

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

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FORCES OF PEACE WILL TRIUMPH OVER FORCES OF WAR

There is not a single country, not a corner of the earth where the great idea of defending peace has not penetrated and found ardent supporters. The second session of the World Peace Council, held in Vienna, was further convincing testimony of the fact that the international organised peace front is growing and gaining strength day by day, that it is drawing into its ranks more and more millions of people of good will in all countries, that it is now a mighty force capable of staying the criminal hand of the U.S.-British incendiaries of war. In a relatively brief space of time 562 million men and women—one-fourth of mankind—signed the Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact, voiced resolute opposition to the criminal anti-popular policy of unleashing war, to the armaments drive and the whipping up of war hysteria, to the policy pursued by the imperialist U.S.-British bloc.

The movement of the peoples in defence of peace has a reliable pillar in the great socialist Power—the Soviet Union. The policy of the Soviet Union is not a transient, temporary policy. The peace policy of the Soviet State was born of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The more than thirty years history of Soviet rule show, as once again underlined in L. P. Beria's report to the celebration meeting of the Moscow Soviet on November 6, that the October Revolution is a revolution of creative, planned construction of the new, Communist society. The wars which the Soviet Union was compelled to wage because they were forced on

the Soviet people by its enemies, did but hamper the great cause of building Socialism.

The Soviet people, who have established in their country the most just social system, regard aggressive war as the greatest calamity for ordinary people throughout the world, as the gravest crime against humanity. Hence, the Soviet Union cannot shut its eyes to the policy of the aggressors or make concessions to them. The Soviet Union has invariably exposed the imperialist machinations, and consistently acted against war, for peace, for consolidating friendly relations between countries, for close international co-operation, based on mutual respect for the independence of the peoples and for the sovereignty of big and small states. Together with the Soviet Union these great and noble aims are staunchly upheld by the Chinese People's Republic, the countries of people's democracy in Europe and Asia, and by the German Democratic Republic. The struggle waged by the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries for freedom and national independence becomes ever more menacing for the imperialists.

Another policy, the reverse of this, is pursued by the United States. The imperialists, and in the first place the American monopolists, need the armaments drive, need war in order to plunder and enslave the peoples, in order to obtain colossal super-profits. Hence, U.S. rulers, jointly with the ruling circles of Britain and France, seek to plunge the peoples into the abyss of a new slaughter.

As is known, the liquidation in the past war of the two hotbeds of aggression: in the West—in the zone of Germany and in the East—in the zone of Japan, cost the peace-loving peoples millions of lives and immense

material sacrifice. Today the U.S. is openly restoring these hotbeds of war. Re-militarisation of Western Germany and Japan is being carried out at an accelerated pace. More countries, contrary to the will of their peoples, are brought into the aggressive Atlantic bloc. On the model of this bloc, an aggressive military bloc is being strung together in the Pacific area under the auspices of the U.S., military bases are being established and extended on territories situated thousands of kilometres from the borders of the U.S., bases designed for attack against peace-loving countries, The sanguinary U.S. intervention in Korea continues. The U.S. rejected the proposals of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving states for ending American aggression in Korea and is now doing all in its power to drag out and sabotage the truce negotiations.

Thus, in the world arena there now sharply stand out two poles, two centres of gravitation. One of them—the Soviet Union—which heads the camp of Socialism and democracy and which is the centre of gravitation for all progressive forces struggling to avert a new war and reinforce peace, for the right of the peoples to arrange their own life. The other is the United States heading the camp of imperialism and the centre of gravitation for the aggressive and reactionary forces in the world, seeking to unleash a few world war for the plunder and enslavement of other peoples.

While accelerating their war preparations, the rulers of the U.S.-British bloc cannot but take into account the mighty movement of the peoples against war. And precisely for this reason the imperialists try, to enmesh the peoples in lies while continuing to talk about their alleged peaceful intentions.

Lies and slander against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies constitute the smoke screen under cover of which the imperialists seek to realise their misanthropic designs. It was precisely for this purpose that Truman, Acheson and their henchmen—the Right-wing Socialist and Titoite agents of the aggressors—began shamelessly juggling with the word “peace”—a word sacred to the peoples. But, the facts inscribed in blood cannot be camouflaged with honeyed lies! The whole world knows full well the bestial countenance of American imperialism—oppressor of the independence of nations and butcher of the freedom-loving peoples.

An instance of utterly false and hypo-critical exhalation of “peace” by the imperialists was Truman's recent speech in Washington and the statement made by Acheson, U.S. State Secretary, at the sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly, now in progress in Paris. What they presented in the guise of a “programme” aimed, allegedly, at strengthening peace, was meant to deceive people inexperienced in politics. It suffices to mention that the element in the programme for the so-called regulation and reduction of arms, submitted by Acheson on behalf of the governments of the U.S. Great Britain and France, is... an “inventory of arms” if all countries. Even in the U.S., many bourgeois newspapers, commenting on Acheson's speech admitted point blank that it was designed to cover up, with noise about “disarmament”, the armaments drive and the preparation for war against the peace-loving countries. Such are the real aims of the “peace-loving” U.S. rulers.

Just as sunlight differs from darkness, so the clear and consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union differs

from the policy of the U.S.-British imperialist bloc. The whole world knows of the proposals submitted in recent times alone, by the Soviet Union—the proposals for a Pact of Peace among the five Great Powers, for reduction of the armed forces of the Great Powers by one-third within a year, prohibition of the atomic weapon, signing a peace treaty with Germany as quickly as possible, and subsequent withdrawal of all occupation troops, and for an all-German democratic government. At the present session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Soviet delegation proposed **measures against the danger of a new world war and for strengthening peace and friendship between the peoples.** The Soviet Union calls upon Uno to declare membership of the United Nations Organisation incompatible with participation in the aggressive Atlantic bloc and also the building by some states, the U.S., in the first instance, of military bases on foreign territory. The proposals submitted by the Soviet Union envisage a peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict, and the convening of a world conference on the question of a substantial reduction in armed forces and arms, practical measures for banning the atomic weapon and establishing international control over the implementation of this ban. The Soviet Union once again calls for a Peace Pact among the five Great Powers.

The clear-cut proposals of the Soviet Union aimed at strengthening peace correspond to the vital interests of all peoples. That is why they have been hailed with tremendous enthusiasm and approval by millions of people in all countries.

Of greatest significance for the further development of the fight for peace are the decisions of the second

session of the World Peace Council—this great assembly of the peoples. At its session, the World Peace Council adopted an appeal to the United Nations Organisation and to the peoples of the world, and resolutions relating to disarmament, the campaign for a Pact of Peace among the five Great Powers, the German problem, Korea, the Japanese peace treaty, the Middle and Near East, South East Asia and Viet Nam, and the organisation of cultural relations. In adopting these decisions, the World Peace Council relied on the support and expressed the will of the vast majority of the population of the world. Any government really striving for peace cannot but reckon with these decisions. There is no doubt that these decisions will serve as a concrete programme of action for the million-fold army of peace partisans inspired by the words of the great Stalin: “Peace will be preserved and consolidated if the peoples take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and defend it to the end”.

The Communist and Workers’ Parties in all countries are the most active and effective force in the struggle for peace. Their fearlessness and selflessness in the struggle for the vital interests of the working people, in defence of peace and the sovereignty of the peoples have won for them the confidence of the broad popular masses. True champions of the interests of the working people the Communists will march, in the future also, in the vanguard of the struggle waged by the popular masses throughout the world for peace, against the enemies of mankind—the imperialist instigators of war.

APPEAL ADDRESSED BY WORLD PEACE COUNCIL TO UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION AND TO PEOPLES OF WORLD

To President, General Assembly, United Nations
Organisation

PARIS

The World Peace Council, meeting in Vienna, addresses this appeal to the General Assembly of the United Nations, to public opinion and to the peoples of the whole world.

The worsening of the international situation in recent months disturbs and worries men and women in all countries. Everyone hopes for negotiation and agreement between the five Great Powers responsible, in accordance with the terms of the United Nations Charter, and by their own strength, for the peace of the world. The campaign of the World Peace Council for a Pact of Peace between the Big Five is, therefore, looked upon by world opinion as justified by the course of events and the present ineffectiveness of other methods.

The World Council of Peace calls the attention of the General Assembly of the United Nations to the following points in particular:

- 1) Peace and international co-operation cannot result from imposing on the whole world decisions taken by the majority of member States, representing as a rule, a minority of mankind. It is by the methods of

negotiation and conciliation that the agreements essential to the peaceful development of the world can be established.

Since such agreements must extend, in particular, to Asia, considerations of justice and a realistic view of international policy require the admission to the United Nations of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

2) The failure of the conference of the Four Deputy Foreign Ministers and the agreements reached in Washington and at Ottawa by the sixth session of the Atlantic Council make difficult all moves for disarmament, prevent the German people from determining themselves the restoration of their unity, and increase the danger of war in Europe. Negotiations between the Great Powers can lead more rapidly to the establishment of a unified, democratic and demilitarised Germany. This solution corresponds at one and the same time to the desire of the vast majority of the German people, to the interests of Germany's neighbours and to the interests of peace.

Accordingly, the World Peace Council urges the United Nations to use its influence to obtain respect for the international agreements on German disarmament and to accelerate the conclusion of a peace treaty that shall make possible the withdrawal of occupation troops and the reconstitution of a unified and demilitarised Germany.

3) The restoration of peace in Asia concerns all mankind. This restoration has been seriously imperilled by the San Francisco treaties with Japan. It implies not only that all hostilities in progress, first and foremost those in Korea, be ended by the conclusion of armistice agreements, but that the right of the Asian peoples to

independence and territorial integrity without any foreign interference, be assured.

4) The maintenance of peace in the Middle East and in North Africa cannot be assured in a satisfactory way by the continuation of arrangements and situations contrary to the peoples' right to self-determination. The right of the peoples of Egypt, Iran, Morocco and all the other countries of the Near and Middle East and North Africa to conduct and manage their own affairs, without outside pressure or foreign intervention and without being subjected to military occupation, open or disguised, must be recognised and in an effective way.

5) The arms race can bring nothing to the peoples but the certainty of ruin and the threat of a war disastrous for humanity. Therefore the road of simultaneous, progressive and effectively controlled disarmament must be taken.

Such disarmament must include, specifically, the prohibition of atomic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, the use of which is condemned by universal moral standards. The World Council of Peace calls on the General Assembly of the United Nations to submit for discussion the disarmament proposal adopted in Vienna today (November 6, 1951). In no circumstances can this proposal result in a disequilibrium to the advantage or disadvantage of one state or another. By the strict control system that it prescribes, this proposal guarantees the security of all at every stage of disarmament.

We append the disarmament proposal of the World Council of Peace to this document.

The World Council of Peace is convinced that war is not inevitable and that a peaceful co-existence of different political and social regimes is possible, and

that its proposals conform to the interests of all mankind.

Please accept, Mr. President, our sincere respects.

FOR A PACT OF PEACE!

Polish Press on Decisions of Session

Polish newspapers featured the decisions of the second session of the World Peace Council, and also articles popularising these historic documents. “Tribuna Ludu” in a leading article headed: “Way of Struggle for Peace” points to the immense international significance of the Vienna decisions for the continued powerful development of the struggle for peace. The Polish people wholeheartedly approve and support the decisions of the World Peace Council,—inspiring them for selfless labour in order to multiply the forces of People’s Poland. Commenting on points contained in the Appeal to the United Nations, and on the resolutions “Tribuna Ludu” says: “The World Peace Council urgently demands a peaceful settlement of the German question, since transforming Western Germany into a war base by the U.S.-British imperialists adds to the danger of a new war”.

