerned, it may be divided into two broad divisions: One school, under the hegemony of the vested interests, emphasises on the political freedom of the country; while the other school under the hegemony of those who have Marxist outlook, does demand for political and social emancipation of the masses. Through these conflicts and through many ups and downs the movement of freedom had been gathering strength.

HOW THE WAR AFFECTS IT

Then came the rude shock disturbing the normal process of its growth, as the present war of unprecedented magnitude touching every part of the globe and every interest, broke out. Fighters for freedom find it to their dismay, that the freedom of many countries was raped within the short span of a few hours and that of others are being threatened. How then should freedom be attained and maintained in countries which have yet to attain it? This tremendous military might with its highly developed technique in this total war, has brought home to all thinking minds that isolated national freedom cannot be maintained by the unaided strength of a single country, that no country's freedom is safe if this might is retained monopolised in the hands of its enemies.

and that, therefore, the struggle for freedom should internationally be so linked up that this war may end in the defeat of its enemies. This is why the causes and character of this war should be carefully analysed and clearly understood by all lovers of freedom and progress.

WHY THIS WAR ?

Terribly in dread of the growth of the forces of revolution and its initial success in Russia, covering one-sixth of the globe, vested interests in all lands were feverishly preparing themselves for a deadly clash. Contradictions inherent in the extant order got themselves intensified to such an extent touching every aspect of human existence that the ruling classes found it impossible to maintain their power while working under the present limitations. Democracy, even in its limited form, law courts, liberal institutions, freedom of press, platform and associations, increased productivity of labour, progress of science and culture, all these previously necessary for their interests, are, now, in the epoch of decaying capitalism, dangerous impediments in their way of suppression of the forces of revolution. So they felt that all these must be discarded and a new method of suppression must be found out. Varieties of complications arising out of the conditions during and after the last Great War (I) offered opportunity for the counter-revolutionary section of the vested interests in some countries of forging the instrument of fascism with which to equip their States. These States naturally assumed the leadership of the forces of counter-revolution of all lands. The counter-revolutionary section of the vested interests in all other countries, while trying to entrench the new cult into power in their own lands, were directly and indirectly helping the fascist powers to grow in immense strength.

So, the new cult, in its advent and growth, has been the expression of a Civil War on an international scale, where counter-revolution was progressively gaining ground against the forces of revolution and progress. It was to the credit of the Third International that it could quickly see through the game and prescribed more or less an appropriate line

of action to cope with this dangerous development. But they faltered in action and hopelessly bungled when the deadly clash precipitated.

At last the civil strife broke out into an armed conflict, which in its extent, speed, ferocity, destructive effect and technical development, is unsurpassed and could not even be dreamt of, directly or indirectly involving every part of the world. In every country, people are found to have divided allegiance and are sometimes fighting bitterly between themselves in support of their respective camps. The war is, therefore, not a fight between nations, but has assumed the character of International Civil War where the gigantic might of the Fascists has fallen upon the forces of revolution and progress with the grim determination to efface the latter out of existence. Freedom is nowhere safe and no freedom is attainable so long as this might continue to be effective in the hands of its enemies. So, if freedom and progress are to maintain their own, their lovers, no matter which country they belong to, must combine and fight against the fascists also to protect or restore freedom of all and every country as to save Soviet Russia, their hope, friend, guide and inspirer.

INDIAN FIGHTERS FAIL.

In India, most of the fighters for freedom failed to understand this character of the war and to find an appropriately changed technique of struggle for freedom. Besides, there were others belonging to the camp of counter-revolution to mislead the people to the wrong camp. It could be done easily in view of the unwanted foreign domination, and the much cursed foreign rulers going over to the right camp for some compelling reasons. Instead of contributing towards the destruction of the common enemy and to gather strength in the process, they expressed their desire to act, and even acted, in a manner that directly or indirectly helped the enemies of mankind including ourselves.

