

# Teachings of Stalin on Organizational Questions



21 December 1879

5 March 1953

**“... to be a Party member one must apply the Party’s programme, tactics and organizational views ; to apply the Party’s views one must fight for them ; and to fight for these views one must work in a Party organization, work in unison with the Party. Clearly, to be a Party member one must belong to one of the Party organizations.\* Only when we join one of the Party organizations and thus merge our personal interests with the Party’s interests can we become Party members, and, consequently, real leaders of the proletarian army.” — J. V. STALIN**

[ At a time when the Central Committee of our Party has given a call to release an allround struggle for elevation and rectification of comrades — from the leaders down to the cadres — we felt it incumbent to recall those teachings of Stalin, on the occasion of 43rd anniversary of his demise on 5th March 1996, which pertain to the way he conducted fierce battle inside the party and the state in accordance with the behest of Lenin.

We hope quoyed hereimunder some relevent excerpts from his Report to the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU(B). We hope all concerned will make a careful, meticulous and deep study of the same with a view to

translating these invaluable teachings into action.

— Editor, Proletarian Era ]

## Problems of Organizational Leadership

I have spoken of our successes. I have spoken of the victory of the Party line in the sphere of the national economy and of culture, as well as in the sphere of overcoming anti-Leninist groups in the Party. I have spoken of the world-wide historical significance of our victory. But this does not mean that we have achieved victory everywhere and in all things, and that all our problems have been solved. Such successes and such victories never occur in real life. Plenty of  
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## Comrade Nihar Mukherjee Flays Central Budget

Comrade Nihar Mukherjee, General Secretary, SUCI, issued the following statement on Central Interim General Budget on 1st March

“That the yearly budget exercise of the Narasimha Rao Government has lost all its practical relevance to the lives of the people of the country is once again proved through this year’s interim budget placed in Parliament on 28th February, last.

This interim budget is a statistical jugglery aimed at hoodwinking the people with so-called growth figures and serving the immediate narrow electoral interests of the ruling party. It is really shameful that when the people are suffering from the continued price hike, unemployment and all-pervading political corruption, the Government is playing with ‘economic growth figures’ which has only pleased the monopolists of India and abroad. People are being deprived of minimum education and health care on the plea of shortage of funds, but there is no halt in raising the military expenditure which has been increased by 10% reaching the all-time high amount of Rs. 27,819 crore. This is done on the oft repeated plea of ‘defending the country’ when actually the country, i.e. the people are becoming more and more defenceless against the mounting economic and cultural attacks of the ruling classes.

We call upon the people to raise their voice against this hoax of budgetary exercise.”

## Condemn this US Piracy

The US imperialists have intensified their hostility against Cuba with renewed vigour after the drowning over Cuban air space of two Miami based private planes by Cuban MIG-fighter jets. The US imperialists have been engaged in all sorts of nefarious activities including intrigues, interferences, interventions and even piracy throughout all corners of the world, and they think all these activities as their legitimate right. But when Cuba asserts her sovereignty the US imperialists raise a hue and cry against Cuba and not only denounced her but initiated renewed measures including tightening of the economic sanctions against Socialist Cuba.

Since the establishment of socialism in Cuba the US imperialists have been not only continuing a barbarous and severe economic blockade against her but at the sametime fostering and fomenting anti Cuban forces and groups at Miami and Florida, which have been carrying out sabotage activities against Cuba inside that country, with a view to destroying the socialist system there. The existence of a socialist system at the backyard of the USA causes severe irritation to the US imperialists; because despite severe economic blockade against Cuba for the last 38 years the continuation of the socialist system with much better health care, education facilities, etc. is a source of inspiration to the

common people of the USA. The US imperialists naturally smell danger here and despite its massive military might with most lethal weapons including the latest nuclear arsenals in their possession cannot ignore this tiny island state. It is noteworthy that despite severe constraints and barbarous economic blockade the Cuban people stand unitedly and solidly in defence of the socialist system. And so they have been engaged in intrigues, besides the economic blockade, with the help of Cuban reactionary exiles. Private planes belonging to Miami based anti-Cuban group made frequent incursions into Cuban airspace under the direct patronage of the US imperialists, and last year the group flew directly over Havana to drop anti-Castro leaflets on at least two occasions. The Cuban Government most legitimately declared that it would not tolerate any more incursions into its airspace.

But despite this warning three planes from Florida intruded the Cuban airspace on 24th February last, and they were driven out by Cuban

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\* Just as every complex organism is made up of an incalculable number of the simplest organisms, so our Party, being a complex and general organization, is made up of numerous district and local bodies called Party organizations, provided they have been endorsed by the Party Congress or the Central Committee. As you see, not only Committees are called Party organizations. To direct the activities of these organizations according to a single plan there is a Central Committee, through which these local Party organizations constitute one, large, centralized organization. (Original footnote — Ed. P.Era)

## “ . . . purge the Party . . . of unreliable, unstable and demoralized elements ”

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unsolved problems and defects of all sorts still remain. We are confronted by a host of problems demanding solution. But it does undoubtedly mean that the major part of the urgent problems has already been successfully solved, and in this sense the great victory of our Party is beyond any doubt.

But here the question arises : how was this victory brought about ; how was it actually obtained ; what fight was put up for it ; what efforts were exerted to achieve it ?

Some people think that it is sufficient to draw up a correct Party line, proclaim it for all to hear, state it in the form of general theses and resolutions, and take a vote and carry it unanimously for victory to come of itself, spontaneously, as it were. That, of course, is wrong. It is a gross delusion. Only incorrigible bureaucrats and red-tapists can think so. As a matter of fact, these successes and victories did not come spontaneously, but as the result of a fierce struggle for the application of the Party line. Victory never comes of itself — it usually has to be attained. Good resolutions and declarations in favour of the general line of the Party are only a beginning ; they merely express the desire for victory, but not the victory itself. After the correct line has been laid down, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on how the work is organized ; on the organization of the struggle for the application of the Party line ; on the proper selection of personnel ; on the way a check is kept on the fulfilment of the decisions of the

leading bodies. Otherwise the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being seriously prejudiced. Furthermore, after the correct political line has been laid down, organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure.

