

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

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PARTY MEETING—SCHOOL FOR REVOLUTIONARY TRAINING OF COMMUNISTS

For a Marxist-Leninist Party, the general meeting of Party members is a matter of profound principled significance. The general meeting is the principal organ of the lower Party organisation, a school for the Bolshevik training of members; the smithy in which disciplined, ideologically tempered Marxist-Leninist cadres are forged; it is the medium for activating all the members on the basis of all-Round criticism and self-criticism.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, being militant, revolutionary Marxist parties, are vitally interested in drawing in all Party members and, with their help, the broad masses of working people, into the work of carrying out the political tasks of the Party.

At the February-March Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B) in 1937, Comrade Stalin pointed out that "... our experience alone, the experience of the leaders, is not enough in order to lead correctly; what is necessary, therefore, is to supplement our experience, the experience of the leaders, with the experience of the masses, the experience of the Party masses, the experience of the working class, the experience of the people."

Communist and Workers' Parties in all countries, learning from the experience of the glorious Bolshevik Party, indissolubly linked with the broad masses, attach enormous significance to Party meetings. Carrying out their vanguard role and applying the experience of the C.P.S.U. (B), the Communist and Workers' Parties are

achieving ever greater successes, winning ever greater influence among the masses. However, the question of how to activate all Communists so as to double and treble their influence, is, particularly in the present situation of growing struggle against the American war mongers, a matter of extreme importance. The solution of this problem depends largely on the correct organisation and carrying out of general meetings in the lower organisations.

The leaders of the **French Communist Party** have, of late, referred time and again to serious shortcomings in the organisation of Party meetings. The January issue of the journal, "Cahiers du Communisme", for instance, wrote that, in some Party branches, general meetings are rarely held and frequently poorly prepared; attendance of Party members at the meetings is sometimes inadequate; at times the meetings are dull affairs with members displaying little activity. Sometimes the agenda for the general meeting remains unchanged throughout the year, and consists of three standard points: the political situation, payment of dues, other business. In the countryside, some branches meet only once a year and then only to elect a new leadership. The higher Party organisations rarely delegate their representative to branch meetings, confining themselves to "general guidance".

The question of Party meetings and their shortcomings also figures prominently in the broad discussion on organisational questions in connection with the forthcoming Congress of the Italian Communist Party. Similar problems confront the Communist Parties of Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Finland and of many other countries.

Party meetings in the capitalist countries, particularly where terror and persecution of Communists are rife, encounter serious barriers. Communists must be most vigilant and be able to frustrate in good time the police-fascist provocations, prevent the infiltration of agents-provocateurs and spies into their ranks. In these conditions, the timely holding and careful preparation of meetings, which ensure militant training of cadres and closer contact between the Party and the masses, are of special significance. For this reason, Communist Parties in the capitalist countries devote close attention to the question of Party meetings.

In the People's Democracies, People's Republic of China and in the German Democratic Republic, general meetings of the Party organisations are most important. Party meetings in these countries play an important role in the matter of training millions of new political and public workers. The Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies strive to activate the mass of the membership in order that the Party as a whole, and each Communist individually, might exercise a vanguard role and achieve greater successes in building Socialism. Party meetings in these countries help the parties to fuse into an organic whole, the two vital aspects of their activities—mass-political and economic work.

The Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies have achieved no little success in inner-Party work, in developing inner-Party democracy, in intensifying criticism and self-criticism as a most important Bolshevik method of training cadres. Nevertheless, in these Parties too, serious shortcomings in conducting general meetings still prevail. These shortcomings include: one-sided concentration on

production problems in isolation from general political tasks; organisational questions political-mass work; infrequent meetings and weak activity by Party members at the meetings, particularly in the countryside; inadequate attention at meetings of rural Party organisations to questions of improving the work of local government bodies. These shortcomings are sharply revealed in the course of the annual Party reporting-back meetings. At these meetings the branch secretary, not infrequently, delivers a dry report of figures lacking political content; criticism and self-criticism are weak.

The shortcomings of the general meetings obviously tell; in the final analysis, on the organisation as a whole, on the quality of its leadership and its work.

It is instructive that these shortcomings were utilised for subversive activities in Czechoslovakia by the despicable conspirators' group, Sling-Svermova-Clementis, now routed by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. This group, as a result of insufficient vigilance in the Party ranks, strove to implant opportunism in the Party organisations, to isolate organisational questions from burning political tasks, to by-pass elected organs and suppress criticism and self-criticism.

This lesson impels the Communist and Workers' Parties in all countries of People's Democracy to work even more persistently for the elimination of shortcomings in their work, **to develop criticism and self-criticism, develop inner-Party democracy as a means of increasing the activity and self-activity of Party members, as a means of purging the Party of enemy filth and scum.**

A number of conclusions, of general significance, should be drawn from the discussions on the question of Party meetings in the Communist Parties of France, Italy and many other countries, and from the experience of the Parties in the People's Democracies. Party meetings should be held regularly, **carefully prepared**, the agenda carefully considered, not overburdened with detail, general political tasks should be linked with vital local problems and the reports carefully prepared. The committee or bureau of the branch should first thoroughly prepare the agenda and take measures so that all Party members may acquaint themselves with it. The tasks set at general meetings should be closely linked with the conditions in which the Party organisation is functioning. Party members should take an active part in the discussion of questions on the agenda.

The committee or bureau of the branch will undoubtedly try, after thorough discussion of the questions at the meeting, to elaborate clear-cut, concrete tasks, and on this basis, properly distribute assignments among the members. It is very important to exercise constant **control over the carrying-out** of these decisions. This will ensure really profound criticism and self-criticism of shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the organisation, its leadership and members.

The successes achieved by the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies and in the capitalist countries were won in arduous struggle against class enemies, by the activity and selflessness of hundreds of thousands and millions of Party members who have developed into real revolutionary fighters who received their revolutionary training by active

participation in the life of the Party including general meetings of their organisations. Mindful of this, Party members will, in the future too, take the utmost care to ensure that the general meeting of the Party organisation will better fulfil its immense role in the life of the Party in the struggle for peace, for democracy and Socialism.

PRICE REDUCTION IN BULGARIA

The Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria have decided to abolish rationing for manufactured goods and to increase wages for all factory and office workers.

As from March 21, all textile goods, footwear, glass, nails, electric bulbs and other goods will be derationed and sold at unified State prices, lower than prices formerly charged for off-ration goods. Prices for textile goods and footwear are reduced, on the average, by 10 to 45 per cent.

Prices for certain items of food, sold off the ration, including vegetable oil and lard, have also been cut.

The Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria have also decided to raise wages for factory and office workers employed in State, co-operative and private enterprises and offices, on the average, by 8 to 15 per cent, and also to increase all State pensions, on the average, by 10 per cent.

FOR A PACT OF PEACE!

AUSTRIAN PEOPLE ACTIVELY SIGNING WORLD PEACE COUNCIL APPEAL

The Austrian Peace Council announced on March 15 the opening of a campaign for signatures to the World Peace Council's Appeal for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers.

During the first days of the campaign, about one half of the factory and office workers in all enterprises in Vienna signed the Appeal. The 350 members of the Socialist Party working in the AEG plant were among those who signed the Appeal.

Over 2,000 signatures were obtained in the signature collection centre in the Zimmering district, Vienna, in the course of a day. In the nineteenth district of Vienna, signatures were collected by Communists, Socialists and non-Party people.

In Carinthia, the Association of War Victims, on behalf of its 22,000 members, adopted a resolution supporting the Appeal of the World Peace Council for a Peace Pact.

The first three days of the campaign secured greater results in Vienna and in Lower Austria than the first two weeks of the campaign for signatures to the Stockholm Appeal.

WELL-KNOWN NORWEGIAN FIGURES SIGN APPEAL

Collection of signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace has begun in Norway. The Appeal has been signed by Hornsrud, former Prime Minister; K. Dahl, judge of the Supreme Court; Karl Evang, Director of the Norwegian Medical Board; and so by many clergymen, professors, scientific workers, writers, artists, sculptors, physicians and teachers, among them August Lange, brother of the Foreign Minister.

A meeting held in Stavanger by the local peace committee decided to develop on a wide scale the signature drive in support of the Appeal for a Pact of Peace.

DECISION OF JAPANESE PEACE COMMITTEE

The Executive Committee of the Japanese Peace Committee, at a meeting attended by 30 representatives from trade union, youth, municipal, student and other democratic organisations, decided to begin a campaign for signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace. The Committee also decided to intensify the collection of signatures to the petition for the conclusion of an over-all peace treaty and against rearming Japan—a campaign which, in essence, corresponds to the resolution of the World Peace Council for a peaceful solution of the Japanese question.

FRESH UPSURGE OF PEACE MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

Numerous peace committees in blocks of houses and in factories, as well as war veterans' organisations and youth organisations in France are sending resolutions to the conference of Deputy Foreign Ministers in Paris, demanding that a Pact of Peace be concluded between the five Great Powers and that the German problem be settled in the spirit of the Potsdam decisions. This movement is the forerunner of a large-scale campaign for signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace, which is being widely prepared by the National Peace Council and all democratic organisations.

Simultaneously, the referendum against rearming of Germany is continuing. Over six million signatures have been collected so far. In the Seine-et-Oise Department 35,000 signatures were collected in one week. In the Rhone Department where 150,000 signatures have been collected, the peace supporters have taken upon themselves to obtain an additional 50,000 by March 31.

All delegates have now been elected for the European Workers' Conference against the remilitarisation of Western Germany, which will open in Berlin on March 23. Among the 140 delegates, there are many workers—members of Catholic trade unions and "Force Ouvriere", and also unorganised workers and representatives of North-African working people residing in France.

The session of the National Peace Council, held on March 18, decided to convene public meetings in the countryside, in towns and at the factories to discuss the Appeal for a Pact of Peace; to hold cantonal peace

conferences, and also passed a decision, concerning preparations for an international conference for a peaceful settlement of the German problem scheduled for May 8 in Brussels and which will be attended by peace supporters from Italy, France, Britain, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg and Switzerland.

WIDELY POPULARISING DECISIONS OF WORLD PEACE COUNCIL IN POLAND

On March 12, the Executive Committee of the Polish peace committee heard the report of the Polish delegation to the session of the World Peace Council and voiced full support for the Address calling for a Pact of Peace and the other decisions of the session.

The Executive Committee called upon local peace committees widely to popularise the decisions of the Peace Council among all sections of the population and to begin preparations for carrying out these decisions. It intends holding mass rallies devoted to the decisions of the World Peace Council in the regional centres and meetings of working intellectuals in the university towns. The big enterprises elected 20 delegates for the European Workers' Conference against remilitarising Western Germany.

A public meeting of peace supporters was held in Warsaw at which reports on the work of the session of the World Peace Council were delivered by the chairman of the Polish peace committee Professor Dembowski, and members of the Peace Council, Dluski and the writer Iwaszkiewicz.

At numerous meetings, miners and steel workers in Silesia are discussing the decisions of the Peace Council and taking new pledges for the fulfilment of the Six-Year Plan.

The co-operative council in Poland has declared, on behalf of its six million members, its complete solidarity with the decisions of the Berlin session.

Extended plenary sessions of regional peace committees are taking place in all regional towns. In Olsztyn, 600 peace activists are popularising the decisions of the World Peace Council.

Work in connection with the decisions of the Peace Council is proceeding under the slogan of a national front of the struggle for peace and the fulfilment of the Six-Year Plan.

