

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

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GROWING UPSURGE OF NATIONAL- LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN COLONIAL AND DEPENDENT COUNTRIES

The defeat of fascist Germany and militarist Japan as a result of the world-historic victory of the Soviet Union in World War II, the rise of the countries of people’s democracy and the weakening of the forces of world imperialism constituted most important factors stimulating a new powerful upsurge of the national-liberation struggle in the dependent countries and in the colonies and aggravating the crisis of the entire colonial system of imperialism.

The triumph of the people’s revolution in China and the establishment of the Chinese People’s Republic dealt a terrific blow to the colonial system of imperialism, still further

revolutionized the East, facilitating the continued development of the great liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples against the imperialist yoke.

For over two and a half-years the heroic people of Korea have been waging a selfless struggle for national independence, demonstrating to the world an example of a just liberation war against the joint forces of the aggressive U.S.-British bloc. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born in the fires of fierce battles and gained strength in these battles. The national-liberation movement of the peoples of Malaya, Burma, the Philippines, Indonesia and Latin America is gaining momentum. The peoples of Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria the Union of South Africa, Kenya and other African countries are rising in struggle for freedom. The peoples of Iran, Iraq, Egypt and other countries in the Near and Middle East have moved into action.

In India—the last of the biggest dependent, semi-colonial countries in Asia—national resistance is growing and an economic and political crisis is rapidly maturing. The political consciousness of the masses grows in the sharp ideological struggle. The Communist Party of India is inspiring and organising the popular struggle against the domination of foreign imperialism, against British imperialism in the first instance.

The national-liberation struggle in the colonial and dependent countries is assuming a more active and resolute nature. The spontaneous and divided centres of the movement for independence are becoming more and more organised in separate countries; the struggle is assuming a nation-wide character. The imperialists are no longer able to rule in the old way in the dependent and colonial countries and the colonial peoples no longer want to live in the old way. Nor can any efforts on the part of the imperialists avert the progressive disintegration of the colonial system; hold back the liberation

of the peoples from colonial yoke.

One-third of mankind has already forever freed itself from the fetters of capitalist slavery, and, having formed the mighty camp of democracy and Socialism, is marching forward along the pathway of economic and cultural prosperity, along the pathway of happiness and abundance.

The brilliant foresight of the great Lenin receives confirmation, Lenin said:

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

Imperialism cannot exist without political and economic enslavement of nations and peoples denied equal rights. Like an insatiable vampire it sucks the blood of the colonial peoples. The imperialists amass colossal profits by means of the slave labour of the peoples of the backward countries, by ruthlessly plundering their rich raw material resources and marketing at fabulous prices their surplus stocks.

The many years of imperialist oppression and feudal survivals have resulted in an unprecedented decline in the economy in the colonies and semi-colonies.

Tens of millions in India Pakistan, Iran, Indonesia and in the countries of Africa eke out a miserable existence; they suffer from chronic hunger and die from starvation. Purchasing power in the dependent countries and colonies is exceptionally low and the market for manufactured goods is constantly shrinking. All this weighs heavily on the capitalist economy, degrading it, and intensifying the contradictions within the

countries of the anti-democratic, imperialist camp, The more the capitalists experience a shortage of raw materials the sharper the capitalist competition in the drive for markets and the more desperate the struggle of the imperialist states and monopolies for securing and preserving spheres of influence. Of late the contradictions between the capitalist countries and in the first place between the U.S.A. and Britain, have become particularly acute.

The U.S. imperialists, intensifying their preparations for a new world war and striving for world domination, are waging a concealed and open struggle for undivided subordination to themselves of more and more countries, they are penetrating into the spheres of influence of other colonial powers, seizing key positions and dislodging the old colonial powers. In the process of this struggle the U.S. imperialists plot conspiracies and intrigues against their British, French and Belgian “partners” in the aggressive Atlantic bloc.

The ruling circles in Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and of the other colonial powers, in their turn, seek to uphold their “right” to colonies and semi-colonies, to compensate themselves at the expense of the latter for the excessive burden dictated by the frenzied arms drive and predatory U.S. expansion. All this cannot but lead to further growth of the contradictions in the imperialist camp. The imperialists hope to avert the oncoming economic crisis by means of war and by plundering their “own” and especially “alien” peoples.

The irreconcilable contradictions between the colonies and the metropolitan countries are becoming sharper and sharper. Consigned to the abyss of untold suffering, the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries are resisting more and more the imperialist robbery and feudal despotism. New progressive and patriotic forces, additional masses of the oppressed and exploited—demanding freedom and independence, abrogation

of unequal treaties and enslaving agreements, nationalisation of large-scale foreign enterprises and liquidation of feudal land ownership, democratisation of the country and radical improvement in the standard of living—are flowing in a mighty stream into the national-liberation movement.

Neither colonisers' terror, persecution by the imperialists of the democratic, progressive and patriotic organisations, wholesale slaughter of demonstrators and strikers, arrests, deportations and executions of public figures, nor the foul 'treachery of the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders, acting on the direct orders of the U.S. imperialists can break the indomitable will of the colonial peoples for freedom and independence. The broad peasant masses are rallying closer and closer around the working class and its vanguard—the Communist and Workers' Parties. Handicraftsmen, small and medium traders and manufacturers, suffering from the foreign expansion, the patriotic elements of the bourgeoisie who refuse to collaborate with the imperialist monopolies, all are rising against colonial oppression. United National-Liberation Fronts for struggle against colonial oppression, against the rule of foreign monopolies and for the right of the people to decide their own fate are being formed and consolidated.

The anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movement in the colonial and dependent countries is closely linked with the struggle for peace, for security and friendship of the peoples. Broad masses of the oppressed and exploited are becoming more and more convinced that a third world war should the warmongers succeed in unleashing it, will bring the colonial and dependent countries additional and countless sufferings and sacrifices. Consequently, they demand the expulsion of all foreign troops from their countries, the liquidation of foreign military bases and resolutely oppose the so-called "unified military commands" and the involving of the colonial and dependent countries in the different aggressive U.S.-British

military blocs. The peace movement is growing and developing.

The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries look with hope to the great Soviet Union—the true defender of their national independence, the bulwark of peace and security of the peoples. They see in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the embodiment of the cherished aspirations of all the oppressed and exploited masses, a country in which the one-time unequal, oppressed and backward nations have achieved unprecedented prosperity, where the friendship of the peoples, their moral-political unity and their life-giving patriotism have become the vital motive forces of society. The existence of the U.S.S.R., of the Chinese People's Republic and the countries of people's democracy inspires the peoples of the dependent countries and the colonies, in the struggle for their just cause.

The national-liberation struggle of the colonial peoples enjoys the profound sympathy and moral support of the Communist and Workers' Parties in all countries, of all the democratic and peace-loving forces of the world; the national liberation movement in the colonies—true ally of the fighters for peace, democracy and Socialism—is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind. This just struggle has the support of all people of labour, honour and progress in the metropolitan countries, because a nation which oppresses other nations cannot be free. The nation which oppresses another nation forges chains for itself.

The growing upsurge of the national-liberation movement leads the dependent countries and colonies onto the broad highway of independence, people's democracy and peace. Imperialism is doomed and all its convulsive efforts to prolong and preserve its sanguinary colonial domination are hopeless before the great struggle of the oppressed and dependent peoples for freedom, national independence and for peace.

PEOPLES WILL HALT WARMONGERS!
World-Wide Popularisation of
Decisions of the People's Congress

MASS MEETING OF WARSAW POPULATION

On January 2, a meeting of the Warsaw population, held to hear reports by the Polish delegates on the results of the Congress, took place amid great enthusiasm. The meeting was attended by prominent personalities of the peace movement in Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Venezuela, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and other countries, now visiting Poland.

Four thousand working people of the capital heard a report by Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz; Chairman of the Polish Peace

Committee, head of the Polish delegation, on the results of the Vienna Congress. Other delegates to the Congress and foreign guests also addressed the meeting.

The audience unanimously adopted a resolution expressing complete solidarity with the Congress decisions. The Polish people, says the resolution, will spare no efforts in the struggle for peace.

SECOND CZECHOSLOVAK PEACE CONGRESS

Much work is being carried out in Czechoslovakia in popularising the Peoples' Congress decisions which are regarded by the Czechoslovak people as a manifestation of their will and aspirations.

The second Czechoslovak peace congress is due to be held on January 17-18, in Prague, with an anticipated 1,600 delegates, representatives of all sections of the working people. The congress will sum up the work of the organised peace movement and outline its next tasks on the basis of the Peoples' Congress decisions.

Meetings of peace committees, now taking place all over the country, are discussing the work of the Peoples' Congress and electing delegates to the forthcoming national congress. Dolakova, functionary of the Regional Union of Consumer Co-operatives, elected to the congress from the Liberec region, has pledged to address six public meetings prior to the national congress to acquaint the working people with the main speeches of the Vienna Congress and with its decisions. Similar pledges have been taken by other delegates.

School-pupils are also actively popularising the Peoples' Congress decisions. Having acquainted themselves with the speech, made by a Korean delegate at the Vienna Congress, pupils in Rosice district (Brno region) organised groups of

young peace fighters.

Czechoslovak peace fighters are popularising the Peoples' Congress decisions at meetings of the National Front organisations, in the press and over the radio. The delegates to the Vienna Congress who have already addressed numerous public meetings in a number of towns are taking an active part in this work.

POPULARISING CONGRESS DECISIONS IN BULGARIA

The participation of the mass organisations in the work of popularising the Peoples' Congress decisions was reviewed at an enlarged joint meeting of the Bulgarian Peace Committee with representatives of these organisations. The meeting decided to open, on January 10, a wide campaign for popularising the Congress decisions. It was decided to hold regional and district meetings and mass rallies all over the country at which members of the Bulgarian delegation to the Peoples' Congress will report on its work and decisions.

The delegates Georgi Pirinski, Georgi Karaslavov and Ludmil Stoyanov have already addressed meetings in many enterprises, Academicians Georgi Nadjakov and Metodi Popov shared their impressions of the Congress over the radio.

The work and decisions of the Peoples' Congress are well publicised in the journal "In Defence of Peace" and in the National Committee Bulletin, and also in a special booklet issued in a large edition. A collection of the main speeches delivered at the Congress and photo-posters are being prepared for publication.

“LET SPIRIT OF NEGOTIATIONS TRIUMPH OVER DECISIONS BASED ON FORCE”

Under this heading the Mexican newspaper “Vos de Mexico” published on December 26, materials devoted to the result of the Peoples’ Congress for Peace. The newspaper dwelt on the tasks advanced by the Congress before the world peace movement.

The national peace movement said the newspaper, suffers from serious shortcomings. In order to eliminate them it is necessary to bring home to the popular masses the tasks of the peace movement, effectively to combat the causes which give rise to international tension, strive for ending the wars now in progress, intensify the struggle against encroachment by the militarists on our sovereignty and independence. It is necessary to strengthen the peace movement by means of turning it into a broad and powerful mass movement, to carry on organisational work so that those forces as yet outside the peace movement but which are fighting against war or are opposed to war, co-ordinate their efforts with the peace movement.

“END WARS NOW IN PROGRESS!”

Dr. H. Davies, head of the Lancashire delegation to the Peoples’ Congress shared his impressions with the newspaper “Daily Worker”.

Davies said that the Congress evoked enthusiasm among the Lancashire delegation. The call of the Congress to remove the obstacles to international trade shows the way to end unemployment in Lancashire.

