

UNDER THE BANNER OF STALIN

Ajoy Ghosh & the CPI's response to the CPSU's
Resolution on Stalin's Cult of Personality



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Resolution on Stalin's Cult of Personality

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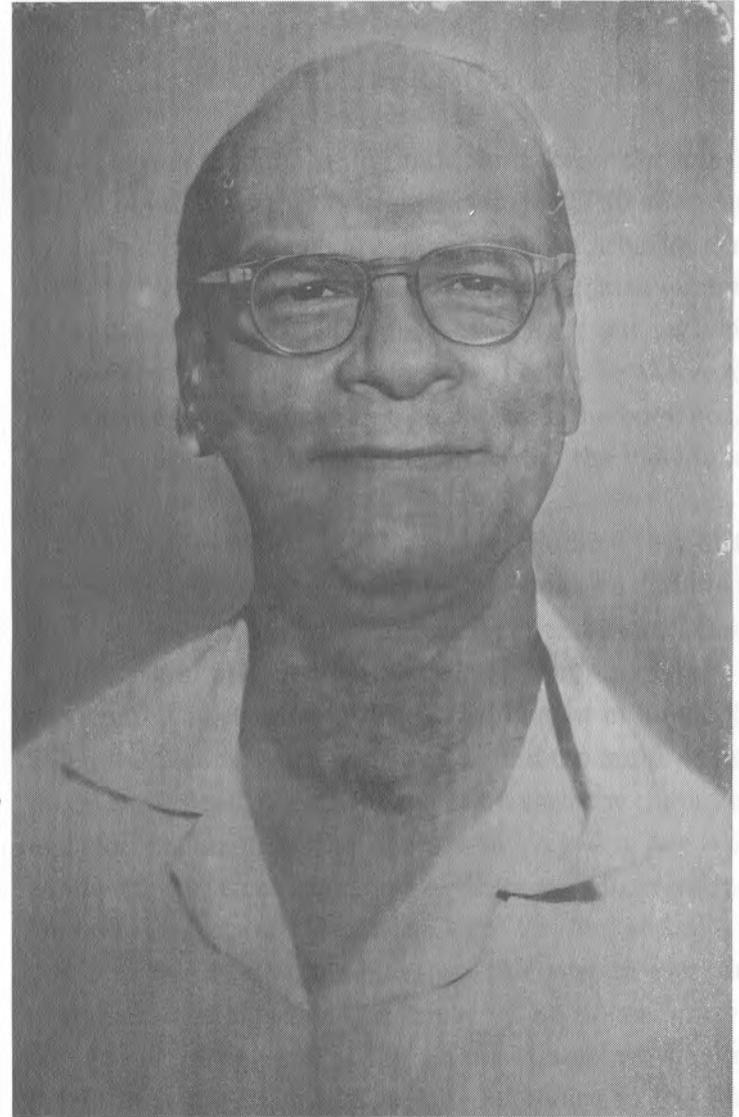
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**'Joseph Stalin was a giant in action. A whole century
will be called by his name.'**

- PALMIRO TOGLIATTI



Ajoy Kumar Ghosh
(20 February 1909–13 January 1962)

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Magpie's very first publishing endeavour, *Under the Banner of Stalin: Ajoy Ghosh & the CPI's Response to the CPSU's Resolution on Stalin's Cult of Personality*, edited by Basu Acharya, is now ready to hit the bookstores. Although it becomes extremely difficult for a commercial concern to bring out such titles at the very beginning of its journey, I am sure the readers will judge as well as cherish the content of the book not just from a political perspective but also from the viewpoint of historiography.

In this connection this should be mentioned that history progresses in spirals and every ideology plays a definite role in this advancement. Alongside other humanitarian doctrines, the doctrine of Scientific Socialism, too, therefore, has contributed a great deal to the development of humankind. When the Second World War was on and the fabric of sanity was everyday getting torn into pieces, it were the communists with Joseph Stalin at the helm, who played a key role in wiping off the fascist regiments of Hitler and Mussolini. Later on, however, several allegations were levelled at Stalin and that also by his closest colleagues. But despite everything, if evaluated unbiasedly, one could by no means erase his name from the pages of history. In this context we may recall the historic speech by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in the Indian Parliament—following Stalin's demise on May 5, 1953.

But as mentioned above, Stalin, too, was criticised by his colleagues and that criticism, which took place on the rostrum

of the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in February 1956, shocked the entire contingent of communists all over the world including the rank-and-file of the Communist Party of India. Like others, Indian Communists, too, were compelled to take a stand. During that phase ex-freedom fighter and Bhagat Singh's comrade-in-arms Ajoy Ghosh was the general secretary of the CPI. On behalf of his Party he initiated a debate against those criticisms in a very dispassionate way, and it is precisely this very issue the present compilation deals with.

The book is edited by Basu Acharya, an important social activist and researcher from West Bengal. Magpie expresses its deepest sense of gratitude to him for the labour he has rendered. Magpie is also indebted to eminent historian and Stalin-scholar Professor Grover C. Furr for writing a short introduction to the volume, which, we are sure, will enable our readers to understand and appreciate the subject. Acknowledgements are also due for Agnihotri Syeda for going through the proof and Sabyasachi Das for illustrating the cover.

Thank you,
Swagata Dutta.

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A SHORT INTRODUCTION

Grover C. Furr

I am honored to be invited to write an introduction to this important work. This book reflects the re-evaluation by Marxists and communists of Joseph Stalin's leadership and legacy that is taking place worldwide today.

The same day that Stalin died, on March 5, 1953, members of the former polit bureau, Georgy Malenkov, Vyacheslav Molotov, Kliment Voroshilov, Lavrentii Beria, and Khrushchev, tacitly abolished the larger Presidium with which the XIX Party Congress of October 1952 had replaced the polit bureau. They did this without any vote of the Central Committee. It was in essence a 'coup d'état' within the Party.

Within a very few months Stalin's late book, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, which had provided the major theoretical focus at the Congress, was consigned to oblivion. Copies were no longer distributed. It was no longer mentioned in the press.

Nikita S. Khrushchev's "Secret Speech" (actually called in Russian "Closed Speech") to the XX Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on February 25, 1956, reflected serious disagreements within the leadership of the CPSU. In that speech, Khrushchev accused Stalin (and, secondarily, Lavrentii Beria) of numerous crimes, misdeeds, and failings. Today, we can prove that all of Khrushchev's accusations were false, many of them deliberately false—in plain language, lies.

Khrushchev never revealed why he lied about Stalin. One could surmise that it was because Khrushchev—and his supporters in the Party leadership—disagreed sharply with Stalin's political line. For example, Khrushchev adopted the policy of the 'three peacefuls'—peaceful coexistence with capitalism and imperialism, peaceful competition with capitalism-imperialism, and peaceful transition to socialism rather than the necessity of violent revolution.

Among other possible reasons for the attack on Stalin by Khrushchev and his supporters was Stalin's and Beria's attempts to move towards more democratic norms of government in the Soviet Union.

At the XXII Party Congress in October 1961, Khrushchev and supporters attacked Stalin far more sharply still. Thereafter, until his removal as General Secretary in October 1964, Khrushchev sponsored an avalanche of articles, pamphlets, and books attacking Stalin and his closest associates.

None of these attacks, even those by historians, was accompanied by primary-source evidence. Many were in the form of 'historical fiction.' In 1962, a conference of Party historians was told explicitly that they could not have access to Party archives. Now, of course, we know why. The evidence in those archives disproved Khrushchev's lies about Stalin and his supporters.

During the Brezhnev, Andropov & Chernenko era, 1964-1985, attacks against Stalin abated. But a year or so after he became the last General Secretary of the CPSU, Mikhail Gorbachev launched an attack on Stalin and all those associated with him that was even more vicious, and viciously false, than Khrushchev's had been.

Gorbachev justified his turn towards more market mechanisms, less planning, in the Soviet economy by claiming that he was returning to the 'New Economic Policy' adopted under Lenin as a temporary measure. Gorbachev 'used Lenin to combat Lenin' and to continue a sharp attack on all of the policies adopted under Stalin's leadership.

The result of this ever-increasing adoption of capitalist economic policies was the collapse of the Soviet Union and the replacement of a weakened form of socialism with overt, exploitative and predatory capitalism. Under Boris Yeltsin, this led to a catastrophic decline in every measure of social welfare among the workers and farmers in the states of the former USSR, together with the emergence of a new class of millionaire and billionaire exploiters who stole, through legal fictions, the collectively produced wealth of the Soviet working class.

Khrushchev's and Gorbachev's demonisation of Stalin and denunciation of Stalin's policies and character gave a new breath of life to the Trotskyist movement. It is likely that some of Khrushchev's criticisms of Stalin, such as the accusation that Stalin had something to do with the murder of Sergei Kirov in 1934, were even taken from Trotsky's dishonest writings.

Meanwhile, attacks on Stalin by mainstream anticommunist historians have grown ever more intense.

However, since the end of the USSR in 1991, a great many documents from former Soviet archives have been made available to researchers. By the early 2000s, enough of these documents had been published that it became possible to prove that many or most of Khrushchev's and Gorbachev's

accusations about Stalin are false.

The attacks on Stalin and on the USSR during the period of Stalin's leadership by academic historians are attempts to deny the magnificent achievements of the USSR and the world communist movement during Stalin's time. These achievements include:

- The collectivisation of agriculture, which abolished the medieval peasant economy that condemned tens of millions of peasants to poverty and starvation and guaranteed devastating famines every few years;
- The building of an industrial economy in the period of fewer than a dozen years;
- Soviet support for anti-colonial struggles in the colonies of the "free world" imperialists; the post-war victories of socialism in China, Eastern Europe, and elsewhere;
- The spread of the communist movement throughout the world.

Thanks in part to the release of primary-source evidence from former Soviet archives, and even more to the inevitable growth of the class struggle, as workers, students, farmers, intellectuals and others recognize that capitalism-imperialism can never offer a decent life to the vast majority of the world's people. There is today, in virtually every country in the world, a palpable re-evaluation of the achievements of the Soviet Union, of Stalin's leadership, and of Stalin himself.

The present book will contribute to this re-evaluation. In doing so, it will help speed the day that a new international communist movement takes up the struggle for communism.

FROM THE DESK OF THE EDITOR

The present compilation—*Under the Banner of Stalin*—by Ajoy Ghosh, the last but one general secretary of the undivided CPI who has often been referred to as the principal unifier of the Indian communist movement in post-independence years, consists an array of rare and significant prose pieces that delve deep into the Stalin-question independently—especially at a time when the majority of the CPI top brass could scarcely think beyond moving in tandem with the Soviet Communist Party. Among these four are modest essays, published in different national and international journals, and the remaining ones include: one long report (relevant excerpts), one short message, a letter and the transcript of a speech addressed before the central committee of the party in June 1956.

The first piece, i.e., *Stalin Illumines the Path*, published in the Cominform organ *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy* on December 12, 1952, comments on the significance of Stalin's last major theoretical work *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR* and his speech at the Nineteenth Party Congress of the CPSU that exposed the operational techniques of the capitalist-imperialist camp led by the United States of America in post-Second World War situation. Owing to the major shift in power balance in favour of the Socialist and People's Democratic states due to the shattering defeat of the fascist forces in the hands of the Soviet Red Army, Ghosh laid stress on the import of

the peace movement—the phenomenon of peace prevailing over the imperialist plot of hatching a new world war. This, however, as Ghosh opined, would not fully rid the globe of war possibilities—as imperialism and war go hand in hand for re-dividing the already divided world.

The immediate last idea, though, was probably a later inclusion—more or less apparent from the following extract quoted from the *Reporting of the CPI's Extended Plenum* held between December 30, 1952 and January 10, 1953 :

'It is... wrong to state as was stated in the *Cross Roads* version of the article *Stalin Illumines the Path* by Com. Ajoy Ghosh that even with imperialism remaining strong, world war is 'fully preventable'. The term 'fully preventable' can only mean that there can be a 'guarantee' against such wars even if imperialism remains. Such a formulation would lead to minimisation of the danger of war and, therefore, minimisation to the importance of the struggle for peace.'¹

It might have happened that the *Cross Roads* version was published earlier and critically evaluated by a section of the central committee, albeit informally. Ghosh, therefore, was compelled to edit the 'fully preventable' phrase and publish the amended article in the Cominform organ.

Another important aspect of the essay lies in Ghosh's careful bestowal of special attention on the role of British finance capital in India in addition to that of its American counterpart. The reason behind this can be traced in this excerpt of the Stalin-CPI dialogue of February 1951:

'Comrade Stalin: [...] Amongst you the view is prevalent that all of the imperialists need to be expelled in one blow, all, the English and the Americans. It is impossible to build

such a front. The sharp blade of the all-national front is necessarily directed against English imperialism. Let the other imperialists, including the Americans, think that you are not concerned about them. This is necessary so your actions do not unite all of the imperialists against yourselves, and for that you must sow discord among them. Now, if the American imperialists themselves want to get into a fight, the united national front of India will need to plunge into action against them.

'Ghosh: I am unclear why only against British imperialism when at present the entire world is in struggle against American imperialism, which is considered to be the head of the anti-democratic camp?

'Comrade Stalin: It is very simple; the united national front is against England, for your national independence is from England, and not from America. It is your national specificity. India was semi-liberated from whom? From England, and not from America. India is in the concord of nations not with America but with England. The officers and the specialists in your army are not Americans but Englishmen. These are historical facts and it is impossible to abstract from them. I wish to say that the party must not load itself with all of the tasks, the tasks of the struggle with imperialism throughout the world. It is necessary to take up one task: to free oneself from English imperialism. It is the national task of India.'²

Another crucial feature of this article is Ghosh's comprehension of the notion of 'semi-colony'. In India, especially since the days of the Naxalbari uprising, the very concept of semi-colony has often been equated, no doubt wrongly, with that of a colony. But, akin to Mao Zedong, Ghosh realised

the necessity of basing himself on the tenets of Marx's political economy and philosophy and recognise the semi-independent nature of India regardless of the latter's gradual bogging down to the pressure of British and US capital. As a result, in spite of identifying India as a semi-colony, he, at the end of the piece, appealed to the CPI, his own party, to defend 'national independence and sovereignty threatened by the American aggressors'.

The second piece included in this volume is Ghosh's short message to the central committee of the Soviet Communist Party on Stalin's serious illness. On May 4, 1953, the Soviet physicians published a bulletin on the leader's deteriorating health conditions. This might have instigated Ghosh to send the message. From its content it is quite apparent that he and the CPI, by then, had already anticipated Stalin's approaching end. As the date suggests, the message was written and sent on March 5, 1953—the very day on which Stalin died, or, as alleged by many, fell martyr to the revisionist complot of Khrushchov and his cohorts.

The third article, from whose title the present compilation borrows its name, was published in *Cross Roads*—just ten days after Stalin's demise. There, apart from taking the firm resolve to make Stalin's dream of ridding the working class and the depressed peoples of the clutches of the capitalist-imperialist order, and simultaneously highlighting Stalin's contributions, in somewhat eulogising tone by equating him with Lenin, Ghosh seemed to breathe, with the departure of the all-imposing personality of Stalin, a possible imperialism-orchestrated split in the International Communist movement, which he, however, in his usual and much required optimistic

vein, vowed to resist. This could probably be a result of the Yugoslav experience of 1948 that instigated a major split in the cominform. This supposed insecurity in Ghosh apropos the unity of international communist movement could be a reason behind his alleged centrist-balancing attitude and the principle cause for keeping healthy terms with the USSR and the CPSU despite his disagreement with the Khrushchovite leadership on the Stalin issue in post-twentieth congress times. A similar frame of mind could be seen in Togliatti as well, who, in spite of his defiance of Soviet authority and the championing of polycentrism³, rallied around the CPSU for the sake of unity of international communist movement.

Following the *Cross Roads*-obit, Ghosh published another eulogy of Stalin in *For a Lasting Peace and For a People's Democracy*—where he, in short, recorded Stalin's colossal role in domains of theory and practice. And thus we have the fourth piece of this volume.

The fifth write-up is a long excerpt sliced from Ghosh's report on the Twentieth Party Congress of the CPSU at a session of the Fourth Party Congress of the CPI in Palghat. There he took up the most vital question of that period—the question of the Cult of Stalin—and tried to deal the whole issue with great caution. Although, with a number of examples, he justified Khrushchov's accusation, he also critiqued the CPSU leadership's subjective orientation in evaluating Stalin. He mildly censured the Soviet leaders and stated:

'There can be no dispute over the tremendous positive role of Stalin in enriching Marxism, in building socialism in the USSR, in fighting against right and left deviations, in guiding the international communist movement. I think if the 20th

congress report itself had made a segment about the positive achievements of Stalin, then much of the confusion that has arisen would have been avoided.⁴

Moreover, by openly stating that he lacked a satisfactory answer to questions such as the role of other CPSU-leaders in fostering or combatting the cult of Stalin and what made it possible for that cult to continue for such a long time, Ghosh endeavoured to look at things dispassionately so that serious conflicts in the CPI rank-and-file could be avoided. Actually, at Palghat, Ghosh tried to strike a balance between Stalin's contribution in developing socialism in the USSR and the theory of Marxism-Leninism on the one hand, and his alleged errors—especially in sectors involving internal democracy and socialist legality—on the other.