PEACE CHAMPIONS IN DENMARK—FOR PACT OF PEACE

At an extended meeting, held on March 17, the Danish Peace Committee adopted a resolution which says, in particular: "...Danish peace champions support the demand of the World Peace Council for convening a conference of the Five Powers for the conclusion of a Pact of Peace. Irrespective of the views of any individual concerning the reasons for the present danger of war, we call upon our fellow countrymen to support this demand. A strong expression of the will for peace on the part of all peoples will compel the statesmen responsible to reach agreement.

“The Danish Peace Committee decided to launch a nation-wide campaign for signatures to the Appeal of the World Peace Council.”

A Conference organised by the local peace committee in Tornby unanimously adopted a resolution which welcomed the decisions adopted at the meeting of the Danish Peace Committee and declared readiness to collect signatures in the Tornby community.

THOUSANDS OF MEETINGS IN SUPPORT OF PACT OF PEACE IN ITALY

The Appeal for a Pact of Peace found abroad response among the masses of people in Italy. At thousands of meetings, held during the past few weeks, resolutions were adopted calling for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers. In each of the Provinces of Modena, Bologna and Reggio-Emilia, 500 such meetings were held; in Naples Province—300. Speakers at a peace conference in Milan urged the audience to launch a wide campaign for a Pact of Peace.

APRIL 8,—FIRST DAY OF SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN IN HUNGARY

Expressing the will of the people for peace, the All-Hungarian Peace Council has decided to launch, on April 8, a campaign for signatures to the Appeal of the World Peace Council for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers.

In its decision the Council calls upon the peace committees to intensify explanatory work so that not a single person in the country remains unaware of the bloodthirsty designs of the imperialists and of the possibility of averting war. "By selfless production work, by successful spring field work", says the Council decision, "we will consolidate and defend our happy future, and safeguard the Hungarian People's Republic".

The peace committees are widely popularising the Appeal of the World Peace Council in factories, offices, producer cooperatives, and in towns and villages.

The National Committee of Catholic clergy for defence of peace has decided to take an active and direct part in collecting signatures to the Appeal.

CALL BY ALBANIAN TRADE UNIONS

The Central Council of the United Trade Unions in Albania has called upon all factory and office workers in the country to append their names to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace, beginning with April 12. The trade union organisations, says the call, must make use of all means to circulate the Appeal among all working people, explaining that the struggle for peace is the struggle to fulfil the plan, the struggle to defend and further develop the results of the great victories of the Albanian people.

JUST CAUSE OF KOREAN PEOPLE WILL TRIUMPH!

The U.S. imperialists, despite reverses in Korea and despite the fact that their criminal gamble is inevitably doomed to failure, are continuing to intensify and extend their intervention in Korea. But their aggressive plans are not confined to Korea. The ruling circles of the United States are striving to make Korea a base for an over-all attack on China.

Robert Allen, butcher MacArthur's trusted henchman, writing in the newspaper "Mainichi", proclaimed MacArthur's "strategic aims" in these words: The war begun against Communist China must now be taken to Chinese territory... The ultimate purpose of the operations now being prepared is a large-scale offensive against China.

Seeking to realise their aggressive designs, the U.S. rulers have not only shown themselves worthy pupils and successors of the Hitlerites, they have even outstripped them as far as atrocities are concerned. Beaten in open battle, they are revenging themselves on the civilian population. MacArthur and Ridgway can boast of "victories" only over women, children and aged folk whose mutilated bodies litter the route of the American invaders.

Since ordinary bombs and napalm failed to satisfy the sadists and assassins, they have resorted to use of time-bombs. During the first two weeks of February alone, 818 people were killed and 712 wounded in Pyongyang due to the action of time-bombs. These bombs are dropped even on villages situated far behind the lines in Northern Korea.

Destruction of towns and villages, terrorising the civilian population, killing children, women and aged folk—this is MacArthur’s purpose in waging such methods of war! Even the U.S. press admits this now.

The “New York Times” correspondent, Barret, has reported that much of the destruction was not called for by military operations. Stupefied, unable to believe their own eyes, wrote Barret, the civilian population stare at the heaps of ashes—all that remain of what were once houses, schools and shops. There were occasions, he adds, when during brief intervals infantrymen set fire to the huts of the Koreans for warmth.

The U.S. air gangsters, thirsting for destruction, call Korea an “exercise ground”!

Of late, the invaders even resorted to **poison gas**. On February 26 and March 3 and 6, American artillery shelled, on four different occasions, the positions of the Chinese people’s volunteers with gas-shells in the vicinity of the Han River. Brazenly violating, under cover of the defamed Uno flag, all norms of international law, MacArthur evidently hopes that the peoples of the world will reconcile themselves to this new monstrous crime. But in vain! The wrath and indignation of the people, aroused by these acts of barbarity and savage brutality of the U.S. killers, are proof that the MacArthurs and Ridgways will be made to answer for their crimes!

The moral outlook of the U.S. invaders in Korea reveals itself also in MacArthur’s attempts to annihilate his fellow countrymen, now prisoners of war. Certainly, the bombing of the camp in North Korea containing U.S. prisoners of war, by U.S. jet-propelled aircraft, will evoke profound indignation among American mothers

and wrathful protest on the part of all U.S. people. There were 200 men in this camp when, on February 19, American jet-propelled aircraft bombed and machine-gunned the camp for 20 minutes. One can imagine the way the U.S. war prisoners cursed their former commander-in-chief. It stands to reason that the butcher General undertook this “operation” for the purpose of silencing his soldiers and officers who, having been taken prisoner, had become free of the General’s censorship.

After these facts one will not be surprised to learn that Ridgway does not stop at bombing his own “allies”, As is known, when Seoul had been abandoned, the American left the British 29th Brigade and one U.S. regiment to cover the retreat; the American regiment was scheduled to protect the British flank. However, the Americans scuttled, deserted the British troops and left them to get out of the situation as best they could. On the very day that the British brigade was engaged in heavy fighting in an attempt to clear the way for retreat, American aircraft bombed and machine-gunned them. Thus, the British did not escape the fate of the Turkish, Puerto-Rican, Philippine and Negro soldiers whom the Americans abandoned to certain death in order to save their own skins.

The predatory Hitler crusades turned the Hitler army into hordes of killers and plunderers. The same can be observed with the MacArthur hordes. Those American soldiers not yet stupefied and corrupted by the propaganda of gangsterism are asking more and more frequently: why have we been sent to Korea, ten thousand kilometres from our own country. They are writing letters to Truman and Acheson. And there are, evidently, many such soldiers, since the U.S. State

Secretary himself found it necessary to answer, publicly, one of them, Moullette by name. Moullette wrote that the morale of the soldiers was low, that the useless expenditure of means by the Truman Administration was scandalous and the waste of human lives in Korea a shame for all mankind. The war is becoming increasingly unpopular among the U.S. soldiers in Korea. "It stands to reason that the most experienced generals and officers can suffer defeat if the soldiers regard the war imposed upon them as profoundly unjust and if, as a result of this, they perform their duties on the front in a formal way without faith in the righteousness of their mission and without enthusiasm." (Stalin). There is not, nor can there be, any such faith in the righteousness of their mission and such enthusiasm among the U.S. soldiers whom the MacArthurs are turning into killers.

At the same time the enthusiasm of the men of the Korean People's Army who together with the Chinese people's volunteers are defending the honour and independence of their Homeland is boundless. Neither savage atrocities nor barbaric air-raids on peaceful towns and villages can break the will to victory of the Korean people. In view of the use of poison gas by the Americans in Korea, a representative of the Chinese people's volunteers declared on March 17: "The U.S. aggressors in Korea have committed extraordinary crimes. They have already evoked determined resistance on the part of the Korean and Chinese peoples, on the part of the peace-loving peoples of the world, and, finally, they will receive due punishment from the peoples."

The revolted conscience of mankind cannot be reconciled to the continued brutalities of the U.S.

savages on Korean soil. Voicing the opinion of hundreds of millions of people of good-will, the World Peace Council demanded at its recent first session: “The foreign troops must be withdrawn from Korea and thus enable the Korean people themselves to settle their internal affairs”. In order to secure a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem, the World Peace Council proposed that a conference of all interested countries be convened immediately. This call met with a wide response in all countries.

*“Arrest the blood-stained hand of butcher “MacArthur!”, “Stop the U.S. intervention in Korea and Taiwan!”:—millions of people all over the world are demanding this today. And the peoples, who are giving support and solidarity to the sons and daughters will compel the U.S. imperialists to end their sanguinary adventure.

TO TEACH UNIFIED AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVES TO RUN THEIR ECONOMY WELL.* Rudolf Slansky, General Secretary, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

In agriculture, we have taken the path of socialist reconstruction—the path indicated to us by Lenin and Stalin, and thanks to which, Soviet agriculture has become the most advanced in the world. This is the path of welding the small peasant farms into large-scale co-operative farms, of firm alliance between working class and working peasantry, the path which will also lead our agriculture to high productivity.

The small and medium peasants, in ever-increasing numbers, are taking part in forming and developing the unified agricultural co-operatives. They are becoming convinced that joint co-operative labour, joint farming in large-scale agricultural enterprises is more profitable and beneficial, that it emancipates them from a life of misery and exhausting toil, from uncertainty about the morrow. The peasants realise that, by combining in co-operatives, they become the joint owners of common co-operative property, deciding all the questions connected with this property on the basis of equal rights for co-operative members.

The number of villages with unified agricultural co-operatives and villages in which preparatory committees were formed, more than doubled in the course of last year.

* From report submitted to Plenum of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, February 22, 1951.

Today, there are 3,868 co-operatives apart from the co-operatives of the lower, initial type. Of these, 2,026 adopted production Rules of the second type, 1,688, the third type, and 154, the fourth type.

An important step in the development of the co-operatives was the economic-technical re-division of land, as a result of which 8,279 co-operatives ploughed up the boundaries separating the fields and took to joint sowing on big amalgamated areas. Thus, in one-fifth of the villages, the peasant plots were united.

The unified agricultural co-operatives of the higher type cultivate jointly over a million hectares. Those co-operatives that have ploughed the boundaries of the fields unite 130,166 peasant families, of the 202,686 peasant families living in the villages where such co-operatives have been formed.

Of great significance for joint farming in the agricultural co-operatives of the higher type is the fact that they began to house their livestock in common sheds and to erect common buildings for the stock. In all, 370,000 head of cattle will be housed by the end of 1951 in new sheds and in old buildings adapted for the purpose.

We were able to achieve these results, above all, because the small and medium peasants became convinced, in practice, of the superiority of joint labour.

Another factor facilitating the development of the agricultural co-operatives was the utilisation of the rich experience of building collective farms in the Soviet Union, an experience which we are applying on an increasing scale.

The six hundred members of the peasant delegation, which last year visited the Soviet Union, told the

peasants in our villages about Soviet collective farms and the highly-developed Soviet agriculture. On the basis of the rules of the Soviet agricultural co-operative, our unified agricultural co-operatives drew up their own rules which provide for organisation of labour, remuneration for work performed according to its quantity and quality, setting aside a co-operative fund, etc.

The development of the agricultural co-operatives was also facilitated by the great and constant aid rendered by our working class and the people's democratic State: such as help by the State machine-and-tractor depots now functioning in all regions; the ever-increasing aid in cattle-breeding and the State credit of over one and a half billion crowns for current expenditure and capital construction.

Co-operative development was facilitated by the policy of restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements in the countryside. A most important measure was the compulsory purchase of tractors and other machines from the kulaks. In all, 16,000 tractors, 20,000 self-binders and 17,700 threshing-machines were bought. At present, the kulaks, with few exceptions, do not possess major agricultural machinery, possession of which guaranteed for them domination in the countryside. These machines now belong to the State machine-and-tractor depots and to the agricultural co-operatives.

