

*Workers of all lands, unite!*

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

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## **GLORIOUS 30th ANNIVERSARY OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA**

On July 1, the Chinese people and the international Communist movement widely mark a significant date—the thirtieth anniversary of the Communist Party of China.

Thirty years cover but a relatively brief period of time. But what a grand and heroic path has been traversed by this Party which devoted all its efforts, all the energy, experience and wisdom of its leaders, the selflessness of rank-and-file members, to the cause of awakening, educating and organising the broad masses of the people of China, of defending their interests! For thousands of years the Chinese people, diligent and industrious, groaned under the yoke of oppressors; for more than a century the imperialist beasts of prey fed on the living body of the people. The Communist Party took the lead in the national-liberation struggle of the Chinese people and crowned it with complete victory: China became an independent State (a People's Republic), having thrown off the imperialist yoke and smashed the reactionary regime of the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

Winning a world historic victory in the armed struggle against the enslavers of the homeland, the Communist Party of China opened up for the Chinese people the road to Socialism, and is successfully directing the building of new China. Unified people's power prevails throughout the entire country, including Tibet; the only exception is Taiwan Island; seized by the American imperialists; the remnants of the Kuomintang troops have been crushed and banditry is being

completely eliminated. Agrarian reform has been carried out on a territory containing a rural population of 290 million. In the State-operated enterprises, emulation is gaining in scale and labour productivity is rising. The contours of new factories are taking shape. Practically all the railways have been restored and new lines are under construction. Vast irrigation work is in progress. Centralisation of economic and financial administration in the hands of the People's Government stopped the inflation that had raged for years, stabilised and raised the living standards of the people. For the first time in 73 years, China had a favourable foreign trade balance due to the State monopoly of foreign trade. All these successes have been achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The Communist Party of China has set itself the task of bringing the country to Socialism. However, it is aware that it is impossible to by-pass the present phase of development when private-capitalist, State-capitalist and petty-commodity sectors exist side by side the State sector. In these complex conditions of interlacing, all the conditions prevail in China for the State sector to maintain its leading position and determine the development of the country along the path of industrialisation, along the road to Socialism.

State power in China is not the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the dictatorship of people's democracy based on the alliance of the working class, peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie, but mainly on the alliance of the working class and peasantry, for they, together, constitute from 80 to 90 per cent of the population. The transition from new democracy to Socialism depends on the alliance of these two classes. The dictatorship of people's democracy is directed by the working class

which ensures the development of the country along the Socialist path.

The Communist Party of China, which traversed a difficult and thorny path marked not only with successes but also with setbacks and countless sacrifices, won victory because it was guided constantly and unswervingly by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. The victory of the Chinese revolution is the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, a new proof of the international character of this great teaching. The Chinese revolution triumphed because Marxism-Leninism secured an undivided victory in the Chinese working-class movement.

The invincible teachings of Marxism-Leninism reached China after the Great October Socialist Revolution. The great Russian experience showed “to all countries something that is very essential in their inevitable and near future”. (Lenin).

The Chinese Communists received, and are receiving, powerful support from Comrade Stalin. Stalin, with profound attention, always followed the struggle of the Chinese people for freedom and independence. He has made the greatest theoretical contribution to the elaboration of problems concerning the Chinese revolution. Comrade Stalin’s analysis and forecasts were fully confirmed by the entire course of the Chinese revolution.

Comrade Stalin pointed out that the Chinese revolution, following the October Socialist Revolution, would widen considerably the breach in the imperialist front in the East. And that is how things turned out. How prophetic sound the words pronounced by Comrade Stalin more than twenty-five years ago: “The forces of the revolutionary movement in China are immeasurable.

They have not yet made themselves felt in due manner. But they will have their say in the future. The rulers of the East and in the West who fail to see these forces and do not pay due regard to them, will suffer from this”.

In the struggle against trotskyists and other enemies of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Stalin elucidated the character, prospects and driving forces of this revolution. He pointed to the impelling need to take into account the national peculiarities and specifically national features in every country; the impelling need for the Communist Party in every country to take advantage of the slightest possibility to “secure for the proletariat a mass ally, even temporary, wavering, unstable, unreliable”; the impelling need to use for the political education of the masses the political experience of these masses.

J. V. Stalin pointed out that the revolution in China would be a combination of two streams in the revolutionary movement—against feudal survivals and against imperialism; that, inevitably, the struggle against imperialism in China would assume a profoundly popular and distinctly national character; that it would deepen, step by step to the extent of desperate struggles with imperialism, and shaking the very foundations of imperialism throughout the world. These teachings of J. V. Stalin were wholly and completely confirmed in the course of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people.

Outstanding service in Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Communist Party of China and elaborating the questions of the Chinese revolution on the basis of Marxism-Leninism was performed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the tested leader of the Communist Party of

China. “We are grateful to Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin”, said Mao Tse-tung, “who provided us with the weapon. This weapon is not machine-guns but Marxism-Leninism”. “The history of the C.P.S.U. (B)”, Mao Tse-tung wrote, “is the highest synthesis, the highest generalisation of the world Communist movement for the past hundred years, the most complete model in the world of the unity of theory and practice. On the example of how Lenin and Stalin linked the general theoretical truths of Marxism with the concrete practice of the October Revolution, and, on this basis developed Marxism, we can learn how to carry on work here in China”.

Marxism-Leninism enabled the Chinese Communist Party to orientate itself in the situation, to understand the inner connection of events and perceive not only how, and in what direction, events were developing but also how, and in what direction, they were bound to develop in the future.

The fundamental problem of the Chinese revolution—the agrarian question—was correctly raised and solved by the Communist Party of China due to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. At all stages in the history of the Communist Party of China, Comrade Mao Tse-tung resolutely opposed all who under-estimated the significance of the anti-feudal struggle; he showed that the landlord class was the pillar of imperialism in China, that it was interested in China remaining backward, retarded its development and facilitated enslavement of the country by the imperialists. During the national-liberation war, the Chinese working class and its vanguard—the Communist Party—devoted special care to strengthening the alliance with the peasantry. Today, the wise Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by the

Party in carrying out the agrarian reform ensures the gradual but steady abolition, taking into account the specific features of given regions, of land ownership by landlords, accomplishing thereby the greatest reform in the history of China.

A specific feature of the Chinese revolution was that in the course of it, the armed people waged a struggle against armed counter-revolution. Mao Tse-tung led the armed struggle of the Chinese people for liberation on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. And this struggle led to victory. The Party gave its best cadres to the armed forces, and these cadres cemented the army. The Party created a powerful army in the process of uninterrupted battles.

The Communist Party consistently pursued, and is still pursuing, the wise policy of close contact with the masses, a policy of national unity illumined by Marxist-Leninist theory?" The vanguard role in the struggle of the Chinese people is played by the working class which is taking with it all other classes and relies on its loyal and natural ally—the peasantry. Therein lies the source of the victory of the Chinese people.

The Chinese Communists triumphed because they held aloft, and now hold aloft, the banner of proletarian internationalism; because they regarded, and now regard, the cause of liberation and the advance of China as an integral part of the common struggle of all peoples against imperialism—the deadly enemy of peace and freedom among the peoples.

The Communist Party of China smashed the opportunists of different hues, expelled the capitulators, frightened by the temporary setbacks of the revolution; unfolded a struggle both against the dogmatists who proceeded from abstract formulas and

did not take into account the concrete situation, and against empiricism. Fighting against opportunism, against enemies of the Party and the people, the Communist Party steadfastly and perseveringly mastered the Bolshevik style of work, learnt to coin slogans and directives on the basis of a careful analysis of concrete conditions, internal and international, learnt to test its slogans in the crucible of struggle.

The Chinese Communist Party educates its cadres in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism, in the spirit of iron proletarian discipline, stemming from the basis of ideological unity. Defining the tasks of the Chinese Communists, Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: “The entire Party, in order to overcome bureaucratism and authoritarianism and to reinforce the links between the Party and the people, must, in the course of carrying out different tasks and not in isolation from them, engage in broad ideological re-education by studying a number of works by reviewing its own work, analysing the situation, by unfolding criticism and self-criticism, etc., in order to raise the ideological and political level of the Party Active and all Party members, to rectify mistakes in work, combat conceit and complacency among those who regard themselves as heroes”.

The victory of the Chinese revolution with the establishment of the Chinese People’s Republic is the greatest event in history, following the October Socialist Revolution. It tremendously changed the international situation: the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism acquired added strength, while the imperialist camp has been further weakened. The experience of the Chinese revolution is of inestimable significance for the peoples of the colonial countries, fighting for freedom and independence.

The countries of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, the unity of which has been reinforced by the close friendship of two giant nations and is ensured by the ideologically welded family of fraternal Communist Parties, now have a population of more than 800,000,000. The strength of this camp is growing all the time, its peace policy meets with increasingly greater support among the working people in all countries. The struggle of the Chinese people for peace, their noble aid to the heroic Korean people, evoke the sympathy of all peace-loving peoples. The aggressive designs of the America imperialists—the latest pretenders to world domination—are doomed to ignominious failure.

Communists in all countries, celebrating the jubilee of the glorious Communist Party of China as their own great festival, send heartfelt, fraternal greetings to the Chinese Communists and wish them more and bigger successes in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, for the prosperity of the Chinese People's Republic.

## **PROTESTS IN ITALY AGAINST POLICY OF DE GASPERI**

Protest demonstrations were held throughout Italy in connection with the arrival of Adenauer, who visited de Gasperi in order to co-ordinate rearmament and war preparation plans. When the prefect in Rome banned a rally in the centre of the city, peace supporters held numerous public meetings in various districts and factories where protest resolutions were adopted. A big demonstration took place of the families of those who had languished or died in concentration camps or were shot by the Hitlerites in the Adriatic caves.

In Milan Province, twenty thousand signatures are being collected daily to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace. A total of 140,000 signatures has been collected so far.

In Civitavecchia, navy and army officers as well as schoolmasters signed the Appeal; in Marino, the Mayor, a member of Saragat's party, signed. In Rota Greca, don Alessandrino, a priest, speaking in a discussion organised by the peace committee, declared: "I stand for peace and for a Five-Power meeting. This meeting alone can save the peace".

On the initiative of the women's commission of the Italian Confederation of Labour, a "lira" collection campaign has been launched at all Italian factories where women are employed, for the purchase of five-peace banners, which women's organisations will hand over to the five Great Powers.

Workers in the Cogne factory in Imola refused to start production of artillery shells, continuing to manufacture civilian articles (textile machines, machine equipment, etc.).

The agreement signed between the U.S. Government and the de Gasperi Government for the use of the port of Livorno as a base for shipping supplies to U.S. troops and for the organisation of American munition dumps has evoked tremendous indignation all over Italy. Numerous protest demonstrations took place in Livorno and Livorno Province, in all populated joints and factories. Peace supporters have intensified the campaign for signatures for a Pact of Peace, expressing the indignation of the Italian people with the war policy of the de Gasperi Government.

## **FOR PACT OF PEACE!**

### **POPULATION IN WESTERN GERMANY AGAINST REMILITARISATION**

In connection with the recent official declaration by the Adenauer Government according to which Western Germany will have 12 divisions of mercenaries, counting 250,000 men, the Central Committee for the referendum addressed a call to the population of Western Germany. "The population of Western Germany", reads the call, "is ever more resolutely opposing the war preparations. As a result of the popular referendum in Western Germany, the number of votes against remilitarisation is close on a million".

A mass meeting, in connection with the tenth anniversary of the Hitlerite attack against the Soviet Union, was held in Hamburg on June 22 under the auspices of the Germany-Soviet Friendship Society. The six thousand people attending this meeting unanimously replied in the affirmative to the question: "Are you against remilitarisation, for a peace treaty with Germany in 1951?".

### **VALIANT EFFORTS OF SIGNATURE COLLECTORS IN FRANCE**

More than half a million signatures to the Appeal of the World Peace Council have already been collected in the Seine Department and 100,000 in the Loire

Department, Throughout France, a hundred thousand delegates have been elected to the Paris peace rally scheduled for July 15.

Most important for the signature campaign for a Pact of Peace is active work on the part of collectors. Rosette Perret, a Paris office worker, collected over 1,330 signatures. She collects signatures in her office, in the street, the underground and in markets, One day she initiated a public meeting in the underground and then collected signatures. However, Rosette Perret is far from being satisfied with her results since she collected 10,240 signatures to the Stockholm Appeal and 9,500 during the campaign against rearming Germany.

Another good example has been set by a railwayman-pensioner from Laille (Ille-et-Vilaine Department) who toured the countryside, stopping at every farm and holding about a hundred small public meetings. He collected 875 signatures.

## **COLLECTION OF SIGNATURES IN ARGENTINE**

Jointly with the plebiscite against sending Argentine troops abroad, the collection of signatures to the Peace Pact Appeal is proceeding successfully throughout the country.

The Secretariat of the Argentine Peace Council, reporting that over 200,000 people have already signed the Appeal, has set a target of half a million signatures by July 8—the date fixed for the second plenum of the Council, and no less than three million signatures by October. Argentine women and youth are actively

participating, in the signature campaign. In Rosario, 25 women “friends of peace” collected 750 signatures in a few days. In Santiago del Estero, a group of Catholic women collected 400 signatures. 3,000 signatures were collected in the town of Formosa.

## **PEACE FIGHTERS ACTIVE IN BELGIUM**

At the call of the Belgium Peace Union, a National Week for collecting signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace will be held in Belgium from July 1-8. It is anticipated that 250,000 signatures will be collected. The signature week is one of the undertakings launched by the peace union in connection with preparations for a national congress, scheduled for September. In the big industrial centres such as Brussels, Borinage, Liege, Charleroi and others, meetings are held at the factories and in the streets, at which resolutions are adopted calling upon the people to struggle for a Pact of Peace between the Great Powers; peace committees are being elected as well as delegates for the national congress. In the Brussels area, peace caravans are being organised which will discuss with the population the danger of war and the significance of a Pact of Peace.

A district peace meeting will be held in Borinage on July 1 with a view to coordinating activities in the struggle for peace and for collection of signatures to the Appeal. Rene Noel, secretary of the Borinage district peace committee, declared: “At present it is a question of extending the campaign to other enterprises, other residential areas and other districts. Of course all want peace, but this will for peace must be clearly

expressed. Such is the aim of the referendum for a Pact of Peace”.

## **UNDER SLOGAN OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE**

### **Fifth Session, Executive Committee, Women's International Democratic Federation**

The fifth session of the Executive Committee of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF), representing more than 91 million women in 61 countries, was held in Sofia—capital of Bulgaria—on June 20-24.

The delegates listened with keen attention to a report by **Nora Rodd** (Canada), chairman of a WIDF commission which visited Korea, who indignantly denounced the monstrous devastation and atrocities perpetrated by the American invaders, the mass shootings and brutal torture of defenceless women, aged people and children in Korea.

The resolution of the session on this question points out that “there should not be a single person—woman or man, girl or youth—in any country, unfamiliar with the commission's documents”. The session recommended that all women's national organisations in all countries, whose governments support the U.S. intervention in Korea, should send strong delegations to these governments for the purpose of presenting the commission's documents and to demand that those responsible for the crimes committed in Korea be brought to book, and also that these governments

should end their participation in the war against the Korean people and withdraw their troops from Korea.

Calling for an all-out protest campaign against the American atrocities in Korea, the session stressed the need for a widespread campaign for aid to Korea which would include the collection of clothing, medicine, condensed milk for children, money, etc.

At the suggestion of the Italian delegation, the session adopted the text of a letter, copies of which were despatched to the Chairman of the Uno General Assembly, to the Chairman of the Security Council and to the Uno Secretariat. The letter contains facts of the atrocities perpetrated in Korea by the American troops with the complicity of the British, Canadian, Turkish and other troops under the flag of the United Nations Organisation. The Executive Committee requested from Uno an immediate end to the bombing of Korean villages and towns, withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the speeding up of a peaceful settlement of the Korean question along lines contained in the decision of the World Peace Council.

The report on the second point of the agenda, "Role of women in the fight for peace", was delivered by **Eugenie Cotton**, Chairman of the WIDF. Referring to the immense significance of the signature campaign for a Pact of Peace for preserving peace, she declared: "Reviewing the work of collecting signatures to the Appeal of the World Peace Council for a Pact of Peace, we must say that it is inadequate, particularly if we consider the demands of the day. This applies especially to those countries—participants of the Atlantic pact—where struggle against the militarist governments is a paramount task. Our national organisations must do far more than they did in collecting signatures to the

Stockholm Appeal. Duty obliges us to help the millions of mothers defend peace”.