M. N. ROY & HIS PARTY—Achievements & Failure.

In this trying and confusing situation, there arose a single voice of wisdom and discretion that gave the correct analysis

and the appropriate technique for the guidance of the fighters for freedom. It was M. N. Roy's. This resulted in the emergence of a new party which, to its credit, stood unflinchingly against heavy odds.

But in action, they have miserably failed. A new party, with small membership, with its units sparingly and unevenly spread, with its organisational structure inappropriately conceived, with bureaucratic authoritarianism as its guiding principle, with its cliques, factions, mutual suspicion, internal quarrels, and the like vices born partly out of the defective organisational structure and partly out of frustrations previously suffered by its leadership, could not cope with the task it set to itself. Naturally, its plan of action, in pursuance of its objective, degenerated. Isolation from the masses through splitting up of the Trade Union movement, through sectarianism pursued in the defence movement, through abandonment of students and middle class movements, refusal to work with other organisations and parties even on issues, illusion of getting everything done by the British Democracy including the illusion of power being transferred by it to the Indian Democracy, overdoing in the matter of supporting the Government in the name of co-operation even when it is in the wrong, are the indications of such degeneration.

In the wake of all these, come confusions and contradictions of a dangerous type in respect of their plan of action regarding the elections. These confusions and contradictions were previously unknown in the R. D. P. or its organ "Independent India." While the "Fundamental Principles," "Conventions," "Constituent Assembly" etc., are hedged in the new line of action, its real emphasis is on pledging acceptance of a constitution, concrete content of which is yet to be known. It is nothing but their wishful thinking when they say that all the older organisations will oppose the constitution, and when they naively believe that the election may be won to the extent of being able to form a working majority in Legislatures with a programme definitely against the vested interests, while all the rottenness of the society will still continue. They have decided to transform the R. D. P. into an election-running machinery, a bigger N. D. U. A fresh election of the Provincial Legislatures, even under the Act

of 1935, and a Provisional Govt. at the Centre "commanding the confidence of the newly elected Provincial Legislatures," and appointed by the Viceroy will be, according to them, an interim arrangement with substantial power possible of being utilised by the democratic masses. The Provisional Govt. thus constitutionally formed, will arrange (manipulate?) the election of the Constituent Assembly according to the new constitution under an Act of the British Parliament, thus maintaining the continuity of authority all-through the process of transformation. This constitutional transformation is the method now prescribed by the Radical Democratic Party for the achievement of their goal. Yet they want others to believe that the logic of all these will not lead them on to the path of constitutional reformism—because of their plan of convention of Constituent Assembly to be convened by Govt. that can never be at the hands of the democratic masses.

All these are instances of failures and short-comings of a party that has made the greatest contribution of our time by giving the correct lead in a trying situation in the midst of the greatest of crisis the world has ever seen.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY—Its Role.

The Communist Party of India decided to get itself out of the wrong camp. It had been in the wrong camp being a component part of the Third International. For the same reason again, it could extricate itself from that rut. But this conformist turn-over suffered from the defect that the character of the war was not properly understood and, as such, the new technique of struggle could not be thoroughly grasped. They made a hotch-potch of the old and the new methods and catered this stuff to further confuse the already confused masses. While professing Anti-Fascism they talk of all-round unity; after condemning the Congress leadership for its Bombay resolution, which they castigated as an invitation to Japan, they demand the release of those very leaders for the purpose of resisting Jap aggression; with their claim of being the people's party, they do not hesitate to demand National Government which will mean Government of the rich; they talk of bringing a Kerensky regime in India in the hope that

they will have a chance to play the role of the Bolshevik Party. Pledged to unconditional support of the Government's war efforts, they are found publicly to condemn the Govt. even without rhyme and reason, only with a view to be popular with the ill-informed vocal section of the people. It condemns Gandhism and Gandhiji's policy with regard to this war and yet becomes Gandhiji's camp followers as it believes that the masses are with Gandhiji. The logic of this attitude of the party should lead them to the camp of the Fascists in a Fascist-ridden country and they would be Bosites had it been possible for Bose to get the Japs invade a part of India where he could easily get the ears of the people. These and other absurdities of the party are bound to lead them to ineffectiveness inspite of brilliant shows here and there.

