

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

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MAY SOVIET-CHINESE FRIENDSHIP LIVE FOR EVER!

The Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, the Agreement concerning the Chinese Chang-chun Railway, Port Arthur and Dalny and also the Agreement concerning the granting by the Soviet Government to the Government of the Chinese People's Republic long-term economic credit, signed in the Kremlin on February 14 and published yesterday in "Pravda" are indeed documents of great historic significance. They mark a new era in the development and strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and China, a new stage in the development of international relations, and constitute a great contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and democracy throughout the world.

The documents are the results of negotiations held in Moscow in which Comrade J. V. Stalin, Chairman, Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and A. Y. Vyshinsky, Minister, Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. took part on behalf of the Soviet Union, and Mao Tse-tung, Chairman, Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier, State Administration Council and Minister, Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, on behalf of China.

As a result of the negotiations and in connection with the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, and also of the Agreement concerning the Chinese Changchun Railway, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. and of the People's Republic of China exchanged Notes to the effect that the Soviet-Chinese Treaty and the Agreement concerning the Chinese Changchun railway, signed on August 14, 1945, were no longer valid, and also to the effect

that the two Governments affirm the complete security of the independent status of the Mongolian People's Republic as a result of the 1945 referendum and of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the Mongolian People's Republic.

It is difficult to over-estimate the enormous significance of the signed documents which consolidate historic bonds and secure a further development of the deep and firm friendship between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and China. The documents are a striking expression of the grandeur of the principles of the Stalin foreign policy pursued, by the Soviet Union. The documents reflect at the same time the radical changes which have taken place in the situation in the Far East since 1945.

The Soviet people have always had a deep and unchanging sympathy for the people of China, for their stubborn struggle for liberation from feudal and imperialist oppression, for national independence. As far back as 1925, Comrade Stalin said: "The forces of the revolutionary movement in China are incalculable. They have not yet made themselves properly felt. But they will make themselves felt in the future. The rulers of the East and West who do not see these forces and do not reckon with them in due measure will suffer from this. Here truth and justice are wholly on the side of the Chinese Revolution.

That is why we sympathise and will sympathise with the Chinese Revolution in its struggle to liberate the Chinese people from the imperialist yoke and to unite China into a single State".

Broad masses of the people in China have always seen in the Soviet Union their true and steady friend. The Great October Revolution, which marked a radical change in the world history of mankind, opened a new state also in the history of China. The great and immortal ideas of Lenin and Stalin inspired the working people of China in their struggle for

liberation from the fetters of colonial and imperialist slavery.

The Chinese people recognised that this attitude on the part of the Soviet Union differed radically and fundamentally from the attitude towards China of capitalist States. From the earliest days of its existence, the Soviet Government announced that “all secret treaties signed with Japan, China and former allies were abolished; treaties by which the Tsarist Government, jointly with its allies, enslaved by violence and bribery, the peoples of the East, mainly the Chinese people...” (from the address of the Council of People’s Commissars to the Chinese people and to the Governments of South and North China, August 20, 1919).

The best people of China, sincere Chinese patriots realised clearly that only in friendship and alliance with the great Soviet people could the Chinese people secure their freedom and independence. In his death-bed address to the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. on March 11, 1925 Sun Yat-sen wrote:

“Bidding you farewell, dear comrades, I want to express the hope that the day will soon come when the U.S.S.R. will greet in the powerful, free China a friend and an ally, and that in the great struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the world the two allies will march hand in hand to victory”.

And the day of the liberation of the Chinese people has come. The Chinese people have won a historic victory, destroyed the completely rotten Kuomintang regime and thrown off the fetters of imperialist oppression. The glorious Communist Party of China, led by the leader of the Chinese people, Mao Tse-tung, has been the inspirer and organiser of the national-liberation struggle and of the historic victories of the Chinese people.

The decisive victory of the Chinese people became possible as a result of the rout of German fascism and of Japanese imperialism, which was carried out because of the

decisive role played by the Soviet Union, led by the great Stalin. The Chinese people have now become master of their fate and have taken an honourable place in the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism. “There exists a profound and lasting friendship between the great peoples of China and of the Soviet Union”, says Mao Tse-tung.

For the first time in their history, the Chinese people have acquired real independence, freedom and national sovereignty. The Chinese people have created a new, people’s democratic China. That is why the Treaty and the Agreements signed between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic and the Chinese People’s Republic acquire particular significance. From now on, the friendship between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and of China are based on a new foundation—firm and stable as granite.

Aggressive and predatory strivings are alien both to the Soviet Union and to the People’s Republic of China. Their policy is that of fighting for peace and security of peoples. This desire to strengthen lasting peace by further developing friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the People’s Republic of China pervades the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance signed on February 14; it pervades every Article in the Treaty. The main task of the Treaty is to prevent the repetition of any act of aggression and of any violation of peace by Japan or any other State which would directly or indirectly unite with Japan in acts of aggression.

It is hardly necessary to prove how real is the problem now that, under the wing of the American occupation authorities, reaction in Japan is more and more brazenly raising its head and already openly declaring its revanchist aims; now that American imperialism bends all its efforts to transform Japan into its strategic outpost, directed against the U.S.S.R. and people’s democratic China. This is why U.S. ruling circles are

delaying the conclusion of the peace treaty with Japan, why they are seeking ways to sign a separate treaty which would enable them to prolong occupation for an indefinite period and maintain their troops there longer.

By the new Treaty, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China pledge themselves, in as short a time as is possible, to conclude, together with other countries allied during the Second World War, a peace treaty with Japan.

The two Contracting Parties undertake to participate in a spirit of sincere cooperation in all international acts designed to strengthen peace and security. They undertake to consult each other on all important international matters affecting the common interests of the U.S.S.R. and of China and be guided by the interests of consolidating peace and general security.

The Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance envisages the all-round development and the strengthening of the economic and cultural bonds between the U.S.S. R. and China in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual interests and also mutual respect for state sovereignty and territorial integrity as well as non-intervention in the affairs of the other country.

The Treaty is signed for a period of 30 years.

The radical changes which have taken place in the Far East since 1945, namely: the defeat of imperialist Japan, the overthrow of the reactionary Kuomintang Government and the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, the formation of a People's Government headed by Mao Tse-tung, a Government friendly towards the Soviet Union, establishes new conditions enabling a new approach to the question of the Chinese Changchun Railway, Pori Arthur and Dalny, The new Agreement reached on this question envisages the transfer by the Soviet Government of the Government of the People's Republic of China of all its rights, in the joint administration of the Chinese Changchun Railway and all the property belonging

to it without indemnity.

The transfer is to take place directly after the conclusion, of a peace treaty with Japan, but not later than the end of 1952.

The Agreement on the Chinese Changchun Railway vividly expresses the lofty principles and consistency of the Stalin foreign policy of the Soviet Union, its unsurpassed greatness. The Agreement on the Chinese Changchun Railway shows the regard of the Soviet Union for the national independence and the national rights and interests of the people of China.

The same spirit of high respect for the national independence and the national rights and interests of the Chinese people pervades also the Article of the Agreement which provides for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the jointly used naval base of Port Arthur and the handing over to the Government of the People's Republic of China the buildings in this area. Both the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the transfer of the buildings will be effected directly after the signing of the peace treaty with Japan, but not later than the end of 1952. The Agreement envisages that the Government of the People's Republic of China will refund the expenditure made by the Soviet Union on rehabilitation and construction, carried out by the U.S.S.R. since 1945.

The Agreement on Port Arthur points out that should one of the Contracting Parties be subjected to aggression by Japan or any other State which will ally with Japan and, as a result, be involved in war, China and the Soviet Union may, on the proposal of the Government of the People's Republic of China and with the consent of the Soviet Government, make joint use of the naval base at Port Arthur in the interests of common military action against the aggressor.

The question of Port Dalny will be subject to further consideration after the conclusion of the peace treaty with

Japan.

The Agreement on the question of the Soviet Union granting long-term credits to the People's Republic of China is based on the determination of the two Contracting Parties to strengthen economic and cultural ties between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and China and on the desire to render each other all possible economic assistance. Each Article of this Agreement provides evidence of the really fraternal readiness of the Soviet people to give the people of China every possible support in the rehabilitation and development of the country's economy, ravaged by prolonged military operations. The same spirit of magnanimity and fraternity toward the Chinese people pervades the decision of the Soviet Government to hand over without indemnity to the Government of the People's Republic of China the property acquired by Soviet economic organisations from Japanese owners in Manchuria as well as the Soviet Government's decision to turn over to the Government of the People's Republic of China all the buildings of the former military cantonment in Peking.

It is not difficult to see that the documents signed on February 14 embrace a wide range of important political and economic questions concerning relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The content of the documents speak with absolute clarity for the fact that the questions discussed in the Course of the Soviet-Chinese negotiations were solved in a spirit of sincere friendship and profound mutual understanding. We may confidently affirm that a new era has been established in the development of Soviet-Chinese Relations, an era marked by the further strengthening of friendship and co-operation between the great peoples of both countries. Simultaneously wide and close co-operation of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., and China, on the basis of alliance and friendship, will signify an all-round strengthening of the front struggling for peace and general

security.

Soviet people will hail with deep satisfaction the conclusion of the afore-mentioned Treaty and Agreements as fresh evidence of the consolidation of the friendship between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The strengthening of Soviet-Chinese friendship, will be received with equal satisfaction by all friends of peace, democracy and progress.

May the union and friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China strengthen and live for ever!

(Leading article from "Pravda", February 16th, 1950, No. 47 (11519).

SOVIET CHINESE COMMUNIQUE ON SIGNING THE TREATY AND AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Of late, negotiations were held in Moscow between J. V. Stalin, Chairman of Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and A. Y. Vyshinsky, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, and Mr. Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic, and Mr. Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of the State Administration Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, on the other, during which important political and economic questions of relations between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic were considered.

These negotiations, which proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendly mutual understanding, confirmed the desire of both parties to strengthen and develop in every way relations of friendship and co-operation between them as well as their desire to co-operate for the purpose of ensuring universal peace and security of nations.

The negotiations ended in the signing in the Kremlin on February 14:

1. Of a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic; 2. Agreement on the Chinese Changchun Railway, Port Arthur and Dalny, under strength of which, after the signing of the peace treaty with Japan, the Chinese Changchun Railway is handed over in full possession of the Chinese People's Republic, and the Soviet troops are withdrawn from Port Arthur, and 3. Agreement on granting by the Government of the Soviet Union to the Government of the Chinese People's Republic

of long-term economic credit for paying for deliveries of industrial and railway equipment from the U.S.S.R.

The afore-mentioned Treaty and Agreements were signed for the U.S.S.R. by A. Y. Vyshinsky, and for the Chinese People's Republic by Mr. Chou En-lai.