Davies said that Kuo Mo-jo, Vice Chairman of the Bureau of the World Peace Council, had advanced a slogan that we in Lancashire would like to circulate in every factory and mill in

the district to end the wars now in progress means averting still greater wars in the future.

We could say much to the workers of Lancashire that would expose the foul conspiracy of silence with which the capitalist press surrounded the Congress, said Davies.

The amazing confidence of all the peoples of the countries of people's democracy in their future and their complete absence of fear for the future evoked the greatest enthusiasm among the delegation.

BELGIAN DELEGATES REPORT

The 77 Belgian delegates and observers to the Peoples' Congress, representative of all walks of life, have issued a communiqué calling on all Belgian citizens to "joint action since this is the only way to change the course of events and to make the Vienna Congress decisions a reality". The Congress delegates, former political prisoners and participants in the Resistance Movement, ardently appealed to the people who elected them to intensify in their various spheres the struggle for realisation of the tasks put forward by the Congress.

A statement issued by the Sponsoring Committee which initiated the preparations in Belgium for the Peoples' Congress calls' on the people who want peace to hear the reports of the Congress delegates. The first reports will be delivered at meetings held in Liege and Brussels. Similar meetings are scheduled for Charleroi, Antwerp, Tournai and other places in the near future.

The Peoples' Congress decisions are meeting with warm support among Belgian public opinion. Nearly one hundred women in Tournai approved them and unanimously adopted a resolution thanking the Belgian and foreign delegates who have declared their intention to stay the criminal hand of those

preparing a new war. The Tournai women pledged “to do their best so that the struggle of the peoples shall bring happiness and joy to their children in an atmosphere of peace and freedom.

RATIONING ABOLISHED IN POLAND

A decree issued by the Government of the Polish People’s Republic is of great importance for the national economy as a whole and for the entire working people. In accordance with the decree, beginning with January 4, rationing of meat, fats, soap and sugar is abolished. These items are now on free sale.

In addition, the decree introduces new prices for manufactured goods and food-stuffs, based on the changed correlation between prices for agricultural and manufactured goods. The Government has increased wages and salaries from 15 to 40 per cent to make good the higher prices in the budgets of the working people.

The new basic wage gives a supplementary 3% increase to categories of workers doing auxiliary jobs in coal and ore-mining, on arduous work in iron and steel plants, scientific workers, etc.

Restrictions on sale of surplus agricultural products are likewise abolished; peasants can now freely sell their surplus produce after meeting the obligatory deliveries.

The abolition of rationing is the outcome of the big achievements of the national economy.

“Our state”, Tribuna Ludu writes editorially, “is able to abolish rationing because thanks to the obligatory agricultural deliveries, thanks to the increase in the head of cattle, thanks to the growth in output of socialist industry it can ensure goods for the market without rationing”.

The regulation of market relations will, undoubtedly, greatly influence the further strengthening of the national economy, intensify the struggle for carrying out the great and complex tasks of the Six-Year Plan, and accelerate socialist construction in the country.

“The abolition of rationing”, says the decree, “the price regulation and the general wage increase, as well as raising the restrictions on marketing surplus agricultural products will facilitate increased labour productivity in industry and agriculture, will improve agricultural supplies for the urban population, will restrict the capitalist elements, suppress profiteering, consolidate and increase purchasing power of the urban and rural working people, will consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and create better prerequisites for further development of the national economy and for steady improvement in the standard of living of the working people.

GREAT FRIENDSHIP OF U.S.S.R. AND CHINA - MIGHTY BULWARK OF PEACE

The mighty alliance and inviolable friendship between the great peoples of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic have found yet another vivid expression: the Soviet Government has handed over, without compensation, to the Government of the Chinese People's Republic the Chinese Changchun railway, As pointed out by Comrade Chou En-Iai, Prime Minister of the State Administrative Council, in a speech on the occasion of the signing of the final, Protocol "this is a

great event in the history of the friendly relations and co-operation between China and the Soviet Union.”

The fraternal friendship and increasingly closer ties between the Soviet and Chinese peoples found particularly vivid embodiment in the historic-Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual aid, signed in February 1950. This Treaty, strikingly and convincingly demonstrated the great Lenin-Stalin principles of Soviet foreign policy, disclosed the entire depth and strength of the inviolable Soviet-Chinese friendship. The events of the past three years confirm how timely and correct was the signing of the Soviet-Chinese Treaty. Precisely because of this treaty the aggressive U.S. designs in the Far East encountered insurmountable difficulties. Consequently, this Treaty has largely contributed and is contributing to the maintenance of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

The radical changes in the Far East which. Resulted from the defeat of imperialist Japan, from the overthrow of the reactionary Kuomintang regime and the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, created a new situation which made possible a new approach to the question of the Chinese Changchun railway.

As is known, the Chinese Changchun railway, which includes the trunk lines from Manchuria station to Suifenho station (Pogranichnaya) and from Harbin to Dalny and Port Arthur have, until now, been under joint Soviet-Chinese administration. The Soviet-Chinese Society of the Chinese Changchun railway functioned on the principles of equality and mutual respect for the sovereign fights of both sides. The railway, destroyed by the Japanese militarists and the Kuomintang clique, was soon restored and developed by means of joint effort. The Chinese press unanimously notes the great care of the Soviet Government for the Chinese Changchun railway and highly appraises the work of the Soviet specialists. As pointed out by the press, the thousand and more Soviet

specialists employed on the railway have trained in the past three years some 20,000 administrative and technical railway personnel. The “Jenmingjihpao” points out that thanks to Soviet aid the Chinese Changchun railway has become a model for all railways in People’s China. It is indeed a line of friendship between two great nations.

On December 31, the Soviet Government, true to its contractual obligations, transferred complete ownership, without compensation, to the Government of the Chinese People’s Republic, of all its rights to joint management of the Chinese Changchun railway with all its equipment. Thus, the Soviet Government has once again manifested to the world its generosity and selflessness, its boundless fidelity to the Chinese Soviet fraternal alliance.

The indestructible alliance and the friendship between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and China are an eloquent example of international relations of a new type, relations which came into being among the countries of the socialist camp. These relations are based on complete and genuine equality, on the preservation of the sovereign rights and independence of each state, on mutual respect for national interests, on close co-operation and mutual aid and on a common striving for peace. This co-operation is based on a sincere desire to help one another and achieve a general economic upsurge.

History has never known a single example of a country rendering such generous and selfless aid to other countries as is done by the Soviet Union in relation to the countries of people’s democracy. Experience shows that not a single capitalist state could have given such effective and technically-qualified aid to the countries of people’s democracy as that being given by the Soviet Union.

What a sharp contrast, compared with this, are the relations between capitalist countries where the bestial law of the jungle rages, where fierce rivalry and struggle for raw material

resources and markets become more acute day by day, where the strong oppresses and enslaves the weak. U.S. imperialism — the most predatory and sanguinary imperialism — utilises the industrial potential of its country solely for the purpose of disorganising and subordinating to itself the economy of other capitalist countries, for enslaving the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, for ensuring for themselves maximum profit.

In the recent past the Chinese people experienced a brutal imperialist yoke. Under the leadership of their glorious Communist Party they overthrew the yoke of imperialism and are now successfully building a new life. This makes all the more understandable the heartfelt gratitude of the Chinese people to the Soviet Union for its generous and all-round support and aid. Relying on this aid the Chinese people have successfully effected radical social-economic changes solving a number of vital economic-political problems.

As pointed out at a recent session of the Bureau of the all-China Committee of the People's Political Consultative Council, China is at present entering a period of large-scale, planned, economic construction. This year People's China is beginning work on its first Five-Year Plan.

In an interview with a correspondent of "l'Humanite", published on December 27, Comrade Chou En-lai said:

"Since the day when Comrade Mao Tse-tung visited the Soviet Union and the time when the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Aid was signed, China has received unprecedented aid from the Soviet Union.

"For three years Soviet experts have spared no effort in actively helping us in the work of rehabilitating our economy. Without any conditions whatever they placed at the disposal of the Chinese people all their scientific and technical knowledge and their advanced experience. As for trade relations, we are able to exchange agricultural produce for Soviet machinery.

Such large-scale and fraternal aid can only be rendered by a socialist country. Due to this selfless aid from the Soviet Union we have been able to complete, in the main, restoration work and next year we shall enter the period of national reconstruction”.

All progressive people on earth welcome and wholeheartedly approve the great friendship and inviolable alliance of the Soviet and the Chinese peoples, since this friendship plays a vital role in international life and is a mighty force in the matter of strengthening world peace.

“The great friendship between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People’s Republic”, wrote J. V. Stalin, “is a firm guarantee against the threat of new aggression, a mighty bulwark of peace in the far East and throughout the world”.

PROGRAMME—DOCUMENT OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. (30 Years Since V. I. LENIN’S Article “On Co-operation”)

Thirty years ago, on January 6, 1923, already seriously ill, the great Lenin wrote his world-famous article “On Cooperation”. In the series of the last Lenin works this article occupies a special place: here, as in the article “Our

Revolution”, written a few days later, the genius of revolutionary theoretical thought and revolutionary action charted a thoroughly substantiated plan for building socialist society in the U.S.S.R. In his article “On Co-operation” Lenin, for the first time in the history of Marxist theoretical thought, indicated the pathways of solving the most difficult task after the seizure of power by the proletariat – the task of socialist reconstruction of agriculture – indicated how millions of working peasants could be drawn into socialist construction, how the petty-commodity agriculture could be switched onto a socialist footing. This was Lenin’s political behest, under the guidance of which the Communist Party, led by J. V. Stalin, radically changed the destiny of millions of people and transformed the Soviet Union into the greatest of powers, the citadel of peace, democracy and Socialism.

I.

The victory of the great October Socialist Revolution transferred state power into the hands of the Soviets – organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat – and made the means of production public property. But this was not enough to ensure the building of Socialism. In order to build Socialism it was necessary to do away with the economic backwardness of the country, to build heavy industry – the basis for the reconstruction of the entire national economy. Moreover, it was necessary to unite the small peasant households into large collective farms because Soviet power could not for long base itself on the two diametrically opposed foundations – on large-scale socialist industry which wipes out capitalist elements, and on the petty, individual peasant economy which gives rise to capitalist elements. “If we continue as of old on our small farms”, Lenin pointed out, “even as free citizens on free land, we shall still be faced with inevitable ruin”.

In his works Lenin more than once emphasized that there is no escape from poverty for the small farms, that so long as Russia remains a small-peasant country there is a surer economic basis for capitalism than for Communism.

“Only by collective, co-operative, artel labour”, Lenin pointed out, “will it be possible to emerge from the impasse into which the imperialist war has driven us”. Lenin said that the working class, holding state power in its hands, can really succeed in winning to its side forever the multi-million peasant masses, if it, in practice, succeeds in proving to the peasant the advantages of common, collective, co-operative artel cultivation of the soil, only if it succeeds in helping the peasant by means of co-operative, artel farming.

In co-operation in general and agricultural co-operation in particular Lenin saw the accessible and understandable way for the peasants to switch from petty individual economy to large-scale collective production societies – to the collective farms.

Lenin pointed out that the development in agriculture in the Soviet Union should take a new path, the very opposite of the capitalist path, – the path of drawing the peasants into socialist construction through co-operation, along the pathway of gradual introduction into agriculture of the rudiments of collectivism, first in the sphere of selling agricultural products and supplying the peasants with manufactured goods, and later in the sphere of agricultural production.

