

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

**Bucharest. Organ of the Information
Bureau of the Communist and Workers'
Parties**



NO. 22 (134, FRIDAY, JUNE 1, 1951



Source: Journal “For a Lasting Peace, For a People’s Democracy”, No. 22 (134), Friday, June 1, 1951.

Origin of language: English

Scanned, transcribed and prepared as an E-Book.

May 2022

**The Socialist Truth in Cyprus Direct Democracy (Communist Party)
London Bureaux**

<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk>

www.directdemocracy4u.uk



**Journal “For a Lasting Peace, for a People’s Democracy”
appears every Friday. Address of Editorial Office and of
Publishing House: 56, Valeriu Branişte, Bucharest.
Tel. 5. 10.59.**

CONTENTS

NEW INTELLIGENTSIA IN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES.....	5
INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S DAY	11
MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE'S MASSES FOR A PACT OF PEACE	
MOUNTING IN ALL COUNTRIES	12
POLISH PEOPLE EXPRESS THEIR WILL FOR PEACE.....	12
POPULAR VOTE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.....	12
SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN IN ITALY MEETS WITH SUCCESS	13
CHINESE PEOPLE VOTE FOR PEACE AGAINST	
REMILITARISATION OF JAPAN	14
MOVEMENT FOR PACT OF PEACE IN BRITAIN	14
INTENSIFICATION OF CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE	16
SERBIAN PEASANTS IN RUMANIA DEMAND SIGNING PACT OF	
PEACE.....	17
PEACE WEEK IN URUGUAY.....	18
REPORT OF DANISH PEACE COMMITTEE.....	19
PEACEFUL LIBERATION OF TIBET.....	20
VOLUME XIII OF J. V. STALIN'S WORKS.....	24
RADIO-DIFFUSION IN POLAND.....	52
POLAND. THE "BOOK CENTRE"	53
PLENUM, CENTRAL COMMITTEE HUNGARIAN WORKING	
PEOPLE'S PARTY.....	54
REPORTING-BACK AND ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN RUMANIAN	
WORKERS' PARTY	55
FOR UNITY OF AUSTRALIAN WORKING CLASS.....	57
Resolution of Political Committee of Australian Communist	
Party.....	57
AGAINST RIGHT-WING SOCIALIST TRAITORS, FOR UNITY OF	
WORKING CLASS. Georges Cogniot Member, Central Committee,	
French Communist Party	59
STATEMENT BY AN AMERICAN COMMUNIST BEFORE JOINT	
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES.....	70
DIMITROV PRIZES AWARDED IN BULGARIA.....	76
SLOVAK YOUTH CONGRESS.....	77

RECRUITMENT OF MERCENARIES IN WESTERN GERMANY	78
TURKISH PEASANTS REVOLT.....	79
MUNICIPAL ELECTION RETURNS IN ITALY. Luigi Member, Central Committee, Italian Communist Party.....	80
RESURRECTION OF THE ROTTED ALIVE. Drawing by J. Novak.	85
POLITICAL NOTES	86
1. AMERICAN DIPLOMACY AND JAPANESE REALITY	86
2. HITLER'S SUCCESSORS AT WORK.....	90

NEW INTELLIGENTSIA IN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

The training of a new, primarily an Industrial-technical intelligentsia drawn from the ranks of the working people, and active participation by the best representatives of the old intelligentsia in building the new life, are vital conditions for the Successful construction of a socialist society. This is implicit in the entire experience of the C.P.S.U.(B) in the years following the Great October Socialist. Revolution and in the experience of socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R.

“We need”, said Comrade Stalin, “such administrative, engineering and technical forces as are capable of understanding the policy of the working class of our country, capable of assimilating that policy, and ready to carry it out conscientiously”.

This new intelligentsia did not, and could not, exist in the People's Democracies immediately after their formation. In the past, the old intelligentsia in these countries, as in all capitalist countries, was tied up with the dominant, exploiting classes. It was recruited mainly from the propertied classes and faithfully served these classes. It was thoroughly saturated with cosmopolitan ideology and worshipped the stronger capitalist States. Only a small section of the intelligentsia sided with the people, with the revolutionary working class.

The People's democracies—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania—are sparing no effort in developing and moulding a new intelligentsia intimately linked with the people and boundlessly loyal to the people—an intelligentsia capable of ensuring the

progress of economy and culture. The work of training this intelligentsia is being carried out on a scale unknown to capitalist countries: it is being carried out in an organised and planned fashion, subordinated to the grand plans for the development of economy and culture, to the tasks of laying the foundations of Socialism. Training the new intelligentsia is an integral part of the great cultural revolution now underway in these countries, an integral part of the struggle for a flowering culture, national in form and socialist in content. This intelligentsia is being trained in the higher schools, in factory and mine, in the village and at machine and tractor depots: it embraces youth and adults, men and women.

The number of higher schools and the student body have increased considerably, and the class character of the universities has changed in all the European People's Democracies. Poland, which before the war had 29 higher schools with a student body of 45,000, had 72 higher schools and 118,000 students in 1950. Fifty-eight per cent of Polish students are sons and daughters of workers and peasants. Czechoslovakia had nine higher schools with approximately 20,000 students in 1938, whereas in 1950 she had 24 higher schools with 39,000 students. Before the war, Bulgaria had 15,000 students. Now she has more than 40,000. In Rumania, the student body increased from 26,000 to 53,000. In Hungary, the number of students increased by 10,000 in the past two years. Two years ago, the number of worker and peasant students in higher schools in Hungary comprised 35.5 per cent; they now form 46.5 per cent of the total. Albania had no higher schools at all before the war. In 1946, a higher pedagogical school

and a number of intermediate technical schools were opened.

In all the countries of People's Democracy, wide use is being made of the experience of the U.S.S.R. in organising different courses, evening schools (Rumania) and workers' faculties for the purpose of preparing working class and peasant youth to enter the higher schools.

The new people's intelligentsia is also being formed directly in the enterprises in the process of daily work. Thousands of workers are becoming rationalisers and innovators, and their suggestions and inventions are proving most beneficial to the national economy. A considerable number of leading workers, organisers and initiators of Socialist emulation, stakhanovites and innovators has developed in the Socialist enterprises where they work hand in hand with the engineers and technicians, and, together with them, are changing the technological processes. In Czechoslovakia, Vaczlav Svoboda, stakhanovite turner, lectures at one of the higher technical schools. Maria Todorova, renowned Bulgarian textile worker, will soon qualify as an engineer.

Training the new intelligentsia is not confined to technical cadres alone, although much has been done and achieved in this sphere. New cadres are service, also being trained for the public health service, for education, art and law. Special attention and care is being displayed by the people's democratic power for young writers and poets—emerging from the ranks of the working class and peasantry. The same solicitude is displayed in the People's Democracies for training cadres for work in the sphere of science.

New cadres of intelligentsia permeate their work with the spirit of irreconcilability to conservatism and stagnation. However, not infrequently the young cadres of the intelligentsia possess inadequate experience and knowledge and have to acquire them in the process of their work.

During the war years and particularly in the post-war period, in the process of consolidating the people's democratic system, big strides were made by the old intelligentsia. The stupendous and thrilling plans for peaceful economic and cultural construction, the resolution with which these plans are being carried out, the profound patriotism of the working class and its defence of the interests of the people as a whole, the unprecedented blossoming of science and culture in the land of Soviets, on the one hand, and, on the other, the decay and degradation of bourgeois culture, the transformation of bourgeois science by the imperialists into the handmaiden of the instigators of war, and the direct acts of aggression by the imperialists, have resulted in a differentiation among the old intelligentsia.

In the People's Democracies, the old intelligentsia, in its overwhelming majority, has resolutely sided with the people's power, has loyally placed its knowledge at the service of the people and is taking an active part in the struggle for peace. Another section of the old intelligentsia works honestly but, in social-political work, is still passive. Only a tiny group of the old intelligentsia is hostile to the people's power, This section was, and remains, an enemy agency. However, this insignificant part of the old intelligentsia is

increasingly isolating itself from the people and from the main mass of patriotic intellectuals.

The people's power and the parties of the working class in the People's Democracies repose the greatest trust in, and treat with respect, the main section of the old intelligentsia which combines science with practice and which, hand in hand with the working masses and together with the cadres of the new intelligentsia, is building the Danube Metallurgical works, Dornitrovgrad, the Danube-Black Sea Canal, Nowa Huta, and Nova Ostrava. The people's power highly evaluates the labour and knowledge of the honest workers in the ranks of the old intelligentsia and endeavours to see that they merge into one close-knit family with the new intelligentsia now coming into being. The people's power and the parties of the working class resolutely condemn any manifestation of lack of goodwill or mistrust towards the honest cadres of the old intelligentsia; they display solicitude for them and provide them with the most favourable conditions for initiative and creative work.

Now that the People's Democracies are extending their industrialisation plans, that the tempo of development in these countries is steadily rising, the problem of training cadres of new intelligentsia on a larger scale becomes more acute. This training is directly connected with the need to improve the work of the higher schools, with the struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology and against the hostile elements that have wormed their way into some of the scientific and technical establishments in the People's Democracies. Bourgeois ideology still exercises influence, frequently in art and literature and among workers in these spheres. The training of genuine

builders of Socialism, fighters for peace, can proceed successfully in the People's Democracies only in resolute combat against bourgeois ideology, in an ever wider dissemination, among the intelligentsia, of the great world outlook of the working class—dialectical materialism and scientific Communism.

The Communist and Workers' in the People's Democracies are daily devoting due attention to training and developing the new intelligentsia; they are taking the necessary measures to see that all members of the intelligentsia engage in a profound study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism which, as Comrade Stalin teaches, is that branch of science, the knowledge of which is obligatory for workers in all spheres of activity. Only in alliance with the working class and working peasantry, only on the basis of the ideology of the working class can the intelligentsia make its contribution to the great cause of the struggle for peace, for Socialism.

INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S DAY

Today is International Children's Day. On this day the working people in the Soviet Union, in the People's Democracies, in China and in the German Democratic Republic are summing up the joyful results of the solicitude displayed by them for the children—their future. Hundreds of thousands of schools and libraries, children's homes and creches, sanatoria and summer camps are at the disposal of the happy young citizens. Hundreds of new educational, recreation and cultural establishments for children have been opened in the countries of the camp of democracy and Socialism.

Altogether different are the conditions of the children of the working people in the capitalist countries. Hunger, poverty and illiteracy—these are their lot. In the U.S.A. the funds allocated for the educational purposes are 300-500 times less than the sum allocated for military purposes. In Britain, Italy, France and particularly in the colonial countries the children of the working people live in most appalling conditions. Mortality among children has reached unprecedented dimensions.

MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE'S MASSES FOR A PACT OF PEACE MOUNTING IN ALL COUNTRIES

POLISH PEOPLE EXPRESS THEIR WILL FOR PEACE

The entire adult population of Poland took part in the ten-day nation-wide peace plebiscite.

According to the all-Polish Peace Committee, peace plebiscite bulletins were signed by 18,053,315 citizens.

The Appeal of the World Peace Council for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers met with the unanimous support of the entire Polish public, of all citizens, united in their desire to strengthen the independence of their homeland.

POPULAR VOTE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The popular voting for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers began in Czechoslovakia on May 26.

The working people are displaying great political activity. At numerous meetings, they expressed angry protests against the remilitarisation of Western Germany, against the American intervention in Korea and against the atrocities perpetrated by the aggressors in Korea.

Voting for a Pact of Peace, the working people of Czechoslovakia are taking new production pledges. Thus, the factory and office workers in the Stalin plant undertook to complete the Five-Year Plan in four years. In the Prague region, more than 1,500 Socialist emulation contracts were signed in the early stage of the campaign.

The work of agitators, who conduct talks in workshops, mines and schools, etc., are very important for the success of the popular vote for a Pact of Peace. They rely in their work on the agitation centres, each of which embraces a thousand citizens.

SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN IN ITALY MEETS WITH SUCCESS

In Rome, a peace meeting which opened the campaign for signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace was attended by representatives of different strata of public life. Following a speech by Senator Sereni, Secretary of the Italian Peace Committee, it was announced that 97,530 signatures had been collected in the space of a few days in industrial enterprises and offices in Rome. Some 290 new peace committees had been formed within a week.

