

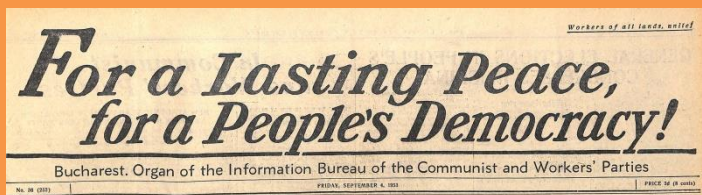
Workers of all lands, unite!

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

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



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COLLECTIVE WAY—HIGHEST PRINCIPLE OF LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

The indomitable force of the Communist and Workers' Parties—the genuinely peoples Parties expressing the vital interests of the working people—lies in the fact that in their entire activity, they are guided by the all-conquering teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

The Communist Party, the party of the new type, is the militant organisation of the working class, actively thinking, independent and living an active life. In full conformity with the militant nature and the lofty calling of the Party of the new type the strict norms of Party life elaborated by Lenin call for strict observance of the demands of the Rules of the Party for consistent implementation of the principles of democratic centralism, all-round development of the activity of the rank and file members, collective discussion and decision of vital questions of Party life and all-round development of criticism and self-criticism.

Collective leadership is the highest principle of leadership in the Communist and Workers' Parties. The normal activity of Party organisations and of the entire Party as a whole is only possible provided this principle is strictly adhered to. This is what the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union teaches. This is what Leninism teaches.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union proceeds from the fact that only the collective experience, the collective wisdom of the Central Committee, which relies on the scientific basis of the Marxist-Leninist theory and on the broad initiative of the leading cadres, ensures correct leadership of the Party and of the country, inviolable unity and solidarity of the ranks of the Party, and successful construction of Communism in the U.S.S.R. Collective leadership is an inviolable principle in the work of all Party organisations and Party organs of the C.P.S.U. The strength of the Party leadership lies in its collective leadership, in its solidarity and oneness.

The world-historic experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, generalised in the Rules of the C.P.S.U., in the decisions of the Party Congresses and the plenary meetings of the Central Committee, in the theses “Fifty years of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union” is of tremendous significance for all the Communist and Workers’ Parties.

The Communist and Workers’ Parties in the countries of people’s democracy are the leading and inspiring force in building socialist society. Following the example of the C.P.S.U. and creatively utilising its experience the Communist Party of China, the Communist and Workers’ Parties in the European countries of people’s democracy are constantly perfecting the forms and methods of their work and persistently striving for consistent observance of the Lenin principles of leadership and the norms of Party life. They regard strict observance of the principle of collective leadership as a vital prerequisite for further ideological and organisational consolidation of their ranks, for strengthening the militancy of the Party

organisations and for consolidating their ties with the masses. Their own experience teaches them that only when in the Party as a whole—from top to bottom—questions are discussed and decided collectively and on the basis of broad self-criticism and criticism from below, only then the possibility arises timely to disclose and eliminate mistakes and shortcomings in work, distortions of the Party line, timely to expose the machinations and designs of enemies of the Party. Collective leadership is a vital prerequisite for a correct training and education of new cadres, for effective control over the activity of the elected bodies, for the development of the initiative and activity of the party members.

The Central Committees of a number of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of people's democracy have, of late, adopted important decisions, disclosing shortcomings in the sphere of economic and socio-cultural construction and outlining measures ensuring a further powerful upsurge of the national economy, culture and the well-being of the people. These decisions pose concrete tasks for raising the level of Party-organisational and political work, for strengthening Party leadership in all links of the Party and state apparatus. They stress with particular force the need for strict observance of the principle of collective leadership.

To observe the principle of collective leadership means consistently to effect inner Party democracy, perseveringly to fulfil the requirements laid down in the rules of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

Facts show that the requirements of the Party Rules and the principles of collective leadership are not infrequently violated by some Party organisations. The

June plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party pointed out that meetings of local Party committees are held irregularly and meetings of Party activists only on special occasions, that not all organisations provide facilities for developing self-criticism and particularly criticism by the rank and file. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has established that some Party branch committees do not hold Party meetings according to schedule, do not pose vital problems of Party life for discussion by Party members. These violations are harmful since they retard growth of activity of Party members, deprive them of the possibility of exercising their rights and prevent the creation of the necessary conditions enabling the Party masses to promote new active workers to leading posts.

Violation of collective leadership frequently finds expression also in the fact that the meetings of Party committees and Party bureaus and of Party meetings are held in haste and without proper preparation. The Bulgarian Party press wrote, for example, that instances are still frequent when those attending Party committee meetings do not acquaint themselves with the materials and draft decisions beforehand, do not take an active part in the discussion or elaboration of decisions. It goes without saying that such meetings of Party committees are held in a formal way and do not facilitate the activity of the Party committee members.

“Trybuna Ludu”, organ of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, and “Scanteia”, organ of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, subjected to just criticism some of the leaders of Party organisations who pay no heed to the voice of party members, disregard the proposals of the activists

and Party members and personally decide on principled matters. Such incorrect methods of work deprive Committee members of their legitimate rights, diminish their responsibility for the work of the Party committee, belittle the role of the leading Party organs and often result in one-sided, poorly devised and at times even erroneous decisions.

It is the duty of Party leaders to consult Party committee members, Party activists and Party members, carefully to consider their views, their criticisms and proposals. Correct decisions and efficient leadership are only possible on the basis of profound examination and thorough discussion of questions raised, by utilising the experience of the Party Active, the rich collective experience of the rank and file.

The tasks or consistent realisation of inner Party democracy, of the principles of collective leadership and norms of Party life confront also the Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, which are waging a heroic struggle in the interests of the people in conditions of police repressions and victimisation under the yoke of the draconic bourgeois law. Party members in many Communist and Workers' Parties of these countries hold animated discussions on burning questions of Party life and Party leadership.

A recent decision by the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party requires: "Ensuring of regular work by collective leading organs in all Party organisations, firm application of the Lenin principles of leadership, of the tried weapon of criticism and no retreat in face of self-criticism in order to improve one's own activity and the work of all Party members".

The Italian Communist Party is also persistently

perfecting the collective principle in the work of Party organs and in its organisations. The questions of collective leadership are widely discussed at meetings of Federation and section committees.

The Central Board of the Communist Party of Germany regards the constant collective work of all Party organs as the best guarantee for correct realisation of the Party policy. It urges that the elected organs elaborate collective decisions and exercise collective control over their realisation.

By introducing the principles of collective leadership the Communist and Workers' Parties in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries improve their work and enhance the militancy of every Party organisation, contribute to a more rapid growth of their influence and prestige among working people, strengthen their bonds with the broad popular masses, their role of vanguard fighters for peace, national independence and democratic freedoms.

The principle of collective Party leadership fully corresponds to the well-known Marxist-Leninist thesis which states that the cult of personality is harmful and intolerable. The cult of personality runs counter to the principle of collective leadership, results in belittling the role of the Party, of its leading centre and weakens the creative activity of the Party rank and file, of the working people.

Fighting for strict and firm observance of inner Party democracy, the Lenin principles of Party leadership and the norms of Party life, the Communist and Workers' Parties will further consolidate their ranks, raise higher the banner of struggle for peace, democracy and for Socialism.

**TO COMRADE G. M. MALENKOV,
CHAIRMAN, COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF
THE U.S.S.R., TO COMRADE V. M.
MOLOTOV, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF THE U.S.S.R.**

MOSCOW

On behalf of the Chinese people and the People's Liberation Army of China we send our warmest greetings to the Soviet people and the Soviet Armed Forces on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the victory in the war of resistance against Japan.

In the difficult years of war against the aggression of Japanese imperialism, in the struggle, which, in the final analysis, resulted in the rout of Japanese imperialism, the Chinese people had from the very beginning and to the end the support and assistance of the Soviet people. This was especially manifested in 1945 when the Soviet Armed Forces entered the war and fought side by side with the Chinese people. As a result Japanese imperialism was routed and the final victory secured.

Ever since the Chinese People's Republic was formed and the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was concluded, the inviolable friendship between China and the Soviet Union has grown stronger and continues to grow stronger and to develop with every passing day. This

great friendship has now become a reliable guarantee of peace in the Far East and throughout the world.

We want to add here that the fraternal aid' rendered by the Soviet Union to the Chinese people is an important factor in the rapid rehabilitation of China's economy and its development along the lines of planned construction.

The recently signed armistice agreement in Korea is undoubtedly another great success of the efforts of the entire camp of peace and democracy aimed at securing peace and averting a new war. This great achievement facilitated the perceivable lessening of international tension as a whole; at the same time it will facilitate the efforts of the Japanese people who demand the establishment of normal relations with the Far Eastern countries so as to prevent the revival of Japanese imperialist aggression.

Long live the eternal co-operation between China and the Soviet Union in the just cause of defending peace in the Far East' and throughout the world!

MAO TSE TUNG

**Chairman, Central People's
Government, Chinese People's Republic**

CHOU EN LAI

**Prime Minister, State
Administrative Council and Minister for
Foreign Affairs, Central People's
Government,
Chinese People's Republic**

**TO COMRADE MAO TSE TUNG,
CHAIRMAN, CENTRAL PEOPLE'S
GOVERNMENT, CHINESE PEOPLE'S
REPUBLIC, TO COMRADE CHOU EN LAI,
PRIME MINISTER, STATE
ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL AND
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT,
CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

PEKING

We congratulate the Central' People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic, the Armed Forces of China and the great Chinese people on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the victory over Japanese militarism,

The selfless efforts of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union, together with their allies, ensured this victory and created the possibility for the establishment of peace in the Far East. We express confidence that the great alliance and fraternal friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic will continue to serve as a reliable basis for ensuring peace and security in the Far East and for strengthening peace throughout the world.

Long live the great and inviolable friendship between the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union!

September 2, 1953.

G. MALENKOV
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the
U.S.S.R.
V. MOLOTOV
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.

DECISION OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF U.S.S.R.

CONCERNING OPENING NEW PREMISES FOR M. V. LOMONOSOV STATE UNIVERSITY IN MOSCOW

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., having studied the report of the builders of the new premises for the M. V. Lomonosov State University in Moscow, the conclusion of the Government Commission and the report of the Ministry of Culture of the U.S.S.R., finds that the assignment of the Government for the construction and opening of the main buildings and structures of the University on the Lenin Hills has been carried out.