The preliminary figures relating to the social structure of the agricultural co-operatives of the higher type are most instructive. Of the co-operative members, 43 per cent are peasants who own land plots up to 2 hectares ; 22 per cent—2 to 8 hectares; 17 per cent—5 to 10 hectares; 14 per cent—10 to 15 hectares; 3

per cent—15 to 20 hectares, and 1 per cent—over 20 hectares. Hence, the small peasants—owners of plots up to 5 hectares (65 per cent)—constitute the bulk of the co-operative membership, Medium peasants are also represented in considerable measure.

Serious thought should be given to the data concerning the number of peasants with more than 20 hectares of land. They show, quite clearly, that there are kulaks among the members of the co-operatives. In these villages where co-operatives of the higher type exist, nearly half the peasants possessing over 20 hectares of land were accepted ad members. Contrary to the view expressed at the previous meeting of the Central Committee of the Party that we would not, and could not, admit kulaks into the co-operatives, that we are forming co-operatives not with the participation of kulaks but in struggle against them—despite this, kulaks are admitted to co-operative membership.

The kulak is striving, might and main, to hamper the formation of agricultural co-operatives which signify an end to his enrichment at the expense of the blood and sweat of the small and medium peasants. Wherever he fails to do this, he changes his tactics and tries to penetrate the co-operatives in order to undermine them from within. In doing this, he acts with cunning: he seeks to lull the vigilance of the peasants by displaying extraordinary zeal for the fate of the co-operative, “unselfishly” offering to the co-operative his special knowledge, draught animals and even part of his land, free of charge. We know from the experience of the Soviet Union that the kulak is even more dangerous inside the co-operative than outside.

Therefore, we must not admit kulaks to the agricultural co-operatives, and wherever they have

penetrated them, it is necessary to summon meetings of the members and explain to them why the kulaks should be expelled.

The unified agricultural co-operatives can develop and grow stronger only if they follow the Lenin-Stalin teaching that the small peasant is our pillar in the countryside, that the medium peasant is our ally, and that we cannot cease for a moment our struggle against the kulak. This is the basic line of our work in the countryside.

*

In defining the further tasks of the co-operatives, we must proceed from the fact that it was only recently, last autumn to be precise, that the majority of the co-operatives took to ploughing up the field boundaries and took to joint sowing; that, as yet, these co-operatives lack experience and are not sufficiently strong organisationally.

Thus, the decisive task of the Party, as formulated by Comrade Gottwald, is to strengthen the agricultural co-operatives economically and organisationally. It means, first of all, teaching the agricultural co-operatives to conduct their farming in a way that will give better results than those obtained by the individual peasants:—higher crop yield, higher productivity of cattle, and greater profitability of farming over the year. The Party as a whole must help the co-operatives to improve their farming.

In most co-operatives, remuneration for work performed is calculated according to the number of hours put in. This system of remuneration, with quantity and quality of work not taken into account, is to the

advantage of idlers and does not favour diligent workers; it also plays into the hands of our enemies. The principle should prevail in the co-operatives that little work and work of bad quality are rewarded accordingly. A co-operative member should be paid on the basis of the amount, nature and quality of labour put in. All agricultural co-operatives must discuss and assess norms for the various jobs, taking into account the complexity and nature of each job, and, on the basis, decide what constitutes a work-day unit. A work-day unit is not wages, it is a share in the common income yielded by the farm, a fixed share—in money and in kind—according to the work performed by the co-operative member.

Consequently, the scale of the work-day unit cannot be permanent; it depends on how, the members conduct their farming. In the agricultural co-operative in Pobejovize, for example, where the farming was successful, it was possible to assess remuneration for the work-day unit as follows; 75 crowns in money, 2.5 kilograms of wheat, over a kilogram of rye, 0.5 kilogram of barley, 1 kilogram of oasis and 13 kilograms of potatoes. Comrade Mateika, a member of this co-operative, who contributed over 500 work-day units, received—not counting his wife's share—40,050 crowns in cash, 19 centners of grain, 8.14 centners of fodder and 70 centners of potatoes. In other co-operatives, where things were badly done, the remuneration for work was less than half of this.

Each co-operative member, as is known, has the right to keep for personal use one cow, 1-2 calves, hogs, sheep and as many poultry as he pleases. By rearing store cattle he would have to give more time to looking after his stock and this would distract his attention from

joint farming, with the result that he would stand with one foot in the co-operative and another outside it. Hence, the question arises of joint animal husbandry, which also means higher income for the co-operative.

The agricultural co-operatives recognise that, without sound book-keeping and complete order in this respect, there can be no order in the co-operative. That is why we recommend the agricultural co-operatives to take into consideration the importance of systematic book-keeping which will enable the board of the co-operative and the membership to control the entire course of work: and to take timely measures to eliminate all mistakes and difficulties, Each co-operative should have a responsible book-keeper who would have the job of seeing how the budget is observed, who would endeavour to add to the collective property of the co-operative, supplement its funds, and ensure payment for work according to the established rates, etc. The book-keeper's job is to see that the work of the co-operative is well done.

A large-scale collective, co-operative farm cannot be run properly without an annual plan and a working plan envisaging the crops to be sown and where to be sown, the number of machines, draught animals, man-power and fodder needed, etc. These plans should be based on calculated income and expenditure, give a clear picture of the results anticipated and help beforehand, the approximate value of a work-day unit. The plan must be drawn up with the utmost care, with the participation of all the co-operative members, and there should be regular verification of its fulfilment.

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While we shall not chase after numbers, we must see to it that the political preparations for forming additional agricultural co-operatives, for developing the co-operatives of the lower type into those of the higher type and for ploughing up the boundaries between the fields, are more thorough and are conducted on the basis of extensive explanatory work among the peasantry. It should not be forgotten that haste in this respect can only result in harm. It is particularly harmful when the economic-technical re-division of the land is undertaken without sufficient political preparation and which satisfaction is evinced because the formal consent of 51 per cent of the peasants is obtained. In such circumstances it is not surprising that a kulak can subordinate numerous small and medium peasants to his influence and turn them against the agricultural co-operatives. It is necessary to fight, consistently and stubbornly, against substituting systematic and patient work to convince peasants with one or another administrative measure.

We cannot regard those small and medium peasants who, as yet, do not want to join the co-operatives, as hopeless adversaries of co-operation. We must convince them, in the long run, this will enable us to win all honest peasants for the agricultural cooperatives.

Our advance towards Socialism seriously affects the kulaks. The measures we are taking at present aim only at restricting and dislodging them. By establishing unified co-operatives in the countryside, by winning the small and medium peasants for joint cultivation of the land, we are undermining the positions of the kulak. He is affected by other measures as well. For example, by purchase of his machinery, by the utilisation, according to law, of his draught animals, by the just assessment of

quotas, etc. The rural exploiter is aware that his domination in the countryside is coming to an end.

Having no desire to become reconciled to this, he resists in every way. With our advance forward there is no deadening of the class struggle; instead, it grows in intensity. The subversive activities of Sling were an expression of the intensified class struggle.

The spy Sling, together with Svermova, sought to frustrate the struggle against the kulaks, declaring that measures against kulaks are harmful, since they would alienate the medium peasants; that it was possible and essential to make use of the “special knowledge” of the landlords and the rural rich.

The lesson drawn from the case of Sling and Svermova teaches that we must fight against any conciliatory attitude towards rural exploiters, against the view that, allegedly, it is better to reach agreement with the kulak, to make concessions to him and accept him into the co-operative. Such views are extremely harmful. In many co-operatives the members have already become convinced that the kulak who worms his way into the co-operative, turns out, in the long run, to be its worst enemy.

The Party members in the countryside are now being tempered in the fire of the ever-sharpening class struggle; they are acquiring revolutionary experience in this struggle, learning that they must be irreconcilable towards the kulak—vampire and exploiter in the countryside.

The rural Party organisations must tirelessly purge themselves of all alien elements, and, in particular, must fight against penetration of kulaks into their ranks.

The Party would not have been successful in carrying out its policy of restricting and dislodging the

capitalist elements in the countryside had it not relied on the broad sections of small peasants and workers whose homes are in the countryside and who have small plots of land there. The view that such workers should not be admitted to the co-operatives since they are not regarded as peasants and therefore are not interested in the co-operatives and would simply act as a brake on them, is an incorrect view. Such views are spread in the first instance by rural reaction which does not want these workers to take an active part in forming co-operatives precisely because they are more class conscious. In the factories and in the villages the Party organisations, now, more than ever before, must convince these workers to take part in the agricultural co-operatives, explain to them that they will benefit from this economically as well.

Communists must also see that together With the small peasants, the medium peasants, too, should join the co-operatives. Wherever only small peasants representing a minority express themselves in favour of forming co-operatives, in favour of effecting the economic-technical re-division of land and of going over from the second to the third type of co-operatives, and where the medium peasants have not yet been drawn to this work, it is necessary, again and again, to convince the middle peasants, and, having formed a co-operative, to realise the advance from the second to the third type only when the medium peasants or at least a considerable section of them support the small peasants.

With the transfer to joint farming, the Party takes upon itself responsibility for the results of work in the new agricultural co-operatives. Therefore, Communists assigned to work in the countryside must become

acquainted with every detail of the life of the new co-operatives, with their problems and difficulties in order to be able to help them effectively and give them correct counsel. Organising and establishing agricultural co-operatives and looking after them is not the end. It is but the beginning.

We must see to it that the results of this year's farming in the unified co-operatives should convince additional hundreds of thousands of peasants who still adhere to a wait-and-see attitude that, by uniting in the agricultural co-operatives, they can achieve higher productivity of labour than the individual peasants.

We will achieve this if we strengthen the co-operatives, if we secure better results in animal husbandry and cultivation, if we gradually mechanise all arduous agricultural work, increasingly cement the alliance between industrial workers and working peasantry, rely on the small peasants, consolidate the alliance with the medium peasant, and if we do not cease for a moment our struggle against the rural exploiter.

We shall achieve this if we follow the path the correctness of which is proved by the most advanced agriculture in the world—Soviet agriculture—if we march along this path under the wise leadership of Comrade Clement Gottwald, our President and Chairman of our Party.

IN THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

PLENUM, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY

The Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was held in Berlin on March 15-17.

The Plenum heard and took into consideration the statement made by Comrade Rudolf Herrnstadt about the meeting of the Political Bureau, held prior to the Plenum, and its decision concerning the attitude of the Party arising from the rejection by the Bonn puppet Parliament of the proposals advanced by the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic, and the further tasks in the struggle for peace and unity of Germany.

Comrade Hermann Matern reported on the progress of the verification of members and candidate members of the Socialist Unity Party. He spoke of the preliminary results of the verification and stressed, as a positive fact, that in connection with the verification, Party members are undertaking to increase labour productivity, to improve their work among the masses and to raise their theoretical level. Comrade Matern severely criticised the serious mistakes and shortcomings in the verification work, which express themselves in complacency by the verification commissions towards enemies of the Party and careerists, and also in insufficient explanation of the

vital questions of the struggle for peace and of the history of the German working class movement.

The Plenum further heard and discussed a report by Comrade Fred Müller, “Tasks in the sphere of physical culture and sport” and decided to give better guidance to the democratic sports movement. The report by Comrade Hans Lauter, “Struggle against formalism in art and literature, for progressive German culture” was followed by lively discussion in which, together with members of the Central Committee, prominent writers, composers, artists and other cultural workers, invited to the meeting, took part.