Simultaneously, Lenin pointed out that, given the dictatorship of the proletariat and the alliance of the working class and peasantry, with the leadership of the peasantry by the working class ensured, and given the existence of socialist industry, a properly organised producer co-operative system, embracing million of peasants, provided the means whereby a complete socialist society could be built in the country. “This is not yet the building of socialist society”, Lenin said, “but it is all that is necessary and sufficient for this building”. He

pointed out that “co-operation under our conditions, very often coincides with Socialism”, that the “mere growth of co-operation is identical... with the growth of Socialism”.

At bedrock of Lenin’s co-operative plan lie his great ideas of alliance of the working class and peasantry, of the working peasantry as the ally and reserve of the working class. Evaluating co-operation as a powerful lever with the aid of which the ruling working class can and must utilise the working peasantry in order to link industry with agriculture, to develop socialist construction and to place the dictatorship of the proletariat on the necessary basis without which it is impossible to advance towards socialist economy, Lenin placed in the hands of the Party a reliable compass indicating the pathway to victory in the struggle for the socialist reconstruction of the countryside, for building socialist society,

II.

Invariably following Lenin’s behests and relying on Lenin’s plan for co-operation, Comrade Stalin elaborated and applied the theory of collectivisation of agriculture, realisation of which transformed the Soviet Union into a country with the biggest and most mechanised agriculture.

In 1923, the year Lenin wrote his last programme-articles, there was not nor could there be a mass collective-farm movement in the country. In those days the country had just begun to get on its feet after the devastation of the war years; it lacked a material base in the form of the large numbers of tractors and other agricultural machinery needed for the socialist reconstruction of the countryside. Nor was the state in those days in a position seriously to finance the collective-farm movement, and the peasantry itself was not psychologically prepared for the transition from individual farming to collective, public farming.

Comrade Stalin, fully in keeping with V. I. Lenin's plan, taught the Party to conduct an every-day policy of educating the masses while consistently bringing the working peasantry to the collective farms through the introduction of selling and supply co-operatives. While development of co-operation in the countryside paved the way for the change in the attitude of the peasantry in favour of the collective farms, the exemplary work of the first agricultural artels which harvested unprecedented crops resulted in large-scale gravitation of the poor and a part of the middle peasants towards the collective farm. Accordingly as the economy of the country grew stronger the state found itself in a position to supply credits to the collective farms on an ever-increasing scale. This explains why the XV Congress of the Lenin-Stalin Party held in 1927, and which has gone down in history as the congress of collectivisation of agriculture, recognised that conditions had matured in the country for a mass collective-farm movement. The Congress decided on all-out unfolding of collectivisation of agriculture and directed the Party to intensify the pressure on the kulaks and to take a number of additional measures restricting the development of capitalism in the countryside and leading the peasant economy towards Socialism.

A decisive role in developing the mass collective-farm movement was played by equipping agriculture with machinery, a development made possible as the result of the restoration of industry and the construction of new enterprises during the first Five-Year Plan. The construction of the Stalingrad Tractor plant, the giant agricultural-machinery plant in Rostov-on-Don And other agricultural-machinery enterprises made possible throughout the country the organisation of a dense network of machine and tractor depots equipped with up-to-date technique placed at the service of the new socialist agriculture.

The mass collective-farm movement which developed on

this basis unfolded particularly towards the end of 1929. In view of the growth of the collective and state farms, of the sharp increase in the share of their market produce in the economy of the country, the Communist Party, having smashed the Trotskyite-Bukharinite and other traitors, switched from the policy of restricting the kulaks to the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class on the basis of mass collectivisation. The kulaks were expropriated and their means of production handed over to the united peasants, to the collective farms.

“This was a profound revolution,” said Comrade Stalin, “a leap from an old qualitative state of society to a New qualitative state, equivalent in its consequences to the revolution of October 1917”.

Twenty years ago, summing up the results of the first Five-Year Plan, Comrade Stalin, in a report to the joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Party on January 7, 1933, pointed out that in the sphere of agriculture the first Five-Year Plan was a five-year plan of collectivisation and that the U.S.S.R., had already been transformed from a country with a petty peasant economy into a country with the largest agriculture in the world.

In the subsequent years, having completed collectivisation of agriculture, the Communist Party directed its efforts organisational-administrative consolidation of the collective farms.

As a result of successful fulfilment of the Stalin Five-Year Plans and because of the tireless solicitude of the Party and of Comrade Stalin personally, the collective-farm system in the U.S.S.R., took final shape, the collective farms were consolidated and the socialist system of economy became the sole form of agriculture. The collective-farm system successfully withstood the difficult trials in the years of the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people against Hitler fascism and proved its indestructible firmness and immense vitality.

Socialist agriculture in the Soviet Union registered new outstanding successes in the post-war. The most important of these was, as Comrade Malenkov pointed out in his report to the XIX Congress of the C.P.S.U., the fact that the grain problem which formerly was considered the most acute and gravest problem, has been solved successfully, solved once and for all.

The XIX Congress of the C.P.S.U. which opened before the socialist agriculture of the U.S.S.R. the prospect of further, even more powerful upsurge, advanced as the main task the further raising of crop yields, increasing the head of commonly-owned live-stock with a simultaneous considerable rise in its productivity, increasing gross output and market production of agriculture and animal husbandry.

In his brilliant work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.", Comrade Stalin, defining the basic preliminary conditions for preparing the transition from Socialism to Communism set the Party and the Soviet people, in relation to collective farm production, the task "by means of gradual transitions, carried out in a way advantageous to the collective farms and, consequently, to society as a whole, to elevate collective-farm property to the level of national property, and to replace commodity circulation, likewise through gradual transitions, by a system of exchange of products..."

The great service rendered by Comrade Stalin is that he thoroughly elaborated the question of the collective-farm form of socialist economy in the countryside, showed that the basic and main link of collective-farm development in the present phase is the agricultural artel, which correctly combines the personal interests of the collective farmers with their social interests, that he elaborated the principle of the switch from the policy of restricting and dislodging the kulaks to the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class on the basis of mass collectivisation, that he disclosed the significance of the

machine and tractor stations (MTS), as strong-points in the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. Comrade Stalin not only made this new invaluable theoretical contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, he carried it out in practice.

III.

Lenin's co-operative plan and Stalin's theory on collectivisation of agriculture, elaborated on its basis, are of tremendous international significance. They serve as a guide for Communist and Workers' Parties not only in the countries where the working class is already in power but also in those where capital still rules. Analysing in his classical work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." the question as to whether the proletariat should assume power if the conditions are favourable but where agriculture, notwithstanding the growth of capitalism, is divided up among numerous small and medium owner-producers to such an extent as to make it impossible to consider the expropriation of these producers, Comrade Stalin says: "The answer to this question was given by Lenin in his writings on the "Tax in Kind" and in his celebrated "Co-operative Plan".

Lenin's answer may be briefly summed up as follows:

a) Favourable conditions for the assumption of power should not be missed — the proletariat should assume power without waiting until capitalism succeeded in ruining the multimillions of small and medium individual producers;

b) The means of production in industry should be expropriated and converted into public property;

c) As to the small and medium individual producers, they should be gradually united in producers' co-operatives, i.e. in large agricultural enterprises, collective farms;

d) Industry should be developed to the utmost and the collective farms should be placed on the modern technical

basis of large-scale production, not expropriating them, but on the contrary generously supplying them with first-class tractors and other machines;

e) In order to ensure an economic bond between town and country, between industry and agriculture, commodity production (exchange through purchase and sale) should be preserved for a certain period, it being the form of economic tie with the town which is alone acceptable to the peasants, and Soviet trade — state, co-operative, and collective farm — should be developed to the full and the capitalists of all types and descriptions ousted from trading activity.

The history of socialist construction in our country has shown that this path of development, mapped out by Lenin, has fully justified itself.”

Armed with the Lenin co-operative plan, with Stalin’s theory of collectivisation of agriculture and enriched by the all-round experience and practice of the collective farms in the Soviet Union, the countries of people’s democracy have also firmly taken the path of socialist reconstruction of the countryside.

Acting on the example of the C.P.S.U., the Communist and Workers’ Parties in these countries, having become ruling Parties, unfolded large-scale work for preparing the conditions for carrying out a broad programme of establishing producer co-operatives in the countryside. Gradually preparing the peasantry for the transition to collective forms of labour they began by uniting the toiling masses in the countryside into selling and supply co-operatives, by organising lower forms of producer co-operatives, gradually switching, on a strictly voluntary principle, to a higher form of co-operation — agricultural artels — and simultaneously carrying out the policy of restricting and dislodging the kulaks.

Simultaneously, the Communist and Workers’ Parties adopted measures to ensure that agriculture in their countries is

supplied to an increasingly greater degree with tractors and other agricultural machinery through the machine tractor stations. In this, the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union has played and plays now a tremendous role.

Equipping the countryside with agricultural machinery at an increasing rate year by year, the big successes of the producer co-operatives, the great assistance rendered the co-operatives by the state in the form of credit and various privileges, the visits of peasants from the countries of people's democracy to collective farms in the Soviet Union — all this could not but stimulate an increasing influx of the working peasants into the existing co-operatives and the organisation of more and more producer co-operatives. There are at present thousands of co-operatives of all types and hundreds of machine-tractor stations equipped with up-to-date technique in the European countries of people's democracy.

The movement for forming mutual aid teams and producer co-operatives in the countryside of the Chinese People's Republic is indeed developing on a mass scale. Experiencing for the first time the joy of free labour, the Chinese peasants, convinced of the advantages of mutual aid and co-operation, are unfolding patriotic emulation for boosting agricultural production and creating model collective farms.

A keen striving on the part of the peasants to unite in producer co-operatives is characteristic also for the German Democratic Republic.

The experience of recent years clearly confirms that millions of peasants in the People's Democracies regard the pathway of producer co-operatives, which leads to a secure prosperous life, as the sole correct path. On this path alone they see their salvation from the threat of impoverishment and ruin.

This signifies that Lenin's brilliant cooperative plan was and will remain a programme-document for the international Communist movement, a document of immense mobilising

force, inspiring millions of toiling peasants in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries' in the struggle for land, for the bright future.

S. BESSUDNOV.

FOR A GOVERNMENT OF PEACE AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IN FRANCE. Florimond Bonte, Member, Central Committee, French Communist Party

In order clearly to understand the nature of the latest Government crisis in France it is necessary to define what lies at the basis of the unrest and upheavals which upset the equilibrium of the Pinay Government and compelled its resignation even before the vote of no confidence in the National Assembly.

The bourgeois newspaper "L'Information politique, economique et financiere" began its first leader in 1953 with the following characteristic phrase: "On the threshold of 1953 French men and women in different walks of life ask themselves, and not without a certain anxiety, what the future holds in store for them, since the government crisis, as they see it, — and this is absolutely correct — is not an ordinary, passing crisis. Such is the estimate not only of this newspaper. In its issue of January 4, "Monde" wrote: "The past two weeks have shown that this is not a government crisis, similar to previous ones, but that it is a profound political crisis".

The disastrous results of the policy of subordinating the national interests to the dollar magnates have been laid bare before the toiling masses who themselves experience the fatal consequences of this policy.

For the working class, for the people and for the entire country the "Pinay experiment" was a misfortune. Its results: an increased budget deficit to the amount of 800 thousand million francs caused by the huge military expenditure; intensified militarisation of the economy with a resultant

decline in peace production and a sharp rise in unemployment. The Pinay Government intensified the policy of reviving revanchism in Western Germany. Simultaneously, it continued the unjust war in Viet Nam and resorted to brutal repressions against the national-liberation movement of the colonial peoples.