The “Appeal of the Women’s International Democratic Federation to women the world over”, adopted at the session, reads:

**“We say to all women, all mothers, that defence of their homes lies in their hands, that peace can be saved.**

**Only the actions of the peoples can bar the way to war.**

**Your name, together with those of millions of men and women, can force the representatives of the five Great Powers to sign a Pact of Peace.**

**Sign for a Pact of Peace”.**

The session of the Executive Committee of WIDF resolved to hold, in Vienna, an International Conference in Defence of Children from September 18 to 23, and also to intensify in all countries preparations for this conference.

## **PEACE MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN**

In the month that has passed since the beginning of the signature campaign in Britain in support of the Appeal of the World Peace Council, 50,000 Londoners signed the Appeal. In Scotland, according to the latest reports, over 63,000 signatures have been collected; in Yorkshire, 45,000. Sixteen Royal Air Force men signed the Appeal in Liverpool on June 16. Considerable activity is being displayed by women collectors. In Leeds, Mrs. N. Klein who, together with Mrs. R. Dawson, collected nearly 1,000 signatures declared: “We’d be

failing in our duty as mothers if we didn't put every possible spare minute into making sure that our children, and all children, grow up in a world of peace". In London, 55-year-old Mrs. Jane Posner, member of the Stepney Peace Council, obtained 1,650 signatures.

The recent annual conferences of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers and the Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers expressed themselves for peace, and for concrete measures by the Government against the war preparations.

In his speech at the conference of the foundry workers' union, A. McDougall, President of the Union, said that the alternatives were the Atlantic Pact designed for war or a Five-Power Pact of Peace. "In the interests of our own people and all humanity, let it be a Five-Power Pact".

Over 100 trade union branches in Scotland have passed resolutions of protest against the rearming of Germany. Deputations from trade union branches, Trades Councils, ex-Servicemen and housewives visited twenty-four Members of Parliament with protests against the rearming of Germany.

Professional workers in Britain are taking an increasingly active part in the struggle for peace. Evidence of this is the formation, during the past month, of two peace organisations—"Medical Association against War" and the "Musicians Organisation for Peace".

## SPANISH ANTI-FASCIST EMIGRES SIGN APPEAL

Sharing the inviolable will for peace of the Spanish people, outstanding Spanish Republican emigrés have signed the Appeal for a Pact of Peace. They include members of the World Peace Council:—ex-Prime Minister Jose Giral; Pablo Picasso, artist; Manuel Sanchez Arcas, architect, and Jose Bergamin, writer; Members of Parliament of the Republic Elfidio Alonse, Honorato de Castro, Miguel Amilibia; Member of Parliament of Catalonia, Jose Folc-y-Folc; Professors Manuel Marquez and Manuel Nunez de Arenas; Generals Emilio Herrera, Ignacio Hidalgo de Cisneros; Admiral Miguel Buiza; writers, poets, artists, sculptors, composers, priests, and others.

Anti-Franco emigrés in Cuba pledged to collect 50,000 signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace. With the object of stimulating individual and collective activity in the campaign, the Executive Committee of the Spanish Culture House in Havana decided to institute a number of peace awards: the badge “Peace Champion” will be awarded to those who collect 500 or more signatures. The silver medal “Peace Hero” will be awarded collects more than one thousand signatures. The title “Standard Bearer of Peace” will be bestowed on any local committee of Culture House which exceeds its obligation. The Peace Banner will be awarded to anti-fascist emigrés of the province with the highest percentage of signatures.

Large-scale work to step up the collection of signatures to the Appeal has been launched by the Spanish peace committees in the Argentine, Mexico, Chile and Uruguay. By the middle of June, 1,200,000

signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace had been collected in Spain and among Spanish political emigrés abroad.

## **“PEACE DAY” IN DENMARK**

On June 24, a special “Peace Day” was held in Denmark, on the initiative of the Danish national peace committee. Collection of signatures to the Appeal of the World Peace Council was organised everywhere throughout the country. Many signatures were obtained at the rallies organised by peace supporters.

A number of rallies were held in Copenhagen. Speakers, who included E. Poulsen, engineer; Elna Nervig-Jorgensen, clothing worker; P. Andersen, factory worker; S. Weibel, Dr. of Philosophy; Mrs. R. Teer, Mrs. K. Bisted and B. Sakstorp, student, called on those present to support and sign the Appeal of the World Peace Council.

Signature collectors were busy also in rural localities.

To date, 95,087 signatures have been collected in Denmark to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers.

## **30 YEARS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA**

The First World War shook the whole world. The Russians carried out the October Revolution and created the first Socialist country in the world. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin the revolutionary energy of the great Russian proletariat and the working people which had lain dormant and unnoticed by the foreigner, suddenly erupted like a volcano... The Chinese discovered the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism which is applicable everywhere, and the face of China changed. The Chinese acquired Marxism as a result of its application by the Russians. Before the October Revolution the Chinese did not know who Lenin and Stalin were; neither did they know of Marx and Engels. The salvoes of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped the progressive elements of the world, and of China as well, to apply the proletarian world outlook in determining the fate of the country and in reviewing their own problems. The conclusion reached was that we must advance along the path taken by the Russians.

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We have acquired invaluable experience and the essence of this experience consists of the following three factors: a disciplined party

equipped with the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, using the method of self-criticism and closely linked with the masses; an army led by this Party; a united front of different revolutionary sections of society and groups led by this Party...

Our experience can be summarised as follows: dictatorship of the people's democracy based on an alliance of the workers and peasants led by the working class (through the Communist Party). This dictatorship must be in agreement with the international revolutionary forces. Such is our formula, our cardinal experience, our main programme.

(Mao Tse-tung, "The Dictatorship of People's Democracy").

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Comrade Stalin is the teacher and friend of the peoples of the whole world, the teacher and friend of the Chinese people.

To him belongs the development of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, and, in the highest degree, an outstanding, colossal contribution to the cause of the international Communist movement.

In their severe struggle against the oppressors, the Chinese people always felt, and feel now, deeply and clearly, the entire significance of Comrade Stalin's friendship.

Mao Tse-tung. From the speech at celebration meeting in Bolshoi Theatre of the

U.S.S.R. on occasion of Comrade J. V. Stalin's 70th birthday).

**WORLD SIGNIFICANCE OF CHINESE  
REVOLUTION. Lu Ting Yi Member, Central  
Committee, Communist Party of China**

Thirty years have passed since the birth of the Communist Party of China—the political party of the Chinese working class. From its first beginning as small Communist groups and after experiencing four revolutionary wars, the Communist Party of China has become the leading political party in the People's Republic of China. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese people, who constitute one quarter of the world's population, united, overthrew the joint rule of international imperialism, Chinese feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, and founded the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of the workers and peasants.

China has been completely transformed. It has been changed from a semi-colonial country into a really independent country, from a dismembered nation into a peaceful, unified nation, from a State where the people lacked all rights into a people's democratic State, from a country which suffered from natural, calamities, poverty, inflation and cultural backwardness, into a country which is growing ever stronger and becoming increasingly prosperous. For China, this means a radical change in her history. Internationally, it is the greatest

event in world history since the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In speaking of the world significance of the Chinese Revolution, we must bear in mind the October Revolution of 1917, the greatest event in the history of mankind. As Comrade Stalin has said "... the **victory** of the October Revolution signifies a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical destiny of world capitalism, a radical change in the liberation movement of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and the forms of organisation, in the life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of the exploited masses throughout the world. The birth of the Chinese Communist Party and the victory of the Chinese Revolution bear out Stalin's appraisal of the October Revolution, which, in the first place, points to the October Revolution, as a revolution bearing an international, world character.

Since 1840—that is, for more than a century—the Chinese people have struggled continuously. But "before the October Revolution, the Chinese did not know who Lenin and Stalin were; neither did they know of Marx and Engels. The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism" (Mao Tse-tung: *On People's Democratic Dictatorship*). The Communist Party of China was born under the influence of the October Revolution. It took up the weapon of Marxism-Leninism and carried on the revolutionary task left unfinished by China's finest sons. It guided the people's democratic revolution of China to victory through bitter, long-drawn-out struggles.

The victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution has further broadened and deepened the

great influence of the October Revolution on all mankind.

Firstly, the victory of the Chinese people's revolution has enabled the country with the largest population in the world, following the example of the Soviet Union and the countries of new democracy, to sunder the chains of international capitalism, to achieve liberation, and to stand firmly in the world camp of peace and democracy, headed by the Soviet Union, in opposing the imperialist camp of aggression. Thus, a tremendous change in the world situation has been brought about,

In 1923, Lenin said: "In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc. account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of Socialism is fully and absolutely assured." (Lenin, "Better Fewer, but Better").

The population of China is equal to that of Europe as a whole and much larger than the total of the three main remaining imperialist countries—the United States, Britain and France—combined. With the victory of the Chinese revolution, the total population of the socialist country and the countries of people's democracy has reached eight hundred millions—two-fifths of the population of the world. Politically they are united as one. So strong are the Soviet Army and the Chinese People's Liberation Army that they wiped out a total of

twenty million fascist troops belonging to Germany, Japan and the Chiang Kai-shek gang in the world war against fascism and in the Chinese people's liberation war.

Everybody now feels that the whole world has undergone a tremendous change. The victory of the Chinese people's revolution has resulted in the clear superiority of the world camp of peace and democracy over the imperialist camp of aggression. The day has arrived when the situation is going utterly against imperialism, when all roads lead to Communism. This is precisely the reason why the victory of the Chinese revolution and the conclusion of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance were enthusiastically hailed by the people throughout the world and why they make the imperialists tremble. This is also the reason why the American imperialists and their lackeys are doomed to failure in the aggressive war against Korea and in their other aggressive plots.

Secondly, the victory of the Chinese people's revolution has set an example of victory in the struggle for liberation to the working class and the broad masses of the people in colonial and semi-colonial countries, and, primarily, to the working class and one billion people of the countries of Asia.

In the course of the century-old, worldwide Marxist movement, numerous classic examples have come into existence. Up to now, two of them are of the greatest importance—the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia and the people's democratic revolution in China.

The October Revolution, socialist construction and the Great Patriotic War, fought under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, will stand, for all time, as the most

important example for the labouring people of the world. The characteristic feature of the October Revolution lies precisely in the fact that it took place in one of the biggest imperialist countries. The characteristic feature of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party headed by Mao Tse-tung is that it took place in the biggest colonial and semi-colonial country. In addition, the Chinese revolution took place in the East where a population of more than one billion has for long lived under oppression of imperialism. This cannot but evoke the gladness of the oppressed peoples and add to their confidence in victory.

Due to imperialist oppression and exploitation, a colonial or semi-colonial, country is economically backward. In countries such as these, the moment people rise in revolutionary, struggle they come up against the most ruthless repression by imperialists and their lackeys who are armed to the teeth.

How can the peoples of the colonial and semi-colonial countries defeat their powerful enemies and liberate themselves? What are the most-important experiences arising from the victory of the Chinese revolution?

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has answered this question in many of his writings. In his “Dictatorship of People’s Democracy” he says: “We have acquired invaluable experience, and the essence of this experience consists of the following three factors: a disciplined party equipped with the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, using the method of self-criticism, and closely linked with the masses; an army led by this Party; a united front of different revolutionary sections of Society and groups led by this Party...

“Our experience can be summarised as ‘follows: dictatorship of the People’s democracy based on an alliance of the workers and peasants led by the working class (through the Communist Party). This dictatorship must be in agreement with the international revolutionary forces. Such is our formula, our cardinal experience, our main programme”.

Among the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the peoples of Viet Nam, Burma, Indonesia, Malaya and the Philippines have been carrying on their national liberation wars against imperialism while the national liberation movement is growing in India, Japan, and other countries. China’s example and experience have strengthened the fighting will of the peoples of these countries and their confidence in victory.

These rear bases of the imperialist countries, on which they depend for their existence and from which they have drawn super-profits, have turned or are turning, into sources of the revolutionary storms now sweeping against imperialism.

Thirdly, the victory of the Chinese people’s revolution is a new victory for Marxism-Leninism. Integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, constitutes Mao Tse-tung’s theory of the Chinese revolution.

In the revolutionary movement of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the most fundamental problem is that of the leadership of the revolution. If the revolutionary movement comes under the leadership of the political party of the bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie, the revolution will fail, or will be liquidated or betrayed. It is only under the leadership of the working class that the revolution can win real

victory. The bourgeoisie in the colonial and semi-colonial countries can generally be divided into two categories:—

The bureaucratic capitalists, or comprador capitalists are closely linked up with foreign imperialism and domestic feudal forces, and constitute an enemy which must be overthrown by the people's democratic revolution.

The national bourgeoisie, who are repressed and squeezed out by imperialism and feudalism, have fewer ties or no ties at all with foreign imperialism. They may participate in the people's democratic revolution or remain neutral.

The working class in the colonial and semi-colonial countries must pay close attention to the peasants, because they are the natural and most reliable ally of the working class. It must pay close attention to the petty bourgeoisie, because they are a reliable ally of the working class. It must also pay close attention to the national bourgeoisie, and unite them in the common struggle against imperialism. The working class in the colonial and semi-colonial countries can and must lead the national bourgeoisie; it cannot and must never allow the national bourgeoisie to lead the revolution. This is because in the era of imperialism, with the exception of the working class, "no other class in any country can lead any genuine revolution to victory." (Mao Tse-tung).

One of the most important conditions for the victory of the revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries is the complete exposure of the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy of the old type in the eyes of the masses, that is to say, the ideological and political victory of Marxism-Leninism over bourgeois democracy of the old type. To bring about this condition means to exercise,

both politically and ideologically, the leadership of the working class in the revolution and to ensure the victory of the revolution.

In China, bourgeois democracy of the old type became bankrupt while Marxism-Leninism and, on its basis, Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution became recognised as the sole truth which has guided the Chinese people in achieving their liberation. This is the important achievement of the protracted revolutionary struggle waged during the last hundred-odd years, and especially during the last thirty years.

The people of Asia have seen for themselves how great and glorious is the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution.

The future development of the new China will lead to Socialism and Communism. China will take a path different from that of Japan which, after the Meiji restoration, became an imperialist country and, later on, actually became a colony of American imperialism, China will also take a path different from that of Turkey, which, since the Kemalist revolution has become a satellite and henchman. of the imperialist aggressive bloc. In the light of the great victory of the people's. democratic revolution in China, guided. by Marxism-Leninism and by Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution, all bourgeois democratic movements of the old type in the history of Asia—such as the Meiji restoration in Japan, the Kemalist revolution in Turkey, the Gandhi movement, in India, etc.,—become pale and colourless. The victory in China of Marxism-Leninism and of Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution will help the people of the Asian countries to free themselves from the influence of bourgeois democracy of the old type, resolutely to take the path of the new

democratic revolution of the people, and, after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, to continue their march forward towards a better social system—the system of Socialism and Communism.

Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution is a new development of Marxism-Leninism in the revolutions of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and especially in the Chinese revolution. This theory has Significance not only for China and Asia—it is of universal significance for the world Communist movement. It is, indeed, a new contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, the basic content of world revolution is socialist revolution. In this revolution, every conscious worker is concerned with the revolutionary movement in the imperialist countries, and, at the same time, cannot but be concerned with the revolutionary' movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, This is because the colonial and semi-colonial countries constitute "a very large reserve and a very important source of strength for imperialism" (J. Stalin) and account for more than half the population of the world: However, in this general world socialist revolution, there are distinct differences between revolutions in imperialist countries on the one hand, and revolutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries on the other. Lenin and Stalin differentiate them into two types of revolution.

In a speech delivered at the joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. (B), on August 1, 1927, Stalin said:

"What is the fundamental position from which the Comintern and the Communist Parties generally

approach the problems of the revolutionary movement in the colonial and dependent countries?

“It is a strict **differentiation** between revolution in imperialist countries, countries that oppress other peoples, and revolutions in colonial and dependent countries, countries that suffer from the imperialist oppression of other States. Revolution in imperialist countries is one thing: in those countries the bourgeoisie is the oppressor of other peoples; it is counter-revolutionary in all stages of the revolution; the national element, as an element in the struggle for emancipation, is absent in these countries. Revolution in colonial and dependent countries is another thing: in these countries the oppression exercised by the imperialism of other States is one of the factors of revolution; this oppression cannot but affect the national bourgeoisie also; the national bourgeoisie, at a certain stage and for a certain period, may support the revolutionary movement of its country against imperialism, and the national element, as an element in the struggle for emancipation, is a revolutionary factor. Not to make this differentiation, not to understand this difference and to identify revolution in imperialist countries with revolution in colonial countries, is to depart from the road of Marxism, from the road of Leninism, and adopt the road of those who support the Second International.

