

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

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CONTACT WITH MASSES — GUARANTEE OF INVINCIBILITY OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The peace-loving peoples have no enemy more vicious and more dangerous than sanguinary U.S. imperialism whose every step is marked by the untold sufferings of millions, ruthless enslavement of peoples and by arrogant affronts to their national dignity.

The criminal designs of the U.S. imperialists and the governments of the capitalist countries subordinated to them, designs directed against the peace and security of the peoples, encounter the increasing resistance of the broad popular masses. A wave of wrathful protest, of burning indignation on the part of the masses against the inhuman crimes of the latest pretenders to world domination is mounting both in the countries of the powerful camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, and in Western Germany and Japan, in France and Italy, in the colonial and dependent countries.

Seeing their grave-diggers in the working class, in the popular masses, the imperialists hate and dread them. It is precisely for this reason that the U.S. imperialists and their Right-wing Socialist, clerical, Titoite and other fascist agents direct their blows against democratic organisations and, in the first instance, against the Communist and Workers' Parties, which head the struggle of the masses.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are the conscience of our epoch, the great force standing guard over the life, honour and freedom of the peoples. They are the most consistent fighters for peace, boundlessly loyal to their peoples, tried leaders of the masses. In all their activity, in matters big and small, they uphold the vital interests of the peoples, express their cherished aspirations and strivings.

History has confronted the revolutionary Marxist Parties of the working class with a task of the greatest significance—to lead the struggle of the masses against the imperialist instigators of a new war, in the struggle for preserving and consolidating peace, for democracy, for Socialism.

The Communist Parties can fulfil this task only by maintaining the closest contact with the masses, by keeping in close touch with, and to a certain extent, merging with the broadest masses of the toilers—with the proletariat, but also primarily with the non-proletarian toiling masses" (Lenin).

In present conditions when hundreds of millions of people are participating in the struggle for peace and more

Life and personal experience have opened and are opening the eyes of millions of working people in the capitalist countries to the foul actions of the governments of national betrayal, of the Right-wing Socialists and other agents of imperialism.

The Communists are in duty bound to approach all workers, affiliated to any party or any organisation, to approach their local leaders and also non-party workers, with a call for united action to uphold common interests, in defence of the interests of the entire nation. Words of truth addressed to the Social Democratic or Catholic worker, exposing the treachery of the leaders of his party or organisation, a rousing appeal for joint action to realise the cherished aspirations of the masses will always find the way to the hearts and minds of the working people.

In the countries of people's democracy, in the Chinese People's Republic and in the German Democratic Republic millions of working people are being drawn ever more widely into public and state life. In these countries the close contact between the Communist and Workers' Parties and the masses, effective party-political work, every-day leadership and aid rendered by the Party to all the mass organisations, the release of the creative initiative of the builders of the new society—these are decisive factors for successful development of the national economy of these countries and for improving the well-being and raising the cultural level of the working people.

By relying on the masses and fighting for their interests and by alerting them against the machinations of the warmongers and their agents, the Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of people's democracy were able to smash the espionage-subversionist, Titoite and Right opportunist elements in their ranks. Extending and strengthening their contact with the entire working class, with the working peasantry and progressive intelligentsia, daily relying on their support the Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of people's democracy are successfully taking their peoples onward to Socialism.

The experience of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union is invaluable for all Communist and Workers' Parties. Throughout its entire history the Party of Bolsheviks always, and in all circumstances, orientated its organisations and members for work among the masses, for winning the confidence of the masses, and this is

FREE JACQUES DUCLOS!

All forms of mass manifestations, strikes, meetings and brief rallies are becoming more frequent in France, and protest resolutions are being adopted against the fascist measures of the Pinay Government in relation to the French patriots.

The strike movement for the release of Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the French Communist Party, André Stil, Chief Editor of L'Humanité, and all other imprisoned patriots, in defence of peace and for the economic demands of the working people, a movement which began in the Paris district on June 4, is spreading throughout the country. The movement rallied hundreds of thousands of metal workers (100,000 in the Paris district alone). In the course of one day 70,000 workers were on strike in the Nord Department, 50,000 in the Rhone Department and 40,000 in the Seine-Inférieure Department. The strike was complete on 96 building sites and in 50 metal working enterprises in Marseilles. Brief strikes took place in nearly all Departments. More strikes took place among miners and also among railwaymen in Marseilles, Nîmes, Epervan, Beziers and in other towns.

Tens of thousands attended a monster meeting at the Winter Velodrome in Paris on June 12, where speeches were delivered by André Marty, Secretary of the French Communist Party, and by Marcel Cachin and Jeannette Vermeersch, members of the Political Bureau. In response to a Communist Party call, over 12,000 patriots in Toulouse held a demonstration and resolutely rebuffed the unbridled police.

Nor are the Communists alone in the struggle against the measures of the Pinay Government; all peace supporters and all democrats understand that what is at stake is the government war measures, at stake is peace or war. The Permanent National Commission of the Peace Movement which took upon itself the responsibility

for the demonstration of May 28, against Ridgway's arrival in Paris, published a resolution, which reads in part: "The real conspiracy is aimed against the security of the nation. This conspiracy envisages the rearming of Germany, contrary to the will of the French people and also of the German people. It envisages placing at General Ridgway's disposal, along with the newly formed German divisions, also French divisions and French territory". The organisation called for intensification of the struggle which has now been launched and for holding big and small meetings all over the country.

The Central Committee of the League For Rights of Man expressed a wrathful protest against the violation of the Constitution by the French Government in arresting J. Duclos.

The arbitrary police actions of the French Government evoked wrathful protests from organisations and public figures of different trends including the trade unions of the General Confederation of Labour and the French Confederation of Christian Workers in the Dutrieux enterprise in Brives, in the submarine base in Lorient, the Teachers' Autonomous Trade Union in the Herault and Loire Departments, 1,200 teachers in the Rhone Department, the leader of the railwaymen's union in Beziers affiliated to the Confederation of Christian Workers. 8 Mayors of different political views in Chabanais (Charente Department) issued a statement demanding the release of Jacques Duclos, André Stil and all imprisoned patriots. Similar decisions were unanimously adopted by different municipalities. The organisation of the Confederation of Christian Workers in the Rhone-Poulenc Works in Saint-Fons protested against the arrest of activists of the Confederation of Labour and denounced the attempts on the part of certain leaders of the Confederation of Christian Workers to silence the branch.

The Government is intensifying its attacks against the Communist Party and democratic organisations, resorting to further foul provocations which suffer failure after failure. The people of France have given a merited rebuff to the Government. Compared with the first round, the Communist candidate polled 1,400 more votes in the second round of the Parliamentary by-election held recently in the peasant Department of Haute-Loire. Everywhere people manifest a strong desire to join the Communist Party; factory and office workers and representatives of intelligentsia are applying for membership of the Communist Party and the Union of Republican Youth. The recent elections for trade union delegates in the Renault and Citroen Works, in the gas plants and power stations showed that the General Confederation of Labour enjoys the complete confidence of the vast majority of the working people.

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Monster protest demonstrations against the fascist measures of the French Government took place in North Africa and in Algeria in particular. Strikes were declared by dockers in Oran, by building workers and railwaymen.

In Italy there were further demonstrations held by the trade union organisations and peace partisans. In New York, a demonstration was held outside the French Consulate. In Britain, a deputation of British working people visited the French Embassy.

Numerous messages, telegrams and letters demanding the release of Jacques Duclos are still pouring into the Central Committee of the French Communist Party from all countries. Messages have been received from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, from Madagascar, Viet Nam, Germany, China, Hungary, Poland, Brazil, Cuba, etc.

Statement by Bureau of World Peace Council and Public Figures of Various Countries

A statement issued by the Bureau of the World Peace Council and public figures of various countries emphasises that the action against the National Peace Council in France and other repressive measures against the peace movement in France concern all the peoples of the world, because they intensify the danger of war.

"We solemnly declare", says this document, "that the peoples of the world are in solidarity with the peace struggle of the French people. No force can break the will of a great nation defending its independence and fighting for world peace".

Among the signatories are Joliot-Curie,

Chairman of the World Peace Council, members of the World Peace Council, trade union and youth leaders, writers, engineers, teachers, lawyers, biologists, physicists, clergy, deputies, senators, former ministers, journalists—representatives of most countries of the world.

FORTHCOMING PEACE CONGRESS OF ASIAN AND PACIFIC COUNTRIES

The preparatory conference for convening the Peace Congress of Asian and Pacific countries, held in Peking on June 3-4, adopted a number of proposals relating to preparations for the congress. The congress will be held in Peking at the end of September and will be attended by 500 delegates. Delegates from all countries will appoint one representative to the preparatory committee. This committee will be located in Peking.

Congress will discuss the following items:

1. Defence of the independence, freedom and peace of the peoples of the Asian and Pacific countries; resistance to the arms drive and war preparations; prohibition of war propaganda and propaganda inciting race hatred; any suppression of peace propaganda to be forbidden; freedom of action for the peace movement; banning of the atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons; protests against the bombing and mass annihilation of non-combatants and civilians; for observance of international law.

2. Development of equal, mutually advantageous and normal trade and cultural relations; protests against blockades and embargoes; improving the standard of life of the peoples; securing the welfare of women and children.

3. Struggle against remilitarisation of Japan and utilisation of Japan as a war base for aggression, for elimination of the serious threat to peace in Asia and the Pacific.

4. Peaceful settlement of the Korean problem on a just and reasonable basis, and also reasonable settlement of all problems relating to peace in Asia and the Pacific, including Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Malaya and other areas.

Protest Demonstrations Against Forthcoming Visit of Ridgway to Italy

Reports of a forthcoming visit to Italy by Ridgway, the plague General, were immediately followed by protest demonstrations and strikes in many cities and towns. Protest resolutions against the Ridgway visit were adopted in all enterprises in Livorno. Mass meetings and rallies took place in the city. Peace committees in Florence, Rome and other cities held special meetings to discuss the situation. Meetings are planned for other cities.

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History has confronted the revolutionary Marxist Parties of the working class with a task of the greatest significance—to lead the struggle of the masses against the imperialist instigators of a new war, in the struggle for preserving and consolidating peace, for democracy, for Socialism.

The Communist Parties can fulfil this historical role of acknowledged vanguard, organiser and leader of the masses only to the extent that they are able to link themselves with, "keep in close touch with, and to a certain extent, if you like, to merge with the broadest masses of the toilers—primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian toiling masses" (Lenin).

In present conditions when hundreds of millions of people are participating in the peace movement, when more and more groups and sections of the population are joining the struggle for national independence, for work and bread, when the aggressive designs of the U.S. imperialists has grown to unprecedented dimensions and assumed extremely sharp forms, the role of the Communist and Workers' Parties acquires exceptional responsibility. Despite the radically different tasks and the different conditions in which the Communist and Workers' Parties fight and work in the capitalist countries and in those countries where they are now the ruling parties, they have one thing in common: so long as they maintain contact with the masses who gave birth to them, nurtured and reared them, so long as they maintain contact with the people, they have every chance of remaining invincible.

The experience of the Communist Parties in France and Italy, in Western Germany and Japan, in India and Brazil and other capitalist, colonial and dependent countries testifies that the creation of a united national front of struggle for peace, for the vital interests of the peoples, against imperialist reaction, is possible only by means of overcoming every manifestation of opportunism, sectarianism, lack of confidence in the strength of the masses, by means of establishing the closest possible contact with all patriotic sections of the population affiliated to the different parties and with non-party people, with the middle strata in the towns, the millionfold masses of the peasantry and with the intelligentsia ready to uphold peace and the independence of their countries from encroachments by the U.S. imperialists.

The element which cements national unity is unity of the working class. Close and inviolable contact of the Party with the working class as a whole is the guarantee of its vitality and successful development.

"The Party", Comrade Stalin teaches, "is an embodiment of the connection of the vanguard of the working class with the working class millions. However fine a vanguard the Party may be, and however well it may be organised, it cannot exist and develop without connections with the non-Party masses, and without multiplying and strengthening these connections. A Party which shuts itself up in its own shell, isolates itself from the masses, and loses, or even relaxes its connections with its class is bound to lose the confidence and support of the masses, and, consequently, is surely bound to perish. In order to live to the full and to develop, the Party must multiply its connections with the masses and win the confidence of the millions of its class".

These are decisive factors for successful development of the national economy of these countries and for improving the well-being and raising the cultural level of the working people.

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Of paramount significance for all Communist and Workers' Parties in the present situation are greater activity and better organisation in the Party branches and groups, on the part of their leaders and of all members who directly, every day and every hour, work with the masses in the trade unions, in the co-operative, women's and youth organisations and in the peace committees, thereby linking the Party with the masses, explaining to them the policy of the Party. Of particular significance for the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries is the struggle for unity of the working class and of all working people, for unity of all progressive, patriotic and democratic forces.