Finally, it was the Pinay Government which intensified the assault against all democratic Liberties, which organised conspiracies against the Communist Party and the democratic organisations.

In these conditions the working class and the popular masses became convinced of the correctness of Stalin's brilliant definition of the basic economic law of modern capitalism, the basic feature and requisites of which are : "the securing of the maximum capitalist profit through the exploitation, ruin and impoverishment of the majority of the population of the given country, through the enslavement and systematic robbery of the peoples of other countries, especially backward countries and lastly, through wars and militarisation of the national economy, which are utilised for the obtaining of the highest profits."

Simultaneously they have seen that the French bourgeoisie has trampled under-foot the principle of equality of people and nations and has replaced it by the principle of complete equality for the exploiting minority and deprivation of all rights for the exploited majority, that the bourgeoisie has abandoned the "national principle" and sells the rights and independence of the nation for dollars.

Naturally, discontent and opposition, which meet with a response in Parliament itself and influence the attitude of part of the government majority, are growing among the working class and different sections of the population.

Hence, the source of the government crisis lies in the complete antithesis between the fatal policy dictated by

Washington and the unswerving aspiration of the French people for a policy of peace, social progress, freedom, national sovereignty and independence.

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The policy of intensified enslavement of France pursued by Washington, which has given rise to insurmountable economic, financial, social and political difficulties, is counterposed by the ever more persistent demand of the working class and other social sections for a return to the policy of national sovereignty and independence.

The new and characteristic feature is the protests voiced by certain capitalist circles, deprived of the opportunity of satisfying their requirements for cheap raw materials and profitable markets as a result of U.S. interference. The dollar magnates are turning the French economy into an appendage to the U.S. economy, seizing raw materials and markets in the French colonies and in this way threatening the profits of part of the French capitalistic bourgeoisie.

This state of affairs inevitably urges these capitalist circles to look for means of breaking from the embrace of the U.S.A. in order, as J. V. Stalin points out, "to secure an independent position and, of course, high profits".

Consequently, in order to ensure the continuation of this fatal policy, which has been rejected by the country, the lackeys of the U.S. billionaires would like a more reactionary government than the previous one.

But it is becoming more and more evident that the same causes inevitably will give rise to the same consequences, that the increasingly persistent demands of the dollar magnates will encounter growing resistance on the part of the people and will end in complete failure.

The big capitalistic bourgeoisie reckon on achieving their aims with the help of Right-wing Social Democracy, which, as Comrade Malenkov pointed out at the XIX Congress of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union, “in addition to its old role of lackey of the national bourgeoisie, has become an agency of foreign, U.S. imperialism, carrying out its foulest assignments in preparing for war and in fighting against its own people.”

As usual, the Right-wing Socialist leaders played a treacherous role during the government crisis: they have been assigned the task of facilitating in practice fascisation of the state system, of disarming the working class and, by sowing illusions, to prevent in every way its unity and to canalise the popular discontent by sham opposition to the government. The Right-wing Socialist leaders resort to all manner of cunning, deceit and trickery in their efforts to do the dirty work assigned to them.

When the crisis began Vincent Auriol, the Socialist President, called on Soustelle, one of the leaders of the fascist RPF, to form a government. Under mass pressures, the fascist chieftain was forced to abandon his designs on the Premiership. This, however, does not by any means detract from the significance of the fact that, precisely with the help of the “Socialist” Auriol, the RPF was able to pose as a party, whose path to power may “be opened legally”. It goes without saying that this is not simply the attitude of Vincent Auriol personally. The leaders of the Socialist Party willingly offered their services for the disgusting comedy, carrying on polite negotiations with the fascist Soustelle and also with Rene Mayer, protégé of the Rothschild Bank and Co.

This attitude of the Right-wing Socialists is understandable, since, between the RPF and Socialist Party, as well as among all the factions of the American party, there is, in fact, agreement on the main political issue — the issue of subordination to Washington — since all the leaders of the reactionary parties repeat one and the same thing: “Atlantic solidarity remains the principal element of our actions”.

In an attempt to deceive public opinion the Guy Mollets and Charles Lussys repeat like Tartuffe: “We are in opposition”. But this is a curious “opposition”. It boils down to differences in tactics, methods and style, while in reality the “opposition” is in full accord with the policy of war conducted by the aggressive North Atlantic coalition. They expose themselves by opposing realisation of unity of the working class — which is the basic condition for the creation of a United National Front which would draw all the people into victorious struggle for a policy corresponding to the vital interests of the country as a whole.

The facts show that the Socialist Party is responsible for the adoption of the fraudulent electoral law providing for single lists which resulted in 80 seats being stolen from the Communist Party to the great benefit of reaction; the Socialist Party is responsible for the fact that by its perfidious abstention from voting it cleared the way for carrying out the “Pinay experiment”. The Socialist Party acted and is acting now like a party of betrayal of the vital interests of the working people.

The formation of a René Mayer government and the Right-wing Socialist vote against its formation changes nothing in the policy of the Right-wing Socialists and in our evaluation of this policy.

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The French Communist Party is raising high the banner of democratic freedoms and the banner of national independence, thrown overboard by the bourgeoisie.

The statement of the Communist Party in connection with the Government crisis met with a wide response throughout the country. In its fighting call to the nation at the New Year the Communist Party convincingly proved the “possibility of immediately forming a French government that would carry

out a policy of national independence and peace. Rejecting the 'Marshall Plan', the Atlantic Pact and other aggressive military agreements, this government would put an end to the American occupation. It would contribute to a peaceful settlement of the German problem, put an end to the war in Viet Nam and transfer our economy onto a peace footing. A government of this kind can only be a government which guarantees individual and constitutional liberties."

The Party submitted for popular discussion and approval the idea of forming such government. What would a government of this kind, leaning on the working class and on all the active forces of the nation and, because of this, a stable government, do? The appeal of the Communist Party gives a clear, explicit and concrete answer to this question:

This government would immediately:

balance the budget by means of an all-round reduction of military and police expenditure;

introduce a genuine reform of the tax system, easing the burden on small tax-payers and raising the tax on the big incomes of capitalists;

ensure regeneration of economic life by means of genuine price reduction connected with the abolition of indirect taxes on staple goods; through expansion of the home market by increasing the purchasing power of the working population; normalise and extend foreign trade by restoring economic relations with the U.S.S.R., China, the countries of peoples democracy and by concluding equal economic agreements with Vietnam, Tunisia, Morocco and with other countries not included in the dollar area;

prepare and carry out a plan for the development of industry and agriculture taking into account the possibilities of the home and foreign market of a rehabilitated France;

abolish the housing crisis by means of carrying out a genuine policy of building and rehabilitation;

satisfy the just demands of the working people.

This government would do everything necessary to ensure the signing of a Pact of Peace between the five Great Powers: United States of America, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, Democratic China and France.

In conclusion the appeal says: “Only in this way, after regaining its national independence, will France again be able to play the role of a great nation. It could again look to the future with confidence, guaranteeing bread, freedom and peace for its people”.

In its appeal the French Communist Party points out that the final solution lies in the establishment of Socialism which completely abolishes exploitation of man by man, economic chaos, national oppression and the danger of wars. But while the majority of the French people are seeking an outlet from the situation which since 1947 has been deteriorating more and more, not all of them are convinced that the best solution lies in establishing Socialism. It would be erroneous to think that at present there is no choice but Socialism or the policy of subordination to the American billionaires.

The French Communist Party clearly shows the possibility of formation of a French government that would carry out a policy of national independence and peace, and calls on all Frenchmen and French women, young and old, Socialists and Communists, Christians and non-Christians, to unite and struggle for the formation of such a government whose efforts would be warmly supported by the Communists.

The popular masses in France enthusiastically responded to the call of the Communist Party and not to the statements of puppets and clowns. Kowtowing to the dollar magnates. And this is the main thing, since it clearly testifies that, in the long run, the people of France, after establishing unity in struggle, will realise their aspirations for peace, wellbeing, freedom, independence and happiness.

Right-Wing Socialist Medley in Rangoon

An Eastern proverb says “All crows are black”. Speaking of the Right-wing Socialist leaders one may say: Irrespective of where they caw and how they caw they remain lackeys of U.S. imperialism.

The Right-wing Socialist crows flew together from different countries to Rangoon, Burma, to the so-called conference of Socialists of the Asian countries, which opened on January 6th and will continue until January 15th. Even Clement Attlee, 70 year old apostle of betrayal, leader of the British Labour Party, is among those present in Rangoon. What force drove them there? The very same force which recently rallied the Right-wing Socialist leaders of the West European countries in Milan: the U.S. imperialist rulers.

The peoples of colonial Asia cannot and do not want to live any longer in the old way. The great example of China has rallied the million-fold masses of the East for resolute struggle against the enslavers. The colonial system of imperialism is collapsing. Protests against the perfidious policy of their leaders are voiced more and more frequently in the Socialist Parties of the Asian countries which are rent with inner contradictions.

Attlee’s task is to urge on and direct the activity of the Right-wing Socialist leaders in the Asian countries against the progressive forces fighting for national independence and sovereignty of their countries and to split and frustrate the growing mass movement against the colonial yoke.

It was precisely with this aim in view, already in Milan, that the Attlees, Phillips and their ilk tried might and main to

get the Asian Socialists to join the “socialist international” of direct accomplices of the warmongers. The same aim is now pursued by Attlee in Rangoon. According to the France Presse agency, Attlee, speaking in Calcutta en route to Burma, expressed the hope that the Rangoon Conference would promote closer contact between Socialists in the West and in the East.

This is the main reason for the long-distance journey of Mr. Attlee,

The imperialist colonisers hope that napalm, combined with the lies and slander of the Right-wing Socialists, will save them from inevitable catastrophe. Who but the Right-wing Socialist leaders are the best purveyors of the foulest inventions? Upon them rests the task of poisoning the minds of the popular masses with the venom of lies and slander, of undermining the unity of the fighters of the national-liberation front.

The Titoite fascist provocateurs are also welcome guests of the Right-wing Socialist lackeys of imperialism in the Asian countries. George Allan, U.S. gauleiter in Yugoslavia, did his best. He selected inveterate Tito spies and assassins to go to Rangoon-Djilas and Bebler who have a record of tens of years of treachery and espionage.

There among the Rangoon medley, the Tito-fascists – nurtured by U.S. imperialism – want to share their “experience” of sanguinary betrayal of the Yugoslav people. The two spies, the two butchers of democracy and freedom will, from the stage of the “Socialist conference” in Rangoon, appear in the role of instructors of their right-wing Socialist brothers.

In his first speech at the conference Bebler, the Tito-fascist degenerate, turning to thee Asiatic social-traitors told them in flattering tones that they occupied “the front line”.

The invitation of the Tito fascists to Rangoon and their

active participation in the “work” of the conference of the Right-wing socialist leaders is eloquent testimony to their “kinship”. There is nothing surprising in the fact that the participants in the Rangoon medley, just like the West European Social-Democratic leaders, see in the Tito bandits their worthy fellow-champions “in the front line” of international imperialist reaction .

What can one say but that a select company gathered in Rangoon – Mr. Attlee, the Right-wing Socialist leaders of the Asian countries and the Tito-fascist spies and assassins!

For Profound Study of Brilliant Work by J. V. Stalin

A recent meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Labour-Progressive Party of Canada, held in Toronto, discussed a report by Comrade Leslie Morris, member of the National Executive Committee, on the work and decisions of the XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The meeting adopted a resolution which stressed the world-historic significance of the XIX Congress of the C.P.S.U. and of Comrade Stalin’s brilliant work “Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.”