The signature campaign is also in progress in other Italian cities and towns. During the past ten days, the number of signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace increased from 73,000 to 217,000 in Reggio-Emilia Province and from 45,000 to 115,000 in Modena Province. The figure of 70,000 signatures was reached in

Ferrara, 50,090 in Grosseto, 100,000 in Rovigo, 140,000 in Siena and 500,000 in Florence Province.

CHINESE PEOPLE VOTE FOR PEACE AGAINST REMILITARISATION OF JAPAN

The Chinese press reports that 234,095,785 people had signed the Appeal of the World Peace Council by May 25—a figure constituting 49 per cent of the population of China. 233,308,302 people (48.9 per cent of the population) voted against the remilitarisation of Japan by the U.S. imperialists.

In a number of towns, including Peking, Tientsin, Huchow, Taiyuan. Mukden, Fushun and Anshan, in Heilungkiang Province and in the East of Szechuan Province, over 75 per cent of the population have so far signed the Appeal of the World Peace Council for a Pact of Peace and voted against the remilitarisation of Japan. In Chengchow and Anyuang, the entire population signed the Appeal and voted against the remilitarisation of Japan by the U.S. imperialists.

MOVEMENT FOR PACT OF PEACE IN BRITAIN

The campaign for signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers, launched in Britain on May 16, is meeting with support among different sections of the population. Within the first week, 100,000 forms had been ordered by the peace committees. Peace supporters in London are

determined to secure one million signatures; the Scottish and Yorkshire Peace Committees aim at a quarter of a million each, and so on.

The Appeal of the World Peace Council was signed unanimously by the committee of the Ormiston branch of the National Union of Mineworkers, by the Executive Committee of the Scottish area of the National Union of Mineworkers and by the Executive Committee of the Glasgow branch of the National Union of Vehicle Workers.

Mr. Douglas Goldring, the well-known writer, declared: "I support Five-Power negotiations because I can see no other way of stopping the war in Asia from spreading throughout the world. The head of any State who, at the present juncture, refuses to meet the heads of other States for the purpose of concluding a pact of peace, will brand himself a criminal in the eyes of posterity".

The Women's Peace Conference, held in London on May 20, adopted a programme of activities including deputations to the Minister of Education and to the British Broadcasting Corporation to protest against war propaganda. The Conference undertook to collect 100,000 signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace and to set up 100 women's peace groups in London by the end of July.

A peace demonstration called by the London Peace Council was held on May 27 in London, in which representatives of various strata of the population participated.

Preparations for a national peace conference, scheduled for June 9-10, are under way. Organisations expressing their desire to take part in the conference include the Fire Brigades Union, the South Essex District

Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, Letchworth (Herefordshire) No. 3 branch of the A.E.U., the East London Teachers' Association, and many others.

The Synod of Methodist Chapels stated that they are in favour of a meeting of the great Powers.

INTENSIFICATION OF CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE

In France, the campaign for signing the Appeal of the World Peace Council is well underway. In the Gard Department, 25,000 signatures have been collected. In the Seine-et-Oise Department, 37 new peace committees were set up in the course of the campaign; in the village of Villabé, 97 per cent of the inhabitants signed the Appeal. In Romorantin (Loiret-Cher) more than a thousand signatures were collected in the space of a few days. In the mining town of Carvin (Pasde-Calais) every fourth resident signed. In Louches (Nord) eight workers in the local coking plant collected among their fellow workers 170 signatures for a Pact of Peace.

Democratic organisations are taking an active part in the campaign. The branch of the Union of French Women in the Seine-et-Oise Department which has pledged to send 10,000 delegates to the Paris peace rally, decided to collect a million francs to cover the travelling expenses of the delegation coming from Corsica. In the course of a strike for immediate demands, young workers in la Coudourière (Var) formed a preparatory committee for the Third World Festival of Youth and Students in defence of peace. They approved

the Appeal for a Pact of Peace and elected 18 delegates to the Paris peace rally.

The traditional demonstration organised on May 27 at the “Wall of the Communards” in commemoration of the heroes of the Paris Commune, was held under the slogan of struggle against fascism and war, for bread, freedom and peace. Tens of thousands of Parisians, participating in the demonstration, demanded the conclusion of a Pact of Peace and the election of peace Deputies in the forthcoming elections.

French working people are intensifying the struggle against war production. In a letter addressed to eminent personalities in the district and signed by representatives of all organisations in the enterprise, the workers employed at the Fives-Lille Works in Givors declared their firm determination not to work for war.

SERBIAN PEASANTS IN RUMANIA DEMAND SIGNING PACT OF PEACE

The Serbian population in Rumania is enthusiastically signing the Appeal for a Pact of Peace. Ninety-five per cent of the adult population in the Moldova Noua district, Severin region, inhabited mainly by Serbian peasants, signed the Appeal.

Rural peace committees accumulated valuable experience, became organisationally more consolidated, and established closer contact with the masses during the signature campaign to the Appeal. Relying on the help of Party and public organisations, peace committees are carrying out largescale explanatory work among the peasants.

In the village of Becicherecul Mic, Timisoara region, the local peace committee carried out the signature campaign according to plan. Peace talks are held weekly in the culture centre of the village of San Petri) Mare, during which concrete facts are cited exposing the American aggressors and the fascist Tito clique.

PEACE WEEK IN URUGUAY

The aim of the “Peace Week” held in Uruguay from May 26 to June 3 is to extend the signature campaign in support of the Appeal for a Pact of Peace.

In preparation for the “Week”, all mass organisations in the country conducted extensive work among the population and secured initial successes. By May 18, forty thousand signatures had been collected according to preliminary data. At some enterprises (the “Lostorto” factory and the “Pantaleon Rocco” plant, all the workers and office staff signed the Appeal. The All-Uruguay Peace Junta has decided to hold a rally of the groups of signature collectors on July 18 with a view to intensifying the campaign.

The question of the struggle for peace was also the pivot of the May Plenum of the National Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay.

The Uruguayan newspaper, “Verdad”, systematically spotlights the signature campaign and the response of different sections of the population to the Appeal. At the same time, the newspaper criticises the shortcomings and weaknesses in the campaign, stressing that “it has not yet reached the level called for by the situation and the opportunities.”

REPORT OF DANISH PEACE COMMITTEE

The Danish Peace Committee reports that 2,568 signatures for the Appeal of the World Peace Council were collected between May 90-26, bringing the total number of signatures collected so far in Denmark to 85,324.

PEACEFUL LIBERATION OF TIBET

An agreement on the measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet has been signed in the capital of the Chinese People's Republic, Peking, between the Central People's Government of China and the local Tibetan Government.

The signing of the agreement is evidence of the genuine peace-loving policy of the democratic Government of the Chinese People's Republic, and of its desire for a peaceful end to the age-old disunity of the various nationalities of China.

The Tibetan nationality has lived for many centuries within the boundaries of China. However, as a result of the penetration of imperialist forces into China and Tibet, and the deception by them of the Tibetan people, Tibet was enslaved by the imperialists, and its people factually detached from all nationalities in China.

In order to successfully eliminate the influences of aggressive imperialist forces in Tibet, to effect the unification of the territory, the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China and safeguard national defence; in order to liberate the Tibetan nationality and people and return them to the big family of the People's Republic of China—the Central People's Government, when ordering its Army to march into Tibet, simultaneously— notified the local Tibetan Government to begin talks for the conclusion of an agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet. The negotiations concluded in the signing of the Agreement in Peking. Hence, the Government of the

Chinese People's Republic has won, by peaceful means, another victory in strengthening its country and reuniting its nationalities. The Agreement states that the Tibetan people "shall unite and drive out the imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet; the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of—the Motherland—the People's Republic of China".

The local Government of Tibet shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to continue its advance in Tibet and shall consolidate the national defences.

The Agreement provides complete regional autonomy for the Tibetan people.

"In accordance with the policy towards nationalities as laid down in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference", the Agreement states, "the Tibetan people have the right of exercising national regional autonomy under the leadership of the Central People's Government".

The Agreement preserves the existing political system in Tibet, the status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama (Panchen Ngoerhthehni). The policy of freedom of religious belief, as laid down in the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, shall be carried out. Tibetan troops shall be reorganised step by step into the People's Liberation Army, and become a part of the national defence forces of the People's Republic of China.

Motivated by the desire to improve the economic position of the Tibetan working people, the Agreement provides for the development of Tibetan agriculture, livestock raising, industry and commerce.

A special point in the Agreement stipulates that the Central People's Government of China shall centralise in

its hands all external affairs of the Tibetan area. For the purpose of the implementation of the Agreement, the Central People's Government shall set up a military-administrative committee and a military area headquarters in Tibet, absorbing as many local Tibetan personnel as possible to take part in the work of these bodies.

The signing of the Agreement between the Central People's Government of China and the local Tibetan Government on the measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet developed into a striking demonstration of the age-old friendship of the working people of all nationalities inhabiting China.

Welcoming the signing of the Agreement, Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central People's Government Council of the Chinese People's Republic, declared that the accomplished unity of the Chinese peoples with the people of Tibet "is a fraternal unity, and not that of one party oppressing another. This unity is the outcome of concerted efforts from all quarters. Henceforth, based on this unity, all our nationalities will grow and progress in all spheres—political, economic and cultural."

The Panchen Lama of Tibet highly appreciated the significance of the peaceful liberation of the Tibetan people.

"The problem of the nationalities residing in China, and that of the Tibetan question, which were not solved over many years", he stated at the reception celebrating the signing of the Agreement, "have now been successfully solved under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung—the great people's leader of all nationalities in China.

"The peaceful liberation of Tibet is the most joyful event in the vast family of the nationalities of China.

The unity of the Central People's Government, Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama can be achieved only thanks to the leadership of the Communist Party of China and the People's Government".

The millions of Chinese people unanimously welcomed the peaceful solution of the Tibetan question. On this occasion, big demonstrations and rallies of working people were held in many towns throughout the country. The Chinese newspapers published articles and material devoted to the signing of the Agreement. The Shanghai newspaper "Singwenjihpao" writes that "the peaceful liberation of Tibet is a great defeat for the aggressive imperialist forces. To inflict a complete defeat on the American imperialists who have seized our Taiwan, and also to secure the complete liberation of our homeland, we must further intensify the movement of struggle against American aggression and for aid to Korea, and do our utmost to complete the preparations for the liberation of Taiwan".

"The imperialists will not prevent the Chinese people from completely liberating their homeland", writes 'Takungpao'. "Tibet has been liberated. Next comes Taiwan. Like Tibet, Taiwan will also be liberated".

VOLUME XIII OF J. V. STALIN'S WORKS

I.

The publication in the U.S.S.R. of Volume XIII of the Works of J. V. Stalin is a great event in the ideological-political life of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and all other Communist and Workers' Parties.

The works of J. V. Stalin, published in this Volume, are among the outstanding creations of his genius and are part of the golden fund of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The Thirteenth Volume consists of Comrade Stalin's works written between July 1930 and January 1934. This was a momentous time in the life of the Soviet country as well as an extremely important phase in the development and sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism.

The U.S.S.R. was then carrying out a policy of an all-out offensive of Socialism along the whole front. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the working people won world historical victories in building Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

At that time, the capitalist world was in the grip of a devastating economic crisis which seriously worsened the conditions of the working people. On the wave of this economic crisis and with the direct support of the Anglo-American imperialists, Hitler fascism came to power in Germany in 1933, and intensified preparations for another world war began.

In his works, Comrade Stalin characterises, with great profundity and consistency, the international situation of that time, the struggle between two worlds,

two camps—the camp of Socialism and the camp of imperialism; the economic and political crisis through which the capitalist countries were passing; the profound, ineradicable contradictions which were corroding imperialism and impelling the imperialists to seek a way out in new military adventures.

In the works contained in this Volume, J. V. Stalin makes a most profound theoretical generalisation of all questions linked with the all-out socialist offensive in the U.S.S.R., revealing, with exhaustive clarity, the superiority of the socialist system of economy over capitalism. J. V. Stalin elaborates theoretically, and guides in practice, the application of the teaching on the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., the socialist industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture.

What are the main evaluations of the economic and political crisis in the capitalist countries contained in Comrade Stalin's works included in this volume?

As is known, beginning with the latter part of 1929 and up to 1933, the capitalist world was passing through an economic crisis unprecedented in the history of capitalism for its devastating scale. The specific feature of the crisis was that the industrial crisis was interwoven with the agrarian crisis, sharpening and worsening to the extreme the situation in all bourgeois countries.