In the period 1949-1953 there have been erected on the Lenin Hills in Moscow:

the Moscow University main building 32 storeys high with a total volume of 1,370 thousand cubic metres, housing the geological and geographical faculties, classrooms of the mechanical and mathematical faculty, the general departments of the University, the scientific library, the grand assembly hall seating 1,500 and other academic and scientific establishments of the University; the building of the physics faculty with a total volume of 274.6 thousand cubic metres; the chemical faculty building with a volume of 267.7 thousand cubic metres; accommodation for students and postgraduates, totalling 5,754 rooms and 184

apartments for professors and instructors; the botanical garden with respective structures, totalling an area of 42 hectares; various cultural, service and sports structures.

In all, 27 basic and 10 auxiliary buildings with a total volume of 2,611 thousand cubic metres have been erected on the new campus of the University. The new building of the University has 148 auditoriums, more than 1,000 research and instruction laboratories, and also premises for a library to hold 1,200,000 volumes.

The laboratories of the University are being fitted with the latest instructional and research apparatus, electronic equipment, special optical instruments and X-ray apparatus, cameras for studying conditioned reflexes and metabolism, and all kinds of other equipment conforming to the latest requirements of science for instruction and research work in the spheres of mechanics, physics, chemistry, biology, geology, astronomy, etc.

The grounds of, the Moscow University's new campus have been laid out and beautified with trees, shrubbery and flowers. The approaches to the University have been asphalted and new bridges built.

Extensive work was done by the factories, designing organisations, research establishments and installation organisations of the various Ministries in designing and making new special types of equipment for educational and research work in the University, in making and installing metal constructions, mechanisms and equipment as well as in supplying the construction of the University's new premises with the necessary building materials.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has noted that with the opening of Moscow State University's new

premises extensive possibilities have been created for the further development of science and for training qualified specialists for the national economy of our country.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has resolved:

1. To open the new buildings of the M. V. Lomonosov State University in Moscow on September 1, 1953.

2. To oblige the Ministry of Culture of the U.S.S.R. and the administration of the M. V. Lomonosov State University in Moscow to ensure, in the new building of the University, beginning with September 1st, 1953, the educational and research work the physics, chemical, and mathematical, geological and geographical faculties.

PLENARY MEETING OF SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE

Representatives of republican, area and regional peace committees, of mass democratic organisations and of the broad Soviet public attended an enlarged meeting of the Soviet Peace Committee held on August 31 in Moscow.

The results of the session of the World Peace Council and the tasks of peace committees in the U.S.S.R. were the only item on the agenda.

The report was delivered by N. S. Tikhonov, Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee.

— All who ponder over the near future of the peace loving peoples, said N. S. Tikhonov, are aware that the policy of force, the policy of crude diktat has suffered complete fiasco.

The Soviet people regard the decision of the World Peace Council concerning extension of the struggle for the settlement of all international issues by means of negotiations quite timely and are ready to support it with practical deeds.

After the discussion in which representatives of various sections of the Soviet people took part the meeting unanimously approved a resolution on the report by N. S. Tikhonov and resolved to convene the fifth Soviet peace supporter's conference in December.

The resolution of the meeting of the Soviet Peace Committee reads in part:

The Soviet Peace Committee declares its complete approval of the decisions of the World Peace Council demanding a settlement of all disputes between states

by means of negotiation.

The Soviet people fully share the confidence of millions of peace supporters in all countries that, provided there is good will, ways and means can be found for the solution of controversial and unsettled questions and, in this way, ensure lasting and stable peace.

The Soviet people wholeheartedly approve and back the foreign policy of the Soviet Government aimed at preservation and consolidation of peace, and which corresponds to the vital interests of the Soviet people and the peace-loving peoples of all countries.

The Soviet Peace Committee expresses its firm confidence that the entire Soviet people will enthusiastically respond to the call of the World Peace Council and demonstrate before the world with fresh vigour their invariable will for peace by their participation in the movement for a peaceful settlement of international issues and will still closer rally around the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, firmly and consistently upholding the policy of peace.



New premises for M. V. Lomonosov State University on Lenin Hills in Moscow.

GENERAL ELECTIONS IN PEOPLE'S CONGRESSES IN CHINA. Teng Hsia-ping, Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of China

I.

In the four years since the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader, have successfully carried out various democratic social reforms, and, while the powerful Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea Movement was in progress, have restored and further developed the national economy and strengthened the nation's defences. We achieved these victories because, after the overthrow of the reactionary Kuomintang regime, we gave full expression to democracy and developed the initiative and creativeness of the masses.

The Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which is the provisional charter of the People's Republic of China, makes the following provisions regarding the organs of state power:

“Pending the convocation of the All-China People's Congress which shall be elected by universal suffrage, the plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference shall exercise the functions and powers of the All-China People's Congress.

“Pending the convocation of the local people's congresses which shall be elected by universal suffrage,

the local people's representative conferences shall gradually exercise the functions and powers of the local people's congresses".

The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the local people's representative conferences are composed of representatives elected or chosen by various political parties, nationalities and people of all strata. The number of people taking part in the representative conferences of all levels has exceeded 13,637,000, of whom over 80 per cent have been elected directly or indirectly by the people. Workers and peasants make up 75 per cent of the representatives. A great number of representatives are outstanding urban and rural labouring people brought up and schooled in the successive mass movements or in work and on production fronts. In more than two-thirds of the provinces, two-thirds of the municipalities, more than two-fifths of the counties and more than four-fifths of the **hsiang**^{*}, the local people's representative conferences have exercised the functions and powers of the people's congresses and elected the people's governments of their particular level. Wide participation by the people's representatives in the administration of state and local affairs has been responsible for the fact that the slate won the support of the broad masses for the gigantic tasks of democratic reforms, economic recovery, and the Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea Movement, and, relying on this support, has scored complete success in these tasks.

The period of our economic recovery has now ended and planned economic construction has begun. The hard

^{*} **Hsiang**: an administrative unit below county level. It is composed of several villages.

struggles in various social reforms and construction work have greatly raised the political consciousness and organizational ability of all sections of the people and consolidated the, people's-democratic system. It is now not only necessary but the time is also ripe for further democratisation.

On January 13, 1953, the Central People's Government Council, acting on the proposal of the Chinese Communist Party, **adopted a resolution** to convoke the people's congresses, to be elected by universal suffrage at **hsiang**, county, provincial and municipal levels, and on this basis to follow with the convocation of the All-China People's Congress. The All-China People's Congress will adopt the Constitution, approve the outline of the first state's Five-Year Plan of national construction and elect a new Central People's Government. It was resolved to set up a Committee for Drafting the Constitution of the People's Republic of China headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, and a Committee for Drafting the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China headed by Comrade Chou En-lai. The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the All-China People's Congress and Local People's Congresses at All Levels as drafted by the Committee for Drafting the Electoral Law was adopted by the Central People's Government Council on February 11 and promulgated on March 1. The publication of this law heralds a new stage in the development of the democratic system in our country.

II.

The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China provides a genuinely democratic electoral system suited

to the conditions now prevailing in China. Every citizen who has reached the age of eighteen has the right to elect and to be elected irrespective of nationality or race, sex, occupation, social origin, religion, education, property status, or residence.

Express and necessary provisions have been made for the elections to be held in connection with the national minorities, the armed forces and overseas Chinese. Only those landlords whose class status has not been changed (they constitute an extremely tiny fraction of the entire population), persons who have been deprived of political rights and insane persons have no right to elect and to be elected.

The Electoral Law also stipulates that men and women have equal electoral rights and that each voter is entitled to one vote only.

Since the peasants constitute over 80 per cent and the Han people approximately 93 per cent of the total population, the Electoral Law contains certain provisions in favour of the urban population and the national minorities. For example, it provides that generally in the countryside one deputy is to be elected to the All-China People's Congress for every 800,000 persons, while in industrial cities where the population is over 500,000 one deputy is to be elected for every 100,000. The national minorities total about one-fifteenth of the country's population, but, as provided by the Electoral Law, the number of their deputies to the All-China People's Congress may reach one-seventh of the total number of deputies. These provisions are made to fit the leading role played by the working class and to safeguard the development of the national minorities.

To fully guarantee that the electors may freely

exercise their right to elections, the Electoral Law stipulates that a 11 election expenses will be disbursed by the state treasury. A lump sum adequate for the purpose which has been appropriated by the Central People's Government represents a material safeguard to enable people really to enjoy their right to elect and to be elected on an equal basis.

The Electoral Law provides that the Communist Party of China, the various democratic parties and people's organisations, and electors or representatives who are not affiliated to the above mentioned parties or organizations may all nominate candidates for election as deputies either jointly or separately for electoral districts or electoral units. The electors have the full right freely to choose their candidates and they may recall and replace the deputies according to legal procedure. The Electoral Law devotes a chapter to the procedure of appeals relating to the question of the qualifications of electors and another chapter to provisions regarding strict punishment for those who are guilty of sabotaging the elections.

In view of the fact that in China many people still lack election experience, the Electoral Law stipulates that direct elections will be held in **hsiang**, towns, municipal districts and municipalities not divided into districts, while indirect elections will be held at the county level and above. Since a large number of people in China are still unable to read and write, the Electoral Law provides that elections held at the basic level of state power may be by show of hands instead of secret ballot, while elections at the county level and above shall be by secret ballot.

True, our electoral system is not perfect. As we develop politically, economically and culturally, we

shall gradually adopt an electoral system like that of the Soviet Union which, based on universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, is the most democratic and perfect. Still, our electoral system is suited to the present concrete conditions in China and, in so far as the substance of democracy is concerned, the electoral system of any capitalist country pales before ours.

III.

To hold elections on the basis of universal suffrage in a country like China, which has a vast population but lacks election experience, is certainly a tremendous job. Thus, simultaneously with the promulgation of the Electoral Law, the Central People's Government Council formed the Central Election Committee, headed by Comrade Liu Shao-chi. Under the guidance and supervision of the Central Election Committee, organs in charge of election affairs have been formed, election programmes drawn up and election work undertaken throughout the country. More than 1,000,000 cadres are being trained to ensure that the elections are conducted in an efficient way. They will go to villages, streets, factories, mines as well as areas inhabited by national minorities to help the people carry out election work.

As conditions differ from one part of the country to another, elections at the basic level of state power cannot be carried out simultaneously and within a short period. In most places, elections below the county level will be held this winter when peasants have ample spare-time.

During the period from April to June, elections at the basic level of state power were held in more than

1,600 places in a small part of the country. In Szechuan Province, elections have been carried out in more than 140 hsiang, towns and municipal districts. In Chekiang Province people's deputies have been elected in some hsiang and towns, and people's congresses are due to be convened. In East, Central-South, Southwest and Northwest China, a large number of hsiang and towns are now checking up the qualifications of electors, drawing up lists of candidates or holding election meetings. In other parts of the country, census-taking and registration of voters are well under way.

