

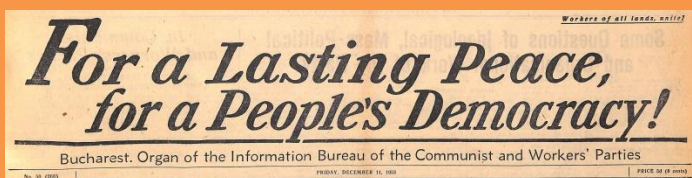
**Workers of all lands, unite!**

***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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## **THE COMMUNIST—ACTIVE FIGHTER FOR PARTY CAUSE**

A feature of our times is the numerical growth and rising influence of the Communist and Workers' Parties, their ideological and organisational consolidation. This is a lawful process of historical development. since the Communist and Workers' Parties act as the genuine champions of the interests of their peoples, of the hopes and aspirations of progressive mankind.

History has placed before the Communist and Workers' Parties a great task—to inspire, organise and lead the struggle of the working people for emancipation from capitalist exploitation and to build the new, Communist society. The popular masses look on the Communist Party as the leading force of the nations, capable of defending and upholding their vital interests and of successfully leading them in their struggle for a bright future. In order to fulfil their tasks with honour the parties of the working class must possess high fighting qualities. Marxism-Leninism teaches that the strength of the Party is derived from its one-ness and solidarity, from its unbreakable contact with the masses, from its high consciousness, the selflessness and vigorous activity of each of its members.

The Communist and Workers' Parties rally the people not only on the basis of their common programmes and tactical and organisational principles but also on the basis of the joint struggle for translating these principles into life. A vital quality of the Communist is his profound and conscious discipline. Consequently, the Communist and Workers' Parties set

before themselves the task of training all their members to be active, selfless, staunch and disciplined fighters for carrying out the policy and decisions of the Party.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the immortal model of fidelity to the idea of Communism, of selfless service on behalf of the people. During its half a century of militant activity the wise and highly-experienced Communist Party of the Soviet Union has forged a splendid type of tempered and staunch fighter for the cause of the Party. Thanks to the correct and far-sighted policy of the Communist Party elaborated over a period of many years, and thanks to the struggle waged by the Party members in carrying out this policy, the Soviet people transformed their country from a weak and backward one into a leading, powerful socialist state and are now successfully building Communist society.

In the countries of people's democracy the Communist and Workers' Parties spare no effort in reinforcing the might of the people's-democratic state, in reinforcing the indestructible bonds inking the Party with the masses of the working people, in consolidating the worker-peasant alliance. At the moment the countries of people's democracy, basing themselves on the successes already achieved in building Socialism, are working on plans for further economic and cultural development and for a further rise in the standard of living. Successful fulfilment of these plans depends, in the long run, on the vigorous activity of the Communists in the struggle for carrying out the Party line, on the ability of the Parties to rally the broad masses of the working people for translating these plans into life. It is not enough for the Communist simply to agree with Party decisions—he must spare no effort, must devote

all his ability, exert all his energy and will in order to translate these decisions into life.

It is not enough for the Communist simply to agree with Party decisions—he must spare no effort, must devote all his ability, exert all his energy and will in order to translate these decisions into life. The Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of people's democracy demand from their members that they be leaders of the masses, organisers of socialist emulation, that they encourage the creative initiative of the working people, and give every support to the innovators. The personal example of a Party member is the most effective means of rallying the masses for carrying out the policy of the Party. And the activity of the Communist is displayed best of all in his vanguard role in labour for the interests of the people's-democratic state, in strict observance of Party and state discipline, in exemplary work in the enterprise, in agriculture or in the office.

Measures aimed at raising the standard of living of the working people in the countries of people's democracy are being carried out in conditions of sharpening class struggle, of bitter resistance on the part of the kulaks and the remnants of the capitalist elements who have the backing of the forces of international reaction. High revolutionary vigilance, ability to expose the enemies and to frustrate their machinations—these are the indispensable qualities of every Communist.