“This is what Lenin said on the subject in his report on the national and colonial question at the Second Congress of the Comintern:

“What is the **most important and fundamental** idea of our theses? It is the **distinction** between **oppressed** and **oppressor** peoples. We emphasise this distinction, unlike the Second International and bourgeois

democracy.’ (Lenin, Collected Works. Volume 25, page 351). (My emphasis. J. St.).

“The fundamental mistake of the opposition is that they do not understand and will not admit this difference between the one type of revolution and the other type of revolution.”

The classic type of revolution in the imperialist countries is the October Revolution.

The classic type of revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is the Chinese revolution, the experience of which is invaluable for the peoples of these countries.

The use of Marxism-Leninism, scientifically, systematically and in a classical way, in solving the problems of the Chinese revolution and thereby in solving in general a series of concrete problems of the revolutions in colonial and semi-colonial countries—such is Mao Tse-tung’s theory.

It is clear that this is a further development and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism, that this is a contribution of universal significance for the world Communist movement.

## **PARTY IN STRUGGLE FOR BUILDING NEW CHINA. Chen Yun Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee, Communist Party of China**

After a thirty-years struggle the Communist Party of China led the Chinese people to the victory of the revolution, and since then has been leading the work of national construction. A review of the new China’s national construction efforts during the past year and a

half and the degree of progress achieved, requires, first, an understanding of the old foundations on which this national construction is being carried out; that is, what kind of a country was the old China from which China is being built.

Ours is a country of vast territory, abundant products and resources, with a history going back five thousand years, Our country has a Population of 475 million. We are a great nation. But in the past hundred odd years, the state of our country bore the following characteristics. First, we suffered from imperialist aggression for more than a century, with Japanese imperialism occupying North East China for fourteen years. Feudalism and monopoly-bureaucratic capitalism served as the tools of imperialism in ruling over the Chinese people, who for long years groaned under the oppression of all three.

Second, as a result of imperialist aggression and long years of reactionary rule, the economy of our country is backward, with modern industrial production constituting only about 10 per cent of the total value of national production. Although this figure is based on rough calculations and estimates and is subject to certain revision when more precise calculations and estimates or more accurate computations are made, it is certain that the weight of industry is very small that of agriculture and handicraft is very big. But this alone does not give a complete picture of the gravity of the situation. The situation was grave in that a very large proportion of these few industries was controlled by imperialism. North East China was the principal area of heavy industry, but industry there was under the direct control of Japanese imperialism. By means of armed invasion and economic aggression, imperialism, directly

or indirectly, gained control of many industries in China. On the other hand, with agriculture and handicrafts making up such a high percentage of the national economy, China was known as an agricultural country, and should have been self-supporting in agricultural production. Yet our country imported considerable quantities of grain and cotton each year.

Third, after twenty-five years of wars among warlords and long years of revolutionary civil war, our country experienced another eight years' war of resistance against Japan and four years of the people's liberation war; as a result, our national economy was badly damaged. The year 1949 brought floods, the total agricultural output amounting to only 75 per cent of the average output before the war of resistance against Japan. Industrial production in 1949 was even worse, as compared with the highest level of 1943. The twelve years of war in the immediate past also greatly undermined commercial relations, affecting the exchange of goods between town and countryside and between China and foreign countries.

This is a sketchy picture of the old China. It is on this old foundation that the Central People's Government, led by the Communist Party of China, has been building the new China.

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In the past one and a half years since its establishment, the work carried out by the Central People's Government covers the political, economic and cultural fields.

In the political field the following important work was accomplished:

1. Unified People's Government established from central to province, city, county and village levels.

2. About one million bandits and remnants of the Kuomintang armed forces were annihilated, and the inconsiderable number of the remaining scattered bandits will soon be completely mopped up.

3. Of the four hundred million agricultural population, two hundred and ninety million have carried out the reform in land ownership. The peasants have distributed the land of the landlords among themselves. Except for the areas inhabited predominantly by the national minorities, the agrarian reform will be completed throughout the country next year.

4. Suppression of the counter-revolutionaries, including the Kuomintang secret agents, bandit leaders, local tyrants, etc. has been carried out on a nation-wide scale. A large number of counter-revolutionaries have been arrested, and some of them sentenced to death. Those sentenced to death, were the incorrigible elements who had ridden roughshod over the people and played havoc among them under the rule of the war-lords, under Kuomintang rule and the Japanese occupation, who owed an accumulated blood debt, and who, in the days of the People's Government, still refused to acknowledge their crimes and repent, but continued to carry on their subversive activities. Those counter-revolutionaries sentenced to imprisonment will be put to work so that they may be reformed through labour.

5. Since June last year, when the American imperialists attacked Korea and invaded China's territory of Taiwan a great patriotic movement has arisen among the Chinese people. The Chinese people organised volunteer units to resist American imperialists

and aid Korea. The movement to resist American imperialists, aid Korea and defend our homes and Motherland has spread to every section of the population and every part of the country.

In the economic, we have carried out the following important work:

1. All factories, mines, railways, ships and banks owned by Japanese imperialism or Kuomintang bureaucratic capital have been taken over and turned into State operated enterprises owned by the People's Republic, In the State operated enterprises we rely on the masses of workers, and unite with the technicians and office personnel, thus transforming the bureaucratic enterprises into people's enterprises. Enthusiasm for labour on the part of the workers, technicians and office staffs was greatly enhanced by the elevation of the workers' political status and the concern shown by the State for the welfare of the workers and staffs. Labour productivity has, in general, surpassed the levels reached under the Japanese and Kuomintang.

2. The runaway inflation which lasted for twelve years has been ended. This was brought about by centralised administration of State finances and economy, by control of total cash holdings of by control of Government organs by the State Bank, by straightening out revenue and cutting down expenditure so as to achieve an approximate balance between income and expenditure. Because inflation has been ended, State trade has won the dominant position in the market formerly occupied by profiteering merchants, and the finances have become stabilised. This has greatly stabilised the people's livelihood.

3. Agricultural production has risen. Thanks to the land reform, the adoption by the State of policies to promote agriculture, the rise of the peasants' enthusiasm for production and the generally favourable weather conditions, the total grain output of the country in 1950 was 14 per cent above that of 1949, the year of floods. Taking the country as a whole, agricultural output has not yet reached the pre-war level. Although cotton output in 1950 was lower than in 1936, the only outstanding record year for cotton output in China's history, nonetheless it exceeded all other pre-war years. If there is no natural calamity, this year's cotton output is expected to exceed that of 1936.

Increased grain and cotton output is important to this country not only because agriculture makes up the greater part of our national economy, but also because in the past we relied on importing grain and cotton in large quantities. As regards grain, we have not only overcome the difficulties caused by the serious floods of 1949, but we are in a position this year to help the people of our neighbouring country, India, who are short of grain and we have signed a contract with the Government of India for the export of 516,000 tons of grain to India.

The American imperialists have imposed an economic blockade to prevent the Chinese people from exchanging their products for foreign cotton. But we are confident of our ability to meet our people's needs entirely with our own cotton, just as we have done in the case of food. The foreign exchange thus saved by being self-sufficient in grain and cotton will greatly increase our ability to purchase industrial equipment.

4. Exchange of goods between town and countryside, and between China and foreign countries,

has been developed. In the old China, the peasants' marketable grain and industrial raw materials were subject to purchase at compulsory low prices by the landlords, usurious merchant capital and imperialism. The old sayings: "A good harvest becomes a calamity and "Cheap grain harms the peasants" described the traditional sufferings of the Chinese peasantry. Now the interests of the peasants are safeguarded by means of purchases by the People's Government of large quantities of agricultural products at reasonable prices. The products of peasants' spare-time occupations generally make up at least ten per cent of the peasants' total annual income. Thus, the sale of these products is of great importance for their livelihood. Consequently, the Government is making great efforts to help peasants to dispose of their products from such occupations.

Trade relations between town and countryside, between China and foreign countries, which had been strangled by twelve years of war, have now been restored. The total value of our foreign trade for 1950 exceeded that of any year since the September 18 incident in 1931 when North-East China was occupied by the Japanese.

It was also the first time in 73 years that China had a favourable trade balance.

Sovereignty over customs, eagerly desired by the people from 1842 onwards, is now fully established. The imperialists are now blockading China's foreign trade, but the countries sharing the bulk of China's foreign trade are no longer the capitalist countries, but the U.S.S.R. and the New Democracies.

##### 5. State Investments in Economic Restoration.

The Central People's Government has been in existence less than two years; as yet its finances do not

permit any large-scale State investment. Nevertheless, the total annual value of State economic investments, both in 1950 and 1951, surpass those of any year under Kuomintang rule. Our investments are mainly in railways, water conservancy and heavy industry. All but nine per cent of the railways on the mainland have been repaired and opened to traffic; new railways are under construction. Already 130 kilometres of the Chengtu-Chunking Railway, for whose construction the people of Szechuan Province had vainly shed their blood in struggle over the past forty years, have been built and opened to traffic. For combating floods and draught—the scourge of the Chinese peasants—the total value of State investments and loans in agriculture and water conservancy during the past two years is far in excess of all the money allocated by the Kuomintang regime in this respect during the twenty-two years of its existence. Heavy industry is recovering. Two years of economic investment by the Central People's Government have evoked in the whole a nation the general feeling that this is the only Government that serves the people and that only this Government is able to lead the Chinese people to happiness.

Economic restoration and cultural development in our country have dispelled the old worry of the students that “graduation means the beginning of unemployment”. There are not too many but too few graduates from senior middle schools. The number of university and college graduates falls far short of the demands of the economic, cultural, educational and administrative organisations. The State can guarantee employment for every university graduate.

The land reform and improved livelihood of peasants have resulted in a considerable rise in the number of

primary schools and continuation schools for adults. The State has taken over the schools and hospitals that American imperialism hypocritically founded for its aggression in China, and these institutions have refused subsidies from American imperialism. Planning a completely new cultural construction, in line with the future needs of China's economic construction, is one of the present tasks of Chinese cultural development.

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What has been said gives a brief account of new China's achievements in the political, economic and cultural fields over the past one and a half years. These achievements are of enormous significance for our country, signifying, as they do, immense achievements in national construction. But all these are but the beginning of our national construction.

The goal towards which our people strove for a century has been to transform China from a country insulted by imperialism into a country which is independent and prosperous. Driving the imperialists out of China and overthrowing the reactionary Kuomintang rule constitute only a part of the struggle to achieve this objective. The complete attainment of the objective requires that China be transformed from an agricultural country into an industrial country, and that economic construction on a colossal scale be undertaken. The time for such colossal economic construction has not yet come, we are still in the preparatory stage. All the work done by us in the past year and a half, including the consolidation of the people's power, the reform in the system of land ownership, the restoration of the national economy and

the movement to resist America and aid Korea, is, in a sense, preparing the ground for such large-scale national economic construction. It will still take some time before the preparatory stage is completed. However, we shall complete our preparatory work successfully and so usher in the coming large-scale planned economic construction of the State.

Our people have boundless faith in the economic construction. We have 475 million industrious and hard working people, and we have rich resources. Leading the Chinese people in carrying out the economic construction are the long-tested Communist Party of China and Comrade Mao Tse-tung who is richly endowed with the great wisdom of Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese people believe that they will successfully accomplish economic construction just as their armed struggle successfully overthrew the reactionary regime of the imperialists and the Kuomintang. At present, the standard of living of our people is still low. But the people understand that this is due to the imperialist aggression of the past hundred years, to the long years of reactionary rule and uninterrupted wars. Imperialism and reactionary rule retarded and slowed down our economic development for scores of years or even a century. Our people will continue to work hard and redouble their efforts to make up for this. Now that our country is unified, there will be no more wars at home. Our economic development will overtake and even outstrip that of the imperialist countries in a matter of years, provided we, together with the other peace-loving peoples of the world, can safeguard world peace.

The final goal of our country's progress is Socialism and Communism, for Socialism and Communism are the

best and perfect social systems for humanity. Our people will fight for the realisation of the Socialist and Communist social systems. But to reach the goal of Socialism and Communism we must go through the present stage—the stage of new democracy—and not jump over it. The nature of State power at the present stage is the people's democratic dictatorship, led by the working class, based on the alliance of the workers and peasants and uniting all democratic classes and all nationalities in the country. The economic composition at this stage is characterised by the co-existence of five kinds of economy: State operated economy, co-operative economy, the individual economy of peasants and handicraftsmen, private capitalist economy and State capitalist economy, with State operated economy, which is socialist in nature, assuming the leadership. Due to special historical conditions, the present class relations and economic relations in our country must and can be dealt with in this way.

Hence, in carrying out the national economic construction in the stage of new democracy, a new task presents itself, that is, each one of these five kinds of economy must be enabled to play its full part and at the same time must not run counter to, but must fit into, the general plans for the major branches of the national economy, public and private, as formulated by the State. Since there are different systems of ownership in enterprises, disharmony is bound to occur. But there are two favourable conditions. In the first place, our country is not only led by the working class in the political system of the people's democratic dictatorship, but also led economically by the State operated economy which is socialist in nature. The progress of the national economic construction will not

weaken but greatly strengthen the State operated sector of the national economy. Therefore, we firmly believe that economically, as well as politically, the State operated sector of the national economy, which is socialist in nature, will have ample strength to lead the other sectors of the national economy in co-ordinated action.

Secondly, the private capitalist sector of the national economy has already felt and will continue to feel that, under the new democratic State power, opportunities for development are not diminishing but greatly increasing, as compared with the days of imperialist or Kuomintang reactionary rule, now that it is protected from the economic aggression of the imperialists and that the home market is unprecedented in scope. Therefore, this sector, too, supports this power, and, in suitable conditions, will conform with the national economic plan.

Our national economic construction must depend on our people's own efforts, Of course, this does not mean that we need no technical or other help from outside. We do need such help, but it cannot be forthcoming from imperialism. Many labouring and progressive people in the imperialist countries sympathise with us, but those who decide the policy in these countries are imperialist elements hostile to us. Therefore, the Chinese people realise that those who can help us in our national economic construction are none other than the Socialist Soviet Union and the fraternal countries of new democracy.

The two world camps are sharply defined. We stand on the side which is fighting for a lasting peace and people's democracy. Our struggle to overthrow the imperialist Kuomintang reactionary rule was part of the

struggle of the peace camp, and our national economic construction is an extension of this struggle.

The thirty-year old Communist Party of China—the political Party of the Chinese proletariat—led the Chinese people to the overthrow of the imperialist-Kuomintang reactionary rule in twenty-eight and a half years of struggle, and since then, for a year and a half, has led the way in national construction. This national economic construction is a new kind of work for us. We have to learn hard. But we firmly believe that our Party, under the leadership of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, will victoriously build up our country just as it victoriously overthrew the imperialist-Kuomintang reactionary rule in the armed struggle. In order to liberate themselves and build up their country, the Chinese people tried every way in the past century, tested all leading groups, and finally chose the Communist Party of China.

**HOW CHINESE PEOPLE DEFEATED CHIANG KAI-SHEK REACTIONARY CLIQUE ARMED BY AMERICAN IMPERIALISM. Chu Teh, Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee, Communist Party of China**

At this moment, as we celebrate the 30th anniversary of the heroic struggle of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese revolution has registered a nation-wide victory. The powerful enemy of the Chinese people, the combined reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, has finally been overthrown. A great new China of the people's

democratic dictatorship has been firmly established and developed. This is a great victory, the whole of Chinese history is entering a new era. At the same time, this is a victory of great historic significance, changing the whole aspect of the East and of the world, following the victories of the October Revolution and the anti-fascist world war. This victory has enormously strengthened the world camp of peace and democracy; it has shaken the entire aggressive camp of imperialism.

It is significant to recall at this moment how the Chinese people defeated the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary Kuomintang clique which was armed by American imperialism, and finally won nation-wide victory.

## I.

Armed with Marxism-Leninism and led by the great Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party of China, after the failure of the 1924-27 revolution, on its own, led the Chinese people through ten years of civil war (1927-36), created a people's revolutionary force and elaborated political and military lines adapted to the practical conditions of the Chinese revolutionary struggle; and through eight years of the anti-Japanese war (1937-45), further developing and strengthening this people's revolutionary force and creating the liberated areas with a population of approximately 100 million, as well as a people's liberation army of one million troops and a militia of 2,200,000. All these formed the solid foundation on which the Chinese people defeated the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary Kuomintang clique, which was armed by American imperialism.