The elections which have been held in certain areas of the country fully prove that the Chinese people set great store by the fruits of democracy they have won after a long and bitter struggle. According to statistics compiled in 25 hsiang and towns in nine provinces, the number of electors who went to the polls on the average constitutes more than 80 per cent of the total electorate, the highest percentage being 99.3. In the Shanghai municipality, the workers in a number of factories, on receiving their electors' certificates, held formal meetings to celebrate the occasion. In the Shenyang (Mukden) municipality, residents of the southern district of the city joyously staged two plays: "Vote For Good Fellows as Our Deputies!" and "The Elector's Certificate". The peasants treasured their electors' certificates as something that could not be purchased with gold.

In the areas where elections are being held, the electors hold thorough discussions on the nomination of candidates. On polling day, the masses of the people are more excited and cheerful than on a festival. Electors have been heard to remark: "This is indeed the happiest occasion we have ever known. We, the working

people, are now electing our own men to work for us”.

The elections now under way in various parts of the country are linked with the struggle against bureaucratism, commandism, and violation of law and discipline. The masses are developing criticism from below, checking up on the work of the government, exposing bad styles in work on, the part of some government functionaries as well as cases of violations of law and discipline. These democratic elections held by the masses help rid the organs of state power of bad elements. Persons popular with the masses are being elected. Many activists and model workers, who have emerged in labour and in the various mass movements and who have won popularity among the masses, have been elected deputies. This has greatly improved the composition of the organs of state power, strengthened the ties between the government and the people, improved the working styles of the cadres and in this way has raised the efficiency of the government.

In the municipality of Fushun, the deputies elected include Yu Tung-hai, model worker in capital construction in Northeast China, Kung Hsiang-jui, head of a safe production model group which has worked without a single accident for five successive years, and Yin Ching-chang, who fulfilled the task of the 1952 production plan five months ahead of schedule, etc.

Quite a few women have been elected deputies. Women deputies in the Hopei Hsiang, Chiangning County, Kiangsu Province, make up more than 21 per cent of the total number of the deputies elected. As shown by the statistics available from 19 hsiang and four towns in Szechuan Province, out of 818 deputies elected 175 are women. In many areas where national minorities are mixed together, each nationality can

count among the elected its own deputies. A great many outstanding teachers, physicians, progressive industrialists and merchants, and patriotic elements of religious bodies have also been elected people's deputies.

The experience gained by the areas where elections have been started will serve as useful examples for other areas. Comrades in charge of the elections in those areas are working seriously and efficiently. Their experience will ensure the victory of the forthcoming general elections in the country.

People are marking preparations and conduct of the elections by achievements in production and work. Greeting the elections, many Shanghai factory workers have revised their production pledges and unfolded labour emulation drives, while miners in the various parts in Northeast China have submitted numerous rationalization proposals. In many villages the peasants are greeting the campaign with pledges to fulfil production plans.

The fact that the Chinese people welcome the elections will, diligent labour and political active work shows that they have become more conscious that democracy and freedom are essential to flourishing of the homeland and to the well-being of the working people. These elections will help the Chinese people make a further step forwards a still better democratic life, and a rise in the well-being and cultural level of the people.

MASS-POLITICAL WORK OF COMMUNISTS IN BELGIUM

The Communist Party of Belgium has of late unfolded broad propaganda work aimed at bringing home the policy of the Party to the broad popular masses of the country. After selling tens of thousands of copies of the programme pamphlet "A way out of stagnation" the Central Committee of the Party decided, beginning with September, to circulate another popular pamphlet dealing with questions of unity of action of the working class and of rallying all the patriotic forces. The Central Committee has also decided to launch a "thousand meetings" campaign during August and September.

Hundreds of such meetings have taken place throughout the country since August—at factory gates and labour exchanges, in towns and villages—attended by thousands of Belgians. The preparations for the meetings help intensify the work of the lower Party organisations which acquaint themselves with the concrete state of affairs in every enterprise, in every town, district and village where such meetings take place. This serves as the basis for establishing closer contact with the working people and for strengthening considerably the bonds of the Party with the masses.

Numerous examples show that not infrequently the meetings give rise to actions based on the programme of national independence, freedom and peace and social progress outlined by the Communist Party of Belgium in the pamphlet "A way out of stagnation". The meetings also help ensure a broader circulation of the "Drapeau Rouge", organ of the Party, and frequently result in the

working people applying for Party membership.

IN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

SPEECH BY KIM IR SEN AT PLENARY MEETING OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, KOREAN PARTY OF LABOUR

The central newspapers in Korea featured the concluding speech by Comrade Kim Ir Sen at the VI plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour held early in August.

In his speech Kim Ir Sen dwelt, particularly, on the situation arising from the armistice which is the first step towards a peaceful settlement of the Korean question, and on the tasks for uniting the country.

Touching on the questions of rehabilitation and development of the national economy Kim Ir Sen outlined in detail the tasks facing the country in this sphere and spoke about mobilisation of all resources, rational utilisation of manpower, mechanisation of labour, struggle against the squandering of state funds, about raising the political and cultural level of functionaries. Kim Ir Sen stressed the need for rapid development of the light industry which should turn out mass consumption goods on a large scale.

ITALIAN COMMUNISTS EXTENDING CONTACT WITH MASSES

The Federation Committee of the Italian Communist Party, Bologna province, has discussed questions of

Party leadership. In his report Bonazzi, secretary of the Federation, pointed to the need widely to inculcate the principle of collective leadership in the work of the leading organs of all Party organisations, to see to it that Party leaders are elected by the rank and file and that the composition of the leading organs of the Party sections and mass organisations in the provinces are stabilized.

The meeting of the Federation Committee discussed also the question of extending contact with the hundreds of different small organisations and associations in the province. These organisations which express definite traditions, the aspirations and interests of the citizens play a considerable role in their everyday life. Speakers in the discussion severely criticised the serious shortcomings in mass work of Party members, who, elevating all their attention to the big democratic organisations at the same time neglect the small associations, thereby narrowing possibilities of extending the influence of the Party among the masses.

TRAINING PARTY CADRES IN ALBANIA

The Central school of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, trains leading cadres for the Party and the state. The students get a fundamental training in Marxism-Leninism. Opened in 1949 the school, has three faculties: Party construction, state construction and journalism. Last year it changed from a one-year course to a two-year course of study. The subjects include the history of the C.P.S.U. and the history of the Albanian Party of Labour, dialectical and

historical materialism, political economy and special subjects concerning general education. Close attention is devoted to study of the materials of the XIX Congress of the C.P.S.U. and J. V. Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R."

The school runs a six-month refresher course for the state and Party cadres and a two-year correspondence course.

NEW ACADEMIC YEAR IN PARTY EDUCATION NETWORK IN RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY

The organisations of the Rumanian Workers' Party are busy preparing for the new academic year in the Party education network.

The regional committees have approved over 18,000 tutors who will take charge of the classes and courses. 30-day courses have been organised for leaders of the permanent seminars for tutors and heads of Party consultation centres. At present 20-day refresher courses for tutors are being held under the auspices of regional Party committees. The curriculum of these courses includes the following subjects: The Party—leading and guiding force of the Rumanian people; Contact of the Party with the masses the main source of its strength; 50th anniversary of the C.P.S.U.; Historical experience of the C.P.S.U.—inspiring example for our Party in struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society, etc. During the study of these themes emphasis is laid on the need for creative assimilation of Marxist-Leninist theory, the link between theory and practice,

the rooting out of manifestations of non-Marxist interpretation of the role of the individual in history.

This year over 3,000 students will attend the 10 Marxist-Leninist evening institutes. Organisation of study in these institutes has been improved and chairs are staffed with qualified tutors.

Preparations have been completed for the beginning of the education year in 28 two-year evening Party schools. The majority of the district and urban Party committees have organised advanced groups for the study of the History of the C.P.S.U., political economy and Marxist philosophy. For leading Party cadres seminars have been opened for independent study of the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism under the auspices of the regional committees.

The Party, state and economic functionaries began their study on September 1.

DECISION OF POLITICAL BUREAU, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY, CONCERNING PARTY EDUCATION

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee, Socialist Unity Party of Germany, has adopted a decision on Party education in the 1953-54 academic year.

The Political Bureau stressed that education in the new academic year should be based on the resolution of the 15th Plenum of the Central Committee and on the experience of the past academic year and pointed to a number of shortcomings prevailing in Party study.

The resolution states that a number of tutors had inadequate training in theory and lacked experience of

Party work with the result that they failed to link the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the practical tasks of the Party. Little attention was paid to exposure of hostile views in the course of study. The Propaganda Department of the Central Committee and the propaganda and agitation departments of regional and district Party committees paid little heed to seminars.

The decision points to the need to focus attention on careful selection of tutors, to improve their theoretical knowledge and teaching methods. The Political Bureau urged that greater attention be given to the study of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The Political Bureau has decided to adopt the following system of Party education in the forthcoming academic year: one-year courses for elementary political training, two-year classes for study of the History of the C.P.S.U., two-year courses for study of the basic works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, district Party schools, evening institute of Marxism-Leninism and organised independent study.

The leading Party organs have been advised first of all to take stock of the available trained tutors when setting up courses and other classes in the Party education network. The Political Bureau deems it necessary that the Central Committee, the regional and area Party committees give better direct guidance to the tutors and help instructors in charge of courses during the forthcoming academic year.

35th ANNIVERSARY OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF FINLAND

August 29 marked the 35th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Finland. An anniversary meeting dedicated to this outstanding date was held in the Workers' House in Helsinki. The meeting was addressed by Ville Pessi, General Secretary of the Communist Party. V. Pessi dwelt on the tasks of the Party. The Central Committee of the Party issued a statement dedicated to this anniversary, greeting the workers, peasants and intelligentsia of Finland on the day of the 35th anniversary of the Party and urging them to unite their forces in the struggle for a lasting peace, for the independence of Finland and of all the peoples, for higher standard of living, for Socialism.

The rich experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the entire international working-class movement, the 50 years history of the working-class movement in Finland and the present struggle of the working people show that the onslaught of the enemies of the working people can be rebuffed and victory ensured by uniting the working people in the common struggle.

The statement further points out that the activity of the Party is based on the all-conquering Marxist-Leninist teaching. The Communist Party of Finland stresses that it strives to ensure the rallying of the forces of the working class in the struggle against capitalism and denounces the line-up of the Right-wing Social Democrats with the capitalists as betrayal of the interests of the working class, democracy and Socialism.