This, however, must also be noted that Ghosh, in his desperate centrist venture of defending Stalin yet toeing the political line laid down in the report of the twentieth congress, demonised Beria, which undoubtedly was a grave crime and in the final step a negation of Stalin's contributions, indirectly. History has it that it was Stalin who brought Beria from the Caucasus to Moscow so that the country's security services could be released from the clutches of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite nexus. According to Bill Bland, 'Under Beria, political prisoners arrested under Yagoda and Yezhov had their cases reviewed and, as Western press correspondents reported at the time, many thousands of people unjustly sentenced were released and rehabilitated.'⁵

A close scrutiny of contemporary documents reveal that the very dialectical approach, absent in Khrushchov's 'secret' speech, probably, was taken by Ghosh on the basis of

a common agreement between him and the leaders of the Chinese communist party and the General Secretaries of two important non-ruling communist parties of Europe—namely Maurice Thorez and Palmiro Togliatti. A careful reading of the contemporary documents of the French and the Italian Communist Parties prove this. We may even quote what Thorez later told at the Political Bureau meeting of the PCF (13 March):

'Our delegation was not silent. I declared to comrade Khrushchov that it would have been better to accompany the criticism of the faults and errors of Stalin with several phrases recognising his great historic merits.'⁶

Similarly, Togliatti's biographer Aldo Agosti writes:

'All the evidence points to the fact that ... He [Togliatti] did not hesitate to claim for Stalin the role of 'great Marxist thinker', and to defend the line he took 'in the struggle against the Trotskyists, the right, and the bourgeois nationalists'. He affirmed that 'the party line was correct before the war, during the war, and after the war.' Certainly, Stalin had committed many errors, some of them serious: on the theoretical side, he had maintained the 'exaggerated, false' thesis of the continued worsening of the class struggle and the inevitable increase of the enemies of the socialist state, giving rise to 'unjust, repressive measures' and violations of socialist legality. The impression that this section of Togliatti's speech gives is that he regarded Stalin's errors, however serious, as secondary and not so serious as to undermine the correctness of the basic party-line.'⁷

The CPC, too, despite supporting the twentieth congress and its critique of the cult of personality of Stalin, chose to

apply the dialectical tool. Alongside expressing that the 'cult of the individual is a rotten carry-over from the long history of mankind', it ratified Stalin's merits and placed them over his alleged flaws. In People's Daily it was clearly stated:

'Some people consider that Stalin was wrong in everything. This is a grave misconception. Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist, yet at the same time a Marxist-Leninist who committed several gross errors without realising that they were errors. We should view Stalin from a historical standpoint, make a proper and all round analysis to see where he was right and where he was wrong and draw useful lessons therefrom. Both the things he did right and the things he did wrong were phenomena of the international communist movement and bore the imprint of the times. Taken as a whole the international communist movement is only a little over hundred years old and it is only thirty-nine years since the victory of the October Revolution; experience in many fields of revolutionary work is still inadequate. Great achievements have been made, but there are still shortcomings and mistakes...'⁸

The next piece is the transcript of Ghosh's speech at the central committee meeting of the CPI—immediately after the publication of the full text of Khrushchov's secret speech in the bourgeois media of America and Europe—sometime in July 1956. Till then, despite having mild information about Khrushchov's allegations against Stalin, nobody, barring a few, had access to the original content of the speech. But as it got published in the bourgeois media, situation became immensely tense: as if communist parties world over were struck by a sudden storm!

Amid such a crisis, Ghosh, dissatisfied to the core, lashed out at the CPSU leadership for its irresponsible and incompetent way of handling the issue. He charged the Soviet apparatchiks of upsetting communist fraternalism and accused them of putting the world communist movement in an unsettled state. Furthermore, in his tirade against the CPSU, he also rebuked its leadership of extreme subjectivism and one-sidedness in assessing Stalin's role of last twenty years and expressed that the one-sided attack would foster a sense of disbelief among the working populace world over and ultimately cast a fatal blow to their long cherished hopes on communist ideology and practice permanently.

The publication of the full text of the secret speech, as expected, triggered tremendous reaction in the Party ranks. Common members were so much outraged that they started lambasting Khrushchov and the Soviet Party with unprecedented bitterness. Ghosh, too, was much disturbed, thus sent a letter to the central committee of the CPSU, explaining his and the party's position on the question of the Stalin-cult. Notwithstanding his humble approach, he raised several questions against certain aspects of the report and demanded answers from the CPSU leadership. This letter, owing to its historical relevance, is also incorporated in the present volume.

We do not know whether the CPSU leadership at all responded to the letter. However, this, too, is certain that even if they responded, they did not quite force Ghosh to abandon his thoughts—the result of which we see in the article *On JV Stalin*, written on the occasion of Stalin's seventy-seventh birthday in *New Age*, the CPI mouthpiece. The entire article

holds aloft the banner of Stalin and dedicates merely two or three lines to the errors he committed as passing comments.

Nevertheless, this must also be mentioned that Ghosh, despite taking an independent stance regarding Stalin, subscribed to all major Khrushchovite formulations including peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition and peaceful transition [to socialism].

It is, therefore, natural for the reader to ask: why would a man of Ghosh's stature, even after supporting Stalin and upholding his contributions in post-Twentieth Congress scenario, at all follow Khrushchov's directives of 'Three Peacefuls'? Honestly speaking, there are no simple answers, and the tragedy is, instead of conducting painstaking investigations for uncovering the truth, we chose a short and convenient route—of simply branding people like Ghosh as capitalist roaders, who, owing to their revisionist bent, wanted to jeopardise the course of revolution! While such oversimplification enabled a section of communist revolutionaries in heaping scorns on revered leaders, the main problem remained unidentified.

All these revolutionary leaders, alongside lauding Stalin and putting his merits over his alleged mistakes, sided with the so-called peace formulations of the CPSU—and this was probably because they still held the USSR as the citadel of world communist movement. They fell prey to Khrushchov's cunning plot of exploiting certain Stalinist phrases such as 'peace', 'peoples parliament' etc. and thereby wrongly anticipated that despite his severe condemnation of the Stalin-cult, Khrushchov had little intention to tamper with the blueprint laid down by his predecessor at the Nineteenth

Congress of the CPSU.

The post-Stalin Soviet leadership under Khrushchov, actually, had a different plan all together. He had, to quote Dr. John Bulaitis, senior lecturer-Christ Church Canterbury University, 'precise aims when delivering his report—to loosen constraints on the Soviet economy and society, stabilise relations with the West and lance the boil of Stalin's relations with the Yugoslavian party'⁹. The very aims mentioned, clearly suggest Khrushchov's intention of restoring capitalism in the USSR. But for doing so he had to pulverise and discredit Stalin—his overwhelming aura spanning across the globe. To Khrushchov and his bureaucratic cronies, a dead Stalin was equally as dangerous as a living one.

World imperialism, from the very inception of the Soviet rule, wanted to destroy it. The USSR, too, owing to its singular presence was compelled to make certain compromises which gave birth to a very strong bureaucracy within the workers state. Stalin, on the one hand, had to fight the external enemies and, on the other, stem this internal bureaucracy from taking control of the Soviet state and people. But, as history shows, he could not finally contain its malicious ploy. World imperialism certainly found a close ally in the emerging Soviet bureaucracy, which, for its own interest, complied with the scheme of dismantling the proletarian dictatorship.

After going through the documents of the Gosplan¹⁰ Archives meticulously, Vijay Singh, a leading Stalin expert, has shown in his paper *Stalin and the Question of 'Market Socialism' in the Soviet Union After the Second World War* how, following the demise of Stalin in 1953, commodity and money relations were tactfully brought back in every sphere

and proliferated in Soviet economy. He further observed:

'Notably in 1955 the system of centralised directive planning orientated to laying the basis of communist society was terminated and was replaced by a system of decentralised coordinative planning. The system of planning was transformed, first, by the expansion of the direct rights of ministers in the plan and, second, by augmenting the powers of the enterprise directors over enterprise funds and surplus assets... Gosbank¹¹ was given the powers to financially control Soviet enterprises and even to declare enterprises insolvent and bankrupt. These measures were directed towards the creation of a multiplicity of private producers working for profit which is a defining characteristic of the capitalist mode of production. The closed speech in 1956 denouncing Stalin effectively broke the authority of the Soviet leader in the realm of the political economy of socialism and communism and laid the basis for ... the conversion of the means of production in Soviet industry and labour power into commodities which was then performed in the 'economic reforms' of 1957-8.'¹²

But this whole programme of restoring capitalism was carried out with so much secrecy that fraternal parties had no clue of what exactly was happening inside the Soviet state. Had they were aware of it, the whole story of international communist movement of that tumultuous period, maybe, would have been different. But that did not quite happen and in the following years international communist movement got badly split and, lastly, in four and half decades the USSR was broken into pieces.

May 26, 2022
Kalyani, Nadia.

Basu Acharya

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3. 'The new international centre set up in 1947, the Cominform, was merely a clearing-house of information, designed to prevent parties drifting apart and help them to exchange experiences. However, even this was abandoned, because its very existence seemed to set limits on the affirmation of party autonomy.
 'To describe this autonomy, the term "polycentrism", understood as the absence of a single centre, has been used in our party. This has given rise to a polemic based on a misunderstanding—i.e., on the interpretation of polycentrism as meaning the existence of regional centres of direction for large zones. This has never been our intention. However, it must be honestly admitted that an attempt in this direction was made, in 1956, just after the 20th Soviet C.P. Congress. The proposal did not come from the Italian Communists: but they, together with the French Communists, did try to see if it could be implemented - always, let it be understood, remaining within the framework of the necessary reciprocal exchange of information and experience - and desisted, in agreement with the French comrades, in face of the difficulties involved.' (Diversity and Unity in the International Proletarian-Communist Movement - Palmiro Togliatti)
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10. Gosplan (Gosudarstvennyy Planovyy Komitet, i.e., State Planning Committee) used to be the central board that supervised various aspects of the planned economy of the Soviet Union by translating into specific national plans the general economic objectives outlined by the Communist Party of Soviet Union and the government.

11. Gosbank was the central bank of the Soviet Union and the only bank in the entire country from 1922 to 1991. Gosbank was one of the three Soviet economic authorities, the other two being 'Gosplan' and 'Gossnab'. The Gosbank closely collaborated with the Soviet Ministry of Finance to prepare the national state budget.

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Under The Bannner of Stalin

STALIN ILLUMINES THE PATH

[*For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy,*
No. 50, December 12, 1952]

The appearance of Comrade Stalin's classical work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.* is an event of world-historic significance. Supplying precise answers to the vital and urgent questions that have come to the forefront in every country of the world, both Socialist and capitalist, both where the proletariat wields power and where it is still an oppressed class, Comrade Stalin illumines the path that has to be traversed in the march towards a classless society, to Communism, and arms the world-revolutionary movement with a clear perspective and clear understanding of the tasks ahead.

Once again, as in every historic epoch since its appearance, Marxism shows its immense vitality, its creative character, its capacity to act as an unfailing guide to the working class in the struggle for human liberation.

K. Marx and F. Engels transformed Socialism from a utopia into a science by discovering the general laws of development of human society and the specific laws of development of capitalist society. By propounding, on the basis of these laws and with prophetic vision, the inevitable overthrow of the capitalist system and the conquest of power by the proletariat, the founders of Scientific Socialism prepared the ground for the mass revolutionary movement of the working

class for Socialism.

Making a profound analysis of capitalism in its monopoly phase, V. I. Lenin showed why imperialism is the eve of social revolution of the proletariat. On the basis of the law of uneven development of capitalism in the imperialist era, the law which he discovered and elaborated, Lenin showed the inevitability of sharp conflicts and wars between imperialist states, to re-divide the already divided world, and also predicted the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country, thereby arming the proletariat of each country with a revolutionary perspective for unfettering its revolutionary initiative.

Guided by the theories of Lenin, the Party of Lenin and Stalin translated this prediction into reality and created the first socialist state in the world.

Basing himself on the theories of Marx and Lenin and further enriching and developing them at each stage of historic development, Comrade Stalin, the architect and builder of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., gives in his latest work a masterly survey of the new world situation, points out the profound significance of the disintegration of the single all-embracing world market and the coming into existence of two parallel world markets. He discovered and elaborated the basic economic law operating in socialist society and the basic economic law operating in present-day capitalist society, i.e., the laws which explain the growing contrast between the two worlds, which explain the immense superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system.

Thereby Comrade Stalin enables the proletariat of all countries, both where it has won victories over imperialism

and where it is still struggling, to understand clearly what tasks it has to carry out for the establishment of Communist society and also for the overthrow of imperialism where it still rules.

Thus, today when the transition to Communism is being effected in the U.S.S.R., when a number of countries have firmly set out on the path to Socialism and when the crisis of capitalism has deepened as never before, Comrade Stalin's work performs a role similar to that performed by the basic scientific works of Marx and Engels in the heyday of capitalism and by the works of Lenin in the era when capitalism had entered the phase of decay, when the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution set in.

Discoveries of Profound Revolutionary Significance

Of exceptional significance for a correct understanding of the economic situation in all capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries is the basic economic law of modern capitalism discovered by Comrade Stalin. A key task of the Indian Communist Party is [to understand] the economic development in India in the light of this law, the specific features and manifestations of this law in a semi-colonial country like ours—both in relation to the British and American imperialists and in relation to the Indian monopolies collaborating with them for a share in the plunder of their own people.

The continued British hold over our economy and exploitation of our resources—even after the ending of direct British rule—the strangling of India's development, the rapid

penetration of American imperialism, the sharp rivalry between British and American imperialists for the Indian market, black-marketeering and speculations indulged in by Indian monopolists who show little concern for the industrialisation of the country, the shameless looting of the state budget in the name of various schemes and projects, the increasingly heavy burdens imposed on all classes of people, including sections of the national bourgeoisie, by the state which is in the grip of monopolists and landlords, the vast swindling and corruption which have become an integral part of every 'plan' undertaken by the Government, the decline in agriculture and the catastrophic food situation dooming millions to starvation, the shrinking of the market, the stagnation of industries—all these phenomena must be studied by us in the light of the basic economic law formulated by Comrade Stalin.

Of equally great significance for us are Comrade Stalin's formulations of the tasks, role and possibilities of the present-day peace movement. These formulations, the Reports to the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Comrade Stalin's inspiring speech at the Congress supply weapons of inestimable value in the struggle for the preservation of peace and for the defence of national freedom in face of the growing aggression of the American imperialists.

Drawing attention to the significance of two parallel world markets, Comrade Stalin points out that the area of exploitation by the capitalist powers has shrunk catastrophically, deepening the general crisis of capitalism, making even partial stabilisation impossible and confronting the

imperialists with an extremely difficult situation.

Criminal Plans of the Warmongers

In an attempt to solve the crisis at the expense of the common people and of the Soviet Union and the democratic states, and with a view to securing world domination, the imperialist aggressors, led by the U.S., are feverishly preparing for war. They build military bases all over the world. They seek to undermine the independence and sovereignty of every country and bring it under their sway in an attempt to avert the crisis and as part of their preparation for world war.

The imperialist aggressors led by the U.S., and the capitalist governments that have become their satellites are destroying every vestige of democratic liberty, for they know that the war they are planning cannot be launched without fettering the people who abhor war, love peace and freedom, and have sentiments of deep friendship for the Soviet Union, People's China and the people's democratic countries.

American imperialism's drive towards world war proceeds along the path of enslavement of other countries, the destruction of all democratic liberties and the imposition of colossal burdens on the people.

'U.S. imperialism', says Comrade Malenkov, 'is at present not only the aggressor, it is the world gendarme seeking to strangle freedom wherever possible and to implant fascism'. Hence, it is the greatest enemy of all progressive humanity, not excepting the American people themselves.

Guided by the sole motive of making maximum profit and fearing the people of their own countries, the reactionary

bourgeois leaders who value dollars more than national freedom, are becoming a willing party to this nefarious game of the American warmongers. They are facilitating American penetration into their countries, bartering for dollars national sovereignty, national independence, the honour, safety and democratic liberties of their peoples.

We are witnessing the initial phases of the same process in India. America has not merely invaded the Indian market, securing a foothold in vital mineral ores, the Government of India itself has entered into agreements with the American Government on terms which have been characterised as bonds of slavery even by orthodox Gandhi followers. In partnership with the American Government, so-called community projects have been launched enabling an increasingly larger number of American agents to spread out over our whole country.

This is the path that leads to national slavery. This is the path that leads to our country being dragged into the criminal war now being prepared by the American imperialists and their allies.

Inevitably, therefore, the struggle for the preservation of peace becomes clearly linked with the struggle for defence of national freedom. It becomes a struggle into which all classes, sections and elements that abhor war, value freedom and honour, can and must be drawn.

'To bridle and isolate the gamblers of the camp of the imperialist aggressors who seek to embroil the peoples in a sanguinary slaughter for the sake of their profits—such is the principal task of all progressives and peace-loving mankind', (Malenkov).

Peaceful Co-Existence of Two Systems Possible

Undoubtedly, the danger of world war is real. But immensely powerful are the forces ranged against it. And these forces are growing stronger every day.

The peace movement aims at rousing the broad masses in struggle for preserving peace and averting a new world war. Every war brings immense misery to the people and retards human progress. Also, if one war starts, no matter between which states, the danger of world war will grow.

The peace movement—the broadest non-party, democratic movement for the preservation of peace—will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a particular war, in its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a particular peace. But its success is not enough to eliminate the inevitability of inter-imperialist wars in general—the inevitability of which arises from the economic laws that operate in capitalist society.

All the friendship, and love that the capitalist states profess for each other, all their talk about united struggle against the 'menace' of Communism, cannot conceal the reality that inside the shrunken capitalist world, fierce antagonism rages—antagonism between the victor imperialist powers of the second world war and the vanquished powers, antagonism between the victor powers themselves, above all between Britain and America, for markets, for spheres of investment, for spheres of influence. And as the crisis of capitalism deepens and as the prospect of success in a war against the socialist and democratic world grows dimmer, these antagonisms more and more come to the forefront and sharpen.

Nevertheless, the longer peace is preserved, the greater grows the contrast between the two worlds, the stronger grows the working class and revolutionary movement and the greater, therefore, grows the possibility of banishing wars in general through the abolition of imperialism itself.

Such is the perspective that Comrade Stalin's work and the Nineteenth Party Congress documents based on this work open out before the entire world revolutionary movement.

Communist Party – The Party That Upholds National Freedom and Sovereignty

In his inspiring speech which concluded the memorable Nineteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., Comrade Stalin made a profound analysis of the role of the reactionary bourgeois leaders of the capitalist world and defined the role that the Communist and Democratic Parties must play. The reactionary bourgeoisie today sells the rights and independence of the nation. For it, national sovereignty, which it swore by in the past, means nothing. For it, democratic liberties, which it once fought for and even upheld, are an obstacle in the path of its anti-national, anti-people policies. It, therefore, destroys democratic liberties.

In this situation it is the Communist and Democratic Parties in each country that must uphold and fight for national freedom and national sovereignty, democratic rights and liberties, rallying to this sacred cause all progressive classes, sections and elements. In this way and in this way alone can they become the guiding force of the nation, its true champion.

This is the role that our Party must carry out in India. It must be in the forefront in the struggle for liquidation of all vestiges of British rule, for defence of the national independence and sovereignty threatened by the American aggressors, for preservation of peace, for a life of happiness and prosperity for the people. Guided by the teaching of Comrade Stalin our Party must forge itself into an instrument powerful enough to carry out these tasks.

MESSAGE OF AJOY GHOSH
TO THE CC OF THE CPSU
ON THE SERIOUS ILLNESS OF STALIN

[March 5, 1953. Translated from Russian by Vijay Singh
for *Revolutionary Democracy*. Archival source: RGASPI
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To the Central Committee
Communist Party of Soviet Union

There are no words to express our deep concern with regard to the serious illness of Comrade Stalin. This is a heavy ordeal not only for the peoples of the Soviet Union but also for the peoples of the whole world. The situation calls for iron resolution for the realisation of the unity and steadfast devotion to the cause to which Comrade Stalin devoted his whole life.