Since the end of World War Two, the peoples of the world have been urgently demanding the preservation of peace. After long years of war and threatened by anew civil war, the Chinese people, in particular, had a pressing desire to make peace a reality. However, since the end of the Second World War, American imperialism, which has taken the place of fascist Germany, Italy and Japan, has been fanatically pushing forward with its plans for enslaving the world, threatening the peoples of the world with war and directly fabricating war in China and other places.

At the conference of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Britain and the United States, held in Moscow in December, 1945, American imperialism agreed on non-interference in China's internal affairs and expressed its hope for realisation of peace and democracy in China. But, in reality, after the surrender of Japanese imperialism, American imperialism dispatched its army, Navy and air force as well as military missions to China and occupied most of the vital strategic points throughout the country. It supplied the treacherous Chiang Kai-shek bloc with large quantities of military equipment and war materials. Through various means, it helped Chiang Kai-shek who had lain far in the rear throughout the anti-Japanese war, to transport his troops to the major cities along the coast and to the civil war front against the people. In doing so, American imperialism intended, through Chiang Kai-shek, to seize the fruits of victory from the Chinese people and to turn China into an American colony.

With the support and at the instigation of American imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek devoted all his efforts to pursuing his treacherous and dictatorial reactionary

policies. At that time, the American imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary bloc regarded the Chinese People's Liberation Army as a basic obstacle to the realisation of their reactionary plans, and believed that, without the elimination of the People's Liberation Army, the aggression of American imperialism and the dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek could never be realised. At the same time, they regarded the action of the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people in demanding peace in the country as a sign that they were weak and vulnerable. They thought that the People's Liberation Army, which was smaller in numbers and inferior in equipment, could not meet any attack, while the several million Kuomintang troops with their huge quantities of arms supplied by American imperialism would be able to do as they pleased in the country. They therefore decided to unleash civil war in China against the people. It was merely for the sake of gaining time to prepare this civil war that they temporarily pretended to agree to the desire of the people throughout China for peace.

In these circumstances, the Communist Party of China firmly held aloft its banner of peace, democracy and unity and exerted very great efforts on behalf of the Chinese people to find a way of avoiding war and achieving peace; at the same time, it mobilised the entire Party, army and the people throughout the liberated areas, as well as the people of the whole of the country, to make adequate preparations, so that they would be ready to defeat Chiang Kai-shek's military attack against the people and revolution whenever he decided to break the peace. Expressing the demand of the broad masses of the people, the Communist Party of China called repeatedly for peace,

democracy and unity. Comrade Mao Tse-tung personally travelled to Chungking to conduct peace talks with Ching Kai-shek. This compelled Chiang Kai-shek to issue a cease fire order and to convene a political consultative conference of all parties at which resolutions were formulated concerning the achievement of peace, democracy and unity—these being passed with the participation of the representatives of the Kuomintang Government who raised their hands in favour. All these steps were in complete conformity with the demand of the broad masses of the people who yearned for domestic peace, democracy and unity.

The broad masses of the people were able, from their own experience, to shed their illusions about American imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, because of the firm, consistent and just stand taken by the Communist Party of China in this vigorous struggle, and because Chiang Kai-shek and his boss, American imperialism, time and again revealed their perfidy and their intrigues of “mediating” in the civil conflict, on the one hand, while actively preparing for civil war, on the other. For this reason, when the American imperialists and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang clique felt that they had completed their preparations for a large-scale anti-popular counter-revolutionary civil war, they found themselves isolated politically, having lost the sympathy of the people throughout the country.

At the beginning of July 1946, with the large-scale assistance of America, and disregarding the opposition of the Chinese people and democratic public opinion of the whole world, Chiang Kai-shek launched an all-out civil war against the People’s Liberation Army, on a

scale unprecedented in the history of China. During the initial stage, the situation in this civil war was serious for the Chinese people. The greatest imperialism of the world was giving its full support to the greatest group of traitors in the World—the treacherous Chiang Kai-shek bloc which at that time had a total armed force of 4,300,000 with airplanes, artillery, tanks and modern equipment and materials worth 6,000 million U.S. dollars—all provided by American imperialism. It had under its rule areas embracing a population of over 300 million. It held the major cities, rich resources, modern industry and modern means of communication. The armed forces on the side of the Chinese People's Liberation Army were then less than one-third of the Kuomintang troops. In equipment and resources they were greatly inferior. In the liberated areas the population was less than one-third that in the areas under "Chiang Kai-shek's rule. Comparing the military strength of the two sides, all the conditions on the People's Liberation Army's side were unfavourable, except that the People's Liberation Army was superior to Chiang Kai-shek's in political quality and its ties with the people; for this reason, Chiang Kai-shek ventured to deploy 1,800,000 troops of his regular army at the very beginning of the war in an imposing manner, launching an all-out attack on the liberated areas in North-East, Central, East and North China in an attempt to wipe out the People's Liberation Army at one blow. As Comrade Mao Tse-tung said:

“On the basis of the science of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of China soberly weighed up the international and internal situation and concluded that all the attacks of the reactionaries at home and abroad not only must, but can, be defeated”; and that

“the enemy’s superiority in military strength is only a temporary phenomenon, only a temporary operating factor; the aid from American imperialism is also only a temporary operating factor.

“But the anti-popular character of Chiang Kai-shek’s war and the support or opposition of the people are factors that operate constantly. In these respects, the People’s Liberation Army enjoys superiority. The patriotic, just and revolutionary nature of the war waged by the People’s Liberation Army is bound to gain the support of the people all over the country. This is the political foundation for victory over Chiang Kai-shek”.

The progress and outcome of the war fully proved the correctness of Mao Tse-tung’s analysis.

In accordance with this scientific analysis and judgment of Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party of China and the People’s Liberation Army, on the one hand, closely united with the broad masses of the people in the liberated areas and throughout the country to give material and moral support to this large-scale people’s revolutionary war; on the other hand, they firmly carried out the guiding military principles laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung himself, of concentrating overwhelmingly superior armed forces to annihilate the enemy forces separately, one by one. At the same time, such revolutionary political work as unity with the masses of the people, unity between officers and men, demoralising the enemy troops and reforming the prisoners of war was fully carried out in the army. We were able, therefore, to weaken the Kuomintang troops continuously, increase our own strength and equip ourselves with the arms captured from the Kuomintang troops in the course of the

people's war of liberation. In the initial period of the war, when Chiang Kai-shek launched his all-out attack and penetrated into our liberated areas, although we lost many towns and vast rural areas, yet the People's Liberation Army annihilated every month an average of eight Kuomintang brigades. After eight months, because his forces were greatly weakened, Chiang Kai-shek was compelled to abandon his all-out attack; he could merely carry out the so-called "attack on key points" in Shantung and Northern Shensi, the two wings of the war front. The forces used by Chiang Kai-shek against the liberated areas in Shantung were sixty brigades, about one-third of his total forces used in these attacks. The enemy troops 'attacking the liberated area in Northern Shensi were ten times the People's Liberation Army forces there. Nevertheless, because the People's Liberation Army carried out a correct strategic policy in every operation, concentrating overwhelmingly superior armed forces to annihilate the enemy forces separately, one by one, not taking the defence of a city or a locality as the main objective, the Chinese People's Liberation Army not only rapidly smashed Chiang Kai-shek's "attacks on key points", but also launched partial counter-offensives during this period against Chiang Kai-shek on the North-East and North China battle fronts. By the end of the first year of the war, the People's Liberation Army had wiped out ninety-seven and a half enemy brigades, totalling 1,120,000 troops, and enabled its own regular armed forces of 1,200,000-1,300,000 to grow to two million. A fundamental change thus took place in the war situation; the treacherous Chiang Kai-shek's bloc, which had lost enormously in manpower, had to switch from the strategic offensive to the strategic defensive.

## II.

With the opening of the second year of the Chinese people's liberation war, the Chinese People's Liberation Army passed over from the strategic defensive to the strategic offensive. This was an overall change that effected the history of the Chinese people's revolution. At that time Comrade Mao Tse-tung declared: "It marks a turning point from the growth to extinction of Chiang Kai-shek's twenty-year counter-revolutionary rule. It marks also a turning point from the growth to extinction of more than one hundred years rule of imperialism in China".

In launching their attacks against the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries, the powerful forces of the People's Liberation Army crossed the Yellow River into the South, smashing the defence system of the Kuomintang troops, thrusting into the areas under Kuomintang rule and advancing the front line down to the Yangtse River. This upset Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary plan to destroy the Chinese people's liberated areas by a civil war against the people. It also spread the flames of revolution to the base from which Chiang Kai-shek had started the civil war against the people, thus shaking the Kuomintang reactionary rule to its very foundations and stimulating the upsurge of the people's revolutionary struggle throughout the country. At the same time, with the steady annihilation of the Kuomintang troops, the People's Liberation Army on various sectors of the front recovered the greater part of the liberated areas such as the North-East, Shantung, North Shensi and North China, and began its successful attacks on the strongly fortified Kuomintang-held cities, ranging from 100,000 to several hundred thousand

population, and wiped out from tens of thousands to over a hundred thousand Kuomintang troops in each campaign. In annihilating the Kuomintang troops, the People's Liberation Army again and again captured large quantities of modern weapons, strengthening its own armament and building up strong artillery and engineering units. This enabled the People's Liberation Army later, in attacking strong points and in great annihilation battles, to destroy the enemy defence system with overwhelming fire power and swiftly to accomplish its combat tasks.

As regards replenishment of the troops, the People's Liberation Army depended mainly on prisoners of war and on the large number of Kuomintang soldiers who surrendered. They came from the labouring classes, and, after being educated and reformed, they could swiftly be transformed into loyal and brave fighters of the People's Liberation Army.

With these struggles and efforts, the People's Liberation Army, although engaged in non-stop heavy battles from the very beginning of the war, did not, as American imperialism and its jackals expected, lose strength and become weaker; on the contrary, it gained in strength and expanded rapidly.

### III.

In November 1948, nearly two and a half years after the Kuomintang reactionaries, backed by American imperialism, launched the war, another fundamental change took place in the military situation; the Chinese People's Liberation Army which had gone through nearly a hundred campaigns of annihilation against the Kuomintang troops, won a great victory in the campaign

in the West of Laioning Province in North-East China, sweeping away in a single campaign the troops of the Kuomintang reactionaries in North-East China and annihilating the majority of Chiang Kai-shek's crack units which were directly equipped and trained by American imperialism. After this campaign, the Kuomintang army was reduced from the numerical superiority which it had held for a long time, to numerical inferiority, and the People's Liberation Army—from numerical inferiority to superiority. By that time the total Kuomintang forces had been reduced to 2,900,000, while the People's Liberation Army had grown to over three million. After this the tide of war turned very swiftly.

In January 1949, the Chinese People's Liberation Army again successfully fought a decisive battle in the area around Hsuchow against the main forces of the Kuomintang troops on the Southern front, annihilating seven army groups of the Chiang Kai-shek crack troops which were mainly American equipped; Nanking, the ruling centre of the traitor Chiang Kai-shek, was thus directly exposed to our powerful attacking forces. At the same time, the People's Liberation Army also took Kalgan, Tientsin and other cities on the North China battle-front, successfully achieved the peaceful liberation of Peking and wiped out the Kuomintang troops in the North China area. Thus, after the West Liaoning-Mukden, Hwaihai (Hsuchow-Peng-pu area) and Peking-Tientsin campaigns, the nation-wide victory of the Chinese people's revolution was already assured.

At this time, the remnant of the Kuomintang counter-revolutionary bloc, South of the Yangtse River, attempted, at the instigation of American imperialism, to prevent the People's Liberation Army from crossing

the Yangtse, in order to realise its hope of gaining a respite for staging a comeback. It used delaying tactics—Chiang Kai-shek temporarily retiring from the scene and Li Tsung-jen coming forward to conduct peace talks with the Communist Party of China. The Communist Party of China agreed to carry on peace talks with the Nanking Kuomintang Government. However, the draft peace agreement, drawn up by the Communist Party of China in negotiations jointly with Nanking delegates, was rejected by the Nanking Kuomintang Government. The phony “Peace” scheme of American imperialism was thus exposed.

On April 21, 1949, the Chinese People’s Liberation Army advanced to the South and to the North-West to liberate the whole of China. It took only three days’ fighting to liberate Nanking, the centre of the twenty-two year reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionaries against the Chinese people. Then, from the latter part of April to the end of December, 1949, Hanchow, Wuhan, Sian, Shanghai, Lanchow, Canton, Chungking, Chengtu, Kweiyang and other important key cities were successfully liberated. Hunan, Suiyan, Sinkiang, Sikang, Yunnan and other places were liberated by peaceful means.

The reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek bloc of traitors completely perished. Its remnants scuttled like rats to Taiwan Island which was under American armed protection.

In 1950, the Chinese People’s Liberation Army liberated Hainan Island and the Chusan archipelago and began its victorious advance to Tibet. In May 1951, the Central People’s Government signed an agreement with the delegates of the local government of Tibet on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet. By now,

the whole of China has been liberated, except for Taiwan which is still occupied by the American imperialists.

#### IV.

In nearly four years of war, the People's Liberation Army annihilated over 8,070,000 Kuomintang troops; won more than 1,770,000 Kuomintang troops to revolt, cross over and accept reorganisation; killed or took prisoner 1,668 high ranking Kuomintang army officers; captured over 50,000 pieces of artillery, over 300,000 machine guns, over 1,060 tanks and armoured cars, over 20,000 motor vehicles and all kinds of other weapons and equipment. It is clear that this result is no small matter for American imperialism.

It was not accidental that Chiang Kai-shek, running dog of American imperialism, met such a swift and disastrous doom. This is the inevitable end of reactionaries who ignore the will and strength of the people. It is the inevitable end for adventurers who see only the temporary, superficial strength of their own armed forces, and cannot see their own political isolation and therefore act against the people. This is the long overdue verdict of history on the twenty-two years of the Chiang Kai-shek blood-thirsty reactionary rule and on a century and more of the bloody, reactionary rule of the imperialists in China.

But the liberation war of the Chinese peoples is not completely ended, because, as already mentioned, Taiwan Province, the territory of the People's Republic of China, has not yet been liberated. In June 1950, the American aggressors announced their armed control of our Taiwan, at the same time as they started their

brutal armed intervention against Korea. This is the same barbarous, shameless aggression as the seizure of North-East China in 1931 by Japanese imperialism. But the heroic Chinese people will certainly liberate Taiwan from the hands of American imperialism and enable their 6,700,000 compatriots in Taiwan to return to the bosom of their great Motherland.

Actually, American imperialist aggression against Taiwan is only a part of the entire American plot of armed aggression against our country. The real objective of the American aggression against Korea is to threaten our North-East through Korea, and, whenever possible, for the American aggressive army to invade our country from there as Japanese imperialism did before. In October 1950, the American aggressive army in Korea marched brazenly towards the borders of our country, to the banks of the Yalu River and the vicinity of the Tumen River. American airplanes bombed and strafed the North Eastern borders of our country, inflicting loss of life and property on our fellow countrymen. Under this grave menace, the people of our country, by means of volunteer forces, could not but resist the American aggression, aid Korea, protect our homes and our country and fight shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army against the American aggressors.

Our people's volunteer forces are displaying the greatest heroism and valour on the anti-aggression front in Korea. Despite the overwhelming superiority of the American aggressors in terms of airplanes, tanks and artillery, despite difficulties caused by atrocity bombings by the American airforce, the Chinese people's volunteers and the Korean People's Army have won great victories in five campaigns since they began

to fight shoulder to shoulder on October 25, 1950. From that time until June 3, this year, the Korean People's Army and the Chinese people's volunteers have annihilated over 193,000 enemy troops, including over 98,000 American aggressor troops.

The initial frantic plan of the American aggressors to occupy North Korea and invade our North-East was smashed, and MacArthur, the notorious arch-criminal of American aggression in the East, was dismissed after this defeat. Apart from withdrawing from Korea, the American army of aggression can find no other solution. Without doubt; the heroic Chinese people will certainly assist the Korean people to repulse aggression so as to safeguard the security of the North-Eastern borders of China, and we can certainly fulfil this glorious task.

Victory in the Chinese people's war of liberation has changed the fate of the Chinese people and has changed their international status. The Chinese people are exerting all their strength to consolidate their national defences and will not allow imperialist aggressors to do as they please on Chinese territory as they did during the past century or more. The Chinese people will certainly make the foreign governments respect their territorial sovereignty and proper interests, and, most certainly, will not tolerate American imperialist invasion of Taiwan and Korea, schemes for signing a separate peace with Japan and military occupation and rearming of Japan. At this moment the American imperialists should especially review the history of how Chiang Kai-shek, whom they armed and commanded, was thoroughly defeated by the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Since the American imperialists have not yet learned the lesson they should have learned, the Chinese people will certainly make

any adventurer who follows the example of Chiang Kai-shek suffer the same ignominious end.