Word of Czechoslovak People

Czechoslovak peace supporters warmly greet the decisions of the Vienna session of the World Peace Council. Analysing the results of the session, A. Hodinova-Spurna, President of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, stressed in an article in “Rude Pravo” that the world movement for peace had grown in scale and strength to the extent that it had become a mighty

force capable of foiling the criminal plans of the instigators of a new war. The decisions of the World Peace Council impart even greater purpose to the great struggle for peace waged by peace-loving humanity.

In a leading article entitled, “The Word of Hundreds of Millions”, “Rude Pravo” says that the people of Czechoslovakia, guided by the counsel of Clement Gottwald, President of the Republic, will reinforce the historic calls of the World Peace Council by selfless labour for the homeland and for peace.

Signature Collectors Active in Britain

“All history proves that an arms race leads to war. Join us in our work for peace! Support the Appeal for a Five-Power Peace Pact!”—this call was addressed by Coventry peace supporters to the people of the United States.

The degree to which this call to fight for a Peace Pact reflects the sentiments of many people in Britain can be judged, for example, by the success of two Yorkshire signature collectors—George Owen and Percy Riley—who obtained between them more than 27,000 signatures for a Pact of Peace. According to George Owen, refusals are rarely met.

Working People in Italy Unanimously Support Decisions of World Peace Council

The moment they heard of the decisions of the World Peace Council, the peace committees in Arezzo,

Siena, Pistoia, Lucca, Pescara and other towns announced a peace week for the purpose of popularising the decisions of the second session of the World Peace Council, Lectures, exhibitions, meetings and other forms of mass activity are underway everywhere with a view to extending and strengthening the peace movement.

Florence will hold its second peace rally on November 18. In an appeal to all social strata, all public organisations and religious societies the Province Peace Committee suggested that they should discuss the decisions of the Vienna session of the World Peace Council and be guided by them in the continued struggle for peace.

In Perugia province peace activists are going from house to house, acquainting citizens with the decisions of the session, and calling on the working people to display still greater vigour and determination in the campaign for a Peace Pact.

On their return from the Vienna session of the World Peace Council, members of the Italian delegation visited the Egyptian and Iranian embassies in Rome. They informed the personnel of the historic decisions of the session of the World Peace Council concerning the Near and Middle East, and, on behalf of all honest people in Italy who condemn the sanguinary policy of aggression, expressed fraternal solidarity, and wishes for success in the liberation struggle waged by these peoples against imperialism. The decisions of the World Peace Council are meeting with whole-hearted response in the minds and hearts of millions of common people in Italy who ardently desire peace and the well-being of their country.

Local Peace Conferences in France

The first local conferences of peace supporters were held in France on November 10 and 11. Open to all citizens, these conferences are discussing the decisions of the World Peace Council's Second Session.

The preparation for and holding of the conferences resulted in more signatures being obtained for the World Peace Council's Appeal. In the Seine Department, 2,162,910 people (45.3 per cent of the population) have signed. The number of signatures in the Var Department rose within two weeks from 116,000 to 134,400 (89.8 per cent of the population).

The peace committees in the Saint-Roch district, Nice, are displaying great activity. Three local peace conferences were preceded by 25 preparatory meetings. Ninety per cent of the inhabitants of the district have signed the Appeal. The Saint-Roch committees decided to help the other peace committees.

The local conferences which are renewing the leadership of the peace committees are preliminary to the department peace congresses scheduled for December.

For Greater Effort in Struggle for Peace

“Scanteia”, organ of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, comments on the enormous significance of the decisions of the second session of the World Peace Council for the triumph of the cause of peace. In a leading article devoted to the session “Scanteia” writes :

“The Vienna session of the World Peace Council outlined a programme of action which can be suggested both as a basis for international negotiations and as a concrete aim of the struggle of the peoples who desire peace. In view of the growing danger of war, a danger created by the Anglo-American warmongers, peace partisans in our country, as in all other countries, must realise that their duty is to fight for peace with renewed vigour. In popularising the decisions of the World Peace Council and the peace programme advanced by the World Council in Vienna and by the Soviet Union in the United Nations, in exposing imperialist machinations and attempts at subversive work, we must explain to every citizen of our homeland the issues of world politics and bring home to all that the vital cause of each is to redouble his efforts in the struggle to strengthen our country which is a firm link in the gigantic peace front headed by the invincible Soviet Union.

“Scanteia” is publishing letters from readers expressing wholehearted support for the decisions of the World Peace Council.

Peace Movement in Lebanon

The militant programme of action, adopted at the second session of the World Peace Council, inspires Lebanon peace fighters to struggle with greater vigour. The campaign in Lebanon for a Peace Pact is continuing with redoubled vigour. More than 170,000 people—one-seventh of the population—signed the Appeal. The campaign is progressing successfully in Beirut, Tripoli

and Zalhe. In many villages the Appeal was signed by all the inhabitants. Signatories include many outstanding Moslem personalities—Sheikhs Mohammed Arabi Al-Azouzi (secretary of the “Moslem Religious Court of the Lebanon), Mohammed Abdoussamad, Mohammed Housmi Al-Housseim, Salmane Kamiha, Abdelkader Al-Kadiri, Ali Halaoui, Antioch Patriarch of the Orthodox Church Alexandr the Third, and Archbishop Ilya Karoum.

Democratic Youth—for Peace

On November 10 young men and women in all countries celebrated World Youth Day. In the towns and villages of the Chinese People’s Republic, in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, the German Democratic Republic youth representatives spoke at celebration meetings and rallies about their struggle for peace, of the joy of studying and working in the sunlight of the new life. Young patriots in the Korean People’s Democratic Republic honoured Youth Day by declaring November a shock month for aid to the front.

A 30-thousand strong youth rally took place in Teheran, the capital of Iran.

An enthusiastic meeting was held in Moscow. The participants—young workers, collective-farmers, teachers and scientists in Moscow and in the Moscow region—warmly greeted youth representatives from China, Korea, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Italy. The meeting sent a message of greetings to Comrade Stalin—great leader of the peoples and best friend of the working youth.

On November 10, the youth of all countries demonstrated its ardent desire to uphold world peace and demanded the signing of a Peace Pact between the five Great Powers.

Continental Peace Conference in America

100 prominent political figures, clergymen, workers of art and culture and labour leaders representing all countries of the American Continent addressed a call to all participate in an all-America peace conference to be held through December 10-15.

The statement says: “Economic and military commitments threaten the independence of the American nations. Schools and hospitals are replaced by barracks. Bread and books are snatched from hands of the youth in exchange for the rifle and machine-gun... The rights of the people and personal liberties are increasingly curtailed. The result has been the creation of an atmosphere of fear and uncertainty. The peoples of the Americas can change this state of affairs by uniting their wills and actions to save peace. A Peace Pact among the five Great Powers can be the path leading toward general disarmament and the end of the cold war”.

Signers include Benjamin Arizaga, President of the Supreme Court of Ecuador; Dr. Enrique Arbelaez, Catholic priest, member of the Academy of Sciences of Colombia; Robert Fuentes, President of the Congress of Guatemala; General Carlos Velez, former Cuban Ambassador to U.S.; Jose Galvez, ex-vice-President of Peru; Dr. Alberto Navarro, Mayor of the City of Panama;

Paul Robeson, Howard Fast; Heriberto Jara, ex-Minister of the Navy, Mexico; Salvador Allende, Vice-president of the Chilean Senate; Ernest de Maio, vice-president, Electrical Workers Union (UES) is Dr. James Endicott (Canada) and others.

POLITICAL SITUATION AND TASKS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA. Johann Koplenig Chairman, Communist Party of Austria*

Never at any time since the end of World War Two has the danger of another war been so great and immediate as at present. Millions of ordinary people are anxious about the fate of peace. The Austrian people, too, ask with profound alarm: shall our generation which experienced severe trials and which has not yet healed the wounds of war shed its blood again for the interests of businessmen—the hyenas of the war industry lusting for profit? Must our cities which still lie in ruins again become targets for criminal bombing? Shall our mothers and wives once again daily and hourly tremble for the lives of sons and husbands?

To these questions we, Communists, and together with us hundreds of thousands of people say—No! This must not happen! This shall not happen! The will of the Austrian people for peace and their readiness to do their bit towards preserving peace are expressed in the Austrian movement of peace partisans, in the Peace Congress, and in the successful campaigns for signatures to the Stockholm Appeal and the Appeal for a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers. The growth of the peace movement in our country and its successes are all the more significant since they have been achieved in struggle against the Government which is striving by means of threats and intimidation to hold

* From report delivered by Comrade J. Koplenig at 15th Congress, Communist Party of Austria.

back. the peace supporters and divert them from active work. The Figl-Schärf Government, the ruling parties—the People’s Party and Socialist Party,—together with their watchdog and secret partner—the fascist “Independent Union”—engaged in a witchhunt against the forces of peace, are simply docile tools of the American warmakers on whose orders they are doing away with the sovereignty of our country, betraying its national independence, and rapidly turning Western Austria into a war base and bridgehead for the Western aggressors.

We Accuse!

In the resolution of the 14th Congress of our Party we stated that the “Marshall Plan” was “a plan for the political, economic and military enslavement of Europe”, and simultaneously, “a plan for intensified exploitation of the toiling sections of the population, for their impoverishment and oppression”.

No matter in what sphere the results in our country of the “Marshall Plan” are summarised—be it in the economic, financial or social sphere—they are negative for the working people. At the behest of the U.S. imperialists, to whom the coalition Government readily submits, we are forced to export to the West for military purposes and at extremely low prices the raw materials which we need ourselves. The “Marshall Plan” is disorganising our foreign trade and alienating us more and more from our natural trade and economic partners—the People’s Democracies—countries which are free from crises.

Impelled by the steady worsening of its conditions, the Austrian working class is intensifying its opposition. Throughout the past three years our Party has headed the struggle of the working people.

Broad masses of workers—Socialists and non-Party people—have learnt from their own experience that they acted correctly in October last year when they rose in struggle against the wage and price agreement. What have the twelve months that have passed since the agreement—the fourth one—brought? They have brought further price increases, considerable increases in rent, higher public utility charges, a crisis in meat supplies, the threat of coal shortage and a crisis in electricity supply. The results of the Government's policy are: lower standard of life for the population, complete dependence of our economy on the U.S.A. Isolation from our traditional trading partners, sky-high prices, failure of the so-called wage and price policy, currency devaluation, creeping inflation, the danger of a serious slump in production, and a steady growth in unemployment.

We accuse the Western imperialists and their occupation authorities in Austria of preparing an aggressive war also on our territory, of creating thereby a grave danger for our homeland, for our people and for the national existence of our people, We accuse the Figl-Schärf Government and the leaders of the coalition parties of actively helping the warmongers and betraying the interests of the homeland and the people.

The widespread construction of military establishments in Salzburg, Tyrol and Carinthia, the formation of military units in the guise of gendarmerie, the protection afforded gangs of saboteurs and

provocateurs recruited from the ranks of former fascist officials in Austria—all show that, in keeping with the plans of the American General. Staff, West Austria is, systematically, being converted into a military base, into an outpost of the Atlantic bloc. At the same time, Austrian economy is being subordinated to the interests of rearming Western Germany. Preparing for war, the U.S. imperialists seek to revive fascism in Austria as well. With this aim in view, they, enjoying the support of the Government parties, afford protection to the fascist “Independent Union”.

Now, when the danger of war becomes more and more acute day by day, the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party no longer speak about neutrality and a “third force” between the Soviet Union and the American bloc; they side unconditionally with the American warmongers, join the same camp as Franco, Otto Hapsburg, and German and Japanese war criminals. The Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party uphold and support in every way the policy of rearmament and war carried out by the Atlantic bloc; they are actively helping to turn West Austria into an “Alpine fortress” and to bring the Western parts of our country into the warmongers’ camp.

