

Workers of all lands, unite!

***For a Lasting Peace,
For a People's Democracy !***

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STRUGGLE OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AGAINST BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY

An unbridgeable gulf lies between the ideology of the bourgeoisie and that of the proletariat. Bourgeois ideology is the ideology of coercion, oppression and exploitation. Proletarian ideology is the ideology of the liberation of the working people from exploitation, from every kind of social and national oppression. This is a scientific ideology created by Marx and Engels and further developed by Lenin and Stalin.

Marxism-Leninism is winning one historic victory after another. It is becoming accessible to the broadest masses of people in all countries, inspiring and organising them for the struggle against the moribund forces of society, for the victory of Socialism. To the odious preaching of misanthropy, chauvinism and animal racism, Communists counterpose the glorious idea of fraternity and friendship of peoples; to the preaching of “free competition” and of the foul Malthusian pseudo-theory of “superfluous” people in the world they counterpose the great idea of the liberation of all oppressed classes. Communists have created in practice a society where every person has the right to work, rest and leisure, to education and security in old age. Such is the condition of affairs in the U.S.S.R. Its path is now being followed by the People’s Democracies.

Profaning science, the bourgeoisie use it to exploit the working people; use it for preparing a new war and for plundering the oppressed peoples. In the U.S.S.R. science has been freed from the humiliating fetters of capitalist commercialism; from serving the exploiters. Science in the U.S.S.R. places all its achievements at the service of the people.

The great ideas of Communism, applied in practice in the

Soviet Union, illuminate like a beacon, the path of liberation for the oppressed peoples. Marxism-Leninism is “the science of the proletarian masses, their banner; it is esteemed and ‘worshipped’ by proletarians throughout the world... Whoever fights against this science, whoever wants to ‘subvert’ it should take all this well into account so as not to break his head in an unequal struggle” (J. Stalin).

American imperialism uses reactionary ideology as a means to realise its predatory expansion, its rabid plans of world domination. It attacks with blind fury the camp of peace and democracy.

“...Similar to the fascist aggressors”, says the Resolution of the November Conference of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties, “the Anglo-American bloc prepares a new war in all directions:—military-strategical measures, political pressure and blackmail, economic expansion and enslavement of peoples, ideological stupefying of the masses and intensified reaction.”

All ideologists in the camp of reaction have united in a “crusade” against Communism; against the movement of the peoples for peace. American imperialists, Right Socialists, de Gaullist thugs, Tito-espionage “theoreticians”, Vatican Jesuits—all of them sensing their inevitable doom are fiercely resisting truth, resisting Communism, using every weapon of mass influence: newspapers, books, cinema, radio and Church.

American imperialists, together with the bourgeoisie and the Right Socialists in the Marshallised countries, are trampling ever more cynically and openly upon the national sentiments of peoples, and oppose the idea of national sovereignty. They seek to poison the working class with the venom of cosmopolitanism to make it submit to the rule of American monopolists. “Christian idealism” and existentialism in France as well as the “literature of darkness”, of despair and eroticism pursue but one aim: to deprive the toiler of confidence in his

own strength, to divorce him from the urgent questions of reality, to retard the development of the struggle of the peoples against capitalism, to stupefy, the masses and to prepare them for a new war.

The religious fatalism advocated by Catholic reaction in Italy, now joined by the liberal bourgeoisie which at one time played the part of the opposition, serves the same purpose. The leaders of Catholic organisations obligingly permit the use of their apparatus and their publications for American propaganda.

The ideologists of imperialism are operating not only in the capitalist countries. The People's Democracies, having taken the path of abolishing the exploiting classes are now experiencing a period of intensified class struggle. Defeated reaction in these countries, which is the agency of American imperialism, seeks to spread nationalist and cosmopolitan ideas for the purpose of furthering its foul aims. As was revealed by the trials in Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary and other countries, the agents of American imperialism and the Tito band pursue one and the same aim of undermining the system of people's democracy, of detaching the People's Democracies from their fraternal alliance with the U.S.S.R. In Czechoslovakia, Hungary and in Poland the Catholic hierarchy are engaged in subversive anti-state activities. The reactionaries pin great hopes on the activities of their agents among the women and the youth.

It would be a gross error to underrate nationalist, chauvinistic, cosmopolitan influences or to become reconciled to them.

The struggle against bourgeois ideology is headed by the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This Party is an example and model of how, irreconcilably, and in all resoluteness, to wage the struggle against bourgeois ideology and against every, even the slightest, manifestation of the

influence of bourgeois ideology on individual, unsteady elements among the working people.

Bourgeois ideologists do not always openly and directly advocate exploitation or suppression of the working class. With its age-long experience in deceiving the masses, the bourgeoisie exercises its influences over the working people, often by propagating and spreading different “theories” about an above-class ideology, and its all-national essence. The Communist Parties expose not only that ideology that openly stands for imperialism, but also that which cloaks its bourgeois essence by pompous talk about harmony of interests between exploiters and exploited. Communists remember Lenin’s words to the effect that in a bourgeois society “the **only choice** is: Either bourgeois, or Socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a “third” ideology and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology).

“Hence, to belittle Socialist ideology **in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree** means strengthening bourgeois ideology.”

Communist Parties in all countries utilising the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), are devoting much effort to the Marxist-Leninist education of their members; they are waging an active struggle against bourgeois ideology, for spreading proletarian ideology, and for the ideological education of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

The struggle against bourgeois ideology is waged in the most varied forms and in various spheres.

The Italian Communist Party is waging a struggle against opportunism, sectarianism, and extremism inside the Party, against various forms and methods of penetration of bourgeois ideology among the masses. In Italy, the journals of the Left Parties and democratic organisations have, the largest

circulation. The Party uses workers' clubs, public libraries, amateur theatricals, people's theatres, lectures, circles, cultural organisations of scientists, actors and cinema workers to spread progressive ideology and for combating reactionary ideology.

Similar activities are taking place in France. In Marseilles the special week held "In defence of the Book", united all progressive writers in the country. The French Communist Party is exposing the pseudo-scientific anti-democratic distortions, mysticism and the irrationalism which is taught in the higher and middle schools. More and more novels serving the people and permeated with the ideas of proletarian internationalism are being written.

Great tasks in connection with spreading the idea of Marxism-Leninism among the broad masses confront the Communist Parties in the New Democracies. They are striving to intensify the Marxist-Leninist education of the working people through the medium of the trade unions, youth alliances and other social organisations, to put school education wholly on the basis of Socialist pedagogy, to oust the remnants of the harmful bourgeois theories from the higher schools, educate a new intelligentsia from the ranks of the workers and peasants, re-educate the old intelligentsia, to develop the struggle for socialist realism in art against the as yet strong influences of cosmopolitanism and formalism, to ensure that Marxist-Leninist ideology shall prevail fully in all branches of science, art and culture.

The imperialist warmongers, are preparing another blood-bath for the peoples, hoping thereby to stave off their doom. The activity of all kinds of "scientist" lackeys of the bourgeoisie, who are striving to corrupt, stupefy and blind the working people also serves this aim—the preparation of a new war.

But everywhere throughout the world, the masses of the people are fully determined to frustrate the criminal designs of

the instigators of war, and to outlaw the atomic weapon. Atomic energy must be used in the interest of mankind and not as a means of mass extermination of the people.

The struggle against modern, decadent bourgeois ideology—the ideology of oppression, violence, pessimism, war, misanthropy and animal chauvinism—is the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism, the struggle for the life and happiness of mankind.

FRUSTRATE CRIMINALS PLANS OF THE WARMONGERS!

PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES SUPPORT DECISIONS OF PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

ITALY

A meeting of the Italian National Peace Committee was held in Rome with Pietro Nenni in the chair. In his report to the meeting, Senator Sereni spoke of the concrete tasks facing the peace supporters in Italy in connection with the decisions of the Stockholm session of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress concerning the prohibition of the atomic weapon and the summoning of another congress of partisans of peace. The matter of safeguarding peace in Italy, said Sereni, is intimately linked with the struggle against the police measures taken recently by the Government—measures designed to deprive citizens of their elementary, democratic liberties, and against those measures which have their source in the anxiety of the de Gasperi government to carry out the orders of the U.S. State Department concerning the unloading of arms and accelerated war preparation. The working people in the towns and villages of Italy and all citizens interested in maintaining peace, must intensify their struggle for peace under the leadership of the local peace committees, which in Italy now exceed 30,000.

The National Committee called upon all citizens to express

complete solidarity with, and to give all-round support to the dockers and railway workers who are refusing to unload and transport war materials.

The other day the working people of Italy decisively answered the warmongers—the U.S. Ambassadors in European countries, who had gathered in Rome to discuss co-ordination of their activities in Europe. At thousands of protest meetings the working people of Italy have expressed their firm determination never to be tools in the hands of the instigators of war.

HOLLAND

In connection with the military meeting in the Hague of the participants in the North Atlantic Pact. Netherlands people vigorously protested against the war preparations of the imperialists. In response to the call of the Netherlands Peace Committee public meetings and demonstrations, attended by thousands of people, were held in the Hague, with the participation of delegations of peace supporters from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Groningen, Zaandam and other towns. Speakers representing all sections of the Netherlands population called upon all honest people actively to fight for peace.

SWEDEN

A peace meeting held in Goteborg under the auspices of the local metal workers' trade union, heard a report on the results of the Stockholm session of the Permanent Committee. A resolution adopted unanimously at the meeting expressed complete agreement with the decisions of the session and

called upon all people, irrespective of political and religious views, to support these decisions.

A conference of the Union of Railway Workers in Northern Sweden, which numbers over 5,000 members, took place in Luleo at the end of March. The resolution, passed by the conference, supported the decisions of the third session of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress.

NORWAY

At a meeting of dock workers in Oslo, called by the Board of the Dockers' Union for the purpose of getting the dockers to unload vessels due to arrive with American arms, the overwhelming majority voted against a resolution calling for the unloading of American arms. Only 156 of the 600 present at the meeting voted in favour of unloading American ships.

BRITAIN

A meeting of the National Peace Committee in Great Britain adopted a decision to begin a nation-wide collection of signatures to a petition which will be submitted to Parliament before the summer recess. The petition, which supports the decisions of the Permanent Committee session concerning the prohibition of the atomic weapon, aims at millions of signatures by citizens, irrespective of party affiliation, occupation or political views. It calls also for a reduction in armaments and for another meeting of representatives of the Five Big Powers.

The Committee urges the people to form peace committees in every town, in every factory, street and in blocks of buildings for the purpose of collecting signatures, appointing

deputations to hand over the petitions to their Member of Parliament, and organising meetings and other activities in favour of peace. The Committee calls on working class organisations to make the struggle for peace the main May Day slogan.

JAPAN

A meeting of representatives of the progressive trade unions in Japan decided to hold the May Day demonstration under the slogan of struggle for peace and for the national independence of Japan. It was further decided to arrange for a peace ballot in different regions of the country.

CELEBRATION OF FIFTH OF ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION OF HUNGARY

On April 4, Hungary celebrated a date which inaugurated a new epoch in her history. Five years ago the working people of Hungary, liberated by the Soviet Army, set out along the path of Socialist construction.

Celebrations of the anniversary opened in Budapest with a military parade, preceded by a speech by Colonel General Farkas, Minister of Defence.

...Flying low, four aircraft zoomed over the square. The first displayed the flag of the Soviet Union—the liberator of Hungary, the second carried the Hungarian flag. The others flew, red pennants symbolising proletarian internationalism. The parade opened with a march past of units of the Hungarian Army, bearing bullet riddled banners of the liberation struggle in Hungary in 1848. Infantry, border units and State security troops marched through the square, followed by motorised infantry, artillery and liaison units.

The parade which lasted two hours, was followed by a demonstration in which hundreds of thousands of working people took part. Endless columns of demonstrators filled the square, and, carrying portraits and banners, marched to the accompaniment of rousing music and songs.