“The NEC greets the new work of genius of Comrade Stalin ‘Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.’ as of profound importance for the work and education of Communists and calls upon the Party membership to study it energetically in the coming period”, the resolution says. “The NEC welcomes the speech of Comrade Stalin at the concluding session of the XIX. Congress as a profound contribution to the struggle for democratic liberties and national sovereignty”.

The National Executive Committee has decided, says the

resolution, that Party educational work will be concentrated on study of' the Draft Programme of the Labour-Progressive Party, on Comrade Stalin's work "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R." and on the concluding speech of Comrade Stalin at the XIX Congress of the C.P.S.U., Comrade Malenkov's report and other Congress materials.

The meeting stated that it is necessary to make full use of the Congress decisions and of the new classical work by Comrade Stalin in the struggle for building the people's movement for peace, for raising the theoretical and ideological at level of Party members and also stressed the need for better use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism in order to improve its entire work.

VOLUME VIII OF J. V. STALIN'S WORKS IN ALBANIAN TRANSLATION

Volume VIII of J. V. Stalin's works has appeared in Tirana in Albanian translation in an edition of 20 thousand copies.

VOLUMES V AND VI OF J. V. STALIN'S WORKS IN GREEK LANGUAGE

The Publishing House of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party has published volumes V and VI of J. V. Stalin's works in Greek translation.

Karl Marx Commemoration Year

On March 14 and May 5 respectively, all progressive mankind will mark the 70th anniversary of the death and the 135th anniversary since the birth of Karl Marx, brilliant leader and teacher of the world proletariat, the founder of scientific Communism.

In this connection the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany has proclaimed 1953 a “Karl Marx commemoration year.” A statement issued by the Central Committee. Dwelling on the great significance of the theoretical heritage of Marx and Engels for the world revolutionary movement, on the all conquering force of Marxist-Leninist theory, calls on the people during the “Karl Marx commemoration year” better to acquaint all German men and women and, particularly, the youth with life and work of the two great scientists-revolutionaries.

“The main task of the commemoration year”, the statement reads, “is to open the eyes of the German people to the world-historic significance of the work of this great son of the German nation and to educate the working masses in the spirit of irreconcilable struggle for the socialist social system”.

Pointing out that in order to achieve this aim it is necessary to wage irreconcilable struggle against all manifestations of Social Democratism, the Central Committee stresses: “The main condition for the revolutionary education of the working people is to overcome opportunist evasion of the struggle against Social Democratism, as well as a formal attitude towards the propaganda of Marxism and fear of scientific discussion”.

André Marty Expelled From French Communist Party

In accordance with a decision of the recent meeting of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party the “Masséna” Railway Party branch, of which André Marty was a member, held two meetings to investigate his factional and demoralising activity. At a meeting held on December 23 the branch unanimously recommended Marty’s expulsion in conformity with Point 35 of the Party Rules. The recommendation was then transmitted to the “Gare Salpêtrière” section committee in the 13th district of Paris and to the Seine Department federation committee for approval.

On December 30 the “Gare Salpêtrière” section committee unanimously approved the recommendation of the branch.

A meeting of the Seine Department federation committee on January 3, under the chairmanship of Madeleine Vincent, Federation Secretary, after hearing the report submitted by Comrade Bochet, member of the federation bureau, approved and endorsed the recommendation of the “Masséna” branch and of the “Gare Salpêtrière” section committee and resolved to expel Marty from the Party.

This decision will strengthen the confidence of French Communists in the Central Committee which succeeded in exposing Marty, in isolating him and preventing him from doing any further harm to the Party. It will stimulate them to work for their Party with still greater ardour, the Party which has ensured unity in its ranks and has become consolidated by ridding itself of an alien and hostile element.

ANTI-NATIONAL POLICY OF RIGHT-WING SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS IN WESTERN GERMANY. May Reiman, Chairman, Central Board, Communist Party of Germany

The “Programme for the National Reunification of Germany”, adopted by the Communist Party of Germany, characterises the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany as an important link in the American-created system of the Bonn regime. As for the pseudo-opposition of the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and of the German, Trade Union Amalgamation and for their actual policy, the Programme says:

“On the one hand, they allege that they are in opposition to the Adenauer Government and disagree with its policy; in this way they create an outlet for the discontent of the workers and other sections of the population with the policy of Adenauer and the U.S. occupationists and give the impression that they are fighting against this policy. On the other hand, they openly defend the basis of the existing regime in Western Germany, block the way to national re-unification of Germany, constantly violate their own declarations and promises to the people and thus betray the interests of the working class and the nation”.

This is evident from the so-called “action programme” of the Social Democratic Party of Germany adopted at the end of last September at its Congress in Dortmund. The very title of this document is an attempt to deceive the masses. A considerable part of the membership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany demanded a programme of extra-parliamentary action against the militarist “general contract”, for the overthrow of the Adenauer Government. But instead of this the Right-wing leaders of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany elaborated in the guise of the “action programme”, a

programme designed to hold back the masses from struggle against the Adenauer regime and to place their hopes in the Bundestag elections scheduled for 1953.

I.

In their “action programme” the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders completely ignore the direct threat to the national existence of the German people on the part of the ruling circles of the Western occupation powers: U.S.A. Britain and France. While deliberately slurring over the real aims of U.S.-British imperialism in Germany the “programme” of the Social Democratic Party of Germany slavishly supports the American idea of “European integration” which actually signifies complete liquidation of the national sovereignty of the German people, signifies the turning of Germany, like other European countries, into a docile tool for unleashing a criminal imperialist war which can only result in complete national catastrophe for Germany. Like other official documents of the Social Democratic Party of Germany its “programme” does not call for withdrawal of the occupation forces from Germany. Moreover, the Party leaders in their statements have demanded more than once an increase in the numerical strength of the occupation forces in Western Germany. Way back in 1950 Schumacher demanded that 60-70 American and British divisions should be sent to Western Germany.

The “programme” contains no criticism whatever of the policy of the Western powers. It no longer features even the usual attacks on this policy by means of which the Social Democratic leaders, for demagogic purposes, usually cover their pro-American and pro-British stand.

The “programme” not only does not advance the task of unfolding a national-liberation struggle of the German people against the U.S.-British oppressors and their accomplices, of

rallying all the patriotic forces of the German nation for this struggle; it is aimed at realising the American plans for “integration” by means of complete liquidation of the sovereign fights of the German people; it is, in fact, a programme for turning Western Germany into a regular colony of American and British imperialism where the U.S.-British imperialists can act the master.

Despite the fact that the rank and file members and followers of the Social Democratic Party have insisted on resolute struggle against the remilitarisation of Western Germany the treacherous Social Democratic leaders, at the Dortmund Congress, incorporated into the programme the unequivocal approval of remilitarisation in principle.

The programme does not contain a single word denouncing remilitarisation of the economy, the building of military installations on the territory of Western Germany, about the struggle against universal military service being now prepared for the purpose of accelerating the formation of a 500,000-strong mercenary army, which will be assigned the task of carrying out the aggressive designs of American imperialism and the revanchist aspirations of German imperialism which is now being revived. Instead of declaring resolute struggle against turning the German youth into cannon fodder the Social Democratic leaders merely promised the youth various “cultural” undertakings.

The “programme”, in principle, does not reject the Bonn treaty and the agreement concerning the “European Defence Community” – the main links in the chain of remilitarisation of Germany and its inclusion in the preparation of another criminal war. The Social Democratic leaders do not say a word about annulling these treaties. They merely confine themselves to hypocritical demands for revision of them aimed at extending the rights of the West German imperialists in the imperialist bloc, and at direct incorporation of Western

Germany into the system of the aggressive North Atlantic Pact.

The debates on the Bonn and Paris military treaties which took place in the Bonn Parliament a month ago revealed with particular force that the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and Ollenhauer in the first instance, had been informed by Adenauer himself and also by Blank who actually occupies the post of War Minister, of the content of secret plans the existence of which had long been publicly denied, but which were revealed by Blank in his radio interview on December 31 last year. Until recently the Right-wing leaders persistently concealed the fact of the existence of these plans and their content. Ollenhauer was the only deputy in the Bundestag permitted to visit Heiss on the day that Adenauer compelled Heiss to retract his request to the Constitutional Court that it investigate whether the Bonn and the Paris military pacts violate the Constitution. Adenauer and Ollenhauer had confidential talks as to how “to bring about a more friendly atmosphere between the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Christian-Democratic Union” and also about suppressing the resistance of the people to the militarist “general contract”.

The Right-wing Social Democratic leaders are taking an active part in the conspiracy of the U.S. and German imperialists aimed at preparing a criminal aggressive War against the Soviet Union, the countries of people’s democracy and the German Democratic Republic.

For the purpose of deceiving the working masses the “programme” contains the purely demagogic statement about the win to peace and unity of the country but does not say a single word about unfolding active struggle by the masses against the Bonn separate treaty which deepens the dismemberment of Germany and which is the main obstacle to establishing unity of Germany.

Consequently, the “action programme” is a programme of

approval, in principle, of the Bonn separate treaty which perpetuates the occupation regime, a programme for remilitarisation of Western Germany and of turning it into the main springboard for an American aggressive war in Europe.

II.

The Social Democratic leaders completely by-pass in their “programme” the question of creating a united Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis. The document has no practical proposals for uniting the country and only in an abstract way does it say that “restoration of unity of Germany is possible only through negotiations about “free elections”. At the same it does not say who shall take part in these negotiations and what will be the conditions for holding “free elections”. The Social Democratic leaders evade expressing their views on the concrete proposals advanced by the Soviet Union in the draft for a peace treaty with Germany.

The “programme” is, consequently, a programme of renunciation of the struggle for a united, peace-loving, independent and democratic Germany, a programme of perpetuating the dismemberment of the country.

This is further confirmed by the attitude of the Right-wing Social-Democratic leaders in connection with receiving in Bonn the delegation of the People’s Chamber of the German Democratic Republic. The people as a whole welcomed the decision of the People’s Chamber to send a delegation to Bonn for negotiations and demanded that this delegation not only be received but that negotiations be conducted with it.

None other than the Social Democratic leaders opposed receiving the delegation, and after a conference with the U.S. High Commissioner Donnally they took an even more negative stand in this matter than Adenauer dared to do openly.

The “programme” does not say a single word about the

tasks of the working class in solving the problems confronting the German nation as a whole. It glosses over the leading tale of the working class in the struggle of the German people for a united, independent, peace-loving Germany, for democratisation of the political and economic system of Western Germany, in the struggle against the onslaught by monopoly capital on the vital interests of all the working people. The “programme” not only does not call on the proletariat to use the class weapon in the struggle for its rights: strikes and demonstrations, but on the contrary, the Social Democratic leaders are trying might and main, to weaken the fighting power and organisation of the working class by means of deepening the split in its ranks.

In their “programme” the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders laud as their greatest “service” the fact that they organised the struggle against the Communist Party and frustrated unification of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in Western Germany. They disregard the lessons of 1932-33 when, as a result of the policy of dividing the working class, the policy carried out by the Social Democrats, Hitler succeeded in coming to power, they gloss over the postwar experience of the German working-class movement. In Western Germany at present the disruptive policy of the leaders of the Social, Democratic Party of Germany, has led to a weakening of the working class, to the restoration of the political power and economic domination of the reactionary forces of the bourgeoisie, to the enslavement of Western Germany by the U.S. imperialists. In Eastern Germany the united working class, together with the other democratic forces, is exercising its power and has begun the planned laying of the foundations of Socialism.