Deeply perturbed about the news of the illness of Comrade Stalin, the people and the Communist Party of India await information on the recovery of Comrade Stalin.

Bombay
5 March 1953

Ajoy Ghosh
General Secretary
Communist Party of India

UNDER THE BANNER OF STALIN

[*Cross Roads*, Vol. IV No. 5, March 15, 1953]

When only a few months ago appeared the *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, a classic of Marxism-Leninism arming the world revolutionary movement with new powerful weapons, when a few days after Comrade Stalin made his historic speech at the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—in those days none could dream that the end was so near; none could anticipate the cruel blow that was to fall and so suddenly and so soon depriving the working people of the world of their greatest and most beloved leader.

Even now one finds it hard to believe that Comrade Stalin is no more in our midst, that his warm heart has ceased to beat, that his voice which roused millions of people all over the world to deeds of unparalleled valour has been stilled for ever.

Words cannot describe what Comrade Stalin did for the working people, for human liberation during his 73 years of eventful life. Symbolising the revolutionary movement of over half a century, his life will ever stand out as a mighty source of inspiration to all peoples of all lands.

One's mind inevitably goes back to the sombre 21st of January, 1924 when the Great Lenin had passed away, plunging the toiling masses of the whole world into mourning.

- One thinks of the historic vow taken by Comrade Stalin

five days later, a vow which was carried out as no vow has ever been carried out in history.

- One remembers the tumultuous events of the twenty-nine years since then, years during which the working class movement grew even mightier, years during which vast masses of people liberated themselves from slavery under the inspiring ideas of Comrade Stalin.

- Lenin's Comrade-in-Arms.

Comrade Stalin's life was inextricably linked with the life of Lenin till the latter's death.

Together, they built the Bolshevik Party, the Model Party of the international working class.

Together, they founded the Soviet State, which has always acted as the citadel of world revolution.

Together, they laid the foundation of the international Communist movement, which, under the leadership of Stalin, achieved victories—the like of which the world has never seen.

Together, they gave us Leninism, the science and technique of revolution in the imperialist era, the Lenin-Stalin principles of Party organisation, the Lenin-Stalin style of work.

In all this, Comrade Stalin continued and carried forward the work of Lenin. In all this, he not only applied what Lenin had taught, he also developed Marxism-Leninism still further, raising it to new heights.

A humanist in the noblest sense of the world, Comrade Stalin taught that only the people are immortal, that it is they who make history, that it is close association with the people that makes a Party strong and invincible.

Relentless enemy of the exploiting classes and oppressors,

Comrade Stalin unleashed the revolutionary initiative of the masses against them. No wonder he was loved by hundreds of millions and also hated and dreaded by the exploiting few and their lackeys.

With deep solicitude and profound understanding Comrade Stalin studied the movement of the Indian peoples. He taught the Indian working class that it is they who must lead the struggle against the British imperialists and their allies. He taught them that they must champion the cause of all progressive classes in Indian society. He taught them that they must build their mass Communist Party; that without this, they cannot win the hegemony of the national movement.

Today, guided by the teachings of Comrade Stalin, the Communist Party of India is striving to carry out this task. The Programme it has put forward—a programme permeated by the ideas of Comrade Stalin—has already evoked powerful response among the broad masses and is rallying millions of people under the banner of freedom and democracy.

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin the toiling peoples of the world marched from triumph to triumph. Today, confronting the old dying world of capitalism, stands the growing world of Socialism and democracy; confronting the instigators of a new world war, stand the hundreds of millions of partisans of peace; confronting the forces of imperialism and reaction, stand the forces of revolution and progress.

Nevertheless, we cannot afford to forget that the cause to which Comrade Stalin dedicated his entire life, though stronger than ever, has yet to achieve full victory. Two-thirds of humanity is still in shackles; vast countries like India have yet to achieve even full national freedom; the warmongers,

though they have not succeeded in unleashing a world war, are far from defeated yet.

New conspiracies are being hatched, new plans are being made to strengthen the shackles of slavery in the capitalist world, to impose slavery on the liberated peoples, to continue the war in Korea, Vietnam and Malaya and extend them. These plans and these conspiracies will grow in intensity as days pass.

The threat to freedom, the threat to democracy, the threat to peace, continue. The cause of human liberation, of Socialism, has yet to achieve full victory.

This has to be done now without Comrade Stalin in our midst, without his wise advice, without his matchless leadership. Hence the responsibility on Communist Parties of all lands has grown immeasurably. They do bear a burden heavier than ever.

They have to frustrate the plans of the enemy, who, encouraged by the passing away of the mighty figure that they dreaded and hated, will make renewed efforts to sow dissensions in their ranks, weaken their will to victory, shake confidence in the working class and in the teachings of Marxism.

The enemy hopes that, with the passing away of Comrade Stalin, the unity of Communist Parties will weaken, the unity of the international Communist movement will weaken, the bond of friendship between the Soviet Union and democratic countries and movements will weaken. He hopes that all this will facilitate the carrying out of his nefarious plans.

The enemy is mistaken. His joy will be short-lived.

It is not on the shifting grounds of expediency but on the

granite foundation of common principles, common interest and common aim that the unity which they hate and dread has been built. And nothing in the world can weaken it.

With the passing away of Comrade Stalin the Communist movement will grow doubly conscious of its duties and responsibilities, the Communist Parties will draw ever closer and redouble their efforts to strengthen themselves, remove their shortcomings and weaknesses and forge themselves into still more powerful instruments of revolution.

The old order is doomed. History has signed its death warrant. Nothing in the world can save it. Comrade Stalin's death will spur the working class to new efforts to complete what could not be completed in the lifetime of its great leader.

This will happen despite billions of dollars spent on armaments, despite the brandishing of atom bombs, despite the butchery of tens of thousands of innocent workers on false charges, because, as Comrade Stalin stated— the ruling classes of the capitalist world have become reactionary, have lost contact with the masses, have thrown overboard the banner of independence and democracy.

Comrade Stalin taught the working class and the Communist Parties that it is they who have to uphold the cause of peace, national freedom and democracy, and it is they who have to act as the most patriotic parties of their people. It is they who have to become the guiding force of their nation.

Heavy Responsibilities

This was the message with which he roused the Communists and other democrats the world over in October last. He told

us, in what has become the last will and testament left by him for his disciples, that, if only they unflinchingly hold aloft the banner of freedom and democratic liberties, the banner which the bourgeoisie has given up, there is no force on earth which can arrest the onward march of the forces of peace, national freedom and democracy.

Like other Communist Parties the world over, the Communist Party of India is conscious of the heavy responsibilities that this terrible loss has laid on its shoulders. It is conscious of the fact that its own action in carrying out the tasks laid down by the leader who is no more will be the decisive factor in the course of development of the struggles of the Indian people for real freedom, full national sovereignty and lasting peace.

The Communist Party of India realises its responsibilities of rousing the Indian people, of successfully carrying out the first major task facing them—the task of wiping out every trace of British domination in our economy, administration and cultural life.

We realise that not only are the old chains of British imperialism being kept intact, but new chains are sought to be forged in various forms; the British imperialists hope through these chains—old and new—to deprive India of even those few traces of independence and sovereignty which they were forced to grant us five and a half years ago.

The Communist Party of India is also conscious of its responsibility to rouse the Indian people against the American imperialists who are trying more and more to penetrate into our country and make us their tools in the diabolical plan which they are hatching to unleash a third world war.

We have to explain again and again to the Indian people

that the slightest weakening on our part in the matter of stout opposition to the American plans of continuing the present wars and unleashing new ones will lead to our country being dragged inevitably into the camp of war.

This has now become quite evident from the manner in which India's acceptance of the 'principle of voluntary repatriation' of prisoners-of-war was cleverly utilised by the American imperialists to form the background of their new policy of making 'Asians fight Asians'.

We have to make our people realise that unless a firm and consistent opposition is organised against the so-called 'aids' and 'grants' given by the American imperialists, India faces the danger of becoming a satellite of the enemy of world peace.

The Communist Party realises its responsibility of rousing the people against the British imperialists who are deeply entrenched in our economy, administration and cultural life, as well as against the American imperialists, who are trying in various ways to get a foothold in our country.

Failure to discharge this responsibility would be a criminal betrayal of the cause for which the leader of the world peoples fought his whole life, the cause which he advised us to uphold in the last will and testament left by him.

The Communist Party of India knows that it is not alone in shouldering this responsibility. Communist Parties in other countries, genuine patriots and democrats the world over, have been infused with the same spirit of irreconcilable struggle against warmongers, the spirit of uncompromising struggle for national freedom and full democracy.

The Indian Communists will join hands with these

democratic and patriotic elements the world over in counteracting the enemies of the State and the Party which Stalin built up.

The Communist Party realises that, in order to discharge these responsibilities, it has to forge into a powerful mass Party.

We realise that the ideological and organisational basis on which the Model Party of the working class was built by Lenin and Stalin is our most valuable inheritance; we will go again and again to the lessons taught by the great Lenin and Stalin in building our own Party.

We are fortified with the thought that, though the great builders of the Model Party of the world are no more with us, they lived long enough to forge such a Party which, under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by such tried and tested leaders as Comrades Malenkov, Beria and Molotov, will continue to carry forward the glorious traditions of Lenin and Stalin.

The Communist Party recalls that the Party which Lenin and Stalin built looks upon the unity of the Party as of incalculable importance. We realise that the slightest degree of disunity in our ranks will be taken full advantage of by the enemies of the working class and of the Party to launch ferocious attacks on the whole working class and its allies.

It will, therefore, be our endeavour to safeguard the unity of the Party as the apple of our eye, as Comrade Stalin continually exhorted us to do.

We realise, furthermore, that one of the most powerful weapons in our hands to forge unity in our ranks is the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, particularly criticism

from below. We realise that it is only by wielding this powerful weapon of Bolshevik struggle against the ideologies, forms of struggle and habits of the alien classes that we can preserve and strengthen the unity of our Party and of the working class.

Irreconcilability in principles, merciless exposure of wrong tendencies and shortcomings, the application of the sharp weapon of criticism against every member of the Party including the topmost—such is the basis on which we continuously rid ourselves of our shortcomings and weaknesses.

It is only by overcoming these shortcomings and weaknesses that we will be able to forge the complete unity of the Party.

The Communist Party realises that it cannot discharge these responsibilities unless it takes upon itself the key task of rearing Bolshevik cadres, cadres built in the true image of Stalin. We have to recall how Comrade Stalin looked upon cadres as the gold reserve of the Party, how he took deep personal interest in the development of cadres.

It was this continuous attention bestowed by him on the rearing of Bolshevik cadres which has given us such world renowned leaders as are today heading the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, China, People's Democracies, Italy, France, Britain, America, etc.

It is the personal attention paid by Comrade Stalin that helped the creation of such Heroes of Socialist Labour as the Stakhanovites and such Heroes of War as the Red Army men and guerrillas of the Soviet Union; it was again this that made such epoch-making developments as the Chinese National Liberation War and other struggles that are today taking place all over the world.

We realise that the Central leadership of our party should pay utmost attention to the task of so improving its own work as to be worthy of the leadership of a Party which seeks to build itself on the model of the Lenin-Stalin Party.

It will be the endeavour of every single member of our Central leadership to improve his own work in such a way as to earn him the right and privilege of calling himself a true and loyal disciple of Stalin, a cadre built in the image of Comrade Stalin.

We realise that it is only to the extent to which we succeed in doing this, that we will be able to build the Party on the model of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

GREAT LEADER OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

*[For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy,
No. 12, March 20, 1953]*

Comrade Stalin is no more.

With deep sorrow, ordinary men and women of all lands bow their heads before their beloved leader. With great pride, they remember that they had the honour of being guided by him. With profound reverence they recollect his colossal achievements in the realm of revolutionary ideas and revolutionary deeds.

Comrade Stalin was the builder of the new society which realises the dream of the noblest thinkers of all time. Under his leadership there was realised the greatest unity of the revolutionary movement of all times—the unity of the international Communist movement, the unity of the toiling people of all lands for a common goal under a common banner.

Under his leadership there arose a new world—stretching over vast areas of Europe and Asia and with population of over 800 million—a world in which all nations live in relations of friendship and co-operation, a world where all peoples and all races enjoy equal rights, a world which knows no exploitation of man by man. Under his leadership there grew the broadest movement of all times, the movement which has drawn to its orbit men and women of all countries, of all faiths, and of all political beliefs—the movement to rid

people of the horrors of war, the movement to vindicate the principle of peace between countries and nations.

Comrade Stalin lived and worked in a turbulent epoch. It was an epoch in which the historic battle between labour and capital, between imperialism and the oppressed peoples, between exploiters and exploited, had entered into its final and decisive phase. It was an epoch which witnessed the menace of fascist barbarism on the one hand, the development of proletarian revolutions in the countries of imperialism on the other. Comrade Stalin passed away when the common people, led by the working class and the Communist Parties, had already triumphed in one-third of the world, when capitalism in its dying convulsions had revealed itself as the defender of all that is reactionary, when all progressive mankind were rising against the policy of the imperialists, and the balance was shifting in favour of the people.

Comrade Stalin's leadership was the decisive factor that made possible these epic achievements that brought about this decisive shift.

Colleague and comrade-in-arms of the great Lenin, Stalin together with him founded the Bolshevik Party, the model party of the working class, the party that showed how the battle for Socialism is waged. Colleague and comrade-in-arms of the great Lenin, he together with Lenin founded the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism, the citadel of the world revolution. Colleague and comrade-in-arms of the great Lenin, he developed and tempered the international Communist movement which has already liberated vast masses from the shackles of capitalist rule. Colleague and comrade-in-arms of the great Lenin, he further developed

the science of Socialism, the science of revolution, enriching it with new thoughts, arming the world's movement for freedom with new weapons.

In his last great work, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*, and in his historic speech at the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, he charted the path to Communism in the U.S.S.R., and pointed out the tasks confronting the working class in all countries in the new era.

Comrade Stalin taught that the working class can win victories only if it is led by its own Party, only if the Party continually strengthens its links with the masses, only if the Party preserves its own unity as its most precious asset, if it firmly and consistently upholds the principle of internationalism, if the Party constantly teaches the masses, learns from the masses and improves its own work through criticism and self-criticism.

A rare combination of profundity of ideas and simplicity of expression, of titanic hatred for the oppressors and exploiters and deep love for the oppressed and down-trodden, of immense theoretical power and practical leadership of day-to-day struggles—Comrade Stalin carried out the historic vow made on the occasion of the death of Lenin. No threat could cower him, no difficulties could shake his iron will, no obstacles could stand in the way of his steadfast and dynamic pursuit of the goal he had set before himself.

Only the people are immortal—taught Comrade Stalin and throughout his life he strove to make the common man, the working people, conscious of its role, of its power, of its responsibility as the maker of history, the creator of the new world. And if the Soviet Union was transformed into the

mightiest country in the world, if the hordes of Hitler who dreamed of conquering the world were smashed, this, above all, was due to Stalin's indomitable leadership, to his profound faith in the common man, because of the revolutionary and creative energy of the masses he unleashed, because of the heroic stature which the working class attained under his leadership.

Great was the contribution of Comrade Stalin in every sphere of thought and action; but with special attention he will be remembered by the peoples of the colonial and enslaved countries whose cause he advanced as no man had ever done.

The traitors from the Second International belittled the struggle of the colonial people. For them the nations of the East, peoples of Asia and Africa, were ever destined to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water. For them civilisation existed only for the white peoples, who alone had the right to be free. For them Asia and Africa were only sources of raw material, markets, reservoirs of cheap labour to be exploited in the interest of the white masters.

Comrade Stalin taught that no nation can be free if it oppresses others, that the proletariat cannot emancipate itself without emancipating and uplifting the oppressed nations, without making their cause its own. Under his leadership and with the unselfish aid rendered by the Russian people, the oppressed nationalities of the tsarist empire who for centuries had remained backward and downtrodden, attained not only freedom and equal rights but achieved gigantic progress in industry and agriculture, in education and cultural upliftment, in health and well-being. Under his

leadership, relations of a new kind were established between nations, relations based on mutual respect, friendly aid and fraternal co-operation. Under his leadership, the Soviet state renounced all unequal treaties, championed the right to freedom of all peoples and waged a determined battle against all forms of national and racial oppression.

The liberating role of the Soviet Army in relation to the enslaved peoples during the anti-fascist war, the magnificent support of the Soviet state which is helping the great People's Republic of China to rebuild its economy, the fraternal help to the People's Democracies, the consistent fight for the cause of peace, a cause especially dear to the colonial people who would be the worst sufferers in the event of a new world war—such are the concrete manifestations of the Stalin foreign policy.

The Stalin policy and these impressive acts could not but exert a profound influence on all colonial and dependent peoples groaning under the iron heel of the imperialists, could not but rouse them against their own enslavers and fire them with revolutionary fervour. No wonder, therefore, that the era of Stalin has been the era of unprecedented development of the national-liberation struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples that is shaking imperialism to its very foundations.

The contribution of Comrade Stalin to the problems of the colonial peoples, to the question of national-colonial revolution, to the question of the united front in colonial countries, to the question of proletarian hegemony in the national movement, is known to all. He showed the colonial peoples the path to freedom. He taught how the fight for national liberation is combined with the fight of the working

class of the colonial countries, that it is they who must assume the leadership of the national revolution, build a broad united front of all progressive classes and establish firm unity with the vast masses of the peasantry. He taught that national liberation can be attained only through a determined struggle against imperialism, against the reactionary bourgeoisie and feudalism and by unleashing the agrarian revolution. He taught that this demands the building, above all, of a mass Communist Party—faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, rooted in the broad masses.

It is an eloquent tribute to the genius of Comrade Stalin that wherever in colonial countries the people, under the leadership of the working class, have taken the path taken by Stalin, there the reign of imperialism had been uprooted once and for all, there complete freedom and democracy have been attained, there the people—the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and national bourgeoisie—are building a new life. Wherever on the other hand the national movement has been led along the other path, the path of the bourgeoisie, there imperialism still dominates the country, there the people remain sunk in poverty and backwardness.

Traversing the path shown by Comrade Stalin and under the leadership of their great Communist Party and glorious leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the people of China have shattered the rule of imperialism in their vast country. They have frustrated the plans of the imperialists who strove to enslave the peoples of Asia and extend the flames of war. Their victories, becoming ever more consolidated with the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union, their historic friendship, cemented in blood with the Soviet people, have marked the

beginning of a new path for the peoples of Asia. The days of impunity for imperialist intervention in the affairs of the peoples of Asia, the days of gunboat diplomacy, are over. And all the ravings of the Eisenhowers and Dulleses, and of their European satellites, all their nefarious plans of making 'Asians fight Asians', will not bring these days back.