As a matter of fact, victory was achieved and won by a stern and systematic struggle against all sorts of difficulties that stood in the way of carrying out the Party line ; by overcoming the difficulties ; by mobilizing the Party and the working class for the purpose of overcoming the difficulties ; by organizing the struggle to overcome the difficulties ; by removing inefficient executives and choosing better ones, capable of waging the struggle against difficulties.

What are these difficulties ; and wherein are they lodged ?

They are difficulties attending our organizational work, difficulties attending our organizational leadership. They are lodged in ourselves, in our leading people, in our organizations, in the apparatus of our Party, state, economic, trade union, Young Communist League, and all other organizations.

We must realize that the strength and prestige of our Party, state, economic, and all other organizations, and of their leaders, have grown to an unprecedented degree. And precisely because their strength and prestige have grown to an unprecedented degree, it is their work that now determines everything, or nearly everything. There can be no justification for references to so-called objective conditions. Now that the correctness of the Party's political line has been confirmed by the experience of a number of years, and that there

is no longer any doubt as to the readiness of the workers and peasants to support this line, the part played by so-called objective conditions has been reduced to a minimum ; whereas the part played by our organizations and their leaders has become decisive, exceptional. What does this mean ? It means that from now on nine tenths of the responsibility for the failures and defects in our work rest, not on “objective” conditions, but on ourselves, and on ourselves alone.

We have in our Party more than 2,000,000 members and candidate members. In the Young Communist League we have more than 4,000,000 members and candidate members. We have over 3,000,000 worker and peasant correspondents. The Society for the Promotion of Aircraft and Chemical Defence has more than 12,000,000 members. The trade unions have a membership of over 17,000,000 million. It is to these organizations that we are indebted for our successes. And if, notwithstanding the existence of such organizations and of such possibilities, which facilitate the achievement of success, we still suffer from quite a number of defects and not a few failures in our work, then it is only we ourselves, our organizational work, our bad organizational leadership, that are to blame for this.

Bureaucracy and red tape in the administrative apparatus ; idle chatter about “leadership in general” instead of real and concrete leadership ; the functional structure of our organizations and lack of individual responsibility ; lack of personal responsibility in work, and wage equalization ; the absence of a systematic check upon the fulfilment of decisions ; fear of self-criticism —

these are the sources of our difficulties ; this is where our difficulties are now lodged.

It would be naive to think that these difficulties can be overcome by means of resolutions and decisions. **The bureaucrats and red-tapists have long become past masters in the art of demonstrating their loyalty to Party and government decisions in words, and pigeonholing them in deed. In order to overcome these difficulties it was necessary to put an end to the disparity between our organizational work and the requirements of the political line of the Party ; it was necessary to raise the level of organizational leadership in all spheres of the national economy to the level of political leadership ; it was necessary to see to it that our organizational work guarantees the practical realization of the political slogans and decisions of the Party.**

In order to overcome these difficulties and achieve success it was necessary to *organize* the struggle to eliminate these difficulties ; it was necessary to draw the masses of the workers and peasants into this struggle ; it was necessary to mobilize the Party itself ; **it was necessary to purge the Party and the economic organizations of unreliable, unstable and demoralized elements.**

What was needed for this ?

We had to organize :

1. **Extensive self-criticism and exposure of the defects in our work.**
2. **The mobilization of the Party, state, economic, trade union, and Young Communist League organizations for the struggle against difficulties.**
3. **The mobilization of the masses of the workers and peasants to fight for the application of the slogans and decisions of the Party and of the Government.**
4. **The extension of emulation and shock work among the working people.**
5. **A wide net work of Political Departments of machine-and-tractor stations and state farms and the bringing of the Party and Soviet leadership closer to the villages.**
6. **The subdivision of the People's Commissariats, head offices, and trusts, and the establishment of closer contact in the economic sphere between the leadership and the enterprises.**
7. **The elimination of lack of personal responsibility in work and the elimination of wage equalization.**
8. **The elimination of the “functional” system ; the extension of individual responsibility, and a policy aiming at the abolition of collegium management.**
9. **The exercise of greater control over the fulfilment of decisions, while taking the line towards reorganizing the Central Control Commission and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection with a view to the further enhancement of the work of checking up on the fulfilment of decisions.**
10. **The transfer of qualified workers from offices to posts that would bring them into closer contact with production.**
11. **The exposure and expulsion from the administrative apparatus of incorrigible bureaucrats and red-tapists.**
12. **The removal from their posts of people who violated the decisions of the Party and the Government, of “window-dressers” and windbags, and to promotion to their place of new people — businesslike people, capable of concretely directing the work entrusted to them and of strengthening Party and state discipline.**
13. **The purging of state and economic organizations and the reduction of their staffs.**
14. **Lastly, the purging of the Party of unreliable and demoralized persons.**

These, in the main, are the measures which the Party has had to adopt in order to overcome difficulties, to raise our organizational work to the level of political leadership, and in this way to ensure the application of the Party line.

You know that this is exactly how the Central Committee of the Party carried on its organizational work during the period under review.

In this, the Central Committee was guided by the brilliant thought uttered by Lenin to the effect that the chief thing in organizational work is *the choice of personnel and the keeping of a check on the fulfilment of decisions.*

In regard to choosing the right people and dismissing those who fail to justify the confidence placed in them, I would like to say a few words.

Besides the incorrigible bureaucrats and red-tapists, as to whose removal there are no differences of opinion among us, there are two other types of executive who retard our work, hinder our work, and hold up our advance.

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# “...ninetenths of defects and failures are due to lack of ... organized system of check-up”

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One of these types of executive is represented by people who rendered certain services in the past, people who have become aristocrats, who consider that Party decisions and the Soviet laws are not written for them, but for fools. These are the people who do not consider it their duty to fulfil the decisions of the Party and of the Government, and who thus destroy the foundations of Party and state discipline. What do they count upon when they violate Party decisions and Soviet laws? They presume that the Soviet government will not have the courage to touch them, because of their past services. These overconceited aristocrats think that they are irreplaceable, and that they can violate the decisions of the leading bodies with impunity. What is to be done with executive of this kind? They must unhesitatingly be removed from their leading posts, irrespective of past services. They must be demoted to lower positions and this must be announced in the press...