Addressing itself to the champions and friends of

peace and the independence of the country the Central Committee urges them to do all in their power to secure the settlement of all international controversial questions by means of negotiation, to demand the adoption of measures by the Government to stop the false propaganda in the country directed against the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, unconditional fulfilment of the agreements signed between Finland and the Soviet Union as well as extension of trade and cultural relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy.

NINE YEARS OF FLOWERING. Kamen Kalchev, Bulgarian Writer

In a few days the Bulgarian people will celebrate for the ninth time the anniversary of their great victory. Gone forever are the shackles of slavery, the sun of freedom shines brightly over our homeland. Socialist construction in our country has developed on a large scale. In a historically brief space of time our People's Republic has achieved such heights which were unthinkable under the old capitalist regime. Suffice it to review some of the most outstanding facts to become convinced of the mighty creative effort of the Bulgarian working people, steadfastly following the path of radical reconstruction of their entire life under the leadership of their own Communist Party.

Small and backward in the past, agrarian Bulgaria, which used to be an appendage of the imperialist powers, is now becoming a strong and independent country with its own industry and flourishing culture, national in form and socialist in content. In place of the old, ramshackle workshops there now rise the walls of big plants and factories of which our country and our working class are rightly proud.

In a brief space of time, on the wastelands of Marica valley in South Bulgaria, there arose, as in a fairy tale, the town of Dimitrovgrad with its plants, among which towers the splendid chemical combinat named after Stalin. For over a year thousands of tons of home produced chemical fertilizers have been flowing to the village fields. And near Sofia there grew up with the same fantastic speed the Lenin Metallurgical Plant. Recently smoke curled from its first open-hearth

furnace and the first stream of molten metal lit up the happy faces of its makers—the workers and all Bulgarian patriots.

Work is in full swing in the ore-workings on the Rodopski mountain range, new towns are rising and work is proceeding on big ore-refining plants. The ancient mountain, which is lavishly bequeathing such untold wealth on the working people, is now awakening from its slumber.

Bulgaria is rich! Last year the first oil fountain burst from the earth, filling our hearts with joy and hope. Now we shall have also our own oil.

And all this wealth—the ore, oil and the plants which rise one after another—has been made possible by the heroic armed struggle of our people on September 9, 1944, by the Soviet Army with whose help Bulgaria was freed from fascism and dire imperialist enslavement.

Extensive socialist construction is developing in the countryside. The old Bulgarian village engulfed in gloom and ignorance, is changing its face. A radical change is being effected in labour and economic relations, in the life and psychology of the Bulgarian tiller. Already 60 per cent of the Bulgarian peasants have renounced the old, primitive method of land cultivation and voluntarily joined agricultural producer co-operatives—the solid basis for socialist reconstruction of the countryside. In place of the scattered fields of the poor peasants there spread out now the boundless co-operative fields where tractors and combine harvesters hum, golden wheat, cotton and tobacco plantations bloom and fruit ripens. To help the peasant, to lighten his labour and to raise yields several big reservoirs are being built: the Stalin, Georgi Dimitrov, Vasili Kolarov, Alexander Stamboliyski reservoirs and a number of others. Several have already

been completed. Soon deep canals will criss-cross the Bulgarian plains. Soon electric light will flood the new towns and hundreds of villages. For the sake of the happiness of the people and in order that they may enjoy prosperity an irrigation system has been developed in the Bryshlianski valley and the plan is being successfully realised of water supply and forest planting in Zolotaya Dobrogea—Bulgaria's granary.

For all this greatness and joy achieved in the country in the course of only nine years, our people are indebted to their victory of September 9, a victory which enabled them to sense in full the blessings of fraternal friendship. We say for all to hear: our gains would have been impossible without the enormous, generous and selfless aid which is being granted to us by the great Soviet Union, by the fraternal Soviet peoples. Our plants and reservoirs, our irrigation systems, our agricultural cooperatives and machine and tractor stations are graphic and realistic monuments of great friendship and fraternity. The Soviet country is not merely providing us with machines and technique but also with the knowledge and experience of its scientific and technical personnel. Without this aid and experience we would not have been able to effect that which we are so proud of today.

Soviet aid has helped our working class to grow, to acquire strength and maturity, it has helped in the growth and strength of, our peasantry and in the development and extension of the world outlook of our intelligentsia.

Only nine years have passed but how great the wave of the stakhanovite movement, how great the number of famed men and women, heroes of socialist labour and Dimitrov prize winners! The names of Lilyana

Dimitrova, textile worker; Ferdo Stoimenov, building worker; Todor Stoichkov, driller on a tunnelling site; Donka Panaiotova, renowned farm team leader and many other merited sons and daughters of our homeland who give their thoughts and hearts to the well-being and happiness of the people, resound throughout the country.

The valuable experience of Soviet people, the brilliant achievements of outstanding Soviet stakhanovites such as Levchenko and Mukhanov, Zhandarova, Chikirev and Kolesov, Korolev and Panin are quickly taken up by our workers. The innovators' movement gaining momentum in the country. A feature of the movement is that it rallies also the peasantry. As a result new men and women with a new attitude towards labour and public property are reared and trained.

For the ninth time our people hail this great day with labour exploits. The entire country is in the grip of a general striving to build and improve the life of the people: build more plants, produce more metal, more food, clothing, footwear, household goods, build more schools and sanatoria, more beautiful and bright apartments for the working people!

The working people report their magnificent achievements to the Party and Government with joy and pride. And deep in the consciousness of each there is imbued the conviction that with these labour exploits we promote the cause of peace and democracy. This conviction inspires our people still more for fresh labour exploits and calls for new achievements in all spheres of socialist construction.

With these thoughts and sentiments we hail this great holiday of ours—the day of September 9.

GLORIOUS DATE IN HISTORY OF HEROIC PEOPLE

Eight Years of Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

Eight years ago, on September 2, 1945, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam was proclaimed in Hanoi.

In the years of the existence of the Republic, in the years of the patriotic war of the people of Viet Nam against the French colonisers which is still in progress, the people of Viet Nam have proved that no aggressor can enslave them or put them on their knees, that the people fighting for their freedom and independence are invincible. The aggressive war against Viet Nam has brought and is now bringing serious reverses for the French colonisers.

The successes of the People's Army of Viet Nam which is fighting a far better equipped enemy, lavishly supplied with arms by the USA, are due to its indestructible ties with the broad masses. The people are giving their army all-round support, fully aware that it is defending their right to national independence, to a happy and free life.

The democratic regime in Viet Nam has registered big successes in the past eight years. From the first days of its existence the people the People's Government endorsed and effected democratic labour laws such as the law on the eight-hour working day on wages and social insurance. Public education is being developed. 14 million people have already learned to read and write.

Close attention is paid to the peasantry who comprise 90 per cent of the country's population. This year, in accordance with Government decision, agrarian reform, enthusiastically greeted by the peasantry, is being carried out in the liberated areas.

Ho Shi Minh, President of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, addressed a message to the people of Viet Nam on the occasion of the eighth anniversary in which, on behalf of the people, the army and Government, he expressed gratitude to the friendly peoples for their support, and also to the French people and other peoples of the world for their struggle for peace. The President urged the people of Viet Nam not to rest content with the successes achieved, not to underestimate the enemy, to display vigilance and perseverance and staunchly overcome the difficulties.

SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN IN FAVOUR OF NEGOTIATIONS INDIA

Celebrations were organised throughout India on the occasion of the armistice in Korea. The meetings and rallies were attended by leaders and representatives of the different parties and public organisations which uphold the idea of negotiations as a method of solving all international controversial issues. A resolution passed recently by the Bhatinda municipality (PEPSU) reads: "The termination of hostilities in Korea by negotiation indicates that other international disputes can also be settled through negotiations".

Recently a signature campaign for negotiations was launched. The Appeal has been signed by 95 members of the Madras Legislative Assembly, among them 10 Congress Party members and leaders of the Toilers' Party, by about 1,000 people attending the celebrations organised by the peace committee in Delhi and by 500 leading citizens of Jullundur. 1,500 signatures have been collected in PEPSU.

The mass democratic organisations are giving wide support to the signature campaign in favour of negotiations.

QUESTIONS OF COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP IN HUNGARIAN WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY. Lajos Acs, Member of Political Bureau and Secretariat, Central Committee, Hungarian Working People's Party

After the liberation of Hungary by the heroic Soviet Army the Hungarian working class and all working people, under the leadership of the Party, rehabilitated the country's economy ravaged by the Hiller occupationists, fulfilled the Three-Year Plan and began carrying out the Five-Year Plan designed to lay the foundations of socialist society. Industry in our country has made a big headway. in the course of socialist construction: Hungary has become an industrialised country. A part of the working peasantry has taken the path of large-scale co-operative farming.

The prewar living standard of the working people has been considerably surpassed as a result of the correct policy of the Party. Today we have every possibility for ensuring a steady rise in the living standard of our people.

The June plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party disclosed the mistakes in economic policy and defined the ways and means for eliminating them. The meeting of the Central Committee stressed that the policy 1cif the Party is steadily to raise the living standard of the Hungarian working class, peasantry, intelligentsia and all working

sections of the population in the course of the socialist construction. The measures now being effected by the Government on the basis of the decision of the Central Committee have already yielded positive results. The living standard of the working people has registered a substantial rise.

The working class, peasantry and all working people enthusiastically welcomed the decisions of the Party and the programme and measures adopted by the Government. **The policy of the Party strengthens the bonds of the Party with the working class and all working people and consolidates the basis of people's democracy—the worker peasant alliance.**

The decision of the June plenary meeting of the Central Committee points out that the decisive prerequisite for the realisation of the policy of the Party lies in ensuring collective leadership in all organs of the Party, in developing criticism and self-criticism, particularly criticism from below in enhancing the consciousness of Party members and of all the people by means of better ideological work, correct Party leadership of state organs and by constant control over their activity.

Exercise of collective leadership at all levels is of decisive significance for raising the activity of the Party masses, for further development of the creative forces of the people and for ensuring correct leadership of the Party.

I.

On the basis of creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory and in the spirit of bold criticism and self-criticism the meeting of the Central Committee, in

addition to other mistakes, revealed shortcomings in the application of the principle of collective leadership. The Central Committee established that collective leadership in both the higher and lower leading Party organs was in most cases substituted by one-man leadership which was combined with the cult of personality, alien to Marxism-Leninism. This state of affairs prevented decisions of the Party from being worked out collectively and with the participation of all members of the leading organs of the Party. Violation of the principle of collective leadership led to blunting of open criticism and bold, honest self-criticism and criticism from below in particular.