In the afternoon, popular celebrations continued in the City park and the People's garden. An artillery salute was fired in Budapest after dark and a fireworks display on Hellert hill brought the celebrations in the capital to an end. The fifth anniversary of the liberation of Hungary by the Soviet Army was also widely celebrated in other towns and in the

countryside.

A meeting dedicated to the fifth anniversary of the liberation of Hungary, held at the Budapest opera house on April 3, was addressed by Matias Rakosi, General Secretary, Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party. Referring to the outstanding achievements of the Hungarian people in building Socialism, Matias Rakosi emphasised that they were made possible thanks to the help given by the U.S.S.R.

The liberation of Hungary, said Rakosi, was the first decisive aid rendered us by the Soviet Union. This was followed by a steady stream of other forms of assistance. Only with the generous support and farsighted policy of the Soviet Union, and its great leader Comrade Stalin, was it possible for our weakened nation to regain its feet and begin laying the foundation of a new, free statehood. Right from the formation of the Provisional Government we have been able confidently to turn to the Soviet Union for help and counsel in any difficult situation. Our requests have always been heard.

One of the biggest factors contributing to our advance is that we are able to make full use of the boundless experience of the Soviet Union, can always rely upon the economic support of our liberator, and last but by no means least, the fact that the might of the powerful Soviet Union, like a mighty shield, has always defended us and is defending us now from the attacks and intrigues of the Western imperialists.

Marshal K E. Voroshilov, head of the Soviet Government delegation, has pointed out that Soviet-Hungarian friendship, which had its birth during those days when Soviet soldiers shed their blood for the liberation of Hungary and Europe, has stood the test of time. Ever since Hungary received its liberty and independence, Soviet-Hungarian friendship is growing in strength and developing. The Soviet Union has always displayed close attention and sympathy to the needs and requirements of the Hungarian people. The guiding motive in

the mutual relations of the Soviet Union with all other peoples has always been and always will be friendship and the Lenin-Stalin policy of equality of all nations, big and small.

On this basis of equality in relations the Soviet-Hungary treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual aid, was signed in February 1948. And on this same basis there has been built all the political, economic and cultural relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Democratic Republic of Hungary.

Every sincere supporter of peace must help in every way in strengthening the forces of the democratic camp, in strengthening fraternal friendship between the People's Democracies and the Soviet Union. Every genuine patriot of his country must resolutely combat any attempt to detract from this friendship, never losing sight of the fact that the slightest departure from the Lenin-Stalin principles of Socialism and proletarian internationalism means betrayal of his people and leads inevitably to loss of the country's state sovereignty and national independence, to its transformation into a colonial appendage of the predatory imperialists.

Messages of greetings addressed to the Hungarian people, were also delivered at the anniversary meeting in the opera house by the leaders of the delegations who had come for the celebration. Speakers included: General Pien Chang-wu, leader of the delegation from the Chinese People's Republic; Jozwiak-Witold, Chairman of the Polish Supreme Control Chamber; Vasile Luca, Vice-Premier, Rumanian People's Republic; Julius Duris, Minister of Agriculture, Czechoslovak Republic; Raiko Damjanov, Vice-Premier, Bulgarian People's Republic; Otto Grotewohl, Prime Minister, German Democratic Republic; Minister Li Ben Nam, leader of the Korean delegation; Bekir Baluku, leader Albanian delegation, Army Chief of Staff, Albanian People's Republic; Albert Ouzoulias, delegate from the French Communist Party; Enrico

Lizziarro, delegate from Italian Communist Party; Johann Kopleinig, Chairman, Communist Party of Austria, and other speakers.

The participants in the meeting, in a message of greetings to Generalissimo Stalin, expressed the gratitude of the people of Hungary for liberation and help in building Socialism.

THE TWELFTH CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The Twelfth Congress of the French Communist Party, attended by nearly, 900 delegates, was held in Gennevilliers (near Paris) on April 2-6. The Congress was held under the slogan of the struggle for peace and for the national independence of France.

Messages of greetings were brought to the Congress by delegates from the Communist Parties of Italy, Germany, U.S., Belgium, Spain, Great Britain, Trieste, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Luxemburg, Algiers, Tunis, Morocco, the Albanian Party of Labour and the Swiss Party of Labour and the African Democratic Union. A warm ovation was accorded a delegation of Viet Nam students and workers, and Yugoslav Working people residing in France.

The Bidault Government refused to grant visas to delegates from the Communist and Workers' Parties of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, China, Mongolia, Korea, the German Democratic Republic and Finland.

Congress received numerous messages of greetings, in particular, from the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties of China, Brazil, Finland, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Canada, and also from the Viet Nam General Confederation of Labour.

Greetings sent by French working people at present in prison, were read to the Congress.

The delegates welcomed with great enthusiasm the message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which read:

The Central Committee of the Communist: Party of the Soviet Union sends its warm greetings to the Twelfth Congress

of the French Communist Party—the vanguard, glorious detachment of the working class and of all working people in France.

“Consolidating its ranks under the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the French Communist Party is waging struggle for the cause of the working class, for the vital interests and democratic rights of the French people.

“During World War Two and during the enemy occupation, the French Communist Party, despite opposition from reactionary forces, created the resistance movement against the fascist invaders and their accomplices, and organised the struggle of French patriots to drive out the foreign invaders.

“In the post-war period, the French Communist Party, in irreconcilable struggle against the forces of foreign and home reaction, is defending the vital interests of the French people and the national sovereignty of the country, exposing the machinations of imperialist reaction and its agents inside the working class movement, and waging a courageous struggle against the instigators of a new war.

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union wishes the French Communists further successes in their struggle for the unity of the working class, for a close alliance between workers and working peasants and for the consolidation of all democratic forces in the country, for the vital interests of the working people and the national independence of the country, for the cause of peace, democracy and Socialism.

Long live the fraternal French Communist Party!

**Central Committee, Communist Party
of the Soviet Union.”**

In acknowledgement, the Congress, on behalf of the

French Communist Party, addressed a message to the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and to Comrade Stalin.

The French Communists pledged themselves to fight in such a way as to ensure that, under the leadership of Maurice Thorez, their Party shall more and more, become a Party of the Lenin-Stalin type.

Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, delivered his report, "The Struggle for the National Independence of France and for Peace". (See p. 2 of this journal for an abridged report).

Maurice Thorez's report was followed by a lively discussion. Auguste Lecoeur stressed the necessity of linking organisational matters to the current political tasks, of strengthening the factory units and of forming thousands more peace committees in the factories, in the towns and in the most remote villages.

Auguste Lecoeur and many other delegates criticised sharply mistakes of a syndicalist and economist nature committed by a number of Party organisations.

Etienne Fajon pointed out that the Party's main task is not only to march at the head of the economic struggle of the workers, but also to guide the political struggle against the capitalist class, against the bourgeois State.

In his speech Andre Marty emphasized that it was necessary, first of all, to intensify the mass struggle against the colonial war in Viet Nam in order to stop it at once and secure the return of the expeditionary corps.

Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, and Charles Tillon, member of the Politburo, also took part in the discussion.

On the third day of the Congress Waldeck Rochet, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee, spoke of the question of safeguarding French agriculture and the working

peasantry.

He showed that the crisis in which French agriculture finds itself is due, mainly, to the “Marshall Plan” by means of which the American imperialists are disposing of their surplus produce and grabbing markets.

Waldeck Rochet then outlined the main immediate demands of the French Communist Party on the agrarian question, i.e. the immediate stopping of non-essential imports, protection for the French market and for French economy against transatlantic imports, security for farmers and tenant farmers from the landowners, security for farm labourers for whom it is necessary to win the same rights as those granted to industrial workers.

Concluding, Waldeck Rochet called on the Communists to turn boldly to the countryside in order to draw the peasant masses into the struggle for national independence and peace.

The Congress unanimously adopted a resolution on organisation, on the peasant question, and a Manifesto addressed to the French people. The Manifesto exposes the aggressive plans of the imperialists, the policy of police dictatorship, poverty and war pursued by the government of national betrayal. It warmly supports the concrete actions of the French working people against the unloading and transportation of war materials and calls on all Frenchmen to create a united front of peace and to organise peace committees everywhere for the gathering of signatures to the appeal or the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress calling for the banning of the atomic weapon.

Congress elected a new Central Committee of the Party. Maurice Thorez, who addressed the final session of the Congress on April 6th, called upon all Frenchmen, irrespective of political or philosophical views and religious convictions, to intensify the struggle against the instigators of war, for the restoration of the national independence at France, and to save

peace.

STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE OF FRANCE AND FOR PEACE* . MAURICE THOREZ, General Secretary, French Communist Party

The entire policy of the imperialist camp, headed by the U.S., is aimed at preparing a third world war. The Atlantic Pact pursues the aim of combining all the man-power and material resources of the countries participating in the Pact under the aegis of the American imperialists for the war being prepared by them against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The signatories to the Pact, as for example, France, have lost all opportunity of pursuing an independent national policy. They are but pawns of the United States in pursuing its aggressive aims.

In this anti-Soviet coalition a place is envisaged also for a revanchist Western Germany, relieved of its reparation obligations and saturated with American capital. Herr Adenauer has suggested the complete fusion of France and Western Germany into a single state. General de Gaulle has given wholehearted approval to this alliance of the cannon merchants, as it was justly described by our Comrade Max Reimann, Chairman of the Communist Party of Germany.

At the same time, the governments subordinated to the American imperialists pursue their offensive against the political rights and liberties of the working people, The policy of war preparation is accompanied by attempts at suppressing the working class and the democratic movement. Police repressions, anti-trade union laws and "super-foul" laws are

* *From the report submitted to the Twelfth Congress of the French Communist Party.*

paving the way for the fascisation and militarisation of the countries of the imperialist bloc.

The American imperialists are bolstering and backing fascist regimes everywhere and issue orders for police and anti-democratic measures in France and elsewhere, measures which pave the way for fascism.

In this connection it is essential to recall the correctness with which the Conference of the Communist Information Bureau, held in the second half of June 1948, acted when it resolutely unmasked the treacherous policy of Tito and his gang of assassins and spies—hirelings of imperialism. Tito and his clique switched rapidly from the bourgeois-nationalist deviation and renunciation of proletarian internationalism to positions of the most vulgar and malignant anti-Soviet policy. Tito and his clique very soon revealed themselves as open agents of the warmongers. They showed that they were, in effect, the latest breed of trotskyism—the shock troop of counter-revolution.

Tito and his police gang wrested Yugoslavia from the camp of peace and Socialism and bartered her to American capitalism. This clique of adventurers which relies on the kulaks and old privileged strata, is restoring capitalism. Yugoslavia has been turned into a country of fascist dictatorship, into a police state, into a vast prison where the best sons of the people, all who remain loyal to their country and to their Communist, internationalist ideals, are assassinated.

The American imperialists set before Tito a special task. Along with traitors like himself he was to organise plots against the new system in the People's Democracies, overthrow the power of the working class and of advanced democracy, re-establish the fascist dictatorship in order to wrest these countries from the camp of democracy and peace and turn them into bases of aggression against the Soviet

Union. The trials of the spies, Rajk and Brankov in Budapest, and of the traitor Kostov in Sofia, laid bare the criminal activities of Tito and his clique.

The American masters gave Tito yet another task: to try to sow confusion in the ranks of the international working class movement and in the vast world movement of the partisans of peace. Here too, the failure of the warmongers is evident. The Communist Parties, enlightened by the decisions of the Information Bureau, unanimously denounced Tito and his gang.

Successes of the Camp of Peace, Democracy and Socialism

The imperialist and anti-democratic camp, eaten-up with contradictions, plunging deeper into economic crisis and, as a result of this, continuing with ever increasing ferocity its policy of war preparations, is opposed by the democratic and anti-imperialist camp—the camp of Socialism and peace—which is steadily growing and gaining strength.