And now about the second type of executives. I have in mind the windbags, I would say, honest windbags, people who are honest and loyal to the Soviet power, but who are incompetent as executives, incapable of organizing anything. Last year I had a conversation with one such comrade, a very respected comrade, but an incorrigible windbag, capable of drowning any living cause in a flood of talk...

I have already briefly reported on how the Central Committee handled the selection of personnel for the state and economic organizations, and how it pursued the work of keeping a closer check on the fulfilment of decisions. Comrade Kaganovich will deal with this in greater detail in his report on the third item of the agenda of the Congress.

I would like to say a few words, however, about future work in connection with the task of keeping a closer check on the fulfilment of decisions.

The proper organization of the work of checking up on the fulfilment of decisions is of decisive importance in the fight against bureaucracy and red tape. Are the decisions of the leading bodies carried out, or are they pigeon-holed by bureaucrats and red-tapists? Are they carried out properly, or are they distorted? Is the apparatus working conscientiously and in a Bolshevik manner, or is it working ineffectually? These things can be promptly found out only if a proper check is kept on the fulfilment of decisions. A proper check on the fulfilment of decisions is a searchlight which helps to reveal how the apparatus is functioning at any moment, exposing bureaucrats and red-tapists to full view. We can say with certainty that nine tenths of our defects and failures are due to the lack of a properly organized system of check-up on the fulfilment of decisions. There can be no doubt that had there been such a system of check-up on fulfilment, defects and failures would certainly have been averted.

But if the work of checking up on fulfilment is to achieve its purpose, two conditions at least are required: first, that fulfilment be checked

up systematically and not spasmodically; second, that the work of checking up on fulfilment in all sections of the Party, state, and economic organizations, be entrusted not to second-rate people, but to people with sufficient authority, to the leaders of the organizations concerned.

The proper organization of the work of checking up on fulfilment is of supreme importance for the central leading bodies. The organizational structure of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection does not meet the requirements of a well-functioning system for checking up on fulfilment of decisions. Several years ago, when our economic work was simpler and less satisfactory, and when we could count on the possibility of inspecting the work of all the People's Commissariats and of all the economic organizations, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection was adequate. But now, when our economic work has expanded and has become more complicated, and when it is no longer necessary, or possible, to inspect it from one centre, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection must be reorganized. What we need now is not an inspectorate, but the checking up on the fulfilment of the decisions of the centre — what we need now is the control over fulfilment of the decisions of the centre. We now need an organization that will not set itself the universal aim of inspecting everything and everybody, but which can concentrate all its attention on the work of control, on the work of checking up on the fulfilment of the decisions of the central bodies of the Soviet power. Such an organization can be only a Soviet Control Commission under the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., working on the assignments of the Council of People's Commissars, and having local representatives who are independent of the local authorities. And in order that this organization may wield sufficient authority and be able, when necessary, to take proceedings against any responsible executive, candidates for the Soviet Control Commission must be nominated by the Party Congress and endorsed by the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. I think that only such an organization can strengthen Soviet control and Soviet discipline.

As for the Central Control Commission, it is well known that it was set up primarily and mainly for the purpose of averting a split in the Party. You know that at one time there really was a danger of a split. You know that the Central Control Commission and its organizations succeeded in averting the danger of a split. Now there is no longer any danger of a split. But, on the other hand, there is an imperative need for an organization that could concentrate its attention mainly on checking up on the fulfilment of the decisions of the Party and of its Central Committee. Such an organization can be only a Party Control Commission under the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), working on the assignments of the Party and of its Central Committee and having local representatives who are independent of the local organizations. It goes without saying that such a responsible organization must have great authority. In order that it may have sufficient authority, and in order that it may be able to take proceedings against any delinquent comrade hold-

ing a responsible post, including members of the Central Committee, the right to elect or dismiss the members of this Commission must be vested only in the supreme organ of the Party, viz., the Party Congress. There can be no doubt that such an organization will be quite capable of ensuring control over the fulfilment of the decisions of the central organs of the Party and of strengthening Party discipline.

Such is the position in regard to the questions of organizational leadership.

Our tasks in the sphere of organizational work are as follows:

1. Our organizational work in the future, must, like in the past be adapted to the requirements of the political line of the Party.
2. Organizational leadership must be raised to the level of political leadership.
3. Organizational leadership must be made fully equal to the task of ensuring the realization of the political slogans and decisions of the Party.

## Selection, Promotion and Allocation of Cadres

...Regulating the composition of the Party and bringing the leading bodies closer to the concrete work of the lower bodies was not, and could not be, the only means of further strengthening the Party and its leadership. Another means adopted in the period under review was a radical improvement in the training of cadres, in the work of selecting, promoting and allocating cadres and of testing them in the process of work.

The Party cadres constitute the commanding staff of the Party; and since our Party is in power, they also constitute the commanding staff of the leading organs of state. After a correct political line has been worked out and tested in practice, the Party cadres become the decisive force in the leadership exercised by the Party and the state. A correct political line is, of course, the primary and most important thing. But that in itself is not enough. A correct political line is not needed as a declaration, but as something to be carried into effect. But in order to carry a correct political line into effect, we must have cadres, people who understand the political line of the Party, who accept it as their own line, who are prepared to carry it into effect, who are able to put it into practice and are capable of answering for it, defending it and fighting for it. Failing this, a correct political line runs the risk of being purely nominal.

And here arises the problem of properly selecting cadres and fostering them, of promoting new people, of correctly allocating cadres, and testing them by work accomplished.

What is meant by properly selecting cadres?

Properly selecting cadres does not mean just gathering around one a lot of depts and subs, setting up an office and issuing order after order. Nor does it mean abusing one's powers, switching scores and hundreds of people back and forth from one job to another without rhyme or reason and conducting endless "reorganizations."