In connection with the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance and the Agreement on the Chinese Changchun Railway, Port Arthur and Dalny, Mr. Chou En-lai and A. Y. Vyshinsky exchanged Notes to the effect that the respective Treaty and Agreements concluded on August 14, 1945 between China and the Soviet Union have become invalid, and also that both Governments state the full guarantee of the independent position of the Mongolian People's Republic as a result of the referendum of 1945 and of the establishment with it of diplomatic relations by the Chinese People's Republic.

Simultaneously Mr. Chou En-lai and A. Y. Vyshinsky exchanged also Notes on the decision of the Soviet Government to hand over gratis to the Government of the Chinese People's Republic.

The property acquired by Soviet economic organisations from the Japanese owners in Manchuria, and also on the decision of the Soviet Government to hand over gratis to the Government of the Chinese People's Republic all buildings of the former military cantonment in Peking.

The full texts of the afore-mentioned Treaty and Agreements are given below.

TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, ALLIANCE AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic,

full of determination jointly to prevent by the consolidation of friendship and co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Chinese People's Republic the rebirth of Japanese imperialism and the resumption of aggression on the part of Japan or any other State as would unite in any form with Japan in acts of aggression.

imbued with the profound desire to consolidate lasting peace and universal security in the Far East and throughout the world in conformity with the aims and principles of the United Nations Organisation.

profoundly convinced that the consolidation of good neighbourly relations and friendship between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Chinese People's Republic meets the vital interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and China,

have decided for this purpose to conclude the present Treaty and have appointed as their plenipotentiary representatives:

the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—Andrei Yanuaryevich Vyshinsky, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Union of U.S.S.R.

the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic—Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of the State Administration Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of China,

Both plenipotentiary representatives upon exchanging their credentials, found in due form and in full order, have agreed upon the following:

ARTICLE 1.

Both Contracting Parties undertaking jointly to take all the necessary measures for the purpose of preventing the resumption of aggression and violation of peace on the part of Japan or any other State which would unite with Japan directly or indirectly in any act of aggression. In the event of one of the Contracting Parties being attacked by Japan or States allied with it and thus being involved in a state of war, the other Contracting Party will immediately render military and other assistance with all the means at its disposal.

The Contracting Parties also declare their readiness to participate most sincerely in all international actions aimed at ensuring peace and security throughout the world, and will contribute their full share in the earliest implementation of these tasks.

ARTICLE 2.

Both Contracting Parties undertake in the spirit of mutual agreement to strive for the earliest conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan jointly with the other powers allied during the Second World War.

ARTICLE 3.

Both Contracting Parties undertake not to conclude any alliance directed against the other High Contracting Party and not to take part in any coalition, or in actions or measures directed against the other Contracting Party.

ARTICLE 4.

Both Contracting Parties will consult with each other with regard to all important international problems affecting the common interests of the Soviet Union and China, being guided by the interests of the consolidation of peace and universal security.

ARTICLE 5.

The High Contracting Parties undertake in the spirit of friendship and co-operation and in conformity with the principles of equality, mutual interest, and also mutual respect for the state sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of the other Party—to develop and consolidate economic and cultural ties between the Soviet Union and China, to render each other every possible economic assistance and to carry out the necessary economic co-operation.

ARTICLE 6.

The present Treaty comes into force immediately upon its ratification; the exchange of instruments of ratification will take place in Peking.

The present Treaty will be valid for 30 years.

If neither of the Contracting Parties gives notice one year before the expiration of this term of its desire to renounce the Treaty, it, shall remain in force for another 5 years and will be extended in compliance with this rule.

Done in Moscow on February 14, 1950 in two copies each in Russian and Chinese languages, both texts being equally valid.

**Upon authorisation of, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,**

A. VYSHINSKY

**Upon authorisation of the Central, Chinese People's,
Government**

CHOU EN-LAI

**AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET
SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE CHINESE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC ON THE CHINESE
CHANGCHUN RAILWAY, PORT ARTHUR AND
DALNY**

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic state that since 1945, radical changes occurred in the situation in the Far East, namely: imperialist Japan suffered defeat, the reactionary Kuomintang Government was overthrown, China has become People's Democratic Republic, in China a new, People's Government was formed which has united the whole of China, carried out a policy of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and revealed its ability to defend State independence and the territorial integrity of China, the national honour and dignity of the Chinese people.

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Central People's Government' of the Chinese People's Republic maintain that this new situation permits a new approach to the question of the Chinese Changchun Railway, Port Arthur and Dalny.

In conformity with these new circumstances, the Presidium

of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic have decided to conclude the present agreement on the Chinese Changchun Railway, Port Arthur and Dalny:

ARTICLE 1.

Both Contracting Parties have agreed that the Soviet Government, transfers gratis to the Government of the Chinese People's Republic all its right; in the joint administration of the Chinese Changchun Railway, with all the property belonging to the Railway. Transfer will be effected immediately upon the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan, not later however than towards the end of 1952.

Pending transfer, the now existing position of the Soviet-Chinese joint administration of the Chinese Changchun Railway remains without change, however, the order of filling the posts by representatives of the Soviet and Chinese sides upon the coming into force of the present Agreement will be changed and there will be established an intermittent filling of posts for a definite period of time (Manager of the Railway, Chairman of the Central Board and others).

As regards the concrete methods of effecting the transfer, they will be agreed upon and determined by the Governments of both Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 2.

Both Contracting Parties have agreed that the Soviet troops will be withdrawn from the jointly utilised naval base, Port Arthur, and that the installations in this area will be handed over to the Government of the Chinese People's Republic immediately upon the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan,

however not later than towards the end of 1952, with the Government of the Chinese People's Republic compensating the Soviet Union for expenses incurred in the restoration and construction of installations effected by the Soviet Union since 1945.

For the period pending the withdrawal of the Soviet troops and transfer of the above installations, the Governments of the Soviet Union and China will appoint an equal number of military representatives for organising a Joint Chinese-Soviet Military Commission which will be intermittently presided over by both sides and which will be in charge of military affairs in the area of Port Arthur; concrete measures in this field will be determined by the Joint Chinese-Soviet Military Commission within three months upon the coming into force of the present Agreement and shall be implemented, upon the approval of these measures, by the Governments of both countries.

The civil administration in the afore-mentioned area shall be in direct charge of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic. Pending the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the zone of billeting Soviet troops in the area of Port Arthur will remain unaltered in conformity with the now existing frontiers.

In the event of any of the Contracting Parties becoming the subject of aggression on the part of Japan or any State as would unite with Japan and as a result thereof will be involved in hostilities, China and the Soviet Union may, on the proposal of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic and with the agreement of the Soviet Government; jointly use the naval base, Port Arthur, in the interests of conducting joint military operations against the aggressor.

ARTICLE 3.

Both Contracting Parties have agreed that the question of

Port Dalny will be further considered upon the conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan.

As regards the administration in Dalny, it fully belongs to the Government of the Chinese People's Republic.

All the property now existing in Dalny provisionally in charge or under lease of the Soviet side, must be taken over by the Government of the Chinese People's Republic. For carrying out the work involved in the receipt of the aforementioned property, the Governments of the Soviet Union and China appoint three representatives from each side for organising a Joint Commission which in the course of three months after coming into force of the present Agreement shall determine concrete methods of transfer of the property and after approval of the proposals of the Joint Commission by the Governments of both countries will complete their implementation in the course of 1950.

ARTICLE 4.

The present Agreement comes into force on the day of its ratification. The exchange of instruments of ratification will take place in Peking.

Drawn up in Moscow on February 14, 1950, in two copies each in Russian and Chinese languages, both texts being equally valid.

Upon the authorisation of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

A. VYSHINSKY

Upon the authorisation of the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic

CHOU EN-LAI

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS AND THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC ON GRANTING CREDITS TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

In connection with the consent of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to grant the request of the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic to give China credit for paying for equipment and other material which the Soviet Union has agreed to deliver to China; both Governments have agreed upon the following:

ARTICLE 1.

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics grants the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic credit counting in dollars amounting to 300,000,000 American dollars taking 35 American dollars for one ounce of pure gold.

In view of the extreme devastation of China as a result of prolonged hostilities on its territory, the Soviet Government has agreed to grant credit on favourable terms at 1% annual interest.

ARTICLE 2.

The credit mentioned in Article 1 will be granted in the course of five years as from January 1, 1950, in equal portions of one-fifth of the credit in the course of each year for payment for deliveries from the U.S.S.R. of equipment and material, including equipment for electric power stations, metallurgical and engineering plants, equipment for mines for the production of coal and ore, railway and other transport equipment, rails

and other material for the restoration and development of the national economy of China.

The assortment, quantities, prices and dates of deliveries of equipment and materials will be determined under a special agreement of the Parties, prices will be determined on the basis of prices of the world market.

The sum of credit which remains not used in the course of one annual period may be used in subsequent annual periods.

ARTICLE 3.

The Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic reimburses the credit mentioned in Article 1, as well as the interest thereupon with deliveries of raw materials, tea, gold, America dollars. Prices for raw materials and tea, quantities and dates of deliveries will be determined under a special agreement, the prices being determined on the basis of prices on the world market.

Reimbursement of the credit is effected in the course of ten years by equal annual parts of one-tenth of the sum total of the received credits not later than December 31 of every year. The first payment is effected not later than December 31, 1954, and the last on December 31, 1963.

Payment of interest for credit calculated from the day of drawing upon the respective fraction of credit is effected every six months.

ARTICLE 4.

For clearance with regard to the credit envisaged by the present Agreement, the State Bank of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Bank of the Chinese People's Republic shall open special accounts and jointly establish the order of clearance and accounts under the present Agreement.

ARTICLE 5.

The present Agreement comes into force on the day of its signing and is subject to ratification. The exchange of instruments of ratification will take place in Peking.

Done in Moscow on February 14, 1950 in two copies each in Russian and Chinese languages, both texts being equally valid.

Upon the authorisation of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

A. VYSHINSKY

Upon the authorisation of the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic

CHOU EN-LAI

ABOUT THE MAIN LESSONS DERIVED FROM EXPOSING THE TRAICHO KOSTOV GANG AND FROM THE STRUGGLE FOR ITS DESTRUCTION*

The exposure and smashing of Traicho Kostov's espionage group is a great success for the Communist Party and the people of Bulgaria.

The most dangerous enemy agency, subtly screened by a Party membership card, has been routed.

Our country is rid of the terrible danger of sharing the fate of present-day Yugoslavia—to be isolated from the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, from our great liberator—the Soviet Union—and to be thrown to the predatory claws of the Anglo-American colonisers and their Titoite hirelings.