On the basis of the remarkable development of the national economy, the material and cultural level of the Soviet people is steadily rising. Workers' wages are increasing. Income of the collective farm peasantry is growing. The latest price reductions, joyfully welcomed by the Soviet people, were hailed by the working people and democrats all over the world as a new victory for the camp of peace. What a contrast to what is taking place in France and other capitalist countries where the conditions of the workers and of all ordinary people are hemming more and more difficult!

The People's Democracies, enjoying the fraternal and genuinely disinterested assistance of the Soviet Union, are also experiencing a powerful economic upsurge. In all these

countries the standard of living of the masses has risen considerably.

What a sharp contrast to Yugoslavia which Tito and his clique have placed in servitude to the Anglo-American imperialists! The entire economy of the country has been ruined by the Titoites. Mines and factories are once more coming under control of the American monopolies which are seizing the output of strategic raw materials. The State finances, despite dollar loans, are wholly disorganised. The kulak dominates the countryside. Workers get hardly any supplies, since State stores are empty and profiteers dominate the free market. Prices arising while real wages are falling. The conditions of the working people are deteriorating daily.

The creation of the German Democratic Republic is a great success for the democratic, anti-imperialist camp. In democratic Germany the economic and political bases of Pan-German reaction and fascism have been eliminated. Power is in the hands of the working class and democrats. The Government in Berlin declares that it appreciates the demands of our people occasioned by the alarm felt for the security of our country. It declares that the German people must, as far as possible, repair the evil caused by Hitler and his Nazis in relation to France and all Europe.

Thus, at last a genuine reconciliation with the German people becomes possible, based on respect for the rights of France to security and reparation; based on mutual respect for the independence and integrity of both countries.

The Chinese people, led by the Communist Party and its outstanding leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, have abolished for ever the thousand-year feudal bondage and the colonial exploitation to which they had been subjected for nearly a century. The victory of the Chinese Revolution represents a heavy defeat for the American imperialists who dreamed of turning China into their colony and a springboard against the

Soviet Union.

The fraternal alliance between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, and the fact that China has joined the family of democratic states, considerably extended the camp of peace and changed the correlation of forces in favour of democracy and Socialism.

Aggressors are plotting against the peace and independence of the people. But despite them, everything testifies to the consolidation of the anti-imperialist forces. Never before in history has there been such international unity, such an organised front of peace throughout the world. The democratic, and anti-imperialist camp is **not a bloc** contained within certain geographical borders. True, it relies on powerful states whose governments enjoy the confidence and support of their peoples. But it counts its supporters also in all the countries of the imperialist camp; it is backed by all working people in the capitalist countries and by the oppressed peoples in all colonial countries.

There is no doubt that the ardent appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress calling for the prohibition of the atomic bomb will meet in a profound response, and that millions and millions of people will support this appeal, by signing it in the course of the next few weeks. We, on our part, shall make all the necessary efforts.

France on the Brink of Abyss

The American masters, after the Communists were excluded from the Government, took France into the net of the "Marshall Plan".

What are the results? A number of branches of the national economy are in a state of decline. Certain branches of industry, aircraft for instance, have been closed down altogether.

Production of aluminium is declining. Output of the leather industry is below the pre-war level. The number of unemployed is growing daily. At present there are more than 500,000 unemployed and part-time workers. Because of the accumulation of coal at the pitheads, there are days when the miners are idle all the time.

Agriculture is also threatened. The "Marshall Plan" is making things difficult for the sugar-beet, tobacco and vine growers. French cultivators received orders to curtail by approximately 20 per cent the area sown to sugar-beet to enable American capitalists to dispose of their sugar.

Finally, there is the huge burden at military expenditure which falls on the shoulders of our people and makes any financial recuperation impossible. Despite the new taxes running into hundreds of billions of francs, despite the forced loans and extraordinary taxation, the budget deficit remains.

After the exclusion of the Communists from the Government, the franc, as a result of four successive devaluations, lost two-thirds of its value. From April 1947 to March 1950 the notes in circulation increased from 800 billion to 1,300 billion and more. The cost of living has gone up considerably. The official index for retail prices in Paris rose from 837 to April 1947 to 1,922 in February 1950.

Wage increases are a long way behind the increased cost of living. Since 1938, the standard of living of the working people has fallen by more than half. The share of wage earners in the national income dropped from 45 per cent in 1938 to 34 per cent in the second half of 1949, while the share of the capitalists increased from 29 per cent to 50.5 per cent.

The working class is doomed to chronic malnutrition. The average daily consumption of meat per head of the population dropped in Paris and in other big cities from 215 grammes in 1865 to 112 grammes in 1948. The Government, obediently carrying out the orders of the employers, is resisting wages

revision and an immediate increase of 3,000 francs a month as demanded by the workers. It has refused this to its own workers—workers employed in the nationalised enterprises. It places police at the disposal of the employers against strikers.

For three and a half years an unjust war has been waged against the people of Viet Nam. This predatory colonial war is being waged in violation of the agreement of March 6, 1946, which recognised the right of the people of Viet Nam to self-government, the right to maintain a national army, police and their own finances. The colonisers have not become reconciled to the loss of their privileges. They refused to agree that relations between France and Viet Nam should be established on a new basis and the basis of the right of nations to self-determination. They resorted to provocation in order to unleash war and again to enslave the people of Viet Nam. But they failed to achieve this, despite all their efforts, despite their indescribable atrocities, and despite the sinister comedy of agreements with Bao Dai—the night club emperor.

The entire population of Viet Nam has rallied round its Government, round his President Ho Chi Minh. The Viet Nam Government controls 90 per cent of the country's territory. It has been recognised by the greatest State in the world: the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic.

The negotiations conducted by Mr. Jessup, Truman's personal representative, throw light on the new aspect of the colonial war against Viet Nam. At present it is a matter of creating an American jumping-off ground of the borders of the New China. The war in Viet Nam is a component part of the imperialists' preparations for a third world war. Therefore, the struggle for immediate peace with Viet Nam, active support for the right of the people of Viet Nam to self-determination, including secession from France, upholding its right to complete independence, means fighting against inciting a third world war.

The French Government systematically violates the elementary rights of the working people: trade union rights, the right to strike, the right of assembly and demonstration.

The rights of Communist deputies are ruthlessly violated. Bidault is trying to force the passage of “super-foul” bills, attempting vainly to hold back the movement of popular protest which is growing, and will continue to grow against the war in Viet Nam and against the preparations for an anti-Soviet war.

By means of persecutions and slanderous campaigns, by means of foul laws which would make it possible to be-head the working class and democratic organisations, the way is being paved for General de Gaulle to come to power. On the basis of reliable information we exposed the Gaullist conspiracy against the working class and the Republic. The enemy’s designs have been laid bare. But we must be on the alert, we must expose and wage struggle against the hatching of reactionary conspiracies, take action against the demonstrations and “practice” manoeuvres of insurgent bands. We must maintain the working class and all Republicans in readiness to deliver, in a united front, an immediate and crushing blow against any attempt at a fascist offensive.

This Government, which persecutes worker-activists and partisans of peace and encourages the preparation of a fascist conspiracy, this Government wanted at the same time to conceal from the country the truth about the scandal of the bribe-takers and other corrupt Generals and politicians.

The people have learned the underlying reason for the foul war in Viet Nam. They have learned with indignation that the Minister of National Defence—the Right Socialist, Ramadier, Minister of the Interior the Right Socialist, Jules Mach and the Radical, Queuille, then Prime Minister, sought to hush up the scandal, on the pretext that the Commander-in Chief of the Army, exposed by his friend—a swindler and former Gestapo

agent—was conducting negotiations concerning the Atlantic Pact which was then about to be signed. The Government was not anxious for the people to appreciate the aggressive nature of the Atlantic Pact in the light of these scandalous exposures.

The bribes scandal actually compromised the centre regime, the regime of war, police violence, flesh and blood.

In the sphere of ideology pressure is being intensified against French thought and French science. Budget allocations for education have been cut, the laboratories left without means. Thousands of children are kept out of school while 600 billion francs is consumed by the budget of death and war.

While enemy ideological pressure has increased, our resistance has also grown considerably. We called on our writers, philosophers, painters and actors to wage the struggle on the basis of the ideological and political position of the working class. Contrary to the decadent productions of the bourgeois aesthetes—the apostles of art for art’s sake, the everlasting pessimism and obscurantism of the existentialist “philosophers”, the formalism of those painters for whom art begins when the painting is devoid of content—we counterpose an art inspired by Socialist realism, which will be understood by the working class; art that will help the working class in its struggle for liberation.

The Struggle for Peace

Despite arbitrary Government rule and repression, the fight for peace is growing and extending in our country, and is assuming the most varied forms. The most important factor is that the working class is playing an ever greater role in the peace movement.

Dockers in Algiers, Tunis and in France, and French

seamen are refusing to load and transport arms for the war against their brothers in Viet Nam. They are refusing to unload American war materials designed for aggression against their Soviet brothers. Railwaymen are refusing to man trains with war materials. Such was the case at the Paris station of Paris-Bercy, at Lyon, Nantes, Brest, etc. The action of the railwayman was supported everywhere by mass demonstrations. At Grenoble, Saint-Pierre-des-Corps (near Tours) and Valence, people stopped trains carrying war materials. At Roanne 2,000 partisans of peace demonstrated against the despatch of a troop train despite the presence of a considerable police force and their usual violence. The police arrested twenty-one of the demonstrators. They want to try the people who were arrested on the basis of the recently adopted super-foul law. Our next task is to convert everywhere the longing for peace into an effective struggle for peace.

To do this we must, in the first place, explain again and again to all those deceived by the falsehoods and slander of the enemy, the deep underlying reasons for the war danger, and show that these reasons have their roots in the capitalist system.

The statements that the French people are against an anti-Soviet war called forth a howl in the press of the imperialist jackals and their lackeys, because these statements ripped off the mask of hypocrisy beneath which the aggressors tried to conceal their war preparations. As Frenchmen and as proletarians, we stand for French-Soviet friendship and we are fighting against the preparations for anti-Soviet aggression. As Frenchmen and as patriots, we remember what de Gaulle once also said, "the liberation of the territory of France was made possible, above all, by the efforts of the Russian people and their splendid army".

As proletarians we defend French-Soviet friendship because of all that the international working class movement

owes to the October Socialist Revolution.

Some people say that war is inevitable. We must resolutely combat this false and harmful theory. **No, war not inevitable!** Since under conditions of the capitalist regime war is always possible, it does not follow in the least that the peoples should reconcile themselves to the inevitability of war. Today the forces of peace, organising and taking action throughout the world, are sufficiently great, and sufficiently strong to compel war to retreat.

Another important aspect in the struggle for peace is to expose, to tirelessly and systematically refute the falsehoods circulated by our enemies who, while babbling about “peace” are actively preparing war. They are acting in exactly the same manner as Hitler did in his time: they scream about “Europe”, but only for the purpose of excluding two thirds of Europe from the conception. “Parliament of Europe”, “Work Government”, all this is false, designed to conceal the enslaving of the peoples of Western Europe by the Anglo-American imperialists, to conceal the preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

The movement for peace and freedom has grown stronger. We must, in all resoluteness, struggle for the implementation the decisions of the recent National Congress of Fighters for Peace and Freedom in order all the time to extend this movement and the sphere of its activities; everywhere to facilitate the election of communal peace councils and peace committees.

Unity is the condition for the success of the forces of peace, unity for action. All strata of the population—workers peasants, the middle classes, men, women, youth, all workers, and democratic organisations, trade union and co-operative organisations, sports clubs, associations of war veterans, associations of members of the family, cultural, educational and religious societies: all public figures, scientists, writers,

journalists, deputies, all who stand for peace must take their place in the ranks of the peace movement.

We believe it useful to declare once again that we Communists, while reserving our right to express our viewpoint and rail circumstances, fully recognise the right of all other genuine peace supporters to have their views on different matters, including such an important question as the profound reasons for the new danger of war and about the ways and means necessary to safeguard peace.