(Contd. on page 4)

# “...higher the Marxist-Leninist understanding...the better and more fruitful will be the work...”

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Proper selection of cadres means :

**Firstly, valuing cadres as the gold reserve of the Party and the state, treasuring them, respecting them.**

**Secondly, knowing cadres, carefully studying their individual merits and shortcomings, knowing in what post the capacities of a given worker are most likely to develop.**

**Thirdly, carefully fostering cadres, helping every promising worker to advance, not grudging time on patiently “bothering” with such workers and accelerating their development.**

**Fourthly, boldly promoting new and young cadres in time, so as not to allow them to stagnate in their old posts and grow stale.**

**Fifthly, allocating workers to posts in such a way that each feels he is in the right place, that each may contribute to our common cause the maximum his personal capacities enable him to contribute, and that the general trend of the work of allocating cadres may fully answer to the demands of the political line for the carrying out of which this allocation of cadres is designed.**

Particularly important in this respect is the bold and timely promotion of new and young cadres. It seems to me that our people are not quite clear on this point yet. Some think that in selecting people we must chiefly rely on the old cadres. Others, on the contrary, think that we must chiefly rely on young cadres. It seems to me that both are mistaken. The old cadres, of course, are a valuable asset to the Party and the state. They possess what the young cadres lack, namely, tremendous experience in leadership, a steered knowledge of Marxist-Leninist principles, knowledge of affairs, and a capacity for orientation. But, firstly, there are never enough old cadres, there are far less than required, and they are already partly going out of commission owing to the operation of the laws of nature. Secondly, part of the old cadres are sometimes inclined to keep a too persistent eye on the past, to cling to the past, to stay in the old rut and fail to observe the new in life. This is called losing the sense of the new. It is a very serious and dangerous shortcoming. As to the young cadres, they, of course, have not the experience, the schooling, the knowledge of affairs and the capacity of orientation of the old cadres. But, firstly, the young cadres constitute the vast majority; secondly, they are young, and as yet are not subject to the danger of going out of commission; thirdly, they possess in abundance the sense of the new, which is a valuable quality in every Bolshevik worker; and, fourthly, they develop and acquire knowledge so rapidly, they press upward so eagerly, that the time is not far off when they will overtake the old fellows, take their stand side beside with them, and become worthy of replacing them. Consequently, the point is not whether we should rely on the old cadres or the new, but rather that we should steer for a combination, a union of the old and the young cadres in one common symphony of leadership of the Party and the state.

That is why we must boldly and in good time promote young cadres to leading posts.

One of the important achievements of the Party

during the period under review in the matter of strengthening the Party leadership is that, when selecting cadres, it has successfully pursued, from top to bottom, just this course of combining old and young workers.

Data in the possession of the Central Committee of the Party show that during the period under review the Party succeeded in promoting to leading state and Party posts over 500,000 young Bolsheviks, members of the Party and people standing close to the Party, over 20 per cent of whom were women.

What is our task now ?

Our task now is to concentrate the work of selecting cadres, from top to bottom, in the hands of one body and to raise it to a proper, scientific, Bolshevik level.

This entails putting an end to the division of the work of studying, promoting and selecting cadres among various departments and sectors and concentrating it in one body.

This body should be the Cadres Administration of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) and a corresponding cadres department in each of the republican, territorial and regional Party organizations.

## Party Propaganda, Marxist-Leninist Training of Party Members and Party Cadres

There is still another sphere of Party work, a very important and very responsible one, in which the work of strengthening the Party and its leading bodies has been carried on during the period under review. I am referring to Party propaganda and agitation, oral and printed, the work of training the Party members and Party cadres in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the work of raising the political and theoretical level of the Party and its workers.

There is hardly need to dwell on the cardinal importance of Party propaganda, of the Marxist-Leninist training of our personnel. I am referring not only to Party personnel. I am also referring to the personnel of the Young Communist League, trade union, trade, cooperative, economic, state, educational, military and other organizations. The work of regulating the composition of the Party and of bringing the leading bodies closer to the activities of the lower bodies may be organized satisfactorily; the work of promoting, selecting and allocating cadres may also be organized satisfactorily; but, with all this, if our Party propaganda for some reason or other goes lame, if the Marxist-Leninist training of our cadres begins to languish, if our work of raising the political and theoretical level of these cadres flags, and the cadres themselves cease on account of this to show interest in the prospect of our further progress, cease to understand the truth of our cause and are transformed into narrow plodders with no outlook, blindly and mechanically carrying out instructions from above — then our entire state and Party work must inevitably languish. **It must be accepted as an axiom that the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the workers in any branch of state or Party work, the better and more fruitful will be the work itself, and the more effective the results of the work; and, vice versa, the lower the political level and**

**Marxist-Leninist understanding of the workers, the greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work, of the workers themselves becoming shallow and deteriorating into paltry plodders, of their degenerating altogether.** It may be confidently stated that if we succeeded in training the cadres in all branches of our work ideologically, and in schooling them politically, to such an extent as to enable them easily to orientate themselves in the internal and international situation; if we succeeded in making them quite mature Marxist-Leninists capable of solving the problems involved in the guidance of the country without serious error, we would have every reason to consider nine tenths of our problems already settled. And we certainly can accomplish this, for we have all the means and opportunities for doing so.

The training and moulding of our young cadres usually proceeds in each particular branch of science or technology along the line of specialization. That is necessary and expedient. **There is no reason why a man who specializes in medicine should at the same time specialize in physics or botany, or vice versa. But there is one branch of science which Bolsheviks in all branches of science are in duty bound to know, and that is the Marxist-Leninist science of society, of the laws of social development, of the laws of development of the proletarian revolution, of the laws of development of socialist construction, and of the victory of communism. For a man who calls himself a Leninist cannot be considered a real Leninist if he shuts himself up in his speciality, in mathematics, botany or chemistry, let us say, and sees nothing beyond that speciality. A Leninist cannot be just a specialist in his favourite science; he must also be a political and public worker, keenly interested in the destinies of his country, acquainted with the laws of social development, capable of applying these laws, and striving to be an active participant in the political guidance of the country.** This, of course, will be an additional burden on specialists who are Bolsheviks. But it will be a burden more than compensated for by its results.