As J. V. Stalin points out, the crisis was raging not in industry and agriculture alone, but also in the sphere of trade, credit and currency. As a result of the crisis, some 25 million unemployed were doomed to starvation, poverty and death. Many millions of peasants suffered severely from the agrarian crisis. Indignation against this murderous and unjust social system that

doomed hundreds of millions of working people to poverty and suffering was mounting among the masses.

In the **political** sphere, this period was marked by a further sharpening of contradictions between the capitalist States, and also by an extreme sharpening of contradictions inside these countries. The bourgeoisie was feverishly looking for a way out of the crisis. It sought to find this way out in suppressing the working class and in going over to fascist methods of domination. As a result of the criminal disruptive activities of the leaders of German Social Democracy, which paved the way for fascism, the Hitlerite party came to power in Germany in 1933—the party of the most predatory imperialists of all the imperialists in the world, the party which set out to crush, as its immediate and direct task, the working-class movement and unleash another world war. This criminal, disruptive action of the Right-wing Socialists will remain as an indelible stain in their shameful and treacherous history.

In the Far East, the Japanese imperialists were realising their predatory plans; they feloniously grabbed Manchuria, began the seizure of North China, and launched preparations for a war against the Soviet Union.

Such was the international situation of that period—menacing, unstable and fraught with the unexpected.

“Amid the surging waves of economic perturbations and military-political catastrophes”, said Comrade Stalin, in his historic report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B) held in January 1934, “the U.S.S.R. stands out alone, like a rock, continuing its work of Socialist construction and its fight to preserve peace”.

II.

During the three-four years covered in Volume Thirteen of the works of J. V. Stalin, enormous and miraculous changes were effected on the territory of the U.S.S.R. From an agrarian country, backward both technically and economically, the U.S.S.R. became a mighty, industrial Power with a most advanced machine-building industry capable of producing all modern means of defence. Giant enterprises were built at a rapid rate; the well-being of the masses of the people steadily improved; cultural development made rapid strides. This showed to the world what forces the building of Socialism had released in the country, the capabilities of the people who had thrown off the yoke of capitalist oppression and who were building a socialist society under the leadership of their Bolshevik Party.

Questions dealing with socialist construction occupy a most important place in this volume of J. V. Stalin's works. His works elucidate the general questions of economic development in the U.S.S.R., the analysis of the conditions of economic activity of that period, questions of organisation of labour and the launching of new enterprises, as well as the problems of wages and the well-being of the working people.

There was not a single issue, big or small, in the building of Socialism that did not come within the field of vision of J. V. Stalin and on which he did not give guiding directives; there was not a single large undertaking, new slogan or new turn in policy of which J. V. Stalin was not the initiator and author or which he did not define. It can safely be said that the materials of the given Volume constitute a real Bolshevik

encyclopaedia of socialist construction. The significance of these works of Comrade Stalin is extremely great, particularly for the People's Democracies, which have taken the path of building Socialism.

In February 1931, Comrade Stalin addressed the First All-Union Conference of managers of socialist industry where he resolutely posed the question that, in the period of reconstruction, "technique decides everything" and that the mastering of technique by the Bolsheviks had become 'the most vital task. J. V. Stalin said:

"There are no fortresses which Bolsheviks cannot capture. We have solved a number of most difficult problems. We have overthrown capitalism. We have assumed power, We have built up a huge Socialist industry. We have turned the middle peasants to the path of Socialism. We have already accomplished what is most important from the point of view of construction. What remains to be done is not so much: to study technique, to master science. And when we have done this, we will develop a tempo of which we dare not even dream at present".

In this historic speech J. V. Stalin explained the need to develop socialist industry rapidly, and posed the task: to make good in ten years the gap separating the U.S.S.R., both technically and economically, from the advanced countries.

"We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it", Comrade Stalin said, "or they crush us".

It would be hard to find words with which to characterise the genius, the scientific foresight, of J. V. Stalin. As is known, exactly ten years later in June 1941,

the Hitlerite fascist hordes attacked the U.S.S.R. And only because the U.S.S.R. proved to be prepared, only because the old technical-economic backwardness of the country had been eliminated, the Soviet people were able to crush the most powerful war machine created by the Hitlerites who disposed of the industry of Europe occupied by them.

Of decisive significance for the entire economic life of the country was J. V. Stalin's speech at the Conference of Business Executives on June 23, 1931—"New conditions—new tasks in economic construction". In this speech, J. V. Stalin outlined the basic principles of Bolshevik direction of economy in the period of Socialism. Analysing profoundly the specific features of the new situation that had taken shape in the U.S.S.R. in view of the fact that the U.S.S.R. had entered the phase of Socialism, Comrade Stalin outlined a militant programme for successful direction of economy.

When the U.S.S.R. entered the phase of Socialism, conditions of industrial development radically changed. A new situation emerged in the country, a situation which called for a change in the methods and ways of directing industry, and for abandoning the old methods of direction no longer suitable in the new conditions. J. V. Stalin generalised these new tasks and formulated them in six conditions for the development of industry in the period of Socialism. These six conditions are as follows: 1) To recruit labour power in an organised way by concluding contracts with the collective farms, and to mechanise labour. 2) To put an end to the fluctuation of labour; to do away with wage equalisation; to organise wages properly and to improve the living conditions of the workers. 3) To put an end to lack of personal responsibility; to improve the organisation of

labour and to secure the proper distribution of forces in enterprises. 4) To see to it that the working class of the U.S.S.R. has its own industrial and technical intelligentsia. 5) To change the attitude towards the engineers and technicians of the old school, to show them greater attention and solicitude, and to display more boldness in enlisting their co-operation. 6) To introduce and reinforce business accounting; to increase the accumulation of capital within industry itself.

These six conditions became the militant programme for directing industry under Socialism. They played an invaluable role in the further development of Soviet socialist industry. They made it possible constantly and in an organised manner to meet the growing demands of industry in manpower. They brought about a great reorganisation of work at the enterprises of socialist industry. They signified a great change in solving the question of the intelligentsia in the land of Socialism.

In this speech by J. V. Stalin, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies find a most valuable guide for their activities, making it possible to accelerate the building of socialist industry. The six conditions of Bolshevik management of economy provide the Communist Parties of the People's Democracies with a rich experience in economic management, concrete advice with regard to organisation of labour in industry and the most profound theoretical appraisal of the ways and means of building Socialism.

The first Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. was successfully fulfilled in four years and three months, early in 1933. This was a victory of outstanding, historical significance. The enthusiasm of the people, the great

scale in building the giants of industry, the heroic and selfless work, the unprecedented political and labour élan which swept the whole country—will go down for ever, as unforgettable and stirring pages, in the annals of the U.S.S.R., in the annals of the struggle of the peoples for liberation from capitalist bondage.

In January 1933, J. V. Stalin delivered his historic report—"The results of the First Five-Year Plan"—to the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U.(B).

The results in the development of the national economy in the U.S.S.R., over the five years, were magnificent indeed. As a result of the successful development of socialist industry, the capitalist elements were completely and irrevocably dislodged from industry. Socialist industry became the only form of industry in the U.S.S.R. An agrarian country had become an industrialised country. The fact that the Five-Year Plan was fulfilled in four years was another proof of the powerful creative forces of the Soviet people, led by the Bolshevik Party.

The solution of the tasks of the Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy was not achieved without fierce struggle against the hostile elements. J. V. Stalin pointed out that some people interpreted the thesis on the abolition of classes to mean a "justification of laziness and complacency, a justification of the counter-revolutionary theory that the class struggle is subsiding and that state power is to be relaxed". Needless to say, Comrade Stalin pointed out, such people are but degenerates who have nothing in common with the Bolshevik Party.

“The abolition of classes is not achieved by the subsiding of the class struggle, but by its intensification”, Comrade Stalin said.

In his report, J. V. Stalin placed particular emphasis on the immeasurable international significance of the Five-Year Plan.

“History, has shown”, he said, “that the Five-Year Plan is not the private affair of the Soviet Union, but the cause of the whole international proletariat”.

J. V. Stalin pointed to the joy aroused in the camp of the working class of the capitalist countries by the results of the Five-Year Plan; to its enormous revolutionary significance, and, simultaneously, to the frantic how! it had raised in the camp of reaction and imperialism. From Plan, the working class in all countries gained confidence in its strength, new arguments, new proof in favour of the necessity to overthrow capitalism.

“The successes of the Five-Year Plan”, pointed out Comrade Stalin, “are mobilising the revolutionary forces of the working class of all countries against capitalism—such is the indisputable fact”.

The fundamental task of the Five-Year Plan was to “convert the U.S.S.R. from an agrarian and weak country, dependent upon the caprices of the capitalist countries, into an industrial and powerful country, fully self-reliant and independent of the caprices of world capitalism..., fully to eliminate the capitalist elements, to widen the front of Socialist forms of economy”. In solving this fundamental task it was necessary to distinguish the main link in the Five-Year Plan.

“The main link in the Five-Year Plan”, said Comrade Stalin, ‘was heavy industry, with machine building as its core.’”

The Soviet land coped brilliantly with all these tasks of the Five-Year Plan. Whereas, as a result of the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan for the Development of the National Economy, the volume of industrial output in the U.S.S.R. rose by the end of 1932 to 219 per cent of the 1928 output, the volume of industrial output in the U.S.A. during the same period dropped to 56 per cent, in England to, 86 per cent, in Germany to 55 per cent, in Poland to 54 per cent.

“What do these figures show”, pointed out Comrade Stalin, “if not that the capitalist system of industry has failed to stand the test in the contest with the Soviet system; that the’ Soviet system of industry has all the advantages over the capitalist system.”

Such were the results of the Five-Year Plan. The whole succeeding period of development of the Soviet country was a further brilliant confirmation of the great advantages of Socialism over’ capitalism. The recently published results of the first Stalin post-war Five-Year Plan testified to a new, rapid upsurge of economy and culture in the Soviet country and are living testimony to the successes achieved in building Communism in the U.S.S.R. The results of this Five-Year Plan, from the viewpoint of international significance, were likewise invaluable. They evoked real joy throughout the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, they arm all peace champions for a more active, daring and resolute struggle against the criminal schemes of the warmongers.

It is impossible in one article to describe the inexhaustible wealth of ideas, conclusions, theses, generalisations and directives on questions of economic construction which are contained in the works of this volume. However, mention must be made of J. V. Stalin's remarkable telegrams: to the workers and administrative-technical personnel of the "AMO" auto plant in connection with "the completion of the huge auto plant with a capacity of 25,000 lorries and application of all modern technical achievements; the telegram to the workers and administrative-technical personnel of the Kharkov tractor plant (October 1931) which displayed an example of real Bolshevik tempo in building this "steel bulwark of collectivisation of agriculture in the Ukraine" ; the telegram to the chief of construction of the auto plant and to the director of the automobile works named after Comrade Molotov (January 2, 1932, Nizhni-Novgorod) on completion of the huge auto plant and its going into operation; the telegram to the chief of construction of the combine plant (Saratov) and to its director when their plant went into operation; the telegram to the builders of Magnitogorsk in connection with the end of the testing period and with mastering the technique of "the first giant unique blast-furnace in Europe", and many others.

In these telegrams, Comrade Stalin characterised, with amazing clarity, each of the industrial giants which were put into operation. These telegrams were mobilising and inspiring documents for the workers, engineering and technical personnel of the given enterprises, evoking fervent enthusiasm and pride for their country among all working people in the U.S.S.R.

III.

Volume XIII of J. V. Stalin's Works contains a number of writings devoted to socialist reorganisation of agriculture.

J. V. Stalin's speech, "Concerning Work in Rural Districts' (January 1933), which became the programme for consolidating the collective farm system in the U.S.S.R., was of historic significance.

Comrade Stalin's speech, "Concerning Work in Rural Districts", in which he brilliantly analysed and noted defects in the work of the rural districts, will be stored in the treasure house of Bolshevik theory and experience of the socialist transformation of agriculture. Comrade Stalin criticised, with great scientific profundity and realism, the fact that many comrades over-rated the . collective farms as the new form of farming , and regarded them as an idol.

This over-estimation gave rise to a situation that "...since we have collective farms, which represent a Socialist form of farming, we have everything; that this is sufficient to ensure the proper management of these farms, the proper planning of collective farming, and the conversion of the collective farms into exemplary Socialist enterprises."

Comrade Stalin showed that the collective farm, by itself, as a socialist form of economy, is, as yet, far from being secure against various dangers and against the penetration of all sorts of alien and of even counter-revolutionary elements into their leadership.