Deep and profound was Comrade Stalin's love for the Indian people, deep and sustained was his interest in their movement for national freedom. Fully conscious of the treacherous character of the national bourgeois leadership, he warned the Indian people against its manoeuvres and stressed the importance of a mass Communist Party which alone could lead the battle for freedom. His counsel in relation to the Indian revolutionary movement will ever be remembered by the Indian Communist Party with reverence, with love, with pride.

Guided by the principles of Stalin, inspired by the ideas of Stalin, imbibing the teaching of Stalin, the Programme of the Communist Party of India serves today as a mighty weapon for uniting the broad masses of the Indian people under the leadership of the working class for full freedom and democracy. With the economic crisis in India deepening every day, with the plans and projects of the ruling classes suffering fiasco and imposing new burdens on the people, with the growing radicalisation of the masses of our people, more and more millions will rally in the coming period for the realisation of this programme.

Comrade Stalin is no more. But his achievements live. His cause lives. The movement he led lives and grows. The world he led to liberation grows stronger, more united, more

consolidated.

His work remains unfinished. We, the Communist Parties that he led, must carry forward his banner, must complete his work. Two-thirds of the world has yet to be liberated. The plans of the imperialists brandishing the atom bomb, who want to plunge humanity into the horrors of another war, who are massacring the peoples of Korea, Malaya and Viet Nam, have yet to be finally smashed.

Our responsibilities have grown immensely. But led by the teaching of Stalin, we shall march ahead, preserving and strengthening the unity of our Party, preserving and strengthening the great unity of the international working-class movement.

Great Stalin taught us to uphold national freedom which the bourgeoisie has betrayed. He taught us to hold aloft the banner of democratic liberties which the bourgeoisie has thrown overboard. He taught us to fight for the great principles of friendship between peoples and peace between states. He taught us that by doing this alone we shall rally all progressive people under our banner and advance the cause of liberation.

These theses shall be our guide in the battles ahead.

Victory will be ours for Stalin continues to lead us!

THE QUESTION OF STALIN AND THE CULT OF INDIVIDUAL

[This is a part of the report on the 20th CPSU Congress made by Ajoy Ghosh, general secretary of the CPI, at the 4th party congress, Palghat, April 1956.]

...Now I will take up the next question—the most difficult question, the question of Stalin and the cult of the individual. This phrase, ‘cult of the individual’, what does it exactly mean? Let us take that first.

For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy of 30 March gave the definition of the cult of the individual as ‘inordinately exalting individual persons, investing them with supernatural traits and qualities, imputing all but miraculous powers to them and kowtowing to them’. It is an incorrect conception, alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. The mistake lies not in recognising the talents of a leader but in ascribing to him supernatural powers and infallibility.

After the 20th congress a number of questions have come to the mind of every one of you. What about the contribution of Stalin to the development of Marxism-Leninism? What about his role in building socialism and fighting against right and left deviations? Why is it that there was no reference to it in the 20th congress? These questions came to my mind also.

Secondly, what were the other leaders doing all these days? What role did they play in fostering or combating the cult of the individual? Thirdly, what made it possible for such things

to continue for such a long time?

I cannot answer all these questions. There can be no dispute about the tremendous positive role of Stalin in enriching Marxism, in building socialism in the USSR, in fighting against right and left deviations, in guiding the international communist movement. I think that if the 20th congress report itself had made a statement about the positive achievements of Stalin, then much of the confusion that has arisen would have been avoided. This was subsequently done in the Pravda editorial.

But as regards the second and third question, I have no satisfactory replies to give. What replies have been given have not satisfied me.

Instead of debating these issues, let us see the whole thing dispassionately.

Did the cult of personality develop in the USSR or not? I have no doubt it did develop. We also know that it was primarily in relation to Stalin.

Did Stalin himself play a role in the development of this? About this a number of instances have been given, e.g., the *Biography of Stalin*. It is very evident that the book is permeated through and through with the cult of the individual ascribing to Stalin miraculous powers.

While Stalin, in a general way, very often criticised exaltation of individuals as being alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the concrete form which it was taking in the Soviet Union in relation to him, in the latter period of his life, he did not combat; but, on the other hand, encouraged it. I know on an issue like this, it is very difficult to be very objective. At the same time, it is necessary to do so because,

what has happened is a major event not only in the life of the CPSU, but in the life of all communist parties.

I hope you have got the statement that has appeared in *New Age* made by the Chinese party. That document deals with the question in a more satisfactory and in a more elaborate way than I have seen so far anywhere. All comrades should read that article.

We should understand that what is today being criticised is not merely Stalin. What is being criticised is the whole method of leadership that had evolved in the CPSU over a certain period. Stalin is specifically mentioned, it is so because he was the leader of the CC of the CPSU. If we look at it as a mud-slinging business then we would not be able to see any further. Let us look at the thing in a different way. We must see the criticism in its proper perspective; it is necessary to do so because today many of the bourgeois leaders say: 'What did we tell you? Is this not what we told you all along?' Some of our comrades also say that the whole moral basis on which they stood is shaken and there is nothing on which to stand. But let us see whether this is really so.

In the years since it was born, there have been mighty achievements of the Soviet Union in every sphere. From a backward country it has been transformed in this period into a country with advanced agriculture. In this very period there has been an enormous increase in the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people. The USSR played an immense role in transformation of socialism into a world system, in bringing about the present situation when one-third of humanity has taken to the path of socialism. But for the USSR, the disintegration of colonial system could not

have taken place. But for the USSR, victory in the antifascist war could not have been won. But for the USSR, there would be no people's democracies. What we have to see is, first of all, the mighty achievements of the USSR which are of profound historic significance, not only for the Soviet Union but for the whole humanity. The mistakes have to be judged in the background of these achievements. It would be no exaggeration to say that never in the history of humanity has so much been achieved in 40 years as in the USSR. This is the first fact that has to be recognised.

When we recognise that all this could not have come of itself, then we will see that the basic line which has been pursued all these years is a correct line. It is not only Stalin but the present leaders of the CPSU and the central committee too that have made this possible. The CPSU has been the party which has acted as a model for international communist movement and Stalin was the international leader of the communist movement. Where was the international communist movement thirty years ago and where it is today, we know. That also is a tribute to Stalin and to the leaders of the international movement. So the whole thing has to be viewed in the background of victories which have no parallel in history.

Contrast this with the achievements of other parties which throw mud at us. For example, the Labour Party in England. It came to power several times and every time it paved the way for the victory of the Tories. Here in India, we have the Congress in power which received the support of the overwhelming majority of the people before 1947. Within three or four years, people began cursing the Congress. Did

the Labour Party or the Congress ever think it necessary to come before the people and say to them that these were the mistakes they committed? Parties which have not got achievements of even one millionth part of those of the CPSU, come and say today that the CPSU has been committing mistake after mistake. And many of our comrades also are unfortunately taken in by that. What we have to say is: See where the world stood 40 years ago, in 1917 and today. And this is because, first and foremost, of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union.

What we have to see is that the Soviet Union was faced with an exceptionally difficult job. In all other states, all other parties that came to power had before them only one task—perpetuate their own rule. Here it was a question of bringing about a transformation of a type that has never been attempted in history and together with that create the conditions for transition to a still higher form of society. There was no previous precedent by which it could be guided. A country launched on a new path, an uncharted path, beset with enemies outside and inside—it was in this situation that the Soviet Union found itself. It was inevitable that in such a situation mistakes would be committed, even mistakes of a serious character. It is inevitable because something new is being attempted: Not replacement of one class rule by another only, but simultaneously creating conditions for the total abolition of class rule itself.

It is also inevitable that wrong theories would be propounded again and again. And we have got to go forward by correcting them from time to time. But it is not enough to see this, it is necessary to realise also that these mistakes

should be as few as possible and they should be rectified as quickly as possible. If we do not see this, then we would not be doing justice to the masses of our country, the proletariat of our country, to the cause of world socialism itself.

It is precisely this recognition and speedy correction of mistakes that was prevented by the cult of personality. Herein we have to see the harm done by the development of cult of personality. That is, if powers to do miracle are ascribed to certain persons, if they are looked upon as infallible, then inevitably the tendency would be to obey everything these persons say or do and, therefore, mistakes would accentuate and get perpetuated. That is, a speedy correction becomes difficult if the cult of personality exists.

Mistakes often get committed because of the nature of the situation, because of the complexity of the tasks, but those mistakes fail to get corrected, they pile up and lead to new mistakes if the cult of personality grows. It is in this context that the criticism has to be understood.

The sharp criticism is not with a view to discredit Stalin. I did not meet any person in the USSR who in any way minimised the immensity of the achievements of this period and also the fact that Stalin's was the outstanding role in this. But they say that mistakes were committed and they were not speedily corrected because of the cult of personality, the belief that a particular individual is infallible a belief which Stalin himself gradually came to foster. Collective leadership cannot come into existence only by regular meetings. No one should consider himself to be infallible—this is the precondition for collective functioning. Because collective leadership presupposes readiness to understand each other

and correct one's own mistakes.

If the cult of personality grows, gradually inner-party democracy comes to an end, collective functioning ceases, even regular meetings do not take place, the party fails to assess its work objectively and learn from its mistakes.

Therefore, let us first recognise the immensity of the achievements and the tasks, see that mistakes were committed in the execution of these tasks, and that these mistakes did not get corrected because of the cult of personality, which resulted in the continuation of old and commission of new mistakes. All this did serious damage to the party and the movement. Comrades would like to know what kind of damage has been done due to this. I shall not be able to deal with it in detail, but I would like to mention certain facts. For example, regarding agriculture, it has been stated that a serious situation developed in agriculture because of certain policies, which were later rectified after Khrushchov's report made in September. You will see the rectification that was made. Then it was pointed out that mistakes were committed with regard to Yugoslavia. Further, there was lack of vigilance about the attack of Hitler's Germany.

But I want to deal with another and a more vital question. That question is the position of the security services and the question of Beria. It has been stated that the security services abused their power, that they grew into a state within the state and that certain excesses were done.

Class struggle, as we all know, leads to the overthrow of capitalism. It does not cease after the bourgeoisie has been overthrown. Dictatorship of the proletariat is a determined war waged by the proletariat against an enemy who has been

overthrown but not yet destroyed, who is not in power but still very powerful. The question arises—what happens after the abolition of classes? As you know, by about 1934 in the Soviet Union hostile classes came to be eliminated. The big capitalists had been eliminated long ago and by 1934 the kulaks also had ceased to exist as a class. The question was whether there would be class struggle even after this. It was correctly pointed out by Stalin that capitalist encirclement still existed and there were elements from among hostile classes and degenerates who acted as agents of imperialism outside. Therefore we cannot say that class struggle had ended. Vigilance had to be exercised so that the enemies of the working class do not take advantage of the situation. Capitalism continues to survive in the minds of men for a long period and sustained struggle had to be waged to eliminate it. But the concept that class struggle becomes more and more intensified as the socialist society grows stronger and stronger—this was a wrong and dangerous concept. It led to the tendency to brand as ‘enemies of the people’ even those who were only politically wrong or who politically differed. It led to excessive reliance on security services and underestimation of the fact that the socialist society, as it grows, develops the moral power to isolate and combat harmful trends and tendencies, and educate elements from all sections.

The result was that the security forces came to occupy extraordinary powers and when a person like Beria took charge of these services, excesses were committed. Not merely enemies were made the targets, but action was taken against some others and they were persecuted.

Such a theory and the practical measures that followed, created an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust in many spheres and prevented frank criticism and self-criticism. Men like Beria took full advantage of the situation to creep into responsible posts and use them against the interests of the socialist society.

Beria had a shady past. In the years of the civil war he was on the side of the bourgeois-nationalists in Transcaucasia who wanted to overthrow the Soviet government. The organisation was directly in touch with the imperialists, financed and helped by them. Subsequently, certain persons who knew Beria in those days tried to expose him and Beria used his power in the state apparatus to liquidate them. One of the things which contributed to the growth of his power and one of the reasons for the excesses was this understanding about the intensification of class struggle under socialism.

From this it should not be taken to mean that all the trials that took place in the Soviet Union were fabricated. Many of those who were punished were guilty. But in several cases the punishment was excessive and also a number of innocent people suffered. This particular theory about class struggle and the manner in which it was applied and understood did damage to Soviet law and authority and there were violations of the rules laid down by Soviet law.

Doctrinairism grew inside the party and the concept grew that certain persons are to develop theory and others are merely to apply it. Initiative got stifled. This prevented the party from working out a flexible policy on several issues.

Doctrinairism affected other parties too. In 1924 Stalin made a well-known speech where he stated that the Indian

bourgeoisie is split in two sections, one of which had already managed in the main to come to agreement with imperialism. For a long time a discussion started inside our party on this— which section? The fact is that it is an incorrect statement. It is belied by events. Yet none of us even dared to say it is wrong. It was assumed that it cannot be wrong because Stalin has stated it. This doctrinairism grew not in one party, but in many parties. It was thought that it is the job of particular parties and of particular leaders to develop Marxism and others were merely to apply the theories. A tendency developed to fit facts into particular theories and when they did not fit in, to deny the facts themselves.

In organisation also, with the growth of the cult of personality, methods of personal leadership came into existence and started getting reproduced at the lower levels also. This happened in many cases. Again, this method of personal leadership is a factor which prevents correct assessment of the situation and pooling together of experience and results in serious mistakes.

So it has been correctly pointed out that both in the realm of theory and practice, the growth of cult of personality did serious damage. One question may be asked: Why Stalin did this? Was it that he was seeking some personal ends?

Every one with whom I have talked is of the opinion that there was no trace of any personal interest as far as Stalin was concerned. Everything he did, he did very sincerely believing that that was in the best interests of socialism, of the working class and of the revolution. But he came to believe in his infallibility and so he began to think that he alone was right. He developed the habit of distrusting others. The practice of

constant consultation, of seeing his own mistakes, declined. The aim he set before himself was the strengthening of socialism and the revolution; but there itself, with the growth of cult of personality and with the belief in his own infallibility, he committed mistakes and these mistakes did damage politically and theoretically.

All this, let me repeat again, should not be allowed to blur in any way the gigantic achievement of the USSR in every sphere, the immense advance registered by the world communist movement and the outstanding role played by Stalin in all this. To do that would mean to deny facts, to distort history.

At the same time we must also recognise that serious mistakes were committed and but for these mistakes the achievements and the advances could have been still greater. Today, with old methods of leadership abandoned and collective functioning restored, we can confidently look forward to such advance.

The leadership of the CPSU, by boldly declaring an ideological war against the cult of personality and by laying bare the damage it has done, has rendered great service to the Soviet people, to the people's democracies and to the entire international communist movement. Whatever criticism we may make of the specific manner in which this was done, the fact remains that the job had to be undertaken. Whatever temporary confusion it may have created, in the long run it will be of great help to all communist parties.

Many of us may be critical of the way in which certain things were done. But we must not permit a spirit of cynicism to develop in relation to the USSR and the CPSU. That would be fatal for our movement. Let us remember what the

bourgeoisie had hoped for when Stalin died. They had thought that the CPSU would go to pieces. Not only that has not happened, but the present leadership has fully demonstrated its capacity in deeds. The success which its peace policy has attained is there. The security services have been deprived of their extraordinary power. Collective leadership has been restored. Big advance has been made in raising the standard of life of the people. Marxism-Leninism has been creatively developed. The CPSU remains the leading party of the international communist movement and its record shows it is worthy of the trust reposed in it by the Soviet people.

Then in the organisational sphere, certain other principles have been laid down in the report which are of value not only to the CPSU but to all parties.

It points out: 'The main thing in the party's work of organisation is work among the masses—to influence the masses and rally them for the accomplishment of the economic and political tasks set by the party. We must no longer tolerate a situation when workers of the party apparatus, instead of being daily amidst the masses, confine themselves to their offices, produce reams of resolutions, while life passes them by.

This is equally true of many other parties, particularly our party. Here, another thing I will read out: 'Unfortunately, in many party organisations we still find the absurd juxtaposition of party political work and economic activity. We come across party 'leaders' who hold that party work is one thing and economic and government work quite another. These 'leaders' even complain that they are being diverted from so-called 'pure party' work and are made to study

economics, technology and agronomy, to study production.'

What is the significance of this for us? Every party is faced with the same problem—not only parties in power: a kind of divergence between party work and mass work has grown in many parties. As we know, it is there in our party to a considerable extent.

Then, 'Many party organisations are oblivious of the party principle that, together with proper utilisation of old cadres, young people who have proved their mettle in practical work should be boldly promoted to leading posts.' This is another vice which is found not only in the CPSU—is this not there in our party?

Again, 'Despite this progress in disseminating knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the position in respect to ideological work is still unsatisfactory. The main shortcoming at present is that it is largely divorced from the practice of communist construction.' Divorce between ideological work and practical problems is a common failing of all communist parties but is especially found in our party.

The 20th Congress is a landmark in the history of the international communist movement. On the basis of mighty victories it showed the way to still greater victories. Eschewing all dogmatism and doctrinairism, it tackled the current problems in a bold way, creatively developing Marxism-Leninism. It has shown what possibilities have opened out and how these can be realised for uniting all patriotic, democratic and socialist elements in every country for advance in every sphere, for new successes, for the cause of the people and the working class.

THE KHRUSHCHOV REPORT AND THE SITUATION CREATED BY ITS PUBLICATION

[Transcript of the speech at a Central Committee
meeting in July 1956]

On June 4, the State Department of the US Government released a document which it claims is the Report delivered by Com. Khrushchov on February 25th at the special session of the CPSU Congress. Report was published in a number of American papers and also in the bourgeois press of most European countries. The contents of the Report, as well as its form and method of representation, were such that it could not be dismissed as bourgeois fabrication. The Communist Parties and the Communist Press had to admit that the Report bore the mark of authenticity, though certain things might have been added or deleted.

This was followed by the article by Com. Togliatti and the statement of the Polit Bureau of the Communist Party of France. Both these documents, especially the article by Togliatti, were sharply critical not only of Stalin but also of the present CPSU leadership.

How are we to assess these developments? How are we to act in this situation? This is a question of great importance for us?

I do not think that the mere fact that certain methods of the CPSU leadership have been criticised by other Communist Parties is something which is disruptive. The old concept of

proletarian Internationalism which demanded unqualified support by every Communist party to every act of the CPSU can no longer be considered valid. One might even ask whether such a concept in the absolute and rigid way in which it was understood and applied should not have been corrected even earlier.