The struggle of the last three years has deepened the class consciousness of the working people. Without in any way glossing over the harm caused by the trade union splitters at the end of 1947, it can, however, be asserted that the so-called "Force Ouvrière failed to achieve the aim set it by its American paymasters. Only a few months after the split, unity of action in the fight for higher wages was achieved between members of the trade unions and the organisations of the General Confederation of Labour, the Christian trade unions and "Force Ouvrière"—despite resistance on the part of the leaders of the splinter unions.

On November 25, 1949, under the slogan of unity, a powerful 24 hour strike was held throughout the country in support of the demand for a wage increase of 3,000 francs a month and against compulsory arbitration. This struggle for the 3,000 francs spread. By the end of February all categories of working people had been drawn into the struggle. In the struggle for unity we must devote special attention to work among Socialist-workers.

On many questions the views of the Socialist worker and of his comrade, the Communist worker, coincide. We must speak to him in a brotherly way, convincingly, and never resort to unjustified shouting or offensive expressions.

This, however, does not mean that we must forsake our determination resolutely to expose the treacherous policy of the

Right Socialist leaders, the defenders of bourgeois interests and the agents of foreign imperialism, the most zealous promoters of the “Marshall Plan” and the Atlantic Pact, the initiators of the foul war in Viet Nam—men like Moutet and strike breakers like Jules Moch.

The Right Socialist leader recently expressed themselves in favour of a majority voting system which would be advantageous to the anti-Communist coalition in future elections and in the opinion of the Right Socialists, remove us completely from the National Assembly. They voted for the super-foul Bills. In view of this voting the real reason for the resignation of the Socialist Ministers becomes clear, forced to manoeuvre under the pressure of the growing dissatisfaction of the masses, the Right Socialist leaders calculated that by abandoning the game they could regain their innocence. The demands of their American masters and the inexorable logic of the class struggle have forced them to expose themselves sooner than they wanted.

The “Marshall Plan” and the preparations for an imperialist war are accelerating the ruin and proletarianisation of the middle classes. Shopkeepers are crushed by taxes; handicraftsmen and small manufacturers are ousted from the market by American competition. The number of bankruptcies increasing. We must see to it that these people are not deceived by fascist demagogy; we shall support their just demands. All can and must be drawn into the struggle for peace and national independence.

Peasants are experiencing numerous difficulties. Moreover, they hate war. They too, must on a broader scale, be drawn into the struggle for peace. The programme of struggle for the demands of the working peasants must be fully worked out and the land question must be raised in its entirety. The land must belong to the peasants who till it. We must clearly show the French peasant that two paths are open to him; the path of

capitalists along which he is now being drawn by the big bourgeoisie—the path of exploitation, inevitable expropriation, poverty and war—and the path we call the peasant to follow in alliance with the working class. This is the path of Socialism—when the land will belong finally to those who till it; when the land will be returned to those from whom it was taken.

The initiative of many actions against war belongs to the women, to their powerful organisation—the Union of French Women. In the struggle against war the prestige of the youth organisations has increased and their influence has grown. French youth does not want to be cannon fodder for the American imperialists.

Our Party calls for unity and struggle for a government of democratic and national unity, for French government which will be a government of moral purity and of peace. Our Party calls for unity and struggle for the carrying through of a programme the main points of which are as follows:

1. Exposure of the “Marshall Plan” and of the Atlantic Pact. The active participation of France in all measures aimed at securing a democratic, just and lasting peace based on adherence to the Charter of the United Nations Organisation. Confirmation of the French-Soviet alliance—the guarantee of peace and the security of France.

2. The unconditional prohibition of the atomic weapon. The government which first uses the atom bomb will be regarded as a war criminal. Conclusion of a pact of peace between France, the Soviet Union, the U.S., Great Britain and the Chinese People’s Republic.

3. Fulfilment of the Potsdam agreements concerning denazification and demilitarisation of Germany. Recognition of the German Democratic Republic which observes these agreements.

4. The immediate cessation of the war in Viet Nam and the return of the expeditionary corps. Support for the colonial

peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence.

5. Higher wages and the application of the sliding scale for wages. An immediate monthly increase of 3,000 francs for all wage earners. The application of the law concerning collective agreements with a guaranteed minimum wage. The satisfaction of the lawful demands of war-veterans and war veterans of former war prisoners, the unemployed, pensioners, disabled and aged workers. Protection of our industry from the encroachments and threats of American imperialism.

6. The regeneration of French agriculture on a basis of a policy that would ensure stable prices for agricultural products and return of outlay, and also the protection of our main agricultural crops from overseas exporters.

7. Restoration of normal trade relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

8. Large-scale reduction in military expenditure and the allocation of a considerable part of these funds for the reconstruction of the national economy and for housing.

9. The consolidation of demo ratio gains and, in particular, social security.

10. Defence of the laws of the Republic and of Constitutional liberties (the right to strike, freedom of speech, assembly, organisation and demonstrations). Annuling of the super-foul laws. Disarming and disbanding of militarised units formed by R.P.F. for the purpose of unleashing civil war.

11. Freeing of the Resistance fighters, strikers and peace supporters unlawfully imprisoned, subjected to persecution or convicted.

Such is the essence of the programme we submit for approval by the mass of the people. By their struggle they can and will ensure that it is carried through.

The Party

The thirty years of ceaseless struggle for peace have prepared the French Communist Party for the great battle which is deciding the fate of France and of all the mankind.

At the last Parliamentary elections in 1946, the French people, by giving us nearly 30 per cent of all the votes, advanced the Communist Party to first place in the country. The municipal elections in 1947, the cantonal elections in 1949 and the recent partial elections have confirmed the growing influence of the Communist Party among all sections of the working people in town and countryside.

Relying on the confidence of the masses who place their hopes in us, our Party is successfully countering the violent attacks of the enemies who have joined forces. The enemies of the people banked on weakening our influence, using every weapon against us—falsehood, slander, intimidation, provocation and repressions. They badly miscalculated. The failure of their anti-Communist campaign is obvious. Their projects for reforming the electoral system are an admission of this failure.

Powerless to reduce the number of votes cast for us, the enemies of the people would like to regard these votes as invalid. Granting even that the arithmetic of the election permits such a swindle, this will not change social and political reality. And this reality is the struggle of the French people against reaction, poverty and war, for peace and national independence.

We are conscious of all the inspiring force of this reality which, at the same time, places upon us a great responsibility. We are conscious of our duty before the working class, before all the people, before France. That is why, far from being satisfied with ourselves, we do not for a moment cease to view critically our own activities.

We particularly want to draw the attention of the Party to shortcomings and mistakes which lead to the weakening of its work and consequently, to the weakening of the struggle for peace and national independence.

The most serious of these shortcomings is the under-estimation of the danger of war and, at the same time, the under-estimation of the strength of the working class and the strength of the camp of peace, which have all that is needed for foiling the plans of the warmongers.

Sometimes one comes across Party members who are not bold enough to declare our friendship with, and confidence in the Soviet Union; who do not see the paramount role of the U.S.S.R. in the struggle for peace.

But those who have doubts and who vacillate in their attitude to the Soviet Union actually descend to the position of nationalism and abandon the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Relinquishing proletarian internationalism, switching to nationalism, expressing the slightest mistrust in relation to the U.S.S.R., regarding the U.S.S.R. as “just another country”, slurring over the differences between the Socialist State and the imperialist powers—all this inevitably results in treachery to the cause of the working class, the cause of Socialism. This is precisely what happened to Tito and his clique of adventurers who have gone over to the warmongers and who have become the inveterate enemies of their people, of the international working class movement and of the Soviet Union.

Another extremely serious shortcoming which causes much harm to the work of the Party—particularly its activities in uniting the entire working class and all partisans of peace in the struggle against the danger of war—is the sectarianism against which the Central Committee wages ceaseless struggle.

The sectarians, like the opportunists, do not believe in the masses, they scorn them. They stand aloof from the broad

united front of the struggle for peace. They do not join trade unions nor do they engage in any trade union work. They refuse to work in the mass organisations: co-operatives, associations of war-veterans, former war prisoners, women's committees, associations of former Resistance fighters, tenants' unions, association of war victims, youth circles, girls' organisations, sports clubs or in cultural societies, etc.

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Our Party is increasing its forces, despite the enemy's attempts to strike at it from within. We see how the imperialists use the Tito agency and trotskyist groupings.

Communists must display firm revolutionary vigilance in order to expose and expel from their ranks all hostile elements—police agents, spies and provocateurs sent into the Party by the bourgeoisie.

Adherence to the principles of democratic centralism, control from below and the verification of every Party member in work will help quickly to remove the casual elements seeking to worm their way into the Party.

The work of the Party in the factories is not a formal, secondary matter which can be solved by administrative methods. This question is one of the greatest significance, arising from the very essence of our Party—the Leninist Party of a new type. The Party would not be able to carry out its urgent and important tasks and, above all, would not be able to wage the struggle for peace and national independence without of solid support in the factories and if it did not combine in its factory organisations the most conscious and active workers.

In carrying out the Stockholm decisions we shall, at once, jointly with all partisans of peace, make every effort secure the universal condemnation of the atomic weapon, the weapon of aggression and extermination of peoples.

Fighting for peace we are fighting for Socialism, for Communism, for the most wonderful and just cause.

Communism is on the order of the day. All the attacks, witch-hunts and slanders against the Communist Party will but reinforce it and add to its greatness.

Only seventy years separate the appearance of the “**Communist Manifesto**” from the October Socialist Revolution, and by the centenary of this immortal work of Marx and Engels, 800 million people from the Elbe to the Pacific had broken the chains of imperialism and set about building a new society. Tens of millions of other people, in countries still under the yoke of capitalism, share the ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

Capitalist society is doomed. It must and it shall give way to Socialism, to Communism. With firm determination and ardent faith, forward to the struggle for peace, for national independence, for France!

Long live free, democratic and independent France!

Long live Communism!

Long live Peace!

FOR SOCIALIST CULTURE! Jakup Berman, Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee, Polish United Workers' Party

The working class of Poland which is becoming more and more conscious of the direct link between the struggle for the new culture and the general struggle for peace and Socialism, attaches great significance to the continued offensive on the cultural front.

The past twelvemonth was a year of tempestuous growth of new cultural forces in the people's democratic Poland, just as it was in the other People's Democracies. A noticeable increase on the part of the working people was shown in study, in newspapers and books, and likewise their interest in the theatre, cinema, lectures and exhibitions.

In 1948, 62,500,000 copies of books were printed in Poland; in 1949, 73 million (an increase of 18 per cent). and in 1950 books will be issued in 85 million copies.

The number of theatre spectators increased from 4,125,000 in 1948 to 5,149,000 in 1948, that is, by 24.8 per cent.

The theatres are always crowded, audiences are not only steadily growing numerically, their social composition is also changing. Today, instead of a bourgeois audience, the theatres are filled mostly with factory and office workers, and more recently with peasants also. The cinemas which in 1948 drew 95 million visitors, drew up to 118 million in 1949, that is, a 24 per cent increase. More would have attended were it not for the lack of adequate cinema accommodation. The number of visitors to museums and exhibitions increased in the course of one year from 3,179,000 to 5,628,000, that is, by nearly 80 per cent.

Increased activity on the cultural front is particularly manifest among urban workers and workers of the State farms.

The number of workers' clubs grew during 1919 from 6,770 to 9,000; the number of cultural activists in the trade unions increased three times compared to 1948. Amateur art circles in the trade unions grew from 4,800 in 1948 to 7,669 in 1949. Amateur art, in all its forms, is flourishing in the countryside.

During the four years (1945-48) trade union amateur art circles gave 71,000 performances in towns and villages, attended by 16 million spectators, and last year alone, they gave 50,400 performances to nearly 9 million spectators.