VALUABLE INITIATIVE OF FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

“Each Communist must become a propagandist and take an active part in the ‘truth campaign’ and in exposing the aggressive plans of U.S. imperialism!—With this aim in view “France Nouvelle” weekly journal of the French Communist Party, began, with its March 3 issue, publication of a special “page for propagandists”. The latest issues of the journal carried out materials devoted to the German question and the worsening of the conditions of the working people—the outcome of war preparations by the imperialists. The “page for propagandists” also contains practical advice for propagandists (how to reply to the arguments of people deceived by the imperialist propaganda, how to expose the imperialists and their Right-wing Socialist lackeys “by quoting their own statements, etc.).

Materials published in the “page for propagandists” also provide a basis for discussion of political questions at Party meetings. They can be used for newspapers and leaflets issued by local Party organisations and for popular discussion meetings in defence of peace.

The initiative of “France Nouvelle” is of great significance for Communist propagandists who carry the words of truth to the masses of the French people.

LUBLIN COMMITTEE ON WORK OF UNIVERSITY PARTY ORGANISATION

The bureau of the Lublin voivod committee of the Polish United Workers’ Party verified how the Party the Lublin University, named after Maria Curie-Sklodowska, is carrying out its directives about improving methods of leadership of the Party organisation.

In the 1949-50 academic year, 17 per cent of the membership of the University Party organisation were workers and 42 per cent office employees and others. this year the social composition of the Party organisation has improved. Workers now number 38 per cent and office employees about 25 per cent. The bureau of the voivod committee pointed out, however, that the social composition of the Party organisation was still not quite satisfactory and that it was essential that the growth of the Party organisation in all faculties should be equal.

The committee had pointed out that the University Party committee did not always adhere to the collective principle of work. The Party committee in the University took heed of this directive and made a practice of

inviting secretaries of the faculty Party organisations to its meetings. Moreover, the committee assigned definite sectors of work to some of its members. Special commissions were formed to prepare decisions on vital questions of Party work in the University. Such commissions verified the activities of the University organisation of the Polish Youth Union, trade union organisations and submitted proposals for improving their work. These proposals were later discussed and adopted by the Party committee.

The Party committee reorganised the propaganda groups and is now giving systematic assistance to the Youth organisations. Simultaneously, the voivod committee points out that some of the faculty organisations have not yet learnt to do this. The Party organisation also helped the leadership of the University to raise the level of education and discipline, and to improve the living conditions and housing facilities for the students.

The voivod committee suggested that the University Party organisation should organise ideological education among non-Party students and non-Party University Workers, and work out a plan and methods of work with probationer members and members of the Party.

TOWARDS 30th ANNIVERSARY OF FOUNDATION OF RUMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Rumanian Communist Party will celebrate its 30th anniversary on May 8.

All working people in Rumania are preparing to celebrate this great event.

The workers and technical personnel in the “Sovrommetal” (Resita) iron and steel works and of “Steagul-Rosu” (Stalin) metal works have called upon all workers, engineers and technicians in the country to take part in Socialist emulation for fulfilment of the 1951 plan ahead of schedule, and for economy of means and material in honour of the Party’s 30th anniversary. Their call reads: “We are fully resolved to struggle for new successes in production and thus express love for our homeland and the Party of the working class which, during the hard years of persecution, oppression and exploitation, waged a heroic struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of the capitalists and landlords, and which, after the liberation of the country by the glorious Soviet Army, is leading our working people along the bright path of Socialist construction. We pledge to fulfil the 1951 production plan in 11 months, and by utilising all the resources at the disposal of our enterprises, to effect an economy in materials to the value of 31 million lei”.

This call was warmly received by all working people in the country. “Scanteia” and other newspapers contain daily reports of overfulfilment of production assignments by shops and enterprises taking part in the emulation.

The Resita iron and steel workers produced, in the course of a few days, 400 tons of rolled metal in excess of plan. Workers and technical personnel in the Hunedoara works put into operation blast furnace No. 3 six days, and blast furnace No. 4, fifteen days ahead of schedule. They also pledged to complete the work on blast furnace” No. 5 thirty days ahead of schedule.

In April, reports dealing with the 30 year struggle of the Party for the cause of the working people, for the happiness of the Motherland, for peace, for Socialism,— will be delivered at enterprises, collective and State farms, and at machine-and-tractor stations. Meetings with former political prisoners—members of the underground revolutionary movement—will be held in clubs and reading rooms.

The Party Publishing House has issued a collection of “Resolutions and Decisions of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers’ Party adopted in 1948-50”. A collection of articles and speeches by Gheorghiu-Dej; biographies of Party leaders; a pamphlet, “30 year struggle of the Party” etc. have been prepared for publication. The Institute of the History of the Party has prepared material for photo exhibitions for the anniversary.

AGAINST DISTORTIONS OF PARTY LINE IN SOCIALIST REORGANISATION OF AGRICULTURE

Decision of Central Committee, Communist Party of Bulgaria

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria adopted a special resolution concerning distortions of Party and Government policy that occurred in a number of villages in the Kula and Tetevene districts.

In the village of Rabrovo (Kula district), the chairman of the people’s council and head of the

propaganda department of the district Party committee displayed bureaucratic callousness towards the needs of the peasants, arbitrarily fined peasants who showed vacillation about entering the co-operatives and even arrested some of them. In the village of Yablaniza (Tetevene district), certain peasants (mainly kulaks) were deprived, by decision of the local people's council, of their legal rights and were virtually outlawed.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria decided to dissolve the Kula district Party committee and immediately to convene a district Party conference in order to outline measures for improving the political work of the Party in the district and to elect a new district Party committee; to expel from the Party and bring to trial the persons directly responsible for this distortion of Party and Government policy; to dissolve the Party branch in Yablaniza and to form a new branch by the registration of Party members.

The Central Committee commissioned all area, district and urban Party committees to discuss this decision and to organise discussion also in the lower Party organisations.

In connection with the Central Committee's decision, "Rabotnichesko Delo", organ of the Party, published a leading article, headed: "For Bolshevik irreconcilability towards violation and the violators of the people's democratic law". Dwelling on the need fully to observe the voluntary principle in bringing the peasants into the co-operatives, the newspaper writes: "Such is the invariable and firm stand of our Party and no one will be permitted to divert our Party organisations from this stand". Referring to the line of restricting and dislodging the kulaks, the newspaper

says that the kulaks, as a class, have not been outlawed; whenever repressive measures are taken against kulaks they should be taken only on the basis of the law. "We must take care not to denounce medium peasants as kulaks because of their political outlook. We should regard as a kulak a peasant exploiter, one who employs or who recently employed, as a rule, hired labour or who in any other way systematically exploits or exploited the labour of others. Our task is politically to isolate the exploiting elements in the countryside from the working peasants".

SIXTY THOUSAND NEW MEMBERS IN ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

In January, 60,036 new members joined the Italian Communist Party in 76 of its 97 Federations, including 4,500 in Milan, 3,379 in Bologna, 3,500 in Rome, 3,354 in Reggio Emilia, 885 in Lecce, 672 in Ascoli, etc.

It is characteristic that the big influx of new members into the Communist Party is confined not only to the northern industrial areas. The same holds true for the southern agricultural districts.

Of the 29,675 new members in 14 Federations, 11,056 are women of whom nearly 8,000 are housewives. This points to greater activity by women who hitherto took little part in political life.

CALL OF AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The Political Committee of the Australian Communist Party has addressed a call to all working people of Australia urging them to redouble their efforts in the struggle for peace.

The Menzies Government, says the call, failed to get the approval of the Supreme Court for its anti-popular, repressive law banning the Communist Party. The rejection of the Menzies law represents a victory for the peace movement, democracy and for better living conditions. The decision of the Supreme Court clearly reveals the reactionary nature of the Menzies Government and its aim—to commit the people to the policy of unleashing a new war. In fact, the so-called anti-Communist Dissolution Act, continues the call, was directed against all peace-loving people in Australia.

The Political Committee calls on the masses, on all champions of peace and democratic liberties to intensify their struggle with a view to replacing the Menzies Government by a government devoted to the cause of peace. The Supreme Court's rejection of the law banning the Communist Party was not only a defeat for Menzies but also a defeat for the Right-wing of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions which sought to split the struggle against this law and which committed the Labour Party to its support. This Right-wing of the Labour Party is inculcating in the labour movement the Menzies' policy of unleashing war. The struggle for peace is at the same time a struggle for isolating the treacherous Right-wing of the Labour Party from the Labour Movement.

Continuing, the call says that the amendments to the Arbitration Law, now before Parliament, are aimed at depriving the workers of the last vestiges of the right to strike and of putting a straight-jacket on the Trade Union movement.

The Political Committee points out that the Communist Party of Australia, as the true champion of the interests of the Australian workers, extends a hand to all who want peace, who are opposed to arming Japan and Germany, who do not want to give away our independence to Wall Street, who prefer democracy to fascism; it calls upon all to unite in a broad national movement for removing the Menzies Government from power for the purpose of preserving peace and democracy.

The Communist Party of Australia, says the call, champions the policy of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, whereas, the Menzies Government pursues a policy hostile to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, because of its Socialist nature, is the main bulwark in the struggle for universal peace. It threatens no one, including Australia. The Soviet people are engaged in mammoth projects of peaceful construction.

The Communist Party calls upon all people of good will in Australia to join its ranks and to render it financial support. The forces of peace are stronger than the forces striving for war. The struggle for peace can and will be won by a united front of all those who hate war and love peace.

The call ends with the words: Forward to victory over the warmongers! Down with Menzies!

MEASURES TO IMPROVE WORK AMONG YOUTH IN AUSTRIA

In connection with the Austrian youth rally scheduled for May, the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria decided recently to improve work among the young people. The decision obliges all Party organisations to intensify work among the youth, to utilise the preparations for the rally to further extend and consolidate the Austrian Youth Union and to overcome sectarianism—the main shortcoming in the youth movement.

The party press is given the task of widely featuring questions relating to the youth movement.

CAUSE OF PARIS IS IMMORTAL. Pierre Hentges

Eighty years have passed since the day the Paris Commune was proclaimed.

Why does the working class of France, and not only of France but throughout the world, honour the memory of the heroes of the Paris uprising? Because the workers' Paris with its Commune was, as Karl Marx expressed it, the glorious herald of a new society. The Paris Commune was the first attempt of a proletarian revolution to smash the bourgeois State machine, the first, but short-lived, dictatorship of the proletariat in history.

During the ten weeks of its existence, the Paris Commune, forced to concentrate its forces, above all, on defence, could but begin to effect radical political and social changes. Relying on the armed people, the new power created a model representative body. The Commune was simultaneously a legislative and executive organ whose members were elected by the people and who reported on their activities to their electors and who were subject to recall at any moment by the electors.

The Commune issued a decree whereby the factories, closed or abandoned by their capitalist owners, were handed over to workers' federations; it annulled all rent for the duration of the war and prohibited night work at bakeries etc. The Church was separated from the State and the school from the Church.

But while giving due credit to the successes of the greatest proletarian movement of the nineteenth

century, the working class at the same time draw all the lessons from its shortcomings and mistakes.

The Commune arose in the era when French capitalism was, as yet, insufficiently developed, when the French proletariat was still weak and lacked a really revolutionary Party capable of heading its struggle. This role of leader could be performed neither by the majority of the Commune members—the Blanquists who, on the whole, were Socialists only by revolutionary instinct, nor by the minority—the members of the International Workers' Society, who, in the main, were followers of Proudhon.