The “programme” is a programme of dividing the working-class movement not only in the interests of the German bourgeoisie but also in the interests of foreign imperialists, it is

a programme for weakening the working class – the main force capable of assuming leadership of the struggle of the working people against the imperialist policy.

In their “programme” the Social Democratic leaders proclaim themselves “enemies of class struggle from above” which “shatters the beginnings of genuine community”! In this respect the “action programme” sharply differs from even the old Social Democratic programmes which were also permeated with the spirit of class harmony but did not openly reject class struggle.

The present Social Democratic leaders seek to eradicate from the Social Democratic movement everything that in any way recalls the need for class struggle by the workers against the capitalists. The Right-wing Social Democratic leaders of the German Trade Union Amalgamation, such as Freitag, Reuter and August Schmidt openly pursue a policy of so-called civil peace. While widely advocating “harmony” of class interests the Social Democratic leaders regard, as an immediate aim, clearing of the way so that the Social Democratic Party, should it come to power as a result of the forthcoming elections to the Bundestag, could continue the policy of the Bono Government.

Consequently, the “action ‘programme” is a “programme of class collaboration with the imperialist bourgeoisie, a programme of poisoning the class consciousness of the working class.

III.

The “programme”, which contains hypocritical assertions about the desire for peace and friendship among the nations, is, in fact, permeated with the spirit of revanchism. The Social Democratic leaders call for active struggle against the “unjust” Potsdam Agreement which defined the principles of founding a

peace-loving, democratic, independent and united German state, and act as the revanchist storm detachment of the combined forces of imperialism.

The ruling circles of the U.S., Britain, France and Western Germany, acting as continuers of the Hitler aggressive policy, are interested in revising the Potsdam Agreement. The “action programme” calls for revision of the Oder-Neisse border established by the Potsdam Agreement, the return of all Germans to their former place of residence and an amnesty for all war criminals, which is tantamount to legalising all the Hitler atrocities.

The Social Democratic leaders are doing this to justify in advance the policy of the imperialist governments and organisations now preparing a criminal aggressive war.

The “action programme” permeated through and through with revanchism aims at justifying the Nazi atrocities and the misanthropic designs of the aggressive imperialist camp; it is the programme of ideological preparation for a new war.

The “programme is aimed at undermining peace, and calls for struggle against the camp of peace and democracy.

As is known, the main prerequisite for preserving world peace is the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of capitalism and Socialism. All genuine peace champions regard the peaceful competition of these two systems as a guarantee of the security of the peoples.

But the “action programme” actually denies the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the two systems and contains insolent and slanderous verbiage about the alleged “expansionist” nature of “Russian” policy, calls for struggle against the Soviet Union and the countries of people’s democracy. The Right-wing Social Democratic leaders reject any agreement with the Communist and Workers’ Parties actively fighting for world peace and for preserving good-neighbourly relations among the peoples.

The Social Democratic leaders, like their representatives in the Laend governments, in the trade unions and other organisations, act as organiser of the struggle against the peace champions. According to the American press the Schumacher followers have established an exceedingly wide-spread espionage agency which operates against the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism. The Social Democratic leaders justify the actions of the Lehr police who shot and killed Phillip Müller, peace fighter from Essen, and wounded a number of other patriots, including the young Social Democrat, Bernhard Schwarze.

The “action programme” of the Social Democratic Party of Germany is, consequently, a programme of fomenting hatred against the camp of peace, democracy and Socialism, a programme of struggle against the world peace movement.

IV.

The practical points of the “programme” in relation to home policy are directed towards strengthening the present regime in Western Germany or are simply pure demagoguery. The Social Democratic leaders dressed up the moth-eaten Lassallean slogan about a “free people’s state”, a slogan exposed and refuted by Marx in his “Critique of the Gotha Programme” and in works by Engels. “A free state”, said Engels, “is one where the state is free in relation to its citizens and is therefore a state with a despotic government.”

According to this programme the “free communities are the basis for every free, people’s, democratic state”. The authors of this Social Democratic programme seek to prove that the transformation of the reactionary Bonn state into a “free”; “people’s, democratic state” can be ensured by means of insignificant reforms in communal self-government. The points dealing with such measures as territorial reorganisation,

democratisation of administration, etc., are equally demagogic.

The present state apparatus in Western Germany is completely adapted to the interests of the Rhine-Westphalian cannon-kings, the junkers and the imperialists of the Western powers. Organisational reconstruction of the separate links of this apparatus and the replacing of individual reactionary officials by no means changes the imperialist class character of the West German state. The Social Democrats Högner and Zirinkann, Home Ministers in Bavaria and Hessen respectively, persecute peace fighters with the same brutality, smash demonstrations of the working people and organise the same raids on Communist Party premises as Lehr, the Police Chief who in his time collaborated with the Nazis.

All this testifies to the fact that the Social Democratic leaders haven't the slightest intention of fighting for a radical change in the present reactionary state apparatus in Western Germany, of fighting for extension of democratic rights for the working people.

The Social Democratic leaders, afraid to expose themselves as henchmen of the ruling circles of the bourgeoisie, dare not completely renounce their former demagogic slogan about "socialisation" of the basic industries, so they substitute for this demand the statement calling for socialisation only of basic branches (coal, steel). In order to conceal the real aims of Social Democracy the "programme" reads: "Only abolition of all exploitation will make possible man's full enjoyment of rights, genuine competition for the development of the individual". But the "programme" says nothing about ways and means for abolishing exploitation of man by man. In capitalist society "socialisation" of basic industry cannot by itself abolish the economic base of exploitation of labour, it is the same deception as the "socialisation" put forward in Britain by the Labour Government. The "programme" shows that the "socialisation"

proclaimed by the Social Democratic leaders does not envisage socialisation of the means of production and their transfer to the hands of the people. On the contrary, it envisages restoration of the capitalist monopoly concerns which were weakened in the course of decartelisation. ‘The “programme” says, for example, that socialisation became particularly essential after the “destructive decartelisation” and that the losses incurred by decartelisation can, in part, be made good by socialisation. The “abolition of exploitation” under capitalism, about which the Social Democratic leaders babble, exposes them once again as agents of the bourgeoisie. How far the “programme” ‘is removed even from the former demands of Social Democracy becomes clearly evident by comparing it with the Heidelberg Programme.

This programme declared that the working class fights for democratic and socialist aims by means of “transforming capitalist private ownership of the means of production into socially-owned property”, while the “action programme” says: “in order to democratize the enterprises, it is not enough to socialise them”. The former demand of the Social Democratic Party of Germany calling for the transformation of capitalist property into socially-owned property is substituted by the present leaders with the verbiage that workers and employees should take part in managing the enterprises, which in the future too remain the property of the big capitalists. Thus, the “programme” envisages maintenance of the economic basis of imperialism; it disarms the working people in the conditions of continuous onslaught by capital against their social and democratic rights.

The “programme” says: “The economic policy of the Social Democratic Party of Germany aims at raising and ensuring the standard of living by mean of higher labour productivity and full employment”.

For the purpose of realising this aim the “programme”

envisages “development” of such “neglected” industries as coal, metallurgy and the power industry and of industry producing consumer goods.

The assertion by the Right-wing Socialist leader that the branches producing the basic materials (coal, metallurgy and power) are neglected branches of West German industry is simply a deliberate lie.

It is precisely these branches that have been greatly developed during the recent period. However now a before, they are in the hands of the imperialist magnates who twice in a life time have utilised heavy industry for preparing and waging imperialist wars. The U.S. and West German magnates of monopoly capital are again planning rapid development of metallurgy and extraction of coal solely for preparation of a new war. The “Schuman plan”, the Bonn military agreements and U.S. capital invested mainly in the above-mentioned branches of industry, which are linked with war production, serve the same aim. Simultaneously, subordination of the economy to purposes of preparing imperialist war results in the fact that industry producing consumer goods does not work at full capacity or leads to stifling of this industry and to forcing down the conditions of the working people. In developing the main branches of industry, the monopoly bosses are only concerned about maximum profits, and consequently are not in the least interested in utilising the growth of heavy industry for the purpose of expanding all branches, for the production of goods in the quantities needed by the population. Development of heavy industry will contribute to the development of the economy as a whole in keeping with the needs of the population only when the means of production are transferred into the hands of the people, when the power of monopoly capital is liquidated.

On the pretext of fighting for improved conditions for the population the “programme” calls for extending war

production and for remilitarisation of the economy of the country.

The leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany insolently calls for rationalisation and perfecting of the technique of production. It is common knowledge, however, that under capitalism every rationalisation is simply a means of greater exploitation, since rationalisation, new technique and the conveyer system mean greater intensity of labour which in its turn results in fewer workers being employed, in more unemployment and higher profits for the capitalists.

Marx and Engels, referring in the "Communist Manifesto" to the conditions of the workers under capitalism, wrote: "The modern labourer., instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth".

In the guise of solicitude for the working people "the action programme" of the Social Democratic Party of Germany calls for their greater economic enslavement and exploitation so that the monopoly bosses can amass maximum profits.

The part of the "programme" dealing with agrarian policy speaks of recognition of private property in land and completely ignores the question of abolishing the big landed estates, although this is the only way possible for solving the agrarian problem.

The "programme" calls for carrying out agrarian reform but does not say a single word about the essence of the reform and the concrete task of distributing the land among the peasants with small plots and settlers.

The point in the "programme" about mechanisation of agriculture is also empty talk since 57.7 per cent of the peasants in Western Germany have but small plots and are not in a position to use machinery.

Consequently, the "action programme" of the Social

Democratic Party of Germany upholds the interests of the big landowners and kulaks and does not touch the question of distributing the land among the settlers, agricultural labourers and peasants farming small plots.

V.

The pro-imperialist content of the social and economic points of the “programme” and their demagogy are particularly striking when compared with the democratic and socialist transformations in the German Democratic Republic. The decision of the Second Conference of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany about going over to planned laying of the foundations of Socialism in the German Democratic Republic has opened grand perspectives before the entire German working class and the entire German people. The leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany are doing their utmost to detract from and slander the achievements of the German Democratic Republic.

The essence and nature of the “programme” elaborated by the leader of the Social Democratic Party of Germany are further convincing proof that the police of the Right-wing leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany contradicts the genuine interests of the working class and other section of the working people, that it contradicts the national interests of the German people.

Comrade Malenkov in his report to the XIX Congress of the C.P.S.U. said :

“Present-day Right-wing Social Democracy, in addition to its old role of lackey of the national bourgeoisie, has become an agency of foreign, U.S. imperialism, carrying out its foulest assignments in preparing for war and in fighting against its own people”.

Many Social Democratic workers realise that the

“programme” does not show the German people the way out of the present situation in Western Germany. Hence, their profound disillusion.

In its “Programme for National Re-unification of Germany” the Communist Party of Germany declares:

“Members of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and its supporters must realise the deceitful, double-dealing role played by the Right-wing leaders, must get rid of their policy. Unity of action must be established among the workers – Social Democrats, Communists, Christians and unorganised workers – among all working people in the struggle for their national and social demands.”

This demands that our Party redouble its efforts for establishing unity of action of the working class and convince rank and file members and activists of the Social Democratic Party of Germany of the need for joint action. The urgent task is to unfold broad, principled discussion on the political methods of the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party and of the German Trade Union Amalgamation.

Consequently, we must overcome in our Party the sectarian tendency towards wholesale identification of rank and file members and activists of the Social Democratic Party with their leaders, we must realise that the development of unity of action by the working class is the vital prerequisite for unfolding a broad national-liberation struggle.