By their policy, the coalition parties and the Government have completely compromised themselves in the eyes of the masses. The mistrust in relation to the Figl-Schärf Government, and to its pillars in the form of the People’s Party and the Socialist Party, is universal. Never before in Austria has a government been so despised as this one is.

The defeat suffered by the People’s Party in the Presidential election was a striking expression of the Widespread discontent. The majority of the people

voted against Gleissner, candidate of the People's Party, because the masses hold this Party mainly responsible for the ruin, corruption and the anti-popular measures. Since the Presidential election, the People's Party has been experiencing a grave crisis.

In the Socialist Party the gulf dividing rank-and-file members and leadership is becoming, wider. I will recall only the conference of the Vienna activists of this Party when one-third of the delegates voted against the rent law, and nearly all the representatives from the organisations, with the exception of the regular Party functionaries, expressed themselves against the Socialist Party leadership. Reports are coming in all the time from nearly all provinces and regions to the effect that the Socialist Party is losing members.

Much has been said of late about a new phase of the "Marshall Plan". What is the essence of this new phase? The central organ of the Government Socialist Party said, on October 20, literally: "Austria must decide on serious measures if she wants to emerge intact from the present crisis".

A number of leaders of the People's Party expressed themselves in a similar strain. But when these gentlemen speak about serious measures they have in mind serious Measures against the people. They have in mind even more drastic cuts in consumption, an even more drastic lowering of the standard of living of the working people, still greater suffering and sacrifice by the people. The new phase in the Marshallised policy means open, unconditional subordination of the entire economy and of all the economic resources to the needs of the war policy, with complete disregard for the interests of the Austrian people.

Defence of Peace—Pivot of Our Struggle

The road which the Austrian politicians intend to take, far from leading to a way cut simply aggravates the catastrophic situation and endangers the existence, security and freedom of our people. Is there a way out of this situation? Yes! We, Communists, declare that there is a way out!

It is:

To put an end to the Government's orientation on the American policy of whipping-up war psychosis and of war preparations—to finish with the dangerous course of turning West Austria into an American military camp and of abolishing the unity of the country.

For a policy of peace and friendship with the People's Democracies, the Soviet Union and all peace-loving peoples; for a policy of national freedom and independence!

Down with the government of plunder of the people, the government of national betrayal and national shame!

For a Government of Peace, National Freedom and Social Progress!

In order to find a way out of the unbearable situation, all partisans of peace and democracy must unite in common struggle for peace, national freedom and decent conditions of life. Our Party strives to rally all who are alarmed over the matter of the existence of our country, all progressive organisations, groups and movements in a broad front of struggle for peace and freedom for the Austrian people. Our Party of Communists will spare no effort to popularise among the masses the idea of such a front of peace and

freedom and to secure its realisation. We, Communists, are ready to co-operate with all who do not want Austria to become a sector of the front in an American war, who are resolved to safeguard our people, our youth, our country from the catastrophe of another war.

Does the working class and the working strata of our people dispose of the forces necessary to effect a change in the unbearable economic and political conditions?

The events, movements and battles of the recent years show that such forces exist, that they are growing, and our basic task is to accelerate the growth of these forces and to unite them. A new political factor—the organised peace movement—made its appearance in Austria during recent years. One in every seven Austrian citizens signed the Stockholm Appeal demanding prohibition of the atom bomb, and more than 850,000 signatures have been collected to date for a Pact of Peace among the five Great Powers. This is a fact of immense political significance. Signatures were affixed not only by factory and office workers, but also by intellectuals, artisans, peasants, housewives, representatives of bourgeois circles; not only by Communists but also by tens of thousands of Socialists, non-Party people, Catholics and people belonging to different organisations and trends.

Defence of peace is the pivot of the entire struggle of our Party. The task of the Party and the duty of all Communists is to expose the warmongers, to rouse the people and organise the opposition of the masses to the American instigators of war.

If we are desirous, in the present conditions, of solving the great tasks that confront us we must make

every effort to effect unity of the working class. There is no doubt that in this respect we attained considerable success in the period under review. The universal approval with which the workers hailed the decision of the Left-wing bloc to vote against Gleissner, and also the comradely co-operation of the Socialist Workers' Party, express the desire of the Austrian working class for unity. This desire was clearly manifested in the preliminary results of the elections for the production councils. At 154 enterprises where elections have been held and where trade union unity lists were advanced even during the previous elections, the number of seats won by the unity candidates had increased, by October 30, from 410 to 530. It should be added that at 58 enterprises where united lists were advanced for the first time, 111 seats have been won to date. These results do not give a complete picture since the elections have yet to be held at the majority of enterprises. But they do show even now the changes that are taking place in the working class.

However, the successes achieved in the struggle for unity of the working class do not as yet correspond to the requirements of the existing situation and possibilities. One of the most important conditions for effecting unity of the working class is to overcome in our ranks the pronounced sectarianism that still exists in relation to the Socialist workers. Lenin taught that Communists should always “soberly appraise the **actual** level of consciousness and preparation” of the entire class and should not think that everything that is clear for revolutionary workers is known and understood also by other workers. However, the point is that our comrades in their talks and arguments with Socialist workers often lose patience when the latter defend

incorrect views; they give up the job of trying to convince them, saying it is useless. There prevails among us a widespread disdain for the opinions and views of the Socialist workers and this attitude tends to form a barrier between us and them. Communists must display serious regard for the statements and views of the Socialist workers, even if these views are incorrect, and should try to refute them by argument and facts. For this we need plenty tolerance, tact and force of conviction.

Now that the Right-wing Socialist leaders have become inciters of the aggressive imperialist war and organisers of strike-breaking activity, the directive of the Fourteenth Party Congress to the effect that unity of the working class in Austria can only be achieved in struggle against the treacherous leadership of the Socialist Party of Austria, is more actual than ever before. It is impossible to separate the struggle for winning the Socialist workers from simultaneous, systematic activity exposing the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party. But this exposure will not be achieved by cursing and swearing; it can only be achieved in joint struggle for the demands of the masses, and the task of Communists is: to reveal to the masses, on the basis of their own experience, the treachery of the Right-wing leaders of the Socialist Party and the correctness of our policy.

Work in the trade unions and in the mass organisations of the working people is of the greatest significance in the struggle for unity of the working class and for consolidating the ranks of the masses.

The Right-wing Socialist leaders of the trade unions are, more and more, turning the unions into an instrument of the coalition. Government pursuing the

American policy of war and hunger. This policy runs counter to the interests of the working people and is encountering increasing resistance. Consequently, the trade union bureaucrats resort to dictatorial methods of leadership, practically killing trade union democracy and abolishing the right of union members to participate in deciding questions.

Communists who are members of trade unions will not be intimidated by these anti-democratic dictatorial methods. They will intensify their work in the branches and in the local trade union bodies, will defend the workers' interests with greater vigour and determination. They will unite with trade union members—Socialists and non-Party—with all honest members of the production councils and with the trade union activists in order to expose the policy of the Right-wing trade union leaders—a policy directed against the workers and the unions—and in order to realise the will of the masses in the trade unions.

The general deterioration of the economic situation and the disastrous policy of the Government are, likewise, giving rise to growing discontent among the small and middle peasants, tenants and farm labourers. Never before have conditions been so favourable and mature for winning broad sections of the population in the countryside from the influence of the reactionary parties and of drawing them into the struggle on the side of the working class. It should be pointed out, however, that it is precisely in this particular sphere that we are weakest; we have but taken the first steps to ensure systematic organised work in the countryside. One of the main reasons for this unsatisfactory state of affairs is that in our own ranks there is deeply-rooted lack of confidence in the possibility of carrying out

successful work in the countryside. Where our Party organisations got down to serious work among the rural population success was registered as for example in Burgenland and in certain areas in Lower Austria.

When we ask what are the forces in our country capable of changing the present situation, special emphasis must be laid on the great significance of the youth in the struggle for peace and national liberation.

We must clearly understand that in the present situation, with the warmakers doing their utmost to prepare the youth for another war, and the neo-fascist "Independent Union" sparing no effort to poison the youth with the venom of Nazi war propaganda and foment discord between nationalities, we must do all in our power to liquidate the influence of the warmongers on the youth and rally it for defence of the people's cause.

Further Consolidation of the Party

The prestige of the Party and its influence among the masses has grown in the past period. The Party has become stronger politically, ideologically and organisationally.

A number of changes took place both in the organisational structure of the Party, in the composition of the leading bodies and among the cadres of Party functionaries in the period covered by the report. The breaking up of large branches into smaller units not only helped to enliven Party work and draw a large number of members into Party activity, it also facilitated the training and growth of thousands of new functionaries.

The number of functionaries and activists has increased considerably. The Party now disposes of 28,105 functionaries and activists. The network of Party organisations in the factories was extended and the membership of factory organisations rose 11 per cent in the period between the two congresses. The Party has now 789 organisations in the factories of which 84 are subdivided into 570 department branches. The political significance of the factory organisations, which, increasingly, are becoming a more important form of Party organisation, has grown correspondingly.

However, a considerable section of the Party membership is not yet involved in Party life. Activisation of members remains a most important task. To solve this task it is necessary:

- 1) To strengthen the leadership of the branches particularly the local and large factory organisations and to improve their methods of work. Very often the leading bodies rely for Party work mainly on trusted persons and activists and do not adequately rally the entire membership;

- 2) The decisive condition for activating the Party members is regular Party meetings.

Party meetings should discuss all political, organisational, production and local problems and adopt corresponding decisions. Exchange of opinion, thorough criticism and self-criticism—such are the pre-requisites, for better Party work and for overcoming shortcomings and weaknesses. At Party meetings the members can become convinced that they themselves consider, define and decide Party policy.

After the Fourteenth Congress the Party also achieved notable success in the sphere of Party education. Beginning with the autumn of 1949, 539

evening classes, attended by 8,244 members, were organised in a number of the more important provinces. From early 1949 until August this year 3,263 Party members studied in central and province Party schools.

Party education was of great help in strengthening the Party, in training new cadres and enhancing the militancy of the Party. However, serious shortcomings still prevail in this sphere, despite the pronounced success. The number of rank-and-file members and functionaries attending Party schools and classes is inadequate. Not all leading bodies devote due attention to this matter. There are Party members, some of them leading functionaries, who do not study in Party schools. Underestimation of ideological work is still one of the basic reasons for the political weakness and lagging of a number of Party organisations and certain sectors of work.

The theses prepared by the Central Committee for the Fifteenth Congress correctly point out: "Each Communist must become conscious of the fact that study of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, questions relating to the victorious construction in the Soviet Union, and to the successes of the People's Democracies, are a vast source of strength and a basis for the struggle waged by the Communists".

The imperialists seek to mislead the masses not only by means of their despicable campaign of lies and slander in carrying out war preparations, they are also trying with the aid of their agents and spies to sow confusion in the ranks of the working class, in the ranks of the progressive organisations, and, above all, in the ranks of the Communist Parties. They are using for this purpose the contemptible clique of Titoite agents and mercenary elements, recruited in our country by the

intelligence services of the Western powers for provocations, raids on Party premises, forging Party documents and so on. Political vigilance and systematic struggle against penetration by alien elements into the ranks of our Party must, therefore, be regarded as permanent tasks. The higher the ideological level of our comrades, the stronger the ties between the leading bodies and the masses and the more difficult for agents of the class enemy to carry out their criminal designs.

* * *

We are moving towards decisive battles. We must rally the masses for struggle against the daily encroachments on the living standard of the working people. We must forge unity of action among workers in the struggle for bread, peace and freedom.

The fight for peace, for a Five-Power Peace Pact must become the vital concern of the people of Austria.

It is necessary to unite the workers, office employees and peasants, handicraftsmen and intellectuals, youth and women into a peace and freedom front of the Austrian people to fight for a government of peace and national liberty.