But it would be sheer self-deception if we think that this is all that has happened. We must recognise that a situation of utmost gravity has arisen for the world Communist movement. Communist Parties without exception are confronted with an extremely difficult situation.

Responsibility of CPSU for the Present Crisis

The reasons for this situation are:

FIRST of all, the contents of the Report. The revelations are too shocking for words. Enemies of Communism are using it to denounce the Socialist system, Soviet democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This Report is going to be the chief weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie in all countries, including our own.

SECONDLY, the manner in which the Report has reached the mass of members of the Communist Parties through bourgeois press—each Communist Party is in a cruel and humiliating position. Everywhere our enemies say with malicious glee: 'You have been defending the USSR in all it does. Your leaders have implicit faith in the CPSU. But the CPSU does not trust even your leaders. They were not given the document which was given to all delegates to the CPSU Congress.' The moral effect of this can be disastrous.

THIRDLY the way in which other Parties have been forced to change their positions in the last few weeks seriously damages their position before the masses in their own country. After the 20th Congress, all of them made report before their own Parties and adopted resolutions in accordance with the CPSU. They criticised Stalin, they condemned the cult of personality, they praised the leadership of the CPSU. Today, one after another, they have started making statements where they criticise the CPSU also and declare that the explanation given by them is inadequate. This not only makes their own position difficult, but can also be interpreted by enemies to mean that even the present criticism is stage-managed. This is what the bourgeois press actually is saying.

All these in their totality have seriously damaged the prestige of the world Communist movement and of each Communist Party. They have seriously undermined confidence and led to widespread cynicism. They have created a situation of grave crisis for every Communist Party.

Who is primarily responsible for this? This is a question which has to be answered and answered unequivocally. I think there can be no doubt what the answer is. The responsibility lies primarily and above all, on the leadership of the CPSU which has dealt with the whole matter in an amazingly irresponsible and incompetent way, in a way which moreover weakens the bond of international unity.

It should have been evident to them that the Report which is printed in such a large number and reaches so many hands can never be kept a secret. Comrade Khrushchov says in his report that they do not want to wash the dirty linen in public. The contents of the Report are such as to make such

secrecy essential. Some of the incidents mentioned are hard to believe. In its totality, it gives a distorted and one-sided picture. It is certainly not a sober and balanced document as such a document should be. The whole approach is grossly subjective. A Report of this character dealing with some of the gravest happenings in the first Socialist State had to make an objective, Marxist appraisal of the developments in the USSR in their totality, lay bare the causes which made these happenings possible and evolve effective safeguards against their repetition. Then only the specific role of the cult of personality and shortcomings of Stalin could be placed in proper setting. Not merely was this not done, but there is not even any such attempt in the Report. Seeking to demolish the cult of the individual which certainly was an urgent necessity, the Report, however, fails to achieve even this object. In fact, in a way it even reinforces the cult of the individual. Just as in the past all the successes of the Soviet State, all the successes in the building of Socialism were ascribed to the superhuman qualities of Stalin, today all the weaknesses of the Soviet State, all the violations of Socialist legality, all the failures and mistakes are ascribed to the degeneration of Stalin. Such approach not only fails to carry conviction; it also hampers effective solution of the problems.

The Report does not make an objective assessment of Stalin for the entire period during which he led the CPSU and the world Communist movement. It makes out as though the positive role of Stalin ended 20 years ago. During a period of 20 years of mighty developments, of the USSR and world Communism, Stalin's role in the development of Marxism, in the building of Socialism in the USSR and its defence, in the

leadership of international Communist movement—all this is glossed over. Such a one-sided assessment of one of the all-time greatest figures of the Communist movement, of one whose name has evoked sentiments of deep love and loyalty among hundreds of millions, leads to general loss of faith which harms the cause of Communism itself.

Even more shocking is the fact that the CPSU leadership did not think it necessary to take into confidence leaders of the brother Parties who had gathered at the 20th Congress. Assessment of role of Stalin and of his mistakes is not something that concerns the CPSU alone. It concerns the whole Communist movement in building which Stalin had played an outstanding role and which looked upon him as its greatest leader.

Yet, not merely in the published documents and speeches of the 20th Congress was the criticism of Stalin made in a one-sided manner, but the leaders of the brother Parties, at least Parties in the capitalist world, were kept completely in the dark about the secret Report. Though they heard vague rumours about its contents, none of them, so far as I know, actually saw the Report. There can be no doubt that the divergence in the statements of the leaders of the various Communist Parties made after their return from the 20th Congress could have been avoided if the CPSU had taken them into confidence and unified understanding had been reached as to what to say and what not to say. Because of the position which the CPSU rightly occupies in the international Communist movement, and because of the nature of the issues involved, this was the least that should have been done. Not to do so was to pay scant regard to the principles of

proletarian internationalism and of relations of co-operation and mutual confidence between brother Parties.

It is necessary to note in this connection that this is not for the first time that the CPSU leadership has acted in this particular manner unilaterally and without informing the brother Parties in time. This was done while exonerating Tito of the charges of espionage and of restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia. Those were days when the Cominform still existed. But not only were the brother Parties not told of what was coming, but even the formality of a meeting of the Cominform and open withdrawal of the charges by the same body that had made them was not considered necessary.

Again this happened in respect of the dissolution of the Cominform. It was reported that the Parties constituting it had met at Moscow and taken the decision. Even so, the Cominform, though its formal membership was confined to certain Parties only, had a wider significance in relation to the whole international Communist movement. Only a few months ago, in the course of his reply at a Press Conference in India, Comrade Khrushchov had conveyed the impression that there was no question of the dissolution of the Cominform. Later, all of a sudden, it is dissolved and we learn of it from the press!

This kind of thing which places brother Parties in a humiliating position before the masses in their own countries, is not conducive to the growth of fraternal relations based on mutual respect.

As the leading Party in the world Communist movement, as the Party which has made the greatest contribution towards the development of Marxism-Leninism, as the Party which

has built the proud edifice of Socialism in the USSR, thereby arming the world Communist movement with the greatest weapon in their practical struggle, the CPSU is rightly looked upon by all of us, by all Communist Parties, as the leading Party. The decisions of the 20th Congress have already had tremendous impact on the whole course of history.

But precisely because the CPSU occupies this position, heavy responsibilities rest on its shoulders and it is our task and our duty to point out in a fraternal way where the CPSU has acted wrongly and what damage that has done. Besides telling how certain methods adopted by them in relation to brother Parties have done harm, we have to tell them that the explanation they have given of the mistakes is not satisfactory. We have to request for an adequate evaluation of their own role, while Stalin lived, as well as examination of the causes and methods which made it possible for such deplorable things to happen and to continue for such a long time.

This we owe to our own people before whom we have always defended the USSR and must continue to do so though not in the same way, as before. This we owe to the world Communist movement of which we are an important constituent. This we owe to the CPSU itself, a blow to whose prestige is a blow to world Communism.

Are Other Parties Also Responsible

The question can be asked: Are not the leaders of the other Parties also to be blamed? In their reports and resolutions on the 20th Congress, should they not have criticised the present

leaders of the CPSU for not evaluating their own role in the development of the cult of personality? Should they not have stressed that a proper evolution of the circumstances and causes that led to the mistakes and excesses was needed? Why do they start criticising the CPSU leadership only now?

On these questions, I cannot give definite replies. I can only state certain facts known to me and guess on their basis what happened.

I had told the C.C. that at the 20th Congress many of the fraternal delegates had been critical of the way in which the question of past history of the CPSU in general and the role of Stalin in particular had been dealt with at the Congress. Their views, some of them had indicated to the CPSU. But the immediate question before all fraternal delegates was how to report on the 20th Congress before their own Party, how to explain its decisions.

On this issue, I had some talk with the Secretary of a Communist Party. I told him that it would be impossible for me to confine myself to a mere criticism of the cult of the individual as it is related to Stalin. That would not carry any conviction because I myself was not convinced about its correctness. It would be necessary for me to state that the present leaders of the CPSU also had been guilty in so far as they had not criticised when he was alive, but had actually extolled all his deeds, thereby contributing to the growth of the cult.

He said this cannot be done. We cannot criticise the CPSU openly or even in a report before our Party members. Whatever criticism one may have to make, it must be done personally in talks with CPSU comrades. This was the view of

the other fraternal delegates also, with whom I talked.

It was on the basis of this understanding that the leaders of fraternal Parties made their report on the 20th Congress before their own Parties.

In every Party the criticism of Stalin and news about the secret session and Khrushchov Report, part of which leaked out through the bourgeois press, gave rise to bewilderment and confusion. The first question that was asked by Party members was: What were the present leaders of the CPSU doing? Why don't they own up their own responsibility?

But this was not all. The members of these Parties asked their own leaders: 'What were you doing? You had close links with the CPSU comrades. You went to the USSR scores of times and many of you stayed there for long. Why could you not find out what was happening and why did you join in the chorus of adulation of Stalin?' The explanation that all these mistakes were due to Stalin and due to cult of personality alone did not convince the overwhelming majority of Party members. The feeling grew in all Parties that the CPSU leadership was not being frank and sufficiently self-critical.

In the background of this, what has happened subsequently was inevitable. As long as they could do so, the leaders of the brother Parties did their utmost to defend the CPSU before their own ranks, before their allies, before their masses. They supported the theses that all the regrettable things that had happened in the USSR were due to Stalin alone. They defended the explanation of the mistakes as given by the 20th Congress. They defended the manner in which the struggle against the cult of the individual was being carried on in the USSR. They did all this, despite the fact that many of

their own doubts had not been removed.

But when subsequently, the whole Report came to be published in the bourgeois press and an extremely critical situation developed inside each Party, the leaders of these Parties had no alternative but to act as they have done.

I don't think therefore that the leaders of the other CPs can be seriously blamed for what has happened. The only criticism that can be made about them is that they kept silent so long, that when reporting on the 20th Congress before their own Parties they did not specifically criticise the present CPSU leadership for not evaluating their own role, for not stating what made them acquiesce in the mistakes of Stalin all these 20 years.

But even if we make this criticism today, let us not forget that certain concepts of proletarian internationalism had grown so firm and had acquired such deep roots that it was difficult for any Party to make a break with it all of a sudden.

At the meeting of our Central Committee held in March, a number of comrades had suggested that we should, in our Resolution on the 20th Congress, criticise the CPSU leadership for the way they had dealt with the question of Comrade Stalin. I opposed that proposal. It is evident now that those comrades who had made the proposal were correct. At the same time, I do not also see how I could have acted in any way that what I did in view of the prevailing practice of the entire world Communist movement.

Unity of the World Communist Movement

One of the most important issues which the recent developments have brought to the forefront is the issue of the unity of the world Communist movement.

Hitherto certain principles about this unity guided our Party and all parties. They were:

Firstly: All Communist Parties must support the CPSU's policies and actions without question: this was considered to be the acid test of proletarian internationalism. Comrade Ercoli (Togliatti) expressed the idea pointedly when he stated in his report at the 7th Congress: "We not only defend the Soviet Union in general but we defend concretely its whole policy and all its actions."

Secondly: Communist Parties should not criticise each other openly.

So far as I know, the first of these principles was never violated. As for the second principle, it was only on certain occasions that there were criticism of one Party by another. Duclos's criticism of the CP-USA, Chinese Party's criticism of the Japanese Party, the controversy between the British and the Australian Parties and the Cominform's criticism of Tito in 1948. All these were under special circumstances. They did not affect the unity of the international Communist movement.

The situation that has arisen now is altogether different. Firstly: the criticism of the CPSU. Secondly: it has come from the two most powerful and authoritative parties in the capitalist world. Thirdly: the issue is one which concerns all Communist Parties without exception—the role of Stalin, the

mistakes of the CPSU, the defects that crept into the Soviet system.

It is evident that the old concepts and norms of proletarian internationalism need to be modified. But we cannot take the line that henceforth it should: Each Party for itself. Each Party to be free to criticise any other party and take any stand as it thinks fit. If we do that, then the grossest form of bourgeois nationalism will grow inside each Party.

It is also likely to happen that when differences arise between two leading parties, inside each of these parties and in other parties, one section will openly support the stand taken by this Party, another section, the stand taken by the other Party. Weakening of the unity of the world Communist movement can lead to the weakening of the unity of each Party.

While it is in connection with the USSR and the CPSU that the issue has arisen in the sharpest form, it is not confined to that alone. The whole question of relationship between Communist Parties has to be examined afresh.

In his speech on the 20th Congress, Comrade Togliatti made certain references to India which many of us do not agree with and which is contrary to the line of our Party. Should we or should we not openly criticise that speech? What are we to do when similar things happen again or when on some vital theoretical issue the leadership of one Party takes a line which we consider incorrect?

These questions cannot be settled by us on our own. They have to be discussed together with other Parties. But we must have some definite views in mind when we meet them. It is for the CC to indicate the broad guiding principles.

Basic Issues Involved

The Khrushchov Report raises a number of vital questions the most important of which is: How could such things happen in the USSR and what has to be done to prevent their repetition? The question of democracy in Socialist society and inside the Party has been sharply raised together with such questions as: method of justice and administration in the USSR, fundamental rights of citizens, methods of election, freedom of the press, working of the Parliament, etc.

How are these questions to be tackled? There are comrades who propose that in view of the shocking nature of the revelations made in the Report and in view of the inadequate and unsatisfactory nature of the explanations given, the whole subject of the social system in the USSR and the underlying causes of the mistakes that occurred should be widely discussed inside our Party.

I am firmly opposed to this. A critical evaluation of the developments in the USSR and of the basic causes of the mistakes has to be carried out, but it can be carried out only by the CPSU and we should request it to do so.

The Central Committee of our Party can certainly discuss in a broad and general way the issues involved and also indicate to the CPSU the specific problems that have to be tackled. But we are not in the possession of facts and documents to go further and ourselves undertake a wide inner-Party discussion to study the conditions and underlying causes of the weaknesses that existed and grew. Such a discussion in the absence of factual material, in the absence of proper guidance, which we certainly are not in a position to give,

would be of an extremely abstract and academic nature. In the absence of authoritative and authentic information on many points, the tendency would be to back assertions by 'facts' given in Trotskyite and anti-Soviet literature. The discussion once started will take a course which none can foresee. Such discussion would be not only futile but positively harmful and would intensify confusion. It may even strengthen Social Democratic tendencies inside our own Party, tendencies hostile to Marxism-Leninism.

What then should be done?

(1) The CC should adopt a resolution on the Report.

(2) Take the earliest opportunity to get in touch with brother Parties in order to strive to arrive at a unified understanding regarding the norms that should govern international practice in future and regarding the way that differences which arise between brother Parties should be expressed and resolved.

(3) Conduct discussion inside our Party as decided upon by our Party Congress. The scope of the discussion should be—

(i) Significance of the emergence of the Socialist world system;

(ii) The forms and the world historic importance of the break-up of the colonial system;

(iii) Peaceful co-existence and possibility of preventing war;

(iv) Peaceful transition to socialism and tasks arising out of this perspective in our country;

(v) Cult of personality.

There is no need to widen the scope of this discussion

although there can be no ban on it. If in some units of the Party the majority of members so desire, they can, during the discussions, raise other points as well. But we should not direct them to do so.

(4) Strengthen relations of friendship between the USSR and India. This task, always important, acquires even greater importance today.

How to Answer Our Critics

With the general elections impending and with the certainty that the Khrushchov Report will be used with devastating effects against us, our comrades all-over the country are worried. How are we to defend what has happened? How are we to explain all this? How are we to criticise them without denouncing the Soviet system? Whom should we hold responsible for these happenings—Stalin or the present CPSU leaders or both? These and a host of similar questions will be asked by comrades.

I think all these questions are being raised within the framework of the old concept of proletarian internationalism and answer is sought within the framework of that concept. This cannot be done.

While we must demand a comprehensive appraisal of the role of Stalin, it is not our job to defend Stalin against the charges that have been levelled against him by his own colleagues. We can do so only by asserting that the charges are factional and false. To do that would be to make ourselves ridiculous. We cannot do that. Nor is it our job to defend the methods of the present leaders of the CPSU who obviously

have dealt with the whole issue in a most inadequate and unsatisfactory way and whose responsibility in what has happened cannot be explained away. The attempt to apportion blames will not take us anywhere. The problem is much vaster than that.

Further, while we must patiently point out the specific circumstances—fascist threat, difficulties of the task, etc.—in which the distortions and excesses occurred, that must not be done in such a way as to suggest that we justify the terrible things that happened or minimise their significance.

What we defend is neither all the acts of Stalin nor of the CPSU nor of the Soviet Government. What we defend is the Socialist system and the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Never in human history has so much been achieved in such a short period over such vast areas as in the USSR and in the Socialist world. The system built in the USSR is a Socialist system. If today Socialism has triumphed in minds of men on a bigger scale than ever before, if possibility has arisen of maintaining peace; if we are thinking of peaceful transition to Socialism—all these are due to what the USSR and the Socialist world have done. The mistakes that occurred were not inherent in the Soviet system or in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. They were the result of distortions that crept into the system and to deviation from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The distortions were not eliminated because the principles of Marxism-Leninism were not continuously and consistently applied to all the aspects of the developing Soviet society, to all the problems that these developments posed. While there was the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in many spheres of socialist reconstruction, Marxism-Leninism was

not creatively applied to some of the problems which the Socialist society had to solve and tackle in order to ensure the all-round development of Socialist society and prevent stagnation in certain spheres.

One of these problems was the right of the individual and the issue of Socialist and inner-Party democracy. Class rule was abolished—a gigantic step forward in the humanity's march to liberation, but insufficient attention was paid to the question of ensuring the democratic right inside the liberated class. While it is inconceivable that such vast transformations as were actually achieved, could have been achieved without unleashing the creative energy of hundreds of millions which was rendered possible only by the system of proletarian democracy—together with this also grew bureaucracy inside the State apparatus and also inside the Party. How precisely this happened, it is for the Soviet Party to explain. But it seems that dictatorship of the proletariat came to be gradually equated with the dictatorship of the Party—a concept alien to Marxism—and later, within the Party, with personal leadership. And when wrong and dangerous theories like intensification of class struggle in Socialist society came to be propagated, there occurred those terrible things which have shocked us all.

But those who say that all the distortions were inherent in the system, who want to state that all that happened was inevitable—this is precisely what has to be shown to be wrong. What happened was not inevitable. Nor is it necessary that they should happen again in other countries, in India, for example. All countries need not go through the same experience. While taking from the history of the Soviet

society that which is helpful, we also learn from its mistakes and, therefore, reject that which is harmful. We draw lessons from the entire rich experience of the 40 years of Socialist society, its bright and dark aspects, its colossal achievements in many spheres and serious mistakes in certain other spheres. And with these lessons we combine what the world Communist movement and our own experience teaches from our national movement, our democratic traditions, etc., in order to work out our path to Socialism.