"Never before in the history of the international working class movement", reads the Resolution of the November (1949) Meeting of the Information Bureau, "has the unity of the working class, both within individual countries and on a world scale, been of such decisive significance as at the present time. Unity of the working class is essential to safeguard peace; to frustrate the criminal designs of the warmongers; to foil the conspiracy of the imperialists against democracy and Socialism; to prevent the establishment of fascist methods of domination; resolutely to rebuff the crusade of monopoly capital against the vital interests of the working class and to secure an improvement in the economic conditions of the working masses".

The Communist can fulfil the role of leader of the masses only by tirelessly assimilating the all-victorious teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, by taking it to the masses. Every Communist must inculcate in himself the feeling of greatest responsibility for his work among the masses as agitator, propagandist and organiser.

Upon the activity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, upon their vigour and initiative, upon their ability to establish close contact with the masses, to achieve unity of action of the working class, to mobilise the masses and enhance their vigilance, depends, in large measure, the outcome of the titanic struggle of the peoples for peace. The demand made on the Communists as the foremost peace fighters standing at the head of the masses, is, in the first instance, that they display the greatest activity and energy in order to transform the possibility of foiling the designs of the warmongers into actual reality.

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Bombay Strike

A one-day strike involving 300,000 workers, declared against the Government's action in withdrawing food subsidies, took place in Bombay. The strike was supported by 150,000 workers of Kolhapur.

Two hundred thousand people attended a protest demonstration organised by the strikers against the Government's policy.

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National Conference in Poland Against Remilitarisation of Western Germany

A National Conference against remilitarisation of Western Germany was held on June 9 in Warsaw sponsored by the Polish National Peace Committee. The Conference was attended by representatives of broad sections of the Polish people, active peace partisans: workers of science and culture, leading men of labour and political figures. A report was delivered by Jerzy Andrzejewski, well-known Polish writer, who laid bare the essence of the "general contract" and showed its implications for the German people and all the peace-loving peoples of the world.

The Conference wholeheartedly welcomed the delegates from the German Democratic Republic. On behalf of the German delegation Elli Schmidt declared: "The imperialist Bonn treaty sealed with the Judas signature of Adenauer is a treaty of national betrayal. The greater part of the German people recognise the Oder-Neisse border as the border of peace. This border can never be violated by anyone. It serves and will serve the cause of friendship among the peace-loving nations".

After speeches by representatives of workers, peasants and intelligentsia who

expressed profound confidence in the victory of the forces of the camp of peace over the forces of war, the Conference unanimously adopted a resolution which stressed that the people of Poland are vitally interested in a peaceful solution of the German question and fully support the historic proposals of the Soviet Union for a peace treaty with a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany on the basis of the Potsdam Agreement.

The delegates addressed a call to the German people and sent a letter to Boleslaw Bierut, President of the Republic of Poland.

GERMAN PEOPLE RESOLUTELY PROTEST AGAINST MILITARIST SEPARATE CONTRACT

in the course of one year, as proposed in the Note of the Government of the U.S.S.R....

"Ratification of the 'general contract' can and must be frustrated. This calls for understanding between Social Democrats, Communists and trade union members on the question of holding a referendum, of joint action for a peace treaty and against the 'general contract', of joint meetings, demonstrations and strikes... Establish united action among workers—Social Democrats, Communists, Christian workers and non-party. Create an unbreakable front of struggle of all honest Germans".

Early in June conferences of activists of the Communist Party of Germany were held in all Laender in Western Germany. These conferences discussed in detail the decisions of the Fourth Plenum of the Central Board of the Communist Party of Germany relating to the tasks of the struggle against the militarist "general contract", for a peace treaty, and practical conclusions were drawn for the work of Party organisations in this direction.

The conferences were held in an atmosphere of great activity and sharp criticism of shortcomings in the work of the Party organisations. The conferences orientated Party members and activists for intensified struggle for united action with Social Democratic workers, for joint struggle against the militarist "general contract".

The proposal of the "Association for Establishing Mutual Understanding Among Germans" to hold a popular referendum against the "general contract", for a peace treaty, is meeting with wholehearted support among the people. Workers are adopting decisions at numerous factory meetings to give every support to the referendum.

Numerous representatives of the German intelligentsia have already sharply condemned the militarist "general contract" and voiced support for the peaceful initiative of the Soviet Union. Professor Baade, head of the Institute of World Economy in Kiel, declared that the Soviet Union acted honestly when it submitted its proposals for a peace treaty with a united Germany since it is not interested in war, whereas U.S. foreign policy is utterly false and reckless. Professor Hans Schomburgk declared in reference to the recent Note of the Soviet Government: "It would be dangerous neglect of the national and human sentiments of our people if, at the present stage, when the international situation is becoming more and more tense, we did not support every sincere striving directed towards the peaceful unification of Germany".

A feature of late is that discontent with the policy of the Adenauer clique is also gaining ground among broad circles of the West German bourgeoisie. Bourgeois newspapers in Western Germany denounce ever more loudly the anti-national, adventurist policy of Adenauer and his henchmen. Even those newspapers which in the past frequently voiced support for the Adenauer policy are now expressing profound disappointment in the "general contract". Many newspapers warn the members of the Bonn Federal Parliament about the grave responsibility that will be theirs if they permit ratification of the "general contract".

At meetings in the German Democratic Republic working people unanimously express profound indignation at the foul treachery of the Bonn puppets. Working people of many enterprises in the German Democratic Republic, in reply to the military pact

between the imperialists of the Western Powers and the Bonn revanchists, have pledged to raise labour productivity and to improve quality of production. The population wholeheartedly approves the measures taken by the Government of the German Democratic Republic for reinforcing the guard along the demarcation line between the Democratic Republic of Germany and the Western occupation zones, and the measures to combat spies and saboteurs. In reply to enemy provocations the working people are whetting their vigilance. Miners in the pit named after Thomas Münzer (Mansfeld Combinat named after W. Pieck), for example, have pledged to guard their work sectors. Members of the Ernst Thälmann brigade in the "Ifa-Karosseriewerk" enterprise (Halle) decided to assign a group of workers to reinforce the guards of the enterprise.

The Fourth Congress of the Union of Free German Youth, recently held in Leipzig, turned into a mighty protest demonstration of the entire German youth against the militarist "general contract". The Congress addressed a manifesto to the youth of Germany.

"German youth! the bullets which pierced the heart of our comrade Philipp Müller were the first shots of the militarist 'general contract'", reads the manifesto. "For all German youth they were a signal calling upon them to recognise their enemies and to reinforce their efforts in the fight for a peace treaty. The matter is one of war and peace, of our Fatherland. In this hour we can wait no longer... Forward under the banner of national resistance! Down with the militarist 'general contract'! For a peace treaty! Down with Adenauer!"

"Youth, unite for victorious struggle, for a united, independent, democratic and peace-loving Germany!"

VOLUME 5 OF J. V. STALIN'S WORKS PUBLISHED IN ITALY

The "Rinasita" Publishing House has just published Volume 5 of J. V. Stalin's works in the Italian language. Publication of J. V. Stalin's works was begun in connection

with Comrade J. V. Stalin's seventieth birthday. The first volumes appeared in editions of 30,000 copies. The remaining volumes are being prepared for publication.

FATHERLAND FRONT AND NEXT TASKS*

In the past four years—from the Second Congress of the Fatherland Front to the present day—the American imperialists have not only gone ahead with their frantic aggressive policy of armaments and of preparing a new war, they have passed over to realisation of their predatory, aggressive designs. However, these four years did not bring American imperialism the anticipated success, they merely testified to the disparity between the unbridled strivings of the aggressors and their real possibilities. The facts and events of recent times clearly reveal the inner weakness and growing crisis of the aggressive policy of the U.S. imperialists—the noisily proclaimed policy of “force” and “dictation”—and show the obvious collapse of the legend about the “omnipotence” of the dollar.

New and profound changes have taken place in the international situation in favour of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp to the detriment of the anti-democratic, imperialist camp.

China dropped out of the imperialist system and consolidated the people's democratic dictatorship. After the great October Socialist Revolution the victory of the Chinese people, under the guidance of the tried Chinese Communist Party and its glorious leader Comrade Mao Tse-tung, is the second blow, in scale and force, struck at the imperialist system.

The German Democratic Republic was established. Its inauguration, as Comrade Stalin said, represented a turning point in the history of Europe.

The aggression of U.S. imperialism in Korea encountered heroic resistance on the part of the freedom-loving Korean people. The Korean People's Army, in fraternal co-operation with the Chinese Volunteers, inflicted a heavy defeat on the U.S. interventionists, frustrated their plans to conquer Korea and to launch a crusade against Asia.

Having received a fresh stimulus the national-liberation movement is successfully developing in Asia, in the Near-East, in Africa and Latin America.

Two Stages in Development of People's Democracy in Bulgaria

The Second Congress of the Fatherland Front was held, worked and reached its decisions at the beginning of the second phase of the development of people's democracy in Bulgaria.

On September 9, 1944, the rule of big capital, of the capitalist bourgeoisie, was overthrown by means of a popular armed uprising, led by the Communist Party of Bulgaria and which relied on the Soviet Army, then victoriously entering Bulgaria. Power passed into the hands of the “overwhelming majority of the people, the working masses of town and countryside, with the active and leading role of the working class and its Communist vanguard. The uprising of September 9, which triumphed with the decisive aid of the heroic Soviet Army, paved the way for building Socialism in our country” (Georgi Dimitrov).

The working class, in alliance with the toiling peasantry, relying on the support of the mighty political army, united in the struggle against fascism under the banner of the Fatherland Front, came to power and formed a government with the participation of its allies—some of whom were true allies, others were waverers, while still others were enemies.

In Western Europe the struggle of the working people for their vital interests and against the aggressive schemes of U.S. imperialism has further developed.

The mighty democratic movement of the peoples in defence of peace has grown and continues to grow. The world has never known such an all-embracing organised movement. The feeling that peace can be preserved and consolidated if the peoples take the cause of preserving peace into their own hands and uphold it to the end is penetrating ever wider and deeper, gripping hundreds of millions of people and becoming the invincible force of our times, a force which contains within itself the possibility of preserving peace and bridling the aggressive ferocity of the imperialists.

Contrary to the imperialist countries, the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies subordinate their entire policy to the interests of peace. The cornerstone of all their activity is the policy of peace, peaceful construction, peaceful production, peaceful co-operation among peoples—this is the basis for their development, for their progress.

The peace policy of the Soviet Union—remarkably consistent and firm—is an exceptionally vital international factor. If the imperialists have so far failed, despite their desperate efforts, to get anywhere near fulfilment of their diabolical designs, mankind owes this to the great Soviet Union, to the tremendous success of the Stalin peace-loving foreign policy.

In the past four years the People's Democratic Republic of Bulgaria, true to the behests of Georgi Dimitrov, has stood firmly in the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, has bent every effort to strengthen Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, has struggled, worked and prospered as a strong and reliable force in this camp.

The Third Congress of the Fatherland Front is called upon to demonstrate the boundless fidelity of our people to the democratic camp, its gratitude and boundless love for the great Soviet Union, for the first standard-bearer of peace, and the greatest friend and defender of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian people—Comrade Stalin.

the patriotic war against Hitler Germany and rehabilitating the national economy.

But the blow against fascism and its defeat, the blow against imperialist dependence and its abolition could not but thoroughly undermine the capitalist system in our country, could not but go beyond the framework of bourgeois democracy, could not but pave the way for the socialist transformation of the country. The people's democratic revolution of September 9, in the course of which the working class, in alliance with the toiling peasantry, asserted its power, was a combination of the national-liberation struggle against Hitlerite dependence, against fascism, with the struggle of the working people against capitalist enslavement.

On September 9, 1944, the fascist regime was swept out of existence and the bourgeois-fascist police apparatus crushed. A radical change in the nature of the state power set in on September 9: “The instrument for the suppression and exploitation of the masses in the interests of the capitalists disintegrated and people's power was established.”

concluding a just peace and ensuring its national independence and state sovereignty.

The main obstacle which prevented the people's power from working immediately for the complete abolition of the economic base of the big bourgeoisie which had been deprived of political power was that the war was not yet over, that the international position of the country was not yet adjusted and that Bulgaria, as a defeated country, had an Allied Control Commission which included British and American representatives who were hostile towards the people's power. It was not the circumstance, for example, that the Communist Party, allegedly, had not won the majority of the working class, that its alliance with the toiling peasantry, allegedly, was not sufficiently secure or that the working class and the Communist Party had first to solve the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, abolish landlordism and only then work on the solution of tasks of a socialist nature—no such situation existed in our country, it was not faced with a bourgeois-democratic revolution, feudal (landlord) ownership of land had been liquidated long ago—it was the above mentioned reasons that did not permit an all-out solution of socialist tasks.