Our country is situated at the junction between two worlds: the world of flowering socialism and the world of decaying, disintegrating capitalism. This increases our responsibility before our people and before the working class of the world. We, Austrian Communists, will not yield to any difficulties, we will not falter at any sacrifice in order to bring our people into action against the warmongers. We shall see to it that our youth, our workers and peasants do not go into battle for the American millionaires.

We are not alone in our struggle. We are part of the world Communist movement. We are part of the great peace camp headed by the mighty socialist Soviet Union. Our slogan is: **With Stalin, for peace!**

Stalin means Socialism, the embodiment of the inevitable victory of Communism throughout the world.

Under the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, forward to new battles and victories!

IN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

TEN YEARS OF ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOUR

The people of Albania celebrated with tremendous political enthusiasm the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Albanian Party of Labour, under whose leadership they won freedom and independence in the struggle against fascism and are now building a new, happy life.

At a celebration meeting in Tirana, under the joint auspices of the Party Active and representatives of the Albanian public, Comrade Enver Hodja, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour, delivered the report of the tenth anniversary of the Party. Comrade Hodja noted the immense influence exercised by the Great October Socialist Revolution on the destinies of all oppressed peoples, and stressed that the people of Albania were able to liberate themselves from age-old bondage thanks only to the historic victory of the Soviet Army over Hitlerism, to friendship with the Soviet Union and to the fact that their struggle was led by the glorious Party of Labour—a party of the Marxist-Leninist type.

Enver Hodja dwelt in detail on the leading role of the Party of Labour and its work in rehabilitating the country's economy and in laying the foundations of Socialism. We are indebted for all this, he said, to the Soviet Union and the great Stalin who rendered our people selfless and generous aid in order to raise them from slavery and need onto the path of freedom and prosperity.

A telegram of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), read at the meeting, says:

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union warmly greets and congratulates the fraternal Albanian Party of Labour on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of its foundation.

“Under the leadership of the Party of Labour, the Albanian people have established the system of people's democracy, are confidently stepping out along the pathway of economic and cultural progress of the country and laying the foundations of Socialism.

“We wish the Albanian Party of Labour further success in all its work”.

The audience followed the text of the telegram with great attention and welcomed it with tumultuous applause.

Messages of greeting received by Enver Hodja and the Central Committee of the Party of Labour from Mao Tse-tung, Kim Ir Sen and the Central Committee of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties were also heard with close attention.

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The Albanian-U.S.S.R. Friendship Society issued in the Albanian language a third edition of the book “Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, Short Biography” in a total of 25,000 copies.

INDEPENDENT STUDY BY MEMBERS OF FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

French Communist Party organisations are beginning the academic year in the system of Party education. The Central Educational Department is devoting particular attention to independent study of Marxist-Leninist works.

The term for those studying independently will last from November 15, to June 15, 1952. The Central Educational Department will outline the materials to be studied every two weeks and will inform the membership about them. Careful attention will be given to members studying individually; they will be helped in their study and their progress verified by the leading Party bodies. The results of their study will be summed up at the close of the year.

Students will have at their disposal the “Short Course of the History of the C.P.S.U. (B)””; they will also have “Son of the People” and the volumes of Maurice Thorez’s works which will form the basis for independent study. To date five volumes of Thorez’s works have been published and by June 1952, all twelve volumes, the period from 1930 up to the outbreak of World War Two, will be available.

The monthly bulletin “Apprendre will provide tutors and students with essential help and guidance. “Cahiers du Communisme”, theoretical organ of the Party, will feature articles dealing with various questions of the curriculum. A “question and answer” column has been started in the journal.

To help members studying independently, the Party committees will appoint a consultant for every 5-10

students. Consultants will give regular individual consultations and arrange for general revision of the subject studied and for lectures on the basic subjects. The lectures, which will open the academic year, will be read, among other, by Members of the Political Bureau and of the Central Committee of the Party.

These measures for developing independent study have evoked great interest and enthusiasm in the ranks of the French Communist Party.

EXCHANGE OF MEMBERSHIP CARDS IN ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The National Organising Commission of the Italian Communist Party has addressed all Party organisations, calling on them to begin the annual campaign for exchange of membership cards. The success achieved by the Party, reads the statement, ensured that, despite rabid enemy counteraction, the Party has preserved its numerical strength. This obliges all organisations to complete the exchange in the shortest possible time.

The success of the campaign depends above all on the degree of preparation on the part of the sections, branches and group organisers. The forthcoming exchange must be conducted on the basis of widespread propaganda activity, both oral and printed. At the numerous meetings, lectures and debates, to which Party sympathisers will be invited, posters, leaflets, newspapers, etc. must show and thoroughly explain the policy of the Party which is fighting for peace, liberty, work and national independence.

Each Party organisation should elaborate its plan of work, which, in addition to propaganda, should envisage concrete and feasible tasks for the group organisers and branch and section committees. Vigilance stresses the statement, must be enhanced both during the exchange and in admitting new members into the Party.

It further points to the need for intensified work to strengthen working class unity and to establish still closer relations between the Party and the technical intelligentsia and office employees.

The campaign for exchange of the Party membership cards must be accompanied by struggle for carrying out the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress, for still wider contact between the Party and the masses, for strengthening the democratic organisations.

The statement urges the need for bolder recruitment of women members, particularly in the factories, and also of young people.

FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY OF COMRADE GH. GHEORGHIU-DEJ

On November 8, the working people of Rumania celebrated the 50th birthday of Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej, General Secretary of the Rumanian Workers' Party.

Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej received thousands of birthday greetings and presents from workers, working peasants and intelligentsia expressing the deep love and confidence of the people in the Party. The Working Youth Union of Rumania sent a letter signed by 2,319,933 youths and girls. Messages of greetings were

received from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, from Communist and Workers' Parties in the People's Democracies, France, Italy, Great Britain and other countries.

For special services rendered to the country, to the people, the working class and the Party, the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the Rumanian People's Republic conferred on Comrade Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej the title Hero of Socialist Labour and presented him with the medal "Sickle and Hammer". At the request of the personnel of the Hunedoara Iron and Steel Works and of builders of the Doicesti power station the plants were named after Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej.

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF "MUNDO OBRERO"

November 14 marked the 20th anniversary of the founding of the newspaper "Mundo Obrero"—central organ of the Communist Party of Spain. Despite the persecution to which "Mundo Obrero" was and is now subjected, it continues uninterruptedly to lead the struggle of the working class and the entire Spanish people for peace, democracy and national independence.

During the struggle against the fascist Franco and the German-Italian intervention "Mundo Obrero" developed into a highly important newspaper which carried the voice of the Communist Party to the broad masses.

"Mundo Obrero" played an outstanding role in the heroic defence of Madrid in November 1936. Since the

end of the war in Spain it has continued to appear in different parts of the country from the underground, despite fierce persecution by the Francoites.

After World War Two, “Mundo Obrero” was also published in France, but was banned by the Marshallised French Government for exposing the designs of the U.S.-British imperialists and their lackeys in relation to Spain.

During the twelve years of fascist dictatorship “Mundo Obrero” has inspired all the militant actions of the Spanish people. It is consistently struggling for building a broad national front against fascism and enslavement of Spain by the U.S.

Steeled in its twenty years’ service to the working class and the entire Spanish people, “Mundo Obrero” stands on guard, drawing inspiration and experience from the “Iskra” and “Brdzola” published half a century ago by Lenin and Stalin.

NEW ENTERPRISES GO INTO OPERATION IN POLAND

The working people of the Polish Republic marked the 34th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution by starting a number of large enterprises. In Warsaw, for example, construction of the assembly shop of the new automobile plant—the pride of the capital of the Republic and of all working people in Poland—was completed 55 days ahead of schedule. At 2 p.m. on November 6, the first car “Warsaw M-20” came off the line. The builders and automobile workers achieved this success thanks to selfless work and to the aid of the

Soviet Union which supplied the plant with technical documents and equipment and sent a team of specialists.

In Lublin, construction of the assembly shop of a lorry-building plant was completed. With the help of Soviet specialists construction of other shops is proceeding rapidly.

At the textile mills in Piotrkow the biggest and most up-to-date fine yarn department in the country was put into operation.

In Czezin port, installation of a coal loading conveyer—one of the most modern in Europe—was completed 50 days ahead of plan. The handling capacity of the port for coal will rise 170 per cent, while the cost of loading a ton of coal will be reduced 31 per cent.

FOR STRENGTHENING ONE-MAN MANAGEMENT IN INDUSTRY IN HUNGARY. Istvan Friss Member, Central Committee, Hungarian Working People's Party

Marxists never had any doubts that modern production calls for one-man management. Way back in the spring of 1918, i.e. 4 few months after the victory of the October Revolution, V. I. Lenin wrote in an article “Immediate tasks of the Soviet Government”: “... large-scale machine industry—which is precisely the material productive source and foundation of socialism—calls for absolute and strict **unity of will**, which directs the joint labours of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of people. The technical, economic and historical necessity of this is obvious, and all those who have thought about socialism have always regarded it as one of the conditions of socialism. But how can strict unity of Will be ensured? By thousands subordinating their will to the will of one”. And further: “**unquestioning submission** to a single will is absolutely necessary for the success of labour processes that are based on large-scale machine industry... The revolution has only just broken the oldest, most durable and heaviest fetters to which the masses were compelled to submit. That was yesterday. But today the same revolution demands, in the interests of socialism, that the masses **unquestioningly obey the single will** of the leaders of the labour process.”

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The national economy of Hungary calls more and more insistently for the introduction of one-man management to the extent that in its development it realises the principles of Socialist organisation of industry. Of course, some of our enterprises are still run by “triangles” which include the secretary of the Party organisation, the secretary of the trade union committee and the manager. The working people, however, appreciate that such a method of industrial leadership corresponded to the initial phase of the development of our economy, when the enterprises were not yet owned by the Socialist state.

Socialism, however, demands Management in production.

In order to lead it is necessary to know the technique of production, to be an expert at the job. It was precisely in connection with one-man management that Comrade Stalin advanced the demand that Bolsheviks should master technique. In a speech delivered at the first All-Union Conference of managers of socialist industry early in 1931, he severely criticised those leaders who think that leadership means signing papers. “It is frequently asked”, Comrade Stalin said: “Why have we no one-man management? We do not have it and will not have it until we have mastered technique. Until there are among us Bolsheviks a sufficient number of people thoroughly familiar with technique, economics and finance, we will not have real one-man management. You can write as many resolutions as you please, take as many vows as you please, but unless you master the technique, economics and finance of the mill, factory or mine, nothing will come of it, there will be no one-man management.”

In the two decades that have passed since these words were spoken, large numbers of specialists in various branches of technique, finance and economic management have been trained in the Soviet Union. In Hungary the number of Communist specialists at present is relatively small, but many Party members are striving to master technique, economics and finance, the practice of industrial management. Training of these cadres has been organised on a large scale and we hope that in a few years the majority of our mills, factories and offices will be headed by Communists, specialists in their particular line.

Business-managers should recall Comrade Stalin's words about their personal responsibility before the people for the work assigned them. In a speech delivered at a conference of business executives in June 1931, Comrade Stalin said: "What does lack of personal responsibility mean? It means complete lack of responsibility for work entrusted to one, lack of responsibility for machinery and tools... Formerly, we could 'manage' somehow or other with bad organisation of labour, which gets on quite nicely without personal responsibility, without every man being responsible for the job entrusted to him. Now it is a different matter. Conditions have entirely changed. With the present vast scale of production and the existence of giant enterprises, lack of personal responsibility has become the plague of industry, which is jeopardizing all our achievements in our factories in the sphere of production and organisation". And further: "...we must no longer tolerate lack of personal responsibility in industry. In order to escape from this evil, work must be organised in a new way, and the forces must be so distributed that every group of workers is responsible

for its work, for the machinery, and for the quality of the work.”