The task of Party propaganda, the task of the Marxist-Leninist training of cadres, is to help our cadres in all branches of work to become versed in the Marxist-Leninist science of the laws of social development.

Measures for improving the work of propaganda and of the Marxist-Leninist training of cadres have been discussed many times by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) jointly with propagandists from various regional Party organizations. The publication, in September 1938, of the *History of the C.P.S.U. (B.) — Short Course* was taken into account in this connection. It was ascertained that the publication of the *History of the C.P.S.U.(B)* had given a new impetus to Marxist-Leninist propaganda in our country. The results of the work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) have been published in its decision “On the organization of Party Propaganda in Connection with the Publication of the *History of the C.P.S.U. (B.) — Short*

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## Mass Civil Disobedience in Calcutta Police Beastility on Women

The Left Front Government's police lathi charged the huge procession led by the SUCI, West Bengal State Committee in Calcutta on 26th February last when our party was staging a mass civil disobedience demanding curb on price rise, steps against corrupted politicians involving Hawala scam, Rashid Khan Case, etc., health care and free supply of medicine to the poor, introduction of English and Examination system at the primary level, among others. Besides lathi charging, police also resorted to outraging the modesty of our women activists, which caused wide protests among the public who has rightly noticed that while all the parliamentary parties have already immersed themselves in brisk election activities, our party the SUCI, despite torture and violence, continue to uphold the flag of democratic mass movement.

The activists and supporters of our party gathered at the Raja Subodh Mullick Square on 26th February on the eve of the mass civil disobedience. The huge decorated procession, led by Comrade Kalika Mukherjee, State secretariat member, and comrades Debaprasad Sarkar, Bidhan Chatterjee and Soumen Basu, State Committee members, started from that spot around 4 PM and traversed through the S.N.



*SUCI activists are seen courting arrest in Calcutta to protest against price rise, hawala scam etc., and to demand introduction of English at the primary stage, etc.*

Banerjee Road and after crossing the Esplanade while it was proceeding through the Rani Rasmoni Road peacefully, police pounced on it unwarrantedly and meted out savagery, mainly on the women activists, of which a telling photograph, courtesy *The Statesman*, has been published in this issue. Although women police were present, policemen were employed who dragged and arrested the women activists.

Thousands of comrades were arrested and were taken into the Presidency Jail.

On 28th February, Comrade Debaprasad Sarkar, MLA, staged a walk out at the Assembly in protest of police outrage on women.

## Condemn savagery on women

Left Front Govt.'s police did it again and what a barbarity! What indescribable police savagery had been waiting for our female comrades was simply unthinkable when they violated 144 CrPC at the West Bengal Assembly gate on 29th February against the outrage of modesty on the women activists on 26th February last. There a horde of policemen jumped on the female comrades, lathicharged them most brutally and simultaneously committed all sorts of indignities on the helpless group.

On 29th February, demonstrations by women were staged at all the three gates of the West Bengal Assembly, while it was in full session. But at a particular gate, where no press photographer happened to remain present, police took it a chance to humiliate women activists barbarously, which once again showed, despite CPI(M)-led Left Front's repeated proclamations, what a heaven people are in here.

We would like to recall in this connection another shameful incident of torturing and outraging the modesty of our female comrades by police which occurred at the Writers' Buildings, the government headquarter, when our women activists staged a protest against police who committed rape on a hapless woman inside a police station in Calcutta after dragging her there from her shantie at dead of night.

What crime our female comrades committed on 29th of the last month? Was it not democratic to protest police onslaught violating 144 CrPC even? And was it not a protest, a struggle to save the dignity of womanhood?

Our women comrades waged a valiant battle on that day against indignity on women. Our comrades as a whole are fighting for people's cause while in its course are shedding blood and sacrificing precious lives. In fact, building up

(Contd. on page 8)



*Police roughs up SUCI women activists in Calcutta*

# Turkish Revolutionary Journal Reports on Anti-Imperialist Convention

[Comrade Haci Bozkurt, a leader of the DHKC, who participated in the Anti-Imperialist Convention held in Calcutta from Nov 14 to Nov 17 last reports about the Convention in *Kurtulus (Liberation)*, a revolutionary journal in Turkish. A translated version of the same in English is given hereunder.]

Close to a hundred thousand people are crying out slogans in the battle against imperialism. This is how it is in Cuba as well as in the Middle East, Turkey, Kurdistan, Korea, Africa and Latin America. The feeling of opposition to Imperialism goes hand in hand with all sentiment of humaneness in every corner of the world. Although the media of capitalism fill the newspapers and television screens with the news of meetings of the heads of states at the UN and NATO, there is in fact another side to the coin of truth. In a number of different countries in the world, anti-imperialist forums are being formed and in recent times their number has been increasing. Although they work within a certain framework and belong to one central group, all peoples of the world are included in their ranks without exception. They represent the force that is openly opposed to imperialism. This force has roots that run deep.

We must get our people out of their dependent helplessness and unite hardy nationalistic states into a state of combined action against imperialism.

In the '60s and '70s our people fought against imperialism but their struggle was divided on the question of living in peace along with the imperialists. In the latter part of the '80s with the appearance of 'new world order', the terror of imperialism was once again being imposed upon us under the guise of peace. To acquiesce to this 'peace' is to once again divide the people of the world. This is the truth that must be stressed by the workers in all the international platforms.

Between November 14-17 an international conference against imperialism was held in Calcutta, India. At this Conference, held by the SUCI, national and international delegates including representatives of the Revolutionary People's Liberation Front (DHKC) were present.

"Our organisation is going to undertake a long struggle against imperialism. For this reason, we are happy to see you at this convention" the DHKC said in the course of the setting up of the conference.

The DHKC representative had written for the *Kurtulus*, about the impressions of the representatives of other countries, like Russia, Cuba, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Iran, England, Bangladesh and Nepal, expressed by them at the anti-imperialist convention in Calcutta.

## Nov. 14

In the afternoon the Komsomol members of the youth organisation of the SUCI met us at the Saheed Minar Maidan. With slogans announcing 'Long live the International Solidarity', we marched to the place where the talks were being held. While the preparations were still in

progress, we met Dr Sushil Kumar Mukherjee, General Secretary, Preparatory Committee, Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer, President and other officials.