All this weakened the bonds between the Party and the masses, retarded the development of the creative forces of the working people and resulted in the lowering of activity of the Party members. Such a state of affairs made it extremely difficult for the Party leadership to disclose and rectify in good time the mistakes committed in economic policy.

Violation of the principles of collective leadership retarded the promotion of new efficient workers since in the majority of the Party organs many of them were not considered equal members of the Party committees and were not ensured proper conditions for work. In many Party committees the entire work was in fact directed by one or two people (for example, in the Party committees of the Tolna and Vas districts).

Absence of collective leadership led to underestimation of the leading Party organs—the Central Committee, the Party committees elected by the Party conferences, and the meetings of the lower Party organisations. The activity of Communists elected to the Party organs considerably declined. Some

members of Party committees took practically no part in the elaboration and discussion of decisions adopted by the committee. Because of this the adopted decisions were frequently one-sided.

Thus, the experience, the general, political and professional knowledge of Communists elected to the leading Party organs and their collective wisdom were not utilised in due measure. As a result the secretaries of some Party committees became isolated from the working masses, lost their sense of modesty and created around themselves an atmosphere of cult of personality, of praising their activity and of a non-critical evaluation of their work.

For instance, the secretary of the Sztalinvaros city Party committee did good work on the difficult front of socialist construction. However, the successes achieved as a result of the collective effort of the Party members and the labour heroism of the masses turned his head; he began to consider these successes as his own, underestimating the significance of the activity of the Party committee, of the Communists and of the working people. As a result the political activity of the Communists declined and the labour enthusiasm of the workers slackened.

At a recent meeting of the Sztalinvaros Party Active the secretary of the city Party committee openly and sincerely criticised his work. The Party Active disclosed the mistakes and shortcomings and adopted measures for their elimination; a fresh breeze of criticism and self-criticism once again penetrated the Sztalinvaros city Party committee and Party organisations in the town.

II.

With a view to ensuring collective leadership the meeting of the Central Committee once again emphasised that the Central Committee is the highest Party organ in between congresses. All important questions must, in the spirit of bold criticism and self-criticism, be discussed in detail by the Central Committee; all decisions must be worked out collectively and with the participation of all members of the Central Committee. Thus, the policy of the Party is defined and formulated by the Central Committee. In the period between plenary meetings of the Central Committee the sole central political leading organ of our Party is the Political Bureau. The Secretariat of the Central Committee discharges its duties while being subordinated to the Political Bureau; its task is to ensure fulfilment of the decisions adopted by the leading organs. The Central Committee demands that collective leadership be effected in every Party organ.

According to the Rules of the Party, the highest organs of the Party between Party conferences in the districts, counties, towns and large enterprises are the Party committees and in the lower Party organisations—the Party meetings. However, the Party committees have so far failed to live up to this requisite of the Party Rules. Plenary meetings of Party committees were not held regularly. For instance, the bureaus of the Party committees in the Vas district and in the Sarvar county held each only one plenary meeting this year.

As a rule the first secretary “instructed” the plenary meeting about fulfilment of forthcoming tasks. In keeping with the established practice the secretary did not report to the meeting on the work of the bureau and

realisation of decisions. Criticism was a rare phenomenon at plenary meetings of Party committees and the discussion was held in a formal way. A similar situation prevailed in fact even in such a vital industrial district as the 21 district of Budapest, one of the strongholds of the Hungarian working class.

In most cases Party bureaus used the members of Party committees as activists for currying out small current assignments. This deprived the Party committee of the possibility of becoming a genuine leader of its organisation, belittled its significance and placed the bureau and particularly the first secretary above the Party committee.

As a rule Party committee meetings did not adopt decisions. They heard and took note of the instructive reports of the secretaries, with the result that the entire work was based not on collective decisions worked out by the committee, but on the decisions of the bureau or frequently on the personal instructions of the first secretary.

In order to change this state of affairs the Central Committee decision points out that Party committees are in the first place responsible for effecting the Party policy in their areas. The Central Committee demanded that Party committee meetings be held not less than once every two months, and that collective decisions be carried on all important issues. Party bureaus are obliged to acquaint Party committee members with their work and to report to them on their activity. Party committees are in duty bound to ascertain how the bureaus carry out their decisions in their everyday work.

The joint meetings of Party committees with Party activists have just come to a close. Proceeding from the decisions, of the Central Committee they discussed

shortcomings in exercising collective leadership, in unfolding criticism and self-criticism, in the sphere of ideological work and decided on measures for eliminating these shortcomings. The plenary meetings showed that Party committee members took an active part in fruitful discussions of the reports made by secretaries on behalf of Party bureaus. Although in some instances the reports of the secretaries were of a general character, lacked profundity and did not envisage corresponding measures, the creative strength and wisdom of the collective was clearly seen in the foci, that Committee members made a profound and thorough analysis of the work of Party organisations in the matter of carrying out the Party policy and in effecting the Government programme and submitted business-like proposals for improving Party-political work.

The task of the Party bureau, as the Party Rules define it, is operative leadership of the day-to-day work of the Party organisation. However, most Party bureaus had hitherto assumed the functions of the Party committee and decided all important issues at their weekly meetings, which often discussed these issues in a superficial manner. As a result the resolutions in many instances did not contribute to the solution of major questions.

At the same time the Party apparatus was forced literally to work day and night to “turn out” heaps of material for the weekly bureau meetings. The consequence was that bureau members and functionaries of the Party apparatus were shut up in their studies, hardly ever visited Party organisations and maintained no contact with the worker and peasant masses. Consequently in many instances the reports

discussed by the bureaus did not reflect the real state of affairs. Matters worsened with the appearance of the “staff” and “non-staff” members of the bureau. Those who were simultaneously on the staff of the Party apparatus were called staff members while those working in state and economic establishments were called non-staff members. It can be said that the non-staff members did not take part in discussion at the meetings of the bureau. The so-called “staff” members of the Party bureaus often “briefed” both the functionaries of the apparatus and those invited to the meetings instead of giving an objective estimation of their work and helping them.

III.

The most serious mistake in the work of the Party bureaus was that they did not fulfil their direct duties of operative guidance of current work and that their meetings were of a formal nature. The Central Committee decision obliges the Party bureaus to improve the methods of work. They must concentrate mainly on carrying out the decisions of the Central Committee and of the local Party committees.

The Central Committee decision states that it should become a law in future that all members of elected bodies enjoy equal rights. At present the question is often posed in our Party: what then is the duty of the secretary of the committee? The secretary of the committee must see to it that decisions adopted by the bureau and Party committee are duly carried out and must also give guidance to the Party apparatus. He not only has the right but is in duty bound to take steps to ensure fulfilment of adopted decisions. Successful

carrying out of decisions depends on the efficient work of the secretary. However, the secretary may not place himself above the elected body. Decisions adopted by the committee are equally binding for the secretary and for all Party members.

The district, county, town and factory Party committees only hold meetings of Party activists on special occasions. This shortcoming must be rectified in the very near future. It is necessary systematically to convene meetings of Party activists and thoroughly to discuss with them important decisions of the Party and Government. The experience, knowledge and proposals submitted by Party activists will help the committees to exercise correct leadership.

The Party meeting is the highest organ of the Party branches. Our Party branch organisations hold Party meetings regularly. And Party members take a more active part in the discussions at these meetings. However, we can in no way be content with this. Instances are still frequent when the reports by the secretaries at the meetings are too general, superficial, and seldom raise burning issues of vital interest to the Party organisation and to all working people of the given locality. As a result Party members in many organisations are not sufficiently active, many do not attend meetings or take part in the discussions. The activity of Party members at meetings particularly flags when critical remarks are ignored. For example, one of the meetings in the "Tisza" footwear factory was attended by 38 out of 103 members and those present did not take up the discussion since, they said, none of their proposals have ever been effected or any of their remarks taken into account.

This state of affairs must be changed! It is necessary

to raise the significance of Party meetings and to convert them into a genuine forum for criticism and self-criticism. Party committees and the secretaries of Party organisations should have every important issue discussed at Party meetings. Hundreds of thousands of Party members bring home to the Party leadership the voice of the million-fold masses of working people at these meetings. Consequently the Party meeting is a vital link which connects our Party with the masses. Hence, local Party committees must thoroughly examine the proposals and remarks submitted by Party members. Close attention to proposals submitted at Party meetings should also be paid by higher Party organs.

At present all Party branches discuss at their meetings questions relating to observance of inner-Party democracy and development of self-criticism and criticism from below.

The experience of our Party proves that collective leadership is the solely correct method of Party leadership. Collective leadership facilitates development of the initiative and creative energies of the cadres, ensures elaboration of correct decisions, raises the activity of Party members and the working masses, guarantees broad development of rank and file criticism, furnishes opportunities for Party organisations creatively to apply, better than hitherto, the victorious revolutionary teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

There is not the slightest doubt that due to the consistent struggle for fulfilment of the decisions of the June plenary meeting of the Central Committee the solely correct principle of Party leadership—collective

leadership—will be effected by every leading Party organ in the course of the next few weeks and months.

Application of the principle of collective leadership is guarantee that Party organs and Party organisations will successfully carry out the policy charted by the Party and the measures taken by the Government. This will decisively facilitate the task of raising the living standards of the working class and of the entire working people. of establishing closer contact of the Party with the working class and with all the working people, still more to consolidate the political basis of our people's democracy—the worker-peasant alliance.

GREAT STRUGGLE OF FRENCH WORKING PEOPLE. Marcel Servin Member, Central Committee, French Communist Party

A wave of monster strikes swept France last August. In the space of one week, from August 14 to August 20 the strike movement was joined by more than 2 million working people, while during the whole period of the three-weeks struggle the number of working people taking part in the strikes of more or less prolonged duration reached the figure of over 3 million. The history of the working class movement has never witnessed strikes of such force and magnitude.

For almost three weeks railway traffic was practically at a standstill and the Government boasted of "victory" each time it succeeded in operating 30 trains throughout the country even though the usual number is 15,000 trains a day.

Not only was mail delivery suspended for nearly three weeks throughout France but all telephone communication between Paris and the provinces was severed; during this period not a single business deal was effected of the millions which are normally transacted through the medium of the postal and telegraph services.

Practically no gas or electricity was produced throughout these three weeks while in some cities and towns supplies were cut off altogether. These three examples give but an approximate idea of the tremendous blow dealt by the French working people to the Government and its policy, and to the French big

bourgeoisie standing behind them.

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Last July a majority vote in the National Assembly, installed “in office” the reactionary Laniel Government. The latter immediately prepared a series of emergency decrees which were to strike hard at the civil servants, railwaymen and at all employees of the state and communal establishments, of the nationalised enterprises, railways, at tenants and small traders. In addition the wage freeze, included in the government programme, was directly spearheaded against the interests of the working class as a whole.