The imperialist plan, the existence of which had been established earlier by documentary evidence at the Budapest trial of Rajk and Co., completely collapsed.

The smashing of the Traicho Kostov gang undoubtedly testifies to the strength of our people's democracy, the strength of the Communist Party.

The struggle against Kostovism further steels the Communist Party, increases its vigilance, makes it stronger, firmer and wiser. The working people in our country are rallying still closer around the Communist Party. Their political consciousness is growing, their vigilance increasing, and State discipline in the country is being strengthened. This is evident

* *Abridged report to January Plenum, Central Committee, Communist Party Bulgaria.*

from the mighty labour enthusiasm, from the results of Socialist emulation and, of new production successes. This is also evident from the brilliant victory of the Fatherland Front in the elections of December 18th last year.

The exposure and rout of the Traicho Kostov gang is another defeat for the imperialists, the instigators of a new war, violators of order and peace in the Balkans and Europe;

WHY WAS KOSTOVISM NOT EXPOSED EARLIER?

It would, however, be an inadmissible fallacy, if we, as a Party, should confine ourselves merely to making this correct statement.

We must admit that Kostovism took us by surprise. How did it happen that the Bulgarian Communist Party which had defeated its open enemies, beginning with the American spy Guemeto and ending with the espionage group of evangelist pastors, for a long time was unable to expose Traicho Kostov and his accomplices camouflaged in the Party.

Our Party is a seasoned Party. It has no little experience of combating various anti-Party trends and groups. Our Party has always borne in mind the rich, world historic experience of struggle waged by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union(B) against enemy trends and groups, it was aware of the experience of the struggle of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) against the trotskyite-bukharin spies and saboteurs. We have studied Lenin and Stalin. Lenin and Stalin teach, and the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), and the experience of the international working class movement completely confirms their teaching to the effect that the enemy resorts to devilish efforts and every kind of craft to penetrate the ranks of the Communist Party for the

purpose of demoralising it from within, to inflict the blows from within; that the enemy is especially vindictive when the Communist Party assumes power; that he then takes particular care to camouflage himself, in order to worm his way in and get himself installed in highly responsible positions, to cause harm in subtle fashion, to strike during the most difficult and dangerous time for the Party.

We were aware of this. We also knew that the enemy aimed at using first of all the unstable elements in the Party, those elements which in one or another degree deviated from the Party line, participated in anti-Party groups, adhered to trotskyite, left sectarian and other anti-Party positions. How can it be explained that for a long time the Central Committee of the Party failed to discern the real countenance of Traicho Kostov and his confederates?

Were not there any warning signs that would give us reason to think more deeply over the real countenance of Traicho Kostov? I cannot say that no such warning signs existed. On the contrary, they did exist. They were known to the Central Committee of the Party. This cannot and must not be denied. But for a long time they were unheeded, did not serve as a ground for raising the question of Traicho Kostov's real countenance.

The reason lies in the many serious weaknesses in our work, in the methods of work of the Politburo and the Central Committee of our Party. We must render a full account of these weaknesses and mistakes. We must recognise them and become fully conscious them.

SHORTCOMINGS IN OUR PARTY WORK

We must admit that after the 9th of September, 1944, there prevailed among us the view, and for quite a long time all our

practical activities were burdened by this viewpoint, that there was a special way of development for our country, a way which one fine day would bring us to Socialism. This view arose from the assumption that after September 9th the class struggle would abate more and more and that we, in contradistinction to the Soviet Union, could pass over to Socialism without proletarian dictatorship, painlessly, so to say, organically, on the strength of a mere quantitative and gradual growth of our successes.

This lulled the vigilance of our people. It gave the enemy the opportunity to entrench himself and to seek new forms of struggle against us.

The main reason why Kostovism took us by surprise was that for a long time the Party leadership, as Comrade Georgi Dimitrov expressed it, underrated the inevitability of the sharpening of the class struggle during the transition from capitalism to Socialism in our conditions; underrated the strength of reaction; underrated the might, possibilities and ability of the working class and of all the working people. We did not realise in good time that, the more pressure we exerted on the remnants of the exploiting classes and their agents whom we defeated in open battle, and the more we narrowed their social base, the more these remnants of the exploiting classes strive to conceal their real intentions, pretend to be “our people”, people already reconciled, ready to play the toady and to fawn, to seek by all means to obtain a Party card and, under its cover, to worm their way into our Government, economic and cultural organisations and offices.

We were unable to perceive earlier, as we should have done, that now, after smashing the bourgeois opposition, after nationalisation. the greatest danger for us was not the open but the secret enemy, the enemy with the Party membership card.

We did not draw all the conclusions from the fact that after September 9th the Party door was wide open to all. Traicho

Kostov was an ardent advocate of unrestricted admission of new members into the Party.

Despite the fact that from the experience of the whole international working class movement we were aware of the ceaseless strivings of the bourgeoisie to disintegrate the Communist Parties by sending into them provocateurs, by recruiting, during times of stress, unstable elements for espionage, we, after September 9th, 1944, at a time when after more than two decades of fascist dictatorship our Party emerged from underground and headed the State, did not seriously verify our Party cadres from top to bottom.

In the light of the lessons of the struggle against Kostovism we see especially clearly our weaknesses, shortcomings and our blunders.

In the first place we must make note of the fact that for a long time after September 9th there existed incorrect, bad methods of work in the Central Committee of the Party and its executive and permanent organ—the Politburo—a point to which Comrade Georgi Dimitrov had drawn the Party's serious attention at the XVIth Plenum of the Central Committee.

The Party leadership lacked the essential collegiate system of work, and, as a consequence, the Central Committee and its Politburo were not all-round, wholly authoritative leader of political, social, economic and cultural life in the country.

Until recently the Central Committee paid no serious attention to Party building, to regulating the social composition of the Party, to the work of individual Party organisations. Obviously, in these circumstances, the experience of Party organisations is not studied sufficiently, contact between the Central Committee and the Party organisations is not on the level that it should be, inner Party democracy is not sufficiently observed, criticism and self-criticism, despite our calls, is still at a very low level.

On the other hand, even the Central Committee and its

decisions are not always taken into account. It frequently happens that a member of the Central Committee.

With practice of this kind, it was not surprising that Traicho Kostov craftily laid his counter-revolutionary net, gathered his band, secretly injured us and disintegrated our ranks and even succeeded in incorporating some of his harmful schemes and designs into official decisions. Nor is it surprising that with such practice, the notorious economic and financial committee, under the Council of Ministers, actually was turned into a second government, that numerous matters were decided not only without the Politburo but without Comrade Dimitrov, behind the back of Comrade Dimitrov, our teacher and leader.

What followed from this?

It followed that we, members of the Politburo, members of the Central Committee, are responsible before the entire Party in so far that, as for a long time, in the Party leadership there prevailed a tolerant, harmful, non-Bolshevik method of work which facilitated the activity of the enemy and deprived us of the possibility of disclosing and liquidating his activity. It follows that it is necessary to be fully aware of the harm of any violation of collective work in the Party leadership, of any underestimation of the Central Committee.

Not a single decision of importance for our country can be taken, not a single action of importance for our country and for our working people can be undertaken without the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, without its consent and confirmation. This must become an iron law for all.

In the work of the Central Committee of the Party, in addition to violating the collegiate principle, certain elements of liberalism, of mutual forgiveness, of complacency have not yet been fully overcome.

We are often guided by corrupt, non-Party considerations: not to offend a comrade, not to let him down; after all the man

had a good record in the past and so on and so on. That is not the Bolshevik practice; it is dangerous. It is all the more dangerous if we take into account that we are the Party holding power in the country.

The Politburo, for example, acted with impermissible leniency towards the repeated mistakes and weaknesses of Comrade Dobri Terpechev as a leader. The Politburo restricted itself to observations, warnings and persuasion within its narrow circle.

During his work in the State Planning Commission, Comrade Dobri Terpechev, as Chairman, made a number of serious mistakes. Directly before the 5th Congress of the Party, after the anti-Soviet actions of Traicho Kostov had become known, Comrade Dobri Terpechev stated in the Politburo that he was aware of the directive issued by Kostov to conceal from the Soviet Union the prices at which we were trading with the capitalist countries. He did not come to the Politburo before this to tell us about this directive. Did we call Comrade Dobri Terpechev to responsibility? Did we reprimand him for this? Did we subject him even to the slightest criticism? Did we compel him to speak with self-criticism, to answer why he acted thus? No. We tolerated, excused Comrade Dobri Terpechev—at the expense of the Party, of the State, to the detriment of the correct education of cadres. But, isn't it clear that such practice is rotten and harmful, that we must put an end once and for all to such dangerous liberalism, burn it out with a red hot iron?

We must recognise that there existed and that there still exist many shortcomings in our work with cadres, which quite clearly created favourable conditions for the activities of the thoroughly masked enemies.

Above all, It is necessary to mention the attitude maintained over quite a considerable period, of lack of resolution in advancing new people to leadership in the Party

and in the State, new cadres from the ranks of the working class. For us, it goes without saying, it was necessary and is necessary now to utilise the services of the old specialists; trained in the bourgeois spirit, help them to re-train themselves and adapt themselves to the cause of Socialism. But in this, in my view, we committed a serious mistake: we uncritically regarded the utilisation of some of the old specialists, making it appear that they were “our people”, and placed too much confidence in them; we not only placed too much confidence in them, we left them in full authority as leaders in a whole number of decisive branches of our national economy; we were not able everywhere to attach to these specialists our faithful workers who, although not sufficiently trained, would, on the one hand, have exercised control over them and, on the other, tolling up their sleeves, would have taken to study and in a very short time become specialists. We were late in raising and deciding the question of training working class specialists for the various branches of our economy, for our economic and State leadership.

The work of the cadre department of the Central Committee and of the cadres departments throughout the Party is unsatisfactory. It is carried on in a formal manner.

The trial in Budapest and the Sofia trial revealed that, in his activity, the enemy orientated in particular on former trotskyites, factionalists, right opportunists, left sectarians, and also on people who had resided many years in the Western capitalist countries. Such people must always be studied carefully.

If we, in the Central Committee, had correctly appraised the study of cadres, we could have discovered much earlier the presence of the bandit provocateurs.

The conclusion must be decisive reconstruction and improvement in work with cadres in the Party, in the Central Committee.

We had, comrades, other weaknesses as well. Not always did we display the necessary seriousness to all signals. Inattention to signals is a major shortcoming. It deprives us of the possibility of overcoming serious shortcomings and lapses. We must draw the lessons and radically change our attitude to signals coming from the Party organisations, from members of the Party and from the working people.

The main weakness, specifically stressed by Comrade Georgi Dimitrov at the 5th Congress of our Party, and which has not yet been outlived, is our theoretical weakness.