"The collective farm", wrote Comrade Stalin, "is a Socialist form of **economic** organisation, just as the Soviets are a Socialist form of **political** organisation. The collective farms and the Soviets

are both a tremendous achievement of our revolution, a tremendous achievement of the working class. But the collective farms and the Soviets are only a **form** of organisation—true enough, a Socialist form, but only a **form** of organisation for all that. Everything depends upon the **content** that is put into this form.”

Collective farms, pointed out Comrade Stalin, may perform miracles of economic construction, may give brilliant methods of Socialist management, if they are led by real revolutionaries, by Bolsheviks, Communists. On the other hand, collective farms may, for a certain period, serve as a shield for all kinds of hostile elements struggling against the collective farms and eager to disorganise them if the leadership in the collective farm management falls into the hands of unreliable elements.

This amazingly wise and profound analysis is not only an outstanding Marxist-Leninist analysis of the form and content of the work of collective farms, but represents also an enormous contribution to the Marxist dialectical method, to the correct understanding of the correlation between content and form.

Now that the co-operative movement in the countryside in the People’s Democracies has assumed big dimensions—Stalin’s words that we must not idealise the form, that everything depends on the content of the collective farm movement, acquire special significance. In order that agricultural co-operatives in the People’s Democracies really develop along the correct path, it is necessary to ensure real Bolshevik leadership in these co-operatives, it is necessary to strengthen, by all means, the existing co-operatives organisationally and economically; it is necessary to strive not for quantity

but to improve in every possible way the work of the cooperatives, to ensure correct guidance of their activity—such are the conclusions following from the brilliant words of J. V. Stalin.

In this speech, J. V. Stalin pointed out most forcibly that

“... the transition to collective farming as the predominant form of farming does not diminish, but increases our cares in regard to agriculture; does not diminish but increases the leading role of the Communists in **raising** agriculture to a higher level.”

Comrade Stalin pointed out that if the Party desires to direct the collective farm movement, it must enter into all the details of political life of the countryside and collective farm management, it must not diminish but multiply its contacts with the collective farms, to be aware of what is going on there, in order to render them timely aid and to avert the dangers threatening them.

J. V. Stalin's speech, delivered at the First All-Union Congress of Collective-Farm Shock-Workers on February 19, 1933, was also an outstanding event in the development of the collective farm system in the USSR.

At this Congress, J. V. Stalin summarised the results of the successful building of collective farms in the U.S.S.R., advancing and explaining the slogan: “To make the collective farms Bolshevik farms and make the collective farmers prosperous”. This speech by Comrade Stalin is an exemplary combination of profound theoretical generalisations and absolute clarity with comprehension of each thesis.

J. V. Stalin showed that of all the revolutions in the history of mankind only the October Socialist Revolution set itself the aim not of replacing one form of

exploitation by another, but of abolishing all exploitation and of eliminating all exploiters. He showed how wrong were those who believe that “if we are living under Socialism, why do we have to toil?” Comrade Stalin pointed out that Socialism is not the negation of labour. On the contrary, Socialism is based on labour. Socialism demands not idling, but that all should work conscientiously; that they should work, not for others, not for the rich and the exploiters, but for themselves, for the community.

“And if we work conscientiously,” said Comrade Stalin, “work for ourselves, for our collective farms, then we will succeed in a matter of two or three years in raising all the collective farmers, both the former poor peasants and the former middle peasants, to the level of prosperous peasants, to the level of people enjoying an abundance of produce and leading a fully cultured life.”

Comrade Stalin’s speech penetrated the minds of millions of collective farmers, inspired new enthusiasm among the collective farm peasantry in the U.S.S.R. and became the practical programme in collective-farm activity.

IV.

Volume XIII of J. V. Stalin’s Works contains outstanding documents on the questions of the history and the theory of the Bolshevik Party.

J. V. Stalin’s letter to the editorial board of the journal “Proletarskaya Revolutsia” entitled “Some Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism” (end of October 1931), is important in this respect. This outstanding document played a great role in the matter

of the further ideological rallying of the ranks of the Bolshevik Party.

In this letter, J. V. Stalin showed that

“... Leninism was born, grew up and became strong in its ruthless struggle against opportunism of every brand, including centrism in the West (Kautsky), and centrism in our country (Trotsky, etc.)”.

that Bolshevism is the only genuine Left-wing the trend in the working-class movement, and that the power of the CPSU(B) lies in the fact that the Bolsheviks

“...are the only revolutionary organisation in the world which has utterly smashed the opportunists and centrists and driven them out of the Party”.

J. V. Stalin showed, in this letter, that Trotskyism had long since ceased to be a trend of Communism; that it had become the advanced detachment of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, fighting against Communism, against the Soviet power, the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. Comrade Stalin called upon the Party cadres to raise questions of the history of Bolshevism to their proper level, to place study of the history of the C.P.S.U (B) on a scientific Bolshevik footing, and resolutely to fight against the falsifiers of the great and heroic history of the Bolshevik Party.

Comrade Stalin mercilessly criticised and stigmatized the rotten liberalism which prevailed among some Bolsheviks regarding the Trotskyites and Trotskyite-minded people.

The letter to the editorial board of the journal “Proletarskaya Revolutsia” was a turning-point in studying the history of the Bolshevik Party, in putting this study onto a proper, scientific footing. It was a

turning point in the development and intensification of the entire ideological work of the C.P.S.U. (B).

J. V. Stalin particularly stressed the international significance of the historical that experience of Bolshevism, He pointed out that

“... the Russian revolution is not the private cause of Russians; that on the contrary, it is the cause of the working class of the whole world proletarian revolution”.

J. V. Stalin, exposing the foul slanderers in the Second International and their ilk pointed out that:

“... the consistent and thoroughly revolutionary internationalism of the Bolsheviks is a model of proletarian internationalism for the workers of all countries”.

Comrade Stalin devotes much attention to questions of proletarian internationalism in all the works contained in the Volume under review. For example, in his message of greetings to the Seventh All-Union Conference of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union on July 8, 1932, J. V. Stalin urged that the Y.C.L. should carry aloft the “banner of Leninist internationalism”, “fighting for peace and friendship between the peoples”. In the report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B), J. V. Stalin again specially stresses, among other tasks in the sphere ideological-political work, the need:

“... to train the Party organisations and the non-Party active-which surrounds them in the spirit of Leninist internationalism”.

And, finally, in concluding his report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B), a report which was approved by Congress as a Party law, as the

militant programme of the Bolshevik Party, Comrade Stalin drew the following three conclusions:

First:—“We must not allow ourselves to be carried away by the successes achieved, and must not get swelled heads.”

Second:— We must remain true to the end to the great banner of Marx, Engels, and Lenin.”

Third:

“We must remain true to the end to the cause of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of the fraternal alliance of the proletarians of all countries”.

Extremely important for understanding the questions of patriotism and proletarian internationalism is J. V. Stalin’s letter to Demian Bedny, published for the first time and included in this volume. The point is that in a number of his works at that period, the poet Demian Bedny had taken a path that had nothing in common with Marxist approach to the history of Russia, the path of slanderously demoing the past of the Russian people. His statements actually meant defaming the U.S.S.R., defaming the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., defaming the Russian proletariat.

Instead of appraising the very great revolutionary role played in the history of Russia and of the world by the outstanding representatives of progressive Russian culture, by her great revolutionary democrats, her fighters for the cause of the working class and, particularly, by the Russian proletariat—the most revolutionary proletariat in the world—Demian Bedny tumbled “somewhere down-hill” as Comrade Stalin puts it, confused, and, as a matter of fact, began to defame the entire past history of Russia, including,

subsequently, the struggle of her advanced, great revolutionary forces.

Criticising Demian Bedny, Comrade Stalin wrote:

“The whole world recognises now that the centre of the revolutionary movement has shifted from Western Europe to Russia. The revolutionaries in all countries hopefully look to the U.S.S.R. as to the centre of the liberation struggle of the working people of the world, and acknowledge it as their only homeland. The revolutionary workers in all countries unanimously applaud the Soviet working class, and, above all, the Russian working class—the **vanguard of** the Soviet workers—as their acknowledged leader who is carrying out the most revolutionary and most active policy which the proletarians of other countries could only dream of pursuing. The leaders or’ revolutionary workers of all countries avidly the most instructive history of the working class of Russia, its past, the past of Russia, aware that, apart from the reactionary Russia, there also existed the revolutionary Russia, the Russia of Radivhevs and Chernyshevskys, Zhelyabovs and Ulianovs, the Khalturins and Alekseyevs. All this fills (and cannot but fill!) the hearts of Russian workers with feelings of revolutionary national pride, capable of moving mountains, of creating miracles”.

Citing the well-known extracts form V. I. Lenin’s article, “On the National pride of Great Russians”, in which V. I. Lenin stressed, with the utmost patriotic vigour, the lawful feeling of national pride among Great Russians for the fact that the Russian nation had displayed great examples in the struggle for Socialism, that the interests national pride of Great Russians,

which were understood correctly and in no way abjectly, coincided with the socialist interests of the proletariat, Comrade Stalin wrote:

“This s how Lenin, the greatest internationalist in the world, was able to speak about the national pride of Great Russians”.

Of, utmost significance for the development of Marxist-Leninist theory is Comrade Stalin’s statement of the Marxist views concerning the question of equality, in his report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B).

In this report J. V. Stalin subjected to devastating criticism all kinds of equalisation tendencies noticeable among some working people and Party members. He showed that “equality in the sphere of requirements and individual life is a piece of reactionary petty-bourgeois absurdity, worthy of a primitive sect of ascetics, but not of a Socialist society organised on Marxian lines”. Comrade Stalin pointed out that all people should have identical requirements and tastes.

J. V. Stalin made a detailed analysis of the Marxist understanding of equality. He said:

“By equality Marxism means, not equalisation of individual requirements and individual life, but the abolition of classes, i.e., a) the equal emancipation of all working people from exploitation after the capitalists have been overthrown and expropriated; b) the equal abolition for all of private property in the means of production after they have been converted into the property of the whole of society; c) the equal duty of all to work according to their ability, and the equal right of all working people to receive remuneration according to the amount of work performed (**Socialist** society); d) the equal

duty of all to work according to their ability, and the equal right of all working people to receive remuneration according to their needs (Communist society). Furthermore, Marxism proceeds from the assumption that people's tastes and requirements are not, and cannot be, identical, equal, in quality or in quantity, either in the period of Socialism or in the period of Communism.

“That is the Marxian conception of equality.”

Of enormous significance for the development of Marxist-Leninist theory was J. V Stalin's interview with the German writer· Emil Ludwig, on December 13, 1931. Of the rich content of this outstanding interview, we shall dwell here on the role of the individual and of the masses in history.

Replying to Ludwig's charge that Marxism denies the outstanding role of the individual in history, Comrade Stalin pointed out that:

“Marxism does not in the least deny the role of outstanding personalities or that people make history”.

On the contrary, J. V. Stalin stressed: “It is precisely people who make history. However, people do not make history at the whim of any fancy or according to choice.

“Every generation”, Comrade Stalin pointed out, “is confronted with certain conditions already existing in ready form at the moment the given generation comes into being. And great men are of value only inasmuch as they are able correctly to comprehend these conditions, to understand how they should be changed.”

Continuing, J. V. Stalin further explained to Ludwig, that Marxism in no way denies the role of heroes, of heroic personalities in history with, however, the aforementioned reservations. Comrade Stalin showed

that the real makers of history are the masses; that it is precisely they who make history. At the same time, Marxism stresses the role of individuals, of great men, but only in-so-far as they express the interests of the people, in-so-far as they correctly understand these interests and actively fight for them. J. V. Stalin creatively applies these ideas of the materialist conception of history to the solution of the vital political problems. In his recent historic interview with the “**Pravda**” correspondent, he stressed once more the decisive role of the peoples in history pointing out that if the peoples take the cause of peace into their own hands, the imperialist the imperialist design for another world war be foiled.”

Referring to his own work, Comrade Stalin said in his interview with Ludwig:

“The task to which I devote my life consists in elevating another class, namely, the working class. This task is not the strengthening of some kind of ‘national’ State, but of strengthening the Socialist, and consequently, the internationalist State, and any strengthening of this State helps to strengthen the entire international working class. If every step in my work regarding the elevation of the working class and the strengthening of the Socialist State of this class, was not directed at consolidating and improving the position of the working class, then I would regard my life as aimless”.