Leaders of Chinese people greet the 1951 May Day demonstration on Central Square in Peking.

(Left to right): Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman, Central People's Government; Chu Teh, Vice-Chairman, Central People's Government; Mao Tse-tung, Chairman, Central People's Government and Chairman of Central Committee, Communist Party of China; Chou En-lai, Prime Minister, State Administrative Council.

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**CLOSE CONTACT WITH MASSES IS GLORIOUS  
TRADITION OF OUR PARTY. Teng Hsiao Ping,  
Member, Central Committee, Communist Party  
of China**

Since the day of its birth, our Party has been built up on the workers' movement in China, in accordance with Marxism-Leninism and the principles of Party-building of the Russian Bolsheviks. Thus, even in its early days our Party possessed a high degree of discipline and militancy and maintained contact with the Chinese people.

As soon as it appeared on the political scene, the Party assumed responsibility for leading the Chinese revolution. Stricken with grave calamity, but being industrious, wise and courageous, the Chinese people had shed much blood in ceaseless heroic struggles against the rule of imperialism and feudalism. But they could not find the right road. Only our Party advanced a correct political line for the Chinese people on the basis of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practice in China. As is known, "theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses". The Chinese working class and all labouring people learnt from personal experience that a "programme of struggle against imperialism and feudalism, under the leadership of the proletariat, is the only correct line enabling them to achieve liberation, and that the Communist Party is their hope.

Their faith in our Party has been consistent throughout the past thirty years. The selfless and indomitable fighting spirit of the Communist Party members served as an example for the revolutionary

masses, and the Communists have become the closest comrades-in-arms of the masses. Since then, the Chinese revolution has assumed an unprecedented scale. It had such organisation and tenacity that slaughter by the reactionary ruling class failed to disrupt our ranks and a series of setbacks failed to shake the confidence of the Communist Party members and of the revolutionary people in the ultimate victory of the revolution. Even in the most critical years of the white terror, “the Communist Party and the people of China were not exterminated, conquered or even frightened. They rose to their feet again, wiped off the bloodstains, buried their fallen comrades, and continued the fight”. (Mao Tse-tung: On Coalition Government).

The blood shed by countless Communist Party members and the revolutionary people flowed together and formed unbreakable bonds. The bonds of blood gave boundless vitality to the Chinese revolution, and thus secured the great victory of the Chinese evolution, following that of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Chinese Communists fully realise that the victory of the Chinese revolution and such close relations between the Party and the Chinese people, are inseparable from the name of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

There is no doubt that the publication of Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s “On Practice” gives greater solidity to the ideological and theoretical foundation of the Communist Party of China. It is a brilliant development of Marxism-Leninism, and a summing-up of the practical experience of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has set an outstanding example in applying Marxism-Leninism to the actual situation in China, in applying the principles of Lenin and Stalin in building up

and leading the Bolshevik Party, in building up and leading the Communist Party of China.

In his report “On Coalition Government” delivered at the Seventh Congress of the Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

“We Communists are distinguished from members of any other political party by another outstanding feature, namely, we link ourselves most closely with the largest section of the masses of the people. To serve the people heart and soul without separating ourselves for a moment from the masses, to do everything in the interests of the people and not those of one’s own or of a small group, and to realise that our responsibility towards the people is consistent with our responsibility towards the leading bodies of the Party—these constitute our starting point. Communists must always be prepared to uphold the truth because truth always conforms to the people’s interests. They must always be ready to correct mistakes, because mistakes prejudice the interests of the people. The experience of the past twenty-four years tells us that all proper tasks, correct policies, and good styles of work always answer the demands of the people at a given time and place, and always bring us into close contact with the masses. It also tells us that all improper tasks, incorrect policies, and bad styles of work do not suit the interests of the masses and separate us from the masses. The reason why doctrinarianism, empiricism, authoritarianism, tailism, sectarianism, bureaucracy, and the arrogance found in our styles of work are always undesirable and unacceptable, and why anyone who falls victim to them must correct his mistakes, is precisely that they separate us from the masses”.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung also pointed out in the same report: “Armed with Marxist ideology, the Communist Party of China has created among the Chinese people a new style of work. And that new style of work consists mainly in integrating theory with practice, in forging close links with the masses of the people and in practising self-criticism”.

The Chinese Communists have realised from their own experiences the greatness of these directives of Comrade Mao Tse-tung. It is precisely because they have fundamentally followed these directives that they are able to do good work guided by the Party’s correct line. But whenever they violated such directives, they inevitably made mistakes and caused damage to the revolution.

It is the glorious tradition of our Party to keep in close touch with the masses, The local organisations of our Party have, in general, learnt the method of “from the masses and back to the masses; crystallising and firmly putting into practice”. They know how to apply the policies of the Central Committee to the actual situation in their locality. They know how to use the reaction of the masses as a yardstick in judging the correctness of the Party’s policies and working methods, thereby correcting their own mistakes, shaking off the dust of bureaucracy and improving their working methods. Consequently, the policies of the Party can meet the requirements of the masses, its slogans can immediately be turned into mass action, and every side of our concrete work and tasks can overcome all the difficulties and obstacles and can be successfully accomplished on the basis of voluntary mass action. At every step of the movement, the Party can patiently

educate the masses, raise their political consciousness and lead them forward.

The history of our Party proves that as long as we keep in close contact with the masses and do not stand aloof from them we shall always be victorious. This can be proved not only in the workers' movement, the peasant movement and all other movements but also in the work of the revolutionary army where the leadership of our Party is most centralised. The People's Army, personally created by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is a model in maintaining close contact with the masses. Regarding relations between officers and the men of the Army, the principles of political, economic and military democracy are properly and suitably carried out on the basis of centralism. In consequence, this has thoroughly eliminated the warlordism of the old army, greatly developed the consciousness and creativeness of the troops, consolidated unity between officers and men, enhanced discipline, and thus tempered our Army into a force possessing great combat power. In regard to relations between the Army and people, the People's Army carried out the principle of solidarity between the Army and the people, the principle that the Army is not only a fighting unit but also a working unit to mobilise, organise, and protect the masses and to safeguard the interests of the masses. As a result, the Army established indissoluble relations with the masses, mobilised the masses and gained their support. It is not only a powerful combat army which has defeated American imperialism in China and Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries and won victory in the revolution, but also a powerful political force armed with Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution and trained in the revolutionary spirit of the Chinese people.

The style of work of maintaining links with the masses, and remaining unfailingly loyal and highly responsible to the cause of the people, has naturally exerted a constant, profound influence on our inner-party life. The Communist Party of China, armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolutions, is skilful in analysing and sizing up the concrete, actual conditions of revolution, in determining and reviewing the principles, policies and tactics of the Party in accordance with the consciousness and organisation of the masses, and in educating the workers, peasants and all labouring people in proletarian ideology. And, in consequence, every movement, every step of the movement is of a broad, mass character and raises the political consciousness and revolutionary initiative of the masses, welds closer the bonds between the Party and the people and consolidates the leadership of the proletariat and its political Party.

Our Party is also skilful in examining the standpoint, viewpoint and style of work of its organisations at all levels and of every individual member on the basis of the actual effects of the mass movements. In this way, the Party is apt to discover and consolidate achievements, to find out and correct shortcomings; to seek out all kinds of opportunism and non-proletarian ideology and overcome them swiftly; to put its finger on elements of alien classes and opportunists who have sneaked into the Party and clear them out. The live revolutionary actions of the masses have nurtured our Party, constantly infused fresh blood into the Party, educated our Party members, raised their political consciousness and ideological levels and have furthered the bolshevisation of the Party.

The victorious Chinese people are now engaged in a series of sharp struggles to consolidate the victory of the revolution, to eradicate imperialist influences and sweep away the vestiges of feudalism. These struggles find concentrated expression in three great movements: the movement to resist America and aid Korea, land reform and suppression of counter-revolutionaries. The broadness of these movements, the swiftness of their results and their profound influence on the minds of people are without precedent in history. These movements will certainly lay a rock-like foundation for our country, pave a broad way for its industrialisation, bring a happy life to the people and greatly strengthen the struggle against imperialism and in defence of world peace.

Of course, this does not mean that all is well or that everything is well done. On the contrary, serious shortcomings still exist in our Party. As a whole, the Communist Party of China, fully armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution, is a great and glorious Party, and the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is brilliant and correct. But, many of our local organisations often make mistakes and it is often only with the help of the Central Committee that we have been able to correct our mistakes and continue to advance.

As regards Party members, still greater shortcomings. We have a large number of Party members from the ranks of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia and the peasantry. We have a large number of new Party members. They have revolutionary enthusiasm but do not understand revolutionary theory or methods. They know little or nothing about Marxism-

Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution. There are even a few Party members of bad calibre who are lacking in warm feelings for the workers, peasants and other labouring masses. Their actions are not only divorced from the masses but they have also impaired the prestige of the Party. Some of our Party members, even with a longer history in the Party, are still lacking in theoretical training. They fail to consolidate this experience by systematic theoretical study so that sometimes they cannot avoid committing errors of doctrinarianism, empiricism, authoritarianism or tailism. Sometimes they are able to link themselves with the masses and do very good work, but at other times they divorce themselves from the masses and do very bad work. And also some of our comrades become conceited over victories. They think that they are rich in experience and do not study actual conditions when handling matters nor do they consult the masses, They merely sit tight and issue orders. Thus they commit errors and encounter setbacks.

To overcome these shortcomings, to strengthen the theoretical study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's theory of the Chinese revolution, to raise the level of the Party members and to purify the Party organisations—these are constant directives of the Central Committee of our Party. We have already carried on incessant work in this respect.

Further bolshevisation of the Party in ideology and organisation and maintaining close contact with the masses are both the guarantee of the victory of the Chinese people's cause and an inexhaustible source of vigour for the revolution.

Comrade Stalin, referring to the ancient Greek mythology, says at the end of the History of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union: “I think that the Bolsheviks remind us of the hero of Greek mythology, Antaeus. They, like Antaeus, are strong because they maintain connection with their mother, the masses, who gave birth to them, suckled them and reared them. And as long as they maintain connection with their mother, with the people, they have every chance of remaining invincible.

“That is the clue to the invincibility of Bolshevik leadership”.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung says that our victory over imperialist and Kuomintang reactionary rule is but the “accomplishment of the first step in the ten thousand Li march of the Chinese revolution”. Therefore, we should not become conceited as a result of victories and we must strictly abide by the teachings of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung, uphold the glorious traditions of our Party, closely link ourselves with the masses and lead them towards still greater victories. The brilliant radiance of Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Tse-tung shine over the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people. Our Party will always advance together with the Chinese people, unceasingly defeat all the conspiracies and plots of the enemy both at home and abroad, build up our country and go right ahead towards Socialism and Communism.

## **RULERS OF U.S.A., GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE DO NOT WANT PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES**

On June 21, the representatives of the Governments of the U.S.A., Britain and France announced the refusal of their Governments to continue negotiations at the Paris meeting of the deputy Foreign Ministers of the four Powers. World public opinion reacted to this announcement with indignation, justly perceiving in the action of the representatives of the Western powers an attempt to prevent the Council of Foreign Ministers from being convened.

This action of the U.S., British and French Governments in breaking up the Paris meeting shows that these Governments, far from being really desirous of improving relations with the Soviet Union, intend, on the contrary, to prolong the tension in Europe in the interests of their aggressive aims. The Paris meeting was called on the initiative of the Soviet Union. Under pressure of public opinion, the Governments of the U.S., Great Britain and France were forced to open negotiations on the points that should be considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers. However, in the course of the talks, which continued for more than three months, Jessup, Davies, and Parodi pursued tactics of endless procrastination, delay, juggling with facts and direct dictat, with the result that the points to be discussed by the Council of the Ministers of the four Powers remain without solution.

Imperialist propaganda seeks to justify the break-up of the Paris talks by the “impossibility” of reaching agreement on the vital problems on which the fate of peace depends. This explanation is contrary to truth and entangles the peoples in falsehoods. The real reason for breaking up the Paris meeting is to be sought in the imperialist, aggressive policy of the Western powers whose Governments want war and not peace.

It is now perfectly clear that the representatives of the U.S., British and French Governments came to the meeting with the deliberate purpose of breaking it up. Only in this way is it possible to explain why they did everything to dodge and belittle the significance of the really vital problems of ensuring peace in Europe and improving the international situation, and, later, blatantly refused to discuss them.

Despite the fact that the Governments of the U.S., Great Britain and France solemnly signed the Potsdam agreement concerning the demilitarisation of Germany and the prevention of the revival of German militarism, the representatives of these Governments at the Paris meeting refused to discuss the question of the fulfilment of the Potsdam agreement by the four Powers. It is quite clear why they did so. While Jessup, Davies and Parodi were drawing out the talks on improving relations between the four Powers, doing their utmost to mislead world public opinion, the American-British imperialists were speeding up the remilitarisation of Western Germany. Simultaneously with the meeting of the Foreign Ministers’ deputies, in the same Paris and also in Bonn, capital of the puppet West German Government talks were taking place between representatives of the Western Powers and the Adenauer Government concerning the formation of a

regular West German army under the command of former Hitler generals, and the organisation of a military alliance between the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and Western Germany, directed against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

An agreement of a military-economic nature to unite the coal and metallurgical industry of West Germany, France, Belgium Holland, Luxemburg and Italy—the notorious “Schuman plan”—was signed in Paris at the moment the Foreign Ministers deputies were in session.

Such is the value of the false talk about the desire of the governments of the Western powers to improve relations; such is the essence of the aggressive foreign policy of the American-British imperialists.

The Soviet Government submitted for discussion precisely those questions on the solution of which the fate of peace in Europe depends. These questions included, in the first place, the aggressive Atlantic pact. It is common knowledge that the Atlantic pact is the main source of tension in Europe, the main weapon of the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of the U.S.A. Great Britain and France. For example, not long ago, Taft, prominent U.S. Senator, frankly declared that the Atlantic pact is really a military alliance; it sets in motion an armaments drive, and an armaments drive always ends in war: American politicians, generals and diplomats, touring in different countries, resort to every means—bribery, intimidation, pressure and blackmail—in order to realise the objectives of the Atlantic pact—to form mercenary armies, to girdle Europe and the Near East with a network of American military bases directed against the S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. On the territory of Britain alone, mainly in East Anglia, there are no fewer than twenty American military bases.

There are dozens of American military airfields in France, Western Germany, Iceland, Greenland Italy, North Africa and in the Near East. The U.S. is establishing additional military bases in Spain, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and other countries.

And yet the Governments of the U.S.A., Britain and France categorically refused to discuss the question of the Atlantic pact and the American military bases.

The Soviet Government, reluctant to miss a single, even the slightest, opportunity of securing a meeting of the Foreign Ministers, on its own initiative, offered to submit for discussion by the Council any of the mutual aid pacts signed by the U.S.S.R. with China Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, and, finally, with France and Britain. However, despite this proposal the representatives of the three Powers, pursuing obstructionist tactics, refused, without any ground whatever, to discuss the question of the Atlantic pact.

Is it not clear that this attitude on the part of the Governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France demonstrates that they fear publicity and the voice of truth, fear that their aggressive designs will be completely brought to light?

Having taken the path of aggression, the Governments of the three Western Powers rejected proposals of the Soviet Government; they preferred breaking off the talks to frank and open discussion of the issues. Thus, the entire blame for the failure of the Paris meeting rests solely with the Governments of the U.S., Britain and France.

Firmly and consistently, the Soviet Government adheres to the course of peace, the course consolidating peace and the security of the peoples.

The other day, J. Malik, Soviet representative in Uno, called once again for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Korea and submitted concrete proposals: as an immediate step, to cease fire, secure an armistice in Korea and withdraw the troops of the belligerents from both sides of the 38th Parallel. This proposal, like the support given by the Soviet Government to the well-known initiative of Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, is striking proof of the desire of the U.S.S.R. for peace.

The American-British imperialists are now seeking all kinds of motives to question and reject this proposal as well, just as they rejected Mr. Nehru's proposal. War brings fabulous profits to the merchants of death. Therefore they do not want to end it.

In breaking up the Paris negotiations and continuing the aggressive war in Korea, the rulers of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France have shown that they do not want a peaceful settlement of international differences. The peoples of the world draw from this the indisputable conclusion that it is necessary to intensify the struggle against the intrigues of the imperialist instigators of a new world war, to preserve and consolidate peace, to struggle for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers.