Comrade Georgi Dimitrov noted that our theoretical generalisations in many respects are of a fortuitous character, that our theoretical thinking lags considerably behind practice, that we are not able sufficiently to adapt Marxist-Leninist teaching to our conditions. The reason for this lies in the absence of systematic, collective discussion and decisions regarding questions in the Politburo and in the Central Committee, and in underestimating the need for collective theoretical Marxist-Leninist elaboration of the main problems of our policy.

We, members of the Politburo and of the Central Committee, bear responsibility for the above-mentioned weaknesses and mistakes, which explains why we were unable earlier to discover Kostovism. We, members of the Central Committee, Ministers, all of us individually are responsible for those sectors of the national economy and State construction which we lead directly.

But there are two spheres in which, in connection with Kostovism, it is necessary to make special demands, where it is necessary to demand the greatest responsibility—activity in safeguarding State security and in leading the national economy. We have the right to ask: How did the Ministry of the Interior work earlier? How was it that in the economic Ministries and organs, the anti-Soviet directives of Kostovism

were circulated, and that no signal of alarm came from the Ministry of Interior? How did it come about that foreign spies penetrated into responsible posts in the State Security organs? How did they get there? Comrade Yugov held the post of Minister of Interior for more than four years. It follows that Comrade Yugov bears responsibility for such a situation.

Kostovism caused the most grievous injury to the national economy. Comrade Dobri Terpechev was Chairman of the Planning Commission, and before that—Minister of the Supreme Economic Council. Why then, did not Comrade Dobri Terpechev sound the alarm?

Let Comrade Dobri Terpechev say whether he guarded the State interests of the country in the way a Bolshevik, a member of the Politburo to whom the guidance of the Planning Commission was entrusted, should guard them. Is it not a fact that under his chairmanship the Planning Commission, without seeking any advice, gave its blessing to plans blatantly revised downwards, and on the other hand, blessed the expenditure of billions without submitting the drafts and estimates of the Politburo and the Government for ratification? Who is mainly responsible for squandering and plundering material, finance, and for freezing them? Why was not currency circulation planned in our country? Why was this question not even raised by the Planning Commission? Who, above all, is responsible for the distortions that took place in planning trade? For the outrages disclosed in the course of the inventory? Who bears the main responsibility for this? Who, in the first place, must be held responsible for the absence of real statistics without which it is like being without eyes and hands?

Some people wish to seize on the considerable successes which we certainly have and prefer to keep silent about the enormous damage caused to the economy deliberately and otherwise. This is impermissible. Only by resolutely crushing saboteurs anti removing without any hesitation complacent

leaders, who give no leadership and who sit tight in their leading posts, and by replacing them with business-like people, by people conscious of their responsibility, will we overcome the lapses and secure the economic advance of the country.

OUR TASKS

What must we do now? What is necessary in order to draw lessons from the exposure and smashing of the Traicho Kostov plot?

1. The Central Committee of the Party must be strengthened and collegiate methods of work secured.

It is necessary to enhance the profound principle that knows neither concession nor compromise. never to be content with what has been achieved, to be irreconcilable towards shortcomings, and never to forget our responsibility to the people and the country.

Under present conditions when we are responsible for the State, for the destinies of the people, when we are laying the foundations of Socialism, it is impossible to guide without knowledge, without mastering the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. In order to build successfully, it is necessary to master science.

We, ourselves, members of the Central Committee, must learn from books, from life, from the people, and, above all, from the world-historic experience of the great Soviet Union. While strengthening the collegiate method of work in the Politburo and in the Central Committee, it is necessary simultaneously to reinforce personal responsibility.

2. One of the most important tasks is to consolidate the Party, to develop inner-Party democracy, to extend criticism and self-criticism, to increase revolutionary vigilance.

We must change radically the methods of leadership of the Party organisations on the part of the General Committee. We must decisively put an end to the last remnants of command in any shape or form.

Collegiate methods of work must be inculcated in all leading organs of the Party, and not only in the Central Committee. Tendencies to command are undoubtedly stronger in the area, district and local organs of the Party. These tendencies must be wholly and completely eliminated.

To strengthen the Party means to observe with even greater persistency, inner-Party democracy. Criticism and self-criticism must be developed in the Party, irrespective of individuals. Without the broadest criticism and self-criticism Kostovism cannot be eradicated completely in the Party.

Without criticism and self-criticism revolutionary vigilance cannot be strengthened in the Party. Strict, ruthless measures must be taken against anyone who hinders criticism in one or another degree, who suppresses criticism in the Party.

Comrade Stalin teaches that criticism and self-criticism are essential so that leaders should not forget themselves, should not lose contact with the masses and that the masses should not lose contact with them.

Comrade Stalin teaches that criticism and self-criticism from below should be made boldly, that leaders should lend to it a ready ear.

Bureaucratism, the bourgeois-aristocratic, cold-blooded and heartless attitude towards human beings must be mercilessly combated in the Party, in the trade unions, in the State organs, in the economy, everywhere.

3. It is necessary to organise, to unfold mass criticism by the rank and file.

We must say to the workers, to all working people in our country: Criticise! Criticise boldly and openly the ulcers and shortcomings in our work! Do not be afraid to criticise! Do not

hesitate to make criticism merely because you cannot express yourself in elegant words and with precision! All that is needed is to speak honestly and with goodwill, all that is needed is the desire to help. Criticise weaknesses, do not become reconciled to them, do not overlook them! No one will suffer for making such criticisms! Anyone who blocks criticism, who tries to stifle it, will suffer and must suffer accordingly!

Criticism at top levels, the criticism made by us, the leaders, is not enough. It is necessary but it is not enough.

Criticism at lower levels is equally necessary. Criticism from below is the main thing for us now.

Criticism and self-criticism is a specific, Bolshevik method of educating cadres. In the conditions of our people's democratic system, criticism and self-criticism is one of the main motive forces.

Hence our main task: to develop everywhere the broadest, healthiest criticism and self-criticism.

The vital interests of the working people, the interests of Socialism dictate this.

4. The most important task in the struggle to strengthen the Party is the **raising of the ideological-political, Marxist-Leninist level of Party officials and of the Party rank and file.**

Particularly should the work of self-education be organised among members of regional, district and local committees. Our leading cadres must, in the process of practical work, master Bolshevism, become not only educated Marxists but also highly cultured, politically steeled and mature leaders capable of orientating themselves independently in the international and home situation. On this, comrades, depends the future of our Party, of our country.

Verification of Party cadres from the Central Committee down to the leadership in the Party branches should be carried out. In this verification we must be particularly strict towards

those who formerly participated in factionalist, anti-Party groupings in the Party. Nevertheless the verification should not be conducted indiscriminately and in a general way; a strictly individual approach should be made.

Revolutionary vigilante regarding enemies must be extremely sharp in the Party. The building of Socialism is taking place in conditions sharpened class struggle. The class struggle will not abate, it will sharpen. The capitalist elements who are on the way out are resisting fiercely. They are supported by Anglo-American imperialism. Constant vigilance is as necessary to the Party as is air. It is necessary mercilessly to combat any complacency, any underestimation of the need for the most alert vigilance in relation to enemies of people's power and of our Party.

War must be declared on complacency, on a conciliatory attitude towards shortcomings. It is necessary ruthlessly to combat petty-bourgeois, Philistine relics lack of principle, and servility.

Nationalism and nationalist manifestations, wherever they make themselves felt must be rooted out as a hostile, fascist ideology. Nationalism is expressed in hostility towards the Soviet Union, in belittling its successes, in the non-recognition and denial of the world-historic experience of the great October Socialist Revolution as a model and example for workers and for the working people of the world; in overestimating one's own strength and successes, in underestimating the strength and successes of others and in denying international proletarian solidarity. Nationalism is the ideology of treason to the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism. Nationalism signifies the degeneration of a Party into a bourgeois counter-revolutionary Party. Nationalism means betrayal of one's country.

Kostovism is Bulgarian nationalism, treason to Socialism, treason to Bulgaria.

We must strengthen, extend and treasure Bulgarian-Soviet

friendship as the apple of our eye and educate the Party in the spirit of proletarian Internationalism, which, in our time, finds striking expression in friendship for the Soviet Union—the mighty stronghold of victorious Socialism: we must educate the Party in the spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Soviet Union, to the C.P.S.U. (B) and. to Comrade Stalin. We must even more energetically educate and train the Party, not in words but in deeds, the Party should under all circumstances be utterly faithful and devoted to proletarian internationalism, to the Soviet Union, to the C.P.S.U.(B), to our great and beloved teacher and leader, Comrade Stalin.

To strengthen the Party means correctly to regulate its social composition. We should now accept new members into the Party mainly from workers and shock-workers who have distinguished themselves in production, rationalisers and also people from among the working peasants.

To strengthen the Party means to solve, in the Stalin way, the correct selection of cadres and the check-up on fulfilment of decisions. Cadres decide the success of work. After a correct line is given, success depends on organisational work, on the correct allocation of cadres, on the timely check-up on fulfilment of decisions. This is how Comrade Stalin teaches.

We must select cadres in the Stalin way—according to their business acumen and political qualities, organise control over fulfilment of decisions, and bring our organisational work up to a proper level. In this way we will strengthen our Party.

Our Party must completely and in all matters take into its own hands the guidance of national economy, and of its re-organisation on Socialist principles. We must learn to run the national economy well, to direct Socialist construction in industry, agriculture, transport and in finance and credit. Our Party cadres must become experts, specialists in economic matters. We must eliminate our economic illiteracy, learn correctly to combine the direction of economic activities with

Party-organisational and Party-political work.

Such are the main tasks which we can and must solve.

We will solve them, we will strengthen our Party, and secure the economic advance of the country along the path of Socialism.

Allow me on behalf of the entire Central Committee to express our profound gratitude, devotion and love to our great teacher and leader Comrade Stalin, and our firm will to learn constantly, tirelessly and ever more diligently and successfully from Comrade Stalin, from the one and only Bolshevik Party.

PRESS REVIEW

PLIGHT OF WORKERS

“**Bahtara Emruz**” in a leading article describes the wretched conditions of Persians inside the zone influenced by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The paper writes: “Shushter, a town near the workings of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, is called the town of the blind because all its residents suffer from trachoma. In the old part of Abadan, inhabited by workers of the main oil refinery, no facilities are provided for health service or education”.

The newspaper also slates that “the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company has always pursued a colonising policy. We” continues the paper, “see little difference between the policy of Attlee’s Labour Government and that of British capitalism in the nineteenth century, nor between the principles on which the “South Oil Company” was established. We cannot reconcile ourselves to a position in which the British Government, in the interests of the management, remits millions of pounds annually to the Lords on the other side of the Channel, while thereby increasing the poverty, ignorance and misery of the Persian people”.