But even in the first phase of the development of the people's democratic revolution we solved not a few elements of an anti-capitalist nature. Measures such as workers' control in industry, state regulation of production and distribution of raw materials and fuel, government price policy, a special tax on war profits, confiscation of property acquired by speculation or illegal transactions, introduction of a progressive income tax, state monopoly of insurance companies, tobacco and wine and spirits, compulsory purchase of enterprises vital to the national economy, introduction of state control over private business firms engaged in foreign trade and the creation of import and export enterprises with the active participation of the state, monopoly of state wholesale internal trade, adoption and realisation of the Two-Year national-economic plan—these and a number of other measures bore the definite stamp of the policy of restricting capitalism and of preparing a decisive blow against capitalism.

In view of the specific features of land ownership in Bulgaria the law in relation to landownership affected almost exclusively the big kulak households with more than 20 hectares (in Dobruja with more than 30 hectares). Purchase of large agricultural implements likewise affected the kulak households. This shows that even in the early phase the people's democratic power encroached on capital. But this encroachment was not as yet decisive, this did not determine the nature of the basic tasks of that stage.

The capitalist bourgeoisie, still in possession of its economic base and linked with international capital, obstructed government policy through its agents in the Fatherland Front in the shape of the reactionary Right elements, resorted to wrecking and sabotage in the sphere of production and exchange. It tried to combat the leading role of the Communist Party, to unbalance the economic life of the country, to frustrate government measures, weaken the Fatherland Front and pave the way for restoration of the old order. The pressure of American imperialism on our country became more pronounced. The U.S. imperialists openly interfered in our internal affairs. They were able to do this because the

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Vylko Tchervenkov
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struggle, internal reaction, the malignant opposition of the U.S. and British imperialist agents Gemeto, Petkov and Lulchev. Completely isolated from the people the opposition staffs, acting on orders from their imperialist masters, resorted to conspiracies for the forcible overthrow of the people's power. But these staffs were exposed and smashed.

Waging the struggle against the opposition to the very end—the opposition which sought to restore the old order—the Communist Party and the Fatherland Front further strengthened the positions of the working class, extended and deepened the worker-peasant alliance, and rallied closer the sound democratic and patriotic forces of the country. In the election for the Grand National Assembly the Fatherland Front polled 70 per cent of the votes—the Communist Party alone received more than half the total vote. Hence, the leading role of the Communist Party was recognised and confirmed also by parliamentary means.

In this way we upheld the historical gains of September 9. We upheld the national independence of the country. An end was put to the rule of the imperialists and their agents in our country. A People's Republic was proclaimed. The international situation of the country was regulated. This took place in conditions of bitter class struggle. And if this class struggle did not assume extreme forms, this was due solely to the Soviet Army which, by its very presence, shackled the forces of reaction in the country.

The way was paved for expropriation of big capital, for nationalisation of industrial enterprises and banks, for marching briskly along the pathway blazed by the popular uprising of September 9. And this was done.

People's democracy in our country, as a specific form of proletarian dictatorship, was finally moulded and confirmed with the nationalisation of the capitalist enterprises and banks—effected on December 23, 1947. The necessary conditions had been created for laying the foundations of a socialist society in Bulgaria. The Dimitrov Constitution adopted at this time gave legal embodiment to the radical transformations carried out, to the new people's democratic system, which already had taken definite shape.

It follows, that the first stage of the development of people's democracy in our country embraced the period from September 9, 1944, to the end of 1947. This was the period when people's democracy, as a specific form of the power of the working class in close alliance with working peasantry, was born and took shape.

Nationalisation of the capitalist enterprises and banks marked the end of the first phase and paved the way for the second phase in the development of the people's democracy—the phase of laying the foundations of socialist society in our country.

Thus, the popular uprising of September 9 marked the beginning of a process of profound revolutionary transformations which covered the period to the end of 1947 and culminated in the nationalisation of the big capitalist industrial enterprises and banks and which

In this period the Communist Party and the Fatherland Front, led by Comrade Georgi Dimitrov, displayed exceptional vigilance, a great ability to manoeuvre, and resolution. They defeated, after a bitter

of the 10,000 tractors and 100 harvester-combines envisaged by the Five-Year Plan for 1953, we will have over 12,000 tractors and more than 1,000 harvester-combines.

Today we can definitely say that the agricultural producer co-operatives have triumphed in our agriculture. Today our rural village is represented by co-operatives. This is such a revolutionary transformation, such a success, which, in significance, is the equivalent of a second September 9 in our country. Radical transformations have been carried out in the countryside. In 1951 two-thirds of the state deliveries of grain, rye, barley, oats and maize came from the socialist sector of agriculture—from the co-operatives, state farms and machine and tractor depots. The rural bourgeoisie—the kulak—no longer plays a serious role in commodity production. In the main, we have solved our grain problem.

A particularly striking feature of the unprecedented development of the co-operative movement, is the activity of the women co-operators—activity unprecedented in scale and strength. At present half a million women co-operators work in crop-raising and livestock-raising teams. Over 20,000 women are team leaders. The number of women acting as brigade leaders, chairmen of agricultural co-operatives, tractor drivers, harvester-combine operators, etc., is growing.

Big successes were registered during the past three years in the organisation and leadership of the main agricultural campaigns—sowing, harvesting, threshing and state deliveries. Never before has there been such high quality ploughing as now. Never before has the autumn and spring sowing been carried out in such a friendly way and in such a brief space of time as in the past three years. For two years in succession we fulfilled the state deliveries on time and in exemplary fashion. State discipline, the idea of placing the interests of the State above everything else, is being strengthened day by day among the members of the co-operatives and among individual peasants.

Internal trade has been radically reorganised, with its social structure undergoing decisive changes. In 1951 the state and co-operative sectors accounted for 98.4 per cent of the trade turnover, while the turnover of the private sector dropped

from 56.9 per cent in 1947 to 1.6 per cent in 1952. Consequently, the Five-Year Plan figure for the socialist sector in the overall trade turnover was reached in three years.

The finance system of the country has been radically reorganised. The measures carried out in the sphere of finance since 1949 were aimed at creating a finance system capable of ensuring daily planned influence on the entire national economy, on the entire activity of the people's democratic state.

The growth of the national economy as a whole and of the productive forces of the country is accompanied by a rapid growth in the national income. Compared with 1939 the national income in 1952 will increase nearly twofold. Under the leadership of the Communist Party the working people have won positions that will ensure for them a steady growth in their well-being.

Our national culture is advancing also. Remarkable talents are coming to the fore from among the people.

The currency reform carried out early in May, the abolition of the rationing system and the reduction in state retail prices—all vividly reflect our successes and our possibilities. Today we can openly and definitely say: we have won a victory that enables us to march forward confidently along the path taken long ago by the Soviet Union—along the path of steady reduction in prices, the path of a steady rise in real wages and in the living standards of the working people.

The currency reform testifies to the strength of our economy and our finances. It put an end, once and for all, to all the consequences of the rule of the capitalist class in the sphere of currency circulation.

The people of Bulgaria achieved substantial success in developing their economy and in rebuilding the country along socialist lines due to the fact that they freed themselves from imperialist dependence and smashed the traitors, due to the fact that they are marching forward in close, fraternal alliance with the Soviet people, enjoying their selfless aid and because they have forever true to Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, —to safeguard this friendship as the apple of the eye.

Next Tasks of Fatherland Front

At the time of the Second Congress of the Fatherland Front our country was emerging from the period of moulding and establishing people's democracy and was entering upon the period of laying the foundations of Socialism. Today we are completing the laying of the foundations of Socialism and are going over to the task of building the edifice of Socialism itself.

The Fatherland Front represents the broad social bulwark of the people's power, its local organs. Within the system of the people's democracy the Fatherland Front is a specific historical and powerful lever

which links the leading force of people's democracy—the Communist Party—with the broad non-party masses of town and countryside and enables it most successfully to realise its co-operation, its common, fraternal cause with all the progressive forces in the country and to direct them.

The Fatherland Front, as the organised, ever-extending social bulwark of people's power, is called upon to facilitate

draw broad sections of the population into the struggle for peace and for exposing the instigators of a new war, instil in them irreconcilable hatred for the imperialist warmongers and their Titoite and other agents in the Balkans; prepare the people for selfless defence of their country, their freedom and independence against all encroachments by the imperialists, educate them in the spirit of revolutionary vigilance; instil in the people the feeling of patriotic dignity, the feeling of pride and consciousness of the immeasurable superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist regime, consciousness of the might of the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union; wage relentless struggle for uprooting the influence of bourgeois ideology;

help in unfolding among the broad sections of the working people criticism of shortcomings in the work, to organise and ensure public control over the activity

The Second Congress of the Fatherland Front was held, worked and reached its decisions at the beginning of the second phase of the development of people's democracy in Bulgaria.

On September 9, 1944, the rule of big capital, of the capitalist bourgeoisie, was overthrown by means of a popular armed uprising, led by the Communist Party of Bulgaria and which relied on the Soviet Army, then victoriously entering Bulgaria. Power passed into the hands of the "overwhelming majority of the people, the working masses of town and countryside, with the active and leading role of the working class and its Communist vanguard. The uprising of September 9, which triumphed with the decisive aid of the heroic Soviet Army, paved the way for building Socialism in our country" (Georgi Dimitrov).

The working class, in alliance with the toiling peasantry, relying on the support of the mighty political army, united in the struggle against fascism under the banner of the Fatherland Front, came to power and formed a government with the participation of its allies—some of whom were true allies, others were waverers, while still others concealed their intention of resorting to subversive activity. The working class and its vanguard did not, at once, on September 9, take over the key positions in the State and in the economy: this was done in stages, in the course of the revolution, in the struggle against the capitalist bourgeoisie and their agents, against the pressure of the U.S. imperialists. The possibility thus afforded the working class and the Communist Party of Bulgaria was created by the Soviet Army, in pursuance of its liberation mission, by its presence in the country. The Soviet Army saved Bulgaria from imperialist occupation, insured it against intervention and civil war, from the fate of Greece and countries like it.

In the first Government, formed on September 9, the Communist ministers constituted an obvious minority, four in all; bourgeois elements participated in the Government. During the three years that followed the uprising, the people's power solved mainly democratic, anti-imperialist tasks. The bulk of the means of production in industry still remained in the hands of the capitalist bourgeoisie. But even in these conditions the foundation of the people's democratic power as the power of the working class in alliance with the toiling peasantry, was laid by the September 9 uprising which opened before our country the path to Socialism.

The fact that the working class and its vanguard—the Communist Party—played the leading role in the Fatherland Front, that they were the decisive force in the Front and among the people, was of paramount significance for the fate of the Fatherland Front. Actually the reins of power were in the hands of the Fatherland Front local committees where the Communists played the leading role. The participation in the Government of elements such as Nikola Petkov, who unquestionably represented the interests of the bourgeoisie, did not and could not play the decisive and leading role in the policy of the Government of the Fatherland Front. The leading role in the Government actually belonged to the Communists.

As already mentioned, the popular uprising of September 9 solved basically democratic and anti-imperialist tasks—the destruction of the fascist forces, abolition of the dependence on imperialism, punishment of those guilty for the predatory alliance with the Hitlerites, of ensuring democratic rights for the working people, organising

* Abbreviated stenogram of report delivered on May 28th at Third Congress of Fatherland Front.

the patriotic war against Hitler Germany and rehabilitating the national economy.

But the blow against fascism and its defeat, the blow against imperialist dependence and its abolition could not but thoroughly undermine the capitalist system in our country, could not but go beyond the framework of bourgeois democracy, could not but pave the way for the socialist transformation of the country. The people's democratic revolution of September 9, in the course of which the working class, in alliance with the toiling peasantry, asserted its power, was a combination of the national-liberation struggle against Hitlerite dependence, against fascism, with the struggle of the working people against capitalist enslavement.

On September 9, 1944, the fascist regime was swept out of existence and the bourgeois-fascist police apparatus crushed. A radical change in the nature of the state power set in on September 9: "The instrument for the suppression and exploitation of the masses in the interests of the capitalists disintegrated and people's power was established (My emphasis.—V.T.) as an instrument for the destruction of capitalism, and for gradual emancipation from all forms of exploitation" (Georgi Dimitrov).

The old bourgeois apparatus was not completely destroyed on September 9 or in the period which directly followed it. Its destruction required a much longer time, but the beginning was laid on September 9, and not later. Hence, the beginning of the formation of people's democracy as the power of the working class in alliance with the toiling peasantry dates precisely from the popular uprising of September 9. The task was to develop and consolidate this new state power.

"To liquidate fascism, ensure the democratic rights of the working people and to consolidate and develop them is impossible without, encroaching on the domination of capitalism," said Comrade Georgi Dimitrov at the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party. "It is impossible because fascism is nothing but the ruthless terrorist dictatorship of big capital. It is impossible radically and completely to destroy fascism without encroaching on the domination of big capital, it is impossible to ensure democratic rights for the working people while big capital preserves its political and economic might. That is why the popular uprising of September 9, while giving prominence to solution of tasks of a democratic nature, and to the great national task—our people's participation in the war for the final defeat of Hitlerism—could not but spearhead its attack against the domination of big capital, could not but deliver further heavy blows against it, could not but clear the way for its liquidation, for the liquidation of the capitalist system in general, and for switching to Socialism."