France was predominantly a peasant country at the time. An alliance between the proletariat and poor peasants was the essential condition for the success of the uprising. Although the Paris Commune orientated itself on this alliance, it failed, however, to achieve it.

Due to lack of offensive spirit, the Commune failed to use to the maximum the remarkable initiative of the masses. It did not go to Versailles; losing thereby, the opportunity of inflicting the decisive blow on the enemy. The Commune also committed a serious political mistake in not seizing the treasures of the French Bank which, according to Engels, would have been of greater significance than 10,000 in the hands of the Commune.

Besieged, weakened by the irresoluteness of its leaders, and faced with numerical superiority of the forces of Versailles, the Commune fell. But immediately after the fall of the Commune, it became clear to the international proletariat that although the Commune had perished, its cause was immortal. After the Paris Commune, the struggle of the working class for their liberation entered upon a new phase. Lenin and Stalin

pointed out more than once that the Soviet Republic was the continuation of the Paris Commune.

“The republic of Soviets” said Comrade Stalin, “is thus the political form, so long sought and finally discovered, within the framework of which the economic emancipation of the proletariat, the complete victory of Socialism, is to be accomplished.

“The Paris Commune was the embryo of this form, the Soviet power is its development and culmination”.

After the “week of blood”, Thiers exclaimed: “Now Socialism is finished with for a long time to come!”. But history refuted the prophecies of the butcher of the Paris Commune. Only 46 years later, the Great October Socialist Revolution showed that capitalism would be abolished for ever on a world-wide scale. The victories of the Soviet Union, the People’s Democracies and People’s China in all spheres of economy, policy and culture indicate more clearly than ever before, that the future of the world belongs to Communism. Acting on this certainty, the working people in the capitalist countries, and in particular, in France, are waging a great class struggle preparing, in their turn, to storm the bastions of capitalism.

There is in the present situation in France a certain, and by no means accidental similarity with the conditions under which the Commune fought. In their attempts to curb the working class with the aim of preparing an aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies, the ruling classes of France turn to Truman and Eisenhower just as Versailles sought assistance from Bismarck and Moltke. In 1871, the Prussian headquarters released 100,000 French prisoners of war for the purpose of crushing revolutionary Paris. The present-day Thiers consent to

the revival, on the borders of France, of the “Wehrmacht” which can be turned by the American imperialists against the French working people. Marx’s scathing denunciation of the French rulers of 1871, is applicable in the same measure to the Queuilles, Plevens and Mochs: “In this conflict between national duty and class interest, the Government of National Defence did not hesitate one moment to turn into a Government of National Defection”.

But the new Versailles and their masters will never succeed in crushing the French democratic movement in the way their forefathers crushed the Commune.

Today, the situation is quite different.

In 1871, the working class of France failed to create its own party, failed to unite under the leadership of such a party. Now—and this must be particularly stressed—it has a revolutionary Marxist Party corresponding to the demands of the revolutionary movement.

Whereas in 1871 the peasantry did not support the Commune, nowadays the working peasants of France, ruined by the war policy and indignant at the prospect of new devastation and another slaughter, are becoming more and more conscious of the unity of their interests with those of the working class.

The great battles waged by the French working class since 1947 against the Marshallisation of France, against the criminal war in Indo-China and in defence of the vital interests of workers and all working sections of the population, the big strikes taking place at the present time—these facts show that the French Communist Party—the Party of Maurice Thorez—is capable of preparing and organising the victory of the working class.

Combating the pro-American policy of the Government of national betrayal, the French working class, guided by the Communist Party, is drawing increasingly broader masses of the French people into the common struggle for peace.

The Communards were in the front ranks of the progressive forces of their time, combating all that was old, obsolete and reactionary. Today the French working class is leading the struggle of the French people against the rulers who are bartering the country, seeking to involve it in war through poverty and fascism. The outcome of this struggle is a foregone conclusion. The cause of the Paris Commune will triumph in France!

**BRING THE IDEAS OF OUR PROGRAMME
TO WORKING PEOPLE OF GREAT
BRITAIN. Harry Pollitt, General Secretary,
British Communist Party**

The publication of the long term programme of the Communist Party in Britain, "The British Road to Socialism", is a landmark in the history of the Labour Movement in Britain.

It was published at a time when there was more concern, anxiety and questioning among the working people than has ever been known in Britain before. Millions of people, concerned with the subservient and subordinate position that Britain occupies in relation to the U.S.A, rising prices and profits; rearmament and all the serious weakening this means of Britain's basic economy; the extension of conscription, the calling up of the Z Reserve men; war in Korea and Malaya; the re-armament of Germany; the complete control the U.S.A. warmongers now exert over Britain's production and armed forces—all had combined to compel large masses of the British people to ask, "Where is it all going to end?"

All the slanders and venomous lies that "the Soviet Union is to blame for all this", merely gave rise to disgust among working people. They were striving to find a way out of their problems that could ensure good wages, jobs, their national independence and peace.

There was a growing industrial unrest; strikes and go-slow movements were developing among the dockers, railwaymen, builders and engineers.

Local Labour Parties were getting together for the first time since the General Election in 1945 to protest against the foreign policy of the Government, and demanding the withdrawal of British troops from Malaya and Korea; expressing opposition to any support of an American war against China and demanding a new approach to the Soviet Union for a new understanding.

Over a hundred Labour Members of Parliament had signed a letter to Attlee protesting against any suggestion of Truman ordering the use of the atom bomb of Korea.

Alongside the activity of the British Peace Committee, there were springing up, spontaneously. Peace With China Committees all over the country, and sections of the middle strata of the population were crowding to the demonstrations for Peace With China organised by the National Peace Council and the people grouped around the New Statesman.

The well-known theoretician of the Labour Party, G. D. H. Cole, had been impelled to write a letter to the "New Statesman & Nation", which caused a sensation in Labour Party circles. The tone of this letter can be seen from the following quotation:

"When the American forces, dragging us with them, advanced right to the Manchurian frontier, I was quite unable to blame the Chinese for intervening. Whether or not the Americans meant at once to put Manchurian industries out of action, it became perfectly plain that, by occupying all Korea and by upholding Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa, the Americans were building up a strategic position for war against Communist China as part of their general strategy in the world struggle against Communism".

Saying that if Great Britain gets dragged into war with China by the Americans, he would be on the side of China, along with many more of his fellow-countrymen, and that if Great Britain agrees to rearm Western Germany, he would feel unable to take any further part in exhorting the British workers to make an all-out productive effort for a war in Europe, Cole continues:

“I would ask those who take this line whether they really mean we must blindly follow the Americans even when American policy, instead of keeping us out of world war, appears to be landing us right into it.”

This, then, was the situation when the “British Road to Socialism” was published.

In a Foreword to the Programme, I wrote:

“Recent events have compelled us all to consider seriously the policies which have brought the world to the brink of war, and to ask—what is the future for our country? In putting forward this Programme for discussion, we know that the questions it raises are of deep concern to all workers by hand and brain, who want to find the way forward to an independent prosperous, Socialist Britain.”

In the Introduction to the Programme it is stated:

“If the people are to advance, both the Tories and their allies in the Labour Movement, the right wing Labour leaders, must be fought and defeated.

The lesson of the failure of the Labour Government is not the failure of Socialism. It is the failure of Labour reformism and Labour imperialism, which is the servant of the big capitalist interests.

Britain's problems can be solved only by a completely new programme and policy, which ends once and for all the ownership of Britain's wealth by a tiny

exploiting minority; and establishes the real political and economic freedom of the people.

Such a Programme is the Programme of the Communist Party. It represents the true interests of the entire Labour Movement. It represents the true interests of the overwhelming majority of the British people”.

Let me say at once, we under-estimated the interest that would be aroused by the Programme. We ordered 25,000 copies. They went like wildfire, and we had printed by March 3rd, 190,000 copies of the Programme and had sold 152,000 by March 10th, and our immediate target is now 250,000.

Such a mass sale for an important political document is unprecedented in the history of the British Labour Movement.

This, however; is not enough. The task confronting Communists is to acquaint every working man and woman in Britain with the ideas contained in the programme. Our membership will accomplish this noble task with honour.

The new Programme is such an important and serious document that the capitalist press and radio could not shroud it in silence or abstain from commenting on it. It received extensive publicity on the B.B.C. and in the capitalist daily and weekly press. The “Manchester Guardian”; “News Chronicle”, “Daily Mirror” and “Daily Mail’ even devoted leading articles to the Programme, commenting of it, naturally, in their own way. Only the Labour Party organ, “Daily Herald”, terrified by the new perspectives which the Programme gave for the working people, gave exactly 11 lines to it, and weekly journals under the influence of the Labour Party completely boycotted the Programme.

The Labour leaders are afraid to give publicity to a policy that corresponds to the desires of their own rank and file supporters, to the vital interests of the British working people. Characteristic of this is what happened in the factories. Labour Party members came tip to the Communists, demanding why they had no copies of the Programme to sell. When they had obtained copies, we had many examples of Labour Party members saying, "This is the policy our Government ought to be carrying out."

The Programme received an enthusiastic welcome from the membership of the Communist Party. They felt they now had a new powerful weapon in their hands. One comrade told me after reading it and listening to the comments on it in his factory, "Harry, this is our **'What Is To Be Done'**".

Our comrades working in Acton (London) factories, report that people who have never bought Party literature before have eagerly taken copies of this Programme. One comrade in Acton sold 96 copies in the factory in which he works. In a mining village in Durham a non-Party sympathiser brought 100 copies and sold them amongst the miners there. In a Scottish pit, out of 200 miners working there, 150 bought the Programme, six of whom have joined the Party since reading it.

Reports from our comrades testify that many active members of the Labour Party, in the main, expressed agreement with the Communist Party on all foreign policy questions, especially Korea, China and the re-arming of Germany. They said that our Programme proposals on the Empire corresponded with what they had expected from the Labour Government; that our Socialist Nationalisation proposals were what they wanted. But the most important new point for them was

our policy in relation to Parliament and British democratic traditions.

At a meeting at a local Oil Depot workers asked questions and took part in the discussion after an opening statement on the Programme, for nearly two hours. The questions that they asked are of some interest, and naturally steps were taken to answer them at once. Here are some of the questions raised at this meeting:

What guarantee have we that if a People's Government came to power it would carry out its programme?

We have seen Parties, including our own Labour Party, go against their own programmes. How is the Communist Programme different?

If we didn't like what the People's Government did, would we be able to change it?

If we break with America politically, would we still be able to trade with her? And if not, could Britain survive without that trade?

All the speakers and leading comrades of the Communist Party have a carefully prepared explanatory note on the Programme which acts as a guide if presenting it to the people in the most effective manner.

Special Schools on the Programme are now being held, particularly for members of Branch and District Party Committees. It is the chief subject at our National Schools. On each section of the Programme, special Study Courses and Syllabuses are now being prepared.

Mass meetings are taking place all over the country at which the Programme is being explained. And the interest of the audiences at such meetings is remarkable.

But inside the Communist Party there are two main weaknesses in regard to the attitude to the Programme that need to be eliminated as quickly as possible. First, the serious underestimation both of the present and future importance of the Programme by many of our comrades. This was forcibly brought home to me when I saw the Programme published in the journal “For a Lasting Peace, For a Peoples Democracy”, in “Pravda” and in “The Bolshevik”, and the great publicity given to it in the press of our brother Parties.

Now all this simply proves that “The British Road to Socialism” is not just another Party document; but the most important political statement we have ever issued: one that takes up all the outstanding problems and issues confronting the British working people, poses new, decisive questions and deals with them from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism.