The criticism of the mistakes of the past have already led to big changes in the USSR—changes in the direction of extension of democracy inside the Party and restoration of norms of socialist legality. More such changes are taking place and will take place with a more thorough-going analysis of the past. There can be no doubt that all these in their totality will strengthen the unity and power of the Socialist world. What has to be seen is not only the defects that still persist—and they are many—but also what has been done in the last 3 years.

Recent developments have created a serious crisis for all Communist Parties. At the same time, they have shown us and showed to all Communist Parties how over-simplified, inadequate and one-sided many of our concepts were. Many things which we considered outmoded are really not so outmoded. These revelations have warned us against the dangers that have to be fought and eliminated in order that Socialist society may flourish and ensure full flowering of man. They have underlined the significance of the statement that capitalism survives in the minds of men for a long period even after it has been abolished, and its prevalent ideas can

seriously affect many aspects of Socialist development itself. They have stressed the need to re-establish the unity of the international Communist movement on a more stable basis.

We can be confident that though our present difficulties are great, in the long run the lessons that we have learnt are going to be of great help for the world Communist movement and for the Communist movement of each country.

LETTER OF AJOY GHOSH, GENERAL SECRETARY
OF THE CC OF CPI, TO THE CC OF CPSU AS A
REACTION TO THE REPORT OF N.S. KHRUSHCHOV

[Not later than 24 August, 1956. Translated by Tahir Asghar,
Published in *Revolutionary Democracy*]

Esteemed Friend,

I am dispatching herewith a copy of the resolution of our Central Committee on the question of the struggle against the personality cult.

The resolution, in very mild tones contains the opinion of the majority of the members of the CC as well as mine on the issue. The common members of the party are much more critical of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union than expressed in our resolution.

I read very attentively the report that was read by Com. Khrushchov, as it was published in the bourgeois press. On the one hand, bringing to light the terrible events which took place and correctly judging personality of Stalin, who is held mainly responsible, the report, at the same time, suffers from serious shortcomings.

Firstly, I consider that it is difficult to accept some of the facts.

As an example, the assertion that Stalin used to plan military manoeuvres on a globe. In the report itself, reference is made to Stalin's role in the civil war and this means that he had some knowledge of military matters, that, at least, could

read military maps. Why, in such a case, would he think of a globe, when it was a matter of much larger operations. One should also not forget that on such personalities as Churchill, who, undoubtedly, had some understanding of military matters and were not among Stalin's friends, Stalin during his meetings with them created an enormous impression due to his ability to understand the essence of the matter and assess the situation. How do we explain this? The myth that Stalin alone guided the war effort needed to be cleared, but was there a necessity to go to the other extreme view that Stalin had no knowledge of military matters, so much so that he could not even read military maps?

Secondly, The report does not create the impression of an unbiased document. It is true that in the very beginning of the report it is stated that a detailed assessment of Stalin's life and actions is not being made in the report. However, as the report mainly talks about Stalin's mistakes and crimes, it should also have shed light on his achievements. From the report it almost appears that Stalin stopped playing any positive role 20 years before his death and in this period committed only mistakes.

Thirdly, The report has nothing to say about the role of many other people. One may understand why it might have been difficult to oppose Stalin openly, but it is difficult to understand the need to heap praise on him.

Fourthly, The report does not give any analysis of the factors that helped in the emergence of such a phenomena and of the conditions that allowed these phenomena to persist over such a long period of time.

The members of our party have highly praised Togliatti's

article in which many questions are raised. The CC-CPSU in its resolution of 30 June, 1956 explains the historical situation in which these mistakes were committed and therefore this resolution is an important contribution. However, many questions raised by Togliatti remain unanswered in it.

Another question arises—the question about the rights of individual in a socialist society and about protection of these rights. It is not possible to keep quiet about these anymore, as we have done in the past. It is impossible to convince people that the ending of exploitation of one class by another class not only creates conditions (and it is so in reality) for fuller exercise of the rights of individual than under capitalism but that ending exploitation in itself is a sufficient guarantee of these rights. Our comrades want to know, can a Soviet citizen, being true to socialist principles, criticise not only particular actions but also certain aspects of the policies of the government of the Communist Party. As an example, could a Soviet citizen openly say during Stalin's lifetime that excessive praising of Stalin is against the spirit of Marxism-Leninism or that the theory of intensification of class struggle was wrong? Or even if such views were expressed could such an article be published in any newspaper? Was not the absence of precisely these rights a major factor that allowed the mistakes to be continued to be committed. What is being done at the present time so as to correct these shortcomings?

Further, it may be asked, as already is being done, has the past been completely broken away from? Why do we keep hearing about some closed proceedings that have occurred recently? Was the article by Togliatti, in which pertinent questions have been raised, published in the Soviet press in

full? How are we to understand that one of the resorts has been named after Khrushchov and that just a few days ago we had news that an electrical factory has been named after Khrushchov?

I do not expect immediate response to these questions but I do request you to give them a good thought. I have no doubt that it is not only we who raise these questions but also millions of communists in all the countries, at least, in all capitalist countries.

These questions have arisen not because people hold anti-Soviet sentiments or have turned against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and not because they do not recognise that important changes have been and are presently taking place in the Soviet Union. These questions have arisen as all of us have started to think critically as the recent events have shaken us profoundly and forced us to rethink the present events. Along with the recent strengthening of the socialist system and also the fact that there can be no doubt about its superiority over capitalism, there is also a view that certain changes are not only possible but also are necessary especially in relation to the broadening of democracy and in relation to rights of individual in the light of the strengthening of the socialist system.

We would like to get a response to our questions about human rights in a socialist society which is detailed and concrete and not, as many a time we ourselves have done, in general terms.

With best wishes,
Ajoy Ghosh.

ON J. V. STALIN

[*New Age*, 23 December, 1956, on the occasion
of the 77th birth anniversary of Stalin.]

Seventy-seven years ago, on 21 December, 1879, was born J. V. Stalin, the great comrade-in-arms of the immortal Lenin, founder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Faithful disciple of Marx, Engels and Lenin, whose teachings he upheld and enriched, Stalin made a great contribution towards socialism in the USSR and towards the development of the world communist movement.

He played an outstanding role in the struggle against tsardom and in the struggle against the forces of counter-revolution in the period of the October revolution and civil war.

When, after the death of Lenin, the young Soviet state faced grave dangers from all sides, when right and left-wing factions were striving to deviate the party from the path of Leninism, the central committee of the CPSU under the guidance of Stalin unflinchingly battled against their harmful theories, trends and machinations—guarding the unity of the party, defending the heritage of Lenin, rallying the masses in the fight for building socialism.

Socialist Construction: Its World Historic Significance

Routing the external and internal enemies whose success

would have led to the restoration of capitalism, the mighty edifice of the socialist society was created—demonstrating to the whole world the creative power of the working class freed from the shackles of capitalism. It was an achievement of which there exists no parallel in recorded history.

This achievement has profoundly influenced the course of events in the present epoch. It has profoundly influenced the minds of men all over the world.

‘The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts’, said Stalin in his report at the 18th congress of the CPSU, ‘that the people cannot get along without capitalists and landlords, without merchants and kulaks. The working class of our country has proved in practice that the people can get along perfectly without exploiters.

‘The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that the working class, having destroyed the old bourgeois system, will be incapable of building anything new to replace the old. The working class of our country has proved in practice that it is quite capable not only of destroying the old system but of building a new and better system, a socialist system, a system moreover to which crisis and unemployment are unknown.

‘The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that the peasantry is incapable of taking to the path of socialism. The collective-farm peasants of our country have proved in practice that they can do so quite successfully.

‘The chief endeavour of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of victory... If the successes of the working class of our country, if its fight and victory serve to rouse the spirit of the working

class in the capitalist countries and to strengthen its faith in its own power and in its victory, then our party may say that its work has not been in vain. And there need be no doubt that this will be the case’.

In these words, marked by the comprehensiveness and lucidity that characterised all the utterances of Stalin, was summed up the world-historic significance of the victory of socialism in the USSR, its powerful impact on the consciousness of men in all countries. The ideas of socialism, in less than two decades after the 18th congress of the CPSU, triumphed in many countries of Europe and Asia, proving conclusively that the Working people have learned the lesson held out by the experience of the USSR. All the mistakes that have been committed in the USSR in carrying out this gigantic task of building socialism cannot blur the significance of this glorious achievement—a landmark in humanity’s march towards the cherished goal of communism.

Planning—Its Lessons for Other Countries

It was the central committee of the CPSU headed by Stalin that, following the behest of Lenin, first demonstrated the necessity and possibility of economic planning—the necessity and possibility of mobilising the entire resources and manpower of a vast country and harnessing them to the task of national reconstruction in order to overcome age-old backwardness in the shortest possible period and take to the path of all-round progress. The very idea was one which when first formulated appeared to many to be utopian and was dismissed by the bourgeoisie as the fantastic dream of

mad men.

But within a short period, they ceased to sneer.

Today none scoffs at the idea of planning. It has come to be accepted, even by many bourgeois circles, especially in countries whose development has been retarded, that for the task of national reconstruction to be carried out with the utmost rapidity, reliance on the profit motive of the capitalists is not enough. It has come to be accepted that planning is essential for all-sided progress, that this planning, if it is to succeed, must involve restriction of the power and of the sphere of activity of monopoly capitalists, that special emphasis has to be laid on heavy industries which constitute the basis of a country's economic strength and the foundation for advance.

Stalin's Contributions

Implementing Lenin's programme of socialist industrialisation, the USSR transformed itself from a backward agricultural country into one of the mightiest industrial powers of the world—an industrial power which renders unselfish aid to the people's democracies of Europe and our great neighbour China to rebuild their own economy, an industrial power which helps India and other countries of the east to overcome the colonial backwardness imposed on them by their former imperialist rulers.

Lenin's plan for the unification of small scattered individual peasant households into big mechanised socialist farms was carried out. In the concretisation and further elaboration of these plans, in the practical leadership for their

implementation, J.V. Stalin made an outstanding contribution.

Of great significance for the development of Marxism-Leninism were several of the theoretical works of Stalin. These works which combined profundity of thought with simplicity of expression in a manner which has seldom been equalled, played an immense role in instilling socialist consciousness in the advanced workers and in rearing a whole generation of communists.

The name of Stalin is inseparably associated with the solution, in the USSR, of one of the most complex problems in the history of human society, the national problem.

A determined opponent of bourgeois nationalism in every form, Lenin at the same time repeatedly stressed the great importance which the party of the working class must attach to the national question so that national inequalities are eliminated and all nations acquire full opportunities for their development.

Lenin's teachings on the national question were further elaborated and developed by Stalin. The nations oppressed by tsardom awoke to a new life, registered advance in every sphere and the Soviet was welded into a family of nations.

Stalin drew pointed attention of the working class of Europe to the movements of national emancipation waged by the countries of the east, movements which were of great revolutionary significance in the world struggle against imperialism. As early as 1918, he made the classic formulation whose correctness the entire history of the last 38 years has borne out, that the October revolution has 'created a bridge between the socialist west and the enslaved east—having created a new line of revolution against world imperialism,

extending from the proletarians of the west, through the Russian revolution, to the oppressed nations of the east'.

His Name will Live

Today, when under the impact of the emergence of socialism as a world system and of the emergence of an increasing number of countries of the east as sovereign states, the whole imperialist system is breaking down, when bonds of close friendship and cooperation have been established between the socialist world and the free countries of the east, when those bonds have been further strengthened by them in defence of the freedom of Egypt—and by the decisive role of the USSR in halting Anglo-French aggression—in such a period these words of Stalin acquire a new and profound import.

Stalin's teaching that peace can be defended only if the peoples of the world take the cause of peace in their own hands and fight for it, guides millions of partisans of peace all over the world in the struggle against the instigators of a new war. The USSR stands out as the most resolute defender of peace and of the cause of friendship between peoples.

In the course of the construction of socialism in extremely difficult historic conditions, a number of serious mistakes were committed by Stalin—mistakes in the sphere of theory, in the sphere of socialist law and socialist democracy, in the sphere of relations between nations within the socialist world. These mistakes which became specially pronounced in the latter period of Stalin's life, due to the growth of the cult of the individual and to other factors, have had grave

consequences. These mistakes have to be and are being corrected and their lessons learned.

Nevertheless, notwithstanding these mistakes, the name of Stalin will always be cherished by mankind as one of the greatest Marxists of all times, as a towering personality and a titan of thought and action, as a man who dedicated his life to the service of the working people and to the cause of socialism. His contribution to the cause of emancipation of mankind will continue to inspire millions all over the world.

Appendices

Appendix 1

ON OVERCOMING THE CULT OF INDIVIDUAL AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

[Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union - June 30, 1956.]

1. The central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union notes with satisfaction that the decisions of the historic 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. have been welcomed entirely and supported wholeheartedly by our party as a whole, by the entire Soviet people, by the fraternal communist and workers' parties, by working people of the great community of socialist nations, and by millions of people in the capitalist and colonial countries. And this is quite understandable, for the 20th Party Congress, marking as it did a new stage in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, gave a thorough-going analysis of the present international situation both at home and in the world, equipped the Communist Party and the Soviet people as a whole with a magnificent plan for the continued effort for building communism, and opened up new prospects for united action of all working-class parties in averting the danger of war, and on behalf of the interests of labour.

The Soviet people, carrying out the decisions of the 20th Congress, are gaining more and more outstanding achievements in every aspect of the country's political,

economic and cultural life under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Soviet people have rallied still more closely behind the Communist Party and are showing a wealth of constructive initiative in their efforts to accomplish the tasks set before them by the 20th Congress.

The period which has passed since the congress was held has shown also the great and vital importance of its decisions for the international communist and labour movement, for the struggle of all progressive forces to strengthen world peace. The important theoretical theses the congress laid down on the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, on the possibility of preventing wars in modern times, on the multiplicity of forms of the transition of nations to socialism are having a favourable effect on the international situation, promoting the relaxation of tension, greater unity of action of all the forces working for peace and democracy, and the strengthening of the positions of the world socialist system.

While the Soviet people and the working people of the people's democracies and of the world as a whole have met the historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. with great enthusiasm and with a new upsurge of constructive initiative and revolutionary energy, they have caused alarm and irritation in the camp of the enemies of the working class. Reactionary circles in the United States and in some other capitalist powers obviously feel uneasy about the great programme to strengthen peace which the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. has charted. Their uneasiness increases as this programme is being put into operation, vigorously and consistently.

Why are the enemies of communism and socialism making most of their attacks on the shortcomings about which the central committee of our party told the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U.? The reason they are doing so is to divert the attention of the working class and its parties from the main issues which were raised at the 20th Party Congress and which were meant to clear the way to further progress being made in the cause of peace, socialism and working-class unity.

The decisions of the 20th Party Congress and the foreign and home policy of the Soviet government have created confusion in imperialist quarters in the United States and some other countries.

The bold and consistent foreign policy of the U.S.S.R., directed towards ensuring peace and co-operation between nations regardless of their social systems, is winning support from the great masses of the people in all countries of the world, extending the front of peace-loving nations and causing a profound crisis in the cold war policy, a policy of building up military blocs and stockpiling arms. It is no accident that it is the imperialist elements in the United States that have been making the greatest fuss over the efforts made in the U.S.S.R. to combat the cult of the individual. The existence of negative factors arising from the cult of the individual was profitable for them in order to fight socialism with these facts at their disposal. Now that our party is boldly overcoming the consequences of the cult of the individual, the imperialists see in it a factor making for our country's faster progress towards communism, and weakening the positions of capitalism.

The ideologists of capitalism, in an effort to undermine

the great power of attraction of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and their influence on the broadest masses of the people, are resorting to all manner of tricks and ruses to distract the attention of the working people from the progressive and inspiring ideas the socialist world puts forward before humanity.

The bourgeois press has lately launched a largescale campaign of anti-Soviet slander, which the reactionary circles are trying to justify by some of the facts connected with the cult of the individual of J. V. Stalin denounced by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The sponsors of this campaign are exerting every effort to 'trouble the waters,' to conceal the fact that what is meant is a stage the Soviet Union has passed through in its development; they are out to suppress and misrepresent the fact that in the years that have passed since Stalin's death the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government have been acting with exceptional perseverance and resolution to remove the after-effects of the cult of the individual, and have been making steady progress in solving new problems for the sake of strengthening peace, and building communism, in the interest of the people at large.

Bourgeois ideologists, in launching their campaign of slander, are trying to cast a slur once more, and again to no avail, on the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, to shake the trust the working people have in the world's first socialist country—the U.S.S.R.—and to sow confusion in the ranks of the international communist and labour movement.

Historical experience indicates that the opponents of international proletarian unity have in the past attempted

more than once to take advantage of what they believed to be opportune moments for undermining the international unity of the communist and workers' parties, for dividing the international labour movement, for weakening the forces of socialism. But each time the communist and workers' parties have discerned the intrigues of the enemies of socialism, have rallied their ranks still more closely, demonstrating their unshakable political unity, and their unbreakable loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The fraternal communist and workers' parties have detected this move of the enemies of socialism in good time, too, and are giving it a fitting rebuff. It would be incorrect, on the other hand, to shut one's eyes to the fact that some of our friends abroad are still not quite clear on the cult of the individual and its consequences and are sometimes giving incorrect interpretations to some of the points connected with the cult of the individual.

The party, bases its criticism of the cult of the individual on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. For over three years our party has been waging a constant fight against the cult of the person of J. V. Stalin, and persistently overcoming its harmful consequences. It is only natural that this question should have entered as an important item into the deliberations of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. and its decisions. The Congress recognised that the central committee had taken perfectly correct and timely action against the cult of the individual which, as long as it was widespread, belittled the role of the party and the masses, whittled down the role of collective leadership in the party and often led to serious omissions in its work, and to gross violations of socialist law. The congress

instructed the central committee to carry out consistently the measures for removing wholly and entirely the cult of the individual, foreign to Marxism-Leninism, for removing its consequences in every aspect of party, governmental and ideological activity, and for strict enforcement of the standards of party life and of the principles of collective party leadership elaborated by the great Lenin.

In combating the cult of the individual the party guides itself by the well-known theses of Marxism-Leninism on the role of the masses, of parties and individuals in history, and on the impermissibility of a cult of the person of a political leader, however great his merits may be. Karl Marx, the founder of scientific communism emphasising his revulsion for 'any cult of the individual,' declared that he and Friedrich Engels joined the association of communists 'on condition that everything making for superstitious worshipping of authorities would be thrown out of it.' (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Works, Vol. 26, First Russian Edition, Pages 487-488).