These two parties being found unsuitable for the tasks they have in view, what is to happen with regard to the subjective factor? Should another party be organised eliminating all the defects they suffer from?

A NEW PARTY ?

The party that can lead the country to its desired goal must be the most conscious vanguard of the movement of liberation, endowed with its rich experience, churned out of it and for its own requirements. The character of the movement having changed only lately, it has not yet been able to throw up its own leadership with sufficient experience of the movement; it is as yet in the process of formation. Individuals and parties with the experiences of different types of movements of the past, if they fail to adjust themselves to the new requirements of the hour, can only bungle and not lead. With their influence acquired earlier, they are likely to do more harm than good.

But there are individuals who have visions to look ahead and can fairly guess the likely course of development as to be determined by the interactions of known forces with conscious and purposeful directives. Their number, however, is very small. Should they combine to form a new party?

The smallness of their number is mostly due to the shortness of the period of experience and of crystallisation. But the terrible clash in a dynamic situation has the advantage of congealing the experience of a century within the short span of a week. Therefore, this small number of the vanguard has the possibility of being reinforced substantially in the near future. There are a few vanguards now in the field; formation of a party by a section of them coming closer in relation to some work, will mean exclusion of those who are likely to be thrown up by various movements in the near future and others not yet brought closer through the medium of their activities. A formed party is a standing challenge to others. If the challenge is made prematurely before the experience of the new movement is generalised, elements in the process of growth, and hence still immature, will be antagonised, thus restricting the possibility of their sound development and their final absorption in the brotherhood of the vanguards. Hence the formation of a party here and now will be premature and harmful. Vanguards must wait for an appropriate moment in an atmosphere of generalised experience of the new type of movements, while feverishly working in them and thus helping the vanguards to grow. Others who are already in different parties are likely either to secure their own release from fetters imposed by such prematurely grown parties in the process of their development, or make themselves ineffective, nay, make themselves harmful to the cause without their knowing it, because of the rigidity imposed by parties and because of premature challenge thrown up by such parties.

Hence, vanguards who have no fetters about them and have come closer to each other in the process of movements should combine themselves not into a party but into a brotherhood for the purpose of fullest utilisation of their strength and resources to help vanguards to grow. For the need of such collective action an organisation of theirs is a necessity. But as they work in various fields, they will have no other claim except as participants in movements in their respective fields. They must work in all fields and everywhere with the spirit of brotherhood and the feeling of oneness with all vanguards rising up in all movements irrespective of whether they formally and organisationally join them or not. A

society of all-pervading discontent forces up movements everywhere and the movements also in their turn churn up conscious vanguards everywhere. "Democratic Vanguards" must feel oneness and solidarity with them all and so, in their company they are not really handful. Different movements cropping up on the background of rottenness of a system that permits and facilitates exploitation and oppression, are bound to get linked up, thus evolving the real party of the people that can and will successfully lead the people on to their coveted goal.

But it must be very clearly understood that mere influence in a movement does not raise up an individual to the brotherhood of vanguards. Vanguards, recognising the reality of the situation, work for the redress of immediate grievances of the people, yet they look ahead too and know how to adjust the partial and immediate demands to the requirements of the ultimate goal. So their real influence is yet to be built up. Influence, if and when at variance with the objective evaluation of the development of forces and, therefore, unrelated to the requirement of the ultimate goal, is not the kind of influence that makes for the quality of vanguards. Conformity with the objectivity of the situation is the real test of finding out the growing vanguards in every field.

The class character of this vanguard, as also of the people's party of future, is to be determined by the movements of which they are to be the products. These movements are, all of them, of the exploited and oppressed coming from different toiling classes. Such movements throwing up their leadership will, therefore, be ideologically as well as in matters of personnel, multi-class leadership where the classes that exploit and oppress can have no place.