Second, we must eliminate the tendency to look for particular formulations and concentrate all the discussion upon them. Why? Because this leads to the danger of losing sight of the tremendous perspective for a fundamental solution of the main problems worrying the people.

Our Programme proves that peace can be maintained. That we can recover our national independence from the stranglehold of the U.S.A. imperialists. That work and wages, extensions of the Social Services, and a new Socialist Nationalisation can be secured, that a new type of Government, based on real Peoples Democracy, can be won by the people; that new fraternal relations can be established with the liberated colonial peoples, relations that would wipe out the bitterness of the past, be of mutual benefit to us all, and help enormously in strengthening the

economy and social advance of all, welded in this new fraternal alliance.

These are the great aims of the Programme which also refutes the slanders about the Communist Party wanting to impose Communism by aggression and conquest, about wanting to destroy by underhand and subversive means the British Empire, about wanting to introduce Soviet power into Britain and abolish Parliament.

At the same time the Programme shows that the working people, once they unite their forces, with the organised working class leading and guiding them, can successfully solve every economic and political problem.

“The way forward to the achievement of the aims of this programme lies through the united action of the working people”, states the Programme. That is why the Communist Party calls upon all working people to unite and fight now for peace and to protect and improve their standards and living conditions; to win increased wages to combat high prices, taxation and rents; to defend their trade union and democratic rights; and in this daily struggle to strengthen and extend the unity, organisation, solidarity, confidence and political consciousness of all sections of the workers”.

The Communist Party in Britain faces great difficulties, but it also has tremendous new opportunities:

The new Programme opens broad perspectives for the Party in developing the Communist movement in Britain. Upon the activity of the Party and of each member depends how these opportunities will be used.

The “British Road to Socialism” equips the Party with a powerful and mighty weapon which, correctly used, can help unite and galvanise into immediate mass

activity all the present concern, discontent and sectional struggles of the workers in the sure knowledge that they can result in the defeat of the policy of the Attlees and Churchills, and that a new policy, leadership and Government can place Britain where she belongs in the vanguard of the fight for peace and social advance alongside the democratic peace-loving peoples of the whole world.

NEW PHASE IN STRUGGLE OF SPANISH PEOPLE. Dolores Ibarruri, General Secretary, Communist Party of Spain

The general protest of the people of Catalonia, led by the working class and its United Socialist Party, against the Franco regime, is neither a fortuitous nor isolated phenomenon. The protest was caused by the appalling living conditions imposed on the people by the fascist regime. It was the result of the selfless work of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia which succeeded, despite the brutal terror, in arousing in the working class and in the Catalonian people the consciousness that it is essential to fight fascism vigorously.

Barcelona, capital of Catalonia, a large industrial centre with a population of some two million, presents a ghastly sight: Tens of thousands of working class families live in filthy slums or in dug-outs in the vicinity of the Montjuich fortress walls and around the capital.

To poverty, starvation and ruin to which Francoism has doomed Catalonia and all Spain, there should he added the brutal national oppression. Things have gone so far as denial to Catalonians of the right to speak in their native language, the elimination of all the national gains of the Catalonian people. Francoism, in an effort to break the fighting spirit of the Catalonian working class, fell upon Catalonia with all its brutal ferocity.

The recent events, however, show that Franco is unable to kill the revolutionary consciousness and the will of the working class tempered in long, stubborn and heroic struggle. The general strike in Catalonia also showed that to turn Spaniards into cannon-fodder is not

as easy as the American-British warmongers believed it to be, or as Franco had promised them.

The struggle in Catalonia which began as a movement against hunger and high prices developed into a predominantly political struggle against Francoism and its American patrons.

I.

Accordingly as U.S. penetration in Spain became clearer and the conditions of the masses rapidly deteriorated due to Franco's war policy, protest actions and strikes took place in the factories and mills in Catalonia, testifying to the determination of the working people to refuse to be regarded as cattle.

During the trade union elections, held last October on the Francoist orders, the working class of Catalonia demonstrated its revolutionary maturity and its will to struggle against Francoism. In the course of the election campaign the United Socialist Party of Catalonia conducted, despite police persecution, large-scale organisational and explanatory work among industrial workers in Catalonia, particularly in Barcelona. At many factories workers put forward their own candidates in opposition to fascist candidates, and wherever this was impossible, they dropped blank forms or forms containing anti-fascist slogans into the ballot-boxes. At a clothing factory in Barcelona employing 500 workers, 385 voting-papers were declared invalid; they contained the sentence, "We want higher wages!". At other factories workers protested against the fascist regime by inscribing on the voting-papers: "Long live Stalin!", "Long live the Soviet Union!". In many places leaflets

appeared denouncing the candidates imposed by the Francoist authorities:

The trade union elections proved to be a serious defeat for the Franco regime, a barometer indicating the growing revolutionary maturity of the proletariat in Catalonia and throughout Spain. In the struggle against the fascist candidates, unity of the workers—Communists, members of the National Confederation of Labour, Catholics and nationalists—was forged. The successes achieved in the struggle against the fascist candidates during the trade union elections inspired the working people and prepared them for more extensive actions.

And when, at the end of February, a 40 per cent increase in transport fares was announced in Barcelona, the working people of the city unanimously boycotted the tram and buses and for five days trams and buses ran empty. In some places the tram rails were dislodged and the cars set on fire or smashed: At Ramblas Avenue, the news-stands selling fascist newspapers were set alight. Tens of thousands took to the streets in protest demonstrations against the increased fares.

The United Socialist Party of Catalonia held numerous improvised short meetings, denouncing the arbitrariness of the authorities and calling upon the working class to extend the struggle against poverty and starvation, for their vital demands, against the Franco war policy. In the course of a few hours, the protest demonstration against the increased fares developed into a general protest of the people against high prices and the arbitrariness of the Franco authorities in Catalonia, into a mighty popular demonstration against the preparations for another war, against the Franco regime.

II.

In the struggle that developed at the end of February and beginning of March, the United Socialist Party of Catalonia proved itself a genuine Party of the working class. It headed the demonstrations, conducted large-scale propaganda work among the masses and circulated thousands of leaflets calling upon the workers to prepare a general strike against the Franco regime.

The first phase of the struggle came to an end on March 5 when, alarmed at the scale of popular protest, the Government promised to leave the fares as they were. This victory revealed to the working class of Barcelona the possibility of going over to more extensive and vigorous action against the policy of hunger and poverty of the Franco regime. The slogan of a general strike began to make headway in the factories.

On the morning of March 12, the struggle was resumed. Workers left the factories, formed strike pickets, and, in large groups, set out for the centre of the city, calling upon the population to support them. In solidarity with the workers and in protest against the Franco policy, many employers closed their industrial and trading enterprises. The employees of the big trading firms, clerks and telephone operators joined in the strike: All life in the city came to a standstill. Even the falangist newspapers failed to appear, the workers refused to work. The people of Barcelona filled the streets. An impressive demonstration was held under slogans which expressed the protest of the people against high prices, and their demand to expel the Americans from Spain.

The working class and working people of Catalonia, expressing the feelings of the working people and anti-fascists throughout Spain, demonstrated to the world their hatred of Francoism and their will not to submit to the dictate of American imperialism, the dictate of the warmongers.

The struggle in Catalonia was a vivid expression of the people's protest against the American penetration of Spain, against the striving of the American imperialists to use the Spanish people as cannon-fodder in their aggressive designs. Simultaneously, this demonstration was a direct condemnation of the defeatist attitude of the Right-wing Socialist and Anarchist leaders who, throughout, had denied the possibility of combating Francoism, and, by doing so, helped consolidate the Franco regime, and facilitated the establishment of close links between Franco and the American imperialists, with international reaction as a whole.

The struggle of the working class and the people of Catalonia confirmed the position of the Communist- who had always asserted that struggle in Spain was possible and that in order to put an end to the Franco regime there is no other way but struggle against the fascist regime and unity in this struggle of all anti-Francoists.

III.

In light of the events in Catalonia, the monstrosity of the recent Uno decision to abolish sanctions against the butcher of the Spanish people becomes clearer and clearer, and ever clearer becomes the gulf between the policy of the Governments of those countries which

voted for the resolution in favour of Franco and the sentiments of the working people in these countries.

At the very moment when Franco was consigning working people in Catalonia to the vile dungeons of Montjuich, or shooting them, the ambassador appointed by the British Labour Government after the Uno decision, presented his credentials to Franco in what British and Spanish newspapers described as “a very cordial atmosphere”. At this same time Vincent Auriol, the Socialist President of the French Republic, received the newly-appointed Franco ambassador, declaring that he was “happy to receive him, since nobody else could better represent Spain with the French Government”.

Contrary to this policy of co-operation of the Right-wing Socialists with Spanish fascism, a policy dictated by the U.S. imperialists, working people and all honest democrats in Britain, France and other countries voiced their solidarity with anti-Franco Spain. As was the case in 1936, there merges with the struggle of the Spanish working people the desire of the peoples to defend, peace and democracy and whose solidarity with the struggling people of Spain is growing.

In Italy, all workers, irrespective of political views, resolutely declared their solidarity with the struggle of the Spanish working people in Catalonia and demanded that the Italian Government should sever diplomatic relations with Franco Spain. A particularly vivid manifestation of proletarian internationalism was the stand taken by the working people of the “Hispano-Olivetti” enterprise who demanded that the management should reinstate the workers in the Barcelona branch of the firm dismissed for taking part in the strike.

Spanish anti-fascists and Catalonian fighters learned with feeling of profound gratitude of the fraternal greeting from the trade union organisations in People's China.

And now, just as in 1936, the words of our beloved Comrade Stalin—the standard-bearer of peace and independence of the peoples—that the cause of Spain is not the private affair of Spaniards, that it is the concern of all advanced and progressive mankind, resound in the hearts of working people the world over, calling them to solidarity with the Spanish people.

IV.

The struggle in Catalonia confirmed the correctness of the policy of unity pursued by the Communist Party of Spain and the United Socialist Party of Catalonia.

On the basis of the living and eloquent experience of reality, the Communist Party again poses before the Socialist and Anarchist working people and their leaders, before all Republican and democratic groups and parties, the question of unity and the urgent necessity of forming a national Republican and democratic front for the organisation of the struggle against the Franco regime and for the restoration of the Republic.

The strike in Catalonia showed that Francoism is not the stable regime that its apologists make it out to be. In Catalonia, Communists and members of the National Confederation of Labour, Republicans and Catholics, factory workers, office employees and even employers, united their forces and inflicted a serious defeat on the Franco regime. This is a valuable lesson for intensifying unity of action throughout Spain as a prerequisite for

the organisation of a general struggle against the Franco regime and for the restoration of democracy. There is no other way but that of struggle and unity to overthrow Franco.

Now, in the light of the events in Catalonia, it is quite clear that the illusions spread among the masses by the Right-wing Socialist and Anarchist leaders by their policy of agreement with the monarchists, have been completely shattered.

This happened because the Right-wing Socialist and Anarchist leaders pursue a policy in the interests of the ruling circles in the U.S. and Britain, a policy aimed at retarding the struggle of the Spanish people, and, by the absence of this struggle, to justify the policy of co-operation with Franco.

The Right-wing Socialist and Anarchist leaders reckoned that, by fawning upon the warmongers and by their anti-Communism, which at times outstripped Franco's anti-Communism, they would come to power with the help of the Anglo-American imperialists and then serve them even better than Franco.