U.S. GOVERNMENT DESTROYING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

The U.S. Government continues to destroy “surplus” food stocks to maintain the already high market prices in foodstuffs. The “**New York Herald Tribune**” reports that the U.S. Government intends to purchase from the farmers for purposes

of destruction. 50,000,000 bushels of potatoes bosting the country 65,000,000 dollars. In 1948 the policy of destroying agricultural produce cost the American tax payers 250,000,000 dollars.

Because of the drop in the market, the United States Department of Agriculture calls for a 6 per cent cut in the area sown with potatoes.

SHOOTING OF WORKERS IN INDIA

“**Crossroads**”, the progressive Indian weekly reports:

“Nineteen workers were killed and over 60 wounded when twice in the course of a month Bihar Congress police and some of Bihar industrialists and their agents, jointly attacked demonstrations of workers. These events happening in quick succession reveal what shocking steps a Congress regime (Congress, ruling Party in India. **Ed.**) is capable of taking to smother working class struggles, what contempt it has for the life of the toiling people.

“In ono case, workers in Behar Sharif were demonstrating on December 20 against the high-handedness of a landlord whose men had attacked their Union office. When they resisted this attack, they were fired upon, killing seven, including a girl of nine.

Another owner, this time a boss of a mica factory at Jhumri Tallia, has, in in co-operation with the police, claimed 12 more in dead and 50 in wounded on January 12”.

PARTY LIFE

GROWTH OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The annual campaign for the re-registration of members and the recruitment of new members is being conducted with great enthusiasm in the Italian Communist Party. The majority of organisations have already completed registration. In other organisations it is coming to an end.

The number of Party members increased in 1950 in comparison with 1949 in Livorno Federation by 1,675, in Alessandria Federation, 245, in Ragusa Federation, 334, and in Avellino Federation by 602. In Montescaglisco, Guiseppe Novello was shot by the Scelba's police. The workers answered this by mass entry into the Communist Party. Within one month the Party in Montescaglisco trebled its membership.

The Party has already re-registered 100% of the Party membership in the following Federations: Venice, Reggio-Emilia, Parma, Forly, Pistoia, Rome, Teramo and in the Conselice, Pattsuoli, Castelferetti districts. In "Spartaco" district of Castellammare, 150 new members joined the Party.

New branches of the Party have been formed in Camporealt, Gibellina, Ari, Letto Paleria, Fara San Martino, San Paolo Belito and Santo-Angelo.

CONFERENCE OF PRESS WORKERS IN THE SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY IN GERMANY

On the 10th of February, a conference of Party press workers in Berlin, called by the Central Board of the Socialist Unity Party, concluded its work. It was attended by 205

delegates.

Wilhelm Pieck, Chairman of the Party reported on the current tasks of the Party and of the Party Press. The Conference heard a report by G. Axen on the development of the Party Press and its transformation into a Press of a new type and also heard the report of P. Herrstadt, Chief Editor of "Neues Deutschland", the central organ of the Socialist Unity Party, on "Educating editors of the Press of the new type". P. Korb reported on measures for improving the work of the people's correspondents.

The Conference also drew up a programme for the improvement of the work of the Party Press.

FIVE YEARS OF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY. George Matthews

One of the outstanding features of the propaganda of the Labour leaders in their General Election campaign is their attempt to conceal from the people the truth about their shameful record in foreign affairs. For months they have been pouring out thousands of words in defence of the aggressive Atlantic Pact, but in their Election Manifesto they do not even mention it. For months there has been growing criticism among the working people of their huge arms programme and the colossal military expenditure it is involving, but there is not a word about this in their Manifesto.

There is not a mention of Greece, not a reference to Malaya, not a word about the rearmament of Western Germany which they are planning.

And, most remarkable omission of all, they say nothing whatever about the Marshall Plan and the words "United States" do not appear in all the 5,000 words of the Manifesto.

What are the facts about the Labour Government's policy during its five years of office which it wants the people to forget?

The Labour leaders have spent £,400,000,000 in a war against the working people of Greece—a war waged jointly with the American imperialists to maintain in existence a fascist Police State, ruled by a Government which is a puppet of the United States imperialists. Bevin and the Labour leaders are responsible for making Greece a paradise for fascist collaborators, profiteers and torturers, and a hell for the working people.

For eighteen months, a cruel colonial war has been waged against the people of Malaya. Recently, scores. of Nigerian

miners were killed and wounded because they went on strike for wages amounting to less than a quarter of the low wages of British miners. Just three days after the Labour Party election Manifesto was published, eight leaders of the trade union and independence movement of the Gold Coast were arrested for the “crime” of organising a civil disobedience movement to support the popular demand for immediate Dominion status.

Throughout the Colonial Empire, the people are rising to achieve their independence and freedom, only to be met with bayonets, bullets and bombs by the Labour imperialists.

The Governments of “Independent” India and Pakistan act as the satellites of British Imperialism in foreign affairs, and the protectors of British investments in home affairs.

Up to the last the Labour leaders tried to save the reactionary Kuomintang clique in China, and even after they have been forced to announce recognition of the Government of the Chinese People’s Republic in an attempt to safeguard British investments there they still manoeuvre to prevent the Chinese people from being represented in the United Nations.

The Labour imperialists have played an equally vile role in Europe.

They have pursued a policy of open hostility to the Soviet Union, indulging in the most disgraceful attacks and slanders on the great Socialist country whose assistance they were glad to have during the Second World War, the country which played the decisive role in smashing the armies of German and Japanese imperialism.

They have supported the remnants of the overthrown classes and have intrigued against the New Democracies of Central and South-Eastern Europe and openly, praise and support their agent, the fascist Tito.

One of their greatest crimes in Europe has been to assist the United States imperialists wholeheartedly in their plans to keep Germany divided, to put the big industrialists who backed

Hitler firmly in the saddle in Western Germany and to re-arm the ex-Nazi bandits in preparation for war against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

The crowning infamy of the Labour Government during the past five years is the fact that it has grovelled before United States imperialism, and sacrificed the national independence of the British people on the altar of the dollar.

This is the first peacetime General Election in the history of Britain in which foreign troops and aircraft have been stationed on British soil.

The Marshall "Plan" has resulted in intolerable restrictions on British trade and economic policy, and has been used particularly to prevent extension of trade with the Soviet Union and the countries of People's Democracy, to tighten the American grip on Britain, and facilitate American penetration into the colonies.

The Americans demanded the devaluation of the £ sterling, and Cripps hastened to obey.

But the sharpest light of all is thrown on the Labour Government's policy by the signing, on January 27th, of the Anglo-American military aid pact. In exchange for American military assistance (1,000 million dollars worth is to be divided amongst eight countries in 1950) the British Government has agreed to the establishment of an American Military Mission in Britain, attached to the United States Embassy and enjoying full diplomatic privileges and immunity.

During their term of office the Labour leaders have been repeatedly reminded that millions of British workers oppose their foreign policy. Hundreds of resolutions have been passed condemning the war in Malaya, the persecution of Greek democrats and trade unionists, and the burden of military expenditure. Demonstrations have taken place against the presence of American troops in Britain, and in United States interference with British trade and policy. Great peace

conferences and demonstrations have been organised to denounce the Anglo-American warmongers. Messages have been sent from organisations representing millions of workers to the Soviet Union expressing friendship with the Soviet people in December a big conference called for friendship and trade with the New China.

These actions of the British people have caused serious concern to the Labour leaders. By keeping silent during the election campaign on their policy of handing over Britain to the Americans as an atom bomb base for use in their insane war plans, they hope to prevent the people from learning the truth about the crime which is being prepared.

The Labour leaders say nothing about the colossal military expenditure they are undertaking, amounting this year to £800 millions, and estimated as rising to £1,200 millions next year.

No wonder that Bevin has received the full support of the Tory Party in his foreign policy, and that Churchill paid him the following tribute on November 7th, 1949:—

“We on this side... have sustained him in all aspects of his policy... His manly resistance to Communism, his preservation of good relations with the United States, the Brussels Agreement, the Atlantic Pact, the air-lift into Berlin, the policy pursued in Greece, the reinforcement of Hongkong—are all events of the first magnitude in which the Right Honourable Gentleman has played a prominent part.”

That is what Churchill said.

And while the Labour leaders keep silent about their real aims, the arch warmonger, Churchill, includes in the Tory election programme a passage which is, an open declaration of war policy, where it declares that the Tories refuse to regard Eastern Europe and China, where the people have been victorious, as “lost for ever”. The central point of the Tory foreign policy is the aggressive war alliance with America to “resist Communism.”

Thus behind the electioneering battle of words which is now in full swing in Britain, the Labour and Tory Parties are agreed on the fundamentals of foreign policy, as they are agreed also on the attack on living standards at home.

They are each doing their utmost to conceal from the people the fact that their policy threatens to plunge the workers into the horrors of a new war, that their policy is losing Britain's national independence and speeding up the maturing slump.

The menace of slump hangs over Britain like a shadow in spite of all the sunshine propaganda of the Labour leaders. Only recently the reactionary paper, "The Observer", described the recent United Nations Report on "Full Employment" in the following words:

"The Report warns the world that a slump is coming, and it lists... quietly, dispassionately and convincingly... the signals which point to an approaching repetition of the disaster of the early thirties.."

The workers contrast this perspective with the gigantic advances in prosperity and living standards in the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, where the people have no fear of slump and unemployment and are pulling all their efforts into the tasks of peaceful construction.

In this General Election only the Communist Party advances a policy for preserving peace, defeating the attacks on the living standards of the people and restoring Britain's national independence. The 100 Communist candidates are putting the fight for peace and against the present foreign policy in the forefront of their campaign. Six million copies of the Communist Election Manifesto are being distributed up and down the country. In constituencies where there is no communist candidate, pamphlets and petitions demanding a policy of peace and independence are being widely circulated.

The Communist candidates are fighting against the

obstacle of an undemocratic electoral system, against the financial barriers imposed by a system which means that each candidate has to put down a deposit of £150 before standing, against a barrage of lies, slanders and distortions. But they are meeting with a big response from the militant workers, who have already contributed nearly £20,000 to the Communist Election Fund, and they are going forward with enthusiasm and confidence in the knowledge that their fight is the decisive fight of the Election—that it is the fight for a better future for Britain.

PENETRATION OF AMERICAN CAPITAL INTO YUGOSLAV ECONOMY. E. Gero, Member Politburo, Hungarian Workers' Party

The Meeting of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties in Hungary in November 1949 established that "... the Yugoslav Government is completely dependent on foreign imperialist circles and has become an instrument of their aggressive policy... " and that "the Tito-Rankovic clique has created wide possibilities for the penetration of foreign capital into the economy of the country, and has placed the economy under the control of capitalist monopolies".