The content of this multi-class leadership is determined by various factors. In India, agriculture is the main means of production and it suffers from anachronistic production relations and from consequent primitive technique. Democratic Revolution can be achieved by liquidating them completely, thus fully satisfying the demands of those who toil on the land. But the technique of production they toil with, does not compel unity, organisation and sustained aggressiveness; nor do they have sufficient education, political

consciousness and tradition of initiative in struggles. Stopped in ignorance, stunted by prejudices, victims of belief in fate and of absence of faith in themselves, they always look forward for lead to come from that section of the middle class intelligentsia that has made the peasants' demand their own. Naturally therefore, while the agrarian revolution is the order of the day, personnel in the leadership from the agricultural class is bound to be small and out of all proportions.

For a variety of reasons, in India the middle class intelligentsia has the greatest influence over all kinds of movements. They have to their credit maximum amount of contribution extending over a long period of service. They have suffered much but not to the extent of being crushed or demoralised as the oppression practised on them is incapable of being simultaneously intensive, extensive and persistent under the limitations of the present system. Oppression resorted to intermittently, hesitatingly in some places and for a short duration followed by concessions, only helped this class to earn more prestige and greater influence. To add to this, changes in the alignment of forces operative could always find its corresponding reflection on a section of this class retaining its usefulness through all these changes. Hence, this class predominates in the leadership, in so far as the personnel goes.

But the movements of liberation in India are not an isolationist national struggle. It is being fought in the context of a movement of liberation throughout the world and as a component part of it. The logical culmination of this world movement is the evolution of a classless society. Liquidation of classes will fully satisfy the demand of the proletarian class which alone will lose nothing in the process. Hence, as a part of the world movement, the Democratic Revolution in India being only a stepping stone, the working class, for its own emancipation, must provide the drive in the leadership.

Besides, in spite of her backwardness, India has had her share of capitalist exploitation in a world of capitalism. She has a growing working class. The world has been coming closer and the experiences of the working class movements in other countries together with inspiring rise of Soviet

Socialism has not failed to influence and inspire Indian politics with proletarian outlook.

But for a number of causes this class is still not in its proper place. It is numerically small, not sufficiently class conscious, organisationally weak and in action lacks initiative and dash. The Democratic Revolution with its agrarian content indicates multi-class leadership. These are the factors that preclude the possibility of the exclusive leadership of this class.

Necessarily therefore, the multi-class leadership will have in it the core of that section of the middle class intelligentsia which will have proletarian outlook to influence and guide it and will have the programme of the Democratic Revolution as stepping stone for the realisation of the goal of emancipated humanity.

Another aspect of this multi-class leadership must not be lost sight of. In this ever-changing world and particularly under the impact of a terrific clash of arms with feverishly changing production forces, sharp changes in the alignment of forces have been taking place. A corresponding change in the leadership tending more and more towards proletarianisation is thus being wrought up irrespective of any wishful thinking. The conscious vanguard should therefore take note of it and do what is possible to eliminate the deficiency of the working class.

Armed with this knowledge born out of the experience of various movements and parties, a number of vanguards who have come closer to each other through the process of their work, form themselves into a brotherhood in the name of

"DEMOCRATIC VANGUARD."

It is not a party. It will have an organisation for the efficient and systematic execution of its work thus contributing its maximum to the cause, while eliminating all wastage and overlapping,

In its organisational scheme, the old method of arbitrary allotment of duty will have no place; the system of allotment of duty will be determined by the process of movements.

Internal Democracy functioning will evolve its centralised efficient command.

Its organisation will spread not by addition of formal units, set up through manipulation, but mostly by recognition of nuclei and units rising through the process of movements.

It will work in movements through vanguards as participants but will have nothing by way of challenging any party, group, or individuals in the name of the 'Democratic Vanguards' as monopolists of leadership.

GOAL—Its goal is the attainment of Democratic Revolution in India which at this stage can be attained and maintained as a part of Democratic Freedom of all the Peoples.