## **CONFERENCE IN BERLIN ON J. V. STALIN'S BOOK "MARXISM AND QUESTIONS OF LINGUISTICS"**

A conference on theory, organised by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, on J. V. Stalin's book "Marxism and Questions of Linguistics", was held in Berlin on June 23-24. Among those who attended the conference were Wilhelm Pieck, Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party, and Walter Ulbricht, General Secretary of the Party. A report on the subject "Significance of Comrade Stalin's works 'Marxism and Questions of Linguistics'" was delivered by F. Ölsner, member of the Political Bureau of the Socialist Unity Party. Dwelling on the significance of J. V. Stalin's works on the question of linguistics for the development of the social sciences and the national struggle against imperialism, Ölsner criticised a number of German scientists, pointing out that they are lagging behind the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in the matter of utilising the works by J. V. Stalin.

Speakers in the discussion included teachers of higher schools, propagandists and other workers on the front of theory: "Neues Deutschland", central organ of the Socialist Unity Party, commented that the conference marked another step forward in the ideological consolidation of Party cadres.

## **MINERS IN TUNISIA COLLECT SIGNATURES TO APPEAL**

Tunisian miners are actively campaigning for signatures to the Appeal of the World Peace Council. Due to the good work of the Redeyef miners, 13,000 signatures have already been collected. Having completed collection of signatures among their townsfolk, the miners are visiting neighbouring villages and collecting signatures among the peasants. Almost the entire population of Touiref village, situated near one of the mines, signed the Appeal.

Altogether, over 50,000 people signed in the country.

## **GENERAL STRIKE OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES IN ITALY**

On June 22, a successful 24-hour strike of one million Government employees, railway, post and telegraph workers, teachers and others, took place in Italy. This strike embraced more than 90 per cent of all Government employees who demanded a sliding wage scale, that is, wage increases in accordance with the higher cost of living.

Instead of granting the demands of the Government employees, as promised earlier, the de Gasperi Government, concerned only with the armaments drive, submitted a bill banning strikes by Government employees, Trade unions of all trends decided to fight the measure and big protest demonstrations against the anti-trade union bill were held in Rome, Milan and other cities.

**AMERICAN MULTI-MILLIONAIRES  
DEFEATED IN FRENCH ELECTIONS.  
Georges Cogniot, Member, Central  
Committee, French Communist Party**

**I.**

The results of the French elections of June 17 leave no room for discussion. To determine their significance, one has only got to scan the press of the U.S. multi-millionaires.

The "Philadelphia Inquirer" wrote that the substantial Communist poll was still a Source of anxiety.

The "Christian Science Monitor" admitted that the elections were anything but consoling and the "Saint Louis Post Dispatch" mourned the helplessness of the parties to combat Communist influence on the mass of poor people in Western Europe.

The "Daily News" expressed itself even more bluntly, saying that there was not the slightest doubt that the real losers were two Americans: a certain Harry Truman and a certain Eisenhower.

Such is the admission of a number of American newspapers.

The camp of peace and democracy won a great victory on June 17. More than five million men and women in France, the majority of the working class and advanced section of the middle classes voted for the candidates of the French Communist Party which defends the noble cause of peace against the American imperialists and their Paris henchmen. The position of the Communist Party, the first Party of France

according to the number of votes polled, received brilliant confirmation.

As stated in the declaration of the Communist Party, published the day after the elections, these election results create a “serious obstacle in the way of the warmongers”.

The parties which, for four years, formed the government majority and which are directly responsible for the pro-American orientation of the country’s policy, sustained serious losses, the dimensions of which even official propaganda cannot conceal.

The Right-wing Socialist Party, which in the elections to the Constituent Assembly in October 1945—the first post-war legislative elections—polled some 4,600,000 votes (24 per cent) and thereafter steadily lost votes, now polled only 2,700,000 votes (14.5 per cent).

The Christian Democrats or MRP which bears the heaviest responsibility (since its leaders were successively Foreign Ministers) for the adoption of the Marshall Plan in France, as well as for the Atlantic pact and the Schumann plan, failed to withstand the test of the elections. Of over 4,500,000 votes (23.6 per cent) polled in 1945, there now remain 2,300,000 (12.3 per cent).

Of the three big parties in 1945—Communist, Socialist and MRP—the Communists alone maintained and improved their positions on June 17. The Communist Party alone polled as many votes as the Socialist Party and the MRP taken together.

The so-called victory of the “third force”, which the French mercenary press is trying to sell, is simply a fabrication. This “victory” was fabricated by adding to the number of seats of the parties directly represented

in the Government—Socialists, MRP, members of the amalgamated Left groups and Radicals, etc.—more than 100 deputies from the so-called “Independents” who, in order to catch votes, fought the election under slogans of struggle against the Government’s policy.

The truth is that on June 17, the bloc of Government parties lost a total of 3,100,000 votes, compared with the 1945 elections and 3,300,000 votes compared with the 1946 elections.

Hence, the actual victor is the French Communist Party. Its success is all the more remarkable since the most shameless means of deceit and violence were used against it.

## II.

It would be wrong to assume that every French citizen, an elector by law, was able to exercise his right to vote. In the Bulletin No. 7 dated April 1951, the administration of the National Institute of Statistics boasted that it had discovered more than 400,000 voters who had been struck off the voters lists due to “incorrect” registration. What the reactionary State actually means by “incorrectly” registered is clear from the fact that, in Paris, the administration in some cases registered only two or three of every thousand young people between the ages of 21 and 95, although the law stipulates that every French man or woman must be registered upon reaching the age of 21. The reason for this ostracism is that these young people are suspected of opposing the extended military service and the pro-American war policy. In general, the illegal exclusion from the voters lists, on the pretext of having changed residence, or of not complying with residential

requirements, etc. affected, in most cases, working people alone, who have no time to verify whether or not they are registered, since frequently this is a process that takes up a lot of time.

We may assume that, as a consequence of these foul acts of “Western democracy”, the French Communist Party was robbed of several hundred thousand workers’ votes.

Such, under the domination of the bourgeois class, is the “general” character of the elections.

As regards freedom of suffrage in the overseas territories, it was turned into a mere farce. Thus, in the second electoral college in Algiers (college of local residents) the only candidates who enjoy the respect of the population are, as is known, the representatives of parties opposed to the colonial policy, which includes the Communist Party of Algiers; however, not one of these candidates was elected; all the seats were turned over to figureheads of the colonial administration who posed as “independents” or under a similar label. The reactionaries achieved these results by beating up candidates who denounced the colonial policy, refusing halls for their meetings and chasing from the polling booths the canvassers of “undesirable” candidates, or merely by means of manipulations with ballot boxes and sometimes also by replacing them.

These examples show the justice of Comrade Stalin’s comments in the interview with the British author, H. G. Wells, in 1934, when he said that, due to pressure from below, pressure from the masses, the bourgeoisie may sometimes concede certain reforms, remaining on the basis of the existing social-economic system. Acting thus, it considers that such concessions are essential in order to preserve its class domination.

Therein lies the essence of reforms, said Comrade Stalin.

In practice, these reforms, including so-called general and free elections, are unhesitatingly sabotaged the moment they show signs of becoming a danger to the existing economic and social regime. The actual political life of “Western Democracy” is a day-to-day profanation of the ideas of liberty.

The real nature of the bourgeois “equality” is evident from the following figures: in the metropolitan departments, the Communist candidate had to poll an average of 52,000 votes in order to be elected, while 29,000 sufficed for a Right-wing Socialist; 28,000 for an MRP candidate; 26,000 for a candidate of the reactionary Daladier-Herriot party. Anti-Communist candidates were elected in many departments despite the fact that they received three times less votes than their “defeated” Communist opponents.

Thus, the new Assembly consists mostly of deputies who, not even formally, can be regarded as representatives of the electorate.

As a result of the electoral law swindle of which Guy Mollet, General Secretary of the Right-wing Socialist Party, was one of the authors, seventy seats were stolen from the Communist Party. Nevertheless, the Party won 103 seats.

We say nothing here of the enormous role played in the election campaign by the money of the multi-millionaires, nor do we speak of the shameless interference in the elections by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church or of the restrictions of all kinds and the violence used against representatives of the working class. We shall keep strictly to an examination of the mechanism of the voting system in order to show that

the matter is that of an Assembly, the election of which trampled upon democracy, of an Assembly, which, as the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party pointed out, “in no way reflects what the peace-loving and freedom-loving people of France voted for on June 17”.

### III.

In this struggle against democracy, the chief role is played by the Right-wing Socialist leaders. Determined to carry out their functions as-transmitters of fascism to the full, they are now offering their services to facilitate the formation of a government closely linked with the RPF and de Gaulle, the candidate for dictator, with a view to paving his way to power.

The RPF also suffered defeat during the elections. A large number of electors turned away from this party because its real fascist nature was made plain. The RPF failed to achieve the results it obtained in 1947; it lost exactly 45 per cent of its electors.

Two months ago, on May 1, the fascist de Gaulle spoke of his election victory as being assured. He made an appointment for his gangs to rally on the day after the elections in the very heart of Paris—Champs-Élysées. But on June 22, at a press-conference, de Gaulle was forced to speak about “surprise” and “secret” in connection with the election results.

Nevertheless, it is indisputable that, on the whole, the Gaullist danger has increased. It would be wrong to underestimate the fascist danger now threatening France, especially if we take into account the treacherous machinations of the Right-wing Socialist

and MRP leaders who have brought into Parliament over a hundred open, and many more concealed, Gaullists.

The prominent organs of the American press openly call upon de Gaulle “to be equal to the situation arising from the elections” and to rally around himself all reactionary forces in the name of defending the “freedom” of the aggressors and “European unity” for war.

The Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, with every justification, stated in its declaration of June 23: “Speeding up war preparations and launching anti-labour and anti-democratic repressions, the U.S. rulers are showing the road to their French satellites from Guy, Mollet to de Gaulle, both of whom want to impose by force on the French people a policy which the people do not want”.

The Right-wing Socialist leaders in France consider it possible to act in relation to de Gaulle in the same way that German Social Democracy acted before Hitler’s advent to power.

But the situation in France in 1951 is radically different from the situation that prevailed in Germany in 1932-33.

In present-day France, realisation of the serious danger of a third world war is steadily growing as was shown to the French people by Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the Party, in an extremely important speech on June 9. That is why the signature campaign for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers is gaining momentum, a campaign which the Communists are sparing no effort to extend. The will to struggle for peace and democracy inspires millions and millions of men and women of different views, irrespective of how they voted on June 17.

The three deputy Foreign Ministers of the Western powers barely waited forty-eight hours after the French elections to break off the preliminary meeting in Paris. De Gaulle openly called for arming Western Germany to the hilt, for applying and strengthening the aggressive Atlantic pact.

In the face of all these machinations, the French Communist Party comes forward as an ardent champion of peace and French independence, as a party whose policy has always had a clearly expressed national character.

Anxious to safeguard the interests of the homeland and of the people, the Communist Party, on June 23, solemnly called upon all French men and women, enemies of war and poverty, to unite and fight jointly for a peace policy, the simple and elementary demands of which it clearly defined in the way the people understand them: a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers, rejection of agreements which run counter to national independence, a peace treaty with a demilitarised and united Germany, peace in Viet Nam and Korea, legislation against war propaganda and prohibition of the atomic weapon, reduction in armaments. Added to these are the demands for an improvement in the living standard of the working masses to be effected by the means saved in cutting down the war budget, and safeguarding democratic liberties.

Responding to the aspirations of millions of the French people, the French Communist Party declares once again that it is ready to co-operate with, or give its backing to, any government determined to pursue such a policy.

The declaration of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party recalls the words spoken by Maurice Thorez in his report to the Twelfth Congress of the Party in 1950 that the actions of the masses. of the people can force a change in policy by influencing deputies and the rulers. That is why the French Communist Party addresses itself with absolute confidence to the working people and to all democrats, calling upon them to do everything to reduce to nought the shady combinations of the American party—beginning with the Right-wing Socialist. leaders and ending with de Gaulle,—and to bring about the conditions necessary to ensure the “formation of a government which will be a genuine government of France, a government of social progress, freedom and peace”.

## **PEOPLES OF LATIN AMERICA TAKE ACTION FOR PEACE. Juan Marinello, Chairman, Popular Socialist Party of Cuba**

After the Washington conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Latin American countries and the United States of America, which ended on April 7, devoted to questions concerning military, police and economic "co-operation", the peoples of the American Continent carried out a number of actions of great political significance— actions which testify to the maturing consciousness of these peoples. It can be said that the calculations of the Washington "warriors" misfired, because, after the conference, the popular masses had a better understanding of the real aims of the Truman Government. The first actions against the Washington conference took place in the U.S. itself and assumed big dimensions in the form of protests against war and in the form of the peace caravans, As far as Latin America is concerned, important events took place there recently. On the initiative of the Argentine Peace Committee, two big and significant rallies were held in Montevideo (Uruguay) and in Mexico. We can confidently say that these rallies reflected the opinion of all the peoples of Central and South America. The Montevideo rally brought together representatives of the national peace committees of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Paraguay and Uruguay. The Mexico rally was attended by the members of the peace committees of Columbia, Cuba, Venezuela and Costa Rica. These gatherings, attended by thousands of people, were

guided by representatives of the most varied and biggest organisations. But the greatest significance of the two rallies was that, in the main, all the speeches expressed unanimity. They were addressed by men and women—members of different parties and of different political and religious convictions—all of whom unanimously condemned the Washington medley, The speeches were warmly applauded by the broad masses of the people. In essence, the speeches delivered at these rallies could be reduced to the following main points: 1. The Washington conference marked another step on the way towards realising U.S. aggressive policy. 2. The conference was summoned not on the initiative of all the countries of the conti- fent for the purpose of discussing matters of interest to them but on the initiative and in the interests of the Truman Govetniment alone, which wants to compel all Latin American. countries to: take an active part in carrying out the war plans of U.S. imperialists. 3. The Washington conference signifies a gross violation of the sovereignty of the Latin-American peoples, ie seriously affects their democratic liberties. 4. The conference decisions testify to the | growing dependence of the economy of the Latin-American countries on the U.S. monopolies, on their aggressive policy. 5. The conference decisions \_ imply agreement on ithe part of all foreign ministers on the American Continent to subordinate the national armies to the General Staff of the U.S, armed forces, 6, Arising from this, the inereased military expenditure in Latin America is most injurious to the public health service, to the economy and the cultural development of these peoples.

The fact that, apart from a few reservations and ments, all the Foreign Ministers endorsed the

Washington decisions, confirms the correctness of Comrade Stalin's statement in the interview with a "Pravda" correspondent that the present governments of the Latin American countries are politically subordinate to the U.S. Government. The Washington conference was, in this respect, a repetition of the voting machine procedure at Uno meetings. Of all the rulers of Latin America, only President. Jacobo Arbenz 'of Guatemala publicly announced his disagreement with the voting of the Guatemala representative at the Washington conference. Arbenz also reaffirmed his complete opposition to the idea of sending Guatemalan troops outside the country. ' The rallies held in Mexico and Montevideo signify not only an exposure of the military-aggressive decisions of the Washington conference but also an intensification of the peace movement in Latin America, This is all the more important because U.S.-British imperialism, having had \_ its aggressive plans rebuffed by the peoples of Europe and Asia, is now devoting greater attention to Latin America—the calculation being that it will be easier to carry out its designs there. This imposes a special responsibility on peace champions in Latin America. The fight for peace in these countries can and must prevent the unleashing of war. That is why it is essential to ensure that the peace movement develops on a broad and organised scale, that it becomes strengthened organisationally. On the American Continent, the peace movement is being brutally persecuted and many peace fighters are being thrown into prison. The American imperialists shout about internal security, about the need to take measures against the Communists. This means that anti-war sentiments are growing among the peoples on the continent and becoming a real force, an

obstacle in the way of realising the schemes to enslave the peoples, to engage in wanton destruction and annihilation of human beings. The fight waged by our peoples for peace is taking place in arduous conditions, but despite everything, it is extending and growing stronger; its victory is assured. The peoples of Latin America are fully aware that the U.S. imperialist aggressors are forming alliances with all the most reactionary and treacherous elements in Latin America, that they are blocking agrarian reform, retarding industrial development and economic progress, splitting the working class and the national movement, destroying democratic rights, intensifying racial discrimination and fomenting strife and discord, in order to prevent the progressive development of the peoples of Latin America. Consequently, fighting for peace in Latin America, means, at the same time, fighting against the enemies of the people, for national liberation from the yoke of the American imperialists. The rallies in Mexico and Montevideo mark a new phase in the peace movement: the phase of united struggle by the peoples of Latin America against the actions of the U.S. warmongers.

## **BUILDING SOCIALIST TOWN IN POLAND**

The town of Tihi, with a population of 7,000, is located in Silesia, not far from the regional centre of Katowice. At the end of last year the Polish Government decided to transform Tihi into a new socialist town, ranking second after Nowa Huta.