It was necessary to take into account the entire situation in which the uprising took place, the urgent basic measures which, in the given situation, had to be carried out, and the possible scope of the tasks which could be tackled at once.

When the popular uprising of September 9 took place, the war against Hitler Germany was still in progress. Nothing could be undertaken which might injure the interests of the victorious conclusion of this war.

The tasks, the solution of which ensured the further successful struggle against capitalism, were as follows: to uphold and consolidate the victory of September 9—the vital positions won by the working class and the working people; ruthlessly to crush the monarcho-fascist clique and its agents; to mobilise all the material and moral forces of the nation for the victorious conclusion of the patriotic war; to regulate the international situation of the country by

In view of the specific features of ownership in Bulgaria the law in relation to landownership affected almost exclusively the big kulak households with more than 20 hectares (in Dobruja with more than 30 hectares). Purchase of large agricultural implements likewise affected the kulak households. This shows that even in the early phase the people's democratic power encroached on capital. But this encroachment was not as yet decisive, this did not determine the nature of the basic tasks of that stage.

The capitalist bourgeoisie, still in possession of its economic base and linked with international capital, obstructed government policy through its agents in the Fatherland Front in the shape of the reactionary Right elements, resorted to wrecking and sabotage in the sphere of production and exchange. It tried to combat the leading role of the Communist Party, to unbalance the economic life of the country, to frustrate government measures, weaken the Fatherland Front and pave the way for restoration of the old order. The pressure of American imperialism on our country became more pronounced. The U.S. imperialists openly interfered in our internal affairs. They were able to do this because the unsettled international situation enabled them to do so.

Activity of Fatherland Front After the 2nd Congress

Having rid itself of the vacillating and hostile elements the Fatherland Front entered upon the second phase in the development of our people's democracy refreshed, strengthened and further consolidated internally.

At the Second Congress of the Fatherland Front Comrade Georgi Dimitrov outlined new tasks arising from this new stage of its development. The Front was reorganised into a single social-political organisation with a revised programme which set forth the new tasks of socialist construction. It rid itself of the still existing elements of coalition and became an organisation of the militant worker-peasant alliance with the task of building Socialism and with the leading role of the Communist Party generally recognised.

The past four years have fully confirmed the correctness of this reorganisation.

The most significant achievement of the Fatherland Front, namely, the establishment of close bonds between the working class and the popular forces—forces widely diverse economically, politically, socially and spiritually—has been further consolidated and extended during the past four years. Therein lies our greatest success, the major result of the reorganisation of the Fatherland Front decided by the Second Congress. Today the Fatherland Front represents a solid bulwark of the people's

Five-Year Plan—in Four Years

Since the time of the Second Congress of the Fatherland Front our country has registered remarkable successes in its development along the pathway to Socialism.

The militant programme of laying the foundations of socialist society in Bulgaria, elaborated at the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party and embodied in the first Dimitrov Five-Year Plan, has been carried out during these years with the greatest energy, persistence and consistency.

Today we can say that, learning from the rich experience of our Soviet brothers and sisters, constantly enjoying their selfless aid given in the most diverse forms, and adhering strictly to the behests of Comrade Georgi Dimitrov, we have created for our economy, and, consequently, for the entire country, solid prerequisites and conditions for an advance never known before in the history of the country.

Our industry is rapidly developing. Its 1951 output was almost four times the 1939

output. In a socialist society the Dimitrov Constitution adopted at this time gave legal embodiment to the radical transformations carried out, to the new people's democratic system, which already had taken definite shape.

It follows, that the first stage of the development of people's democracy in our country embraced the period from September 9, 1944, to the end of 1947. This was the period when people's democracy, as a specific form of the power of the working class in close alliance with working peasantry, was born and took shape.

Nationalisation of the capitalist enterprises and banks marked the end of the first phase and paved the way for the second phase in the development of the people's democracy—the phase of laying the foundations of socialist society in our country.

Thus, the popular uprising of September 9 marked the beginning of a process of profound revolutionary transformations which covered the period to the end of 1947 and culminated in the nationalisation of the big capitalist industrial enterprises and banks and which, by their nature and in the aggregate, add up to a socialist revolution.

power which has profound historical roots; it is the flesh and blood of the people of Bulgaria, their powerful and invincible fortress.

The Fatherland Front improved and further extended its work among the non-party masses. There is not a single undertaking of our people's power, not a single local initiative in which the Front does not take a most active part. It conducts wide-scale educational work in its own organisations and among the unorganised non-party masses. Nearly half a million of its members, more than half of whom are women, belong to permanent study groups or reading circles. The Front carries on wide-scale explanatory work among the people, acquaints them with Government decisions and undertakings, explains the international and internal situation and engages in mass cultural work. The committees and organisations of the Fatherland Front give substantial help to the peace committees and work in close contact and co-operation with them. Actively participating in all the campaigns initiated by the National Peace Committee the Fatherland Front facilitates their successful realisation.

Particularly great is the role of the Fatherland Front in strengthening, extending and deepening the life-giving friendship of our people with the fraternal Soviet peoples.

figure. In its rate of development industry has long since surpassed the targets of the Five-Year Plan, while the level of industrial output stipulated in the Five-Year Plan was reached at the beginning of 1952. In regard to overall industrial output the Five-Year Plan will be completed in four years by many decisive branches of industry. Socialism has triumphed forever in our industry.

The numerical growth of the working class is accompanied by the growth of its political and production activity and its creative initiative. A feature of present-day life is the wide-scale of shock-work, socialist emulation and of the stakhanovite movement.

In the sphere of agriculture we actually fulfilled, in less than four years, the Five-Year Plan for agricultural output. During the same period we also succeeded in reaching the level envisaged by the Five-Year Plan for co-operation in agriculture and its mechanisation. This year, instead

At the time of the Second Congress the Fatherland Front our country was emerging from the period of moulding and establishing people's democracy and was entering upon the period of laying the foundations of Socialism. Today we are completing the laying of the foundations of Socialism and are going over to the task of building the edifice of Socialism itself.

The Fatherland Front represents the broad social bulwark of the people's power, its local organs. Within the system of the people's democracy the Fatherland Front is a specific historical and powerful lever which links the leading force of people's democracy—the Communist Party—with the broad non-party masses of town and countryside and enables it most successfully to realise its co-operation, its common, fraternal cause with all the progressive forces in the country and to direct them.

The Fatherland Front, as the organised, ever-extending social bulwark of people's power, is called upon to facilitate in every way the building of Socialism, to facilitate the social-political education and training of the population and to help draw the population into the work of administering the country. The Fatherland Front is a popular school of state management open to all.

In the future, too, it will be able successfully to play its role of powerful and useful lever in the people's democratic system provided it becomes more of a mass organisation and a still broader bulwark of the popular power in general, of the people's councils and especially if it combines its entire work more closely with the work of the people's councils in the localities.

The people's councils are the direct expression of people's democracy. It is through these councils, as organs of the popular power, that state leadership is realised along all lines. Now, more than ever before, the Fatherland Front must become the direct helpmate of the people's councils in residential blocks and in the villages; and in great measure must help to ensure contact between the people's councils and the masses of the working people, to become the main propagandist and advocate of the decisions of the Government and of the people's councils, to educate the population politically, to help develop popular initiative on the widest scale and draw the working people into the work of running the country.

The Fatherland Front must: foster and strengthen among the people noble consciousness of their strength and their role as master of their fate, to cultivate among the working people high patriotism, a conscious, socialist attitude towards labour, public property and their duties; constantly consolidate both the militant alliance between the working class and the working peasantry, and the moral-political unity of the working people of our country; indefatigably strengthen inviolable Bulgarian-Soviet friendship as the main guarantee of the national independence and socialist development of our country;

Grand and bright prospects are opened before our people who have taken the broad pathway of building Socialism.

We realise that we still have to work hard, to exert great efforts in order to overcome many and inevitable difficulties. However, people such as the people of Bulgaria, who, after severe trials and sacrifice have become masters of their fate, who are not alone but are surrounded by numerous selfless, sincere friends, and, above all, who rely on the friendship and aid of the Soviet people and the great Stalin, people who have tasted the fruits of freedom and in-

into the struggle of a new war, into the irreconcilable hatred for the imperialist warmongers and their Titoite and other agents in the Balkans; prepare the people for selfless defence of their country, their freedom and independence against all encroachments by the imperialists, educate them in the spirit of revolutionary vigilance; instil in the people the feeling of patriotic dignity, the feeling of pride and consciousness of the immeasurable superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist regime, consciousness of the great cause of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union; wage relentless struggle for uprooting the influence of bourgeois ideology;

help in unfolding among the broad sections of the working people criticism of shortcomings in the work, to organise and ensure public control over the activity of the state and economic organs in the localities without interfering with their functions as leading organs.

In order to perform these highly important tasks the Fatherland Front must eliminate certain obvious shortcomings in the methods and forms of its work.

Disregarding the difference in structure, discipline, role and tasks of the Communist Party and of the Fatherland Front many of the leaders of the latter mechanically copy the methods and forms of the work of the Party—methods which are correct for the Party but not for the Fatherland Front. Forms and methods of Party work cannot be mechanically transformed into the work of the Fatherland Front.

All the leaders of the Fatherland Front must learn still more patiently to explain, convince, educate and re-educate the new members of the Fatherland Front who bring with them all their habits, prejudices, views and frequently vacillations and doubts, to draw them into the great cause of Socialism with a view to turning it into a genuine all-embracing front of all patriots, men and women, of all peace supporters in the country.

The Communist Party and the Agricultural People's Union must combat manifestations in their ranks of underestimation of the role and tasks of the Fatherland Front, must allocate activists for full-time work in the Fatherland Front.

There is no longer any need for the Fatherland Front to have its own, separate programme. While in the past it proved better for it to formulate its own programme, as it did on July 17, 1942, September 17, 1944, and again at the Second Congress held early in 1948, now that these programmes have been carried out, that recognition of the leading role of the Communist Party in the ranks of the Fatherland Front and in the country has become general, there is no reason for the Fatherland Front to formulate its own, separate programme. The Front is working for the construction of Socialism. And this must be reflected in its rules.

dependence, the first fruits and the superiority of the socialist pathway of development, who have united their forces into such a powerful, indestructible rock, such a loyal, harmonious, united, disciplined social-political army as the Fatherland Front, who dispose of such a tried leader, tested in relentless class battles, as the Communist Party of Bulgaria, the Party of Georgi Dimitrov—these people will triumph over all difficulties, they will stop at no effort, no sacrifice in order to ensure complete victory for their own socialist cause.

RALLIES OF PEACE PARTISANS IN HUNGARY

Erzsebet Andics
Chairman, All-Hungary Peace Council

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"By our labour we shall consolidate peace!"—this is the key slogan of the nationwide peace movement in Hungary. Peace fighters in Hungary — sons and daughters of the working people — realise that the effectiveness of their struggle against the aggressive designs of the imperialists, and for the cause of peace depends on ever better, on ever more successful work by both individual citizens and the entire people aimed at strengthening our people's democratic State.

Within recent months the Secretariat of the National Peace Council received thousands of letters wherein peace supporters wrote about the work done by each of them in their sectors of activity and their plans to improve it. They describe the increasing labour successes, the new innovations—the many small things of everyday life, the significance of which, in the aggregate, is truly invaluable.

The authors of the letters also express a desire to become acquainted with the activity of peace supporters in other communities, in other cities and enterprises, to exchange experience. These suggestions prompted the National Peace Council to adopt, at its enlarged plenum, held on April 25, a decision to hold a national peace rally on June 1 in Budapest and in 19 regional centres.

The meeting of the National Peace Committee was followed by meetings of the Budapest, regional and district peace committees attended by a large number of delegates from the rural peace committees.

Some 70,000 peace meetings attended by more than one million people were held during the first half of May. At these meetings, talks and readings the speakers used the booklets issued by the All-Hungary Peace Council on such important international problems as "Unity of Germany is Our Concern", "Allies of Plague and Cholera", "Soviet Union's Fight for Peace in Uno", etc. These were followed later by 3,000 mass meetings held for the purpose of electing delegates to the peace rallies. For instance, meetings in Eger, a fairly large town, brought together 6,000 people; similar meetings held in most villages were attended by practically the entire adult population of the given locality.

The preparatory meetings were held under the slogan of patriotism and internationalism and were distinguished by their high political level — concrete discussion on questions relating to the international situation was closely linked with the current tasks facing peace supporters in Hungary. Audiences voiced indignant protest against the murder of Nicos Beloyannis by the Greek monarcho-fascists, against the use by the American imperialists of the bacteriological weapon in Korea. In reply to these monstrous atrocities of the imperialists the Hungarian peace supporters took new production pledges.

Practically all those attending the rallies improved their production records. In a number of enterprises the peace supporters organised peace shifts and helped in securing pre-scheduled fulfilment of production quotas; they helped in improving the quality of output, in overfulfilling the new production norms, improving organisation of labour and popularising among all working

people the experience of the leading workers. Peace supporters among the working peasantry pledged to raise yields of grain, cotton and sugar beet, to raise productivity of animal husbandry and to honour the obligations to the State in exemplary fashion. Medical workers, personnel of research institutes and higher educational establishments, students, pupils, housewives and others — all took pledges during the preparatory campaign for the peace rallies.