Even before these decrees were made public the working people began struggle by launching a strike which assumed particularly wide dimensions after the official publication of these decrees. Such were the direct reasons which gave rise to the August strike movement. However, in point of fact, the Government decrees were merely the last straw.

For a number of years the foreign policy of all the governments succeeding one another, a policy subordinated to the Atlantic pact, has been and is now a Policy of war or preparation for war. Their internal policy is extremely reactionary. They seek to make the working people, small peasants and small traders bear the brunt of the reckless expenditure for the war in Viet Nam and for the arms drive. At the same time big capitalist concerns are amassing fabulous profits and are being scandalously exempted from tax payments.

The “Marshall Plan”, the Atlantic pact, the war in Viet Nam and militarisation of the economy—all this, for the millions of French men and women, spells higher food prices, higher rent, housing crisis, resulting from

inadequate house construction, full and partial unemployment, in a word, a steady deterioration of the living standard, lack of money and, not infrequently, poverty.

The wrath of the French working people has been mounting for many years: in the past few months token strikes have broken out in many places all over the country. Under the leadership of the French Communist Party and the General Confederation of Labour the working people indefatigably forged unity—the indispensable weapon for greater battles—by eliminating the consequences of the split in trade unions, which the enemies of the working class had effected in 1947.

Consequently at bedrock of the August strike movement against the emergency decrees, lie profound causes inherent in the very policy pursued since 1947 by the governments which changed in France during this time. Objectively, the August movement signified a refusal on the part of the French working people further to shoulder the burden of the government policy of war and the preparations for war.

The strike of the 103 thousand postal workers lasted 20 days, that of 350 thousand railwaymen—18 days, the strike of 101 thousand electricity and gas workers—18 days and that of more than 200 thousand miners—15 days. The struggle was joined by the workers of city transport in the Paris area. These working people who remained on strike throughout the entire period of the struggle were joined by other categories of working people who struck work for 48 hours and up to one week, including nearly 500 thousand metal workers, 150 thousand utility workers, 130 thousand building workers, tens of thousands of civil servants, large

numbers of working men and women in the textile and chemical industries, as well as shore-men and dockers: all the state military enterprises, with the exception of one factory, were paralysed by the strike.

First, we must take note of the fact that the struggle, for the first time and after a long break, was joined by certain new categories and sections of the working people. The postal workers had had no experience of such strikes since 1907 when only the minority of this category of working people took part in the movement. Many categories of civil servants took part in the strike movement for the first time. In many cities and towns the department stores employees struck work for the first time since 1936. A feature of the railwaymen's strike was the participation, for the first time, of considerable numbers of (the engineer-technical personnel together with their autonomous trade union.

We must also note the joining of the struggle by categories of working people who are particularly affected by unemployment as, for instance, the textile worker in the Nord, Rhone and Seine-Inferieure Departments. This shows that contrary to certain mistaken assertions the crisis cannot halt the struggle of the working class.

A second feature which merits attention is the broad participation in the strikes of the workers of the state and communal enterprises owned by the state: postal workers, railwaymen, gas and electricity workers, workers in utility enterprises etc. It is only natural therefore that the strikes were spearheaded directly against the Government and its policy.

Finally, the third feature of the movement, very important both for the present and for the future, was

the tremendous growth of unity in the ranks of all categories of working people involved in the strikes.

During the past few months the working people, while striving for the satisfaction of their partial demands, did all they could to secure (the unity of their ranks. The railwaymen, gas and electricity workers formed hundreds of unity committees in the shops, offices and on construction sites, which, on the basis of concrete and clear demands, united workers affiliated to different trade union organisations as well as unorganised working people. The strike movement not only helped, in large measure, to multiply these committees but also to improve their activity. Thus, the unity committees of railwaymen and postal workers in which not infrequently only the leaders of different trade unions were represented, became, in the course of the struggle, genuine unity committees democratically elected by the workers in the shops, on the construction sites and offices. The leaders of the Christian trade unions and of “Force Ouvrière” (a trade union amalgamation under the influence of the Socialist Party) sought in vain to prevent unity from being established from below but all their efforts proved futile.

When, on the night of August 21, the leaders of the postal workers’ and railwaymen’s trade unions affiliated respectively to the French Confederation of Christian Workers and “Force Ouvrière” had surrendered to the Government and ordered the strikers to resume work, the strike committees—elected bodies headed by activists from the General Confederation of Labour—played a decisive role in reducing to the minimum the consequences of this treachery. The “generals” of the French Confederation of Christian Workers and “Force

Ouvrière” found themselves practically abandoned by their armies. The strike movement continued for another few days.

Unity in the lower echelons in the gas works and power stations proved to be so strong and organised that the leaders—the splitters—while continuing their negotiations with the Government did not dare order the workers to return to work.

Thanks to the election of numerous local unity action committees the working people of many categories succeeded in overcoming the harmful consequences of the split. They forged a weapon which proved its effectiveness, a weapon which, provided it is perfected, must ensure still greater results in the future.

But there are still shortcomings which must be eliminated. In some places unity is still in the stage when only the leaders of each trade union organisation are represented on the committee. It is very unstable unity which more than once fell to pieces whenever the leaders of “Force Ouvrière” and the French Confederation of Christian Workers betrayed the movement.

Finally, though the number of unity action committees elected locally by the postal workers, railwaymen, the workers of the Paris transport system, gas and electricity workers is rather large, but nevertheless inadequate, a big lag in this respect is observed in the metallurgical and metalworking industry and in the privately-owned branches of industry in general.

The strike movement yielded the following results which merit attention:

1. The strike movement greatly frustrated the

realisation by the Government of the anti-labour policy with the aid of emergency decrees.

2. In their present form the emergency decrees do not strike as hard at the working people as they did in their first version envisaged by the Government. Certain categories of the working people have won a wage increase while employers in many enterprises of the metallurgical and metalworking industry were forced to raise wage rates in accordance with the mounting cost of living.

3. Millions of working people who took part in the struggle played a decisive role in securing the release of Alain Le Leap, Lucien Molino, Andre Stil, Guy Ducolone and Paul Laurent. Thus, a smashing blow was struck at the Government plot against democratic freedoms.

And yet it turned out that the movement was not powerful enough to defeat the Government, to compel it to annul the emergency decrees and revise wage rates for all categories of working people. The movement did not succeed in securing the convening of the National Assembly as demanded by the strikers and supported by our Party and which the Government dreaded the most.

A meeting of the Bureau of the National Assembly was held on August 21. All the constitutional formalities needed for the convocation of parliament were observed. Over 2 million working people continued the struggle demanding that their voice be heard by the Deputies who opposed the convocation of the National Assembly. The Laniel Government was to appear before the National Assembly where it would obviously suffer defeat. This Government was formed with great difficulty as a result of "negotiation" which dragged out for a month. Its resignation would again place everything under question, including the Atlantic policy

and the policy of war in Viet Nam. And the French bourgeoisie and American imperialists did not at all want this. The leaders of “Force Ouvrière” and of the French Confederation of Christian Workers came to their rescue by ordering the workers to go back to work.

This resulted in the fact that the National Assembly was not convened on the false pretexts advanced by the reactionary majority of the Bureau of the National Assembly. Thus, the Government was saved. The leaders of the “free” trade unions, as the French Confederation of Christian Workers and “Force Ouvrière” call themselves, have proved to be under the thumb of the bourgeoisie and its Government.

However, the betrayals are a costly affair for those who commit them in France in 1953. Deep discontent is observed in the federations of the French Confederation of Christian Workers, “Force Ouvrière” and in the autonomous trade unions whose leaders betrayed the strike movement. The members of these federations and some trade union activists who continued the strike to the end are either breaking away from their organisations or are waging struggle in them against the traitor-leaders. Practically everywhere the members of the French Confederation of Christian Workers, “Force Ouvrière” and the autonomous trade unions remained in the unity committees with their comrades in the French Confederation of Labour.

As for the French Confederation of Labour, which in the eyes of millions of working people has proved its fidelity to the working class, its prestige has grown. Additional thousands of- workers are joining its ranks.

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The powerful August strike movement clearly confirmed the analysis of the situation given by the Central Committee of the Party at its plenary meeting of June 16-17, 1953. Summing up the results of the meeting Comrade Maurice Thorez said:

“The decisive factor at the moment is the spread of the idea of unity among the popular masses...

“This spread of the idea of unity is due to the fact that all contradictions of the policy stemming from the ‘Marshall Plan’ and the Atlantic pact are rising to the surface...

“At present the people are becoming convinced of the need for a complete change in the policy of France.

“The working people realise that such a change can only be wrought by means of unity and by struggle as a result of this unity”.

Fighting the emergency decrees of the Government and for their legitimate demands millions of working people fully confirmed the correctness of these words. The idea of unity has further scored very serious success. It has gripped the million-fold masses; the working people, who took part in the strikes, are beginning organisationally to effect unity.

During the strike movement the Communists showed themselves to be steadfast, wise, and indefatigable fighters for the achievement of unity of action. By proposing unity of action to the Socialist Party in the struggle for the convocation of the National Assembly, for the annulment of the emergency decrees and for a wage rise corresponding to the rising cost of living the Communist Party facilitated the development of united action among the Communists and Socialists despite the fact that the leaders of the Socialist Party completely ignored these proposals.

During the strike a number of sections of the Communist and Socialist parties held joint meetings. During and after the strike many Communist and Socialist sections signed an agreement for joint action and apart from the demand for abrogation of emergency laws and for a wage rise corresponding to the mounting prices also advanced the demand for an end to war in Viet Nam.

Such are the first important steps taken by the working people despite the fierce resistance of the leaders of the Socialist Party, who, playing into the hands of the government and the industrialists, are doing all they can to frustrate joint action of the working people or to split it.

During the strikes the sections and branches of the Communist Party worked strenuously to explain to the working people the underlying reasons which generate the anti-popular policy of the Government and the need for a complete change of policy of France.

The Party branch organisations and sections have published tens of thousands of newspapers and leaflets during the strikes. Despite the vacations period, from 6-20 of August; the newspaper "l'Humanite" won 50,000 new readers in many enterprises. The provincial Communist and democratic press has increased its circulation.

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Responding to the call of the General Confederation of Labour the working people went back to work on the 25th and in some places on the 26th of August, resolutely prolonging the strike for another few days despite the betrayal of the leaders of "Force Ouvrière"

and the French Confederation of Christian Workers.