Later on, we were invited, as foreign delegates, to the open session and there, amidst the applause of close to hundred thousand people, we introduced ourselves. The opening speech was given by Justice Iyer, after whom Dr Mukherjee took the mike. To summarise, he talked about new colonising methods, and called upon to join forces in the struggle against imperialism. He ended his speech with the words "we shall win". As delegates we, too, read the texts of our speeches.

## Nov. 15

The meetings were held in the University Institute Hall. In today's talk, Justice Iyer stressed the importance of the battle against imperialism. He talked about how the imperialistic monopoly had exploited the Indian people and squandered their wealth.

The Cuban representative, a trade unionist, P. Carrillo Alfonso, the Russian Bolshevik party representative, the representatives of Iran and England and delegates from India also spoke on the struggles against imperialism. What follows from a speech given by the DHKC representative is: "We should consolidate the forces of people against the aggression and exploitation of the imperialists. The UN today is a society which has assumed the role of masking the exploitation of imperialism. The only force that can halt and put down imperialism is the force of the people. They should rise up against the oppression and the false peace which is a hoax under the name of 'new world order'. Real peace can only be brought about by socialism. The war that is being fought by our people against fascism and imperialism

must be fought alongside our international brethren. Until today our party has always considered every act of aggression undertaken against the people of the world as an act of aggression against our own people. With or without arms, we have always helped people in need of our help against aggression. We have to bring internationalism out of the sphere of empty written words and decisions into the field of action. We have no choice but to fight. We must fight against imperialist occupation, the curse of fascist regimes, embargoes and massacres with all our might. Against the terror of imperialists and those who follow them, against the false peace we must raise our people to the level of a revolutionary war of emancipation."

## Nov 16

The session once again began with the revolutionary marching songs sung in various languages. The Indian delegates, in their speeches, brought attention to the exploitation carried out by the British in India during the British Raj and said that even today many people of the nation are being looted of their wealth by monopolies. Apart from this, speaking on why the socialist system in Russia broke down, they said that one of the main factors that contributed to

this was the modern revisionist policies that were made after Stalin's time.

The speaker who spoke on behalf of the Nepali delegation expounded on the importance of the socialists fighting against imperialistic oppression in Nepal.

## Nov 17

A speaker talked on the French nuclear testing and denounced it, saying that it must be stopped. Later the concluding reports that had been prepared beforehand were distributed. Opinions and suggestions put forward by various delegates were put together in a rough draft and presented and accepted by the delegates.

After the closing speech of the President, various gifts were presented to the foreign delegates by the Komsomol. We ourselves presented them in return with the DHKC flag which was received by them. All the delegates then were given a standing ovation.

## Nov 18

When the Convention was over we met and talked to delegates from Zaire, Nepal and Bangladesh and the SUCI which had invited us. We told them about our country, our struggle for liberation, our world view and other general things. They, too, made statements to the effect that they held similar views to us. We also met the Russian and Cuban representatives. The Cuban representative knew us well. He said that people from the *Kurtulus* newspaper had often approached him. The delegates from Zaire said that armed uprising in Zaire had in fact become unavoidable and that they would like to study the experimentation and work being carried on in other countries.

## Nov 19

Today we called to mind and remembered those who had been martyred in the fight for liberation at the monuments erected in their memory.

## Nov 20

At our request the SUCI organized a trip to a village about 150 km out of Calcutta, so that we could learn about the activities there. Together with delegates from Belgium, Zaire, the Netherlands, Russia and Bangladesh we visited this village. The inhabitants of the village welcomed us and shouted slogans in English. While preparations were being made people from neighbouring villages also came. When we went to the meeting grounds we were greeted with flags and placards that welcomed us. Big portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao were to be seen. Messages were read out by the delegates and we too conveyed the regards of the DHKC.

The people believe in revolution, in liberation. The people of India, of Cuba, Bangladesh, Zaire, Russia, the Netherlands and Belgium and Turkey are all together in their hope and are to share the same future.

The future will bring liberation from imperialism; it will bring revolution. What will come is socialism.

### Protest Week against Pension Scheme

In response to the call given by the UTUC(L-S), Protest week from 5th to 10th February against "pension scheme" was observed in Sivakasi, of Kamarajar district, Tamilnadu.

On 10-2-96, auto rickshaw campaign was organised. Apart from Sivakasi and Thiruthangal Town nearly eighteen villages were covered in this programme. Explaining the effects of the "pension scheme" and the design of the ruling class wide propaganda was made in front of nearly 25 fire works factories and in some important places. Explaining the dangerous effects of "Pension Scheme" a leaflet was issued in all the areas.

Response received from the workers and people was very impressive.

### Demonstration before Regional Provident Fund Commissioner

**Bhubaneswar, February 9 :** Several thousand workers of mines, steel, jute mills, banks and government agricultural firms organised under the UTUC-LS demonstrated before the Regional Provident Fund Commissioner's office in Bhubaneswar demanding scrapping of the anti-working class and retrograde Employees' Pension Scheme Ordinance 1995.

A delegation from the agitating workers comprising Comrades Mayadhar Nayak, Debendra Sahoo, Bijoy Sahoo, Purna Behera and Sibhu Sankar Sathy submitted a memorandum to the Commissioner demanding among others that the pension scheme be fully financed by the state and the employers as a third retirement benefit with a right to option either of accepting or rejecting it. Comrade Sheikh Kasim, veteran trade union leader, while addressing the workers, called upon to unite and carry on a sustained movement against the black ordinance.

Comrade Mayadhar Nayak urged the workers to see through the deceptive designs of the government and appealed to them to join the countrywide industrial workers' strike on 23rd February, 1996.