Thus, Comrade Stalin teaches that personal responsibility requires a corresponding organisation of labour. So far few of our comrades have carefully considered this matter and still fewer have done anything about it in practice. Not infrequently absence of one-man management and personal responsibility, which result from improper organisation of production, become a most serious hindrance to progress.

One-man management without personal responsibility is, as the Hungarian saying goes, an “iron ring made of wood”. He who enjoys rights is also responsible for the use he makes of them. This goes equally for both big and small leaders. The minister is responsible for the entire work of his ministry. And in exactly the same way the team-leader is responsible for the work of his team, for its labour discipline, for quantity and quality of work. It follows that leadership and responsibility are very closely inked, that they organically supplement each other. The higher the post of the leader, the greater his responsibility.

But in order to ensure skilful, one-man management and also to do away with lack of personal responsibility, it is necessary to organise work in a proper manner. One leader, be his post big or small, can directly supervise only the work of a relatively small group of people, can personally supervise only a small sector of the work. But modern enterprises unite hundreds and even thousands of people and a single supervisory system, consisting of top, middle and lower leaders, is needed to direct their work. However, the forms of organisation of capitalist economy do not suit us. Nor can the counsel of bourgeois economists, suit us, not even of the best of

them. We must establish our own new organisational forms, distinct from capitalist forms. In the process of creating these new forms we ourselves are learning.

That we have someone from whom we can learn is a fact of the greatest significance. The new, socialist system of economic management took shape long ago in the Soviet Union. Before us there are examples that have justified themselves. Only we must not think that we can take over from the Soviet Union everything in ready form and simply copy organisational forms mechanically, without any effort and thought. We must study Soviet experience thoroughly and profoundly and from all angles, creatively assimilate it. In doing so we must take into account the specific features, and requirements of the Hungarian economy.

At any rate there is no doubt whatever that we must take over the Soviet principle of one-man management and personal responsibility of leaders, and introduce it into all branches of our economy. It follows, therefore, that the entire organisation of labour must be made to conform with this principle and we must define exactly the range of duties and responsibility of each leader. Management can be successful only on the condition that everyone clearly understands his duties in solving a clearly defined task, and grasps the possibilities for fulfilling this task.

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There are no immutable systems valid once and for all in the organisation of collective labour. Certainly, in the ministries, in many enterprises and on individual sectors within the enterprises we have forms of labour organisation that have justified themselves. However,

while preserving the basic principles of management, it is also necessary to enable a leader to introduce some essential changes in the structure of labour organisation on his sector that will ensure, in his view, the best results. In general, it is essential to ensure as much independence as possible for every leader, independence that will enable him to carry out measures that are important and correct for the enterprise.

It is necessary to adhere strictly to the principle that a chief at higher level does not issue orders over the head of the man at a lower level. We want, for example, the branch departments of the industrial ministries (whose functions correspond approximately to the “glavki” of Soviet ministries) to direct and control only those enterprises under their jurisdiction. No other body and no other department in the ministry can issue direct orders to a leader of an enterprise. And even in a given branch department, only the department head can issue instructions to the manager, the leader of the enterprise. The same principle must be effected also in the enterprises. The head of a department in the enterprise must be commander in his own right in the department. He is responsible for fulfilment of the plan by his department, for quality, utilisation of machines and raw materials, for lowering cost of production, and for labour discipline. If we want the head of a department to be responsible for these and many other things, he must be ensured, within the framework of the general rules, full right to introduce changes in the organisation of work in the department and in allocation of man-power; he must also be accorded the right to reward and reprimand his subordinates, and conditions

ensuring normal management of the department must be created.

The lower and middle technical personnel—heads of sectors and shops, shift engineers and foremen—are extremely important units in the management. One-man management is often very weak precisely at these levels. And if the principle of one-man management and personal responsibility is not observed by foremen and engineers it means that it is not observed at the enterprise in general. These lower and middle cadres are directly connected with the workers; the work of those small and big departments and sectors that form the enterprise depends on them. Only foremen and heads of sectors can ensure that every worker feels his responsibility for making full use of his working time, for quantity and quality of production, for the machines and tools; and for the materials that he uses in his work. The Party organisations must give every help to the lower and middle personnel, make it possible for them to become genuine one-man managers.

In the capitalist world, the manufacturer relied and continues to rely on unemployment, hunger and poverty in order to make workers docile, to squeeze the utmost profit out of them, to wax rich on the sweat and blood of the working people. But the situation has undergone a radical change in the People's Democracies. The factories belong not to capitalists but to the workers and peasants State. Not the capitalist class but the working people themselves are in power. The capitalist discipline of hunger, poverty and the whip is alien to the working class which is in power. This discipline was replaced by the new, conscious discipline of people emancipated from exploitation. Our Party organisations

in the factories must mould and strengthen this new attitude towards labour.

We also demand that the Party organisation in the factory should control the work of the management. To do so it must be thoroughly conversant with the work of the enterprise and its sectors. It is necessary to be able to avert shortcomings and to support every rational initiative of the working people. The Party organisations must from time to time hear reports from leaders on their work; they must develop on a wider scale criticism and self-criticism, helping thereby to eliminate shortcomings and mistakes quickly. However, the Party organisation must not—on the pretext of effecting control or on any other pretext—violate the principle of one-man management; must not substitute manager, engineer, head of department or foreman. The Party organisation in the factory cannot give operative instructions to a production leader; it cannot cancel or change instructions issued by leaders of enterprises.

By their daily political and educational work among factory and office workers, the Party organisations must help to raise the prestige of the business leaders, including heads of departments and shifts, engineers and foremen. Communists must rally the entire personnel of the enterprises for fulfilment of the plan, extend and develop emulation, and organise the masses for solution of the tasks set by the leaders of the enterprise.

In conclusion, we shall quote one of many examples which show how one-man management, effected at all levels of production, facilitates success in the struggle for fulfilling the plan. The South pit in the Kisterenye coal basin was successful in the emulation in honour of Constitution Day and Miners' Day and won first place

among the enterprises of heavy industry and coal-mining. The pit fulfilled its plan for this period by 140.4 per cent. Labour productivity in the pit rose 38 per cent. On the initiative of Lajos Seyler, chief engineer, the duties of head miners, particularly in regard to the correct distribution of working places and in regard to labour discipline, were revised. Head miners were made responsible also for timely and adequate supplies of timber, rails, for the work-teams, etc.

Abel Simon, hewer and also secretary of the Party organisation, gave every assistance to the technical personnel. Meetings with agitators, each of whom worked with a group of five or six miners, were held systematically. The agitators visited the workers at home and discussed with them the tasks for the next day. The Party organisation systematically saw to it that the pit management did everything to create the necessary technical conditions, drew the attention of the pit leaders to signals sounded by the workers, and took care that useful suggestions were quickly taken up.

This example from the Kisterenye coalfield clearly shows what socialist management should be. It proves that if we want to overcome the shortcomings and difficulties in this sphere, we must continue to march along the chosen path, guided by the experience of the Soviet Union.

Skilful combination of Party-political work with business management, is, for Hungarian economy, an entirely new method of business activity, one of the basic, specific features of socialist management, the guarantee of our successes.

Successful solution of these tasks will remove big obstacles from our path, will consolidate and make

more effective our entire economic organisation and
pave the way to new victories.

UNDER BANNER OF UNITY

Victory of “Reggiane” Workers in Italy

On October 5 a heroic episode in the difficult struggle now being waged by the Italian proletariat for work and production ended in the “Reggiane” enterprise in Reggio Emilia—the employers were forced to sign an agreement conceding the demands for which the personnel of the enterprise fought stubbornly for more than a year against the combined onslaught of the employers, the Government, and Social Democratic and Christian Democratic splitters. The workers won their main demand: the management undertook to resume work without any victimisation of working people who participated in the struggle for these demands.

Immediately after the war, the factories of the enterprise which had been partly destroyed during the war, were quickly rehabilitated due to the efforts and sacrifice of the workers; they provided employment for nearly 5,000 workers and resumed production of railway equipment. When work on the orders connected with the post-war reconstruction of the railways was finished, the owners wanted to close the enterprise.

On October 1, last year, the “Reggiane” management, having reached with the Government and the Right-wing Social Democratic splitters decided to begin discharging 2,100 workers. This evoked immediate reaction on the part of the “Reggiane” workers and also protests and a wide solidarity movement of the entire working population in the Reggio Emilia Province. More than 70,000 people took part in a rally held in

connection with the 48-hour general strike. The “Reggiane” workers decided, unanimously, to defy the dismissal order and to report for work as usual. But the management temporarily stopped the enterprise. In reply to this provocation, the workers occupied the enterprise for the purpose of continuing work.

The owners hoped, by means of provocations, to intimidate the workers, to break their will and doom them to starvation. But despite all the difficulties caused by the industrialists, work proceeded normally, in conditions of exemplary discipline and under the skilled guidance of technicians who fought side by side with the workers. Dozens of machines for mills, for macaroni factories and brickyards were assembled and delivered to clients; dozens of railway cars were built and restored.

The workers produced three R-60 tractors, although the management on the pretext that they would not be effective, had declared that it was impossible to produce such tractors. The production of these tractors, and other things, including the 25,000 ton motor ship built by the “Ansaldo” workers in Genoa, are the embodiment of the “National Labour Plan” proposed by the Italian General Confederation of Labour—a plan rejected by the Government but which is being carried out by the Italian working people in their struggle.

To remain at his machine and continue production—this became a matter of honour and direct duty for every worker. In an attempt to disrupt the unanimous struggle of the workers, the management resorted to a provocation, promising to pay those who would leave the works. But this bait was not swallowed. Ninety-four per cent of the working people in the enterprise, members of different political and trade union trends,

preferred to remain at the bench although they were without wages for a whole year. The fight of the “Reggiane” workers became the fight of all citizens in Reggio Emilia, an integral part of the great and just struggle waged by the Italian people as a whole against the monopolies who are curtailing national production and supporting the war plans of the U.S. imperialists.

Peasants, handicraftsmen and working people throughout Italy contributed tons of food and tens of millions of lire for the “Reggiane” workers. Many tradesmen and co-operatives provided credits of hundreds of thousands of lire for their families; their children were cared for by people from the different sections of the population and of different political trends. Neither beatings suffered by dozens of workers nor other acts of police terror could dampen their determination or the touching solidarity on the part of the population. On January 9, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, small tradesmen and employers held a general strike in solidarity with the “Reggiane” workers. The strike was distinguished by solidarity unusual for this category of the population. On May 17, at a signal from the factory whistle, the people rushed to the aid of the workers and prevented the police from ejecting them. Scores of writers, actors and Parliamentary deputies visited the “Reggiane” workers to voice their solidarity with them.

What was it that enabled the “Reggiane” workers to hold out and win in this difficult and grim struggle?

Success was due to the correct leadership of the struggle, to the existence of a strong Communist Party organisation which unites 57 per cent of the “Reggiane” workers, an organisation which numbers more than 72 branches. The Party members leading the trade unions

and other mass organisations displayed great activity aimed at consolidating working class unity, at building life inside the enterprise on broad democratic principles, at seeing to it that not a single worker fell into despair because of economic difficulties or was lured by crumbs dropped by the management. At the height of the struggle 30 groups were organised for the study of current political problems. Hundreds of workers attended these classes. Several dozen lectures on ideological and political subjects were held.

Unity with the Socialists was strengthened in the enterprise during the struggle. Communists and Socialists jointly discussed and adopted decisions on the question of organising mass action, developing production, exposing the intrigues of the Right-wing Social Democrats, etc.