In building up our Communist Party V. I. Lenin was irreconcilable in fighting the anti-Marxist conception of the 'hero' and the 'mob', emphatically denouncing the counterposing of individual heroes to the masses of the people. 'The intellect of scores of millions,' said V. I. Lenin, 'creates something immeasurably higher than a forecast of the greatest genius' (Works, Vol. 26, Page 431).

In raising the question of combating the cult of the person of J. V. Stalin, the central committee of the C.P.S.U. acted on the assumption that the cult of the individual contradicted the essence of the socialist system and was becoming a brake on the way of progress of Soviet democracy and of the

advance of Soviet society towards communism.

The 20th Congress of the party, on the central committee's initiative, found it necessary to speak openly and boldly about the grave consequences of the cult of the individual, of the serious mistakes made in the latter period of Stalin's life, and to appeal to the party as a whole to put an end, through combined efforts, to everything that the cult of the individual had brought in its train. In doing so the central committee realised that the frank admission of the errors made would give rise to certain negative features and excesses which the enemies could use. The bold and ruthless self-criticism in matters arising from the cult of the individual has been fresh, ample evidence of the strength and vitality of our party and of the Soviet socialist system. It can be said with confidence that none of the ruling parties in capitalist countries would ever have ventured to do anything like this. Quite the reverse, they would have tried to pass over in silence and to hide from the people facts as unpleasant as these. But the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, reared as it is on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, has spoken the whole truth, however bitter it might have been. The party took this step on its own initiative, guiding itself by considerations of principle. It believed that even if its action against the Stalin cult caused some momentary difficulties, it would be of enormous value in the long run from the point of view of the basic interests and ultimate goals of the working class. Sure guarantees are thereby created against things like the cult of the individual reappearing in our party or in our country ever again, and also for the leadership of the party and the country being effected collectively, through enforcing the Marxist-Leninist policy, in

conditions of full-scale party democracy, with the active and constructive participation of millions of working people and with the utmost development of Soviet democracy.

By taking a determined stand against the cult of the individual and its consequences, and by openly criticising the errors it caused, the party has once more demonstrated its loyalty to the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism, its loyalty to the interests of the people, its concern for providing the best possible conditions for the development of party and Soviet democracy in the interest of the successful building of communism in this country. The central committee of the C.P.S.U. places on record the fact that the discussions on the cult of the individual and its consequences by party organisations and at general meetings of working people have been marked by a great measure of activity, shown both by the party membership and by non-party people, and that the C.P.S.U. central committee's line has been welcomed and supported wholly and entirely both by the party and by the people.

The facts of the violations of socialist law and other errors connected with the cult of the individual of J. V. Stalin, which the party has made public, naturally create a feeling of bitterness and deep regret. But the Soviet people realise that the condemnation of the cult of the individual was indispensable for the building of communism in which they are all playing their full part. The Soviet people have seen the party taking persistent practical steps for the past few years to remove the after-effects of the cult of the individual in every field of party, governmental, economic and cultural development. Thanks to this effort, the party, which no

longer has its internal forces bound by anything, has drawn still closer to the people and has today developed its creative activity more than ever before.

2. How, indeed, could it happen that the cult of the person of Stalin, with all the attendant adverse consequences, could have appeared and gained currency in conditions of the Soviet system?

This question should be examined against the background of the objective, concrete historical conditions under which socialism was built in the U.S.S.R., and also some subjective factors arising from Stalin's personal qualities.

The October Socialist Revolution has gone down in history as a classic example of a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society under the leadership of the working class. The example of the heroic struggle of the Bolshevik Party, of the world's first socialist state, the U.S.S.R., is something from which the communist parties of other lands, indeed all progressive and democratic forces, are learning how to solve the fundamental social problems generated by modern social development. Throughout the nearly forty years that have gone into building socialist society, the working people of this country have accumulated a wealth of experience, which is being studied and assimilated by the working people of other socialist nations, creatively and in keeping with their specific conditions.

This was the first experience history has ever known of building a socialist society which was taking shape through the quest for and practical proving of many truths which until then were known to socialists only in general outline,

theoretically. For over a quarter of a century the Soviet Union was the only country blazing the path to socialism for mankind. It was like a besieged fortress in capitalist encirclement. The enemies of the Soviet Union both in the West and in the East, continued to plot new 'crusades' against the U.S.S.R. after the failure of the fourteen-power intervention of 1918-20. The enemies sent large numbers of spies and wreckers into the U.S.S.R., trying by every means at their disposal to destroy the world's first socialist state. The threat of renewed imperialist aggression against the U.S.S.R. increased particularly after fascism's advent to power in Germany in 1933, which proclaimed its purpose to be that of destroying communism, that of destroying the Soviet Union, the world's first state of working people. Everyone remembers the establishment of what was called the 'anti-Comintern pact' and the 'Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis,' which were actively supported by the forces of international reaction as a whole. With a threat of a new war growing more and more evident, and with the western powers cold-shouldering the measures, the Soviet Union more than once proposed to put fascism in a straitjacket and organise collective security, the Soviet Union had to exert every effort for strengthening its defences and countering the intrigues of the hostile capitalist encirclement. The party had to teach the people as a whole to be always vigilant and prepared to face enemies from without.

The intrigues of international reaction were all the more dangerous since there was a bitter class struggle going on within the country for a long time to see 'who beats whom?' After Lenin's death, hostile trends began gaining currency

in the party: Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists and bourgeois nationalists whose stand was one of opposition to Lenin's theory about the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, a stand which would in fact have led to the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. The party launched a ruthless struggle against those enemies of Leninism.

In carrying out Lenin's behests, the Communist Party steered a course towards the country's socialist industrialisation, collectivising agriculture and making a cultural revolution. The Soviet people and the Communist Party have had to overcome unimaginable difficulties and obstacles in solving these supreme problems of building a socialist society in a single country. Our country had to overcome its age-old backwardness and reshape the national economy as a whole, along new, socialist lines, within the historically shortest period of time, and without any economic assistance whatsoever from outside.

This complicated international and internal situation called for iron discipline, tireless enhancement of vigilance, stringent centralisation of leadership, which could not but have had an adverse effect on the development of some democratic forms. In the bitter struggle against the whole world of imperialism our country had to accept some limitations to democracy, which were justified logically by our people's struggle for socialism in conditions of capitalist encirclement.

But even at that time the party and the people regarded these limitations as temporary and due to be removed as the strength of the Soviet state grew and the forces of democracy and peace developed throughout the world. The people made

these temporary sacrifices conscientiously, seeing the Soviet social system make progress day by day.

All these difficulties on the way to socialism have been overcome by the Soviet people under the leadership of the Communist Party and its central committee, which consistently pursued Lenin's general line.

The victory of socialism in this country, faced as it was with hostile encirclement and the ever present threat of attack from without, was a historic exploit of the Soviet people. Through carrying out its first five-year plans, the economically backward country made a giant leap ahead in its economic and cultural development, thanks to the strenuous and heroic efforts of the people and the party. With the progress achieved in socialist construction the living standards of the working people were raised and unemployment abolished once and for all. A thorough cultural revolution took place. Within a short space of time the Soviet people produced great numbers of technicians who rose to the level of world technological progress and brought Soviet science and technology to one of the leading places in the world. It was the great party of communists that was the inspiring and organising force behind these victories. By the example of the U.S.S.R. the working people of the whole world have seen for themselves that the workers and peasants, once they have taken power into their own hands, can build and develop successfully, without any capitalists and landowners, their own socialist state, representing and defending the interests of the people at large. All this has played a great and inspiring role in increasing the influence of the communist and workers' parties in all the countries of

the world.

J. V. Stalin, who held the post of general secretary of the party's central committee for a long period, worked actively in common with other leaders of the party to put into effect Lenin's behests. He was faithful to Marxism-Leninism, and as a theorist and an organiser of high calibre he led the party's fight against the Trotskyites, right-wing opportunists, and bourgeois nationalists, against the intrigues of capitalists from without. It was in this political and ideological fight that Stalin earned great authority and popularity. But there was a mistaken practice of associating all our great victories with his name. The achievements gained by the Communist Party and by the Soviet Union, the eulogies of Stalin made him dizzy. That being the situation, the cult of the person of Stalin was being gradually built up.

Some of J. V. Stalin's individual qualities, which were regarded as negative yet by V. I. Lenin, contributed in great measure to building up the cult of the individual. Towards the end of 1922 Lenin said in a letter to the coming party congress:

'Comrade Stalin, after taking over the post of general secretary, accumulated in his hands immeasurable power, and I am not certain whether he will be always able to use this power with the required care.' In addition to this letter, writing early in January 1923, V. I. Lenin reverted to some of Stalin's individual qualities, intolerable in a leader. 'Stalin is excessively rude,' Lenin wrote, 'and this defect, which can be freely tolerated in our midst and in contacts among us, communists, becomes a defect which cannot be tolerated in one holding the post of general secretary. I therefore

propose to the comrades to consider the method by which to remove Stalin from his post, and to select another man for it who, above all, would differ from Stalin in only one quality, namely, greater tolerance, greater loyalty, greater politeness and a more considerate attitude towards the comrades, a less capricious temper, etc.'

These letters of Lenin's were brought to the knowledge of the delegations to the 13th Party Congress which met soon after Lenin died. After discussing these documents it was recognised as desirable to leave Stalin in the position of general secretary on the understanding, however, that he would heed the critical remarks of V. I. Lenin and draw all the proper conclusions from them.

Having retained the post of general secretary of the central committee, Stalin did take into account the critical remarks of Vladimir Ilyich during the period immediately following his death. Later on, however, Stalin, having overestimated his own merits beyond all measure, came to believe in his own infallibility. He began transferring some of the limitations on party and Soviet democracy, unavoidable in conditions of a bitter struggle against the class enemy and its agents, and subsequently during the war against the Nazi invaders, into the standards of party and governmental life, grossly flouting the Leninist principles of leadership. Plenary meetings of the central committee and congresses of the party were held irregularly and later were not held at all for many years. Stalin, in fact, was above criticism.

Great harm to the cause of socialist construction, and the development of democracy inside the party and the state was caused by Stalin's erroneous formula alleging

that, with the advance of the Soviet Union to socialism, the class struggle would grow increasingly sharp. This formula, which is true only for certain stages of the transition period, when the question of 'who will win?' was being decided, when a persistent class struggle for the construction of the foundations of socialism was proceeding, was advanced to the foreground in 1937, at a time when socialism had already triumphed in our country, when the exploiting classes and their economic base had been eliminated. In practice, this erroneous theoretical formula was used to justify gross violations of socialist law and mass repressions.

It is precisely in these conditions that, among other things, a special status was created for the state security organs, which enjoyed tremendous trust because they had rendered undoubted services to the people and the country in defending the gains of the revolution. For a long time the state security organs justified this trust and their special status evoked no danger. The situation changed after Stalin's personal control over them had been gradually superseded for control by the party and the government, and the usual exercise of the standards of justice was not infrequently replaced by his individual decisions. The situation became still more aggravated when the criminal gang of the agent of international imperialism, Beria, got to the head of the state security organs. Serious violations of Soviet law and mass repressions then occurred. As a result of the machinations of our enemies, many honest communists and non-party people had been slandered and suffered, although completely innocent.

The 20th Party Congress and the entire policy of the

central committee after Stalin's death are vivid evidence of the fact that inside the central committee of the party there was a Leninist core of leaders who correctly understood the pressing needs in the spheres both of home and foreign policy. One cannot say that no counter-measures were taken against the negative phenomena that were associated with the cult of the individual and impeded the advance of socialism. Moreover, there were definite periods during the war, for example, when Stalin's individual actions were sharply restricted, when the negative consequences of lawlessness, arbitrariness, etc., were substantially reduced.

It is known that precisely during the war members of the central committee as well as outstanding Soviet military leaders took control of definite sections of activity in the rear and at the front, independently took decisions, and by their organisational, political, economic and military work, together with local party and government organisations, secured the victory of the Soviet people in the war. After the victory, the negative consequences of the cult of the individual again became strongly manifest.

Immediately after Stalin's death the Leninist core of the central committee took the path of vigorous struggle against the cult of the individual and its grave consequences.

The question may arise : Why then had these people not come out openly against Stalin and removed him from leadership? In the prevailing conditions this could not be done. The facts unquestionably show that Stalin was guilty of many unlawful acts that were committed particularly in the last period of his life. However, one must not forget at the same time that the Soviet people knew Stalin as a man always

acting in the defence of the U.S.S.R. against the machinations of the enemies, and working for the cause of socialism. In this work he at times applied unseemly methods, and violated the Leninist principles and standards of party life. Herein was the tragedy of Stalin. And all this together made difficult the struggle against the lawless actions that were then being committed, because the successes in building socialism and strengthening the U.S.S.R. were, in the atmosphere of the cult of the individual, ascribed to Stalin.

Any opposition to him under these circumstances would not have been understood by the people, and it was not at all a matter of lack of personal courage. It is clear that anyone who in these circumstances would have come out against Stalin would have got no support from the people. What is more, such opposition would have been evaluated, in those circumstances, as being against the cause of building socialism, as an extremely dangerous threat to the unity of the party and the whole state in conditions of capitalist encirclement. Moreover, the achievements of the working people of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party instilled legitimate pride in the heart of every Soviet man and created an atmosphere in which individual errors and shortcomings seemed less important against the background of the tremendous achievements, and the negative consequences of these errors were rapidly compensated by the immensely growing vital forces of the party and Soviet society.

It should also be borne in mind that many facts about wrong actions of Stalin, particularly in the sphere of violating Soviet law, became known only lately, already after Stalin's death,

chiefly in connection with the exposure of Beria's gang and the establishment of party control over the security organs.

Such are the chief conditions and reasons that resulted in the cult of J. V. Stalin's personality coming into being and spreading. All this, of course, explains, but by no means justifies, the cult of J. V. Stalin's personality and its consequences, which have been so sharply and justly condemned by our party.

3. The cult of the individual, unquestionably, did grave harm to the cause of the Communist Party, to Soviet society. But it would be a great mistake to draw conclusions about some changes having taken place in the social system of the U.S.S.R. from the fact that in the past there was the cult of the individual, or to see a source of this cult in the nature of the Soviet social system. Both conclusions are utterly wrong, as this is not in accordance with reality and is contrary to the facts.

Notwithstanding all the evil done to the party and the people by the cult of Stalin's personality, he could not, and did not change the nature of our social system. No cult of the individual could change the nature of the socialist state, which is based on social ownership of the means of production, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and friendship between the peoples, although this cult did cause serious harm to the development of socialist democracy and the promotion of the creative initiative of millions of people.

To think that one personality, even such a great one as Stalin, could change our social and political system is to lapse into profound contradiction with the facts, with Marxism,

with truth, is to lapse into idealism. This would mean ascribing to an individual such excessive, supernatural powers as the ability to change a system of society and, moreover, such a social system in which the many-million strong masses of the working people are the decisive force.

As is known, the nature of a social and political system is determined by its mode of production, by who owns the means of production in society, by which class wields political power. The whole world knows that in our country, as a result of the October Revolution and the triumph of socialism, a socialist mode of production has been established, that it is now already almost 40 years that power has belonged to the working class and the peasantry. Thanks to this the social system is growing stronger from year to year, and its productive forces are growing. Even our ill-wishers cannot fail to recognise this fact.

The cult of the individual, as is known, resulted in some serious errors being made in the direction of various branches of activity of the party and the Soviet state, both in the domestic life of the Soviet Union and in its foreign policy. Among other things, one can point out serious errors committed by Stalin in the direction of agriculture, in organising the country's preparedness to rebuff the fascist invaders, and gross arbitrariness that led to the conflict in the relations with Yugoslavia in the postwar period. These errors harmed the development of individual aspects of the life of the Soviet state, and especially, in the last years of J. V. Stalin's life, impaired the development of Soviet society, but, naturally, did not divert it from the correct road of advancement to communism.

Our enemies allege that the cult of Stalin's personality was engendered not by definite historical conditions that have now lapsed into the past, but by the Soviet system itself, by, in their opinion, its undemocratic nature, etc. Such slanderous assertions are refuted by the entire history of the development of the Soviet state. The Soviets as a new democratic form of state power came into being as a result of the revolutionary creative activity of the broadest masses of the people who rose in struggle for freedom. They have been and remain organs of genuine people's power. It is precisely the Soviet system that has made it possible to tap the tremendous creative energy of the people. It brought into motion inexhaustible forces inherent in the masses of the people, drew millions of people into conscientious administration of the state, into active, creative participation in the construction of socialism. In a brief historical period, the Soviet state emerged victorious from the severest trials, stood the test in the fire of the Second World War.

When the last exploiting classes were eliminated in our country, when socialism became the dominant system in the entire national economy, and the international position of our country altered fundamentally, the bounds of Soviet democracy expanded immeasurably and are continuing to expand. In contrast to any bourgeois democracy, Soviet democracy not only proclaims but materially ensures all members of society without exception the right to work, education, rest and recreation, to participation in state affairs, freedom of speech, press and conscience, a real possibility for the free development of personal abilities, and all other democratic rights and freedoms. The essence of democracy

lies not in formal signs but in whether the political power serves and reflects the will and fundamental interests of the majority of the people, the interests of the working folk. The entire domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet state shows that our system is a genuinely democratic, genuinely people's system. The supreme aim and daily concern of the Soviet state is the utmost advancement of the living standards of the population, the ensuring of a peaceful existence for its people.

Evidence of the further development of Soviet democracy is the measures that are being carried out by the party and the government for broadening the rights and competence of the Union republics, the strict observance of the law, reconstruction of the planning system with a view to unleashing local initiative, activising the work of the local Soviets, developing criticism and self-criticism.

Notwithstanding the cult of the individual and in spite of it, the mighty initiative of the masses of the people, led by the Communist Party, initiative brought into being by our system, pursued its great historical task, overcoming all obstacles on the road to the construction of socialism. And herein lies the highest expression of the democracy of the Soviet socialist system. The outstanding victories of socialism in our country did not come by themselves. They were achieved by the tremendous organisational and educational work of the party and its local organisations, by the fact that the party always educated its cadres and all communists in the spirit of loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, in the spirit of devotion to the cause of communism. Soviet society is strong by the consciousness of the masses of the people. Its historical destinies have

been and are determined by the constructive labour of our heroic working class, glorious collective farm peasantry, and people's intelligentsia.

Eliminating the consequences of the cult of the individual, re-establishing the Bolshevik standards of party life, developing socialist democracy, our party has further strengthened its ties with the broad masses of the people and has rallied them still closer under the great banner of Lenin.