Events since the Meeting of the Information Bureau not only fully confirm the correctness of these statements, but prove that penetration of foreign capital, into Yugoslav economy is being intensified. Among the various monopoly groups, first place belongs to American imperialism, to the American monopoly groups which, more and more, are extending their control over the economic life of Yugoslavia. Simultaneously with economic penetration and as an organic part of this penetration, American imperialism is creating in Yugoslavia strategic positions for an aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the countries of People's Democracy.

Even before the Second World War, foreign capital held altogether strong positions in the economy of Yugoslavia. In 1939, foreign investments in Yugoslavia amounted to 7,375,000,000 dinars and were more than 50 per cent of the total capital investments. Although only a minor part of this investment consisted of actual capital brought into the country, the imperialists having acquired the major part by exploiting

the working people of Yugoslavia, the Tito clique recognised all this investment as foreign property. The Tito gang displayed particular regard for American imperialists, to whom it has already disbursed approximately 20 million dollars in compensation. In addition, the Tito clique recognised the validity of all the old State debts of Yugoslavia—including the debt to the United States, to the total of 2,000 million dinars (38.5 million dollars).

The Tito gang is doing all in its power to conceal from the working people of Yugoslavia and from world democratic public opinion that it has sold the country to the imperialists. The Yugoslav Press, as a rule, does not even mention the activities of the representatives of various imperialist-monopoly groups in Yugoslavia. More than that, the Yugoslav Press even conceals the fact that there are representatives and bosses of capitalist trusts in Yugoslavia. The foreign bourgeois Press, however, often blurts out these facts. For instance, "Tribune des Nations"; wrote on January 13th that a representative of "Bethlehem Steel", the American Trust, had, arrived in Yugoslavia, but strange to say no-one mentioned this visit anti the newspapers did not even mention his name.

Actually, Yugoslavia swarms with representatives of capitalist trusts and banks, and above all, with American "specialists". Their task is to find the objectives which chiefly interest American capital and to secure the "guarantees" which the Titoites provide for foreign capitalist groups and imperialist States, underwriting the loans they obtain from the imperialists.

In a speech made recently in the Yugoslav Parliament, Tito lied when he said the imperialists are granting loans to his fascist clique without selfish aims or political conditions. It is common knowledge that American imperialists, even in their dealings with such imperialist countries as Britain and France, grant loans only on condition of complete control over their economies and armed forces, and as for the Peoples'

Democracies, they are denied all loans by the American imperialists. It is equally known that any American bank can grant a loan to a foreign State only with the consent of the U.S. Government, and that the American Government stipulates as a condition for such a loan that the economic and financial situation in the country be studied on the spot by an American Government Commission. It is therefore obvious that when the American magnates grant a loan to the Tito clique, this is done at a price. The price is that of Yugoslavia's independence and of complete control over her economy by American imperialists.

That the, Tito clique in return for U.S. loans has bartered the independence of Yugoslavia is evident from other facts replete with concrete data—if one makes a careful study of the press in the capitalist countries. The Swiss Press, for instance, released a very interesting item about a twenty million dollar loan which, on Truman's instructions, was granted to the Titoites via the American Export-Import Bank. According to one of the Swiss papers, the conditions stipulated by the Export-Import Bank are "becoming more and more clear". It went on to say that one of the conditions was big concessions in Slovenia, including the transfer of the Kaminka Mines in the area of the zinc and lead ore deposits, in the form of a concession to the American trust, Anaconda Copper Mining Co. The second condition stipulates that the U.S. Government will have the right to send, through various monopolist groups, "expert advisers" to the most important Yugoslav enterprises, and that the Yugoslav Government shall ensure all the conditions to enable them fully to acquaint themselves with these enterprises. In other words, the Tito clique agreed to place Yugoslav industry under American control. The dispatch of "expert advisers" is in full swing. Thus, in 1949, the American trust, "Mackenzie Engineering Company", sent a big group of "expert advisers" to Yugoslavia.

This, however, does not by a long way exhaust the long list of conditions by which Yugoslavia ensures special rights to the Americans including access to Yugoslav airfields for “Pan-American Airways”. This agreement was signed on December 24th, 1949.

The Tito clique has also pledged itself to import American “culture” into Yugoslavia. Under this agreement cinemas are showing only American films, a fact easily corroborated by a glance at the adverts in the Belgrade papers. It is also worth mentioning that after World War II, Blum—the “leader” of the French Socialists” who has aged in treachery—concluded a similar agreement with American imperialists, one which not only subordinates the French cinema industry to the Americans but simultaneously serves the purpose of spreading imperialist poison among ‘the working people of France. However, the pact concluded by the Tito clique to spread American “culture” is not confined to the cinema alone. The Tito-Djilas fascist press in Yugoslavia is, of late, devoting more and more space to information about “cultural life” in the United States. This shows that the Titoites are zealously carrying out their obligations to their masters.

The Tito gang wants to make the people of Yugoslavia believe that now that the bauxite mines, the aluminium industry, the molybdenum and the copper mines have been turned over to the American imperialists, now that they control the economy and finances of the country, millions of American dollars will flow into Yugoslavia. But this of course is out of the question. American monopolists did not lay their hands on Yugoslav economy for the purpose of giving; they did so in order to plunder. They give just enough to maintain their agents—the Tito gang—in power, to squeeze out of the people of Yugoslavia colonial super-profits, and to create strategic positions in Yugoslavia. Displaying caution, they are not granting Tito and his clique loans in bulk but in meagre

pittances, for they have learned from the bitter lesson in China. The Americans treat Tito as they do Franco—the hangman of the Spanish people. They give him no more than they believe necessary to secure for themselves the raw material resources of the country, and, in the first place, strategic raw materials, to secure colonial super-profits and to maintain Franco's fascist rule over the people of Spain.

In accordance with this “principle” and practice, American imperialists (like all of her imperialists) regard Yugoslavia as a raw material appendage of their economy. They have no intention whatsoever of developing Yugoslavia's heavy industry. At the very most they will permit the Tитоites to create a minimum base for a war industry, which, they calculate, might become necessary in the event of an imperialist war of plunder against the free and independent nations. But “manufactured goods” (for example, armaments) will be supplied by the U.S. This is evident from Truman's decision, reported in the American Press on January 12th. Outlining the viewpoint of the National Security Council, Truman declared that the United States would, under certain conditions, supply military equipment to Yugoslavia. Simultaneously, American imperialists and partly the British and French are importing huge quantities of various strategic raw materials from Yugoslavia. As is known, Yugoslav copper is shipped chiefly to America. A similar situation prevails in respect to other non-ferrous metals.

Yugoslavia is one of the largest hemp producers in Europe, but the hemp is not grown for the people of Yugoslavia in 1949 eighty per cent of it was sold at an exceedingly low price to the U.S. and Britain.

In addition to raw materials, Yugoslavia ships large quantities of foodstuffs to the U.S. or, on its instructions, to other capitalist countries. They ship most essential foodstuffs, vital to the people: wheat, maize and other foods urgently

needed by Yugoslavia, but which are also needed by the imperialists. Thus, to please its imperialist masters, the Tito gang dooms the working people of Yugoslavia to hunger and misery.

As pointed out in the Resolution of the Information Bureau of Communist and Worker's Parties, it is becoming more and more evident that "the ever-increasing slavish dependence of Yugoslavia on imperialism leads to intensified exploitation of the working class and to a severe worsening of its conditions".

Despite the bloody fascist terror employed by the Tito-Rankovic gang against the working class and all the people of Yugoslavia, Yugoslav working people will never agree that their country, liberated by the glorious Soviet Army and for whose independence they themselves shed so much blood, should remain an imperialist colony. Under the leadership of the underground, genuine Communist Party they have joined the struggle against the treacherous fascist Tito gang and its imperialist masters in order that Yugoslavia shall return to the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism.

DEFEAT OF REFORMISM ITALIAN CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Alongside the Italian General Confederation of Labour and other mass democratic organisations, one of the most powerful bulwarks of the camp of democracy and the progressive forces in Italy is the National League of Co-operatives.

The League unites 10,000 co-operatives with a membership of three million. It incorporates 4,000 consumer co-operatives with 2,150,000 members; 3,500 building and producer co-operatives with 300,000 members; 1,000 agricultural co-operatives with 200,000 members (farm workers and poor peasants); 1,200 peasant co-operatives (with 150,000 members) for the joint purchase, sale and processing of agricultural produce and collective use of machinery; finally, 300 mutual aid and credit societies with 200,000 members.

After the liberation of the country from fascism in 1945, the League, formerly closed down by Mussolini, was restored. The efforts of the Christian Democrats to prevent the revival of the democratic co-operatives collapsed. Attempts to frustrate unity in the co-operative movement by organizing break-away co-operatives through the medium of "Catholic Action" and other Vatican agents also failed. Reformists were then sent into the leadership of the newly established National League of Co-operatives, who endeavoured to isolate the co-operatives from the democratic movement and to ensure the influence of the followers of Saragat and the Christian Democrats.

But at the 21st Congress of the League in 1947 the masses had the final say, Communists received 59 per cent of the votes, Left-Wing Socialists 26 per cent, all the other trends and non-Party groups 10 per cent and the Saragat supporters only 5 per cent. Reformism in the Italian co-operative movement was

crushed and the leadership passed into the hands of the Left-Wing parties.

The 22nd Congress of the League took place in mid-December, 1949. The proceedings of this Congress were based on the “declaration for unity and independence of the co-operatives”, a declaration signed by representatives of all political trends in the co-operative movement and unanimously approved by all provincial Congresses. This declaration exposes the reactionary offensive against co-operation and instructs the new leadership to struggle jointly with the trade unions and all democratic organisations for radical reforms (nationalisation, agrarian reform etc.); for an economic policy corresponding to the interests of the working people; for broad democracy; for the unity of the international and national co-operative movement and against reactionary threats to Constitutional liberties.

Especially significant was the decision of Congress to work more closely with the General Confederation of Labour and to support its plan for the economic reconstruction of the country in the interests of the people. Congress unanimously resolved to include in Article I of the Constitution a point indicating the main tasks of the League—a demand to fight for democracy, peace and the emancipation of the working people.

Whereas the 21st Congress ensured the rout of the reformist and the victory of the Marxist-Leninist trend, the 22nd Congress of the National League of Co-operative confirmed the final defeat of the ideology of reformist co-operation. Italian co-operators, having recognised that the co-operatives cannot be isolated from life, broke with the old illusions of the reformist co-operatives. They became conscious of the harmful theory to the effect that co-operation, by growing into capitalism, can abolish it; they understood that they must fight together with the trade union and political organisations of the working people for a genuinely

progressive and people's democracy, a stable and lasting peace; that it is essential to draw broader masses into co-operatives.