Through a broad network of activists in the shops and through the action committee elected in the early phase of the struggle, the trade unions maintained close contact with the working people, discussed the forms and methods of struggle with them, and exposed and frustrated the manoeuvres of the splitters. At present the trade union organisation, affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour, embraces 90 per cent of the workers and 25 per cent of the office staff.

The “Reggiane” workers triumphed because they succeeded in drawing into their just struggle the overwhelming majority of the population in town and countryside on the basis of inviolable unity of the working class and all democratic forces fighting for peace, for a government of peace, against the aggressive designs of the U.S. imperialists.

Both the employers and the Government sought to defeat the “Reggiane” workers, to demoralise and

humiliate them and all those who displayed such splendid solidarity with them. But these attempts ended in complete failure. On October 8, twelve months after the workers occupied the enterprise, the entire population of Reggio Emilia celebrated the victory of “Reggiane” workers. Five thousand “Reggiane” workers marched past a huge gathering of enthusiastic people lining the streets. Heading the column were the three tractors produced by the workers, with peace banners displayed.

Today the workers of Reggio Emilia and throughout Italy are stronger than ever; in the past year they have gained fresh experience of struggle. The people see in them the sole force capable of defending the interests of the nation and directing our country along the path of struggle for peace and Socialism.

**Giuseppe SONCINI,
Secretary, Communist Party
Committee in “Reggiane” enterprise.**

DECISIONS OF GREATEST SIGNIFICANCE FOR CAUSE OF PEACE

The resolutions adopted by the session of the World Peace Council held recently in Vienna are invaluable documents defining the next tasks of all democratic organisations and all people of good will fighting for peace. Of the greatest significance is the resolution **On Disarmament** which says that the arms race is giving rise to economic chaos, condemning the peoples to poverty and can lead only to war. “It is untrue to claim”, says the resolution, “that inflated armaments can be an effective means for conducting negotiations. An arms race proceeding in mutual ignorance of the strength of armaments on either side creates “mistrust”. The only way to security lies in reasonable and controlled disarmament, declares the World Peace Council. The resolution calls upon the five Great Powers—the United States of America, the Soviet Union, the Chinese People’s Republic, Great Britain and France—who have the biggest armaments and to whom the Charter of the United Nations assigned the duty of safeguarding world peace, to conclude a disarmament convention.

The World Peace Council urges **prohibition of weapons of mass destruction**, including the atomic and other weapons; **progressive and simultaneous arms reduction**, with the aim of reaching by the end 1952, a reduction in armaments ranging from one-third to half the present scale, and **control of the arms inventory** by operating a system of international inspection.

“Our appeal”, says the resolution, “is addressed to the United Nations Organisation, to the five Great

Powers and to all peoples. Gradual and simultaneous arms reduction, a step towards total disarmament, though it may not please the arms manufacturers, will dispel the fear of aggression, enhance the security of all peoples and relieve them from crushing burdens”.

The resolution concerning the **Campaign for a Five-Power Peace Pact** stresses the importance of the great campaign for signatures to the Appeal for a Pact of Peace. Recalling that the call for a Pact of Peace was first issued in a solemn Appeal to the peoples on February 25, 1951, at the session of the World Peace Council in Berlin, the resolution says:

“562,000,000 signatures affixed to the Appeal in 64 countries afford evidence today that this call interpreted correctly the longings of all peoples and their powerful will”.

The World Peace Council calls upon all national peace committees, groups, organisations and individuals interested in preserving peace to step up the campaign for a Pact of Peace, and to work together in a common effort to secure a Pact of Peace.

The resolution concerning the **German Question** points out that the Washington and Ottawa agreements which sanctioned remilitarisation of Western Germany without consulting the German people, confronted all peoples with a fait accompli, with a grave danger. The World Peace Council calls upon the peoples to be vigilant and to act in order to secure a meeting of the four Powers for the purpose of signing a treaty with a demilitarised, united and peace-loving Germany—a treaty that would guarantee peace in Europe.

The World Peace Council noted with satisfaction the growing popular protest in Germany, and welcomed the

actions by most diverse groups and individuals against rearming Germany, for the unification of Germany.

The resolution **On Korea** stresses that all peoples reacted with feelings of great hope to the opening of negotiations for a ceasefire in Korea, but that the negotiations had been dragged out, due to the influence of those anxious to extend the conflict, with the result that today violent fighting and acts of bloody destruction are still taking place. The World Peace Council calls on the warring sides to settle the Korean conflict as speedily as possible by peaceful negotiation on a just and fair basis. All the peoples of the world should support this call.

The resolution **on the Japanese Peace Treaty** pointed out that the separate treaty with Japan, signed contrary to the will of the Chinese People's Republic, the Soviet Union, India and Burma, can in no measure facilitate the establishment of peace in Asia. More than that, it seriously aggravates the danger of war in the Pacific. The World Peace Council greets the Japanese people fighting for peace, and recommends all friends of peace in Asia and in the Pacific area, including the people of Japan, to hold in the near future a regional peace conference for settling the Japanese problem.

In its resolution **on the Middle and Near East**, the World Peace Council condemns, as a serious danger to world peace, the attempts to impose a military pact on the peoples of the countries of the Mediterranean area, the Near and Middle East, and North Africa. The opposition of the peoples of these countries, above all, of the peoples of Iran and Egypt, to quartering foreign troops on their territories, and to the seizure of strategic bases and the national wealth, is a vital contribution to the cause of peace. The resolution calls

for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egypt and Sudan.

In its resolution on **South East Asia and Viet Nam** the World Peace Council declares that the potential and actual conflicts in South East Asia can be solved only by securing for the peoples the right to settle their own affairs. The extension of the war in Viet Nam adds to the danger of a new world war. The World Peace Council calls for an immediate cease-fire in Viet Nam and demands that negotiations be begun there for a general settlement of the conflict, which would result in the foreign troops being withdrawn.

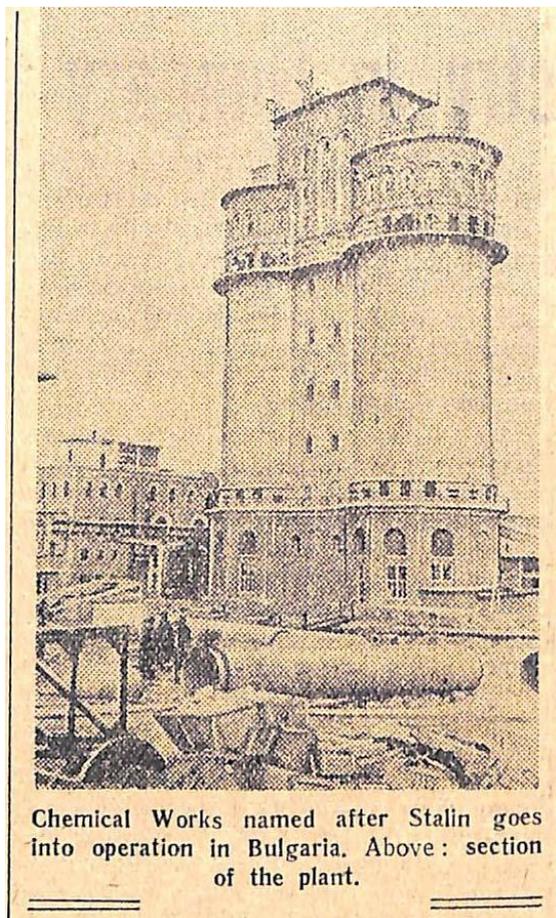
The resolution concerning **Organisation of Cultural Relations** stressed the significance of cultural relations for mutual understanding between the peoples and envisaged the realisation during 1952 of two basic measures: use of holidays for the cause of peace, celebration of famous cultural anniversaries, as well as organisation of international exhibitions, exchange of literature, etc.

STAY THE HAND OF MONARCHO-FASCIST BUTCHERS!

Fascist legal violence against Greek patriots continues.

Ninety-three Greek patriots including Nikolaos Beloyinnis, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, were deliberately handed over to a special military court on the eve of the forthcoming abolition of the special military courts:— they were handed over by a special demand of the Government which seeks the physical annihilation of the fighters for peace and democracy. Peurifoy, U.S. Ambassador in Greece, has ordered his lackeys in the Athens Government to pass the death sentence on five patriots, while the prosecuting officer, currying favour with his American master demanded the death sentence for twelve patriots, Stay the hand of the butcher raised over the heads of the best sons of Greece—this is the demand of Greek organisations of the most diverse political trends. They have the support of democratic public opinion throughout the world, which resolutely denounces the foul violence against the finest people of Greece.

CHEMICAL WORKS NAMED AFTER STALIN GOES INTO OPERATION IN BULGARIA



*Chemical Works named after Stalin goes into operation in Bulgaria.
Above: section of the plant.*

OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN BULGARIA

The chemical plant named after Stalin and the power station named after Vylko Tchervenkov which were put into operation in Dimitrovgrad on November 5 represent an outstanding triumph for socialist construction in Bulgaria, a new step forward along the road of industrialisation and electrification of the country.

The Stalin Chemical Works—the biggest plant in the country—is the base of Bulgaria's chemical industry. It will produce seventy thousand tons of chemical fertiliser annually. Agriculture will receive two and a half times the amount of fertiliser hitherto available, which will assure a substantial increase in crop yields.

The power station named after V. Tchervenkov is, likewise, the biggest in the country. Utilising the brown coal of the Maritsa basin, in which Dimitrovgrad is located, the station will generate additional millions of kilowatts of power. Construction of the Stalin Chemical Works and the Tchervenkov Power Station marks an epic of socialist labour. They were scheduled for completion by 1953—the last year of the current Five-Year Plan. But the builders, selflessly overcoming tremendous difficulties, completed them ahead of time.

The country received two first-class model enterprises. The Stalin Chemical Works and the V. Tchervenkov Power Station are, in the full sense of the term, the fruits of the life-giving Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. The construction, assembly and production designs were prepared by Soviet organisations, the machines and equipment supplied by Soviet factories,

while a large group of highly skilled Soviet specialists worked in Dimitrovgrad. This is further confirmation of Georgi Dimitrov's words that friendship with the Soviet Union is as necessary for the people of Bulgaria as sun and air.

ARMAMENTS DRIVE AND SWISS MILLIONAIRES

Joining in the armaments drive, Swiss capitalists are intensifying exploitation of the workers. Real wages are declining. Simultaneously, capitalist profits are rising. Returns for 1950 show that the profits of the owners of “Aluminium Schippis” rose from 16 to 19 million francs, profits of the “Sibo” Chemical Works in Basle—from 67 to 72 million francs. In Geneva alone, the number of millionaires rose from 205 to 232.

HENRI MARTIN, SEAMAN OF PEACE.

Simone Tery

Returning from vacation, Rugles, a school-teacher in a small village in the Eure Department, asked her neighbours: “Who is Henri Martin? His name is written on all the roads!” And just like this school-teacher, millions of French men and women had never heard of Henri Martin before, because the official radio and the Marshallised press do everything to conceal his exploits from the people. However, in the course of the campaign which is growing daily on an ever increasing scale, the French people are breaking this stony silence, demanding the release of Henri Martin, just as in 1923 mass pressure secured the release of Andre Marty.

Who is Henri Martin? The answer is given by 12 former seamen speaking for the workers employed by the “Air Comprimé” Company: “Henri Martin symbolizes in the eyes of all working people the struggle for national independence and peace”. Just as was the case with Raymonde Dien, released as a result of the popular movement, Henri Martin, the man known as the “seaman of liberty” the “seaman of peace”, prisoner in Centrale de Melun, has become for all working people, for all honest people and for all patriots the symbol of the ardent struggle of the French people against the new collaborators, against war.