Simultaneously we must combat the opportunist tendencies of the members of our Party who seek to avoid principled discussion of the theory and practice of the Right-wing leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the German Trade Union Amalgamation. The struggle for unity of action of the working class has two indivisibly linked aspects: persistently to expose the Right-wing Social Democratic leaders and to convince the rank and file members and activists of the Social Democratic Party of the need for joint action.

The basis for this is the “Programme for National Re-unification of Germany” which calls on all German patriots to rally in the great National Front of Democratic Germany. The “Programme for National Re-unification of Germany” states:

“The working Class is already playing a leading role in the national-liberation struggle of our people. However, it can only fully unfold its forces when it itself acts as a single, solid front and unites the other sections of the population”.

The correctness of these theses of our programme is proved by the growing national movement against ratification of the Bonn and Paris military treaties. This patriotic movement is a sign that the West German population has forces capable of preventing the ratification and carrying out of the military treaties, of overthrowing the Adenauer regime and of achieving a peace treaty, withdrawal of the occupation troops and national re-unification of Germany on a democratic basis. For this purpose the working class must unite its ranks and head the national-liberation struggle of the entire nation!

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PEOPLE OF NIGERIA RISE IN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM. R. Palme Dutt

Nigeria comprises nearly half the oppressed African people under British rule.

With a territory roughly four times the size of Britain and a population of nearly 30 million, its whole economy is dominated by the interests of foreign monopolies. An enormous reservoir of super-profits for the imperialists, it is also an important strategic highway in the joint American and British war plans in Africa.

Nigeria's total surplus of exports over imports amounts to £150 million in the past 12 years – 15 times as much as in the first 20 years of the century. Nigeria supplies Britain with 81% of its total imports of palm kernels, 75% ground-nuts, 60% palm oil, 33% of its cocoa, and 20% of its tin ore. The United Africa Company Ltd., (Subsidiary of Unilever's Ltd.) is the most powerful foreign monopoly ; its total reserves increased from £165 million in 1949 to £215 million in 1950.

Unilever's total turnover in 1951 was £1,205 million, £216 million more than in 1950, while that of the United Africa Company was £215 million, 51 million more than in 1950. Unilever's trading profit in 1951 was over £69 million, as against £52 million in 1950.

Similar indications of huge profits of foreign monopolies are given by the Bisichi Tin Co. with £645,749 total profit in 1951 compared with £415,999 in 1950; Elder Dempster Ltd. with £1,352,961 in 1951 compared with £1,137,459 in 1950; and the Jantar Nigerian Co, Ltd. (Cocoa firm) whose profits in 1951 were nearly three times the 1950 figure.

In striking contrast are the starvation wages of the workers. Even the official Government journal of the Nigerian Department of Labour has to admit the extremely low level of

wages.

There is no unemployment insurance, old age pensions, paid holidays, or sickness benefit. Housing conditions are atrocious. For every million people in the north there are only 215 hospital beds, 235 in the west and 590 in the east. For every million people there are 6 secondary schools in the west and 20 in the east. The workers pay for education and all medical treatment.

In 1945, the "Tudor Davies Commission" estimated the minimum need for a labourer's family of three to be £5.4.0d. a month (£62.10.0d. a year). Since then the cost of living has more than doubled, so that the great majority of Nigerian workers are less than half-way towards the minimum living standard.

Taking the peasants as a whole, their average income is about £10 to £15 per annum for an average family, and from which they have to pay taxes.

The maintenance of foreign imperialist rule, which makes possible this ruthless exploitation, is buttressed by the reactionary feudal elements.

Before 1914, British Imperialism had already replaced direct feudal tribute in Nigeria by the payment of rents and taxes into the native treasuries, from which the feudal chiefs were paid big salaries. With the penetration of money economy, land has become a saleable commodity. These changes transformed the chiefs into a class of semi-feudal, semi-bourgeois compradores, and the most reliable allies of imperialism. They are centred mainly in the north and west, and their class interests find political expression in the north by the Northern People's Congress, and in the west by the Action Group.

The national bourgeoisie is divided between those whose interests are served by being agents of the foreign monopolies and those whose development is being restricted by foreign

imperialism and who are allied with the petty bourgeoisie of the urban and rural areas and seek the support of the peasants, petty traders, and the workers. Their class interests find political expression in the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). Though the main strength of the Council, is in the east, it has powerful support in the west, and is also associated with the Northern Elements Progressive Union.

The rapid growth of the NCNC since its formation in 1944 and the increasing power and fighting spirit of the trade unions, became a serious challenge to imperialist rule in Nigeria. This forced the British imperialists to devise a new technique, expressed in the "Richards Constitution" (1946-49) and the "MacPherson Constitution" now in force. Neither of these expressed the desires of the people, but were imposed upon them by the imperialists (with the aid of the feudal chiefs and the Action Group) as a means of keeping them in subjection.

These "Constitutions" divide Nigeria into three regions (north, east and west), contrary to the interests of Nigeria's economy, and with the overriding purpose of sowing division among the people and to cripple the national movement. The MacPherson Constitution provides for a central "assembly" and three regional "assemblies". The real power is in the hands of the British Governor (for the central assembly) and the Lieutenant-Governors, one in each of the regional assemblies. This includes control of the armed forces, finance, foreign policy, the interpretation of the Constitution, and all appointments of public officials.

Only in the town of Lagos (the capital) were there direct elections, and there the NCNC won overwhelming majorities. Elsewhere all elections were indirect, going through a process of three or four stages.

It is a tribute to the influence of the anti-imperialist movement that the British imperialists, after devising these restrictions and barriers, were even then forced to provide

further safeguards by giving the British Governor power to appoint six “special” members (representatives of foreign monopolies) and six “official” members (for the key positions) in the central assembly; and to give similar powers to the Lieutenant-Governors for the regional assemblies.

The election results, by their very nature, do not nearly express the scope and intensity of the anti-imperialist fight. This can only be understood by the growth of the movement outside the puppet institutions set up by the imperialists. And it is the trade unions that have been foremost in the fight against imperialism.

Starting with the Railway Workers’ Union in 1932, they have waged big battles in the interests of the working class and against the foreign monopolies. They won a striking victory for increased wages in 1942 to offset the rising cost of living and a again in country-wide general strike of 1945.

After the second world war, the UAC (United Africa Company) Workers Union became the vanguard of the trade union movement, reaching the highest point with a successful strike in August 1950 and launching the first workers’ paper in Nigeria the “Labour Champion”.

From a small beginning in 1932 the Nigerian trade unions in 1950 reached a membership of 125,000, based mainly in the key industries. In the fierce class battles after the second world war the workers gained rich political experience and built their own forms of organisation and leadership. They won concession after concession from the imperialists, so that by August 1950 wages had doubled the pre-war level.

The mood of frustration caused by the failure of the 1950 December strike (through deliberate disruption by the agents of imperialism and the ICFTU) has been used by the imperialists to intensify their exploitation of the workers to create confusion in the trade union movement and cause a rift between the trade unions and the national movement. Thus

they were able to force on the people the MacPherson “Constitution”, and to organise “elections”, taking advantage of the tendency of the bourgeoisie to be deceived by the false glitter of “parliamentary” positions.

Yet this mood is already passing and a new fighting spirit is being expressed as shown in the renewed activity of the Enugu miners, the railway go-slow movement, protest marches, the presentation of new wage demands, and the recent revolt in the Lagos garrison.

The question that is now uppermost in the minds of all Nigerians striving for the liberation of their country from imperialism is to find the practical steps of transforming this perspective into reality. The Nigerian people already have a rich fund of experience on which they can draw in order to find the answer to this question.

They are beginning to realise that one of the main conditions for victory is the unity of the working class, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and the welding of the working class, the peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie into a united front under the leadership of the working class.

In Nigeria all the objective conditions exist for the development of such a broad united front and experience has already shown, that whenever the working class of Nigeria has taken even the smallest step in this direction, there has been an immediate response from all sections of the people, and a great upsurge of the national movement. This indicates that a firm lead coming from the working class can release the pent-up energies of the movement and give it such a purposeful direction that, in unity with the world anti-imperialist movement, it can end British imperialist rule in Nigeria.

If the working class of Nigeria and its organisations gain from the present period of political ferment the clarity to come forward with a programme of national liberation, and advance

in unison with the world movement for peace, for democracy and for Socialism, there is no doubt that it can mobilise the tremendous desire for anti-imperialist unity of the peoples of all parts of Nigeria.

Such a programme and policy can only come from those who are taking an active part in the day-to-day struggle of all sections of the Nigerian people in all parts of the country. For only thus will it embody the experience and the immediate economic and social demands of the people, and correctly combine them with the common aims of all who are opposed to imperialism.

This programme will be hammered out in the daily practice of the fight against every phase of imperialist exploitation and oppression, and will in turn consolidate and strengthen the whole movement. It is along this path of mass activity, with a clear central aim, that the Nigerian people will march hand in hand with the peoples of the world towards their national liberation, towards the freedom to build their own country, to create abundance and health instead of poverty and disease, and to develop the finest traditions of their social and cultural life.

Libraries and Museums in Albania

Culture is blossoming in Albania where people's rule ensures important sources of knowledge for the working people such as libraries and museums. The Tirana National Library, the biggest in the country, has nearly 150 thousand volumes. The book fund is enlarged annually by thousands of volumes. The library subscribes for more than 300 newspapers and magazines published in friendly countries.

The Albanian working people display keen interest in

Soviet literature. 60 per cent of the books received by the library in 1952 were by Soviet authors or works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

The book fund of eleven newly opened regional libraries increased by nearly 45 per cent during ninth months of 1952 and the number of the readers is 20 per cent higher than in 1951.

Over 500 mobile libraries, hundreds of book exhibitions, readers' conferences and literary evenings were organised by the regional libraries during 1952. These conferences and evenings were attended by a large number of urban and rural readers. Nearly 190 libraries function in village halls. All libraries have Marxist-Leninist literature in Albanian translation. After the liberation of the country from fascist slavery 3 museums were opened in the capital. These are the Museum of National-Liberation Struggle, Archaeology-Ethnographic and Botanical Museums. Seven museums function in the regional centres.

Culture in Hungarian Countryside

Electric light has been switched on in the Hungarian village of Nyirtelek, Szabolcs region, one of the several hundred villages in Hungary recently supplied with electricity.

In the old days the village was owned by a Count, and dozens of poor peasant families were cooped up in fourteen hovels. Now they live in 110 new cottages with tiled roofs. A village hall and premises for the village council have been erected.

Formerly 500 school pupils were crowded into a few narrow rooms. Now 1,157 pupils are taught by 32 teachers in 24 large class-rooms. Formerly the village children never

attended the secondary School. Now there are 74 secondary-school pupils. In the old days only the three children of the Count were able to study at the university, now 14 village children, sons of former farm-labourers, are studying there.

Thousands of villages in peoples-democratic Hungary have in recent years recorded the same successes as Nyirtelek.

FACTS EXPOSE ...

Vain Hopes

Returning to Toronto after 12 months service in Germany, Canadian soldiers told press correspondents that their hopes of having a good time in Germany were not realised, that the West German population treated them with hatred and contempt. The Germans, they said, never missed an opportunity to insult them. All the soldiers interviewed declared that they were firmly resolved to quit military service.