It is impossible to read without profound emotion these simple, inspiring words of the great leader of the working people of the world. They evoke, and will continue to evoke, a fresh uplift in the spirit of the working people of all countries combating capitalism; they will steadily raise new, selfless fighters ready for

heroic exploits in order to eliminate the wild beast of imperialism living on the sweat, blood, suppression and killing of the exploited.

V.

In the works contained In the Volume under review, J. V. Stalin defines in detail the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the two systems, stresses the desirability of establishing normal business and trade relations between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries, and points out that were there a policy of good-will on the part of the government circles of the bourgeois countries, such trade relations could be extended many-fold in view of the unlimited development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R.

Comrade Stalin shows with utmost clarity and profundity the thoroughly consistent peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet State. exposing, simultaneously, all enemy machinations levelled against the great Soviet land.

In his reply to the question by Ralph Barnes on May 3, 1932, J. V. Stalin, referring to relations between the Soviet and American peoples, said:

“Nothing is easier than to convince the peoples of the two countries of the harm and crime of mutual extermination. However, the issues of peace and war’ are not, unfortunately, decided always by the peoples. I have no doubt that the people’s masses of the U.S.A. did not want war against the peoples of the U.S.S.R. in 1918-19. This did not prevent, however, the U.S.A. Government from attacking the U.S.S.R. in 1918 (jointly “in Japan, Britain, France), and continuing the military

intervention against the U.S.S.R. until 1919. As for the U.S.S.R., it is hardly necessary to prove further that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. like the Government of the U.S.S.R. desire that never and in no circumstances, should an armed conflict take place between the two countries.”

In his report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. (B), on January 26, 1934, J. V. Stalin again returned to the question of the peaceful policy of the Soviet State in contrast to the imperialist States whose foreign policy is aimed at an armaments drive and at preparing fresh military gambles.

“While in the capitalist countries” said Comrade Stalin, “feverish preparations are in progress for a new war, for a new re-division of the world and of spheres of influence, the U.S.S.R. is continuing its systematic and persistent struggle against the menace of war and for peace; and it cannot be said that the efforts of the U.S.S.R. in this sphere have been entirely unsuccessful”.

J. V. Stalin subjected to devastating criticism the plans of organising war being hatched at that time in imperialist circles, as well as the “arguments” in favour of war with which the warmongers, particularly the German fascists, were manipulating. He smashed and ridiculed the racial ravings of the fascists. He warned Messrs. fascists that an attack on the U.S.S.R. would end in ignominious fiasco for them, in full and final military and political rout.

With what amazing Marxist-Leninist foresight, with what scientific precision did Comrade Stalin describe, early in 1934, what would happen should the imperialists attack the U.S.S.R.

“There can hardly be any doubt that such a war would be a most dangerous war for the bourgeoisie”.

He pointed out that such a war would be most dangerous for the bourgeoisie because the masses of the people in the U.S.S.R. would uphold, to the last, the gains of the Revolution and of Soviet power, and because the masses in the countries attacking the U.S.S.R. would strike at their ruling classes.

“It can hardly be doubted”, said Comrade Stalin, “that a second war against the U.S.S.R. will lead to the complete defeat of the aggressors, to revolution in a number of countries in Europe and in Asia, and to the destruction of the bourgeois-landlord governments in those countries”.

Things turned out just as J. V. Stalin had forecast. The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people ended in complete victory over their enemies and in complete defeat for the German fascist armies that had attacked the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union saved the civilisation of Europe from the doom prepared for it by the fascists. Carrying out its great, historical liberation mission, the Soviet Army liberated the peoples of a number of European countries from the fascist yoke.

As a result of World War Two and the victory of the Soviet Army, the bourgeois-landlord governments were overthrown in Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Albania, and the people’s power was firmly established in these countries.

Enormous changes took place also in the East. The complete rout by the Soviet Army of Japanese imperialism and its main land forces—the so-called Kwantung Army—and the heroic struggle of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist

Party, resulted in a people's victory in China and the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic.

Such were the lamentable results of World War Two for the imperialists. There is no doubt that should the imperialists unleash a third world war, it will end this time in the collapse of the entire capitalist system.

In his works, Comrade Stalin points out again and again:

“Our foreign policy is clear. It is a policy of preserving peace and strengthening commercial relations with all countries. The U.S.S.R. does not think of threatening anybody-let alone of attacking anybody. We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer the instigators of war, blow for blow. Those who want peace and seek business relations with us will always have our support. But those who try to attack our country will receive a crushing repulse to teach them not to poke their pig snouts into our Soviet garden”.

Comrade Stalin pronounced these words seventeen years ago, but they might have been written today. These theses express the indomitable, consistent peace policy pursued by the Soviet Government since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. These words express the most profound confidence of the leader of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people in the mighty inner power of the Soviet system, confidence in the invincibility of the Soviet State, and in the inexhaustibility of the forces of Socialism.

Today, as seventeen years ago, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union is aimed at preserving and consolidating peace between the peoples, at exposing the plans of the instigators of a new war. The Soviet

Union is the mainstay and the leading force in the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism. The Soviet Union is doing everything possible to prevent war. But, as Comrade Stalin pointed out, the Soviet Union does not fear threats. The Soviet people will be able to deliver a devastating rebuff to all who will again attempt to poke their snouts into the Soviet garden. Woe to the present-day warmongers—who have learnt nothing from the eloquent experience of the past history—if they decide to repeat the action of their ill-starred predecessor—Hitler.

Not only the forces of the Soviet people have greatly multiplied; the forces of the entire international camp of peace, democracy and Socialism have also increased many times over; the courageous Communist Parties in all countries—the militant vanguard of the peoples—have strengthened and matured; the peace struggle of the peoples the world over has intensified and their unshakable determination to uphold the cause of peace is growing.

The new war which the handful of multi-millionaires, millionaires, steel, iron, coal and oil kings, are seeking to kindle will become (should they succeed in hurling the peoples into it) the grave of capitalism!

* * *

The works of J. V. Stalin, published in the Thirteenth Volume, are a model of creative development of Marxism-Leninism. They reveal the brilliant genius of the leader and teacher of progressive mankind, his wisdom as a strategist and his ability to define scientifically the motive forces and the tasks at

each historic phase, his ability to direct events on the basis of their Marxist-Leninist dialectical analysis.

The works of J. V. Stalin. constitute an inexhaustible source of the experience of building Socialism, of indefatigable struggle against imperialism—the great experience in the revolutionary struggle for the victory of the working class. They are a mighty ideological weapon equipping the cadres of the Soviet people for the successful building of Communism, the cadres in the People’s Democracies for a victorious advance towards Socialism, the cadres of the Communist Parties and all working people in the capitalist countries—for victory over the capitalists and landlords.

For Communists in all countries, J. V. Stalin’s works are a rich ideological treasure-house whence they draw confidence in their struggle, confidence in their victory. There is not a single aspect of Communist activity that Comrade Stalin has not illuminated with Marxist-Leninist theory. In his works, J. V. Stalin gives proletarian revolutionaries in all countries a weapon of tremendous mobilising and inspiring power.

M. MITIN

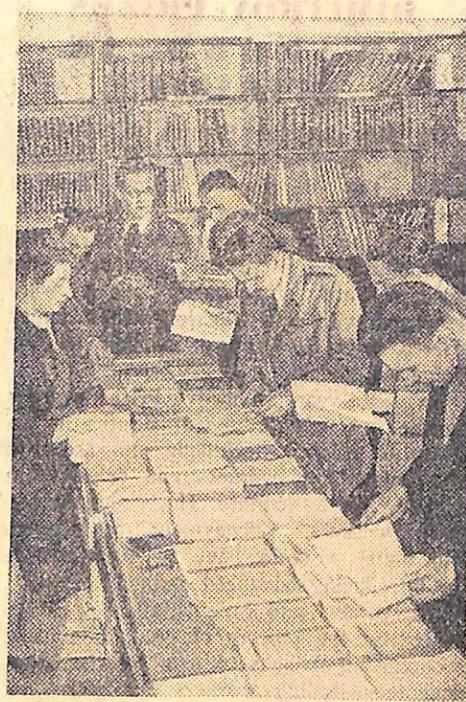
RADIO-DIFFUSION IN POLAND

Big successes have been achieved in the sphere of radio-diffusion during the six years that have elapsed since the liberation of Poland from the Hitlerite yoke. The capacity of broadcasting stations in pre-war Poland was only 450 kilowatts, but even these stations the Hitlerites completely destroyed during their retreat.

By 1949, People's Poland, with the aid of the Soviet Union, had restored the devastated stations. During the years of the people's Government; twelve radio stations, totalling 510 kilowatts, were restored or built anew. In addition to these, the Warsaw "Radio Peace Station" is now functioning. This broadcasting centre operates under the auspices of the All-Poland Peace Committee. Its call signal is taken from the Democratic Youth Song.

Large-scale radio-diffusion is underway. Loud speakers are being installed in the homes of workers and peasants. The radio-diffusion network has been extended to 6,000 villages where 500,000 loud speaker~ have been installed. In 1955, i.e. in the last year of the Six-Year Plan, the number of subscribers will grow to 3,200,000 and the number of villages with a radio network will exceed 18,000.

POLAND. THE "BOOK CENTRE" ...



POLAND. The "Book Centre" has opened book-stands in many towns and villages throughout the country. **Photo:** Book-stand in Warsaw Polytechnic.

POLAND. The "Book Centre" has opened book-stands in many towns and villages throughout the country. Photo: Book stand in Warsaw Polytechnic

PLENUM, CENTRAL COMMITTEE HUNGARIAN WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY

At its recent plenum, the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party heard reports by Comrade Matias Rakosi on the political situation, and by Comrade Istvan Kovacs on the question of cadres.

The Central Committee decided to conduct, during the winter of 1951-52, reporting back meetings and elections to the committees of Party branch organisations, and also to the district, regional, province and Budapest Party committees, It also dealt with a number of organisational questions.

REPORTING-BACK AND ELECTION CAMPAIGN IN RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

The Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party decided last March to conduct reporting-back meetings and elections in the local leading Party organs.

The Central Committee stressed that the reporting-back and election campaign should become a real school of Party education for Party members: it should enhance their activity; strengthen the bonds between the leading organs and the Party membership and with the non-Party people; improve the work of Party branch organisations; develop, on a wide scale, criticism and self-criticism.

The first reporting-back and election meetings in lower Party organisations have revealed the increased maturity of Party members, their serious critical approach to the activities of the leadership and the high demands made on the leading Party cadres. Extremely business-like and active were the general meetings and Party conferences at the "May 1" oil-equipment factory in Ploesti, at the "Filatura Romana" factory, and the "Vulcan" metal-working plant in Bucharest, and also at several machine-tractor stations and collective farms in the Bucharest region. Many Party members in these organisations attained fresh successes in production in honour of the elections, and took an active part in the meetings.

Preparations for, and the holding of, the first meetings revealed also a number of weaknesses and shortcomings. In some regions and districts, preparations for the elections were not linked

sufficiently with the entire Party work, whereas in other places too much attention was devoted to the organisational and technical preparations at the expense of political preparations. Attempts were also observed to violate the principles of inner-Party democracy.

In the course of the campaign, the Party organisations are fighting to put into effect the directives of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and to eliminate the shortcomings.

FOR UNITY OF AUSTRALIAN WORKING CLASS

Resolution of Political Committee of Australian Communist Party

The Political Committee of the Australian Communist Party recently published a resolution on the results of the federal parliamentary elections held late in April; and the lessons which Australian Communists must draw from these elections.

These elections, points out the resolution, testify that despite the victory of the Menzies-Fadden clique, the Australian people are beginning to turn their backs on the Menzies Government, and that it is possible to win over the people's masses, misled by Liberal Party demagoguery, for a genuine policy of peace and progress; to ensure the early defeat of the reactionary Liberal-Country Party coalition.

The elections proved the great possibilities for unity of the working class. Unity of the working class, a broad people's coalition for peace and progress, including farmers, the middle classes and small business men, can very soon remove the government of monopolists and warmongers, and replace it with a government of peace.

The Political Committee points out that although the Communist Party did not obtain any substantial increase in votes, its candidates, standing for election, played a very important role in the election campaign by directly posing before the broad masses the question

of “peace or an aggressive war”. The Political Committee called on all Communists to strengthen the unity of the working class, to improve work at the factories with a view to increasing the Party’s ranks among industrial workers. and begin explanatory work among the middle strata of the urban and rural population in order to win them over to the Party’s side.