The arrest of Comrades Jacques Duclos and André Stil by the French lackeys of the U.S. imperialists evoked wrath and indignation among the people of Hungary who demanded their immediate release. To the police-fascist provocation the working people of Hungary replied with new labour successes. For instance, miners in the Pustavam pit fulfilled daily quotas by 130 per cent, while the workers of the Stalin metallurgical works fulfilled theirs by 182 per cent. Workers in a number of enterprises worked "Duclos' shifts".

From all parts of the country delegates came to the peace rallies held on June 1 to express the will of the people of Hungary for peace. The peace rallies brought together 10,000 people: 7,000 delegates and 3,000 visitors. The fact that this event brought together 10,000 people added to its significance. Virtually the entire people of Hungary took part in these rallies. In many places prior to the opening of the rallies they visited the memorials erected in honour of the Soviet soldiers and laid wreaths on the graves of their liberators. The population of the regional centres, wholeheartedly welcomed the delegates. Demonstrations attended by tens of thousands of people took place in Szolnok, Nyiregyhaza, Pecs accompanied by sports events, concerts, and performances by children's amateur art groups.

Non-party people, who as a rule took part in such meetings for the first time in their lives, accounted for 70 per cent of the delegates. The peace rallies in the regional centres were attended by representatives of the National Peace Council, Kossuth Prize winners, famous innovators, leading workers, scientists, actors and writers including the Stalin Prize winners Tamas Acel and Sandor Nagy. Delegates from different countries who attended the Third Congress of the Democratic Union of Hungarian Women took part in the rallies. Meetings of Hungarian peace supporters attended by women representatives from foreign countries, turned into grand demonstrations of international solidarity.

The speeches by Elena Chukniuk, envoy of the great Soviet people, at the peace rally in Budapest, and by Sheng Yuan-shu, representative of the great people of China, at a peace rally in the mining centre of Salgotarjan, were warmly welcomed by the audiences. Putoi Omidi, a delegate from the women of Iran, who addressed a peace rally in Tatabanya, said: "Our countries and our languages are different but we are as one in that we uphold peace and

defend the lives of our children". An elderly peasant woman who came from a remote village to attend the peace rally in the Fejer region presented the young Greek peace fighter, Vasilis Iorgas, with a bouquet of flowers saying: "Take these flowers, my son, lay them on the grave of Beloyannis and wipe the tears from his mother's eyes".

The peace rallies in Hungary were held under the slogan "By our labour we shall strengthen our homeland — a country of peace!", and were distinguished by a high degree of activity. For instance, of the 500 delegates at the peace rally in Budapest 150 expressed a desire to speak in the discussion and many of them did. Similar activity was displayed everywhere. Speakers discussed in minute detail the tasks confronting them.

Delegates spoke of successful fulfilment of production pledges. A delegate from the Lörinc steel mill reported that in honour of the peace rally the mill produced over 800 tons of steel sheets instead of the scheduled 600. Some pits gave dozens of carloads of coal and many factories economised tens of thousands of forints. Laszlo Kormendi, a peasant from the Komarom region fulfilled his meat deliveries 800 per cent in honour of the peace rally. Delegates attending the peace rally in the Hajdu region brought messages of greetings from peasants and letters reporting fulfilment of their obligations.

The peace rallies were a big step forward in developing the peace movement in Hungary and increased its forces. The mass-political work of the Party organisations aimed at securing clarity on international problems and on the tasks in the fight for peace has improved in most places. Contact between the peace movement and the mass organisations in the country became closer. Of particular significance for the success of the peace rallies was the all-round help given by the Party organisations and the people's councils.

The outstanding success of the rallies and the participation of the broad masses on an unprecedented scale are explained by the fact that the four crimes of the warmongers, their provocations and their persecution of selfless fighters for world peace have given rise to greater activity by the Hungarian working people in the fight for peace. The rallies were a mighty manifestation of international solidarity indissolubly linked with the patriotism of the working people which is becoming more and more ardent and effective.

The peace rallies brought to light many new questions, and disclosed new cadres, new organisers and propagandists of the peace movement. They demonstrated the steady growth in popular initiative and the immeasurable strength dormant in the people, who, upholding world peace, are defending their freedom and independence from encroachments by the imperialist aggressors. The peace rallies showed that in the peace movement as in the broad mass movement there are enormous, unused reserves. They were further proof that the peace movement in Hungary, directed by Comrade Matias Rakosi, is an unshakable fortress of the international peace front led by the Soviet people, inspired by the great Stalin, leader of all working people.

Italian People Vote Against War Policy

Pietro Secchia
Deputy, General Secretary,
Italian Communist Party

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At this writing the final returns for the municipal elections in Southern Italy are still unknown. The Government has so far confined itself to publishing only the data covering the provincial councils and the communal councils in the provincial administrative centres. It has not yet announced the results in hundreds of communities with less than 10,000 residents and in all towns other than provincial centres. This is now a usual trick designed to deceive public opinion, an attempt to conceal the heavy electoral defeat sustained by the ruling parties.

But the data already published testify irrefutably to the big gains made by the forces of peace and the severe blow suffered by the Christian Democratic Party and the parties united with it, all of which jointly support the Atlantic policy.

The popular forces, and that is the first conclusion which should be drawn from a survey of the election results, have made a big step forward: "We not only rebuffed all the attacks," said Comrade Palmiro Togliatti, "launched against us with all the means at the disposal of the Government parties, the fascists and 'civil committees' (propaganda organisations of the Vatican 'Catholic Action'—Ed.), we made remarkable headway everywhere".

In Southern Italy and on the islands, that is, in the most oppressed and the most economically and socially backward part of our country, the number of votes cast for the democratic and republican bloc in the past did not reach 20-25 per cent. The percentage in the recent elections was over 30 and in some places reached 35, to say nothing of Umbria where the Communists and Socialists polled 60 per cent of the votes and in some localities even more.

The masses in Southern Italy have indeed made a big step forward towards rapprochement with the working-class parties and Left democratic forces. At present the average vote cast for the popular bloc in Southern Italy is only a little below the average national percentage.

This change in the political situation in Southern Italy is decisive not only for the revival and regeneration of the South but also for defence of peace, for the future of democracy throughout the country.

The second fact is one that is known to all: compared with the general election of April 18, 1948, the Christian Democrats lost 4,000,000 votes. This signifies that had Parliamentary elections taken place instead of municipal elections, the Christian Democrats would have lost 100 seats, that is, they would have lost their absolute majority and with it their political monopoly.

This blow was fully felt by both Italian reactionary, conservative press and by the press of the Anglo-American imperialists.

Despite all the acrobatics and tricks of the Clerical party, its masters and lackeys failed to conceal this reality. The majority of the Italian people once again voiced opposition to the policy of the clerical government, once again the more active sections of the Italian people voted for peace and against the Atlantic war plans, once again the rabid anti-Communism of all the de Gasperis and Pacciardis sustained a heavy defeat in the elections.

The third conclusion is that it is worth

in the number of votes cast for the Communists, Socialists and other democrats, failed to safeguard the Christian Democrats against a heavy loss of votes. The church and its organisations which had scandalously, brazenly and unlawfully intervened in the elections, were thoroughly discomfited.

Priests, bishops and cardinals announced from all pulpits and all churches that anyone who failed to vote for the Christian Democrats would be guilty of a mortal sin and that anyone who voted for the Communists and Socialists would be guilty of a more deadly sin.

And yet the majority of citizens, even in Rome, refused to vote for the Christian Democrats. They turned a deaf ear to the invocations of the hierarchy. Hence, the hierarchy itself seriously compromised the prestige of the church.

The fourth remark is that the Liberals, the Right Social Democrats and Republicans paid dearly for the alliance with the Clerical Party.

The working masses realised that the alliance of the Republican and Social Democratic Parties with the Clerical Party was a glaring betrayal of democracy, of the ideals of peace, freedom and progress, although these Parties did appear before their constituents under their old banners. For example, the Republican Party suffered complete defeat and in some provinces was, literally, wiped out politically. For instance, its vote in Rome dropped from 47,976 in 1948 to 21,791 in the present elections.

Finally, the considerable advance of the Right forces, as evident from the votes polled by the monarchists and fascists, should not be overlooked.

While emphasising the danger of this fact we should not, however, forget that on June 2, 1946, when the Italian people voted for the republic, a majority of the people in the South voted for the monarchy and that now the monarchists and fascists polled but 20 per cent of the votes. This does not signify that we have any intention of underestimating the fascist danger. The advance made by the Right fascist and monarchist forces is certainly serious, but, as Comrade Togliatti pointed out, we must not forget and what is more, should always remember, that "in the elections the Christian Democrats entered into a bloc with the fascists and monarchists in many vital rural centres; nor should it be forgotten that the clericals, beginning with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and ending with the last 'civil committee', fought against the Left democratic forces resorting to the very same arguments used by the extreme Right fascist groups. Therein lies the real danger, since the above mentioned circumstances testify to a move towards fascism on the part of the entire ruling class".

Consequently, it would be a mistake to see the fascist danger only in the headway made by the fascist social movement and the monarchists in the elections. The main danger today is the ruling groups who, by their policy from 1947 onward, undermined

The election results testify to steady, consistent and big progress by the popular forces, particularly by the Communist Party. At the same time they point to an increasingly dangerous aggravation of the situation, and not only as a result of the advance made by the fascists in the elections, but also because of the reactionary fascist orientation of the ruling group of the Clerical Party.

Although the Christian Democratic Party lost four million votes, compared with 1948, it demonstrated greater powers of resistance than anticipated by many people. Today it is the Party on which the reactionary and conservative forces of both the North and the South of Italy rely and pin their hopes. Far from giving a guarantee of democratic honesty and sincerity, the leaders of this Party, in the policy pursued by them in recent years, have clearly demonstrated their readiness to combine with the monarchists and fascists in an attempt to retain political power, to halt the advance of the popular forces and realisation of the social reforms envisaged by the Constitution of the Republic.

Under these conditions the sole path to be followed in order to prevent the ruling groups from involving the country in further military gambles, in more reactionary fascist experiments, in new catastrophes, is the path of unity and struggle.

The results of the municipal elections and the anti-popular actions of the leaders of the Christian Democratic Party and Government have brought home to many Italians all the seriousness of the situation. Many of those who hitherto supported and approved the policy of de Gasperi and the Christian Democratic Party, who regarded it as the policy of the "lesser evil", are beginning to see that, in point of fact, this policy paved and is paving the way for the rebirth of fascism, of reaction, paving the way for a return to the extraordinary laws and dictatorial regime.

Even in the camp of our adversaries many people anxiously ask themselves how to check this dangerous downward movement, how to cut short the attempts aimed at reviving and encouraging the ultra reactionary forces.

A feature of the present situation in Italy is the ever growing striving for the creation of an anti-fascist front. Due to their unity and struggle the people of Italy succeeded in defeating fascism, due to their unity and struggle they will be able to frustrate all the attacks of reaction, all attempts to return to the regime of war. The pathway to be taken in order to save the Republic and freedom, to ensure the democratic development of Italy, is the pathway of unity of all democratic forces, all anti-fascists, all popular forces. Now, more than ever before, every one of us is confronted with the urgent task of straining every effort in order to strengthen and extend this unity. "It should be clear to all", Comrade Togliatti wrote, "that in the interests of saving the Republic, unity must be realised in the struggle against all attempts to go back to social reaction and to the regime which is ruining the country, taking it onto the road of war".

Unity of the democratic and anti-fascist forces must be based on the popular masses and must be realised through freedom

lism and were... political level — concrete discussion on questions relating to the international situation was closely linked with the current tasks facing peace supporters in Hungary. Audiences voiced indignant protest against the murder of Nicos Beloyannis by the Greek monarcho-fascists, against the use by the American imperialists of the bacteriological atrocities of the imperialists the Hungarian peace supporters took new production pledges.

Practically all those attending the rallies pledged to improve their production records. In a number of enterprises the peace supporters organised peace shifts and helped in securing pre-schedule fulfilment of production quotas; they helped in improving the quality of output, in overfulfilling the new production norms, improving organisation of labour and popularising among all working

Council, Kossuth Prize winners, famous innovators, leading workers, scientists, actors and writers including the Stalin Prize winners Tamas Aczel and Sandor Nagy. Delegates from different countries who attended the Third Congress of the Democratic Union of Hungarian Women took part in the rallies. Meetings of Hungarian peace supporters attended by women representatives from foreign countries, turned into grand demonstrations of international solidarity.

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The third conclusion is that it is worth noting that police and religious intimidation, blackmail, violence, threats of dismissals and widespread electoral manipulations failed to prevent the considerable increase

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Consequently, it would be a mistake to see the fascist danger only in the headway made by the fascist social movement and the monarchists in the elections. The main danger today is the ruling groups who, by their policy from 1947 onward, undermined the foundations of the republican system and paved the way for the fascists and monarchists who seek its abolition.