Indeed, can anyone imagine a more noble, more touching symbol of our struggle than this twenty-five year old seaman, full of the ardour of youth, so fine, so proud and courageous! The son of a metal worker from Rosieres—a village in the Berry region—the 17-year old Henri Martin fought in a franc-tireur unit and with the

partisans against the Nazis. After the liberation of his native region he volunteered for active service with the “French home forces” and was sent to the front near Royan. And when, finally, France was liberated from the Hitler plague, Henri was told of the need to crush the Japanese fascists in Indo-China. He volunteered for the Navy and with his ship the “Chevreuil”, was sent to Indo-China.

But in Viet Nam the young patriot realised with horror that he had been taken in, that the war, instead of being directed against the fascists, was being waged against people fighting for their independence against foreign invaders, just as Henri himself had fought in France. He saw with indignation the horrors of the “dirty” war, the murders and atrocities perpetrated by the expeditionary corps. On three occasions he requested that his contract be annulled, and three times his request was rejected. Finally, in December 1947, he was repatriated. He then began to issue leaflets denouncing the “dirty” war and circulated them among his comrades—Toulon seamen. “You are sacrificing our twenty year old youth for the sake of your millions”. he wrote in denunciation of the imperialists. “The unjust war in Viet Nam must be stopped! This is in the interests of both France and the republic”.

On March 13, 1950, Henri Martin was arrested. His arrest took place two months before the expiry of his term of service and shortly before the date fixed for his wedding, May 17. By means of false evidence obtained from an agent-provocateur named Liébert, the Government instituted a charge of sabotage. But during the trial in Toulon Liébert was exposed and Henri Martin acquitted of sabotage. Nevertheless, he was sentenced

to five years penal servitude for “attempting to demoralise members of the armed forces”. After this the movement for Henri Martin’s release spread throughout the country and resulted in the annulment of the Toulon sentence. Then, in July last, Henri Martin once more faced a military tribunal; this time in Brest. On this occasion the Government took precautionary measures: the tribunal, composed of fascists, Vichy-ites who had tried patriots during the Petain regime, again condemned Martin to five years penal servitude. Henri Martin was forced to wear convict’s garb and confined in the fearful Melun prison. Nearly two years have passed since he was thrown into prison.

The unjust Brest sentence, the aim of which was to intimidate patriots and to put Henri Martin out of the way, added tenfold to the popular movement for the release of the seaman. The people say: “This is another Dreyfus affair. The innocent must be wrested from penal servitude”. But Henri Martin is not only innocent. Although behind prison bars, he stands as the accuser, giving an example of how to fight for peace and the independence of France.

The Marshallised press and radio maintain silence about Henri Martin. But his name is heard throughout France. It is heard in city suburbs and in rural cottages. His words, proudly spoken in the dock, are repeated, everywhere: “It is not insubordination when it is a matter of opposing a government which has betrayed the interests of France. Those who fought the Vichy Government were not traitors! I am ready to die for France but not for the Bank of Indo-China! The workers of Viet Nam are our brothers!” The people of France glorify Henri Martin: they know and revere his father, the metal worker, Louis Martin—a brave man and full of

dignity; they know his aged mother, suffering from heart trouble, who prays in church for her son and collects signatures for a Peace Pact, his beautiful fiancée, Simone Le Balbe, who travels the country, speaking at meetings for her beloved hero. The name Henri Martin is seen everywhere—on the roads, on walls and pavements. Daring patriots chalked in huge letters, the words “Release Henri Martin!” under the very nose of the police on the walls of the Brest prison where Henri awaited trial and on the walls of the Melun prison where he now languishes with ordinary criminals.

Henri Martin defence committees have been formed—and more are being formed daily—in factories, towns and villages throughout France. Touching letters demand the immediate release of this hero of the fight for peace. “I keep a picture of your son on the mantelshelf...” wrote Mme. Carois to Henri Martin’s mother. “We write on the sands ‘Release Henri Martin!’” said children during their summer holidays. On the “X.L.M.” building site in Vitry, bricklayers erected a huge placard demanding the release of Henri Martin and refused to take it down despite the fury of their employer. The company of young actors known as “Paves de Paris”, has staged “The drama in Toulon”, describing the life story of Henri Martin, which is having remarkable success all over France. Although the police Prefect in Paris—the Right-wing Socialist Baylot—banned the play, it is being performed in improvised halls and in the open-air, and the audiences join in the demand for the release of Henri Martin. Thousands of poems are devoted to the young seaman. The poem by Nazim Hikmet—the famous Turkish poet—rang across the borders from the Berlin Festival: “You are here, Henri Martin. We greeted you, greeted you with banners and songs”. “We all know your

name, Henri Martin,” reads the poem by Nguyen Dinh Thi, Viet Nam poet and fighter. In France the exploit of Henri Martin inspires the work of famous poets and nameless authors of folk songs.

But the most remarkable thing about the movement for the release of Henri Martin is that it unites in unanimous protest patriots of different political trends, social status and religious beliefs. They include veterans of the Black Sea revolt headed by Andre Marty, whose book “In the Prisons of the Republic”—an indictment against the French rulers—was sold in one hundred thousand copies by Henri Martin defence committees; a priest from Sorgues who declared: “Truth and justice were shamelessly trampled upon. This, at the age of 72 I must sorrowfully assert...”; Cardinal Saliege, archbishop of Toulouse, who wrote a letter to the President of Republic in defence of Henri Martin.

Everywhere, people are taken up with the fate of the young fighter for peace. “On board the frigate ‘Escarmouche’ on which I served, and indeed on all ships”, writes Georges Bordener, former seaman, “we were proud that one of us proclaimed loudly at the trial the thoughts of all seamen”. And not only the seamen but many naval officers as well; for example, Admiral Moullec and Lieutenant Commander Louis de Villefosse share this view.

Young soldiers say outright that they “refuse to fight in Viet Nam for interests that are not the interests of France”. Many officers adhere to a similar standpoint, of example, General Petit, Joinville and numerous others.

Former resistance movement fighters are rising in defence of their comrade. On September 13, six thousand delegates from the “French home forces”,

franc-tireurs and partisans met in Bourges and solemnly pledged to fight for the liberation of Henri Martin.

Victims of the war—children whose parents were shot—forego dessert for one week in order to send a parcel to Henri Martin, members of the “Republican Association of War Veterans”, widows, war invalids, all are battling for the man who wants to safeguard France from another calamity.

Young people regard Henri as their hero—hero of the youth—and ardently defend the man who is eager to save them from atomic slaughter.

In the forefront of the struggle for the release of Henri Martin are the women who suffered much during the war and who are anxious for the lives of those dear to them. Such, for example, are Madame Beauregard whose 19 year old boy was killed in Viet Nam; Madame Kerivel, mother of one of the heroes shot in Chateaubriant, and the Madame Domenech who was blinded by the “Republican security units” when the attacked a peace demonstration.

Industrial workers are fighting for their comrade Henri Martin. The trade unions are participating in the movement. Solidarity strikes in defence of Martin take place in mines and factories.

Intellectuals, students, the National Autonomous Teachers’ Union, tutors, scientists, actors and writers, all are taking part in the movement. A priest in Paris wrote to Madame Martin: “Allow me to say how splendid is the noble stand taken by your son Henri”.

In the house named after Henri Martin, where his personal belongings are on display, a worker said to Andre Marty: “ I am a Socialist, and I am here because I am loyal to my Party which is being betrayed by its leaders”.

Chained in his cell and condemned to silence, Henri Martin—convict No. 2,078 in the penal prison in Melun—backed by the entire French people accuses his accusers—the unworthy rulers, the new collaborators. In all streets in the towns and villages of France the people will pronounce his name, calling for vengeance, until the prison bars behind which the seaman of peace languishes, are taken down.

SAVE LIVES OF SPANISH PATRIOTS

Following the heroic actions of the Spanish people in the spring of this year, the Franco regime intensified the terror against patriots. Thousands of anti-fascists were thrown into prison and subjected to brutal torture. Recently, on Franco's orders, 34 members of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia, among them one of the leaders of the Party, Gregorio López Raimundo, were transferred secretly from Barcelona prison to the dungeon in Ocana. The fascist authorities intend to bring these comrades before a military tribunal and thus legalise their murder.

The underground radio station "Independent Spain" and the Spanish émigré anti-fascist press are fighting for the lives of these 34 patriots. They have the support of progressive public opinion in all countries.

THE BRITISH ELECTION AND THE NEW TORY GOVERNMENT. R. Palme Dutt, Vice- Chairman, Communist Party, Great Britain

The election in Britain has resulted in the return of a Conservative Government under Winston Churchill with a narrow parliamentary majority and an actual minority of the electoral vote.

At the outset it is necessary to note the fraudulent character of the notorious British electoral system which has produced this fictitious popular verdict. According to the latest available figures (at the time of writing one result was still pending) the Labour vote reached 13,911,582 or 48.7 per cent of the total, and the Conservative vote 13,721,346 or 48.0 per cent. Thus Labour had a majority over the Conservatives of 190,000 votes. However, the conservatives received 321 seats, or 51.2 per cent of the seats, and Labour 294, or 46.9 per cent, thus giving the Conservatives a majority of seats for a minority of votes. The operation of the two-party system confined the "choice" of the electorate in practice to one or other of two party leaderships, whose official programmes were identical on all major issues, while excluding all independent or opposition expression as equivalent to "wasted votes". Thus the electoral verdict must not be taken as a true measure of the political situation in Britain; and the further development of the political crisis and of the mass popular struggle will undoubtedly show this.

Nevertheless, the shift of government in Britain is of far-reaching political significance, both for political

development in Britain and in the international situation.

In six years the victory of the British people over Toryism in 1945, which reflected the great political advance following the anti-fascist war of liberation, has been undermined, squandered and thrown away by the Right-wing Labour leadership represented during these six years by Attlee, Morrison, Bevin and Cripps. As a result of this policy today we see the outcome in the victory of reaction. The classic record of Right-wing Social Democracy, already demonstrated in Germany between the wars, has been demonstrated on a new and larger scale in Britain after the second world war.

Although in the initial period after the war there was a short honeymoon period of appeasing the militant popular spirit by a show of concessions and social reforms within the capitalist framework in reality, the Right-wing Labour leaders, from the very outset, served the interests of Big Business and imperialism, and then, later surrendered more and more openly to the Tories on all major strategic issues, accepted the Fulton programme of Churchill, sold out Britain to American economic and military domination, embarked on colonial wars, nursed and fostered anti-Soviet hatred and bellicose propaganda, and, in pursuing this treacherous policy, inflicted the heaviest economic burdens upon the people. Having accomplished their task, disorganised the labour movement, landed Britain in an economic and political morass, they have now handed over the reins of government to the direct leaders of reaction, with a view to continuing their work as a "loyal opposition".

Internationally, the outcome of the election and the change of government has represented a victory for the

American policy in Britain. American policy had in the earlier stages worked through the medium of the Labour Government, and had no occasion to complain of the docility of its Labour servitors. But in face of the mounting volume of popular discontent, anti-American feeling, peace demands and trade union militancy in the labour movement, the American policy-makers had lost confidence in the ability of the Right-wing Labour leaders to maintain control, and looked for an alternative in a direct Government of reaction. American expression openly proclaimed the aim of a Tory victory. No less open was American jubilation over the result.

Nevertheless, this American victory may well prove a Pyrrhic victory in the outcome. It is true that the desired shift from a Labour Government to a Tory Government has been accomplished. But there has been no corresponding decisive swing of public opinion to the right.