### Fleeing of Indian people through globalization

Some Examples of Under-Priced Indian Exports to the United States (in U.S. dollars)

| Product/Description               | World/Average Export Price | India/Average Export Price |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Exercise Cycle                    | 132.30/ind                 | 21/ind                     |
| Industrial Mirrors Diamonds       | 14.20/ind                  | 2/ind                      |
| Diamonds - Unworked               | 917.20/ind                 | 3.2/ind                    |
| Dist. Machines                    | 1,821.30/ind               | 13.80/ind                  |
| Insulated Electrical Control      | 37.01/kg                   | 30/kg                      |
| Electric Casing Machine, Pumps    | 217.32/ind                 | 4.87/ind                   |
| Micro-wires and Cables            | 26.71/ind                  | 1.86/ind                   |
| Oil Handtools                     | 41.20/ind                  | 2.80/ind                   |
| Granite - Roughly Truncated       | 406.34/ind                 | 102.00/ind                 |
| Clothing Tools                    | 31.20/kg                   | 1.40/kg                    |
| Buttons - Cut, Not Set            | 21.20/ind                  | 3.20/ind                   |
| Leaf And Storage Baskets          | 27.87/ind                  | 35/ind                     |
| Industrial Diamonds - Unworked    | 71.40/ind                  | 30/ind                     |
| Radio Receivers - 120 mm          | 21.20/ind                  | 14.20/ind                  |
| Voltage Regulators                | 171.20/ind                 | 3.20/ind                   |
| Parabolic Reflectors              | 407.20/ind                 | 41.20/ind                  |
| Insulated Conductors - 1000 v     | 5.20/kg                    | 24/kg                      |
| Drives - Engines                  | 3.20/ind                   | 70/ind                     |
| Sequences - Cut, Not Set          | 15.20/ind                  | 3.20/ind                   |
| Coarse Conduits - 100 mm          | 1.20/ind                   | 14/ind                     |
| Decorative Stone Sculptures       | 11.20/ind                  | 2.77/ind                   |
| Drive Transducer Lamps - Unworked | 11.20/ind                  | 1.20/ind                   |
| Buttons - 20mm                    | 1.20/kg                    | 4.10/kg                    |
| Engines - Cut, Not Set            | 41.20/ind                  | 13.20/ind                  |
| Tempered Safety Lamps             | 4.20/ind                   | 37/ind                     |
| Sea Fasten - Synthetic Steel      | 1.20/ind                   | 4.20/ind                   |
| Transformers - 100 mva            | 30/ind                     | 1.20/ind                   |

Source: "Capital Flight from India to the United States through Alternative Pricing in Industrial Trade", Finance India, September, 1988 published in Journal of India's Economy, Issue 13.

Some Examples of Over-Priced Indian Imports from the United States - (1991) (in U.S. dollars)

| Product/Description                   | World/Average Export Price | India/Average Export Price |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Telephones                            | 11.20/ind                  | 1,100.00/ind               |
| Video cassette Recordings             | 24.20/ind                  | 1,274.20/ind               |
| Art. Working Steel metal Coated Wire  | 1.10/kg                    | 24.20/kg                   |
| Trays - Track Box, New                | 134.21/ind                 | 1,804.80/ind               |
| Paraffin wax for Motor Lubricant      | 24.40/ind                  | 3,714.20/ind               |
| High Speed Bearings W/O Housing       | 28.27/ind                  | 144.70/ind                 |
| Diodes                                | 20/kg                      | 22.40/kg                   |
| Travel Accessories                    | 1,794.21/ind               | 22,017.20/ind              |
| Thermometers                          | 70.20/ind                  | 207.20/ind                 |
| Hand Capsetters - 200 v               | 3.20/ind                   | 44.20/ind                  |
| Auto-thermostats                      | 147.20/kg                  | 1,714.20/kg                |
| Normal - Project Lenses               | 1.20/kg                    | 3.10/kg                    |
| Epoxide Resins                        | 4.20/kg                    | 24.20/kg                   |
| Expendable and Explosives             | 3.20/kg                    | 24.20/kg                   |
| Radio Motors and Generators           | 34.20/ind                  | 704.71/ind                 |
| Frictions - 200 Liters                | 402.20/ind                 | 1,804.87/ind               |
| Aluminium Cases                       | 1.20/kg                    | 4.20/kg                    |
| Cartridge for Shaping Tools, Metal    | 47.10/ind                  | 1,604.80/ind               |
| High Temperature - 200mm              | 1,804.80/ind               | 4,124.20/ind               |
| Drums - 200                           | 24.20/ind                  | 124.80/ind                 |
| Strophometers                         | 1.20/ind                   | 21/ind                     |
| Metal Ring Frames and Tubes           | 46.11/kg                   | 94.20/kg                   |
| Metal Chain - 200mm                   | 100.20/ind                 | 1,074.20/ind               |
| Methods - 200mm                       | 70/kg                      | 1,204.20/kg                |
| Neodymium Thermal Cells & Instruments | 11.20/kg                   | 70.40/kg                   |
| Paper Band for Sewing                 | 1.20/kg                    | 24.20/kg                   |
| Paints and Varnishes                  | 1.20/kg                    | 11.40/kg                   |
| Carbon Steel                          | 1.00/kg                    | 3.71/kg                    |

### Workers' and Peasants Conference at Jashipur

**Bhubaneswar, 16-2-96:** A workers' and peasants' conference was held on 14 and 15 February at Jashipur with the united effort of the Mayurbhanj Zonal China-clay Mines Workers' Union, Mayurbhanj Pottery Workers' Union, Bamanghati Upatyaka Mines Workers' Union, Eastern Hatchery Workers' Union and Krusak Khet Majdoor Sangathan, Mayurbhanj District Unit.

In the Open session on 14th February thousands of workers and peasants from different areas of Mayurbhanj district reached the meeting

place after traversing the market place of Jashipur in a massive rally. The local MLA and SUCI leader, Comrade Shambhunath Naik, presided over the meeting. Comrade Sankhamajhi, the veteran peasant leader, speaking on the miseries of the peasants and workers of Mayurbhanj gave a call to develop mass movements on people's demands. The SUCI leader Comrade Bishnu Dash discussed in detail the responsibilities and duties of workers in the class divided and exploitative capitalist system.