Congress confirmed the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line in the co-operative movement; the strength and prestige of the Communist Party.

While the co-operatives of farm workers and poor peasants headed the recent campaign for the occupation of uncultivated land, the consumer co-operatives adhered to the point made by V. I. Lenin in 1910 to the effect that the consumer co-operatives can acquire greater significance for the economic and political mass struggle of the proletariat by supporting the workers during strikes, lock-outs, political persecutions and so forth. They did this by boldly helping the struggle of the working people by advancing credits of hundreds of millions of lire. At present the consumer co-operatives are distributing food packages to, democratic political prisoners thousands of whom languish in the prisons of the Christian Democrats.

The mobilisation of the Italian co-operative movement in defence of peace has already yielded positive results. In April 1948, the co-operative movement secured signatures to 30,000 peace petitions. During the campaign against the Atlantic Pact more than a thousand resolutions of protest were adopted at monster meetings of co-operative members. At the World Peace Congress in Paris, Italian co-operatives were represented by 70 delegates, including twelve women. On International Peace Day the co-operatives circulated half a million post cards bearing the emblem of peace.

Co-operatives took an active part in the collection of signatures on the peace petitions during 1949. Co-operative stores displayed 3,000 posters calling on the people to fight for peace and became the rallying point for the collection of signatures. International Co-operation Day, a grand festival held in Imola under the slogan of defending peace, was

attended by over 150,000 co-operators.

At present, Italian co-operatives seriously help the nation-wide movement for peace. They are directly linked with the campaign to secure pledges from all working people to fight for peace, organising general meetings of co-operators, distributing posters and leaflets.

In conditions of the sharpening class struggle both inside the country and abroad, a serious responsibility falls on Communist co-operators. Despite the defeat suffered by reformism in the co-operative movement signs of opportunism, narrow-mindedness, the shop-keeper attitude and that of indifference to politics are still evident.

That is why the Communist Party now devote more attention to the organisational, political and ideological strengthening of the co-operative movement. Several booklets of a politico-ideological character have been published and completely sold out (including ten thousand copies of V. I. Lenin's article on Co-operation). Conferences of Communist co-operators have been held. The National League of Co-operatives publishes a widely circulated weekly paper and many booklets on co-operation.

Italian co-operators are faithfully adhering to V. I. Lenin's instructions to facilitate by ceaseless Socialist propaganda in the consumer co-operatives the spread of the ideas of class struggle and Socialism among the workers.

Silvano BENSASSON

BOOK REVIEW

ON THE RIGHT PATH, (“Party Worker” — Organ Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia).

EIGHTEEN MONTHS AGO, on September 1, 1948, a review of “Party Worker” was published in the columns of “For a Lasting Peace, For a People’s Democracy!”. Alongside a positive estimation of the journal the review also criticised its shortcomings.

By devoting its attention mainly to organisational matters, the “Party Worker” had narrowed its tasks considerably. The journal dwelt insufficiently on the principles of Party building, inadequately developed criticism and self-criticism ; it did not give the necessary attention to the ideological education of cadres, and in particular it did not properly utilise the experience of the work of Party organisations. The Organisational Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia decided upon certain measures to improve the work of the Editorial Board and the content of the journal, “Party Worker”.

Subsequent issues show that the shortcomings have, in the main, been overcome and the content of the journal has improved considerably.

“Party Worker” explains the significance of the big successes achieved by the Party in laying the foundations of Socialism and in strengthening its ranks. It provides the essential organisational-political guidance and also greatly helps to mould the Party cadres in the Bolshevik spirit, to raise their ideological-political level. That the journal is now firmly

recognised is evident from its increased circulation, from 93,000 in January 1949 to its present 190,000 copies.

The journal has been of great help to the Party in carrying out such important measures as the verification of the membership, and in the mass Party study drive called “Party Educational Year”, which has now embraced members and candidate members in all Party branches. In every issue of the journal the Editorial Board systematically explains the decisions of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which set the task of laying the foundations of Socialism in the country. The content of the journal also shows the lessons drawn by the Party from the treachery of the Tito clique—fascist agents of Anglo-American imperialism. The journal devotes much attention to the education of the Party masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The “Party Worker” helped and continues to help the Party—which guides the economic life of the country—by publishing articles and reports on Party activity in the factories and on the struggle to carry out the Five-Year Plan; by featuring the work of Party organisations in developing Socialist emulation and shock-work movement and by constantly stressing one of the most important duties of Communists—to be a shock worker, an advanced worker, an organiser of Socialist work of the masses.

The “Party Worker” points to the mistakes of certain Party organisations and Party members, mistakes which are an obstacle to drawing broad masses into the work of building Socialism. The journal has criticised the “theory” that trade unions are unnecessary since the Party, being in power, directs economic life. It has also criticised the attempts of certain Communists to command in trade union organisations.

The “Party Worker” reveals as well the shortcomings in the work, of rural Party organisations and focuses the Party’s attention on the countryside. For example, it has shown that

certain Party functionaries and a section of rural Party organisations were not sufficiently concerned to secure a correct distribution of agricultural deliveries, the main brunt of which must be shouldered by rural capitalists; that they did not try to stop the actions of the latter which aimed at frustrating deliveries. "Party Worker" has correctly pointed out that one of the reasons for this was the fact that kulaks and their associates penetrated the leadership of some of the rural Party branches.

In keeping with Comrade Gottwald's declarations—based on Marxist-Leninist teachings—that there can be no Socialism without the countryside going over to Socialism, the "Party Worker" now devotes more attention to questions of work among the small and medium peasantry.

The journal reflects the experience of individual Party organisations in forming, and developing unified agricultural cooperatives (the Tupadly village and others). Of great significance is the material carried by the "Party Worker" on how to pass on the experience of Soviet collective farms, experience studied by a "large peasant delegation which visited the Soviet Union. It would be useful if the Editorial Board would publish in the journal some articles by members of that delegation.

Propagating the alliance between the working class and the working people in the countryside, the "Party Worker" shows the tremendous role of the machine-repair and other voluntary workers' brigades, of the patronage by factories over villages and of the propaganda work conducted by factory Communists among peasants. The journal also explains the erroneous nature of the views of those Party workers who fail to understand the significance of the regenerated National Front, who lost contact with the masses of non-Party people and also with members of other parties and who show the tendency to command, forgetting that the strength of the Communist Party lies in its constant contact with the masses. In one of its recent issues the

journal criticised the shortcomings of the Czech Peasant Union, which resulted in a weaker mass work in the countryside.

So far the journal has given little space to the question of popularising and organising, the peace movement which is able even further to strengthen the unity of the working people and which is closely linked with the successful struggle for Socialism in the country.

At present every issue of the journal carries articles written by Party functionaries, mainly in the medium levels, who share with the readers the experience of the work of their organisations. These articles contain much valuable material. They reveal not only successes but also shortcomings in the work, and help, on the basis of self-criticism, to put the Party's decisions into practice.

The journal, for example, has described the experiences of Party organisations in the Brno district where formerly the work of Communists in the National Front was particularly weak. Over a thousand Party members in that district were given the job of holding discussions with the local population. At meetings and rallies, Party members and non-party people criticised the work of the local action committees of the National Front, and also expressed self-criticism.

Many valuable suggestions were advanced. As a result, many action committees as well as national committees (organs of local power) were reorganised. Throughout the district the work of the National Front improved, the Party's contact with the masses strengthened.

The "Party Worker" published editorials exposing instances where criticism had been suppressed. One such article appeared in the No. 16 issue in 1949. It described the incorrect attitude of certain leading Party functionaries in some factories in Prague and in other towns towards worker correspondents. There are reasons for believing that the Editorial Board will further extend the work of promoting

criticism from below. .

The contact between the journal and the Party branch functionaries is insufficient. As yet the Editorial Board is not doing everything to reveal more resolutely individual shortcomings.

To raise the political level of Party workers the journal has introduced a series such as: "Theory-Guidance for Practical Work", "From the Experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)". "Review of International Events". Apart from the notes for speakers at Party branch meetings, the journal systematically publishes the theoretical articles of Czechoslovak authors and of those translated from "Bolshevik" and "Pravda". Unfortunately, "Party Worker" does not as yet publish regular reviews of the most important Marxist-Leninist works issued in the Czech language.

Stressing the need for Party workers to study the Resolutions of the recent Meeting of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties; the "Party Worker" reminds us that complacency, conceit and, boasting create the possibility of criminal activity by imperialist agents. The "Party Worker" calls for the ruthless exposure of the enemy and urges a watchful guard over the purity of the Party ranks.

Proceeding from these principles the journal is carrying out the preparations for election meetings to be held in Party branches this month and in March. The journal stresses the need to replace incapable and incompetent leaders with the best Communists, particularly in a number of rural Party organisations. It also urges the necessity of a thorough verification of each candidate member, relying in this matter on the assistance of non-Party masses.

V. P.

IN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC POLAND

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW FORMS OF EMULATION

The long term emulation movement in Poland initiated by Comrade Victor Markewka, a shock worker and hewer in the "Polska" coal mine is spreading. He has pledged himself to increase his production quota of 540 tons to 1,620 tons in February, March and April. In response to this, long term pledges poured in from all the miners in the coal industry (in January the coal industry fulfilled the month's programme by 102.6 per cent).

The idea of long term pledges was also eagerly adopted by the Warsaw building trade workers, by the metal workers and by workers in the steel and textile mills. Many workers undertook to complete the full 1950 production programme within 7-8 months and some in even 5 months.

PREPARATIONS FOR SPRING SOWING

Spring sowing this year is particularly important for Poland for it will be the first in the Six Year Plan. Compared with 1949 the crop area will be increased by 450,000 hectares to a total of 9,300,000 hectares. Artificial fertilisers will be used on a much wider scale. In the spring of 1948 agriculture received 473,000 tons of fertilisers; in 1949, 668,000 tons and this year, 994,000 tons. The government has allocated 1.5 billion zloti for the purchase of selected seeds, mineral fertilisers and other necessities for small and middle farms. The Party and State organs are devoting serious attention to carrying out the sowing campaign in accordance with the Plan. The producer co-

operatives are preparing quotas and methods of registering work-day units.

104 NEW PRODUCER CO-OPERATIVES

The desire for collective forms of production grows stronger among the working peasantry in the Polish villages. One hundred and four new producer co-operatives, joined by 2,482 peasant households possessing 31,000 hectares of land, were set up in January alone.

In connection with the rapid development of producer co-operatives a special department, with branches in all provinces was set up in the Ministry of Agriculture to direct the co-operatives and the State machine and tractor stations.

A central design office, whose main task will be to plan new buildings in producer co-operatives, has also been established.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Whereas Poland's budget for 1950 increased by an overall 35.8 per cent, expenditure on public education rose by 43 per cent compared with 1949.