The Communist Party again declared to the people that it would in the future, too, vigorously fight for peace, for unity of the working class, for the creation of a broad coalition in the country of all who want peace and the defeat of reaction—a reaction which subordinates the country to the U.S. warmongers and which is drawing Australia into the new world war now being prepared by the imperialists.

AGAINST RIGHT-WING SOCIALIST TRAITORS, FOR UNITY OF WORKING CLASS. Georges Cogniot Member, Central Committee, French Communist Party

A powerful peace movement is developing in France, as everywhere else throughout the world.

The successes of the movement cannot but evoke the rage of the warmongers, cannot but make them frantic. Hence, the imperialists are seeking to undermine from within the international peace movement, to deceive and ideologically disarm the peoples, force them to believe in the “peaceful” intentions of the American invaders. In this, they pin their hopes mainly on the Right-wing Socialists.

I.

Comrade Stalin teaches us:

“Present-day Social-Democratism is an ideological prop of capitalism. Lenin was a thousand times right when he said that the present Social-Democratic politicians are ‘real agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class’, that ‘in the civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie’ they would inevitably range themselves ‘on the side of ‘Versailles’ against the ‘Communards’.”

The Right-wing Social Democrats betrayed the working-class movement during the First World War. In France, at the Congress in Tours in December 1920, they split the old Socialist Party, seeking forever to

close for our people the bright path leading to Socialism. Then they helped fascism to power in a number of countries. After the betrayal of the cause of peace by Daladier and Chamberlain, the Right-wing Social Democrats experiencing a feeling of “cowardly relief” (as admitted by Leon Blum), not only justified the disgraceful Munich capitulation but facilitated it in every possible way, thus paving the way for another Hitlerite aggression. After the war, frightened by the fact that the Communists and Socialists had won a majority in the first Constituent Assembly (1945-46), Blum and his accomplices spared no effort to prevent, both in Parliament and the Government, the natural course of development of the forces of democracy and Socialism In France.

In the National Assembly, elected on November 10, 1946, 47 per cent of the seats belonged to Communists and Socialists. Why, then, are the activities of this Assembly, now ending its days, so unfavourable for the working class and for the cause of peace and democracy? The reason is that Blum and his supporters, from 1944 on, strained every effort to consolidate the shaken positions of capitalism in France. If, in our country, no radical democratic reforms have been carried out in the social and economic spheres; if the working people are still under the yoke of capitalist exploitation and the share of wages in the national income has incessantly declined in the past four years; if the country’s policy is directed by reactionaries and warmongers; if the aggressive war in Viet Nam still continues, despite its ruinous nature and injustice, the responsibility lies with the Right-wing Socialist leaders.

None other than the Right-wing Socialist Ramadier, then Prime Minister, acting on the instructions of U.S.

expansionists, on May 4, 1947 expelled the Communists from the French Government. This happened exactly a month before General Marshall's notorious speech at Harvard University. The entire policy of the Right-wing Socialist leadership, determined by the imperialist demands in conformity with the "Marshall Plan", aimed at disrupting co-operation with the Communist Party, at splitting the trade union movement (carried out on December 18, 1947), at inspiring and launching anti-Communist campaigns, at attempting to undermine the international solidarity of the working class and at paralyzing the working-class movement. All this the Right-wing Socialist leadership carried out either by utilising the Proudhon "theory" of the "vicious circle of wages and prices" in accordance with which strikes resulting in higher pay must inevitably cause a general increase of prices—the "theory" which a century ago was refuted by Marx—or by resorting to open violence and sanguinary terror against the strikers. At the close of 1947, Socialist deputies voted unhesitatingly for the most despicable laws directed against the working class. The name of Jules Moch will go down in history not only as that of a despicable slanderer and provocateur, but also as the symbol of the utter moral decline of the Right-wing Socialist leaders, whose hands are stained with the blood of working people.

These people shun no lie in an attempt to disarm and demobilise the working-class. Seeking, on the example of all ideologists of Social Democratism, to cloak his open bourgeois line in pseudo-Marxist phraseology, Edouard Depreux, former Right-wing Socialist Minister, declared in a leading article in the December issue of "Revue Socialiste": "We are living (meaning the countries of the imperialist camp,-Ed.)

not under a capitalist but under a transition system". Contrary to reality, Depreux proclaims that the "State is penetrable", that the "working people have already succeeded in penetrating it", and that "although the State is not as yet fully proletarian", it is already "not quite bourgeois".

While Depreux seeks to regenerate the threadbare theory about the gradual growing of capitalism into Socialism, Jules Moch and Eugene Thomas are sending "Republican Security Detachments" against striking workers and peace champions, proving, in effect by these bloody repressions, the monstrous oppression of the working masses by the capitalist State.

II.

Open violence and falsehoods aimed at disorganising the working class—these two methods employed by the Right-wing Socialist leaders in their struggle against the proletariat are directed to one purpose: to facilitate the carrying out of the aggressive designs of American imperialism.

Betraying the national interests of France, the Right-wing Socialist leaders have agreed to restore the "Wehrmacht" in Western Germany. A few months ago, speaking at the so-called European Assembly in Strasbourg on the question of the Atlantic Army, Guy Mollet declared: "We are quite ready, we want, and insistently request, Germany to take her place in the organisation". And then, as an example of the tasks of the "Atlantic" or "European" Army, Guy Mollet shamelessly cited "what had been effected in Korea". It would be difficult to find a more cynical

acknowledgement of the fact that Western Germany is to serve as a base for aggression.

Jules Moch; Minister of “National Defence” and Guy Mollet, Minister of European Affairs, are utterly indifferent to the fact that by reviving German militarism, they are brazenly violating the Franco-Soviet Treaty of December 10, 1944, and the Potsdam Agreement, and that they are thus committing a deliberate provocation against the Soviet Union whose victory saved France from fascist barbarity.

The Guy Mollets, Ramadiers and André Philips had long before prepared the enslavement of France by their trans-Atlantic masters. The “Marshall Plan”, the aggressive Atlantic Pact, the “Schuman Plan”, the European Council and every cosmopolitan machination by the American imperialists met with the wholehearted support of their Right-wing Socialist lackeys.

No one can outstrip the Right-wing Socialist leaders in lauding the American “way of life”. Their foul rag “Le Populaire” praises with unusual servility the U.S. as the “leader of the free world” (see “Le Populaire”, December 22, 1950). Former Minister Andre Philip dared write that the United States, this country of unrestricted dictatorship of trusts, the centre of world capitalist reaction, is a “new, profoundly democratic” country. All these theses, defended by the Right-wing Socialists, are but the logical outcome of the falsehoods of Leon Blum, who, during preparations for the “Marshall Plan”, sought to revive the old Social-Democratic fable about “organised capitalism”, linking it with the pseudo-theory of “super-national” planning, directed fully and wholly to cover up the strivings of U.S. imperialism for world domination.

With the approval of the leadership of their Party, the Socialist Ministers voiced their support for re-opening the French Embassy under Franco, the fascist dictator. Eugene Thomas, deputy Minister of the Police, sent Spanish Republicans to concentration camps in the South of Algeria.

Following in the wake of the British Labourites, the French Right-wing Socialist leaders wholeheartedly responded to the suggestion of fascist Tito, who proposed establishing close friendship between his “party” and “all progressive parties in the world, above all, with the Socialist parties”. In Paris they pompously received the Yugoslav “parliamentary” delegation headed by traitor Moshe Pjade. In the Queuille Government they are zealous supporters of supplying arms to warmonger Tito.

During the big spring strikes of French workers struggling for the satisfaction of their legitimate demands, the “Socialist” Ministers used army lorries in an attempt to disrupt the strike of the Paris underground railway and bus workers, and issued an unlawful order for the forced mobilisation for labour of the workers of the gas works and power stations, railwaymen and Paris transport workers.

III.

The Right-wing Socialist leaders are instigating the repressions against the Communists and all peace fighters. They ensured the passage of the fascist decrees, banning in France the activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions, international women’s, youth and peace organisations. “Le Populaire” attacks daily the administrations of industrial enterprises, the

authorities and judges, who, it thinks, are not displaying adequate zeal in persecuting Communists. The Right-wing Socialist leaders—leaders of nationalised enterprises and public utility institutions are showing to private employers an example of such persecution.

The activities of the so-called London Trade Union International supported in France by Jouhaux and Co., the struggle they instigated against the seamen and dockers—French patriots—using for this purpose blacklegs and thugs, are further proof that the tactics of murder and creation of provocatory, criminal centres represent at present a serious danger to the working class and demand heightened vigilance. It should be pointed out, however, that the workers are so disgusted with the Yellow international that even the recently held Congress of the French Confederation of Christian Workers turned down, by a two-thirds majority, the proposal to join this organisation.

Seeking deliberately to unloose a new world war, the Right-wing Socialist leaders want, by means of fascisation, to involve the French people in such a war: they are doing all they possibly can to help de Gaulle in his attempts to straitjacket the working class in order to ensure the rear in the aggressive war.

The Right-wing Socialist press is seeking to belittle the danger of fascism. Arguing that de Gaulle has no programme, Right-wing Socialists seek to cover up the fascist nature of this programme. Maurice Thorez emphasized, time and again, that it is impossible to comprehend the process of fascisation, without simultaneously comprehending the role of the Social Democrats.

Beginning with May 1947, all the Marshallised rulers of France, including the Socialists, are guided by de

Gaullist “ideas” in their activities. It was precisely Leon Blum who gave the reactionary French bourgeoisie the slogan: “Destroy the Communist cadres!”.

Guy Mollet, General Secretary of the Socialist Party, took a very active part in elaborating the election law swindle, which, these gentlemen hope, will ensure victory for de Gaulle, and which should ensure an Assembly of war and fascism by means of a “joint candidate list” of all Marshallised parties—from Socialists to de Gaulle. Following in the footsteps of Goring and Hitler, Eugene Thomas, Deputy Minister of Police, well-known for his sympathies for de Gaulle, is seeking, on the eve of the election, to organise provocations against the Communist Party, including assassinations.

Socialist workers are beginning to understand ever more clearly that fascism, which is enjoying the support of the Right-wing Socialist leaders on Wall Street’s orders, seeks not only to deliver a blow against the Communists, but also to force on the country a policy which is meeting with opposition also among Socialist workers. In many districts of the country, the lower organisations of the Socialist Party and the elected Socialists are openly joining the united front of struggle for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers.

Hence, it is not surprising that the mood of the working people—members of the Socialist Party—is causing grave concern among Socialist leaders. The Right-wing Socialists have, of late, been publishing article after article in an attempt to mobilise the cadres of their Party for the struggle against united action of the working people. However, the facts show that these attempts are more and more often ending in failure. At hundreds and hundreds of enterprises the workers-

Communists and Socialists are waging a common struggle and strengthening the united action committees set up during recent strikes.

It is characteristic that, at the recent Congress of the Socialist Party, Jules Moch, former Security Minister and now War Minister, was not elected to the Party executive committee. However, just as the dismissal of MacArthur did not signify the slackening of U.S. aggressive action in Asia, so the removal of Jules Moch from the executive committee of the Socialist Party does not signify a weakening of the support which the Right-wing Socialist leaders are giving to the policy of war. On the contrary, this Congress of the Socialist Party showed that the leadership of this Party is not confining itself to **supporting** fascism, but is seeking to force Socialist working people to adopt the **fascist programme**. Discussion at the Congress centred round the question of “rearming France” at the expense of the social needs and peace-time requirements, round the question of intensifying the exploitation of the worker by raising productivity of labour on the American model. In short, Congress dealt with the same problems which figure on the programme of de Gaulle. The Congress of the Socialist Party showed French working people, including Socialist working people, that only by voting for the Communists can they vote for peace, freedom and social progress at the forthcoming elections.

IV.

Hence, the present situation in France calls for more resolute action on the part of Communists for strengthening militant unity—action which Maurice Thorez has always urged. In a speech delivered in Paris

on October 13, 1931, and now being reprinted, the General Secretary of the French Communist Party exposed the constant treachery of the leaders of Social Democracy and, simultaneously, drew a line between these leaders and the workers they are deceiving, and to Whom Communists extend a fraternal hand in order to effect united action.

French working people see the fatal consequences of the monstrous increase in military expenditure; they are increasingly indignant at the provocations of the imperialist warmongers. Socialist workers are indignant with their leaders for supporting de Gaulle in France and notorious fascist reactionaries all over the world. In these conditions, French Communists are more than ever aware of their paramount duty, i.e. to be guided in the struggle by the basic slogan: joint action against war and fascism, militant unity with Socialist workers and trade union unity.