Circulation of newspapers and journals is steadily mounting. At present the average total circulation of daily newspapers amounts to 3,900,000 copies, that is, four times more than in 1939 and 18 per cent more than in 1948. There is a pronounced increase in the circulation of periodicals (1949 showed a 70 per cent increase compared to 1948).

Formerly, when talking with old bourgeois journalists one encountered the rotten theory to the effect that circulation could be increased only by pandering to the more backward elements, by adapting one's-self for what still remain of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois tastes. In support of this, they referred to the "successes" of the gangster gutter press in the U.S., Britain and France. But the experience of the Soviet press and its great role in the land of Socialism, as well as the experience of the press in the People's Democracies, proves just the opposite. It is precisely this press, permeated with the militant spirit of Marxism-Leninism, which exposes the class enemy, actively participates in the construction of Socialism, which orientates itself not on the backward but on the advanced people, and displays solicitude for the ordinary man—it is only this press that can ensure for itself a steady growth and can become an irreplaceable instrument for enlightening and educating the masses and teaching them how to build their life on new lines. The figures mentioned above are striking testimony to the growing activity of the masses on the cultural

front, to the progress of the cultural revolution now taking place in Poland.

Why did this growth make itself so felt precisely during 1949?

It is the outcome not only of the numerical increase of the Polish working class due to the rapid industrialisation of the country, not only of the improved wellbeing and increased standard of living of the workers, it is due, above all, to the unification of the working class movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and to the increased activity of the working class in the struggle against the class enemy on the basis of building the new, Socialist system. It was made possible due solely to our participation in the common struggle of the Communist and Workers' Parties against the treacherous Tito-Rankovic clique of spies and saboteurs, against all distortions of Marxism-Leninism, against the attempts to implant alien and hostile ideology in the ranks of the working class movement, and in Poland particularly against the Gomulka-ites, against manifestations of the Right and nationalist deviation.

It was made possible also because the working class is deeply conscious of the revolutionary content of the system of people's democracy which is fulfilling the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only the growth in the unity and activity of the working class, and the increased ideological maturity of its vanguard create the conditions for the development of the cultural revolution.

This finds complete confirmation also on the most difficult sector of the struggle for Socialism in the sector of the struggle for the Socialist reorganisation of agriculture.

Just after the June 1948 Conference of the Communist Information Bureau, the Gomulka-ites came out against a clear and open formulation of the question of collectivisation and of the Socialist reorganisation of agriculture. They alleged that

such a formulation of the question would alienate poor and medium peasants from the people's power and would lead to the complete isolation of the Party in the countryside.

What actually took place? The firm and ideologically consistent formulation of the question, naturally, evoked an outburst of embittered hatred among the kulaks, and also caused some vacillation among the medium peasants. But now, after nearly two years, it can confidently be said that our Party has certain successes to its credit in the struggle for producer co-operatives in the countryside. This struggle has accelerated the differentiation of class forces in the countryside and is bringing about the isolation of the kulak. The collective farm is no longer a bogey in Poland. Although enemy resistance is far from being broken, the producer co-operatives are arousing ever greater interest among the broad sections of the working peasantry, and, notwithstanding the hostile propaganda, the profound essence of collectivisation is penetrating into the consciousness of not only the small but also of the medium peasants.

The movement for producer co-operatives is changing the political and cultural outlook of the countryside. Is not the remarkable increase in the circulation of Party press in the countryside precisely during this period, a pointer in this respect? The Party journal for peasants, "Gromada", started a year ago and which now appears twice weekly, has a circulation of 1,165,000. Another Party journal "Chlopska Droga" ("Peasant Way") has a circulation of 280,000 copies. "Przyjaciolka" ("Woman's Friend"), a weekly journal, circulates in 1,700,000 copies, half of which are sold in the countryside.

These facts reflect not only the higher cultural demands of the working people, they are also a call to our cultural workers, writers and artists for intensified efforts to raise their artistic skill and to supply works imbued with the spirit of Socialist

realism.

We cannot close our eyes to the considerable lagging behind of our art which, as yet, is far from meeting the requirements of our rapidly growing young cultural forces. Some of our artists are isolated from reality and, in their creative work, remain captives of different formalist, bourgeois standards of aesthetic objectivism. Sometimes they substitute abstract slogans and empty nonsense for the difficult job of blazing a path towards a profound perception and artistic reflection of the beginnings of the new, to which our life is daily giving birth.

We are, as yet, a long way from having completely overcome the influence of alien ideas and theories, cosmopolitan tendencies have not been uprooted. Only the first steps are being taken towards a critical study and mastery of the rich and many-sided Polish cultural heritage.

A pronounced striving is evident among writers and painters to link themselves more closely with the life and struggle of the working people. The evidence of this is the hearty response of writers to the initiative of organising extended visits to industrial enterprises and agricultural co-operatives.

Simultaneously, a struggle has developed for an ideological and creative literary and art criticism. The recent discussion in the Polish literary journals, though not devoid of certain elements of grouping, and at times descending from matters of principle to far-fetched antagonism between the “young” and “veteran” writers, helped, nevertheless, to bring out the main weaknesses of literary creation and literary criticism. The discussion led to extensive self-criticism on the part of the advanced group of Party writers and created the prerequisites for a serious advance in the sphere of literature.

The life-giving influence of Soviet art in all its form—Soviet prose and poetry which have millions of grateful readers

of our country, Soviet dramaturgy, the stirring Soviet films and Soviet songs, have been of immense and indeed invaluable help in our struggle for a culture national in form and Socialist in content.

Striking confirmation of the fruitful influence exercised by Soviet art was the festival of Soviet plays in Polish theatres in the autumn of 1949. The fresh breeze of new Socialist life which swept through our theatres, acted as a stimulus for many of our playwrights, producers and actors. They were convinced that the problems of the new, Socialist life could be reflected on the stage and that they would find a ready and hearty response among the new theatre public, who seek in artistic productions the embodiment of their struggle and their striving.

This wave also spread to the tens of thousands of members of amateur theatrical circles.

The exhibition of modern painting and sculpture which opened recently in Warsaw, organised on the initiative of the artists' trade union and the Ministry of Culture, is an indication of the desire not only of the young but also of a number of the older painters to break out of the vicious circle of abstraction and formalism. Our composers are also striving, and not without success, to reflect the pathos of Socialist construction in their works.

Recent measures such as the reorganisation and unification of the literary journals, the intensified activities of the Union of Polish writers and other creative bodies, and the strengthening of Party organisations in art associations will also facilitate the successful struggle for ideological purposefulness in art.

The production and cultural upsurge in people's democratic Poland is inspiring all the advanced writers and artists in the country. Carrying forward the progressive traditions of the great creators of Polish culture, they are joining in the struggle with ever greater determination for the

flowering of the new Socialist culture in Poland.

BRITAIN AFTER THE ELECTION AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY. Harry Pollitt, General Secretary, British Communist Party

The first weeks of the new Parliament and Government in Britain have been marked by shadow boxing on issues' upon which the two main parties—the Tories and the Labourites—are in little fundamental disagreement. But they have also been marked by important events, and these will most certainly increase in intensity as the months go by.

The workers in the great industrial areas voted for Labour in the hope that their economic conditions would not be worsened. Since the General Election they now read day by day of the danger to the purchasing power of their wages, mainly by the imminent threat of rising prices.

For example, hardly had the workers in the Greater London area cast their votes than they read of a decision to increase fares on tubes, buses and trams, and to abolish the traditional system of cheap workmen's fares. Ominous press reports presage a further rise in food prices. On March 12, the **Observer** stated: "A rise in the price of certain foods is now considered inevitable."

On March 15th, in a debate on the National Health Services, Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated in Parliament: "I believe it is necessary to call a halt to further development of this service."

On the same day, Mr. Barnes, the Minister of Transport, informed Parliament that the Transport Tribunal had approved a 16½% increase in rail freight charges. This means further increased prices for the workers for their domestic fuel, gas and

light.

In marked contrast to what is happening in Britain, is the situation in the Soviet Union where the recent substantial reductions in the prices of 234 classes of consumer goods have resulted in a considerable increase in real wages for the workers.

But while the Labour and Tory leaders are vociferously talking about the need “To make economy cuts on a large scale”, there is also complete unanimity on what there shall be no cuts in—that is, military expenditure.

In the next financial year Britain is spending the colossal sum for its Budget as a whole, of £780 million on military expenditure! This expenditure is an octopus around the neck of Britain’s economy, bleeding the nation to death.

In the Parliamentary debate on this question on March 16th, Messrs. Attlee, Churchill and Shinwell all justified this expenditure to help Britain take its allotted part in an American organised war against the Soviet Union.

On March 16th Churchill demanded in Parliament that Western Germany must be rearmed to fight against the Soviet Union. And no protest came from the Labour Members of Parliament when Churchill “thanked God” the atom bomb was in the possession of the United States, or when he demanded rearming Western Germany.

Such are but a few of the developments in Britain since the General Election. They serve to emphasise the great responsibility of the Communist Party in this grave situation for the British working class.

In a Political Letter analysing the results, experiences and weaknesses of the Communist Party campaign in the recent General Election in dealing with the next tasks of the Party, we state:

What have we to do?

First, to intensify the fight for wages and against

victimisation and redundancy. This will be one of the greatest issues of struggle in the coming period, for the General Election has been rapidly followed by the rejection of the wage demands of the railwaymen and the shipyard workers. The right wing Socialists will use every argument that they have used in the past about the need not to “embarrass the Government”, and the “serious economic position”, to hold back the struggle of the workers.

But the mood of the workers is such that if we give the right leadership, they will not tolerate the driving down of real wages which is planned. We have to show that the greatest assistance that the Tories, the employees and the enemies of the working class could be given at the present time, is the holding back of the workers from struggle on the wages issue. The way to fight the slump and the way to fight the Tories, is to go into battle **now** for increased wages. The work of the Party in the factories and the strengthening of our factory organisation is decisive in this connection.

This struggle must also be linked with the fight for higher taxes on the rich and lower taxes on working people, with the demand for more houses, and the fight against cuts in the Social Services and for an increase in pensions.

Second, to ensure that the profound feeling for peace and national independence expressed in the election, which forced the Tory and Labour leaders to break their conspiracy of silence on this question is transformed into a positive fight against the war plans of the American and British imperialists. Churchill and Attlee want to push the question of agreement with the Soviet Union right into the background now that the election is over. Our job is to see that the greatest mass pressure is exerted on the Government to force a change in its attitude.

The whole peace movement needs now to be carried forward to a new level. We must do everything to help the

development of a powerful British Peace Movement drawing its decisive support from all the main bodies of the trade unions and in the factories as well as in all other spheres, and able to carry forward the campaign from general propaganda to the level of action for peace in the towns, villages and factories (collecting signatures to the appeal of the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress for banning the atomic weapon, resistance to the import of American arms and the supply of arms for the war in Malaya, etc.). The French working class has set us a great example in this respect.

Third, to recognise the importance of winning the youth and the women for our policy. The experience of this election has shown that we have not yet paid nearly enough attention to convincing young people of the need to fight for our policy. Many of them know little about the past struggles of the working class, and have been greatly influenced by the propaganda of the Labour and Tory leaders. The whole Party must now pay special attention to this aspect of our work and to the strengthening of the Young Communist League. Similarly, we can and must find ways of reaching out to the millions of women who are concerned with the threat of war, rising prices and the housing shortage, and establish and strengthen our Party Women's Sections.

Fourth, to conduct the greatest campaign of propaganda in the spring and summer months that our Party has ever carried through in Britain. We must reach millions more with our factory-gate meetings, with the Daily Worker, our pamphlets and leaflets, so as to answer the urgent question about the future and how the workers that the way to get the peace, the jobs and homes they want is to struggle for them against the Tories, employers and the right wing Labour leaders.

We repeat that it is in the factories, mines and depots that we must, above all, strengthen the Party.