In 1949, thirty two thousand high school students received State grants. Fifty eight per cent of the high school enrolments in the 1949-1950 educational year are workers, poor and middle peasant youth. Thirty thousand classes to overcome illiteracy were attended by 500,000 people. Allocations, to combat illiteracy amount this year to 3.5 billion zloti (treble the 1949 allocation). Expenditure on vocational training also increased by 33 per cent compared to last year.

OPENING OF A NEW INSTITUTE

An Engineering Institute was opened, on February 1st, at Bialystok—the first in the Bialystok region. The Institute has two faculties: electro-technical and mechanical. The study course is three years. Ninety-eight people have been admitted to the first course—mostly children of workers and peasants.

SOLICITUDE FOR PUBLIC HEALTH

Thanks to constant concern of the People's Government for the health of the population, deaths from tuberculosis dropped in 1949 by 30 per cent compared to pre-war. The 1950 budget provides for an expenditure of 95 billion zloti on the health service (20 per cent of the total budget) i.e. 23 per cent more than the allocation for 1949. Preparations are under way for the opening of a new (the tenth) Medical Institute.

PUSHKIN YEAR

The finale of the Pushkin Year in Poland (ending this month) is being widely celebrated throughout the country. Artists of the "New Theatre" are giving Pushkin performances at industrial enterprises. In Wroclaw's State theatre the play "Pushkin" is being performed. Mobile exhibitions dedicated to the memory of the great Russian poet have been opened in Rzeszow and Bialystok. The Copernicus University in Thorn held a special session, dedicated to the works of Pushkin.

DEVELOPING VEGETABLE GROWING AMONG THE WORKERS

Following the example of the Soviet Union, the Central Trade Union Council in Poland has adopted measures to extend and develop vegetable growing among workers. In 1950, 40 per cent of the vegetables for the city population will be grown on the workers' allotments.

CULTURAL ACTIVITY OF RUMANIAN TRADE UNIONS

The cultural activity of the Trade Unions of the Rumanian People's Republic is closely connected with the struggle for peace—the main task of the working people and the whole nation.

A daily Trade Union newspaper in Rumania "Viata Sindicala", is issued in 216,000 copies, the weeklies "Szakszervezeti Elet", (in Hungarian), in 70,000 copies and "Muncitoara" in 85,000 copies. The total number of correspondents to these newspapers has reached 22,726. In 1949, the Trade Union Publishing House issued two hundred books in 3,446,000 copies.

At present there are 1,339 clubs and 4,242 reading rooms in factories and on State farms, etc., the total number of libraries, organised by Trade Unions, has reached six thousand. Besides, there are 1,358 theatres and cinemas.

POLITICAL NOTES

1. FURTHER ENSLAVEMENT OF THE ATLANTIC PACT COUNTRIES

To realise their aggressive plans, American imperialists do not confine themselves merely to a feverish increase in military expenditure, to armament production, to increasing the number of their military and naval bases in the so-called “security zone” which extends from Greenland to Okinawa. They are not content that with the help of the North Atlantic Pact they placed the capitalist countries of Europe into a vassal dependence on the U.S.A. They seek, besides, to enslave every country separately, to turn them into the main bases of aggression so that, apart from everything else, these countries will supply the mass of the ground forces for a war against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies.

To fulfil this last item on its programme of anti-Soviet aggression, the Government of the United States, on January 27th, concluded bilateral agreements with Britain France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Denmark and Norway, providing for the shipment of American arms to the value of a billion dollars.

The semi-official press in London and Paris allege that French and British representatives, participating in the negotiations, obtained substantial concessions from, the Americans compared with the initial American draft submitted on November 4th, 1949.

These soothing declarations are only a vain attempt to deceive the people who rightly oppose this new encroachment on their independence, this new insult to their national honour.

Actually, their American masters have never previously

forced these countries. to accept such humiliating conditions for “aid”; never before was it to plain that the question is one of subordinating to the aggressive designs of the American monopolists the entire foreign and domestic policy of these countries.

Standardisation of arms, forced upon the signatory powers, and their pledge to share their patents with the U.S.—while the American monopolists keep theirs a secret—will further intensify the dependence of European industry on America.

The New York Herald Tribune reports that a special American staff will supervise the fulfilment of obligations arising from the shipment of American military equipment. The job of this staff will be not only to ensure the arrival and allocation of materials, but to familiarise the armed forces with the technical procedure of assembly, operation and maintenance.

Consequently, ruling circles, in the Atlantic Pact countries relinquish the independence of their countries. An army equipped with American arms and staffed with American instructors, will be subject to complete American subordination. Other conditions imposed by the agreement stipulate that the signatories must ensure the production and delivery to America raw materials and semi-manufactured goods needed in the U.S.

A similar article provides for shipments of not only uranium from the Belgian Congo but of many other materials which the French and British colonisers supply.

To ensure that this latest provocative agreement is carried into effect in the factories, at the ports and in various armies, the imperialists will intensify the military and police measures to which they have already resorted in countries which signed the agreement. They will also intensify their repression of the national liberation movement of the colonial people’s and in the dependent countries where this movement is steadily

developing in depth and scale. The fact that the agreement for instance, forbids the use of American delivered materials outside North Atlantic area, but that it permits the despatch to Viet Nam of material equivalent in amount to that received from the United States, reveals the true intentions of the United States Government and its satellites.

The agreement went into force without ratification by parliaments. Shipments of cargo are already en route. But the working class and the partisans of peace are conscious of the threat created by the criminal policy of the imperialists and their satellites.

Every day, at the ports and in the factories in France, Italy, Belgium and Holland, workers are daily providing model examples of mass political struggle against the production, unloading and transportation of military equipment. This struggle, which becomes ever more widespread and more determined, is a guarantee that the working people will prevent the transformation of their countries into base of aggression and that they will contribute their share to securing the complete collapse of the barbarous schemes of the imperialists.

2. CALL THE JAPANESE WAR CRIMINALS

Broad public opinion re-acted in a two-fold way when it learned the outcome at the trial of the Japanese war criminals at Khabarovsk. There was a feeling of hate and loathing for the fascist degenerates who cynically and in cold blood prepared, tried out on living people, and then employed on a large scale one of the most inhuman weapons of aggression—bacteriological warfare. Then there was a feeling of gratitude to the Soviet Union for routing the Japanese invaders, for cutting off the bloody claws of the Japanese imperialists threatening the peoples, and who were preparing to spread epidemics of the

most dreadful diseases.

The severe punishment meted out to the twelve war criminals by the Soviet Court was widely approved by all peoples. The Note of the Soviet Government to the Governments of the U.S., Britain and China requesting that the chief Japanese war criminals, Emperor Hirohito, General Shiro, and others—the inspirers and organisers of bacteriological warfare—be brought to trial before the International Court, is another step designed to put an end to such barbarous, aggressive methods of warfare.

On February 8 the Government of the Chinese People's Republic expressed agreement with the proposal of the U.S.S.R. that the five main Japanese criminals should appear before the International Court.

Washington and London have not as yet replied to the Note of the U.S.S.R. A statement issued by the U.S. State Department and published in the American press, leaves no doubt of its intention to exert every effort to shelter the war criminals from the indignation of the people. After all, it is difficult to expect that the latest pretenders to world domination should display zeal in punishing war criminals when the Chief of the Chemical Service of the U.S. Army declared he did not doubt the usefulness of bacteriological warfare.

“Birds of a feather flock together” says the proverb. Imperialist birds, however, will have to take into consideration the resolute demands of the peace-loving peoples. For the sake of the future of millions of men, women and children in the world, in the name of peace they try to ensure and will ensure that punishment of the war criminals is inseparable from the cause of defending peace throughout the world.

The criminals must appear before the People's Tribunal.

JAN MAREK

MONSTROUS ATROCITIES OF GREEK MONARCHO-FASCISTS IN THE MAKRONESSOS CAMP

Greek an fascists imprisoned on Makronessos Island succeeded in getting a letter sent out describing the monstrous atrocities, by monarcho-fascists of prisoners condemned to the isolation block of Makronessos camp.

The isolation block consists of a roofless enclosure of 400 square metres surrounded by barbed wire. Inside this enclosure are barbed wire cages of three square metres. Since last September eight political prisoners have been in solitary confinement. They include Mitsis Tatakis, master of a merchant ship; Horalambos Hadjigeorgiadis, a war invalid; T. Metaksotas, tailor; Pandelis Kiurdzis, shop assistant; Jannis Palavos, Polivios Kutsoiorgas, and two more whose names are unknown. All are charged with violating the special decree on “Measures for Order”, and, formally, are awaiting trial. Together with them are two men already sentenced by a military tribunal,—a student. Manolis Halivanos and a peasant, Nikos Tanasakos.

For the past five months the prisoners have been subjected to most brutal torture. Following a signal to awake at 6.30 a. m. each has to stand to “attention” in his cage and remain in that position without moving until 6 p. m. Neither in rain nor in cold are they permitted to wear overcoats. The slightest movement is punished with merciless beating. To make the torture even more agonising the prisoners are regularly beaten on the soles of their feet and subjected to other tortures.

From time to time the prisoners in solitary confinement are subjected to even more monstrous, brutalities. For instance, on December 19, the guards, headed by the chief butcher, Lambrakoso, drove all the prisoners to a remote part of the

island, forcing them to carry one of their comrades Dr. Dalianis, who suffers from a broken leg. There they were beaten up for up for three hours, after which they were dragged back to the camp where military police and the prison guard had been assembled. The police chief made a short speech concluding with the words: "Lynch them". Upon this, the whole gang armed with clubs, iron rods and spades rushed at the prisoners striking them down. Even after the men had lost consciousness,

they were still beaten up and trampled under foot, and then, half-dead, were thrown into the cages.

Twenty four hours later Miliadis, the prison governor, ordered all those capable of standing up to stand for eleven and a half hours. On January 9, when the prisoners had recovered a little, the brutalities were repeated.

The prisoners are completely isolated not only from the outside world, but also from the rest of the camp. Only guards and the torturers are allowed to approach the solitary confinement area. Correspondence is forbidden. Parcels sent by relatives are not delivered, although the prisoners are compelled to sign for them. They are denied Red Cross aid and are led with garbage. No medical assistance is allowed and they do not get even water to wash themselves.

The letter concludes with an appeal to all democrats throughout the world:

"Comrades, help to save these heroes and martyrs! Help by your protests to do away with the monstrous fascist camp on Makronessos!"

A postscript adds that in the middle of January, Palavos and Kutsoiorgas, who were taken from the solitary cages, have since disappeared from the island. It was rumoured that they had been taken to Athens to appear before a military court but their actual fate is unknown.

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