The imperialists used the Right-wing Socialist and Anarchist leaders to split the Republican forces. Meanwhile, the imperialists are helping Franco, anticipating that in exchange for this aid, he will give them Spain as a springboard for the realisation of their aggressive aims. The imperialists are supporting and using Franco while it suits their purpose, without detriment for their policy of using the Right-wing Socialist and Anarchist leaders for carrying out their anti-democratic aims. And only when the tide of the peoples' hatred threatens the very foundations of the Franco regime will those, now supporting Franco inside and outside Uno think it necessary, perhaps, to replace

Francoism by a new regime, one that, naturally, will be least radical so that the change might serve their reactionary policy and not the democratic development of our people.

What is the explanation for the failure of the pacts and agreements with the Royalists which Mr. Prieto and his anarchist cronies regarded as a means of ending the Franco regime? It is that these pacts and agreements did not express the will of the people. Because those who signed these agreements did not have the support of the masses, did not rely on the masses. Because it was a policy forced on them from without. Because these agreements signified abandoning the struggle for the Republic, forsaking the democratic gains, and the problem of changing the regime was entrusted to the enemies of Spanish democracy. These agreements bore the anti-democratic seal of defeatism which in no way added to the prestige of those who called themselves democrats and who at, the same time placed themselves at the mercy of the reactionaries.

V.

The Communist Party is not against compromises when they are essential for the defence of the interests of the masses. But compromises should be made relying on the will and resolve of the people. And if, in concluding these agreements between the Spanish democratic forces and the Right-wing opposition, consideration had been given to such an effective weapon as the National Democratic and Republican Front might have been, with participation in it on equal terms of all workers' and anti-Franco political parties, the results of these agreements would have been quite

different from those achieved by Mr. Prieto and his Right-wing Socialist and Anarchist friends during their negotiations with Royalist representatives in London.

Taking into account the pessimism among certain political groups of Spanish émigrés as a result of the Uno decisions in Franco's favour, the Spanish Communist Party took measures against this pessimism which merely furthered the anti-democratic manoeuvres of the imperialists, and called, upon Spanish anti-fascists to unite, declaring that the struggle continues. "It is not too late to restore the unity of Spanish anti-Francoists and to change the situation," said the December call of the Communist Party. "There are untapped sources of strength and energy, fighting capacity and love for the Republic among our heroic people, which, correctly directed and supported by all who want to end the sufferings and ruin in Spain, can secure that which has never before been effected."

And further: "The decisions of the pro-American majority in Uno must not give rise to demoralisation, but on the contrary, stimulate our struggle against this crime. They must serve as grounds for our reply to the affront committed by those who violated international agreements which they themselves signed; they must serve the work of re-grouping all anti-Franco forces for the struggle to democratise Spain".

And we, Communists, once again repeat these words.

We can and must utilise the experience of the magnificent struggle in Catalonia in order to put an end to the differences and hostility that exist between the various Republican parties and organisations, and pave the way for unity of all anti-Franco forces. A National

Democratic and Republican Front can and must be formed,—a front in which the petty and national bourgeoisie would take part alongside workers and peasants, opposing Francoism and striving for a system of peace and democracy in an independent and sovereign Spain.

The international reaction to the struggle of the working class and the people of Catalonia, expressing feelings of sympathy and solidarity with the Spanish people, has created new conditions for the struggle against Francoism, which we must utilise. The policy of unity of the democratic forces, for which the Communist Party is fighting, has been approved and applied by the Catalonian masses in their impressive protest demonstration.

Franco himself has acknowledged the international significance of the action of the Catalonian people. Fearing that the international movement of solidarity with the Spanish people would force the imperialists to give up the idea of including Spain in the Atlantic bloc, Franco hastened to inform the U.S. Ambassador that he was ready to send the Spanish army anywhere provided the Americans supplied it with modern arms. This statement is unmistakable proof of the desperate position in which Francoism finds itself. Peace spells death for Franco. He pins his hopes for the preservation of his regime of oppression and terror only on war. All this imposes on the Spanish people the duty of intensifying their struggle in defence of peace, of preventing the Franco gamblers from bringing Spain to catastrophe.

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The struggle in Catalonia places additional responsibility on each anti-fascist party and organisation, on each active Spanish Republican before the people and Spain.

Socialist and Anarchist workers who have seen, from their own experience, the incorrectness of the policy pursued by the leaders of their Parties, can no longer keep silent when their leaders oppose the unity demanded by all the people. Refusal to effect unity in the struggle against Franco, a unity sealed in Catalonia by the blood of anti-Francoists, means becoming an accomplice of Francoism. Refusal to effect unity in the hope that the Republic will be restored with the help of the Anglo-American imperialists who are openly supporting Franco and intend to use the Spanish people as cannon-fodder, means flouting the sufferings of the masses, deceiving the people and allowing Franco, who is in the service of the Americans, to turn our country into a land of despair and death.

The effectiveness of the policy of unity has been tried in practice and approved by the masses. To make this unity more extensive, to extend it to all Spain, means creating conditions for victorious struggle of the people against Francoism, frustrating the designs of Anglo-American imperialism; it means helping the cause of peace all over the world; It also means helping to promote international solidarity with the Spanish people, which can render effective aid in securing the abolition of the Franco regime.

**CHINA'S WOMEN— ACTIVE BUILDERS OF
NEW CHINA. Tsai Chang Member, Central
Committee, Communist Party of China,
Chairman, All-China Democratic
Women's Federation**

The founding of the People's Republic of China has liberated the Chinese women, who for a long time past, had been oppressed by feudalism and imperialism. The broad masses of Chinese women, together with the Chinese people as a whole, have become active builders of the New China.

No longer are Chinese women the women of yesterday who seldom crossed the threshold of their homes and who were seldom allowed to be seen in public.

The People's Republic of China protects the rights and interests of women. The Common Programme, which was adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in 1949, stipulates:

“The People's Republic of China will abolish the feudal system which holds women in bondage. Women shall enjoy equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural, educational and social life. Freedom of marriage for men and women shall be put into effect... The special interests of juvenile and women workers shall be safeguarded.” “... attention shall be paid to the protection of the health of mothers, infants and children.”

The Agrarian Reform Law of the People's Republic of China, promulgated in 1950, also protects the interests of women. Article 11 of this Law embodies the principle

that land shall be distributed in a unified manner according to the size of the family, thus guaranteeing that women shall have an equal share of land with men. Peasant women constitute the overwhelming majority of Chinese women. To protect women's interests, attention has been paid everywhere in mobilising women to take part in representative conferences of peasant women in the course of agrarian reform.

In May 1950, the Central People's Government promulgated the New Marriage Law. Its chief purpose is to abolish the old feudal marriage system and to establish the New Democratic marriage system. It plays a great role in protecting the rights of the Chinese women.

The great Lenin taught: "In order to achieve the complete emancipation of women and to make them really equal with men, we must have socialised economy, and the participation of women in general productive labour. Then women will occupy the same position as men."

In accordance with the instructions of Lenin, the Communist Party of China repeatedly pointed out that the vital link for the protection of the immediate interests of women lies in their taking part in labour and production. The Decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Women's Work in the Rural Districts of the Liberated Areas, adopted in 1945, says :

"To thoroughly realise their rights, it is necessary that women fully understand the importance of labour and regard it as a matter of glory. They should actively take part in all kinds of labour and production work the which they are physically fit, and turn themselves into creators of family and social wealth. Only when women

work actively and gradually become economically independent can they be respected by their fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law, husbands and the community. Only thus can harmony and unity in the family be further promoted, and women's social and political status be raised and stabilised. Only thus can a solid foundation for the complete realisation of the various laws for equality between men women be provided.”

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Re the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the Central People's Government, great numbers of women have taken part in the various construction tasks of new China, demonstrating their strength and their role.

Women are taking an active part in industrial production work. Women workers are especially active in the textile industry, the chief light industry of China. Women constitute 70 per cent of the total number of textile workers in China. As a result of the heroic efforts made by women textile workers—of course, together with the men—the production of China's textile industry in 1950 exceeded the level reached, prior to the War of Resistance against Japan.

For a long time, China depended on foreign countries for the supply of cotton yarn and cotton fabrics. However, the textile industry of present-day China can already basically meet the requirements of her own people. We are no longer afraid of the threat by U.S. imperialism and the remnants of the Kuomintang reactionaries to blockade us.

The occupations open to women workers are constantly growing. In industrial cities like Mukden and

Dairen in the Northeast, women workers have begun to take part in heavy industry and are mastering the new technique. For the first time in China, women locomotive drivers, and women tractor drivers make their appearance. Tien Kwei-ying, a woman locomotive driver, Liang Chun, a woman tractor driver and others have become the banner-bearers of the movement of the women of New China. Their efforts and accomplishments have broken down doubts or mistrust about the ability of women.

China's rural women have always been industrious. However, the customs of the old society confined women to domestic work. After liberation, the new society has broken down such restrictions and allows rural women to take part in all forms of agricultural production.

The agrarian reform has led to fundamental changes in class relations in rural areas, to the overthrow of the feudal system and the democratisation of rural economic life and political life and has greatly enhanced women's consciousness and enthusiasm for labour. The productive work of rural women begins to develop around the slogan "Let Us Organise Together", a call made by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Together with their men folk, the women peasants are taking part in mutual aid teams for production and in the co-operatives.

Today, in the areas where land reform has been completed, 50 to 70 per cent of the rural women work in the fields, a form of labour which, in the past, was regarded exclusively as men's work. Even in the areas where land reform has not yet been completed, 40 per cent of the women are taking part in production.

In North-east China and those parts of North China liberated in earlier days, the peasants, have achieved an enormous improvement in their livelihood as a result of the enthusiastic labour of the masses of men and women peasants. In general, every family has surplus foodstuffs and each person has acquired new clothes.

A great number of advanced people in industry and agriculture have emerged from the masses of women. Of 208 model industrial workers who attended the National Conference of Labour Heroes and Model Workers, held in Peking in 1950, 15 were women. Among 198 agricultural labour heroes, 22 were women. These figures, whilst not large, represent a promising beginning in comparison with women's enslavement in the past.

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Women are also taking an active part in the development of cultural work in New China. Some aspects of this work are still in their embryonic stage.

The serious, cultural backwardness of the women, inherited from the old era, constitutes one of the greatest difficulties in bringing masses of women into social and national work. Today, our country is opening Federation the doors wide to women to take part in all spheres of work and, at the same time, is employing every means to help the working women in towns and villages to raise their political and cultural level.

Due to the improvement of economic life, working women show an eager desire to acquire culture. The most outstanding record in the sphere of women's mass educational activities has been in Dairen and Port Arthur.

During the last year, 5,588 literacy classes for women were established and were attended by many illiterate women. The number of Short-Term Middle Schools and spare-time schools, set up for workers and peasants, is on the increase day by day. In these schools, the woman workers and peasants comprise 17.5 per cent of the students.

In China, the number of women attending colleges is increasing daily. In the old society, the university doors were open only to the sons and daughters of the rich; but now, the sons and daughters of the working people can also afford to enter the university. In the Chinese People's University, women comprise more than 16 per cent of the students. Most of them come from working class and peasant families. The famous labour heroine, Lee Feng-lian is among them.

Women educational workers have dedicated their lives to the lofty cause of educating the Chinese youth and children. In Peking, capital of People's China, over 54 per cent of primary school teachers are women.

Women child-welfare workers are fully aware of the importance of their work, which they are energetically promoting. At present, there are 640 nurseries and creches in various places throughout China—five times the number under the Kuomintang regime. The real significance does not lie in the increased numbers but in the fact that the creches of today are serving the workers' and peasants' children, whereas, formerly, it was almost impossible for such to enter a creche.