A feature of the present situation in Italy is the ever growing striving for the creation of an anti-fascist front. Due to their unity and struggle the people of Italy succeeded in defeating fascism, due to their unity and struggle they will be able to frustrate all the attacks of reaction, all attempts to return to the regime of war. The pathway to be taken in order to save the Republic and freedom, to ensure the democratic development of Italy, is the pathway of unity of all democratic forces, all anti-fascists, all popular forces. Now, more than ever before, every one of us is confronted with the urgent task of straining every effort in order to strengthen and extend this unity. "It should be clear to all", Comrade Togliatti wrote, "that in the interests of saving the Republic, unity must be realised in the struggle against all attempts to go back to social reaction and to the regime which is ruining the country, taking it onto the road of war".

Unity of the democratic and anti-fascist forces must be based on the popular masses and must be realised through intensified struggle for saving peace, freedom and the independence of the country.

Preparations for 30th Anniversary of Communist Party of Japan

July 15, 1952 will mark the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Japan.

and other mass organisations are now engaged in preparations for celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Communist Party of Japan—the leader of all progressive,

democratic forces in the country fighting against the U.S. occupation regime, for an independent, democratic and peace-loving Japan.

Against Separate Treaty with Bonn Revanchists, Against Remilitarisation, for Peace

Criminal steps are being taken by the U.S. imperialists and their satellites to build fascism anew in Europe and prepare a new war. At Bonn and at Paris, Acheson and Adenauer, together with Eden, Schuman and de Gasperi, have signed the agreements for rebuilding the Wehrmacht which devastated Europe, in the form of a West German Army headed by Hitlerite generals and placed under American Supreme Command. The repeated proposals of the Soviet Union for a four Power meeting to establish a united, peaceful, democratic Germany have been refused. The aggressive plans to re-establish Hitler's frontiers have been openly proclaimed by Adenauer and the leading political spokesmen of the present American-financed West German regime.

The acceptance of the separate military treaty with the Bonn revanchists by the Tory Government is a traitors' blow at Britain. For this treaty revive German militarism in its most dangerous form; it hampers the unification of Germany and impedes the growth of genuine democracy and imposes new financial burdens on the sorely tried British people.

Open preparations are pressed forward for extending the aggressive war in Korea and the Far East. Ridgway's germ warfare, Churchill's ominous statement in Parliament on the situation in the Far East and the dispatch of Lord Alexander to the Far East are clear signs of the preparation for realising such a plan.

However, these reckless and menacing measures of the imperialist war camp are not a sign of strength, but of weakness. The rising opposition of the peoples in all countries to these plans, and the advance of the fight for peace, are filling the imperialist camp with panic. In France and Italy, in Western Germany and in Japan, in South Africa, the mass movement against the drive to fascism and war is growing in scale and intensity. Here in Britain, we also see the beginnings

of a mass movement against the arms drive and the onslaught on the standard of living, against the policy of Churchill and his lieutenants—the Right-wing Labour leaders.

The police-fascist provocation of the Pinay Government against the French Communist Party and the arrest of Jacques Duclos and André Stil evoke wrathful protest on the part of the British working people. The common people in Britain know that these measures, prepared on the orders of the U.S. imperialists, are designed to intimidate the peace supporters, to create conditions in France for unrestricted preparations for war.

Since the advent of the Churchill Government the living standards of the working people have been subjected to increasing attacks. The workers are exhorted to eat less and pay more for what they eat; to work harder at the same time as they see the figures of unemployment growing week by week; they are asked to accept a new wage freeze policy while the cost of living steadily rises and capitalist profits reach record heights.

They see through bitter experience how the rearmament policy is distorting the basic economy of the country. The U.S. dictated restriction of East-West trade is leading to a severe crisis in the cotton and wool textile industries, in the boot and shoe and hosiery industries, and in a number of other light industries deprived of raw materials because they are being diverted to war preparations.

At the same time the working people see the shameful policy of British imperialism in Malaya; Britain's policy in Korea, which more and more takes on the form of doing the dirty work of the Ame-

rican gangsters; they see Churchill, together with the U.S., carrying out the policy of rearmament of Western Germany and his refusal to respond to the genuine peace proposals of the Soviet Union.

The main thing, however, is that the British working people are not only anxiously noting these developments, conscious of the danger they constitute to their present and future interests, the working people are taking action against them. These actions may not in themselves have a spectacular character, but it would be a profound mistake to underestimate their basic significance. For this reason it is worth while dwelling on events in Britain during the last three months.

In the County and local Government elections in April and May, the Conservative Party suffered a smashing defeat.

Since April a number of Co-operative and Trade Union conferences have taken place. Let us see what their most important decisions were.

The Co-operative Women's Guild views with great concern the increase in armaments and the adverse effect of this on living standards. It called on the Government "for a change in foreign policy and acceptance of People's China in the United Nations", opposed the rearmament of Germany and Japan, and demanded the withdrawal of American troops and bases from Britain.

The Amalgamated Engineering Union expressed its concern at the effect of rearmament on the economy and called for a Peace Pact between the Great Powers, international agreement for reduction of armaments, and prohibition of atomic and bacteriological weapons with inspection and control.

The Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers protested against Templer's criminal measures in Malaya; it called for a conference of the major Powers to abolish horror weapons such as napalm and germ warfare, and denounced the rearmament of Germany and Japan.

The National Association of Operative Plasterers declared against the Government's rearmament policy and for a Pact of Peace.

The Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen demanded a five-Power Peace Pact and the ending of the war in Malaya.

The South Wales Area of the National Union of Mineworkers opposed the rearmament policy and the resulting attacks on living standards and called for unity of all workers against war.

The annual conference of the powerful Electrical Trades Union also demanded a five-Power Peace Pact, the outlawing of atomic and germ warfare, an immediate halt to the arms drive, and also demanded the entry of People's China to the United Nations.

Demands for wage increases are being made by the engineers, miners, railwaymen, agricultural workers, distributive workers, public employees, plumbers, and teachers, and we can be sure that despite Deakin's plaintive demand for "restraint in trying to get wage increases" and Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler's demand for a new wage freeze policy, the Trade Unions that forced the Labour Government to end such a policy are not likely to support it when it is sponsored by a Tory Government.

Among the rank and file of the Labour Party a great awakening is taking place which has forced the Executive Committee of the Labour Party to adopt a statement on the German question the essence of which is that there should be immediate four Power negotiations and fresh elections in Western Germany before any rearmament of that country is permitted. Attlee in Parliament virtually apologised to Churchill for this resolution and in consequence is now under heavy fire from the rank and file of the Labour Party.

The opposition to the policy of the Right-wing Labour leaders is growing. In an effort to prevent similar resolutions being adopted at the forthcoming annual conferences of the National Union of Railwaymen and National

Union of Mineworkers, and to try and prevent such resolutions being placed on the agendas of the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party Conference to be held in September and October, the Attlees and Morrisons have now summoned the Deakins and Tewsons to their assistance. This has resulted in a majority of the General Council of the T.U.C. issuing a statement alleged to justify the present policy of rearmament on three principal grounds: first, that it was a policy initiated by the Labour Government; second, that war preparations mean work; and third, that peace can only be negotiated through strength.

They are all shameless arguments which reveal the depths to which the majority of the General Council go in serving their British and American masters.

More and more the rank and file of the Labour Movement are becoming conscious of the treachery of the Labour Government in committing Britain to rearmament on America's orders. Common people especially where there is mass unemployment, as in Lancashire, Yorkshire and the Midlands, know that war preparations do not mean work for them.

Already the Churchills and Attlees are seriously concerned that, at the very moment when they are doing their best to assure the Americans that they will do all they can to fulfil both their public and private pledges to their masters, the common people, the people who have to work, fight and die in imperialist wars, are showing more clearly that they will not tolerate such policies.

The great weakness of the mass movement, however, is that it is not yet fully organised and led so that all its activities can be united and directed towards changing the present policies, and the reactionary leaders of the Labour Party, Trades Union Congress and Co-operative movement. A united movement would wield such a power that it could make any policy of refusing wage increases impossible. It could make it impossible for Parliament to ratify the criminal war treaty with Bonn revanchists.

In this grave hour the British Communist Party, the Party of the working

class, representing the genuine national interests of the people of Britain, must fight more actively against the militarist separate treaty, against the militarisation of Britain, for peace, bread, work for the unemployed, national independence, against ratification of the "general contract". Every member of the Party must become conscious of the responsibility resting with him in the present situation.

The terrible scars inflicted on London, Coventry, Southampton, Sheffield and other British cities by Hitler's Luftwaffe are still plain for all to see, and yet the Churchills agree to the rebuilding of the Luftwaffe.

No more Coventrys—this must be the resolve of every working man and woman in Britain. The vital task of the British Communists, of every member, of every Party organisation is to bring home to the working people the full import of the criminal nature of the war contracts signed with the West German revanchists. The Party must increase its work one hundredfold in the factories, in the trade union branches, among the rank and file of the Labour Party, in the Co-operative organisations, in the streets, among the women and the youth in order to secure the widest unity in the battle for peace and bread. It is urgent to flood M.P.'s immediately with the demand that they vote against the ratification of the "general contract" aimed at rearming German militarism and fascism.

Now is the time to intensify the fight. The whole future of Britain depends on the awakening and active fight of the people for peace. Every Party member must give the utmost help and support to the peace movement. The British working class should lead the whole British people against the separate contract with the Bonn revanchists, against militarisation, for peace.

No ratification of the treaties for reviving German militarism.

For a peaceful, united, democratic Germany.

Immediate cease-fire in Korea and Malaya. Bring our troops home.

For a five-Power Peace Pact to reduce armaments, develop East-West trade and banish the menace of a new world war.

BUILDING OF WARSAW— PRIDE OF POLISH PEOPLE

On the eve of World War II Warsaw had a population of approximately 1,200,000. After its liberation in January 1945 by the heroic Soviet Army and the Polish units which fought side by side with it, only about 150,000 residents remained in the suburb of Praha on the right bank of the Vistula; in the central section, on the left bank of the river, where there was nothing but ruins and ashes, there were no residents at all. About 400,000 people had been slaughtered by the Hitlerites while 650,000 had been taken by the occupationists to Hitler Germany for forced labour.

In 1939 Warsaw had 103,000,000 cubic metres of building space. Only 29,000,000 cubic metres survived. Consequently almost 72 per cent of the housing was destroyed and in the central section of Warsaw, on the left bank of the Vistula, about 85 per cent.

Only a small part of this fearful destruction was caused by military operations. It was effected deliberately on Hitler's order, who insisted that "Warsaw be wiped from the face of the earth". In October 1944 Hitler ordered the entire population to be driven from the central section of Warsaw. The fascist hordes destroyed district after district, blowing up and setting fire to everything. They demolished with particular ferocity all architectural and art monuments, palaces, museums, theatres, schools, hospitals and factories. The public services, the water, gas and telephone network, the power and radio stations were almost completely destroyed.

But fascism failed to break the will for struggle of the Warsaw population and of its working class. It was the Warsaw workers who in September 1939 fought behind the barricades. Warsaw gave birth to the proletarian People's Guard, later reorganised into the People's Army. It was Warsaw which formed, on the initiative of the working class, the Krajowa Rada Narodowa, which led the people in the struggle for the liberation of the country and for independence. Warsaw gave birth to the Polish Workers' Party—the flesh and blood of the working class.

After the liberation of Warsaw, the working class and the working population became masters of their city. Under the leadership of the Workers' Party they began rehabilitation of the capital. Rehabilitation of Warsaw became a national matter. The slogan "the entire nation is building the capital" became one of the most vital mobilising political slogans in Poland.

In the postwar history of Warsaw two periods are clearly defined: the period of rehabilitation—from the moment of liberation in 1945 until July 1949, and the period of new construction—dating from July 1949. The immense tasks in the sphere of construction are defined by the Six-Year Plan and the perspective plan.