The main speaker Comrade Mayadhar Nayak, UTUC(LS) State Secretariat, in his address to the mass gathering said that the political, economical, social and cultural situation of the whole country was acutely crisis-ridden and those criminals involved in corruption who

ought to be in jails were ruling the country. He criticized the Congress(I), Janata Dal, BJP, Jharkhand and other regional parties and exposed the anti-people character of the CPI(M) and the CPI. He also criticized the anti-working class Employees Pension Scheme, 1995 and called for a sustained united movement to resist this black scheme.

The President of the meeting Comrade Sambhunath Nayak, MLA, said that Mayurbhanj district was known to be the most backward area of Orissa. In spite of rich natural resources as a consequence of non-development of industry the unemployment problem in rural area had become acute. He gave a call to develop a strong movement for establishment of steel plant in Mayurbhanj district.

## Excerpts from Stalin

(Contd from page 4)

Course."

On the basis of this decision and with due reference to the decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) of March 1937 on "Defects in Party Work", the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.) has outlined the following major measures for eliminating the defects in Party propaganda and improving the Marxist-Leninist training of Party members and Party cadres :

1. To concentrate the work of Party propaganda and agitation in one body and to merge the propaganda and agitation departments and the press departments into a single Propaganda and Agitation Administration of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.), and to organize corresponding propaganda and agitation departments in each republican, territorial and regional Party organization ;
2. Recognizing as incorrect the infatuation for the system of propaganda through study circles, and considering the method of individual study of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by Party members to be more expedient, to centre the attention of the Party on propaganda through the press and on the organization of a system of propaganda by lectures ;
3. To organize one-year Courses of Instruction for our lower cadres in each regional centre ;
4. To organize two-year Lenin Schools for our middle cadres in a number of centers of the country ;

5. To organize a Higher-School of Marxism-Leninism under the auspices of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.(B.) with a three-year course for the training of highly-qualified Party theoreticians ;
6. To set up one-year Courses of Instruction for propagandists and journalists in a number of centres of the country ;
7. To set up in connection with the Higher School of Marxism-Leninism six-month Courses of Instruction for teachers of Marxism-Leninism in the higher educational establishments.

There can be no doubt that the implementation of these measures, which are already being carried out, although not yet sufficiently, will soon yield beneficial results.

[All prints in bold are ours – Editor, P. Era]

## Condemn US Piracy

(Contd. from page 1)

air force fighter. When they approached again, several hours later, one of them was warned by Havana air traffic control of the risks they were facing. But despite this warning the pilot chose to ignore the warning. Under the circumstances, when repeated warnings failed to deter them from carrying on sabotage activities, the Cuban airforce fighter was compelled to drown two private planes in the Cuban airspace.

This has infuriated President Clinton, as he, being the leader of the imperialist camp cannot tolerate this assertion of sovereignty on the party of Cuba, to protect the socialist system there. Besides announcing further tightening of

Congress adopted New Party regulations and a number of resolutions and documents including "On our Party stand in the campaign of Presidential election", "On informative and analytical survey of the secretariat of C.C. AUCP(B)", "On the happenings in Chechen Republic".

The Congress elected the Central Committee including 15 members and 5 candidate members. The plenum of the C.C. held on 25th February elected Comrade Nina Andreyeva as General Secretary.

The Congress dropped G. N. Kaspieva and S. G. Sologybona from the Central Committee for organising attempts to frustrate the Congress.

## Police Atrocity

(Contd. from page 5)

people's movement uncompromisingly had been the history of the growth of our party, for which, may we say with just pride, that the SUCI has not gained no mean a place in millions' hearts. And let us proclaim that our party will carry on protests and mount movements on burning problems, despite any torture, any humiliation.

## Netaji Birth Centenary at Cuttack

The Netaji birth centenary celebrations went off with a rousing and befitting inauguration in his birth place, Cuttack on 23 January '96 under the aegis of the Nikhila Orissa Netaji Subhas Janma Shatabarsiki Committee.

The Committee was formed with Shri Baishnab Patnaik, the legendary revolutionary

The meeting was presided by Shri Baishnab Patnaik. Among others, Prof. Dr. Gaganendranath Dash, a noted linguist and historian of literature, Mr. Brajanath Ratha, celebrated poet, Shri Sailesh Dey, litterateur and famous biographer of Netaji and Com. Tapas Dutta, member Central Committee and Secretary Orissa State Committee SUCI, addressed the meeting.

economic sanctions, and series of measures meant to throttle the socialist economy of Cuba with the objective of creating dissatisfaction and revolt of the Cuban people against the socialist system there, President Clinton said that he was not opting out further measure, hinting thereby direct military intervention in Cuba. But will the peace loving people of the world allow the US imperialists to do what they like ? Is it not the duty of the peace-loving people and the progressive forces of the entire world to put the US imperialists to dock ? All progressive and peace-loving people of the world must not only condemn but build up resistance movement against the bellicosity of the US imperialists and they must stand by Cuba in its attempts in protecting and preserving the socialist system, in defending its sovereignty, and in preserving the security of the Cuban people.

### Declaration:

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SOCIALIST UNITY CENTRE OF INDIA  
I, Sukomal Dasgupta hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

5.3.1996 Sd: SUKOMAL DASGUPTA  
Signature of Publisher

### Message from Russia on

## Second Congress of All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)

Leningrad 28.2.96 : On 24-26 February, 1996, the Second Congress of the All Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) was held in Leningrad. 149 delegates with voting right and 52 consultative delegates took part in the Congress. Delegates represented 38 regions of Russian Republic, covering from Petropavlovsk-Kamchateka to Kaliningrad, from Murnansk to Sochi, 10 autonomous republics, 15 regions of Ukraine and Crimea, and all the regions of Bylorus, Kazaksthan, Tadzikisthan, Turkmenia, Uzbekisthan, Gorgia, Moldavia, Pridnestrovskian-Moldavian Republic and Baltic republics.

A number of parties, left and Communist Parties of the territory of Soviet Union greeted the 2nd Congress. 21 greetings, from communist and workers parties and movements of the world were received, addressed to the Congress.

The Congress heard with delight the political document of the Central Committee, AUCP(B). General Secretary AUCP(B) Comrade Nina Andreyeva addressed the Congress. The

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