Resumption of work was characterised by solid unity of the working people, calm consciousness of their strength and confidence in the future. The day following joint and unanimous token strikes were held in many places by railwaymen and communication workers to prevent repressions threatening the activists. The struggle met with complete success almost everywhere and sanctions were cancelled. It is clear that the Government is fully aware of the fact that the millions of strikers who resumed work without fully winning their demands are already preparing for a bigger victory of the morrow.

The working people realise the significance of unity and are working for its consolidation. The facts have convinced them that the leaders of “Force Ouvrière” and of the French Confederation of Christian Workers are enemies of the working class. They have exposed the MRP—the Party which poses as defender of the interests of the working people but which in fact is the most reliable support of the Government in its anti-labour drive. Finally, they know that the anti-labour policy of the Socialist Party leaders hampers the effectiveness of their fight.

The idea of the need of a complete change in French policy has become widespread. This is something the leaders of some federations of “Force Ouvrière” have to reckon with. Thus, for example, the leader of the federation of the Paris city transport workers (the Metro and omnibus park) wrote after the strike: “The working people want a profound change of policy”. The leader of the metal workers’ federation said: “The metal and steel workers—members of ‘Force Ouvrière’ uphold all strikers on the question of complete change of policy”.

The leader of the building workers federation underscored: “Generally speaking building workers, just as all hired labour, seek a radical change in the present policy, that is, full employment, reform of the taxation system, reduction of military taxes, higher productive capital investments”. The leaders of the “Catholic Workers’ Action”, in a manifesto published after the strike, were forced to acknowledge: “The working class joined the strike struggle to ‘change all this’, that is, not only to put an end to impoverishment and injustice but also to eliminate the reasons which generate them”.

The broad solidarity of peasants and of the medium sections with the strikers, the struggle of the peasants in many Departments against the Government policy—all this shows that not only the working class but also other sections of the population deem it necessary to effect a change in the situation as soon as possible.

The monster August strike movement confirmed the correctness of the Party line, the correctness of its evaluation of the situation. It confirmed what Maurice Th10rez said at the June Plenum of the Central Committee: “In his last work Comrade Stalin advised us to see not only the ‘outward phenomena’ but also the profound forces ‘which, although they are so far operating imperceptibly, will nevertheless determine the course of developments’.

“And now in France the ‘profound forces’ of the nation are beginning to rise, forces which determine the new course of developments, which will achieve the triumph in our country of the policy of peace and national independence, the policy of freedom and social progress”.

PRESS REVIEW

Criticism and Self-Criticism Discussed by “Trybuna Ludu”



The people of Poland, led by the United Workers' Party, are waging resolute struggle for peace, progress and Socialism. In working for the successful development of people's Poland towards Socialism criticism and self-criticism is a keen weapon. This tried method of the Communist education of cadres and of consolidating their contact with the masses is being used on an ever wider scale by “Trybuna Ludu”, organ of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

Ever since 1950 when the State Council and the Council of Ministers adopted a decision concerning investigation of the letters, statements and complaints submitted by the population and the criticisms published in the press, ever since the decree of the Central Committee of the Party obliging the regional, district and city committees of the Party to act immediately on complaints and statements submitted by the working people and to the criticisms sent to the Press, the newspaper has been waging a still more resolute struggle against bureaucratism, stagnation and routine.

“Trybuna Ludu” is working to achieve improvements in the method of Party leadership. In an editorial published on May 3rd, headed **“Collective leadership—the prerequisite for correct Party work at all levels”**, it criticised those city and regional committees which **“ ... hold plenary meetings only during campaigns or after receiving instructions from a higher Party body... ”**. Although several months have passed since the annual city and district conferences in the Lodz industrial region, said the newspaper, not a single meeting of the district committee has taken place.

“Trybuna Ludu” has repeatedly warned that violation of the principle of collective leadership inevitably leads to bureaucratism in the Party apparatus, to attempts to evade criticism.

An article headed **“On Inner Party Democracy”**, published on July 21, again stressed that **“collective leadership is the source of the strength of the Party leadership. There is no individual whose wisdom and experience can substitute the wisdom and experience of the collective... Those comrades entrusted to leading posts by the Party must always bear in mind that their functions have nothing in common with one-man leadership and that the Party roots out mercilessly and resolutely all manifestations, of dictatorial methods by such ‘leaders’.”**

In an editorial published on June 15 headed **“Raise the leading role, of the Party organs and organisations”** it sharply criticised the weakening in some places of the leading role of Party organisations and instances of their substituting economic and state organs.

Pointing to the need for skilfully combining political and administrative work, the newspaper drew the

conclusion that the tendency to ignore this leads directly to “narrow practicism”, ‘to a “utilitarian attitude” which can be observed even in the regional committee departments. “The economic and agricultural departments”, the newspaper wrote, “do not engage in ‘policy’ since this is the ‘sphere’ of the propaganda department and are not interested in the work of Party branches since this is the ‘sphere’ of the organising department”.

“**Trybuna Ludu**” has repeatedly drawn attention to instances of the Party committees in enterprises paying no heed to trade union organisations and not adequately encouraging their initiative. “... As a rule”, it commented editorially on July, 7, “in such enterprises emulation is poorly developed, little is done to solve the vital matter of improving conditions, and many constructive ideas and suggestions put forward by the workers are not taken up”.

The attitude towards the old and the new intelligentsia in the countries of people’s democracy is a vital question of policy. An editorial on June 1, entitled “Administrative workers of the people’s state”, criticised the incorrect attitude towards the office workers displayed here and there even in some links of the Party apparatus and resolutely condemned instances of reluctance to acknowledge the right of office workers to the title of best worker, condemned the unjust and harmful tendency to regard all office workers as “bureaucrats”, to brand them as “robots” and defined concrete tasks for work among the intelligentsia.

“**Trybuna Ludu**” devoted many critical articles and reports to the work of separate factories and industries. Economic questions, however, were not linked, in a large number of articles, with the political content of

the life of the working people. Elements of this “narrow practicism” and one-sidedness its solving questions are observed in a number of critical articles dealing ‘with agriculture, cultural matters and even Party subjects.

The newspaper devotes much space to improving the work of the economic organisations and the people’s councils in the matter of satisfying the everyday needs of the working people. On May 18 it criticised the Lodz people’s council for insufficient attention to improve the communal services for the population. An article entitled “In the town of Nowa Huta”, published on June 3, criticised the lack of concern displayed in relation to the needs of the people there.

An achievement of “**Trybuna Ludu**” is that it has of late critically analysed vital questions dealing with cultural life in people’s Poland. In May it published an article subjecting to principled criticism “**Nowa Cultura**”, the journal of the Union of Polish Writers, which was followed by a heated discussion in the Union. With every justification it criticised the journal for its lack of militant offensive spirit in the struggle for the complete triumph of socialist realism in literature, for the grave errors made in evaluating literary works, and for not publishing articles devoted to our literary heritage.

On June 12 “**Trybuna Ludu**” stated that film production does not satisfy the growing demands of audiences. Simultaneously, it showed how to overcome the deficiency: to put an end to the passive waiting for finished scripts and a complete technical base, to make a better use of reserves and to activate the young cadres. In an article headed “Treatment of rural questions in broadcasting programmes”, published on June 28, “**Trybuna Ludu**” criticised the Radio

Committee for its one-sided treatment of the rural life, for failure to present to, convincing and vivid form, the political content of the mass work in the countryside.

Readers' letters are one of the powerful levers of rank and file criticism. "Trybuna Ludu" annually receives up to 12,000 letters from worker and rural correspondents and from readers. Letters are regularly published in the paper. Unpublished letters are often used by the editorial board as source material for critical articles and feuilletons. The members of the staff are often sent to verify the facts given in the letters.

In an article headed "Regional Party Committees, Regional People's Councils and Readers' Letters" the newspaper, described the attitude displayed by the regional committee of the United Workers' Party and regional people's council in, Kielce to the readers' letters. Thanks to the signals contained in letters, writes the paper, "work on the cold-storage plant in Dwikozy was improved, an end was put to nepotism in the fruit and vegetable warehouse, and repairs were carried out in the Young Workers' House in Starachowice. A number of letters helped to expose and remove from co-operatives and rural people's councils class-alien and corrupt elements". At the same time an article warned that some departments of the regional Party committee ignore readers' letters.

In the issue of July 29th, an article headed "Every letter sent in by the working people is important", criticises the Rzeszow regional committee of the Party for lack of attention to letters and for exceeding the lime limit fixed by the Central Committee for investigating the points raised in letters. It wrote that the economic department, for example, had pigeon-

holed 29 complaints, two of which dated back to 1952.

“Trybuna Ludu” is waging struggle against the instances of stifling criticism, to be found here and there. Each warning about attempts to self-criticism is thoroughly investigated by the editorial office. Particularly serious cases are investigated by a commission of the Central Committee of the Party.

During May, June and July **“Trybuna Ludu”** published over 30 replies to critical articles. For example, the Secretary of Zielonogorski regional committee admitted that the committee “has not adequately observed the principle of collective leadership in the work of the district and city committees and has not strictly observed this principle in its own work. These mistakes were discussed at a recent regional Party conference”. A consequence of the article criticising the Lodz regional committee for the inadequate attention displayed by the district committees for the new cooperatives was that a Central Committee commission visited the Lodz region. The article was discussed by all the bureaus of the district committees in the region and the necessary organisational conclusions were drawn. The newspaper published a reply by Ministry of Railways in response to the articles criticising the Ministry for its tardiness in introducing rationalisation proposals, and a reply from the Ministry, of Home Trade about supplying the population with consumer goods, etc.

However, **“Trybuna Ludu”** does not display sufficient vigour in ensuring the immediate elimination of the shortcomings. There are instances when replies appear a long time after publication of the article. For example, a reply of the Ministry of State Farms was published only on May 27 to a critical article published

in the newspaper on February 15. On May 19, **“Trybuna Ludu”** published the reply of the Wroclaw regional committee to the criticisms made by the newspaper on January 29. This is explained, at times by the fact that the editorial board is reluctant to promise that “measures will be taken” and waits for the actual elimination of the above-mentioned shortcomings.

One would like to see **“Trybuna Ludu”** fight more persistently for effectiveness of criticism. The absence of any reply to a critical article should cause alarm among the entire staff because it testifies that in some links of Party and state apparatus not enough attention is devoted to criticism.

ECONOMIC DECLINE IN YUGOSLAVIA

The industry and agriculture of Yugoslavia which have become an appendage of The U.S. militarised economy are year by year going from bad to worse. The deflection of a huge portion of the national income of Yugoslavia for military purposes adds to the crisis of the national economy of the country.