CONTENT—The content of the Democratic Revolution is the direct management of the affairs of the people, political and social, by the democratically organised power of the toiling masses uninterfered by any other agency.

METHOD—Various movements of the people co-ordinated into a general movement of liberation against Fascism and reaction emerging victoriously, will take us to the coveted goal.

Fascism, an instrument devised by the counter-revolutionary section of the vested interest for the purpose of retaining themselves in power during the crisis of Capitalism in decay, can be finally destroyed by complete liquidation of capitalism which is conditional upon building up of people's own power to replace the present system.

All who are fighting against fascism and reaction are, therefore, performing a common task. And hence, even without being linked up organisationally or even though functioning not in pursuance of pacts or understandings, they, through the common medium of action in relation to the common task—through their contribution to the common cause, form in effect a Grand Alliance of the peoples. Organisational unity and consolidation may, however, take place more and more with the progress of the movement.

After the defect of the Fascist Powers, there will be a sharp realignment of forces inside the Grand Alliance of the people necessitating a new plan of action appropriate to the changed conditions then obtainable.

But building up of democratic power of the people will be the common feature of all plans of action.

In India, the Democratic Vanguard will decide its policy and line of action regarding the then existing Government, any Reforms, Constituent Assembly, and any election only when their concrete contents and the mood of the people at the time are definitely known; but the Vanguards from now on will prepare themselves to meet any exigency that may arise and will go about warning the people of the danger ahead and telling them to get themselves ready, armed with their own idea of freedom concretised in the shape of certain defined principles and by organising themselves on the basis of those principles and for the requirement of saving themselves from extinction, exploitation and oppression.

PRINCIPLES OF ACTION

The Democratic Vanguard will observe the following principles as its functions:—

1. The Vanguard will feel and realise unity and solidarity with all, now involved in the struggle against the Fascist powers, and against Fascism and Reaction.

2. The allied Governments and their military might being the most decisive factor in this titanic war, the Democratic Vanguard has the courage of pledging its co-operation to them and helping them in their war efforts with all implications of such co-operation and help.

3. Senseless support even when one is wrong is not co-operation in the true sense; nor destructive criticism without the appreciation of difficulties through which our allies are to function, is consistent with the policy of co-operation.

4. Home front is our special sphere where the Democratic Vanguard must work for the defence against hunger, fighting the fifth-columnists, increasing production of all kinds, helping recruitments in different war services, helping to build up anti-fascist morale in the army without any party colour and for the mobilisation of the people to form their own Panchayets and Defence Militia.

5. While working in the Defence Committees, the Vanguard will never pursue any sectarian policy. It will be in the defence movement and in all Defence Committees by whom-so-ever started and help them to grow as regionally united democratic instrument of the people to fight fascism and reaction with and as also to manage the affairs of the people. The Democratic Vanguard will always help these people's organ of power to grow on non-party, non-communal and non-sectarian basis.

6. In the Trade Union movement, the Democratic Vanguard will work for its unity to fight fascism and reaction and to fight for the immediate interest of the working class. The fight for the working class interest during the war must, however, be adjusted to the requirement of victory in this war, which is essential for the general interest of the human society including the working class. The Democratic Vanguard will never isolate itself from the working class, their movements and their organisations where-ever found.

7. In the Grand Alliance of Anti-Fascist Forces, parties and groups have their differences. The Democratic Vanguard can and will co-operate with them only on issues and they will always avoid creating unnecessary cleavages on non-essential differences.

8. The movements of defence against hunger, aggression and Native Fascism will necessitate building up of people's power, for, to-day old organisations including those of the State have been found unsuitable for the task and can usefully function only with the help and co-operation of democratically organised people. The British Democracy, if and when it can assert itself, will recognise the Democratic Authority of the people through their instrument of contact namely, their Government.

9. The Democratic Vanguard will be with the peasants in their defence committees, panchayets and in their adhoc organisations and movements to help them to have their fundamental demands satisfied, while working for the removal of local and immediate grievances.