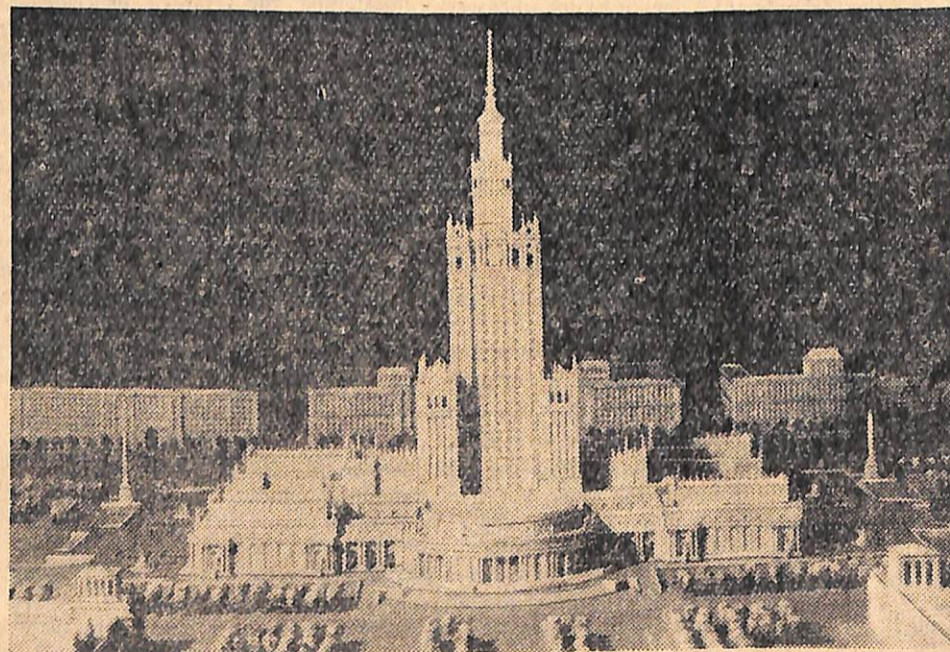
July 1949—the turning point—was marked by two important events: first, the report delivered by President Boleslaw Bierut, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, on the Six-

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Jozef Sigalin
Chief Architect of Warsaw

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metres long. The construction tempo is highly illustrative. Prior to the war it took 5-7 years to build one bridge (or to rebuild a bridge after the first world war) but after liberation, the first bridge was erected in 14 months, the second—in 11 months, the third—in 10 and, finally, the fourth, on the East-West highway, in 9 months, while erection work on the river was completed in the record time of 75 days.

In those days, particularly in the early phase, when the war was still in progress, when the Polish people were still experiencing great hardships, Warsaw received invaluable, unforgettable and selfless aid from the Soviet Union, which helped to restore transport, communications and public utilities, supplied food, trolley-buses and prefabricated houses, as well as specialists. Referring to this aid, Comrade Bierut said in his report: "This was fraternal, sincere and selfless aid—the first brotherly hand which helped to revive life in our capital. Let all remember this, all who walk the streets of the reborn city, let them instil in future generations ardent feelings of respect and gratitude for the great initiator of this aid, Warsaw's friend—Stalin".



Model. Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw

The second stage dates from the Six-Year Plan. In a few months we shall complete the first half of this Plan. It is no longer a question of rehabilitating the city but of building the capital of socialist Poland on an area three times greater than the pre-war area of Warsaw. Today we can see how Comrade Bierut's directives are being fulfilled, how we are fulfilling the tasks of the Six-Year Plan and the future perspectives of construction. At present Warsaw has a population of more than 800,000, a considerable part of which is employed in industry. The number of industrial workers in the capital is steadily increasing. Warsaw is fast becoming a stronghold of the working class, a large industrial centre of Poland.

At the same time it is being transformed into a seat of Polish science. There are now functioning in Warsaw the Polish Academy of Sciences and 14 higher educa-

tion is being built. Work on the building that will house the Sejm is nearing completion.

13 theatres, 14 cinemas, a number of clubs and district houses of culture have been restored and built. Work has begun on a spacious opera house. Architectural monuments are being reconstructed.

Large-scale work has developed on urban improvements. Much has been done in the sphere of transport, water and gas supply, in supplying electricity, extending telephone communication, central heating, etc.

All the parks, squares and boulevards have been renovated: a big city park of culture and rest is being laid out, the first section of which will open in July. A new park was laid out in the Marymont district and the forest park in the Bielany district, where public festivals are generally held, has been extended; work has begun on a national park in the Kampinowska forest near Warsaw. Planting trees in the outskirts and in the city itself is being carried out in a big way.

Warsaw is now known as the "city of 1,000 building sites". There is good reason for this even if we take into account only the big building jobs.

Among these "thousand building sites" the main undertaking in the political, architectural and technical sense is that of the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw—a splendid gift from the Soviet Union. The Palace is being built with the labour and means of the U.S.S.R., by Soviet engineers and workers with the fraternal co-operation of Polish technicians and workers.

This magnificent edifice, designed by famous Soviet architects with due consideration to the national forms of Polish architecture, will house, in accordance with the wishes of the Polish Government, the Polish Academy of Sciences and research institutes, a youth palace, a congress hall with accommodation for four thousand, exhibition halls and museums for industry and technique, a theatre, concert hall and cinema halls. The building will have an area, approximately, of 800,000 cubic metres; it will be about 220 metres high. The design and construction take into

consideration the achievements and experience gained in erecting the splendid high buildings in Moscow.

The construction site of the Palace of Culture and Science has become a school of advanced experience for Polish workers, engineers and technicians. The Palace will constitute the basic architectural element in socialist Warsaw and will determine the face of the city.

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Appeal by 6,223 War Prisoners on Kojima Island

Korean patriots, prisoners of war on Kojima Island, placed in the hands of the editorial board of the Korean newspaper "Choson-Inmingun" a most touching letter, written virtually with the heart's blood. In this letter signed by 6,223 prisoners of war, the captive soldiers and officers fervently appeal to the Korean People's army, to their people and to the Chinese volunteers immediately to help them escape from the American hell and save their lives from the American murderers.

"Death dogs everyone of us daily, hourly and every minute. Not a day or night passes without some of our comrades perishing", write the war prisoners. They give a long enumeration of the monstrous crimes perpetrated by the U.S. killers, butchers and sadists on Kojima Island. Here are some of these crimes. On May 19, following a foul provocation by the U.S. criminals in camp No. 66, 127 prisoners were killed and many wounded by machine-gun fire, flame-throwers and crushed by tanks. On May 20 and 21 hundreds of prisoners did not return from the interrogation and their fate is unknown. On May 22 and 23 eighty-eight prisoners were killed and 39 injured as a result of a bloody pogrom by U.S. military in compounds Nos. 602 and 72. On the same day the butchers beheaded four Korean patriots in camp No. 76 and electrocuted 18 prisoners in barracks No. 16.

As is evident from the war prisoners' statement the U.S. murderers are wreaking cruel and ruthless vengeance on Korean patriots because they refuse to submit and become U.S. slaves. But despite all the hardships in the U.S. prison hell, the Korean patriots vow to their comrades in arms, their brothers and sisters, never to bend the knee to the butchers: "Ours is a just cause, we are fighting for the rights of man, for repatriation. We shall fight until the end for this sacred cause!", write the war prisoners.

The captives on Kojima Island express firm confidence that with the aid of their people and their friends—the Chinese volunteers—with the aid of all progressive mankind, they will uphold their rights, their dignity and their honour.

Working People of Finland Condemn Warmongers

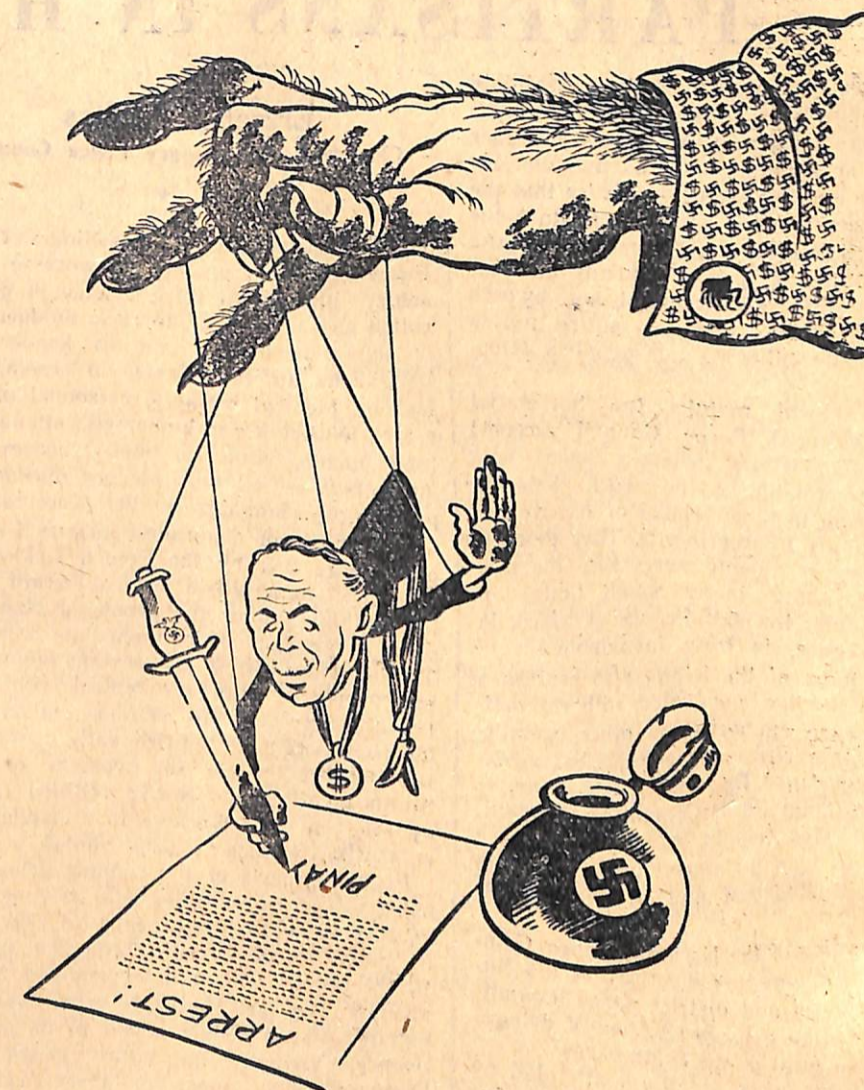
The signing of the separate "general contract", the arrest of Jacques Duclos, the fascist action of the French police and militarist strivings of Finnish reaction evoked a wave of indignation on the part of the working people of Finland.

A statement issued recently by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Finland calls on all peace-loving Finnish citizens to protest resolutely against the action of the warmongers, to support the signature campaign for a five-Power Peace Pact, and all the measures of the peace supporters. The Political Bureau sent a telegram solidarily itself with the Central Committee of the French Communist Party and sent also a protest telegram to the French Government.

The outrageous provocation of the Finnish militarists who timed a military parade in Helsinki to coincide with the birthday of

Carrying out the orders of their U.S. masters the French rulers arrested Jacques Duclos, Secretary of the French Communist Party, Andre Stil, Chief Editor of L'Humanite, and other French patriots.

(Press item)



FRENCH PUPPET MADE IN AMERICA

Drawing by J. NOVAK

POLITICAL NOTES

Monstrous "War" Waged by U.S. Army Against... Prisoners of War

All last week the American capitalist press gave front page prominence to so-called operations on Kojima Island by U.S. troops supported by aircraft, tanks, artillery, flame-throwers and tear gas. These "operations" were directed in person by General Clark, Supreme Commander of the U.S. troops in Korea, and by his deputy, General Boatner.

Against whom were these "operations" conducted? Were they against an enemy in the field? Against strongly fortified positions held by an enemy? No. Such was not the case. In the given instance Clark and Boatner, generals of an invading army that has repeatedly suffered disgraceful defeats on the field of battle at the hand of the valiant Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers, and now thirsting for revenge, turned their troops, tanks and flame-throwers against unarmed and defenceless prisoners of war held in barbed wire camps on Kojima Island. In its issue of June 5, the New York Herald Tribune described these "operations" in these words: "Tank-led United States troops charged the defiant Communist compounds yesterday... the 46-ton tanks, with their

Reuter's correspondent, this latest action against the prisoners "reminded one of the fiercest battles fought on the front".

It was only when the prisoners seized the notorious U.S. General Dodd—the butcher—and extracted from him a pledge that the monstrous extermination of defenceless people would be ended, did the world learn of the bloody crimes of the Americans on Kojima Island, of the uncensored atrocities of the U.S. military. The atrocities of the American military on Kojima Island, committed in the name of Uno, are on a par with the crimes of Hitler's butchers in Majdanek, Oswiecim and Dachau.

Conscious that their slaughter of war prisoners on Kojima Island has brought upon their heads the contempt and resolute protest of the whole civilised world, the Washington politicians now seek to make the rulers of Britain, Canada and other countries share responsibility for their crimes. For this purpose the U.S. generals in Korea moved British and Canadian troops to Kojima and forced them to take

people in the struggle for the liberation of the country and for independence. Warsaw gave birth to the Polish Workers' Party—the flesh and blood of the working class.

After the liberation of Warsaw, the working class and the working population became masters of their city. Under the leadership of the Workers' Party they began rehabilitation of the capital. Rehabilitation of Warsaw became a national matter. The slogan "the entire nation is building the capital" became one of the most vital mobilising political slogans in Poland.

In the postwar history of Warsaw two periods are clearly defined: the period of rehabilitation—from the moment of liberation in 1945 until July 1949, and the period of new construction—dating from July 1949. The immense tasks in the sphere of construction are defined by the Six-Year Plan and the perspective plan.