The main change was the decline of the Liberals from over two and a half million votes last year to 711,000 this year. In the majority of seats the Liberals abandoned the contest to the Conservatives and put up no candidates. Of the six Liberal M.P.s returned, five were returned with Conservative official support, and were thus in effect prisoners of the Conservatives. In this way the Liberal Party completed its bankruptcy since the days before the first world war when it had been the leading party. The majority of the former Liberal votes went to the Conservatives, a minority to Labour. This manoeuvre was the main new factor in the voting to make possible the Conservative parliamentary majority.

Thus not only was there no evidence of any significant swing to the right on the part of public opinion in Britain, despite the return of the Tory Government, on the contrary, a closer examination of the real political situation preceding the election and in the election campaign shows a very different picture of the development of popular opinion which is proceeding in Britain, as a result of the deepening crisis, and the worsening economic conditions.

The rising volume of popular discontent, and of the demand for peace, affecting not only the rank-and-file members of the Labour Party, but also the rank-and-file mass of those voting Conservative, dominated the political situation preceding the election, and forced its way through to the forefront even in the election campaign, although the conditions of the election under the monopolist control of the twin dominant party machines successfully prevented its expression in the voting. Indeed, it was the swing to the left in the labour movement, shown at the Blackpool Trades Union Congress and the Scarborough Labour Party Conference just before the election, and the rising revolt within the Labour Party, which was one of the principal factors causing the Attlee-Morrison leadership to precipitate the election in the hope of finding through it a solution to their troubles.

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A prolonged controversy within the Labour Party leadership had preceded the election on the question when the election should be held. Some favoured the autumn of this year, others the spring or summer of next year.

What led to the decision to call the election in October? Two main factors may be discerned:

First, the Attlee Government had become completely bankrupt in policy and felt incapable of continuing. The situation at home and abroad revealed failure, deterioration and impasse at every turn. In foreign relations Herbert Morrison had abandoned even the pretence of having a policy; at San Francisco he unconditionally surrendered to the United States plans for rebuilding Japan as an American industrial and military-base, against British interests and despite the open cries of alarm of British industrialists; he followed helplessly behind the American adventurist policy in Korea and against China. He surrendered to the American rearmament, against which Britain had previously protested; at Washington Morrison and Gaitskell failed to secure any alleviation for Britain's economic difficulties; at Ottawa they were faced with Eisenhower's demands for further staggering increases in rearmament. The economic situation of Britain was rapidly deteriorating; the adverse balance of trade for the first nine months of the year reached a record annual rate of over £1,200 million, or treble the level of the previous year; the dollar deficit was running at an annual rate of over £800 million. The home consequences, with sharply rising prices and worsened conditions, were giving rise to mounting public discontent.

The second factor, which became especially sharp by the autumn of this year, was the developing revolt within the working class against the disastrous consequences of the policies of the Right-wing leadership, and the consequent crisis in the Labour Party. The development of this rank-and-file revolt

within the Labour Party had given rise to new political moves within the top leadership; three Ministers had resigned over the Budget and put out a very mixed programme, including demands for some reduction of the rearmament programme and some partial criticism of the American orientation; and although Aneurin Bevan, who led this “revolt” on top, was obviously trying to take advantage of the revolt of the membership, while continuing in practice closely linked with the policies of the Right-wing leadership, nevertheless, this Bevan “split” was a further element in the crisis of the Labour Party, and the sentiments of the local cadres, of the Labour Party were shown at the Scarborough Conference when the constituency labour parties elected a majority of Bevan supporters as their representatives on the Labour Party Executive.

It was in this situation of developing bankruptcy of polity and militant revolt within the trade unions and Labour Party membership, that the Attlee-Morrison leadership sought to find a solution to their troubles by calling the general election. By this device they sought to accomplish two purposes. First, to stifle criticism of the left within the ranks of their own supporters by a call for sinking of differences. On this basis all the four hundred resolutions submitted by the local labour parties to the Scarborough Labour Party Conference were shelved without discussion. All criticism and discussion were replaced by a demonstration of “unity”; and Bevan took the lead in proclaiming this line. The second calculation was that, having thus stifled criticism on the left, and after conducting a formal and spiritless election campaign, the Right-wing leadership could happily hand over the reins of government to the Tories and relapse into the peaceful role of a formal

parliamentary opposition. This latter objective was of course denied; but the assumption of a Tory victory was in fact universal, not only in the Tory headquarters and if the press, but in the circles of the upper leadership of the Labour Party.

The election campaign as conducted by the Right-wing Labour leadership corresponded to this strategy. It is not too much to say that the Right-wing Labour leaders sabotaged the fight of the working people against Tory reaction. On every major issue before the nation they were united with the Tory leaders, and they sought to impose this programme of essential unity with Toryism on all Labour candidates.

The electoral “controversy” at top level turned into an elaborate display of shadow-boxing and concealment of the real issues, which left the electors bewildered and asking what was the real difference between the parties. The Tories sought to make demagogic play with the hardship of the people, the rise in prices and the shortage of houses as a supposed consequence of Labour incompetent administration. The Right-wing Labour leaders did not dare openly point to the real cause of these hardships in the rearmament programme and American policy, nor did they offer a positive alternative programme to meet the needs of the people. In consequence, they were reduced to arguing that the rise of prices and deterioration of conditions was even worse in all other countries in the world—thus endeavouring to conceal from the electorate the truth about the reduction of prices and raising of social standards in the Soviet Union and the countries of people’s democracy. The entire official electoral “controversy” was maintained on this level of distortion and concealment of the facts. The Labour and Tory

leaders were given the monopoly of the facilities of the radio and mass press publicity, Communist or any opposition viewpoint being barred from the radio.

These conditions of the election placed no easy task before the Communist Party, the militant workers and the supporters of peace to find the best method to mobilise mass support for the aims of peace, national independence and the improvement of living conditions, and to defeat the Tories. The Communist Party recognised that it was of vital importance to mobilise the working class and the mass of the people for an active fight to defeat the offensive of Tory reaction, not because there was any great difference in the official programmes of the top leadership on both sides, but because the victory of Toryism in the election would represent a political step backwards, a blow at the organised working class movement by reaction, and a victory for the aims of the American war planners. Hence the Communist Party set itself the task to dispel the atmosphere of defeatism and passivity spread by the Right-wing Labour leadership, and to arouse the united fight of all sections of the Labour movement and of all supporters of peace for the defeat of the Tory offensive and for a positive alternative policy in the interests of the people. For this purpose the Communist Party reduced the number of its own candidates to ten, in order to promote the fullest cooperation of workers-Communists and Labour Party workers throughout the country for the defeat of Toryism. At the same time the Communist Party pressed forward the need for a positive alternative policy for peace, national independence and the living needs of the people, and made its ten candidates the direct spokesmen of such a programme. The significance of the role of the

Communist candidates lay, not in the votes actually received, but in the presentation of such a programme as one corresponding to the interests of the labour movement and all working people.

There is no doubt that this tactical line of the Communist Party, the campaign conducted by the Party and the Daily Worker, and the wide measure of united activity achieved, played an important part in the transformation of the political character of the election speeches of leaders of the Parties which in fact took place during the four weeks of the main election campaign.

The issue of peace was forced by popular feeling into the forefront of the campaign. At the outset the leaders on both sides endeavoured to avoid questions of foreign policy. The struggle of the Persian and Egyptian peoples for their national rights helped to break down this conspiracy of silence. By the end of the election peace had become the main theme also in the speeches of the leaders. The Tories displayed the most extreme sensitiveness to the charge of being warmongers, realising that this was their most vulnerable point which could ensure their defeat. In his final election speech at Plymouth Mr. Churchill, made an impassioned appeal, declaring his devotion to the aim of peace and his desire with the Soviet Union.

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Thus the Churchill Conservative Government once again is installed in office. It is based on a slender parliamentary majority and an actual minority of the electorate. Hence it is initially in a weak political position, and the active struggle of the working people

can make it weaker, Consciousness of this has been shown in the tenacious, but so far unsuccessful endeavours, to secure the inclusion of the small Liberal group in the Government.

On the other hand, the economic situation is extremely sharp and deteriorating, and will deteriorate further, as the demands of the rearmament and war programme will demand new sacrifices from the population. The drastic economic offensive on wages, conditions and the standard of living which capitalist policy requires, has been concealed from view for the purposes of the election, but cannot continue to remain in the background, Already the demands from such financial organs as the Economist are ruthless and pressing.

But the mood of the workers is by no means one of defeat or impotence. On the contrary, the militancy of the industrial workers has been continuously rising during the past two years. It is worth noting that the anti-Tory unity committees in the factories—a new feature—played an active part in this election. The demands of six million trade unionists in all the main industries for wage increases are in the field; and the old argument of the right wing trade union leaders not to embarrass a Labour Government can no longer be brought into play. Hence the prospects point to sharpening industrial conflicts in the coming period.

While the parliamentary Labour Party leaders will endeavour to tone down and stifle all political conflict into the traditional forms of a gentlemanly verbal “opposition” in parliament and recognition of essential continuity of policy, this will not harmonise with the mood of their followers, and the crisis in the Labour Party, reinforced by the lessons of the electoral defeat,

will inevitably develop further against the Right-wing leadership.

The most important questions of the new Government's policy will arise in the sphere of foreign relations. In general terms, Mr. Churchill's declarations of policy and the Conservative Election Manifesto on foreign affairs followed from the lines of the Fulton programme and the American war alliance. There may, accordingly, take place a dangerous further hardening of the reactionary trend and subservience to America in a number of directions, notably in the Far East, and aggressive provocation against the colonial peoples.

In the stress of the election campaign Mr. Churchill on behalf of the Conservative Party has committed himself to certain pledges to make new endeavours in the direction of international negotiations between the Great Powers. Public opinion in Britain will overwhelmingly demand that such steps shall be taken; and, any opportunity to which they give rise will be utilised in the interests of a real policy for peace.

Britain has been brought to a position of extreme weakness by the present policy, and has been hard pressed at every pore by the policy of the United States. It is obvious that a real independent move and initiative, could strengthen Britain's world position and give it some bargaining power in relation to the overwhelming pressure of the United States.

However, the main danger of still further subservience to American imperialism, and of reckless and provocative adventures is grave. This means that there is a strong basis for the most active political campaign of the popular movement in Britain to exercise pressure for a policy of negotiations and for peace.

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Hence the immediate tasks for the working class which arise from the results of the election and the formation of the Churchill Government. The main and foremost task is to strengthen the struggle for peace and national independence, for negotiations between the Powers and for a Five-Power Peace Pact, for an agreed reduction of armaments and the extension of East-West trade and international co-operation, and for the reversal of the disastrous policy expressed in the Atlantic War Pact, the rearming of Western Germany and Japan, in the Korean and Malayan wars and hostility to People's China.

Britain's economic needs require in fact the development of trade with Eastern Europe and China; and only the extension of such trade can open the way to tackling the dollar deficit, to solving the food and housing crisis.

Second, it is necessary to prepare to meet and defeat the threat of the economic offensive and to carry forward the fight for increased wages, and for improving living conditions.

Third, it is essential that the degree of unity which has been achieved among all sections of the labour movement in the fight against Toryism during the election, shall be strengthened and carried forward in the new period following the election; that the political lessons of the election shall be drawn, and the fight within the labour movement carried forward to end the domination of the Right-wing policies of defeat and betrayal and settle accounts with the Right-wing leadership responsible for the debacle, so as to advance to a militant policy corresponding to the real interests

and aims of the entire labour movement. In this connection it will be of the greatest importance to popularise further the programme of the Communist Party, "The British Road to Socialism", which has already received the widest sale (200,000 copies) of any political publication of modern times in Britain.

Finally, on this basis, as the battle develops for peace and the living needs of the people, it should become possible for the mass movement to advance to a stage in which a united labour movement under a fighting leadership will be able to present a real alternative to the Tory policy of reaction and war, a policy of peace, democracy and Socialism.

For these aims the Communist Party will direct its efforts in the coming period.

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