Conclusion. We must go into the local elections which

take place in May with a strong list of candidates and a stronger organisation. All our Districts and Branches should now be discussing our participation in these elections to ensure that it is the most effective local government campaign we have ever carried through. This will also put us in a stronger position to contest a future General Election.

Some of our enemies are indulging in cheap sneers because of the votes we have received. But behind their attitude is the fear of our Party and what we stand for. They understand perfectly well that events are going to prove us right in the eyes of millions of workers; that we are the force which is going to develop and increase in strength in the coming period; that the Marxist-Leninist teachings by which our Party is guided have already realised the aspirations and brought new life to half the world, and will lead the British people also forward along the road taken by the people of the Soviet Union, the Peoples' Democracies and China.

So, without underestimating the difficulties we shall go forward with confidence and determination to take advantage of the great new opportunities the coming month will bring us, sharpen our fight against both the Tories and right-wing Labour leaders, and develop a united movement of struggle under the leadership of a strengthened Communist Party which can bring our country out of the camp of war and imperialism and into the camp of peace and democracy.

SLOGANS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN

The Secretariat of the Communist Party of Japan has published five main and fifty-four supplementary slogans. The main slogans of the Japanese Communist Party are:

1) An all-round peace treaty on the basis of the Potsdam declaration; immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces after the peace treaty is signed.

2. Against war, colonisation and military bases; defence of peace and friendly co-operation with the peace-loving nations.

3) Against colonial enslavement; for defence of the basic human rights; an unrestricted development of peace-time industry, for independent foreign trade with the U.S.S.R., China, Korea and other countries.

4) Against the resurgence of Japanese imperialism; down with monarchist and treacherous reactionary forces; down with the Yoshida government, oust the social-democratic traitors.

5) Unity of the workers' front; all patriots must join the democratic national front; for national independence and for the formation of a democratic people's government.

CLASS STRUGGLE IN RUMANIA IN THE PRESENT PHASE. Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, General Secretary, Central Committee, Rumanian Workers' Party

In the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe, which have dropped out of the imperialist system, the class struggle is developing in conditions that had their source in the liberation of these countries by the Soviet Army, and in the tempestuous growth of the internal revolutionary forces.

The historic victories of the People's Democracies were achieved in struggle against an enemy who offered violent resistance. Class struggle, as is known, is the law in any society which is split into antagonistic classes. But this class struggle grows in intensity and assumes ever more violent forms during the transition from capitalism to Socialism. The abolition of exploiting classes, that is, the building of a Socialist society, is taking place in conditions of intensified class struggle. This basic law is likewise fundamental for the development of the People's Democracies towards Socialism.

I.

Having taken political power into its hands the working class of Rumania, in alliance with the working peasantry, carried through a series of historic transformations which changed the nature of class relations in our country. The landowners as a class, were abolished, and the industrial bourgeoisie, due to the nationalisation of the main means of production, were deprived of their positions in the national economy.

The Socialist offensive against capitalism in our country takes the form of strengthening Socialist industry, extending

State and co-operative trading and the Socialist sector in agriculture, i.e. the State farms, machine-tractor depots and the collective farms. At the same time, small commodity production still dominates in agriculture, and the most numerous capitalist class—the kulaks—still retain considerable economic sway. The overthrown capitalists and landowners still maintain contact with foreign capitalists. Small capitalists still own means of production, and broad private sector still exists in the sphere of trade. During the transition period, capital seeks to use the sphere of exchange where Socialist elements are still weak, for the purpose of profiteering.

Analysing the process of sharpening class struggle during the transition period, Comrade Stalin points out that this process cannot be explained only by reasons linked with this or that aspect of the work of the State apparatus, by the weakness or strengthen Party organisations, by mistakes or a correct line in their policy. The intensification of the class struggle has a **social-economic** basis.

What is this social-economic basis in our country?

Lenin considered that in all countries with a more or less developed capitalist production there are, during the transition from capitalism to Socialism, necessarily three main sectors in economy: **The Socialist sector, the capitalist sector, and small-commodity production.** The existence of these sectors in our country constitutes the social-economic basis of the class struggle during the transition from capitalism to Socialism.

The greatest assistance in successfully solving the tasks of this period is provided by the experience of the U.S.S.R. in building Socialism, and particularly, by the experience of the New Economic Policy—NEP—carried out by the Bolshevik Party.

Thirty years ago Lenin stressed the international significance of the New Economic Policy, pointing out that, in its general outlines, it was suitable not only for Russia but for

all countries.

And indeed, the necessity to reconstruct the national economy along Socialist lines requires in our country also particular attention to be paid to the development of industry and agriculture. Industry cannot be developed without the necessary basis; i.e., to develop industry we must have our own raw materials, food supplies for workers and a more or less developed agriculture which is the main market for our industry.

The interests of strengthening the basis of the system of people's democracy, i.e. the alliance between the workers and working peasantry, also call for this. In this way this alliance acquires a powerful economic basis, Leninism regards NEP **as the elaboration of the forms of union between workers and working peasantry** in the years after the conquest of political power.

The alliance between the working class and the working peasantry acquires the form of co-operation between town and countryside, co-operation directed against the capitalists. This alliance is aimed at securing mutual supplies for the working people in town and village, and is aimed at drawing the peasant masses into the building of Socialism, above all, through co-operation.

The main contact between town and countryside, between Socialist industry and peasant economy is effected through trade.

But usurers and merchants manage to penetrate into trade between Socialist industry and the peasant economy. It is known that during the first years of NEP in the U.S.S.R. the market and the prices of manufactured goods constituted an extremely important field of battle between capitalism and Socialism.

Developing Lenin's teaching about the New Economic Policy, Comrade Stalin stressed the significance of NEP as a

necessary phase during the transition.

“The New Economic Policy is the policy of the proletarian dictatorship, aimed at overcoming the capitalist elements and at building a Socialist economy through the medium of utilising the market and by means of the market, and, not by a direct exchange of goods outside the market, and minus the market. Can capitalist countries, even the most developed of them, do without NEP during the transition from capitalism to Socialism? I think they cannot. In one degree or another the New Economic Policy, with its market relations, and the utilisation of these market relations, is absolutely essential for every capitalist country during the dictatorship of proletariat.”

The correctness of this Stalin thesis is evident from what is taking place at the present time in our country, particularly in, the sphere of exchange between town and countryside. For example, due to shortage of manufactured goods and to defects in the organisation of trade between town and the countryside, the direct exchange of goods “outside the market and minus the market” is used by kulaks and speculators for the purpose of predatory profiteering.

The experience of NEP supplies the answer to most of the questions arising from the class struggle in the present phase.

There is no doubt whatever that, because of the specific conditions of their development, arising from the existence of the land of victorious Socialism and its powerful political-economic support, the peoples’ democratic States were able more quickly to set about laying the foundations of Socialist economy on a planned basis and on the enormous experience of the Stalin Five-Year Plans. As for small commodity production and the exchange between town and countryside, the planned beginnings are, relatively, only slightly developed so far, since private ownership of the means of production prevails in agriculture. The experience of the U.S.S.R. during the transition—during the period of NEP—helps us to find the

correct way of strengthening and extending the Socialist sector in our economy.

II.

The class struggle in Rumania, as in the other People's Democracies, is further intensified due to the aggressive machinations of the Anglo-American imperialists. Hostile actions by the class enemy inside the country are closely linked with the sharpening contradictions between Socialism and capitalism in the international arena. Infuriated at no longer being able to plunder our country and lord over it, the American and British imperialists give every support to attempts to restore capitalism. The U.S. and British Governments have taken under their protection the fascist gangs of saboteurs and spies who were exposed and punished according to the laws of the Rumanian People's Republic.

The Anglo-American imperialists systematically organise espionage and subversive gangs. The class struggle assumes its sharpest forms when the enemy does not hesitate to assassinate members of the Party and other democrats and to commit other heinous crimes.

A most vile role in these crimes is being played by the Tito-Rankovic fascist gang of spies and assassins—the open agents of the Anglo-American imperialists. Tito agents commit all kinds of provocative actions on the border; they organise espionage for the Anglo-American intelligence service and recruit kulak-fascist and nationalist-chauvinist elements for their nefarious schemes.

With the help of the working people the State organs have exposed and resolutely suppressed a number of counter-revolutionary plots of the Anglo-American imperialists.

The enemy wants to hit at our economy, to disorganise it. In Socialist industry too, there are still hostile elements—hangers-on of the former owners—who engage in sabotage. In

Reshita, in the biggest works in the Rumanian People's Republic, a nest of Anglo-American fascists and spies who caused considerable damage was exposed. Similar things took place elsewhere.

In the sphere of trade a struggle is going on between the growing State and cooperative Socialist sector and the private sector which is being forced to restrict its profiteering activities. Here and there certain hostile and venal elements and all kinds of businessmen have penetrated State trade where they are trying to create difficulties with regard to supplies to the working people. Such elements are mercilessly punished by the State. On the other hand, in the sphere of trade wrongful restrictions were observed in relation to agricultural producers who were deprived of the opportunity of selling their goods on the market. A tendency on the part of some State organs to monopolise the trade between town and countryside was also observed. We have taken measures to eliminate these shortcomings.

III.

The class struggle in the countryside is developing in conditions of restricting the kulaks and forming the first collective farms.

Restriction of the kulaks is effected by means of safeguarding The interests of the agricultural proletariat and the poor and medium peasants against the kulaks, by means of a class policy in relation to taxes and quotas, and, on the other hand, by extending and strengthening co-operation, forming associations of working peasants for joint cultivation of the land by machines.

One hundred and eighteen machine-tractor depots have been formed in agriculture. The area covered by State farms increased, in 1949, by 500,000 hectares. State farms also

received another 1,170 tractors. Over 10,000 poor and medium peasant farms have united in the first 176 collective farms.

The formation of the first collective farms is an historic event in the development of our country. Notwithstanding the small number of collective farms amid the sea of individual farms, they constitute in the life of our country that which is new, that which is developing, and which, in the final analysis, is sure to triumph.

The Party is focussing its attention on consolidating the first collective farms, on increasing their number and on combating their enemies. The Party and the Government are giving all round assistance to the collective farms: Party organisers have been sent to them; they also receive financial and agricultural assistance, help with regard to seeds, and so on. Machine-tractor depots cultivate land of the collective farms with tractors, and workers from the main industrial enterprises have taken them under their patronage. The training from the ranks of the working peasantry of tractor-drivers, collective farm chairmen, agronomists and book-keepers, is one of the main tasks of the Party and the Government.

In carrying through the Party's policy in the countryside we rely on the experience of the Bolshevik Party, guiding ourselves by Comrade Stalin's directive that in order to develop a mass movement for collectivisation, it is essential, above all, to convince the mass of Party members and Communist peasants of the correctness of this policy.

Following the Lenin-Stalin teachings our Party realises that the complete victory of Socialism in the countryside is impossible so long as private ownership of the means of production, including land, remains. By restricting and gradually dislodging the kulaks; by prohibiting the sale, purchase and lease of land; by developing all kinds of co-operation in agriculture—consumer, marketing and supply co-operatives, and co-operatives [or processing agricultural

products, co-operatives of handicraftsmen and artisans; by accelerating the mechanisation of agriculture with the aim of switching to mass collectivisation which will secure to the collective farms possession of the land in perpetuity—in this way we are creating the concrete conditions for nationalisation of the land, for its transformation into social property.

In its work in the countryside the Party relies on the poor peasant and devotes particular attention to the question of consolidating the alliance with the medium peasant who, under the system of people's democracy, is the central figure in the countryside.

Due to the restricted possibilities of plundering the working people, the kulak elements are resorting to acts of terror, sabotaging quota deliveries and the sowing, to attempts to compromise the co-operatives and especially the newly formed collective farms. With the craftiness which is so characteristic of him, the kulak disseminates all kinds of false rumours about the collective farms with the aim of scaring the peasants. These gangster-like actions of the kulaks are supported, particularly in Transylvania, by reactionary elements among the Catholic clergy and among the various religious sects in the guise of which fascist legionnaire elements and the Anglo-American spies conceal their activities.