Every success achieved in the sphere of joint action is of serious significance for further developing the struggle for immediate demands, in defence of peace, against the threat of fascism. In order fully to overcome the influence of the Right-wing Socialist leaders on the masses, Communists are popularising ever more widely the, magnificent economic and cultural achievements of the Soviet Union—the bastion of peace in the world—and the remarkable successes of the People's Democracies.

“Unity” points out Maurice Thorez, “means fighting incessantly for revealing the truth to the Socialist worker, deceived by his leaders.” Relying on this directive by Comrade Thorez, French Communists are patiently and fraternally showing Socialist working people that the entire activities of the Right-wing Socialist leaders, who serve the imperialist aggressors

and the fascist de Gaulle, are a grave indictment of these leaders. French Communists are sparing no effort to draw in Socialist working people for joint action of the working class and the entire people against war, national enslavement, fascist reaction and poverty.

STATEMENT BY AN AMERICAN COMMUNIST BEFORE JOINT HOUSE COMMITTEE ON SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

Below we publish a statement by Philip FRANKFELD, Ohio Communist leader, before the Joint House Committee "on Subversive Activities" in Ohio. The statement is a moving political and human document. It reveals the indefatigable courage with which the American Communists are fighting for the interests of the working class and the working people of the U.S., against war hysteria and against unleashing a new war by the imperialists, against fascisizing the State structure of the U.S., for democracy and peace. Excerpts from the statement by P. Frankfeld are reprinted here from the American "Daily Worker" of May 18.

I am appearing before this committee under protest. I am here only because I have been served with a subpoena. This committee has no political, constitutional or moral right to act as an Inquisition. You cannot probe into the ideas or opinions of any man or woman. You cannot establish guilt by association. You cannot accept the unverified word of craven stoolpigeons. You cannot publish a blacklist of names of Negro and white workers for employers' to crucify economically.

You have embarked on a witch-hunt in Ohio. To win public support, this committee pledged not to engage in such a witch-hunt. This pledge you have broken!

This committee is attempting to create an atmosphere of mass hysteria, fear and intimidation in

Ohio. You seek to whip up a war spirit in our state. This particular moment was chosen in order to silence all opposition to the unjust and unpopular war in Korea, against all people who want and strive for peace.

To cover up the political bankruptcy of the Taft-Republican dominated State Legislature, this committee is employing the redbaiting techniques used by Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and now by Sen. McCarthy.

The 99th General Assembly has failed to pass a single constructive law in the interests of the workers, farmers, Negro people or the middle class of Ohio.

Instead, the Republican-controlled legislature:
has pigeonholed effective FEPC legislation with teeth in it;

threatens to wipe out the present inadequate Unemployment Compensation law by knocking out dependency allowances and disqualifying workers who quit their jobs or who are discharged "for cause";

continued to approve the Poor Man's State Sales Tax, which robs the pockets of those least able to pay, while Big Business rakes in the biggest profits in history;

has failed to act on the Bauer resolution which would place the State of Ohio on record in favour of withdrawing our boys from Korea and ending the bloodshed there.

*

To cover up this shameful record of reaction and inaction, the Joint Committee was established to throw sand into the eyes of the people!

If this committee is really interested In tracking clown subversive activities in Ohio, why don't you call in the big racketeers; gamblers and vice overlords who

operate so brazenly in Ohio? Perhaps this committee doesn't believe that those who undermine public morals for profit and gain are subverting the moral and political fibre of democracy.

Why don't you investigate the men of the trusts in Ohio who all trying to smash the labour unions and bring down the standard of living to a starvation level?

Why don't you investigate the treasonable activities of the economic royalists who are plotting to plunge our country into World War III, for plunder and profits? Or do you, consider it the height of patriotism for the National Terminals Corp. of Cleveland to make a profit of 600 percent by renting a former bomber plant from the government and then releasing it to another federal agency? (Cleveland Plain Dealer-May 2, 1951).

Gentlemen: If you seriously are seeking out subversive activities in Ohio, then you will search for the Ku-Kluxer, the anti-Semite, the fomenters of bigotry against the Negro, Jew and Catholic and those who incite hatred against the foreign-horn.

But the record already proves conclusively that you aren't!

According to the public press, you have singled out for persecution and attack, distinguished men and women who fight for peace and civil rights; rank and file Negro and white workers who are loyal union men; progressives, liberals and Communists.

This committee is striking a deadly blow at the very foundations of democracy and the constitutional rights of all Ohioans by singling out the Communists as the immediate target of your attacks. The Bill of Rights stands or falls for all Americans to the degree that it is upheld for the Communists and all other minorities... without exception.

What the Communists stand for, believe in and have fought for is a matter of public knowledge and record for 32 years.

The Communists have played an outstanding role in helping build the strong industrial unions among the steel, auto, rubber, electrical and other mass production industries in Ohio.

The Communists have actively participated in every struggle for higher wages, against the speedup and for better working conditions for Negro and white workers.

The Communists have consistently fought for full economic, political and social equality for the Negro people and for the passage of FEPC laws on city, state and national levels: The Communists have spearheaded the struggle against lynchings and police brutality, for saving the lives of the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee, for upgrading of Negro workers in industry and for political representation for the Negro people.

The glorious record of militant struggle for Negro rights cannot be sullied by the despicable lies spread by paid informers before this Committee.

The Communists conducted long and bitter struggles to win unemployment relief and insurance—which in its time was denounced as “subversive and un-American.” The Communists have long championed federal housing, public health and improved educational programs; 100 dollars month old age pensions; a graduated income tax based on ability to pay. Slanders have never deterred the Communists from fighting for social gains.

The Communists have steadfastly opposed all unjust wars of aggression and championed the cause of peace. Truman, in his April 11 address, said: “The Communists have opposed the Korean War from the very beginning.”

This statement of historical fact is a high tribute paid to the Communists from one of its bitter enemies.

The people of Ohio overwhelmingly reject the incitements for war against People's China. Sen. Tart, Gen. MacArthur and President Truman want to spread the war which can only lead to World War III—Atomic War. The path of Taft-Truman and MacArthur will lead our country and people to national suicide, disaster and dishonour.

The Communists have the answer to the great crisis of today. It is for ending the Korean War. It is for Peace—not profits. It is for finding peaceful alternatives to the grave danger or a Third World War. It is for a Five Power Pact for Peace between the five great nations of the earth—including People's China. Together with all other peace-loving Ohioans, regardless of differences of opinion, the Communists will work, organize and fight for peace. This is the greatest and highest patriotic service which any American can render to our country and people.

If the fight for Peace be “subversion,” gentlemen, then make the most of it. I am an honourably discharged veteran who faithfully served his country and people in World War II. I have a record of many years active service in the interests of the working class.

I am pledged to defend the Ohio and Federal Constitutions and Bills of Rights against all of its enemies. I will not knuckle down to Wall Street and its reactionary political henchmen by permitting this—or any other legislative committee—to subvert my, or any other American's, rights and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution. It goes without saying that any attempt to make me “finger” any worker in Ohio, I will reject with the same loathing which every honest

American feels towards stoolpigeons or those who employ them.

*

The working people of Ohio, Negro and white, will reject and defeat your efforts to subvert and destroy democracy, the labour movement, the Negro people's and Peace movements in our state.

The people of Ohio will increase their efforts to win the peace, to bring down prices and the soaring cost of living, to reduce taxes for the workers and to tax the rich, the fabulous profits of Wall Street.

The people will continue to press forward the struggle for Negro rights, to in FEPC legislation and full equality for the Negro people.

The Communists very openly and proudly proclaim that they stand for the abolition of capitalism, and its replacement by a Socialist system of society based on common ownership of the national economy, production for social use instead of for profits, and a planned economy of plenty in America.

DIMITROV PRIZES AWARDED IN BULGARIA

On May 24, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria issued the decision to bestow Dimitrov Prizes for achievements attained in 1950 in the sphere of science, invention, rationalisation, literature and art. One hundred and forty-seven people were honoured with this superior award named after Georgi Dimitrov—great son of the Bulgarian people.

As last year, Dimitrov Prize winners include not only prominent figures in the realm of science, technique and art, but also outstanding workers and peasants in industry and agriculture. Thirty-nine miners, textile workers, railwaymen, brick-layers and metal workers have received awards for introducing advanced methods of work, for inventions and rationalisation proposals improving the process of production and economising millions of leva for the State. Seventeen, leading workers in agriculture, two brigades. and live units in peasant cooperatives received awards for high crop yields.

SLOVAK YOUTH CONGRESS

The Slovak Youth Congress, recently held in Bratislava under the slogan of a determined struggle for peace and Socialism, solemnly pledged to ensure that not a single young man in Slovakia will fail to sign the people's ballot for a Pact of Peace, against the rearmament of Western Germany.

The Congress enthusiastically welcomed the increased targets of the Five-Year Plan, advanced by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia at its meeting held last February. The Congress called upon the youth actively to participate in the construction of the large-scale hydro-electric stations on the Danube and of the metallurgical works in East Slovakia, as well as to master the new Socialist methods of work.

RECRUITMENT OF MERCENARIES IN WESTERN GERMANY

According to the “Nurnberger Nachrichten”, the recruiting of mercenaries into the German army, which is now being restored has been underway in the past four weeks in 17 cities and towns in Western Germany. In the course of this recruiting campaign the newspaper writes, a large number of generals and staff officers of the former “Wehrmacht” and police have already reported at the recruiting centres. The Mannheim “Unser Tag” published a facsimile of the circular of the U.S. Air Force Bureau in Western Germany which revealed that the American occupation, authorities in Western Germany are recruiting former airmen of the Nazi “Wehrmacht” for the so-called “Tactical Air Force” of Western Germany.

The West German press also reports that the recruiting of mercenaries for the American Foreign Legion is continuing in Western Germany.

TURKISH PEASANTS REVOLT

Turkish newspapers are reporting more armed clashes between the poor peasant and the Turkish gendarmerie. During one such clash between the hungry peasants of a village near the town of Denizli, when Turkish gendarmes were called in to defend the landowners, 16 villagers were killed or wounded.

Yalchin, a reactionary Turkish journalist, wrote in a leading article in the Turkish newspaper "Ulus" in this connection, that he was surprised that the "Turkish peasant has no regard for the Turkish gendarmes and resists with arms in hand".

Drawing the attention of Turkish reaction to the "danger", that "the peasants, the man in the street and all citizens generally, disregard the laws of the country", Yalchin calls on the Government to adopt "all necessary measures". The facts show that Yalchin is seriously alarmed by the mounting struggle of the Turkish people.

MUNICIPAL ELECTION RETURNS IN ITALY. Luigi Member, Central Committee, Italian Communist Party

On Sunday, May 27, elections took place for three thousand communal and provincial councils in 27 provinces in North and Central Italy. A total of approximately 10,000,000 citizens went to the polls, i.e. more than one-third of the Italian electorate.

During the election campaign, the Christian Democrats and all other reactionary forces resorted to the same machinations, pressure, false promises and threats as in the parliamentary elections on April 18, 1948. Relying on the reactionary majority in Parliament, the Christian Democrats obtained the passage of a fraudulent system of joint lists for the municipal elections with a view to forming a bloc of all anti-popular forces.

On the basis of this system, the Right-wing Socialists, Republicans, monarchists and other conservative and reactionary forces, in most places, and particularly in the large centres, lined up with the Christian Democrats under the slogan of anticommunism.

According to a declaration by the Pope early in the election campaign, the clergy was to have abstained from taking an active part in the elections. Actually, the bishops and cardinals obliged the priests and monks to take a very active part in the campaign. Hence, the churches were transformed into permanent meeting places against the democratic forces. Believers who would not vote for the Christian Democrats were

threatened with severe spiritual punishment. The leaders of the Catholic Church sought to convert the municipal elections into a religious war, declaring that it was a question of struggle for, or against, religion.

The Christian Democratic Party and its satellites made rabid anti-Communism, not discussion of problems affecting the vital interests of the population of the communes, the main item of their election campaign. But, to the impressive achievements of commune councils run by Communists and Socialists, reactionaries could counterpose nothing but corruption, "soft" jobs for their people, and the use of commune councils for questionable business machinations.