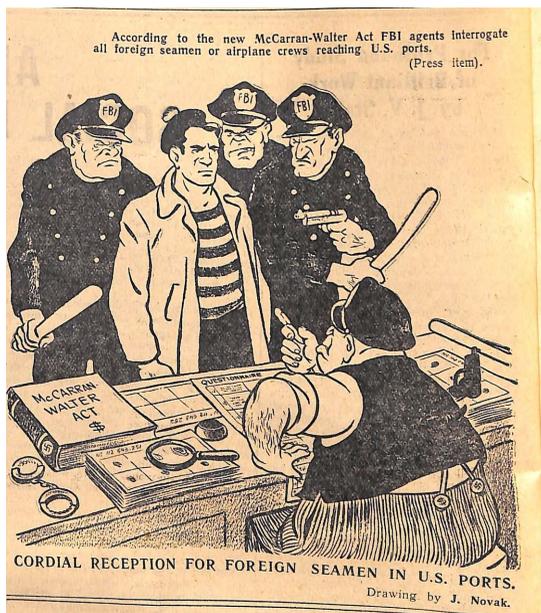
It seems that the Canadians and other soldiers are beginning to get an inkling of the frightful gamble into which the U.S. pretenders to world domination are trying to involve them. The West German population met them with the universal "greeting": "Go home!"



Alliance of Fascist Assassins and U.S. Monopolists

The “Coca-Cola” concern has hitherto been notorious for its widely-advertised beverage. Now other aspects of its activities have been revealed. According to the German ADN agency the concern has transmitted over seven million marks to terrorists belonging to the fascist “German youth League” which planned the physical extermination of leading progressive figures in Western Germany.

This is further confirmation of the close ties between U.S. monopolists and fascist bandits and assassins. They seek, by means of the dagger and knuckle-duster, to implant the “American way of life” in Western Europe.



POLITICAL NOTES

Another Failure for U.S. Intelligence

At the end of 1952 the U.S. espionage services suffered another setback. Their direct ties with the Polish emigré scum, with the Mikolajczyks, Bialas and Popiel, with the London “staff” or Anders and the “WIN” espionage and terrorist organisation operating in Poland were exposed before world public opinion. The vile connections of the entire gang, with whose help the U.S. imperialists conducted their hostile activity against the Polish people, have been completely laid bare.

The “WIN branch in Poland” maintained close contact with the “foreign WIN agency” and from there the threads led to the Upper Polish emigré circles. Earlier, this gang served British intelligence but early in 1949 the impoverished British masters turned the bandit over to their senior American colleagues. In November 1950 an agreement was concluded between the “WIN foreign agency” and U.S. intelligence. Bliss-Lane, former U.S. Ambassador in Poland, and Colonel Sapega of U.S. intelligence, an Americanised Pole and traitor to his nation, acted as intermediaries. This villainous agreement clearly shows how the 100 million dollars appropriated by Truman for foul subversive activity against the camp of peace and democracy are spent.

One of the main stipulations of this agreement was the obligation of the “agency” to engage in espionage, subversion and sabotage in Poland. U.S. intelligence promised large-scale technical and financial aid as well as help in training personnel for espionage and subversive activity. Such is the vile, pharisaical hypocrisy of the Trumans and Achesons. Chanting sweet psalms about “defence” and the “peaceful aspirations of

the U.S., about “freedom” and “humanism”, playing with one hand on a dummy harp. they egged on mercenary bandits with the other, saying: spy the land, burn, blow up, kill!

Towards the end of 1952 Kowalski and Sienko, the chiefs of the “WIN organisation in Poland”, abandoned the underground and submitted themselves to the security organs of People’s Poland. They said that they had become conscious of the criminal nature of their activity which was dictated to them by the “agency” and that actually they had long ago ceased hostile activity, that they had done all in their power to paralyse spying and espionage against the Polish People’s Republic. They handed over to the security organs the documents, radio transmitter, arms and also over a million dollar’s which they had received from the British and U.S. intelligence services. One of Mr. Truman’s millions obviously fell into the wrong hands!

In a letter, published in Polish newspapers, Kowalski and Sienko exposed the criminal activity of U.S. intelligence in the country. They described in detail how in November 1951 the Americans gave them the “Vulcan” plan – a programme of “action” for U.S. agents in case of war. In keeping with this monstrous plan the “WIN” espionage agents were assigned the task of organising an armed diversion, of acting as spotters for U.S. bombers, etc. In September 1952 the Americans sent them a “questionnaire” ‘involving top military secrets.

The letter reveals the foul role of the U.S. rulers – inveterate enemies of the people of Poland – seeking to rob them of the ancient Western territories. Churchill, according to the authors of the letter, adheres to the same view, the view he openly expressed way back in October, 1949 to the traitor Mikolajczyk. One can Judge of the insolence of the U.S. imperialists by the statement of one of their representatives who arrogantly promised the Polish emigré scum... “an outlet to the sea”. For Poland whose present coast line stretches over

400 kilometres!

The picture of the “emigré swamp” given by the authors of the letter evokes wrath and revulsion. Frantic in their impotence the adventurers and traitors to their own people ally themselves with the ultra-reactionary imperialist circles, with the “most bellicose American groupings”. “Our plans”, the letter says, “were worked out from the standpoint of war, with a view to accelerating it with the aim of transferring hostilities to the territory of our country”.

The fact that this entire scum, which has lost all human semblance and which has been cast out by history, is zealously picked up, fed and equipped by the Americans once again exposes the foul deeds of the warmongers. The warmongers stop at nothing and no-one in their struggle against the camp of peace and Socialism, and openly promise the emigré scum to unleash war against the peace loving peoples.

But all their machinations are in vain! It can safely be said that the plans of the American intelligence service had suffered fiasco long before the recent events. For the despicable, traitors, those with guns and poison in their pockets, all who sought to reverse the wheel of history, who wished to bar the way of the people of Poland to the new happy life, it was simply impossible to breath in the creative atmosphere of peaceful labour and universal vigilance.

The authors of the letter admit that everyone whom they approached for “help” turned from them with aversion, and that only degenerates, money-crazy scoundrels “with the brain of a bird and hands accustomed to dirty work”, creatures whose place is either behind prison bars or in an asylum, agreed to serve under them.

The spies and traitors long ago lost ground in the people’s democratic countries. Like a beast at bay they dash hither and thither, surrounded by the alert vigilance of the people. It is not accidental that a few days after the surrender of the “WIN”

leadership in Poland the newspapers reported that another two American agents –a certain Jan Homa and Wanda Weber – surrendered to the Polish border authorities.

The failure of the U.S. imperialists in plotting against People's Poland is obvious. And the point is not that the CIC bandits have lost their espionage network in Poland, that the American scoundrels who pinned hopes on their agents lost 1 million dollars, that once again they received a ringing smack in the face before the whole world, that once again their foul intrigues have been exposed. The point is that this failure is natural. The peoples of the countries of people's democracy are united, consolidated and vigilant as never before, they are filled with burning hatred for their enemies, their blows are powerful. The American atomaniacs, the enemies of mankind seeking to encroach on their peaceful life, suffer failure after failure, while the peoples of the democratic countries building Socialism and defending peace. Are marching forward to the radiant future.

Jan MAREK

FEUILLETON – GRANDFATHER FROST ARRESTED



There is no doubt whatever that if Dickens were alive today he would find the perfect, all-hating Scrooge in the person of Lord Rothermere, owner of the English newspaper Daily Graphic. Lord Rothermere, a sour, dismal, jaundiced misanthrope, filled with implacable hatred for the ordinary people, warmonger and rabid enemy of peace, deliberately chose the Christmas season for an anti-Soviet forgery as shameless as it was disgusting.

Outstripping his master Goebbels in the art of falsification, the British lord, through the medium of his dirty Daily Graphic, attempted on this occasion to enlist Grandfather Frost, traditional symbol of peace and goodwill, as an ally in the “cold war” against the Soviet Union and the countries of people’s democracy.

How did Lord Rothermere set about this “miracle”? On the day before Christmas Eve, the Daily Graphic rushed into print with the sensational, false and venomous “news” that, in the Soviet Union and in the countries of people’s democracy, the universally beloved Grandfather Frost has been turned... into

some kind of bogey-man for children, into a “police commissar”. After surveying their handiwork, the Rothermere scribes concluded that it needed a bit of dressing to make it more plausible for the British public. For this purpose they resorted to a photograph. In this photo Grandfather Frost is depicted as a policeman directing street traffic “behind the iron curtain” with a caption implying that the scene is... Moscow.

The crude trick of the Rothermere rag was immediately exposed by the progressive British press.

It turned out that the Daily Graphic’s “Moscow” photo had been taken in Western Germany three years ago by a photographer of the Associated Press, an American agency. It was published by this agency on December 6, 1949. This photo which depicted some kind of Christmas advertising, also showed a British-made automobile bearing registration plates of the British occupation forces. But in the doctored version published in the Daily Graphic on December 23, 1952, these “inconvenient” trimmings are cut out. In this way it was established that the falsification about Grandfather Frost being banished from the Soviet Union was simply another dose of foul anti-Soviet poison which Lord Rothermere sought to inject into the British public on Christmas Eve.

At this point it would be possible to part company with lord Rothermere and his “latest” slander and falsifications were it not for a rather unfortunate accident that befell Grandfather Frost. The point is that on the very day the Daily Graphic sang its specially composed anti-Soviet Christmas carol Grandfather Frost actually was placed under arrest. But this took place not in Moscow, not in Warsaw, Prague, Budapest, Bucharest or Sofia, but right in the heart of London, within a stone’s throw of the Daily Graphic office. For the details of this incident we turn to the December 24 issue of the British newspaper Manchester Guardian where on page ten, column five we read the following: “The spirit of Christmas ...received a sharp jolt

this afternoon when Santa Claus was arrested in Trafalgar Square in the presence of a horrified circle of puzzled parents and weeping children”... “What are they doing to Santa, wailed a shattered and bewildered tot” as two brawny, Scrooge-like, helmeted policemen seized the crimson-cloaked, bearded veteran and took him into custody. The Trafalgar Square arrest of ‘Grandfather Frost shows that Scrooge, the kill-joy, still haunts London.

It is hardly necessary to add that Moscow reality is the very opposite of British reality. Grandfather Frost, enjoying full citizenship, is, perhaps, the most beloved personality in the life of Soviet children at the present moment. He can be seen everywhere – on the streets and squares, in thousands of halls, clubs and in children’s palaces throughout the country.

The annual two-week New Year festivities with the participation of Grandfather Frost in the Hall of Columns in Moscow, in the Palace of Culture in the Stalin Automobile Works, in the Railwaymen’s Club and elsewhere are unforgettable scenes of the happy life of Soviet children.

Of course it would never enter Lord Rothermere’s head to apologise to his readers for the foul and shameless deception practised on them – everybody knows the practice of the capitalist press. Scrooge – Rothermere’s Christmas canard simply confirms the obvious truth that the warmongers stop at no foulness in their efforts to enmesh the peoples in lies, to stupefy them for the evil purpose of preparing a new war.

John SMITH

Bowing to Master's Order

Newsweek, a mouthpiece of the American monopolies, reported that the U.S. State Department “hinted to our European allies that their news agencies in the U.S. are overly anti-American in their bias. Too many stories sent home show the U.S. in a bad light”. The magazine self-complacently added that the “French, Italian and several other NATO governments” which are accustomed to obey orders from the Americans, “have taken the hint and made moves to correct this”.

Thus, the “U.S. warmongers, while seeking to impose the “American way of life” on other peoples, are doing all in their power to ensure that as few people as possible outside the U.S. learn the truth about this “way of life” with its tid-bits such as preparation for war, super-exploitation, gangsterism, lynching of Negros, anti-Communist hysteria, police terror, etc.

EDITORIAL BOARD



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