To maintain his influence the kulak uses his economic, position, the contacts created by him over many years, his experience and the moribund traditions of the countryside. He even goes so far as to make concessions to the poor and medium peasantry in order to win the individual middle and even poor peasants to his side, and to get them to oppose the economic and political measures of the Party and the Government. The kulak uses all means in the fight against the collective farms and against his own isolation, being aware that the collective farms and his own isolation signify his doom.

The struggle waged by the Party to consolidate the alliance

between the working class and the working peasantry and to win the latter to the path of Socialism by isolating and destroying the kulaks, is growing in intensity.

The political influence of the kulaks is steadily diminishing in our villages, while working class influence on the mass of the peasants is growing. The militancy of the working peasantry is increasing; the peasants are taking an active part in exposing the machinations of the kulaks, thus preventing them from carrying out their insidious designs.

IV.

Bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism are the principal weapons of the class enemy. The enemy engages in criminal activities and in chauvinistic instigation mainly in those regions where, in addition to the Rumanian population, people of other nationalities reside, By circulating the most absurd rumours the enemy tries to instil nationalist poison among backward elements and to weaken the ideology of fraternity and friendship among the peoples. The correct national policy of the Party and the State, and the Party's political work of educating the masses in the spirit of internationalism are proving successful and are delivering blow after blow to the enemy.

The class struggle in Rumania is also sharpening in the sphere of ideology and of culture. It finds expression particularly in the struggle against cosmopolitanism which is the reverse side of nationalism. Due to the work carried out by the party, the working people and the patriotic and progressive intelligentsia resolutely reject cosmopolitanism, irrespective of whether expressed in obsequiousness before the corrupt culture of the imperialist cannibals, in formalism in art or Morganism in science. The documents of the Academy of Sciences of the Rumanian People's Republic concerning the anti-patriotic

attitude of the ophthalmology journal, and the exposure by our Party press of certain hostile attitudes and of certain manifestations of objectivism in poetry, history and university lectures, testify to intensified class struggle in the sphere of ideology.

The re-education of the older intelligentsia, in many respects imbued with bourgeois habits, also constitutes a form of class struggle. This struggle is indissolubly linked with the training of new cadres of intelligentsia from the ranks of the workers and peasants.

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At the basis of the policy of our Party lies the Stalin idea that “We must not slur over the contradictions of the capitalist system, but disclose and unravel them; we must not try to hold back the class struggle but wage it to its conclusion.” Hence the need to pursue a **proletarian class policy**, a steadfast policy of building Socialism; based on a ceaseless offensive against capitalism.

The experience of Bolshevism teaches us that **consolidation of the dictatorship of proletariat is the main condition for the victorious construction of Socialism.**

The system of people’s democracy is daily acquiring a firmer basis. It is successfully carrying out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, functions which were brilliantly characterised by Comrade Stalin. Our system paralyses and suppresses any attempt at resistance on the part of the bourgeoisie. It is using its political power to consolidate the alliance between the working class, the working peasantry and other working non-proletarian sections by drawing them into the work of building Socialism. Finally, it uses the State power **to organise** Socialism and abolish exploiting classes. The

suppression of the resistance of the class enemy, and his isolation from the peasant masses on the basis of strengthening the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry for the purpose of bringing them on to the pathway of Socialism, constitutes in our country, the main content of the class struggle in conditions of people's democracy.

In order that the Party should be able to carry out its tasks as the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the period of sharpening class struggle and in the struggle for peace, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party held on January 23-24 this year, reached a number of decisions aimed at improving the organisational and political work of the Party, at consolidating its forces, and securing the purity and unity of its ranks.

Simultaneously, we are strengthening the people's democratic State and the local organs of power to enable them ruthlessly to suppress the slightest attempt of the enemy to hamper our onward march along the Socialist path. We are fighting simultaneously to strengthen by all means conscious State and Party discipline.

The main lever in building Socialism in the country is **Socialist industry**—heavy industry. The 1950 State Plan envisages a powerful development of heavy industry and, above all, of its pivot—the machine-building industry. The machine-tool industry is scheduled for an 853 per cent increase in output. More and more the country is taking on the aspect of a huge construction site. These developments contribute to the growth of the working class and the consolidation of our positions against the class enemy.

V.

Along the entire front of the class struggle our Party is leading the working people to victory over the enemy, over the forces of war. Filled with patriotic concern for the future of the

country, for a steady improvement in, the welfare of the working people of town and country side, Communists are conducting widespread educational work, inculcating in the mass of the working people a profound love for their Socialist factory, for the young Socialist sector in the countryside, an attitude of care for public property, the people's property, and, at the same time, arousing hatred towards the enemy encroaching on the interests of the people. Our Party is educating the working people in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, equipping them with the Bolshevik science of class struggle against the enemy. It demands that revolutionary vigilance against the machinations of the class enemy, against spies and saboteurs and against the agents of the foul fascist gang. of assassins and spies in the pay of Tito-Rankovic, should be intensified to the maximum.

The slogan of the struggle for peace is, in the hands of the Party, a "mobilising" factor in carrying out all the tasks which face the working people of our country, since the strengthening of the people's democratic State and the laying of the foundations of Socialism are a contribution to the cause of peace.

All over the country, in factory, office and village, working people have elected peace committees. These committees are a powerful means for consolidating the alliance between the working class, the working peasantry and other non-proletarian sections of the working people. Peace committees constitute the broadest form of rallying the masses in the struggle for defence of peace, for Socialism, for the strengthening of friendship and co-operation with the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, for the militant fraternity of all peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples against the common enemy—the Anglo-American imperialists, the instigators of a new world war—and against their agents within the country.

At the basis of our Party's policy there lie the brilliant

Lenin-Stalin teachings about the class struggle during the transition from capitalism to Socialism, and the historic experience of the great Bolshevik Party. The experience of the development of our country along the path towards Socialism shows that the system of people's democracy is following the same path, thus confirming once more how correct Lenin was, when he said that Bolshevism is a model of tactics for all.

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST EMULATION AND SHOCK-WORK IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. J. Frank, Member, Presidium, Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

The struggle of the working class for the victory of Socialism in our country finds splendid expression in the sphere of economic construction. The significance of this struggle was emphasised by Comrade Gottwald when he said that “to maintain power in our hands and to prevent the return of capitalist rule means, in the final analysis, to run economy better than the capitalists.

The method which has best justified itself in the carrying out of our economic plan is that of Socialist emulation and shock-work which release the creative initiative of the working people and mobilise them successfully for fulfilment of the main production tasks.

In a comparatively short time, our Party has succeeded in developing the shock workers movement which is now being taken up by ever greater numbers of working people. The extension of shock-work has made it possible to fulfil and overfulfil, at an intensified pace, the tasks of the first year of the Five-Year Plan, particularly in precision instrument production, and in a number of other branches of industry. Thanks to mass development of emulation in 1949, steel output increased by 105,000 tons, the output of cast iron by 19,000 tons and of rolled metal by 25,000 tons. Socialist emulation and shock-work are becoming ever greater factors in raising the productivity of labour.

After the Ninth Party Congress, regional, district and factory organisation of the Party did much to develop shock-

work. Carrying out the slogan: Every Communist a Shock-Worker” we are breaking the ground for every worker to become a shock-worker. Last autumn nearly 30 per cent of all workers employed in industry were taking part in the emulation movement. By the end of 1949 the total number taking part in emulation was close on 620,000.

To draw working people into active, conscious labour, to involve them in Socialist emulation, means educating them, inculcating in them a new attitude towards labour, thereby achieving a radical change in their outlook. It means transforming workers, who for decades had been exploited by capitalists, into good managers who are fully conscious that now they are working not for capitalists but for themselves.

We now have Party organisations which have really mastered the art of organising their work in industry, which systematically and in detail handle production matters, plan fulfilment and labour productivity. These Party organisations, jointly with the trade unions organise and guide the development of shock-work. This can be observed in the regional organisations of the Party at Ostrava, Brno, Pilsen and, more recently, in a number of other districts where industry is highly developed.

At many enterprises Communist trade union members, utilising the experience of the Soviet Union, act as pioneers. Initiators and organisers of Socialist emulation and of shock-work.

The most popular form of emulation, which in recent months has taken on a mass character, is that of assuming individual obligations and of signing Socialist emulation agreements aimed at economising on raw materials, electricity, fuel etc., and finally, though as yet on an insufficient scale, the lowering of production costs by means of raising output norms. In a number of branches of industry Socialist emulation and shock work take the form of workers taking charge of more

machines. In the machine-building industry in particular, the movement of shock-worker rationalisers and of worker inventors is making good headway. Recently the workers have begun emulation to secure higher quality output and less waste.

The shock-shifts, shock-weeks and shock-months have become an important form of emulation. But this form conceals the danger of substituting emulation by shock-shifts, by rush work for the purpose of overcoming production lags by the use of emergency measures.

Another important form of emulation is that employed by the skilled workers and technical personnel who take the shock-workers under their patronage with a view to giving them technical assistance. This movement, in the Brno and Ostrava regions has, in recent weeks, resulted in the setting-up of shock-brigades modelled on the so-called complex brigades practised in the Soviet Union since 1948. In these cases the shock-workers, rationalisers and worker-inventors in the department or in the factory as a whole, get together with the technicians and engineers for the purpose of eliminating production jams which stand in the way of raising labour productivity.

A considerable success in recent months is the increased percentage of youth and women in the total number of shock-workers.

Nevertheless, the development of shock-work and Socialist emulation is still hampered by many shortcomings. There is an uneven growth in the number of shock-workers and those taking part in emulation. As yet we have not achieved the situation which would enable Socialist emulation and shock-work to develop most widely in the more important branches of our national economy as, for instance, heavy machine building, the mining and ceramic industries, in building, and in the public sector of agriculture..

Popularisation of the achievements of leading shock-

workers. their methods, and the transmission of their experience are still inadequate. The participation of skilled workers and of technicians in the emulation movement is, so far, also unsatisfactory.

Socialist emulation is as yet not the daily concern of the factory trade union organisations which frequently, instead of verifying the fulfilment of the pledges themselves, assign the job to Socialist emulation judges.

At times, bureaucrats from the central organs hinder and sabotage the development of shock-work and of Socialist emulation.

All these shortcomings are due mainly to the weak work of Party organisations in the factories and in the trade unions. In many factories Party members are not yet playing a vanguard role in Socialist emulation; sometimes the number of non-Party people taking part is even greater than the number of Party members.

The lack of concern shown by Party organisations for Socialist emulation can be seen in the insignificant results attained in drawing shock-workers into the Party. Party members rarely discuss matters with the shock-workers; they do not surround them with all the care and attention and do not use their new Socialist attitude towards work for the education of all the workers.

The most serious shortcoming is that production norms are not revised simultaneously with the development of Socialist emulation. In this respect we are, as yet, making poor use of the experience of the working people in the Soviet Union for whom the struggle for the successful fulfilment of the five-Year Plans is a struggle for higher, more progressive norms; a struggle against the old technical standards and against those who defend them.

The average productivity of labour of our shock-workers and the results attained by our shock-work shifts indicate quite

clearly that the present production norms in industry are obsolete, that they no longer correspond to the present technical equipment at the enterprises, to the increased skill and to the attitude of the workers towards production. Norms for many types of jobs were fixed haphazardly and not on the basis of a study of the time required for the job, without taking into account the technical and organisational possibilities of the department, working place and skill of the shock-workers. This could not but lead, and did actually lead, to confusion in wage payments. The question of fixing norms was, as a rule, handled not by the manager of the factory, nor by the engineers and the foremen but by the so called social-political departments in the factories which were isolated from production.