10. The Democratic Vanguard will be with the students

in their various movements and activities and turn the pick of them into determined fighters for the cause.

11. In view of the possibility of early military defeat of the Fascist powers without a comprehensive plan of conscious and purposeful participation of our people, mobilisation of people's power during the war may not attain a high degree of efficiency. Even then, this mobilization may be utilised to guard against any undesirable developments and will certainly be helpful for further crystallisation of forces.

The Post-War World will open up a new chapter. It has in it the possibility of a number of alternative developments. Exact reaction to any such development has to be determined only when its concrete shape is known. Constitutional changes, elections, opposition to the constitution or its acceptance, relation with the Govt. are matters over which determination of any plan of action is not only premature, but will be the product of wishful thinking without any reference to the merit or demerit of the issues involved. But our general preparation for meeting any exigency that may arise must be rushed through. The Democratic Vanguard believes that if movement on all fields are carried on according to the principles enunciated herein and if our people are fore-warned regarding the possibilities of danger, they will by then gather maximum possible strength to cope with problems cropping up.

12. Attitude of the Democratic Vanguard towards election in the local bodies or in the Legislatures during the period of war has to be in keeping with our technique of struggle at this stage against Fascism and Reaction which necessarily includes the fight against the Fascist powers and our struggle for Democratic Freedom.

13. The Democratic Vanguard takes serious notice of internal dissensions over communal and religious issues involving the masses. These have to be liquidated if any thing is to be done to bring the people to their own. Appeals, negotiations, concessions and pressures have so far failed and, as a matter of fact, have been complicating the issues. Top leaders could not be brought to their senses. But the people cannot and must not remain helpless victims to the

caprices and idiocyncracies of a handful of people. The Democratic Vanguard is definitely of the opinion that it is the toiling masses who alone can work out their own unity so vital for them, if only they can agree to the concrete content of freedom. And, if content of freedom is nothing more or less than the freedom to live like human beings, the agreement on this issue is abiding and is not difficult of achievement. The problem of our suicidal strifes can be effectively tackled only on this platform.

Besides, when interested individuals and groups are about to mislead the masses, it is an urgent and compelling necessity that they should be exposed, isolated and the masses saved in the process. This will be best done by popularising the concrete content of freedom that can save our people from utter annihilation. The recent bitter experience of our sufferings and of the heavy toll of death due to starvation and diseases resulting therefrom, have created a predisposition necessary for acceptance of concrete content of Freedom that alone can save the people.

Moreover, for raising the movement of liberation to a higher level, people and their movements must also be raised to the level of conscious and enthusiastic participants in the struggle. This is possible when the basis of the movement is firmly laid on the vital issue touching the very existence of our people.

Sj. Amarendra Nath Chattopadhyaya M. L. A. (Central) has offered us an opportunity of popularising the demand of concrete content of freedom by introducing a resolution on Fundamental Principles of the Constitution of Free India for successively three sessions. This provides a good basis for a country-wide discussion of the issues involved. An issue, raised in the House of the Central Legislature, is everybody's concern and not a party show. Every political being worth the name must give his or her opinion on it.

The Democratic Vanguard has no illusion as to the fate the resolution will meet on the floor of the house. But different parties and movements, members of Legislatures Central as well as Provincial, members of local bodies, and people in their constituencies may be moved to give their opinion and to arrange for initiation of such discussions in

all constituted bodies. People opposing it will expose themselves, while any support will be addition to the strength, and the agitation on behalf of it, linked up with the problem of existence, will help us in mobilising the people in their Democratic Defence Committees and Panchayets. And such mobilisation will give us the necessary strength for dealing with any problem cropping up now and hereafter after the war, and in the process for building up people's power.

The Democratic Vanguard will work for such consummation with all its might. All the forces of Freedom and Progress joining hands, as they are bound to do, our victory will be irresistible.

**Long live Democratic Revolution in India
In a World of Democratic Freedom**

ডেমোক্র্যাটিক ভ্যানগার্ডের প্রধান পুস্তিকাবলী

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