July 1949—the turning point—was marked by two important events: first, the report delivered by President Boleslaw Bierut, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, on the Six-Year Plan for the rehabilitation and construction of Warsaw, at the Warsaw Conference of the Party, and second, the opening of the East-West highway.

In his historical report, Comrade Bierut made a detailed political analysis of the crimes perpetrated by the Hitlerites in Warsaw, an analysis of the rehabilitation carried out in the city in the course of four years, characterised the difference between capitalist Warsaw and Warsaw as the capital of People's Poland, outlined ways and means for planned reconstruction of the city, emphasising that the most important thing is solicitude for man. He indicated concrete tasks in all spheres of construction and the means for effecting them. Priority was given to socialist methods of work and technical progress in construction.

Shortly afterwards several hundred thousand Warsaw residents and working people's representatives from all parts of the country attended the ceremonial opening of the seven-kilometre East-West highway which was built in something like two years. Thanks to the efforts of the working population of Poland an entirely new district was built with a bridge across the Vistula, a tunnel under the old part of the city, a new residential district in Marjensztat, while historical monuments were restored in the suburb of Cracow. This construction was striking proof of the prospects for building work in the conditions of the system of people's democracy, of the possibilities, scale and tempo of creative labour of free and conscious people who love their city, their country and who are building Socialism.

1945-1949 was a vital and extremely characteristic stage in the restoration of Warsaw.

In this period relatively little was done in the way of new building. Of the new constructions of that period mention should be made, above all, of the four new steel bridges spanning the Vistula, each 500

Model. Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw

The second stage dates from the Six-Year Plan. In a few months we shall complete the first half of this Plan. It is no longer a question of rehabilitating the city but of building the capital of socialist Poland on an area three times greater than the pre-war area of Warsaw. Today we can see how Comrade Bierut's directives are being fulfilled, how we are fulfilling the tasks of the Six-Year Plan and the future perspectives of construction. At present Warsaw has a population of more than 800,000, a considerable part of which is employed in industry. The number of industrial workers in the capital is steadily increasing. Warsaw is fast becoming a stronghold of the working class, a large industrial centre of Poland.

At the same time it is being transformed into a seat of Polish science. There are now functioning in Warsaw the Polish Academy of Sciences and 14 higher educational establishments with a student body of 29,000.

Schools cater for more than 70,000 children and kindergartens accommodate some 15,000 children. Over 80,000 infants were born in Warsaw since the liberation.

Over sixty-five thousand workers, engineers and technicians are employed in rebuilding Warsaw. Nearly all the industrial enterprises capable of being rehabilitated were restored and reconstructed. A number of new, large enterprises have been built including the automobile plant in Zeran which has already begun serial production of the "M-20-Warsaw" car. Construction is now underway on 40 industrial enterprises and combinats including the large "Warsaw" Steel Works, a power station in Zeran and other undertakings. The building of complete industrial centres is underway. The new industrial enterprises are distinguished from the old not only in scale and technical equipment but, above all, by the good working conditions. This is already genuine socialist industry.

Building work at present underway in Warsaw includes the erection of 21 settlements and residential districts. Nearly 17,000 comfortable rooms were built in 1951. This figure will be considerably surpassed in the current year. Houses are being built in both the centre of the city and in the outskirts, and the difference between centre and outskirts is gradually disappearing. The new apartments in the centre are peopled first of all with workers who have distinguished themselves in production.

In accordance with the principles of socialist construction together with industrial undertakings and dwelling houses, schools, kindergartens, medical establishments, shops, workshops, clubs and houses of culture are being built simultaneously.

Work has started on the first line of the Warsaw underground railway. A new central station is being built. Electrification of the suburban railway network is in full swing. A number of administrative buildings

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Wherein lies the source of our success in rebuilding Warsaw?

It is that the construction of Warsaw is being done by a liberated working class led by the Polish United Workers' Party, the Government, and personally by Warsaw's No. 1 builder—Comrade Bierut.

A source of this success is that the workers and technical intelligentsia—Party and non-party—realise the immense political and social significance of their labour, having created a new style of collective labour, developing large-scale emulation, and bringing forward from their midst cadres of splendid workers who are renowned throughout the country.

A source of this success is that our technical base is continually being reinforced, that labour is becoming more and more mechanised and the movement of rationalisers steadily widened.

A source of this success is that the entire people are taking part in the construction, people who ardently love their capital, which is of tremendous significance for the development of our country and the consolidation of peace.

This success is due to the friendship, aid and example of the Soviet Union. On this point Comrade Bierut wrote to Comrade Stalin on April 7, as follows:

"The magnificent high building which Soviet people—workers, technicians, engineers and architects—are erecting in the very heart of Warsaw which was devastated by fascist vandals, will be an eternal monument to the fraternal aid of one nation to another, extended for the first time in the history of mankind by the Soviet peoples; it will be a symbol of inviolable and eternal friendship between the Polish people and the Soviet peoples, a monument to the nobleness and grandeur of the Russian people and of the entire friendly family of Soviet peoples, a monument to the great Stalin epoch, to its inexhaustible strength and its all-victorious ideas.

"The erection of the Palace of Science and Culture in Warsaw—eloquent testimony to the creative labour and peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union—will inspire all Polish people for further selfless labour in peaceful construction and in defence of peace against the criminal designs of the warmongers".

same site admitted 20 of the best builders as candidate members.

In honour of the Party Conference the workers of the K. Liebknecht plant in Magdeburg have taken 3,000 individual pledges, while the squad headed by Heinz Müller pledged to raise productivity of labour by 10 to 25 per cent on each operation.

Working People of Finland Condemn Warmongers

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A statement issued recently by the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Finland calls on all peace-loving Finnish citizens to protest resolutely against the action of the warmongers, to support the signature campaign for a five-Power Peace Pact, and all the measures of the peace supporters. The Political Bureau sent a telegram solidary itself with the Central Committee of the French Communist Party and sent also a protest telegram to the French Government.

The outrageous provocation of the Finnish militarists who timed a military parade in Helsinki to coincide with the birthday of the war criminal Mannerheim particularly shocked the working people. The Congress of the Democratic Union of the People of Finland held on May 31-June 3 adopted a resolution containing a vigorous protest against this provocation. The wrath of the working people was expressed at the meetings held in enterprises throughout the country. On June 3 mass meetings were held in Helsinki, Turku and Jyväskylä. 15,000 working people in the Finnish capital demanded the creation of a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany, the release of imprisoned French peace fighters and an end to the war preparations and military parades in Finland. On the following day, June 4, brief protest strikes against the policy of war preparation took place in many enterprises in Helsinki.

Sanguinary Terror in Greece

The Plastiras Government is making a great ado about so-called "appeasement measures" which in point of fact signify continuation of the sanguinary terror and are aimed at crushing the popular movement for peace and national independence. More than 30,000 democrats languish in prisons and concentration camps.

Another wave of arrests has swept the country. The Athens Government has banned the activity of the all-Greece Amalgamation of Families of Prisoners and Exiles, and is persecuting the youth organisation, United Democratic Organisation of Greek Youth. The monarcho-fascists first subjected to brutal torture and then murdered the patriot, Christos Dadanis. A soldier named Vlahakis was killed in Larissa; in Trikala barracks another soldier fell at the hands of the monarcho-fascists. A trial scheduled for August is designed to pave the way for the legal murder of Tony Ambatiellos, General Secretary of the Greek Seamen's Union, and other trade union functionaries.

"We ardently call on the whole world", say 20,000 Greek political prisoners in an address broadcast by Radio "Free Greece", "to launch a campaign for a general amnesty in order to save us from physical extermination".

The people of Greece are insisting more and more forcibly on the withdrawal of the U.S.-British occupationists, on a general amnesty and abolition of the monarcho-fascist regime of hunger, gallows and war.

called operations—troops supported by aircraft, tanks, artillery, flame-throwers and tear gas. These "operations" were directed in person by General Clark, Supreme Commander of the U.S. troops in Korea, and by his deputy, General Boatner.

Against whom were these "operations" conducted? Were they against an enemy in the field? Against strongly fortified positions held by an enemy? No. Such was not the case. In the given instance Clark and Boatner, generals of an invading army that has repeatedly suffered disgraceful defeats on the field of battle at the hand of the valiant Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers, and now thirsting for revenge, turned their troops, tanks and flame-throwers against unarmed and defenceless prisoners of war held in barbed wire camps on Kojé Island. In its issue of June 5, the New York Herald Tribune described these "operations" in these words: "Tank-led United States troops charged the defiant Communist compounds yesterday... the 46-ton tanks, with their 96-millimetre guns, roared off in a swirling cloud of dirt... units of the United States 2nd Infantry Division moved in behind the tanks". In this "operation" Clark and Boatner, "captured" 75... prisoners.

No doubt Mr. Truman will pin medals galore on Clark's tunic. And for a very original reason! Is not Clark the first general in history who waged "war" against unarmed and defenceless men taken prisoner and kept behind barbed wire—a "war" waged with big formations armed to the teeth? Did he not capture those who had been taken prisoner before?

These "operations" of the U.S. Army marked the highest level so far in the monstrous campaign of physical extermination waged against the Korean prisoners by the American butchers over a period of months. Having failed to get the Korean and Chinese prisoners of war to give up the idea of repatriation, unable to get them to join the Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek "armies", unable to break their morale and their will to struggle, unable to get them to betray their homeland, the American gangster-generals resorted to wholesale extermination of the patriots. Hundreds were murdered in the shootings. On February 18, staged by the Americans on February 18, March 13, April 10, on May 15, 17, 19, 22, 23, 29 and 30, and again during the first week of June. Only the other day, U.S. troops, under the direct command of Boatner and supported by tanks, attacked compound No. 76, and killed 32 and wounded 197 prisoners who resisted the attempts of the interventionists to make them leave their barracks. According to

the notorious U.S. General Clark, butcher—and extracted from him a pledge that the monstrous extermination of defenceless people would be ended, did the world learn of the bloody crimes of the Americans on Kojé Island, of the unprecedented atrocities of the U.S. military.

The atrocities of the American military on Kojé Island, committed in the name of Uno, are on a par with the crimes of Hitler's butchers in Majdanek, Oswiecim and Dachau.

Conscious that their slaughter of war prisoners on Kojé Island has brought upon their heads the contempt and resolute protest of the whole civilised world, the Washington politicians now seek to make the rulers of Britain, Canada and other countries share responsibility for their crimes. For this purpose the U.S. generals in Korea moved British and Canadian troops to Kojé and forced them to take part in their bloody measures. This provocative action evoked such indignation on the part of the people of Canada that the rulers of that country were forced to "protest" to the U.S. Government.

And while all progressive humanity burns with indignation at the American crimes on Kojé Island, and will exonerate forever the names of the Clarks, Ridgways and the other war criminals, the prisoners of war—soldiers of the Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteers—incorruptible and fearless patriots—have won the wholehearted admiration and moral support of all peace-loving mankind. They are fighting for a sacred and just cause. Their unswerving loyalty to their people, their staunchness, courage and self-sacrifice evoke the fury of the contemptible pigmies in the uniform of generals in the U.S. Army.

One hundred years ago, Walt Whitman, the great American humanist, said of the American slaveholders who exterminated prisoners during the American Civil War: "There are deeds that may be forgiven; but this is not among them. It steepens its perpetrators in blackest, escapeless, endless damnation".

The conscience of the world cannot tolerate the cold-blooded daily extermination of prisoners of war carried out on Kojé Island by the American gangsters.

Blackest, endless damnation—such is the sentence of the peace-loving peoples on the American butchers who, under the disgraced Uno flag and to the accompaniment of jesuitical speeches by the Achesons, commit the most heinous crimes.

Jan MAREK

FACTS EXPOSE...

U.S. Colonisers in Turkey

Under cover of eloquent talk about "aid" to backward countries, U.S. monopolists laid their hands on chromium mines in Turkey. Soon a system of ruthless exploitation was introduced, comparable only to that in colonial countries. As reported by the Turkish newspaper "Son Telegraf" the chromium mine workers employed by Americans have not had any wages for six months and are forced to eat grass.

Such is the naked truth about U.S. "aid".

U.S. Brings up Murders

The U.S. magazine "McColls" gives the following advice to American mothers: if your young cowboys want to shoot at each other, let them do so... Don't worry if your children try to kill each other... The experience which they dread in the real life becomes less horrible when it is included in games.

In this way the butchers of the Korean people try to poison American children with the venom of militarism and banditry, to prepare them for the role of murderers.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Eve of Second Conference of Socialist Unity Party of Germany

The Second Conference of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany will be held in Berlin from July 9 to 12. The Conference will hear and discuss the report of Comrade Walter Ulbricht, General Secretary of the Party, on the subject: "Current Situation and New Tasks of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany".

The preparatory campaign for the Conference testifies to the growth of the

Party's influence on non-party working people. This is borne out by both the flow of applications for candidate-membership of the Party and by the numerous individual production pledges taken in honour of the Party Conference. The branch committee of the Party organisation in the C-D sector of the building site on the Stalin Alley, Berlin, received many applications for membership, while another branch on the