A few days ago, the foundations were laid for the first batch of houses and work was started on the construction of a highway which will link the station with the centre of the town. A total of 1,300 rooms will be available before the end of the year. The population of Tihi is scheduled to reach 30,000 in the course of the next six years.

## **BOOK REVIEW**

### **CONCERNING GEORGI REVIEW DIMITROV'S BOOK "SPEECHES, REPORTS AND ARTICLES"**

On July 2, two years will have passed since the death of Georgi Dimitrov, great son of the Bulgarian people and outstanding figure in the international working-class movement. The working population of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, whose many years' struggle against bourgeois-fascist reaction, for people's power and Socialism, is closely linked with the name of Georgi Dimitrov, is now, under the leadership of the Dimitrov Communist Party, unswervingly marching along the path he outlined, and loyally fulfilling his behests. This path and these behests are reflected in the book "Speeches, Reports and Articles", containing Georgi Dimitrov's oral and written statements from 1942 to the middle of 1947.

In his speeches, reports and articles, Georgi Dimitrov deals with the basic problems of the international situation, of the Bulgarian people's struggle against Hitler fascism and for liberation from the yoke of the German invaders and the monarcho-fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria, and also with the fundamental problems of building, developing and consolidating the People's power. The revolutionary events which wrought a radical change in the political life of the country and which paved the way for the large-scale constriction now underway in Bulgaria, are fully explained in G. Dimitrov's book.

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Georgi Dimitrov's statements are permeated with one fundamental idea, expressing the most profound aspirations and cherished hopes of the Bulgarian people—the need for indissoluble and life-giving Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. Georgi Dimitrov brilliantly explained the role and significance of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship for the Bulgarian people, for their national independence, State sovereignty and in order to ensure rapid development of the country of along Socialist lines.

Georgi Dimitrov outlined the basis for Bulgarian-Soviet friendship in the programme of the Fatherland Front, which he elaborated in 1942, and in a series of articles written prior to September 9, 1944. In the articles “Whither Bulgaria?”, “Crisis in Bulgaria”, “Path of Salvation for Bulgaria”, G. Dimitrov pointed to the fatal consequences of the path along which the then fascist Government of Bulgaria was leading our people, harnessing the country to the chariot of the Hitlerite policy of aggression; he explained with striking force the vital necessity for the people of Bulgaria to seek salvation in Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, to link their fate with the great Soviet Union which has always defended the interests of small nations and on numerous occasions demonstrated deepest friendship for Bulgaria.

“There is not, nor can there be”, wrote G. Dimitrov, “any sober-minded Bulgarian loving his homeland who is not convinced that sincere friendship with the Soviet Union is no less essential for Bulgaria's national

independence and prosperity, than are sun and air for any living organism”.

On Georgi Dimitrov’s advice, Bulgarian-Soviet friendship has become the cornerstone of the foreign policy of the new Bulgaria, firmly and consistently upholding the vital interests of the Bulgarian people, resolutely rejecting the brazen encroachments of the imperialists and ensuring the peaceful creative labour of the people and the happy future of the country.

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Under the leadership of the Bulgarian Communist Party and with the decisive help of the Soviet Army, the Bulgarian working people overthrew, on September 9, 1944, the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and established a new people’s democratic system. The Communist Party of Bulgaria became the ruling Party and was confronted with immense tasks which required solution. Georgi Dimitrov displayed boundless is no less essential for Bulgaria’s’ solicitude for the development of the Party in the new conditions, for enhancing its leading role in the struggle for the socialist reorganisation of the country.

“All for the front” (1944), “Great teacher and leader”, “Role of Bulgarian Communist Party in the Fatherland Front”, “Fatherland Front—the basis and motive force” (1945), “Always at your post” (letter to Pernik miners), “Historical mission of the Bulgarian Communist Party”, “Bulgarian Communist Party must be in the van of struggle for the People’s Republic,”, “Fatherland Front will triumph in spite of everything!” (1946), “Brilliant confirmation of forecasts of our Party”

(1947)—all these letters and speeches by Georgi Dimitrov dwell on actual and vital Party questions.

In order to solve successfully the responsible historical tasks, to lead the people successfully along the pathway of Socialism, the Party, in relation to inner-organisational life, with its iron discipline, ideological-political level and indomitable will to go forward, must be a model for all.

The Party must not tolerate any groupings or factions. It must act ruthlessly against all who, under cover of “left” and demagogic phrasemongering, seek to undermine unity of the Party.

Cadres constitute the most important factor in the matter of consolidating the Party, strengthening its discipline and militancy. They must be profoundly loyal to the cause of the working class; their loyalty must be tested in the crucible of class struggle.

Solidarity, militancy and discipline in the Party depend on a correct comprehension of the general line and policy of the Party, the policy of building Socialism in the country. Georgi Dimitrov warned those, who, overburdened with practical work, lost the perspective of social-political development along the path of Socialism, and also those who did not understand the need for persevering work and struggle in the successful solution of immediate tasks which are an essential preliminary for unfolding socialist construction. He taught that the vital necessity for the Party cadres was tireless work to master the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The practical work of the Communists must be combined with their constant theoretical grounding.

“We must learn in the process of work” Georgi Dimitrov said, “just as we learned, prior to September 9, in the process of struggle against the enemy—in

prison, in concentration camp, in the partisan detachments. Now we must learn in the process of construction, in the process of creative work”.

Georgi Dimitrov called upon the Communists to strengthen their bonds with the masses, to head the struggle, to be in the front ranks of the builders of Socialism. He ruthlessly exposed those Party workers who forget the main instructions of Lenin and Stalin about Bolshevik leadership, who, acting like leaders of the non-Bolshevik type, make no attempt to explain to the masses the correct policy of the Party and rally them around the Party, but endeavour to direct political, economic and cultural life mainly by administrative means.

“It is necessary never to forget and to remember day and night that we, the top leaders, the intermediate and rank-and-file workers of our Party, are servants of the Party and of our people and not some kind of aristocrats and bosses to whom everyone must doff his hat”.

Georgi Dimitrov always insisted on developing the broadest criticism and self-criticism in the Party and among the working people. “We must know”, he said, “that none of us, no matter how intelligent and clever he may be, can advance without criticism and self-criticism”.

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Under Georgi Dimitrov’s leadership, the Communist Party of Bulgaria created a militant and fraternal alliance of the working class and working peasants in Bulgaria. Georgi Dimitrov adjured the Communists to guard like the apple of the eye, to “strengthen and

develop, this alliance as the backbone of the people's democratic State; to treasure, develop and cement the united organisation of the workers and all working people of town and countryside—the Fatherland Front.

The speeches, reports and articles published in this book contain many valuable, principled Bolshevik directives concerning the worker-peasant alliance in Bulgaria.

Georgi Dimitrov stressed that a firm alliance between the workers and peasants guaranteed the strengthening and development of the young People's Republic, the complete liberation of the working peasants with the help of the working class from the chronic hardships and poverty to which they had been doomed by capitalism.

In 1946, Georgi Dimitrov addressed an ardent call to the Bulgarian working people in connection with the military-fascist coup d'état of June 9, 1928:

“Let the warning cry resound throughout the country, let it be heard in every peasant home: we will defend with all our might and with all means at our disposal the historic cause of September 9, 1944, so as never to experience another tragedy like that of June 9, 1923!”

This call met with a profound response in the hearts of all working people in Bulgaria, who, today, guided by their Communist Party, headed by the worthy pupil of Georgi Dimitrov—Comrade Vylko Tchervenkov—are strengthening the firm alliance of workers and peasants in indefatigable labour and merciless—struggle against the enemies of the people.

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After September 9, 1944, Georgi Dimitrov devoted his inexhaustible revolutionary energy and his colossal experience and abilities to the cause of consolidating the people's power, suppressing the enemy attempts to turn the wheel of history backwards, towards the fascist past, carrying out profound revolutionary transformations in all spheres of life and creating the essential conditions for all-out socialist construction.

Georgi Dimitrov inculcated in the working class a new attitude towards the State—the State of the working people. He called on them to work with even greater energy for the well-being of the homeland, and to enhance their revolutionary vigilance in relation to the enemies of the people. Under his leadership the Two-Year Plan and, later, the Five-Year State Plan for the development of the national economy were elaborated. Patriotic socialist emulation, initiated and developed by the working class, is now in full swing. In this sphere, too, Georgi Dimitrov gave a number of extremely valuable instructions.

Georgi Dimitrov was the inspirer and organiser of the vital co-operative movement in the Bulgarian countryside. Addressing group leaders in January 1946 he said: “Our countryside must stand firmly on its feet. It must overcome the economic poverty and the spiritual darkness inherited from the shameful past. Our countryside must become cultured and prosperous, for on this the prosperity and flowering of Bulgaria depend in considerable measure”.

Georgi Dimitrov showed the working peasants how to overcome this poverty—to form producer co-operative farms. “Cooperation in the countryside is a difficult and complicated matter, but it will be the salvation for the enormous agricultural population of

our country which is backward due to the fault of the dynasty, the bourgeoisie and the fascists". Therefore, the people's State is paying, and will continue to pay, great attention to consolidating and developing the peasant producer co-operatives.

Georgi Dimitrov devoted also great attention to cultural development in the new people's democratic Bulgaria. His counsel serves as a guide to action for the Bulgarian intelligentsia in the struggle for the new culture. The book under review contains Georgi Dimitrov's letters to Bulgarian writers and journalists, his letter to the editorial board of the journal "Philosophical Thought", and other extremely valuable material.

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The speeches, reports and articles of Georgi Dimitrov, written and delivered between 1942-1947, reflect in striking fashion the events in Bulgaria during one of the most important periods in her history. These as well as later works by this outstanding pupil of Lenin and Stalin, the wise State leader—Georgi Dimitrov—arm the Communist Party of Bulgaria and all Bulgarian working people with a powerful weapon in the struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism.

I. KJULIOVSKI

## **SLOVAK PEOPLE ON ROAD TO SOCIALISM. Stefan Bastovansky, General Secretary, Communist party of Slovakia**

More than a year has passed since the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia, which presented a convincing picture of the planned and purposeful transformation of Slovakia from a poor, backward agrarian country into a country with an advanced modern industry, mechanised agriculture and with a high standard of living and culture.

The Party Congress strikingly revealed the powerful economic and cultural progress of the Slovak people and eloquently proved that, under conditions of people's democracy, a gradual, systematic rise in the standard of living in Slovakia to the level obtaining in the Czech lands had become the law of the fraternal co-existence of the Czech and Slovak peoples. The industrialisation of Slovakia, and the cultural revolution which the Slovak people are now experiencing, are unmistakable proof of this.

All these gains are the results of the purposeful policy, based on Stalin principles, pursued by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia led by Comrade Gottwald—the policy of national advancement and development of the Slovak people and their economic, political and cultural life.

### **I.**

The historic Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, held on February

21-24, 1951, opened up before the Czechoslovak people, by enlarging the Five-Year Plan targets and speeding the tempo of socialist development, even grander perspectives of a happy future, and convincingly confirmed that Slovakia is participating to the full in the mighty growth of the economic, political and cultural forces of the Republic as a whole.

According to the Five-Year Plan, industrial output in Slovakia in 1953 was scheduled to exceed the 1948 output by 83 per cent. But the enlarged Five-Year Plan targets provide for a 168 per cent rise in industrial production by 1953, that is, it will exceed two-fold the level originally planned.

In this connection a number of new tasks confront us, tasks which, in the main, determine the nature of the industrialisation of the country in the years ahead. First of all, a big increase in fuel output is needed, and, in this connection, the development of the new Slovak deposits of lignite coal. The bases of raw materials must be extended, with priority to iron ore, non-ferrous metals, and to the construction of a big iron and steel plant in Eastern Slovakia, with an annual capacity of more than one million tons. Finally, these tasks include increased output of electric energy and the commencement of work on the big hydro-electric station on the Danube, which, in scale and significance, will be similar to the Dnieper station in the Soviet Union.

Output of the heavy engineering industry will grow five-fold compared with 1950. The Five-Year Plan targets were also increased for light industry and the food industry. Output of agriculture in 1953 will increase by 64.5 per cent compared with 1948, and 44.8 per cent compared with 1950; crop cultivation will be

extended by 48.2 per cent and animal husbandry 40.7 per cent. A rapid extension of the area sown to technical crops is foreseen, as well as a further increase in crop yield and productivity of livestock. Mechanisation of agriculture will be continued.

Extensive measures will be taken to combat drought by means of irrigation, introduction of grass ley-rotation, planting forest belts, etc. In carrying out this great plan, we are drawing, and will continue to draw, on the rich experience of building Socialism in the Soviet Union.

Accelerated development of industry and agriculture will be further promoted by a considerable increase in capital investments. Capital investments in heavy industry, for example, will rise in 1953 by 411 per cent compared with 1948. Construction of dwelling houses, hospitals, creches, cultural, medical and social institutions will be on a scale unprecedented and hitherto unthinkable in Slovakia, rising 88 per cent in 1953 against 1950.

The carrying out of these higher assignments of the Five-Year Plan signifies taking the path of abolishing the survivals of the one-time notorious economic and cultural backwardness of Slovakia, elimination of the unequal economic development of the various regions of Slovakia.

At the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia on April 18-20, Comrade Siroky pointed to the steady improvement in the standard of living of the working people which is approaching the level of the more developed Czech lands. Thus, for example, sale of textiles in the shops selling off-ration goods in Czechoslovakia taken as a whole, rose 21 per cent, in Slovakia the figure was 64

per cent; purchases of ready-made clothing rose by 49 per cent for Czechoslovakia as a whole, in Slovakia, 165 per cent, and so forth.

It is noteworthy that as a result of the correct policy of lowering prices for foodstuffs, expenditure on food, compared with total expenditure by the working people, shows a sharp decline: in 1948 it averaged 41.1 per cent; in 1949, 37.8 per cent and in 1950, only 35.9, per cent. In contrast to this, more money is being spent on clothes, underwear, footwear, education, sports, recreation and leisure. "Hence", stressed Comrade Siroky, "unlike the capitalist countries where the living standard of the working people is sharply deteriorating due to the frantic armaments drive launched by the ruling classes, the standard of living of the free citizen of Czechoslovakia is rising as a result of peaceful socialist construction.

With a view to fulfilling the increased assignments of the Five-Year Plan, the factories and workshops are boosting socialist emulation, shock-work and the innovation movement, introducing and popularising new methods of labour, above all, the methods and experience of Soviet stakhanovites. A campaign is underway in the enterprises for verification and adjustment of norms designed to rationalise production and reduce production costs.

Speaking about policy in the countryside, Comrade Gottwald advanced, at the February Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the General following task: "To strengthen the existing, unified agricultural co-operatives and lead them towards the higher type, and to enhance the membership of the higher type co-operatives. Gradually to create new unified agricultural

co-operatives in villages where they do not exist. But, in doing so, strictly to observe the voluntary principle and that of conviction”.

## II.

The vital premise for the fulfilment of the grand tasks of building Socialism is successful work by the Party.

The February Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which smashed the anti-Party and anti-State conspiracy plotted by the agency of the Anglo-American imperialists—the criminal Sling-Svermova-Clementis gang—as well as that of their Slovak accomplices—the bourgeois national clique of Gusak-Noyomesky—simultaneously revealed serious shortcomings in Party work and mobilised the Party for their speedy elimination.

The broad campaign, which followed this Plenum, proved very convincingly that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is sound, strong and united; that it is firmly rallied round its Central Committee and Comrade Gottwald; that Czechoslovak Communists are anxious to learn, and are learning, from the glorious example of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The fact remains, however, that for many years the conspirators, who now stand exposed, held high Party posts; they deliberately introduced into the Party various anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist sentiments and non-Bolshevik methods, and their activity left its mark on Party work and on the Party organisations.

Therefore, our primary task is step by step to uncover and eliminate the consequences of the saboteur

activities of the conspirators in the life and work of our Party.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, in addition to mobilising the Party for the fulfilment of the enlarged constructive tasks advanced by the Central Committee, also discussed, in detail, inner Party problems, and gave the Party the job of substantially improving the level of Party-political and Party-organisational work. The Central Committee raised high the tried Bolshevik principles of Party organisational work: inner-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism and democratic centralism, setting before Party organisations the task of making these principles an effective law in their everyday work.