The fixing of correct norms was also hampered by the former wage policy, according to which the worker could not earn more than a fixed maximum, even though he produced more.

Until now the Party and trade, union bodies in the factory failed to understand that fixing correct norms was one of the main tasks in industry. Frequently, responsible workers approached this problem incorrectly, considering that the upward revision of norms ran counter to the personal interests of the worker in the matter of higher earnings. But a correctly fixed norm, based not on the productivity of the less skilled workers, but based on an output slightly higher than that of the average, would enable the average worker to enjoy a really merited wage. This would enable workers taking part in emulation to earn more, and would stimulate less skilled workers to improve their qualifications. The introduction of new norms enables the worker to increase his earnings on the basis of the productivity of his labour.

Adherence to obsolete norms would have brought great harm to the cause of Socialism. It would have meant retarding the further development of technique and of productive forces,

would have put a brake on the development of Socialist emulation, the fulfilment of the plans for increased output and for increased labour productivity, would have prolonged the time needed for the reconstruction of industry and would have held up further improvement in the standard of living of the working people. We must, in the shortest possible time, get norms and wages to correspond to the tasks of the economic plan of the given branch of industry. The principle of payment for work done must be adhered to more closely than in the past and greater attention must be paid to encouraging the shock-workers, and getting them materially interested in the work. Responsibility for the carrying through of the wage policy must be charged to the engineers and technical personnel under supervision of the manager.

Attention must be centered on the mass development of shock-work. The experience of shock-workers should be made known both more swiftly and more widely, the technical intelligentsia should participate much more in emulation and the technical qualifications of the shock-workers be raised to a higher level. This must be the main purpose of the labour school where the shock-workers become acquainted with the most advanced technique and acquire skill.

There must be regular verification and study of all technical norms and the gradual replacement of obsolete norms fixed haphazardly, by new norms based on science and on the practical experience of the workers.

Norms will be fixed for a certain planned period, i.e. for one year. In connection with the preparations for the upward revision of plans a big political campaign must be conducted at the factories every year for the purpose of fixing the norms for the ensuing planned period.

Fulfilment of the tasks in relation to the development of shock-work, and the fixing of correct norms will depend, above all, on the work of the Party. Our Party will fulfil these tasks,

knowing that in this way it will facilitate the victory of Socialism in our country.

CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST YOUTH FEDERATION OF ITALY

The Congress of the Communist Youth Federation of Italy took place in Livorno March 29-April 2. Over seven hundred delegates participated in the Congress.

The Congress heard a report by Berlinguer, Secretary of the Federation, who pointed out that in the recent period the Federation had grown numerically and had become steeled in the struggle for the rights of the Italian youth. The Federation has a total membership of 375,212. The chief task of the Federation, said Berlinguer, is to rally the youth for the struggle for social reforms and democratic rights, and for peace.

Palmiro Togliatti, who made a detailed speech at the Congress, was warmly applauded by the delegates. Analysing the political situation in the country, Togliatti outlined the tasks of the Communist youth in winning the wide strata of the Italian youth to the struggle for peace.

HUNGER AND POVERTY IN IRANIAN AZERBAIJAN

The military dictatorship and the arbitrary rule of American soldiery in Iranian Azerbaijan have brought utter ruin to the population of this most fertile province, where poverty and hunger are rife.

Robbed by feudal landlord extortions and oppressed by the authorities, peasants are abandoning their homes, and, together with their families, are making their way to the towns; According to Iranian newspapers over 50,000 peasants have abandoned areas around Merage, Ardebile and Arasbaran. More than three thousand people, hungry and workless, are concentrated at Ardebile. The streets of Tabriz are crowded with thousands of starving people who, not getting any help, are doomed to death from starvation.

Crowds of peasants, accompanied by their wives and children are making for Teheran in the hope of getting relief of some kind. However, Government "relief" consists only of police measures—the unfortunate people are crowded into lorries and, taken from the capital, are left to their fate.

The difficult situation of these forced wanderers in Teheran is evident from numerous press reports. Dozens of corpses are picked up each day. Many commit suicide. The newspapers relate cases of mothers first killing their children and afterwards taking their own lives.

Such are the results of American imperialist rule in but one province in Iran. Conditions are just as bad in other provinces. Working people are made to endure frightful conditions of hunger and poverty.

TRAINING NEW SPECIALISTS IN BULGARIA

With the aim of creating a new Socialist intelligentsia, the Council of Ministers in Bulgaria has instructed the State Committee of Science, Art and Culture to secure a 35-40 per cent enrolment of young workers in all the higher schools in the 1950-51 educational year. The Ministry of Education has been instructed to send for study in the secondary vocational schools young workers employed in enterprises of the Ministries of Industry, Electrification, Transport, Agriculture and Construction.

Candidates to the higher educational institutions and to the middle technical schools will be chosen by the Central Trade Union Council and the Central Committee of the Youth League from among shock-workers, innovators and leaders of youth production brigades. All of them will receive State stipends. Free courses to prepare workers to enter higher schools have been formed (terms ranging from 6 to 18 months, according to the educational level of the candidate). These courses, known as cadres colleges, have already commenced.

POLITICAL NOTES

1. "PEACE" AND "FREEDOM" A LA TRUMAN

"This year, for the first time in ten years, peace and freedom prevail throughout Greece."

Who could utter such a "truth"? The bloodstained butcher Franco, or Salazar the Portuguese dictator, Tito, "fuhrer" in Belgrade, Jules Moch the policeman, or Yalcin the professional liar? No, the words quoted above are not theirs. They were uttered quite recently by Mr. Truman in a message to King Paul on the occasion of the 129th anniversary of the independence of Greece.

It would be wrong however, to imagine that the words contained in Mr. Truman's message are simply a deliberate, unpardonable falsehood. They also reveal, more than anything else, how the President of the United States understands "peace" and "freedom".

It is known that the people of Greece loathe the monarcho-fascist regime installed in their country with the help of the Anglo-American imperialists. and they are waging an heroic, irrepressible struggle against the fascist scoundrels who have turned Greece into an American patrimony.

The Greek monarcho-fascists and their American masters are striving by force of arms to crush the liberation movement of the Greek people. Their General Staff issues official communiques each week concerning the struggle against the partisans. A recent communique, for example, reported engagements which took place between February 27 and March 6 in the Kaimaktailan area. Gunfire is heard throughout the country, the cottages of poor peasants are set alight, the blood of Greek democrats is flowing. Prisons and

concentration camps are filled. Recently, 590 women who had resisted the monarcho-fascists, were incarcerated in the special camp on Makronisos, the horrors of which sent a shudder throughout the entire world. Many of these women have been tortured to death. The torturers broke the back of Sofia Margeti, broke the arms of Keti and Evangelia Kriziki ; another woman democrat, Marangu, lost her reason as a result of torture. Thousands and thousands of the victims of the monarcho-fascist terror call for vengeance. Fire and blood—such is the “peace” of Mr. Truman.

As for “freedom”? The best illustration of “freedom” as understood by Mr. Truman is provided by the recent Greek elections. During the campaign unrestrained terror reigned in the country. All “suspects”, all “unreliable” people were clapped into jail. Genuine democratic organisations of the people such as the Communist Party, the General Confederation of Labour, the Slav-Macedonian Union and others were prevented from taking part in the elections. On the other hand, every facility was granted to the monarcho-fascist parties whose interests are the opposite of those of the working people. During the voting the rights of electors were brazenly violated. All voters were under the eye of political police agents, and woe betide the elector who voted against! He would soon know the meaning of this “freedom”. The domination of the American imperialists in Greece, this country of Mr. Truman’s “freedoms”, is such that Mr. Grady, U.S. Ambassador, blatantly dictates to the Greek Government how it should act in one case or another, when it should resign and when it should “extend its basis”. The wiping out of all democratic liberties in Greece, the monstrous monarcho-fascist terror—all this is, actually, the work of Washington.

The whole world knows the odious role played in Greece by American imperialists and their underlings from the U.S. government.

By his talk about “peace” and the “freedoms” which allegedly prevail in Greece, Mr, Truman who sought to conceal the ugly reality, betrayed himself lock, stock and barrel.

2. IN MARSHALLISED TURKEY

Last December, U.S. Assistant Under-Secretary of State, McGhee, visited Marshallised Turkey. Before returning to Washington McGhee told Turkish correspondents that he was highly pleased with Turkey’s successes in carrying out the “Marshall Plan.”

That which pleased Mr. McGhee brings no joy to the Turkish toilers. For them life goes from bad to worse and becomes intolerable as a result of the “successes” of Marshallisation.

Transatlantic businessmen have flooded Turkish markets with their own goods. As a result, production in the country is steadily declining and thousands of workers are losing their jobs. For example, a textile mill in Istanbul recently sacked 300 of its workers in one day. Twenty five textile enterprises closed in the town of Burse. Eight thousand people were thrown out of work. In Istanbul 14 enterprises in the glass industry closed down, depriving 2,500 workers of their livelihood. The army of unemployed which already counts hundreds of thousands of people, is growing daily in Turkey.

Nor is the lot of the workers who still retain their jobs much better than that of the unemployed.

Striving to survive under the pressure of U.S. competitors, manufacturers are sweating workers to get them to produce more. They introduced at factories a truly barbarous regime of capitalist exploitation with a working day of 12 to 14 hours. Workers receive a miserable pittance and nothing is done to protect their labour.

The Turkish workers are in such a bad way that even the press, which is always lauding Turkey's "prosperity", has had to say something about it. The newspaper "Tasvir" recently described the conditions of stevedores at Zonguldak. They labour more than 12 hours a day, receiving three lira a day for their arduous toil. Three hundred workers who have no living accommodation are forced to sleep on a concrete floor. A man working in a bakery wrote to the paper "Gedje Postasi" saying: "We work without holidays or rest, despite Ministry of Labour regulations stipulating that the working day of bakery workers should be 11 hours on the day and 8 hours on the night shift. If we attempt to insist on our rights we are discharged. The 14 lira a week which I get for long hours in the sweat and heat of the ovens is not enough for subsistence."

Turkish workers are striving. In recent years food prices have risen 400-500 per cent, but wages remain on the 1937 level. The average wage of the workers is 4-5 times below the subsistence minimum.

Unbridled terror reigns in the factories. For any, even the slightest expression of dissatisfaction, workers are discharged and imprisoned. They have been deprived of the right to strike.

The militarisation of the country is being accelerated. Tens of thousands workers are called up regular for two three months military training. During this period they forfeit both their earnings and their jobs.

In the grip of ruthless exploitation and denied all rights, the workers in Turkey are beginning to understand who is their real Enemy. Recently textile workers at a mill in Izmir protested against the dismissal of 257 workers, demanding their reinstatement. The workers only abandoned the mill when forced by police intervention. Such are the conditions of the working people in the enslaved Marshallised Turkey.

It is doubtful if Wall Street's lackeys in Turkey will be able to hold back much longer the anger and indignation of the

working class. The day will come when the Turkish workers will rise in active, organised struggle against their own and foreign exploiters, and for the right to live like human beings.

Jan MAREK

ANOTHER FAILURE OF THE VATICAN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The trial of ten Catholic priests and three other dignitaries ranking as bishops took place in Prague.

The accused were charged with preparing an armed revolt, with organising sabotage at enterprises and especially in the countryside, with corrupting young people for the purpose of getting them to betray the people's democratic republic and with espionage. All this activity was directed by diplomatic representatives of the Vatican in Czechoslovakia.

The weight of the evidence, plus the telling admissions by accomplices forced the chief culprits to confess their guilt. They also admitted that Vatican instructions had been transmitted by the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries. As one of the methods of the struggle they began to organise, on the instructions of Vatican, various "miracles."

On behalf of the Czechoslovak working people the State Court gave its weighty answer to those who turned the monasteries in Czechoslovakia into a weapon of the imperialist warmongers and who had abused their diplomatic status. The enemies of peace—the Vatican agents—have suffered yet another fiasco.

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