Even the official data of the Economic Committee of Yugoslavia on “development of the economy in the first six months of 1953” show the blind alley in which industry and agriculture in the country find themselves. Thus, the report, which is designed to minimise the acuteness of the economic crisis, reveals that the national income in the 1952-53 fiscal year declined by 144 billion dinars compared with the past year, that is, by 19.4 per cent. The report shows a big decline in investments for civilian branches of the economy and a 16 billion dinars worth drop in essential stocks of raw materials and materials for industrial production; there is a sharp increase in the state debt due to food imports.

During the first six months of 1953, the report says, the output of textiles fell 7 per cent compared with the corresponding period last year, the output of the leather and footwear industry dropped 16 per cent; rubber industry, 6 per cent and tobacco industry, 18 per cent, etc.

There is a sharp decline in agricultural production. Yugoslavia had had to cut the exports of agricultural products by a total of 19 billion dinars compared with the previous year, which means that the overall value of

exports fell 26 per cent. At the same time the food imports increased by 28.3 billion dinars, that is, 23 per cent of the total value of imports.

The anti-national policy of the Yugoslav rulers leads to a sharp decline in the living standard of the working people.

3 MILLION BRITISH WORKERS CLAIM WAGE INCREASE

A claim for a 15% wage increase has been submitted to the employers on behalf of the 3 million workers employed in Britain's engineering and shipbuilding industry.

While the present average weekly wage of skilled workers is less than £7, the employers, according to Harry Brotherton, President of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, make an average weekly profit of £4 from the labour of each of the 3 million workers.

Profits of engineering firms published in 1951 showed an increase of 30 per cent over 1949; the 1952 profits were a further 27 per cent higher than the 1951 figure, while returns for the first five months of 1953 showed a still further increase of 8 per cent compared with 1952.

The workers' standard of living is sinking steadily. A recent official survey showed that in 1952 British workers bought less food, less clothes and less essential household goods than in any previous year since the end of the war.

As part of the nation-wide campaign for the wage claim meetings are being held at factory gates in the big industrial centres.

FACTS EXPOSE...

What Lies in Store for American School-Children

According to the United Press Agency in the current year nearly 6 million youngsters in the USA will study in buildings which are regarded as fire-traps. The elementary schools alone lack about 70,000 teachers.

Hard indeed is the lot of children in the country where the voice of the teacher is drowned in the thunder of guns at the shooting grounds!

ADENAUER CLIQUE—HEADQUARTERS OF REVANCHISM AND MILITARISM IN WESTERN GERMANY

Elections to The West German Bundestag (lower chamber in the Bonn Parliament) will be held on Sunday, September 6. As is now evident these elections will be contested by 18 main parties. Despite certain outward differences in the election slogans and programmes of the bourgeois parties, it is not these differences which define the nature of the election struggle. There stand out but two main lines in the election struggle: for and against the Adenauer Government.

The parties of the Adenauer coalition and a number of small parties affiliated to them, which adapt their election programmes to the requirements of certain strata of the population, are in fact acting in alliance with a single purpose—to preserve and bolster at all cost the Adenauer regime in Western Germany. The object is to enable the Adenauer Government—the mortal enemy of the German people and hired agent of the American and West German monopolies—to remain in office and, in the first place, to secure the endorsement of the Bonn and Paris treaties. The anti-popular policy of the Adenauer clique aims at prolonging the dismemberment of Germany for as long as possible and at reviving German militarism. All this is an integral part of the general aggressive designs of American imperialism.

The West German working people are learning from their own experience that both the foreign and home

policies of the Adenauer clique are spearheaded against the national interests of the German people, against the interests of the working people. The growing desire of the popular masses in Western Germany for peace and the unity of the country is a cause of serious worry to Adenauer and his bosses. Small wonder that on the eve of elections the government coalition parties, relying on their docile state machinery and on the support of the American occupation authorities, began a feverish drive for more votes.

Utilising for spreading false propaganda the dozens of millions of marks placed at his disposal by the West German industrialists and American monopolies Adenauer directed all the means of police terror against fighters for peace and, a united Germany, and primarily against the Communist Party of Germany. Several thousand German patriots were arrested by the Bonn authorities in the past few days alone.

The following example is typical of the propaganda methods employed by the Adenauer clique. The Christian Democratic Union recently circulated posters in West German towns depicting an emaciated man and woman against the background... of the German Democratic Republic.

“Freies Volk”, organ of the Communist Party of Germany, exposed this calumnious falsification and explained the origin of the poster. The photo with these allegedly starving residents of the German Democratic Republic is in reality a photo... of Johann Bier with his wife who have lived in Sieglar in the vicinity of Bonn (Western Germany) for 21 years. As is evident, this Adenauer photographer did not have to travel very far to take this picture showing the poverty and privations of the working people.

Disseminating slanderous inventions against the German Democratic Republic the Adenauer government is doing its utmost to keep the truth from the West German population about the flowering of peaceful life in the German Democratic Republic. Advocating in words free passage from one part of the country to the other, Adenauer is actually preventing it. A special meeting attended by colonel Brake, American representative, was held on August 27 in the Bonn Ministry of the Interior where the chiefs of the police and border troops were instructed to handicap and frustrate in every way inter-zonal communication. Already on Sunday, August 30, many residents of the German Democratic Republic who in a lawful way went to Western Germany to visit relatives and who had all the necessary documents were detained on the border by the Adenauer police and rudely searched and insulted.

In order to restrict election propaganda facilities for the democratic forces the Adenauer Government, a month in advance, on August 8 fixed the maximum weight for agitation materials at 10 grams while from August 30 the post office stopped mailing these materials altogether.

While banning, under various pretexts, the Communist Party election meetings and sending gangs of cutthroats openly to attack them the Adenauer government is zealously protecting from the indignant citizens the election meetings addressed by former nazi and war criminals. For instance, a meeting sponsored by the "German Imperial Party" in Bielefeld was addressed by the former nazi Colonel Rudel who recently returned from the Argentine. There were more Adenauer policemen than citizens at the meeting. Seeing that

they were reliably protected the Hitlerites, having run amok, opened the meeting with nazi slogans and greetings.

The leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Western Germany is now compelled to reckon with the growing discontent of the masses with the Adenauer policy and to take into account the moods of the rank and file members of their Party. This explains, in particular, the new proposals of the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Germany on questions of foreign policy, advanced immediately before the election. These proposals differ in far greater degree from the line of the Adenauer government policy than the former programme statements of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. They envisage, in particular, a refusal on the part of Germany to participate in a military alliance directed against any country.

Opposing the “policy of “force” pursued by Adenauer, Erich Ollenhauer, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, said at a meeting in Dusseldorf: “Should Adenauer once again become the Bundestag Chancellor, we, in the next four years, shall be much nearer an authoritarian regime than a democratic one”. At the same time the leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Germany are acting against the proposals of the Communist Party of Germany aimed at effecting unity of action among the working class.

The Communist Party of Germany is acting as a most consistent fighter and champion of the interests of the working class and the working population of Western Germany. In conditions of brutal persecution and police terror the Communist Party of Germany, relying on the unconditional support of the advanced section of the

working class, is steadfastly marching forward winning over to its side ever broader sections of the working people. Despite every kind of obstacles placed in its way the Communist Party of Germany succeeded in nominating its candidates in all 242 election districts.

The struggle for peace, bread and freedom, for a united, democratic, peace-loving Germany, against the Adenauer anti-popular and anti-national policy of military agreements, against the policy of militarisation of Western Germany and its involvement into aggressive blocs—such are the main election slogans of the Communist Party. These slogans express the genuine national interests of the German people. No matter the attempts of the Adenauer propagandists to slander the Communists, no matter the attempts of the Adenauer clique to frustrate the work of the Communist Party the words of the great truth contained in the election programme of the Communist Party are more and more succeeding in finding their way to the hearts of the working people of Western Germany.

G. KORN

POLITICAL NOTES

WAR CRIMINALS STANDING FOR ELECTION TO BONN BUNDESTAG

Recently, the Bonn statistical board thoroughly overhauled its registration files and in doing so a number of cards were transferred from the files “registration of big nazis” (or better to say, war criminals) to the files “registration of officials of political parties”. True enough many of the war criminals in the Bonn domain of the Americans have long ago quitted the penitentiary prisons, where they should have been in keeping with the will of the people, and are figuring as zealous propounders of the Adenauer revanchist policy at the West German election meetings and their names adorn the lists of candidates of the Adenauer coalition for the forthcoming elections to the Bundestag.

Among the candidates of the Adenauer C.D.U. (Christian Democratic Union), the “German Imperial Party”, the “German Party” and the “Imperial Bloc” quite a few belong to the foul criminals from the Hitler clique.

Adenauer, for instance, regards Hans-Jürgen Stumpff, former Col. General of the nazi Luftwaffe, worthy of the name of deputy of the Bundestag on the list of the C.D.U. This general who in his day enjoyed the favours of Hitler was a major organiser of the Wehrmacht atrocities on the temporarily occupied territories, of certain countries. Alongside Stumpff the

list of candidates contains also the name of the hardened war criminal Helmut Heye, former admiral of the nazi naval forces.

In selecting his candidates Adenauer did not confine himself merely to these ‘innate führers’ with ‘experience of the East’ and ‘military practice’ or men like Prince Otto Fürst von Bismarck, a former Prussian junker and nazi diplomat. His select group includes also Robert Pferdmenges—an arch speculator who ranks among those who actively helped Hitler to seize power in 1933. After 1933 Pferdmenges developed into one of the major war manufacturers who made big money on the ruthless plunder of the peoples of the European countries occupied by the Hitlerites. In 1945 the Americans helped this war criminal to escape just punishment and today he, chairman of ten observation councils in the West German war industry, and member of nine others, according Adenauer designs is to represent in the Bonn Bundestag the oligarchy of merchant of death such as Krupp, Thyssen, Mannesmann and Klockner.

The other parties of the Adenauer coalition, in selecting their candidates, evidently used the same files of criminals as Adenauer. For instance, the Hitler General Guderian, on whose black conscience are thousands of murdered peaceful citizens in Poland, France and the Soviet Union, is planning to contest the election as a candidate of the militarist ‘Imperial Bloc’.

And it is this pack of criminals and inveterate revanchists and militarists—the grave-diggers of the German nation—whom Adenauer’s plans for the future (and these criminal plans are well known to everyone!), his list of candidates gives a sufficiently clear characterisation of these plans. The path of Adenauer

and his clique is the path of perpetuating the dismemberment of Germany; it signifies the complete turning of Western Germany into a semi-colony of U.S. monopolists, signifies the rebirth of aggressive German militarism—the worst enemy of the German and other European peoples.

Jan MAREK

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