After exposing the criminal saboteur gang, and conscious that the class struggle would become more and more acute—the Party whetted its vigilance and alertness, implanting these qualities not only among its members but also among the broad mass of working people. It was not fortuitous that all the wreckers and enemies adopted a negative attitude towards Marxist-Leninist theory, belittled the significance of ideological work and introduced thoroughly vile methods of practicism into Party work. Hence, it is necessary substantially to improve ideological and educational work and to insist that Party organs and organisations devote special attention to propaganda. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia decided to improve the quality of Party education, to raise the level of work in the Party consultation centres, in the regional and district Party-political schools and, finally, to increase the daily circulation of the Party press to 300,000 copies.

The ideological campaign, which unfolded after the Plenum of the Central Committee, was held under the slogan of intensifying the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and of ruthlessly combating bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism. We must see to it that this militant, political campaign is not cut short in the future, too, as was the case after the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of Slovakia when the ideological struggle against bourgeois nationalism was not carried forward with due consistency. It is necessary to develop on a wider scale ideological work also among the intelligentsia, where the wrecking activities of the bourgeois-national clique left traces. Criticism and self-criticism have already developed among writers, scientists, workers in art, culture and education, and, on this basis, survivals of bourgeois nationalism, cosmopolitanism and formalism in all spheres of cultural activity are being exposed.

The gang of spies and traitors, now exposed, nursed fierce hatred for the U.S.S.R. One of the basic conclusions which we must draw from the exposure and liquidation of the criminal conspiracy is that the attitude towards the U.S.S.R. is, for everyone, the touchstone of fidelity to the Party and Socialism. Hence, we raise high the banner of proletarian internationalism and shall, unswervingly, deepen the love of the mass of working people for the first socialist country, gratitude and loyalty to our liberator, the best friend of the people of Czechoslovakia—Comrade Stalin—the great leader and teacher of the international working class.

### III.

Equally great are the tasks in relation to cadres. The Party, and the State and economic apparatus as well, are ridding themselves of alien and hostile elements, of nationalists and cosmopolitans, careerists and those with black records, those hostile to the people's democratic system and the cause of Socialism, Relying on the experience of the C.P.S.U. (B), the Party is now promoting cadres far more boldly from among industrial workers and working peasants.

The Central Committee warned certain regional and district committees against the danger of isolating themselves from the local organisations, from the life of the enterprises and the countryside, from the life of the working class and small and middle peasants. Guided by the teaching of Lenin and Stalin, the Central Committee attaches the greatest significance to strengthening the links between the Party and the masses of working people, to tirelessly reinforcing these links, to activating and improving mass political and agitational work, above all, in the enterprises, in the countryside and in the mass organisations. The methods of giving orders practised by some Party functionaries in their work among the masses, instead of the tried Bolshevik method of conviction, were sharply condemned.

At the Plenums of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, serious attention was devoted to improving the quality of the work of the regional and district committees of the Party. The Central Committee set the regional and district committees the task of strengthening and improving contact with the local organisations, of

abandoning bureaucratic methods of leadership, ensuring the collegiate principle of work, of raising the quality of instructions and improving the selection of instructors. The Plenum of the Central Committee also rendered valuable assistance in the matter of activising and improving the quality of work of Party organisations in the enterprises, and of the local organisations, first of all in the sphere of mass-political work.

An outstanding result of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was the fact that it was followed by a wide development of criticism and self-criticism. Eloquent testimony to this were the recently held district and regional Party conferences, the political level of which was substantially than in previous years.

It is now essential that criticism and self-criticism should become part and parcel of everyday Party work.

The wrecking activities of the exposed conspirators also seriously harmed among the peasantry. This found expression, in the course of establishing unified agricultural co-operatives, in appeasement and sometimes in direct support for kulaks, and also in the use of administrative measures in relation to the small and middle peasants. After the Plenum of the Central Committee, explanatory work among the small and middle peasants is being carried out even more consistently, and, simultaneously, a ruthless struggle is being waged against the kulaks, who are exposed as enemies of the small and middle peasantry; the kulaks are being isolated politically and their expulsion effected from the unified agricultural co-operatives.

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There had opened before the people of Slovakia, led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia headed by Comrade Gottwald, said Comrade Slansky at the Plenum of the Central Committee, “the prospect of building grand industrial enterprises, mechanising agriculture, and the prospect of unprecedented cultural development. There is now beginning, or rather there has begun, the golden age of the people of Slovakia, the most joyous and glorious epoch in its history, an epoch which it entered because of fraternal unity with the Czech working people, because of the friendship of our peoples with the great Soviet Union which liberated us and is now helping us build to build Socialism”.

## FASCIST TERROR IN U.S.

The rulers of America have committed a new act of fascist terror, have taken another step towards turning the country into a fascist garrison-state.

In the early hours of June 20, agents of Hoover's Gestapo swooped on the homes of a number of working class leaders in the U.S.—staunch fighters for peace and defenders of the democratic liberties of the American people.

Seventeen leading members of the Communist Party of the U.S. were seized and jailed, including the 70 year-old invalid, Israel Amter, Jacob Mindel, 69 years old, and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member of the National Committee of the Party. In the matter of a few hours, all of them faced charges on the standard fascist pattern used in the framed trial of the 11 Communist leaders, which was branded by progressive people throughout the world as an attempt to give “legal” semblance to fascist terror, and, under cover of “defending” civil liberties, to legalise police terror and fascist brutality.

Hoover once boasted that his organisation is “above the law” and that he is guided not by laws but by the “general atmosphere”.

By means of this “general atmosphere” of strangling the democratic forces and whipping-up war hysteria, the judges resorted to legal violence against the Communist leaders and thus turned the trial into a mockery of all that is honest and progressive in present-day America.

Judge Jackson was guided by this “general atmosphere” of silencing dissidents when, a few days

ago, he rejected the appeal of the 11 Communist leaders for bail until the rehearing of their case before the full session of the Supreme Court in October.

The American fascists are in a hurry. They fear the growing peace movement among the American people. They are afraid of peace, since peace would make the armaments drive unnecessary and would deprive the merchants of death of their super-profits. They seek to silence everyone taking action against the war in Korea, against Wall Street's new military gambles.

That is why they brand the leaders of the Communist Party as "criminal conspirators" and all who fight for peace—"foreign agents".

Resurrecting the methods of Himmler's storm-troopers, Hoover's agents are rounding up and shackling the American Communists today so that tomorrow they can settle accounts with all other progressive leaders, all honest Americans who refuse to submit blindly to the warmongers and who reject the monstrous schemes of the Wall Street monopolists.

Directing the main blow against the Communists, the rulers of America openly proclaim their intention of "destroying Marxism", overlooking the simple fact that, if Marxism is to be destroyed, then the working class must be destroyed. And to destroy the working class is impossible. For over one hundred years scores of bourgeois Governments have tried to destroy Marxism. But, as Comrade Stalin pointed out, Governments have come and gone and Marxism not only has not been destroyed, but every day it is winning fresh victories.

The ideas of Marxism cannot be destroyed just as the peoples fighting for peace and progress cannot be destroyed.

The protest movement against the legal violence in relation to the American Communists is assuming ever-greater dimensions and is becoming more organised.

Statements urging a rehearing of the case of the 11 Communist leaders were made by the leadership of the American Progressive Party; by Vito Marcantonio, Chairman of the America Labour Party; the Civil Rights Congress; the Detroit Americans for Democratic Action; the American Civil Liberties Union and by many other political, labour and public organisations and individuals.

All honest people throughout the world, all progressive mankind are raising wrathful voices to bar the way to the new fascist monster which, in the interests of its sanguinary designs, seeks to chain and jail leading members of the American Communist Party.

## **POLITICAL NOTES**

### **Attlee and Morrison in Role of Police Bloodhounds**

For more than three years, the Attlee-Morrison Labour Government has been waging a ferocious colonial war against the people of Malaya. Enraged at the failure of their predatory actions and at the successes of the heroic Malayan People's Liberation Army, which enjoys the support of the entire people, the Labour imperialists, like their bloodthirsty American accomplices in Korea, have resorted to a Hitler-like war of extermination. For example, on June 20, the British press reported that for four days, British and Australian bombers engaged in a non-stop bombing of Johore (Southern Malaya). Troops equipped with flame-throwers, artillery and tanks were ready to move into the guerrilla areas immediately the bombing stopped.

General Briggs, the British Commander-in-Chief, who is acting in Malaya in exactly the same monstrous way as Hitler's gauleiters acted, has incarcerated 500,000 Malaysians in concentration camps; 11,000 people have been deported to a jungle island off the coast of Borneo. Entire villages have been razed to the ground and their inhabitants, men, women and children, sent to starve in concentration camps. Mr. Driberg, a Labour Member of Parliament who visited Malaya, horrified by these Gestapo camps, described them as "a disgrace to the British Commonwealth".

But the “Socialist” Government in Britain is now adding new and even more shameful pages to the foul and bloody history of British imperialism.

Having bartered Britain’s independence for Wall Street dollars, the Attlees and Morrisons hope that they will find Judases like themselves in Malaya. They are offering a “reward” of 80,000 dollars to anyone who will bring in, dead or alive, the body of the general secretary of the Malayan Communist Party. (A previous reward of 60,000 dollars failed to produce an Attlee-like Judas in Malaya.) The sum of 65,000 dollars offered is offered for the head of a member of the Political Bureau of the Party; for a rank-and-file Party member or soldier of 4,500. dollars.

This despicable action of the Attlees and Morrisons shows that they are simply police bloodhounds of the magnates of the City of London.

The fact that a dollar “reward” is offered after 3 years of a bloody colonial war is, in itself, proof that the “Socialist” Government’s bombs and flame-throwers are powerless to crush the will to struggle of a powerless to crush the will to struggle of a people fighting heroically for national liberation.

Scorning the Judas silver offered by the Attlees and Morrisons, Malayan patriots are intensifying their struggle for a free and independent Malaya.

**Jan Marek**

**CONCERNING THE PEACE LAWS IN  
U.S.S.R. AND THE PEOPLE'S  
DEMOCRACIES. N. Pritt, K. C. Member of  
the World Peace Council, President,  
International Association of Democratic  
Lawyers.**

The adoption by the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies of laws which prohibit with severe penalties any form of war propaganda, is a development of special interest.

Indeed, such legislation is of great interest in the spheres of both international relations and jurisprudence. For here we have the implementation by the domestic legislatures of separate states, at one stroke, of resolutions passed by an international body—the Second World Peace Congress—at Warsaw, and of principles enunciated by the United Nations Organisation. Yet the passing of these laws by the U.S.S.R. and the states of Eastern Europe has gone almost unnoticed by the Press in the capitalist countries.

Three things, strike me at once in considering this development of legislation. Firstly, that the populations of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies see the danger of war clearly and are determined to fight that danger with every weapon they possess, Secondly, that to the peoples of Socialist democracies their legal systems are part and parcel of their whole social life, as useful tools in building up the structure of Peace as any other part of their social system, such as the Press and the wireless. Thirdly, that they have full confidence in

the capacity of their lawyers and judges to draft and apply legislation of the type in question adequately and effectively.

The first of the three points is perhaps the easiest to discuss. A clear understanding of the war danger and a determination to fight it lie at the root of the whole problem. As J. V. Stalin pointed out as long ago as March, 1939, in his report to the 18th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, public opinion is a very important factor in preparing for modern wars:

“It is not easy in our day” he said “suddenly to break loose and plunge straight into war without regard for treaties of any kind or for public opinion. Bourgeois politicians know this very well; so do the Fascist rulers. That is why the Fascist rulers decided, before plunging into war, to frame public opinion to suit their ends, that is, to mislead it, to deceive it”.

He was speaking then of the way in which the Fascist rulers of Germany, Japan, and Italy were framing their domestic public opinion to accept aggressive war, by giving free rein to war propaganda of every kind, to the glorification of military power, and to boasts of military intentions and the possibilities of easy conquest; and his words fully apply to-day to the American-British warmongers who boast of the ease with which atomic weapons will destroy in a short time the industrial and moral strength of the Socialist states!

In the Socialist system of society, the “framing of public opinion” by propaganda for war, even if carried on by relatively unimportant individuals, would be essentially criminal, and has been thus justly made a crime; but a law to that effect could not be passed unless the mass of the population understood the danger of such propaganda.

In the capitalist countries, there is a good deal of appreciation of the war danger; but there is nothing like a full understanding of the forces making for war, nor yet sufficient determination to resist those forces. The result is that when a small handful of powerful warmongers make wild statements in favour of policies which would certainly lead to the Third World War, there is far too much tolerance in the West for such “freedom of speech”, and it is not sufficiently appreciated that these “free speakers” have considerable power to drag the world into war.

That such warmongers are in fact criminals and lunatics who ought to be shut up where they can do no harm is something which almost every citizen in a Socialist state could understand; but in the West even those who disapprove of the warmongers’ policies are far too ready to let them have their say. They are only just beginning to realise that “freedom for the warmongers” is part of the process of “framing public opinion”, and as such ought to be fought strenuously by all those who want peace and see the danger of war.

But the real Western difficulties come on the second and third points. The second point—that to the peoples of the Socialist democracies their legal systems, are part and parcel of their whole social life—is something which it is not easy for the West to understand. The legal system is always part of the armoury of the ruling class; but few people in Britain would think of it as part and parcel of their social life, or as having a part to play in the struggle for peace. This is not because few people in Britain think philosophically or scientifically about society, but because in fact the British ruling class, which has made the legal system for itself, is not the whole people but a small minority, and its

machinery of laws is something superimposed on our social life, very often hostile to it. Indeed, the law here is so complicated and in many ways so archaic that most laymen simply shrug their shoulders and do not attempt to understand it. Simple straightforward statements, that “war propaganda, no matter what form it may take, be considered as undermining the cause of peace, as creating the threat of another war, and therefore as being a most grave crime against humanity and that “persons guilty of war propaganda be brought to court and tried as having committed a most grave criminal offence would not sound like “the Law” to them at all, because they expect laws to be couched in difficult and obscure language and not in the sort of language that anyone can understand.

In the U.S.S.R. and the People’s Democracies, on the other hand, where power belongs to the people, the legal system is as much part of the life of the people as the lathe, the tractor, or the trade unions. Perhaps the most vivid illustration of the difference between the two worlds lies in the fact that whilst the judges in both are appointed by the ruling class, the machinery of appointment is wholly different, because of the different composition of the ruling classes. In Britain, the judges are appointed by the government; in the U.S.S.R. by popular election.

It is thus natural that, in the U.S.S.R. and the People’s Democracies, the law— in the broad sense of the word—should take its full share in the defence of peace, and should in particular deal specifically with war propaganda; and it is equally natural that the legal systems of the West should not even think of doing any such thing.

The third point, that the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies have confidence in the capacity of their lawmakers and judges to draft and apply such legislation, is probably the point on which the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies on the one hand and the West on the other are farthest apart. In the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies law and lawyers are drawn into the life of the people, and any notion of lawyers as something apart from the people, hostile to the people, a weapon in the minority ruling class apparatus of oppression against the people, has now gone; and it is the most natural thing in the world that they should take an honourable place in the struggle for peace and progress, not as citizens only but also as lawyers.

It is natural, not only that the people in these countries should trust their lawyers to be able to draft, but also that the lawyers should be capable of applying the necessary legislation against war; for on that, too, there is a marked difference in the West.

It is easy to imagine the objections progressive lawyers would have to face if they attempted to persuade, say, the British Government, which is responsible for framing laws, or British lawyers generally, to legislate against war propaganda. **Despite these objections we cannot abandon the attempt to make war propaganda a criminal offence, since legislation against war propaganda is an honourable and valuable contribution to international law and the cause of humanity.**

Why has such an important development as the enactment of these laws in the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies met with so little public notice the West? The reasons are both general and specific. The general reason is that very little news of what is

really happening in the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies ever reaches the people of the West through the capitalist organs of the Press and the official propaganda on the wireless; silence on the facts is one of the weapons for concealing the tremendous advances in peaceful construction of a new society which are taking place there—the other main weapon being distortion and lies.

The specific reasons are that the ruling class and governments in the West are intent now on a vast programme of rearmament in obedience to the warmongering policies of the United States; the ordinary people of the Western countries will have to be forced to make inordinate sacrifices if these programmes are to be carried out; and they have at all costs to be prevented from questioning the need for such rearmament and such sacrifice. If they are told constantly and clearly that the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, far from preparing for aggressive war (as they are led to believe) have in fact just passed laws, fully supported by the people, which make even talking about war a criminal offence, they will find it very hard to accept the warmongers' propaganda that Eastern threats of aggression make rearmament necessary for Western "defence".

But as the demand for Peace grows, I am hopeful that our own section of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers may make some progress even among our lawyers, and that the importance of the new Peace Laws may be appreciated by them so that the movement for peace may be strengthened in the West.

## **EDITORIAL BOARD**

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