The Chinese women, in the spheres of literature, art and cinema, are displaying their creative power. Women writers, art workers, journalists etc. are actively engaged in the work of propaganda and education of patriotism.

Women in New China take part in political life and State administration side by side with the men. At the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, women delegates constituted 10.4 per cent. At people's representatives' conferences at all levels, women delegates generally constitute about 20 per cent of the total. For example, in the Peking People's Representatives' Conference, held last year, the number of women delegates constituted 21 per cent. Many women serve as heads of townships and districts and not a few women hold responsible positions in the Central People's Government. Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen) is Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government. In addition, 22 women are serving as ministers, vice-ministers or in other responsible positions in the Central People's Government, including Li Teh-chuan, Minister of Public Health, Shih Liang, Minister of Justice, Chang Chin-chiu, Vice-Minister of the Textile Industry. Hsu Kuang-ping, widow of the late well-known author Lu Shun, is serving as Vice-Secretary-General of the Government Administration Council.

The broad masses of women themselves see that only under the people's democratic regime can they attain equal political status, really serve the people and become the genuine masters of State administration.

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A wide road opens before us; yet we have taken only the first steps. We must continue our progress with greater heroism and perseverance.

Chinese women deeply understand that their achievements have been hard-earned. Therefore, they

are determined to serve their Motherland ardently and to protect the people's democratic regime as the apple of their eye.

Chinese women are now taking concrete actions in defence of world peace. Of 220 million Chinese people who signed the Stockholm Appeal, one-third were women. Today, a magnificent movement to combat American aggression, to aid Korea, to safeguard our homes and to protect our Home-land is developing throughout China. Chinese women are firmly opposed to the aggression of American imperialism and the conspiracy of American imperialism to rearm Japan and to conclude a separate peace treaty with Japan. For this purpose, women in eleven cities, including Peking, Hankow, Hangchow, held demonstrations.

Women workers have turned their factories into battlefronts and their machinery into weapons with which they are increasing production in order to strengthen national defence.

Women workers throughout the country have enthusiastically joined the patriotic production emulation campaign. Chu Li-hua, woman worker at the Mukden Nail Factory, called upon all the women workers in her factory to organise shock brigades and to ensure economy of raw materials and the fulfilment of production tasks. She also issued a challenge to all women workers in Northeast China. Tien Kwei-ying, woman engine-driver of the Locomotive "March 8th", pledged that her locomotive would run 100,000 kilometres without a single repair. Women peasants are doing their utmost to plant more crops. Kuo Shu-chen, labour heroine and delegate to the National Conference of Labour Heroes and Workers, said: "I will strive to produce more grain to help supply the nation's needs."

Many women doctors and nurses voluntarily enlisted in the various medical teams to give their their services to the Chinese volunteers and the Korean People's Army on the Korean fronts. Of the 840 members of the Shanghai Medical Team, for instance, 350 doctors and nurses are women. Li Lan-ting, well-known worker in the army medical service during the People's Liberation War, led a medical team of over 160 members to Korea. In order to augment the strength of our national defence, to complete the liberation of China and to repulse possible new foreign invasions, women students everywhere have entered the Military Cadre Schools.

All these facts clearly show the ardent love of the Chinese women for the Motherland.

To be able to shoulder more important responsibilities, to make greater contributions to the nation, we must try to educate ourselves and raise our cultural and political level. These, then, are the immediate and important tasks confronting Chinese women. The Chinese women should learn to emulate the great Soviet women. They should try to learn from their advanced experience and, together with the Chinese people as a whole, build up a strong, prosperous, independent and free New China.

POLITICAL NOTES

HIRELINGS CURRY FAVOUR

Tracing the Tito clique's recent foreign policy manoeuvres, one is struck by its steadily growing fowl servility in relation to the American imperialists.

In the U.S. Congress, Congressmen openly refer to Tito as a bandit. In the Belgrade Skupshtina, Tito calls American imperialism "most progressive capitalism and the sole guarantee of peace".

The Belgrade rulers reimburse Wall Street for the 15 million dollar loan, with raw materials worth hundreds of millions of dollars.

When a subversive attack against Korea was necessary in the UNO, the spy Kardelj placed himself at the disposal of the warmongers.

Truman gave the signal to attack the Chinese People's Republic—and fowl lies against the great Chinese people and the glorious Chinese Communist Party poured forth from the columns of Yugoslav newspapers.

Only when the B.B.C. and the Voice of America® launched a dirty campaign against the Italian Communist Party did these rags let up. All but the fascist "Borba", which is still featuring in its columns the names of the traitors, Cucchi and Magnani, exhausted themselves in servile zeal.

Addressing a meeting in Belgrade, Moshe Pijade said: "We would also be able to qualify in a swearing contest".

What is true is true.

The Tito clique displays the greatest zeal in lies and slander against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. Belgrade has become the cess-pool whence American and other bourgeois newspapers draw the most monstrous falsehoods. Hardly a week passes without Tito, Kardelj or Rankovic making statements designed for the imperialist press. Djilas and Pijade, now touring in Western Europe, are fabricating most shameful forgeries democratic in which insolence in relation to the forces is accompanied by grovelling before U.S.A. The Titoites are going out of their way to prove that the People's Democracies are, allegedly, preparing... to attack Yugoslavia. To this end they have even issued a special "White Book", a collection of falsehoods, food for the imperialist press.

That this campaign was launched by the Yugoslav fascists on orders from Washington is evident from the speech of George Allen, U.S. Ambassador, over the Belgrade radio. The U.S. Resident in Belgrade spoke like the master of the country. He assured the Yugoslavs that an attack was being prepared against them and that the U.S. imperialists, were their selfless friends.

Why is it necessary for the U.S. imperialists to intensify this campaign of suspicious intrigue in the Balkans? They need it for the purpose of seeking to convince world public opinion that it is not Germany, Japan, or Korea, but that Yugoslavia is the main question in easing the international tension. The imperialists need such a trick for the purpose of frustrating the preparations for the Foreign Ministers meeting and to-poo-hoo the significance of the ever-growing struggle of the European peoples against the remilitarisation of Germany. This is but another move in the foul game of the imperialist gamblers who are

fanning the war hysteria might and main. That is why Moshe Pijade, playing the U.S. game, declared that, strategically, Yugoslavia is more important to the U.S.A. than Korea; and that is why Rankovic is fomenting more and more provocations on the borders of the People's Democracies (during 1950, there were 795 provocations against Hungary alone!).

As for the Titoite campaign of provocations dictated by Washington and staged in Belgrade by the U.S. main representative, George Allen, the real purpose of this campaign is quite clear and it demonstrates the need for greater vigilance by the peoples in relation to the foul espionage-fascist Tito gang.

Jan Marek

WIDESPREAD STRIKE MOVEMENT IN FRANCE

The working people of France have launched a powerful strike movement in protest against the policy of poverty and preparations for world war, pursued by the Government and the capitalists.

Since March 16, transport in Paris has been at a standstill due to the strike of 30,000 subway and bus workers. The decision to strike was taken jointly by the General Confederation of Labour, Catholic trade unions, "Force Ouvriere", the independent unions and unorganised workers. The workers are demanding a monthly wage increase of 6,000 francs, and higher pensions. Lorry drivers are also on strike. A 24 hours strike of taxi drivers took place on March 19.

Railway workers at a number of Paris Stations stopped work on March 19, demanding a 6,000 francs wage increase prior to collective agreements. On the following day, the movement extended to other Paris stations and to the provinces (Angers, Dijon, Rouen, Havre, Caen, Le Mans; Orleans and other places). The transport workers were joined by workers of the gas and electricity undertakings in the Paris district in response to the call issued by the CGT trade unions and "Force Ouvriere". A 24 hour strike of water supply workers took place in an atmosphere of complete unity on March 21.

The movement is extending also to other groups of workers. At the Renault plant the workers have advanced a number of demands of which the chief is a wage increase of 15 per cent. Brief strikes and meetings took place in the various shops of the plant. The CGT trade union submitted a proposal to the other unions for unity committees to decide on joint action.

All over the country, building workers, miners and metal workers are consolidating united action in view of the forthcoming struggle for immediate demands.

FACTS EXPOSE...

Barbarism Against Art

A few weeks ago the de Gasperi Government banned the Rome “Art against Barbarism”. “Celere” police detachments blocked the entrances to the exhibition which displayed the works of eminent Italian painters and sculptors, including Guttuso, Turcato, De Omiccioli, Purificato and others. The matter, however, did not end there. Scelba took legal proceedings against a number of the sponsors of this exhibition.

The “crime” of the progressive Italian artists taking part in the exhibition was that their works were directed to defence of peace and severely castigated the warmongers. This was admitted by Deputy Minister of the Interior Bubbio, who declared: “The exhibition was banned for political reasons. It matters little that the Constitution does not provide for such measures, this is not a question of art or judicial motives; the exhibition is insulting to the Government and Ministers of foreign States. For a country which is arming, this is too much!

Admitting their impotence to combat progressive art by ideological means, de Gasperi and Scelba resorted to the police truncheon. Vain, however, are their calculations to emerge victors in this crusade of barbarism against art.

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Present-day Colonisers

American economic expansion is delivering blow after blow to the national economy of the Marshallised countries. A few days ago, the Turkish press complained that import of American stockings and rubber goods signifies, actually, the liquidation of these branches of industry in Turkey, unemployment for workers and impoverishment of peasants who cannot market their raw materials.

“At present”, the newspaper “Aksam” writes, “Turkey has more than 40 mills which manufacture all kinds of hosiery... Our industry will collapse because of the profits of a few big hosiery sellers...”

In olden times, the forerunners of the American bankers and Ministers, when grabbing new lands, began by depriving the natives of the means of existence. This was known as colonial war. The words used nowadays are:—the “Marshall Plan” and “European aid”. But, in essence, the methods of colonisation have not changed.

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Zeal Gets the Better of Reason

Zealous followers of F.B.I. (U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation), from the Philippines Intelligence Service, recently launched a “crusade against Communism”, arresting all those suspected of progressive views. The relative of a well-known film actor was hurried off to a concentration camp and beaten up for the sole reason that he resembled one of the Huk leaders (a patriotic

organisation struggling against the Americans and their agents in the Philippines)!

The “exploits” of these Pinkertons from Manila caused no little confusion even among government circles in the Philippines.

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Supply and Demand

West German newspapers report that, of late, the Bonn Government has received numerous proposals from inventors of various kinds of “secret weapons”. More than 70 of these deal with perfected flying bombs, one designer proposed an ersatz atom bomb which he specifies as “vulkanwaffe”, another lauds a new type of poison substance. The newspapers say that these inventions were offered to the Hitler Wehrmacht in its time. Seeing the increased demand for “cadres” of the smashed Hitlerite army, the “secret weapon” maniacs concluded that their turn had also come. But it is well-known that no secret weapon can help the plans for world domination, even though these plans now appear in a new issue in the USA.

IN BRIEF

* According to a decision of the Council of Ministers of the Albanian People's Republic, 8,800 hectares of land will be planted to trees in the course of five years; damaged forests will be improved over an area of 19,000 hectares.

* The West-Berlin Magistrat refused to satisfy the demand of the city transport workers for a seven pfennigs an hour wage-increase, whereas it allocated 256 million marks for allowances to former Hitler Government officials.

* Soaring of prices in Turkey. Beginning with January this year, prices of food increased 40 per cent; fruit, 92 per cent; hardware, 92 per cent; and textile fabrics, 88 per cent.

* In Ursinowe (near Warsaw) the first 200 workers for Political Departments of machine-and-tractor stations have completed special six week courses in the central school of the stations and producer co-operatives.

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