The Communist and Socialist Parties joined forces almost everywhere with groups of independents, handicraftsmen, small traders, pensioners, etc. Communists and Socialists unfolded a vigorous election campaign, exposing the 'reactionary policy of the Christian Democratic Party and its satellites, the policy of war and poverty, contrasting it with the policy of freedom, work and peace which correspond to the interests of the working people and the mass of the people.

On the basis of preliminary data, the following conclusions may be drawn from the municipal election returns.

The bloc of popular forces, rallied round the Communist and Socialist Parties, not only maintained, but in many places gained, a considerable number of votes compared with the parliamentary elections on April 13, 1948. The Christian Democratic Party and its satellites are shouting about victory, because the communes in Genoa, Venice and several other places, which were run by Communists and Socialists, are now,

as a result of the elections, in their hands. Actually, compared with the 1948 elections, the popular bloc increased its vote in Genoa by 13,500; in Venice, by 12,500; in Milan, by 10,500 and in Bologna, by 13,000 votes, etc. In the 27 provincial centres, the Socialist and Communist bloc gained 137,000 votes. The loss of certain communal councils by Communists and Socialists is due to the electoral swindle; the intervention of the Church and also to the Right-wing Socialist. Nevertheless, the popular bloc triumphed in such large communes as Bologna, Savona, Mantova, Rovigo, Pesaro, Rimini and in many others. In Novara, the Christian Democrats were able to retain their seats on the commune council only because they forced 200 inmates of a lunatic asylum, specially brought to the polls for this purpose, to vote in their favour. The elections testify to the greatly increased influence of the Communist Party. With few exceptions, its candidates polled more votes than during the municipal elections in 1946, when the democratic forces won high successes.

Compared with the 1948 election, the Christian Democratic Party sustained considerable losses in all provinces. It lost 116,000 votes in Milan; 23,000 in Bologna; 25,000 in Venice; 40,000 in Genoa; 7,500 in Trento, etc. All in all, the Christian Democrats lost 338,000 votes in these 27 provincial centres, and adding the communes of these provinces, they lost 1,153,148 votes. (At the elections on April 18, 1948, Christian Democrats got 4,631,508 votes in these provinces). The percentage of the votes for the Christian Democrats declined from 45 to 34, while the people's bloc polled 40 per cent of the votes. This is one of the most outstanding facts, the first serious blow against the

political monopoly of the Christian Democratic Party whose reactionary activities aimed at unleashing war are causing ever greater dissatisfaction among the broad masses of the Italian people.

The Saragat and Romita Right-wing Socialist Parties which lined up with the Christian Democrats, despite the protest of a large section of the rank-and-file members, lost 32,000 votes in the 27 provincial centres. They are now paying for their servility before the Christian Democrats and the U.S. imperialists.

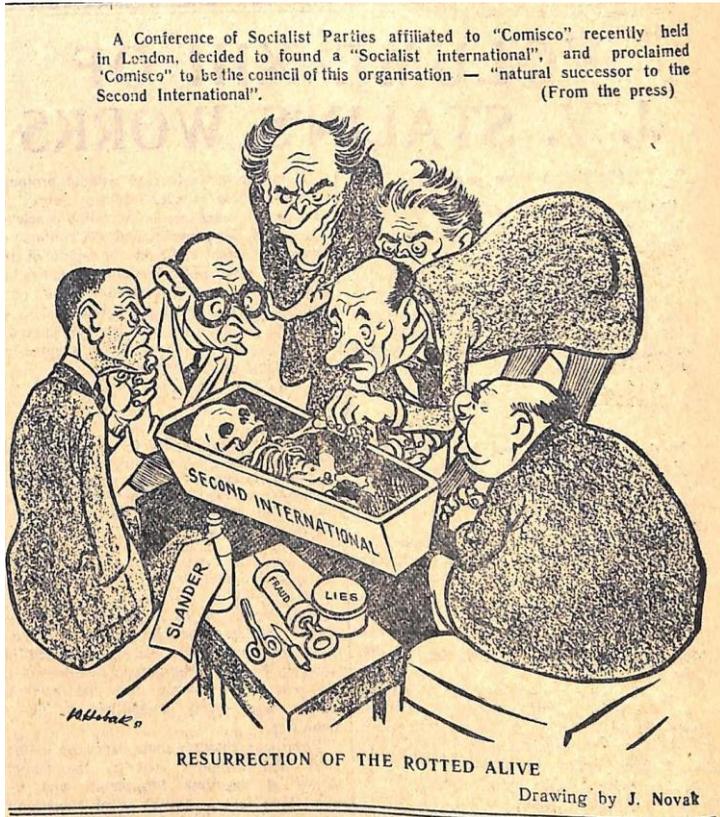
Part of the votes forfeited by the Christian Democratic Party went to the Liberals, monarchists and neo-fascists.

The results for the provincial councils are similar to the returns for the communes. In Genoa Province, the reactionary bloc of the Christian Democratic Party, which polled 147,000 votes, will have 19 seats in the provincial council, whereas the popular bloc, which polled 181,000 votes, will only have 12. This is one of the results of the electoral swindle.

In a leading article published a few days ago, the "New York Times", voicing the alarm of the U.S. imperialists in connection with the growing strength of the Communist Parties in Italy and France, posed the question of how many votes could be wrested from the Communists in the Italian municipal elections. The aforementioned data shows that the American war provocateurs have little reason for glee. The task which they assigned the Italian reactionary bloc of weakening and forcing underground the Communist Party, failed ignominiously. The elections showed that the Communist Party, marching at the head of the broad masses of the Italian working people, is steadily increasing its influence. Its selfless struggle for peace,

national independence and for the vital interests of the country and the people, are evoking increasingly greater influence among all Italians concerned for the fate of their country.

RESURRECTION OF THE ROTTED ALIVE. Drawing by J. Novak



*A Conference of Socialist Parties affiliated to "Comisco" recently held in London, decided to found a "Socialist international", and proclaimed "Comisco" to be the council of this organisation—"natural successor to the Second International".
(From the press)*

POLITICAL NOTES

1. AMERICAN DIPLOMACY AND JAPANESE REALITY

In search of “legal authority” with which to cover up the U.S. criminal actions in the Far East, the Wall Street diplomats commit additional unlawful acts. The draft of the peace treaty elaborated by them for Japan completely reveals both the predatory aims of the American multi-millionaires and the gangster methods of Truman diplomacy.

The State Department representatives began elaboration of the draft treaty with forgery. The memorandum delivered by the U.S. Government to a number of states responsible for preparing the peace treaty with Japan indicates that the draft was formulated following an exchange of views between representatives of the U.S. Government and the Governments of other states, including the Soviet Union. However, as is known from the “Remarks of the Government of the U.S.S.R. concerning the United States draft peace treaty with Japan”, the U.S., preparing the treaty separately, did not enter into any exchange of views with the interested states, seeking to appropriate to itself, completely, the right to conduct preparations.

But forgery proved to be far from the most criminal action that found expression in this creation of the U.S. State Department. Unlawful, and one which evoked indignation of the peoples of the world, was the attempt to exclude China from taking part in preparing

the peace treaty with Japan—China, the country which for years was subjected to brutal aggression by militarist Japan, and which aged a long and bitter war against Japanese imperialism and sustained the heaviest losses from Japan's aggression.

It is clear that to exclude the U.S.S.R., the Chinese People's Republic and other countries from preparing the peace treaty with Japan would mean perpetrating an outrageous injustice and crude trampling on the international agreements signed in Potsdam in 1945 by the great Powers, including the U.S.A. But, the very moment the interests of Wall Street demand it, justice and law cease to exist for the U.S. State Department.

The Achesons and Dulleses seek to "gain capital" by placing the responsibility for the separate treaty with Japan on... the U.S.S.R., although the world knows the stand of the Soviet Union and of People's China which are fighting for an all-round peace treaty with Japan that would take into account the interests of all peoples, including the Japanese people.

The U.S. rulers seek to take the preparation of the peace treaty with Japan exclusively into their own hands in order to impose on Japan unilaterally, by dictate, the terms desired by the United States Government, utilising for this purpose the dependence of the present Government of Japan on the American occupationists. The nature of these conditions and the nature of the future prepared by the U.S. imperialists for the Japanese people is evident from the "draft peace treaty" advanced by the U.S. State Department.

The U.S. draft does not say one word about removing all the obstacles in the way of reviving and strengthening democratic tendencies among the Japanese people, about fostering in every way the

development of peaceful economy in the country, or about measures to put an end to the power and influences of the militarists in Japan, as urged by the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations and the Yalta Agreement.

Is this “forgetfulness” on the part of the U.S. State Department fortuitous? No, it is not! How can the State Department include in the treaty the question concerning “strengthening democratic tendencies among the Japanese people” when MacArthur, and after him Ridgway, order the Japanese Government to throw Japanese patriots into prison, and when they dissolve democratic organisations?

They, likewise, do not want to include the question concerning the “development of the peaceful industry in Japan” for the simple reason that the U.S. encourages in every way the development of war industry in Japan. As early as May 1949, the U.S. Government arbitrarily stopped the dismantling of Japanese war factories. It kept intact hundreds of aircraft and artillery works and put them into operation the moment it began aggression in Korea. Japanese companies, such as “Mitsubishi”, “Koiyo” and “Nippon Haiki”, are now producing guns, rifles and automatic weapons. Dozens of factories are producing ammunitions. Japan is steadily being turned into an arsenal supplying with arms Ridgway’s predatory hordes in Korea.

On American orders, the Japanese army is being restored in the guise of “reserve police corps” which, together with other military formations, is planned to become one million strong. There are already 50 military centres, located at different points throughout the country, which recruit and train men for the army

now being formed in Japan. The “maritime security service” is the core of the Japanese Navy which is being restored and steadily reinforced with new ships. Japanese military formations are operating in Korea. Hence, the facts show that the U.S. seeks to convert Japan into a base for its military gambles in the Far East, and the Japanese people into cannon fodder. With this aim in view, the U.S. proposes to ensure, by means of a treaty, an indefinite military occupation of Japan, to detach the Pescadores Islands and Taiwan Island from China and maintain them for the U.S., to take Ryukyu, Bonin, Volcano, Paresvela and Marcus islands from Japan and turn them into American colonies.

The predatory plans of the American occupationists evoked, and could not but evoke, indignation among all progressive mankind. The remarks of the Government of the U.S.S.R. concerning the U.S. draft peace treaty with Japan, and the Note of the Government of the Chinese People’s Republic, express the firm resolve of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and China not to countenance the unlawful and criminal actions of the rabid warmongers. The letter addressed by the Japanese Peace Committee to Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central People’s Government of China, shows that the Japanese people are also intensifying their struggle for an all-round peace treaty with Japan, for making Japan a peace-loving democratic Power. “Millions of ordinary people in Japan want this”, says the letter of the Japanese Peace Committee.

Hundreds of millions of peace partisans throughout the world want this. They will compel the Washington diplomats and the American generals in Tokyo to respect the will of the masses fighting for peace, security and equal rights for the peoples.

2. HITLER'S SUCCESSORS AT WORK

The island of Kodyeto lies off the Korean coast. Around this island there constantly hovers a U.S. landing craft; number 1,001. Associated Press reports that it is equipped with the most modern technique incubators, microscopes, sterilizers, refrigerators, distillers and everything essential for scientific research. The “scientists” get their “experimental material”—captured soldiers and officers of the People’s Army—from the prison cells of Kodyeto. Thirty-eight members of this “medical team” are breeding murderous bacteria on the vessel.

Thus, in deep secrecy, near this small Korean island, U.S. imperialists are preparing devilish means for a mass extermination of the people. Meanwhile, they are torturing and murdering war prisoners by the hundred.

Where is their culture and civilization? Only people who have lost all sense of human feeling, only hardened villains will engage in such foul acts. These degenerates are little concerned with morality or conscience; the feeling of pity is absolutely alien to them. Sinhua agency reports: “These criminals of bacteriological warfare remember the wrath they invoked against themselves,” but “they regard their present duties as far more important than ill-fame.”

When a murderer is ready to plunge a knife into a child, it is the duty of every honest person to wrest the weapon from his grasp. When it is a case of a terrible calamity prepared by the imperialists against mankind, it is the duty of all honest people to stand up in defence of life.

The conscience of mankind demands that the hand

of the killer be stayed. The neo-Hitlerites must answer for their crimes before mankind!

JAN MAREK

EDITORIAL BOARD

*Journal “For a Lasting Peace, for a People’s Democracy”
appears every Friday. Address of Editorial Office and of
Publishing House: 56, Valeriu Braniște, Bucharest.
Tel. 5. 10.59.*