The fact that the party itself has boldly and openly raised the question of eliminating the cult of the individual, of the impermissible errors committed by Stalin, is convincing proof that the party firmly guards Leninism, the cause of socialism and communism, the observance of socialist law, the interests of the peoples and the rights of all Soviet citizens. This is the best proof of the strength and viability of the Soviet socialist system. At the same time it shows a determination finally to overcome the consequences of the cult of the individual and to prevent the recurrence of such errors in the future.

The condemnation of the cult of J. V. Stalin and its consequences has evoked endorsement and a broad response in all fraternal communist and workers' parties. Noting the tremendous significance of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. for the entire international communist and labour movement, the communists in the foreign countries regard the struggle against the cult of the individual and its consequences as a struggle for the purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, for a creative approach to the current problems of the international labour movement, for the consolidation and further development of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Statements by a number of fraternal communist parties express endorsement and support for the measures taken by our party against the cult of the individual and its consequences. Summarising the conclusions to be drawn from the discussion of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. by the political bureau of the central committee of the Communist Party of China, the party's newspaper *Jenminjihpao*, in an editorial 'On the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat,' wrote:

'The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, following Lenin's behests, seriously regards some grave errors committed by Stalin in the direction of socialist construction, and their consequences. The graveness of these consequences raised before the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the necessity, simultaneously with recognising Stalin's great services, of laying bare, most sharply, the essence of the errors committed by Stalin, and calling upon the entire party to take care to prevent a repetition of this, and to root out vigorously the unhealthy consequences of these errors. We, Chinese communists, profoundly believe that after the sharp criticism that was displayed at the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., all the active factors that were strongly restrained in the past because of certain political errors, will surely come into motion everywhere, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will be still more united and rallied than before, in the struggle for the construction of a great communist society, unprecedented in the history of mankind, for lasting world peace.'

'The merit of the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,' a statement of the political bureau of the French

Communist Party says, 'is the fact that they have undertaken to correct the errors and shortcomings associated with the cult of the individual, which testifies to the strength and unity of the great party of Lenin and the trust it enjoys among the Soviet people and to its prestige in the international movement.' The general secretary of the national committee of the United States Communist Party, Comrade Eugene Dennis, noting the great significance of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., says in his well-known article: 'The 20th Congress strengthened world peace and social progress. It marked new stage in the advancement of socialism and in the struggle for peaceful co-existence that began in Lenin's day, continued in the following years, and is becoming ever more effective and successful.'

At the same time it should be noted that in discussing the question of the cult of the individual, the causes of the cult of the individual and its consequences for our social system are not always correctly interpreted. Thus, for example, Comrade Togliatti's comprehensive and interesting interview given to the magazine *Nuovi Argomenti*, along with many quite important and correct conclusions, contains also wrong propositions. Particularly, one cannot agree with Comrade Togliatti's putting the question of whether Soviet society has not arrived at 'certain forms of degeneration.' There is no grounds for putting such a question. It is all the more incomprehensible in that in another part of his interview Comrade Togliatti quite correctly says: 'It is necessary to draw the conclusion that the essence of the socialist system was not lost, just as not a single one of the previous gains was lost, and above all the support of the system by the masses

of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia who make up Soviet society was not lost. This very support shows that notwithstanding everything, this society has preserved its basic democratic nature.'

Indeed, without the support of the broadest masses of the people for the Soviet government and the policy of the Communist Party, our country could not have built up in an unprecedentedly brief period a mighty socialist industry and effected the collectivisation of agriculture, it could not have won the Second World War, on the outcome of which the destinies of all mankind depended. As a result of the utter rout of Hitlerism, Italian fascism and Japanese militarism, the forces of the communist movement have broadly developed, the communist parties of Italy, France and other capitalist countries have grown and become mass parties, the people's democratic system has been established in a number of European and Asian countries, the world system of socialism has arisen and become consolidated, the national-liberation movement which has brought about the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism has scored unprecedented successes.

4. Unanimously approving the decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U., which condemn the cult of the individual, the communists and all Soviet people see in them evidence of the growing power of our party, of the strength of its Leninist principles, unity and solidarity. 'The party of the revolutionary proletariat,' V. I. Lenin pointed out, 'is sufficiently strong to openly criticise itself, to call a mistake a mistake, and a weakness a weakness' (Works, Vol. 21, Page 150). Guided

by this Leninist principle, our party will continue, in future too, boldly to disclose, openly to criticise, and resolutely to eliminate mistakes and blunders in its work.

The central committee of the C.P.S.U. considers that the work accomplished by the party so far in overcoming the cult of the individual and its consequences has already yielded positive results.

On the basis of the decisions of the 20th Congress of the party, the central committee of the C.P.S.U. calls upon all party organisations :

Consistently to adhere in all their work to the most important principles of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism about the people being the makers of history, the creators of all the material and spiritual riches of mankind, on the decisive role of the Marxist party in the revolutionary struggle for the transformation of society, for the victory of communism;

Persistently to continue the work, conducted in recent years by the central committee of the party, for the strictest observation by all party organisations, from top to bottom, of the Leninist principles of party leadership, and primarily of the supreme principle of collective leadership, the observation of the norms of party life, as fixed by the rules of the party, of developing criticism and self-criticism;

Fully to restore the principles of Soviet socialist democracy as laid down in the Constitution of the Soviet Union finally to correct the violations of revolutionary socialist laws;

To mobilise our cadres, all communists and the broadest masses of the working people, in the struggle for the practical realisation of the targets of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, giving

the utmost stimulation to the creative initiative and energy of the masses, the true makers of history, in achieving this end.

The 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. pointed out that the most important feature of our epoch is the conversion of socialism into a world system. The most difficult period in the development and consolidation of socialism now lies behind us. Our socialist country has ceased to be a lonely island in an ocean of capitalist states. Today more than one-third of humanity is building a new life under the banner of socialism. The ideas of socialism are winning the support of many, many millions of people in the capitalist countries. The influence of the ideas of socialism is tremendous among the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, who are fighting against all forms of colonialism.

The decisions of the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. are regard-ed by all supporters of peace and socialism, by all democratic and progressive circles, as an inspiring programme of struggle for the consolidation of peace throughout the world, for the interests of the working class, for the triumph of the cause of socialism.

Under present conditions, the communist parties and the whole international labour movement are faced with broad, inspiring prospects to secure, hand in hand with all the peaceful forces, the prevention of a new world war, to curb the monopolies and ensure lasting peace and the security of the peoples, to put an end to the armaments race and remove from the working peoples the heavy burden of taxes bred by it, to fight for the preservation of the democratic rights and liberties which facilitate the working peoples' struggle

for a better life and a bright future. This is what the millions of ordinary people in every country of the world are vitally interested in. The successful solution of these problems is to a tremendous degree facilitated by the peaceful policy and the ever new successes of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and all the other countries advancing on the road of socialism.

In the new historical conditions, such international organisations of the working class as the Comintern and the Cominform have ceased their activities. But this in no way means international solidarity has lost its significance and that there is no longer any need for contacts among the fraternal revolutionary parties adhering to the positions of Marxism-Leninism. At the present time, when the forces of socialism and the influence of socialist ideas have immeasurably grown throughout the world, when different means of achieving socialism in the various countries are being revealed, the Marxist working-class parties must naturally preserve and consolidate their ideological unity and fraternal international solidarity in the fight against the threat of a new war, in the fight against the anti-national forces of monopoly capital striving to suppress all the revolutionary and progressive movements. The communist parties are welded together by the great objective of freeing the working class from the yoke of capital, they are united by their fidelity to the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, to the spirit of proletarian internationalism, by the utmost devotion to the interests of the people.

In their activity under modern conditions, all the communist parties base themselves on the national peculiarities

and conditions of every country, giving the fullest expression to the national interests of their peoples. At the same time, recognising that the struggle for the interests of the working class, for peace and the national independence of their countries is the cause of the entire international proletariat, they are consolidating their ranks and strengthening their contacts and co-operation among themselves. The ideological consolidation and fraternal solidarity of the Marxist parties of the working class in different countries are the more necessary since the capitalist monopolies are creating their own aggressive international coalitions and blocs, such as N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O., and the Baghdad pact, which are directed against the peace-loving peoples, against the national-liberation movement, against the working class and the vital interests of the working peoples.

While the Soviet Union is continuing to do very much to bring about a relaxation in international tension and this is now recognised everywhere—American monopoly capital continues to assign large sums of money for increasing the subversive activities in the socialist countries. When the cold war was at its height, the United States Congress, as is well known, officially appropriated (apart from the funds used unofficially) 100 million dollars for the purposes of conducting subversive activities in the people's democracies and the Soviet Union. Now that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are doing everything possible to ease international tension, the cold war adherents are seeking once more to galvanise the cold war which has been condemned by the peoples of the entire world. This is shown by the decision of the United States Senate to appropriate an

additional 25 million dollars for subversive activity, under the cynical pretext of 'stimulating freedom behind the 'iron curtain.'

We must soberly appraise this fact and draw the necessary 99 conclusions from it. It is clear, for instance, that the anti-popular riots in Poznan have been paid for from this source. But the *agents-provocateur* and subversive elements who were paid out of the overseas funds had enough 'go' in them only for a few hours. The working people of Poznan resisted the hostile actions and provocations. The plans of the dark knights of the 'cloak and dagger have fallen through, their dastardly provocation against the people's power in Poland has failed. All future attempts at subversive actions in the people's democracies are similarly doomed to failure, even though such actions are generously paid for out of funds assigned by the American monopolies. This money may be said to be spent in vain.

All this shows that we must not allow ourselves to be indifferent about the new designs of the imperialist agencies, seeking to penetrate into the socialist countries in order to do harm and disrupt the achievements of the working people.

The forces of imperialist reaction are seeking to divert the working people from the true road of struggle for their interests, to poison their minds with disbelief in the success of the cause of peace and socialism. In spite of all the designs of the ideologists of the capitalist monopolies, the working class, headed by its tried communist vanguard, will follow its own road, which has already led to the historic conquests of socialism, and will lead to new victories in the cause of peace, democracy and socialism. There can be no doubt that

the communist and workers' parties of all countries will raise still higher the glorious Marxist banner of proletarian internationalism.

The Soviet people are naturally proud of the fact that our homeland was the first to pave the road to socialism. Now that socialism has become a world system, now that fraternal co-operation and mutual aid have been established among the socialist countries, new favourable conditions have been created for the flourishing of socialist democracy, for the further consolidation of the material and industrial basis of communism, for a steady rise in the living standards of the working people, for an all-sided development of the personality of the new man, the builder of communist society. Let the bourgeois ideologists invent fables about a 'crisis' of communism, about 'dismay' in the ranks of the communist parties. It is not the first time that we have heard incantations from enemies. All their predictions have always burst like bubbles. These sorry soothsayers have appeared and disappeared, while the communist movement, the immortal and inspiring ideas of Marxism-Leninism, have advanced from victory to victory. So it will be in the future, too. No malicious, slanderous outburst of our enemies can stop the invincible, historic march of mankind towards communism.

Appendix 2

STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN CPSU

[Resolution adopted by the Central Committee of
the C.P.I.—meeting held on 1-11 July, 1956.]

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India has considered the situation arising out of the publication by the state department of the United States of America of a document which purports to be the text of the report delivered by Khrushchov at a special session of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

The Central Committee has also studied the resolution passed by the Central Committee of the CPSU on 30 June. The facts mentioned in the report have come as a great shock to Communists and to millions of progressive people all over the world. They reveal that together with great successes in the building of socialism in the USSR there also occurred, during the latter part of the life of J.V. Stalin, instances of distortion of Soviet democracy, infringement of socialist legality by excesses and arbitrary acts and violation of norms of inner-party life.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India considers that in view of the seriousness of the mistakes committed and in view of the damage done by them it was necessary to take resolute measures to rectify the mistakes

and undo the damage done. It was necessary to wage a determined struggle against the cult of personality, a cult alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, whose growth played a big part in creating the conditions in which these mistakes occurred. The cult of the individual belittled the role of the masses and the party, came in the way of the growth of their initiative. By undertaking these tasks, the CPSU leadership has rendered a great service to the cause of socialism.

The resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has analysed the historical and social conditions that contributed to the development of the cult of Stalin. Historical circumstances of hostile capitalist encirclement, rise of fascism, and the threat of attack on the Soviet Union necessitated iron discipline, centralisation of leadership and also some justifiable limitations on democracy. It was under these conditions that certain negative traits of Stalin began to develop, which gradually led to the cult of the individual and lack of collective leadership with harmful consequences.

It is evident that Stalin was mainly responsible for the distortions of Soviet democracy and for the violation of inner-party norms. It is also incontestable that in the later period of his life, the cult of the individual assumed enormous proportions. While fully recognising the negative features and grave defects that developed in Stalin's methods of leadership, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India considers that a one-sided appraisal of his role during the last twenty years of his life, years of mighty developments in the USSR and the world Communist movement, causes bewilderment among the masses and can be utilised by

enemies of Communism to confuse them. The Central Committee, therefore, is of the opinion that an objective assessment of Stalin's life and work in their entirety, Stalin's great achievements and serious shortcomings, is essential for successfully fighting the cult of the individual and for effectively combating the prevailing confusion.

The Central Committee considers that the excessive glorification of Stalin's person and role which became a marked phenomenon during his lifetime requires adequate explanation. It is also necessary to undertake a fuller analysis of the causes which led to the arbitrary acts and excesses. It is only then that a correct appraisal of the growth of the cult of the individual can be made. To ascribe all shortcomings and arbitrariness to the defects of an individual falls short of Marxist-Leninist standards of historic objectivity.

The revelations made in the report of Khrushchov have been seized by the imperialists and other enemies of the working people to denounce the Soviet Union and undermine the confidence of the people in the socialist system. The resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU passed on 30 June has correctly exposed the machinations of these enemies and stressed the need for loyalty to the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism and to the cause of proletarian internationalism.

The enemies of the working class are at pains to make out that the violations of Soviet democracy and excesses committed are inherent in the Soviet system. There is serious danger of many honest and progressive elements being influenced by this propaganda, which the Communist Party of India considers it imperative to expose and combat.

Less than forty years have passed since the triumph of the proletarian revolution in Russia. During this period, the Soviet Union has transformed itself from a backward country into one of the most advanced countries in the world, from a country of Tsarist autocracy to a country of victorious socialism. During this period, one-third of humanity has been freed from the yoke of capitalism, and socialism has emerged as a world system. While the capitalist world is in the midst of ever-deepening crisis which dooms hundreds of millions of people to conditions of misery, unemployment and cultural backwardness, the socialist world has registered gigantic progress in every sphere. The example set by the socialist world and the positive measures taken by it have profoundly influenced the entire course of human history. If today the possibility has arisen for prevention of war, for peaceful transition to socialism in a number of states, if new opportunities have opened out before the countries of the former colonial world for independent economic development, the decisive factor in all these is the growing economic, political and moral might of the Soviet Union and other socialist states and the policies adopted by them. It would be no exaggeration to say that never in human history has so much been achieved over such vast areas in such a short period.

It is evident that a system in which such violations and distortions were inherent could not have unleashed the creative energies of hundreds of millions on a scale never known before and brought about such unprecedented social transformations.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India

is confident that the detractors of socialism and slanderers of the Soviet Union, though they may sow some temporary confusion, cannot prevent the growing popularity of the ideas of socialism in our country, nor can they weaken the bond of Indo-Soviet friendship.

The Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, on the basis of the gigantic achievements of the past and guided by the all-conquering ideas of Marxism-Leninism, has charted out the path for further advance. The decisions of the Congress and the measures following from them have already had powerful impact on the whole world and have considerably strengthened the movement for peace, democracy and socialism.

The mistakes and excesses that occurred in the USSR were not due to the principles of Marxism-Leninism or the Soviet system but to deviations from them in practice in several respects. These deviations occurred in the backgrounds of great victories of socialist reconstruction carried out in an extremely difficult period. There can be no doubt that with the measures that are being adopted to combat and eliminate the defects that crept in during this period and with further measures based on a thorough analysis of the developments of the past, the Soviet society will advance further in every sphere and ensure continuous expansion of socialist democracy.

It is the enemies of socialism that have propagated that socialism is founded on regimentation in thought and constitutes a denial of that freedom of spirit which is the source of individual initiative. The socialist society is in a position to guarantee full freedom of conscience and liberty

to individuals because it abolishes exploitation of man by man and creates conditions in which such individual freedom can constantly flourish. The successes of socialist transformations in the economic life should make it all the more possible to enlarge the field of individual liberty and create effective guarantees against its violation.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India considers it necessary to state emphatically that for the advance of socialism it is indispensable to adhere firmly to the tenets of socialist democracy, and to expand it continuously. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India attaches fundamental importance to the safeguarding and development of individual freedom and liberty under socialism. The Central Committee is confident that the world Communist movement will profit by the experiences of the USSR and take effective measures for the defence and extension of democracy in every sphere.

While socialism has become the common goal of all progressive mankind in our present epoch, each country will, however, proceed to this goal in its own way. Firmly adhering to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of India seeks to achieve its goal of socialism by basing itself on the national traditions and specific features of our own country.

Loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the common goal of socialism and the struggle for peace, democracy and the defence of national freedom, constitute today the basis of proletarian internationalism and fraternal co-operation among Communist and workers' parties. This co-operation which is based on exchange and pooling of

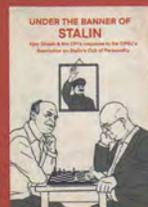
common experience, freedom of criticism and self-criticism and independence of national parties is indispensable for the socialist movement. The Communist Party of India will do everything to promote and strengthen this common bond of proletarian internationalism.

On February 25, 1956, under the pretext of combatting the manifestations of personality cult within the Soviet Communist Party, the new leadership of the CPSU, with NS Khrushchov at the helm, denounced Stalin from the rostrum of the XX Congress. This triggered tremendous reaction in the international communist circuit—of which the Communist Party of India was an integral part. The then CPI-secretary, Ajoy Ghosh, who was also a close associate of Bhagat Singh, faced the situation boldly and stood against this Khrushchovite onslaught. He tried to offer a solid defense of Stalin and raised several questions against the CPSU's subjective evaluation. The present volume compiles Ghosh's views on this particular episode—expressed in the form of articles, letters, reports and speeches.

Ajoy Ghosh (1909-1962) was an Indian freedom fighter and a prominent leader of the Communist Party of India. He was the General Secretary of the CPI from 1951 to 1962.

Grover C. Furr (1944) is an American professor of Medieval English literature at Montclair State University. He has published several books and papers about Soviet history, especially the Stalin era.

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