The real Communist is one who engages in vigorous and purposeful activity, for whom inactivity and complacency are completely alien. Isolation from the masses, conceit and complacency on the part of Communists detract from, the militancy of the Party

and do it great harm. Consequently, the Party organisations persistently inculcate in their members the ability critically to analyse the results of their work, to improve it daily, to react to criticism in the way required by the Party, to encourage criticism, to be irreconcilable to all shortcomings. Thus, the Communist Party of China in working for the further strengthening of its ranks places before its members the following important demands: strictly to observe Party discipline and under the united leadership of the Party to take an active part in revolutionary struggle and revolutionary work, resolutely to carry out the policy of the Party and its decisions, to wage, both inside and outside the Party, irreconcilable struggle against everything which is contrary to the interests of the Party; through criticism and self-criticism to analyse and rectify mistakes, to eliminate the shortcomings in their work; wholeheartedly to serve the people, lend a ready ear to the views and demands of the masses, patiently listen to them and make their demands known to the Party in good time, to explain the policy of the Party to the masses and to lead them forward.

Every Communist in the capitalist colonial and dependent countries is a selfless fighter for peace and democracy, for the freedom and independence of his country, against capitalists exploitation, against militarisation of the economy and against the imperialist policy of preparing a new war. The Communist and Workers' Parties march in the van of the working people in their struggle for a peaceful settlement of outstanding international issues, for averting a new war, against the rebirth of the Hitler Wehrmacht in the guise of the "European Army" and against the other aggressive designs of the US ruling



circles. The Communists rip each and every mask from the imperialist warmakers, they bring home to the popular masses the truth about the consistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and of the countries of people's democracy, about the success of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism.

The history of the international working-class movement is replete with examples of the heroism, staunchness and courage displayed by Communists. Thousands of Communists in the capitalist, colonial and dependent countries, including Party leaders and rank and file members, languish in jail or are subjected to other forms of persecution. But neither shootings, jails nor any brutal repression can intimidate the courageous fighters imbued with the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, who have merged their will with the will of the Party and who are ready to make every sacrifice in the fighting for the just cause of the working people. These heroic examples inspire and will always be a source of inspiration for the ever growing ranks of fighters for the Party's cause, the cause of Communism.

United action by Communists with Socialist working people and members of other parties, and with all the progressive forces of the nation is a powerful weapon of the Communist Parties in the fight for peace, national independence, democratic rights and vital demands of the masses. The experience of the French and Italian Communist Parties and a number of other Communist Parties proves that unity is developed all the more successfully if the great bulk of the membership takes an active part in building and consolidating it, if the rank and file members establish close contact with their class brothers—Socialist workers—if they resolutely expose the treacherous role of the Right-wing Social

Democratic leaders and if they ardently and persistently explain and popularise the policy of the Communist Party. The Party influences the trade unions, the youth, women's and other mass organisations by means of its thousands of members. And the more active and efficient every Communist is as a transmitter of Party policy the greater the success achieved by the Party as a whole.

The Central Committees of a number of the Communist and Workers' Parties have recently adopted detailed decisions and are taking measures aimed at strengthening the Parties organisationally, particularly the branches and factory organisations, at widespread unfolding of inner-party democracy, at introducing methods of collective leadership and developing criticism and self-criticism. These measures will, undoubtedly, contribute to greater activity by the Party masses.

The active work and initiative of the Communist in carrying out the Party's policy are, in large measure, determined by his consciousness, by his ideological and theoretical training. Marxist-Leninist theory equips the Communists with knowledge of the laws of social development and political struggle, gives them a clear understanding of the present situation and gives them greater confidence in the justice of the great cause of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The qualities of a mature and active Party worker are acquired by the Communist in his practical work, in conditions when the entire Party organisation displays interest in his everyday activity, in his successes and failures, discloses in good time his mistakes and helps to rectify them.

Experience shows that the development of inner-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism are invaluable for activating the Party masses. Criticism and self-criticism have always been and are now an effective means of training cadres, for reinforcing conscious Party discipline, for enhancing the activity of the membership, for disclosing and rectifying defects in the work of Party organisations.”

There is nothing higher than the title of a Communist, than the honour of being a member of the great army of fighters for the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, for a bright future for the peoples. The Communists embody the best hopes of progressive mankind. The Communist is a man who marches in the van of the struggle for the happiness of the working people, an active and selfless fighter, for whom the interests of the Party are nearest and, dearest, for whom the work of translating into life Party policy and Party decisions is his first obligation and highest duty.

## **FORTHCOMING 300th ANNIVERSARY OF RE-UNION OF UKRAINE WITH RUSSIA**

On December 9 the “Pravda” and other Soviet newspapers contained the following report under the headline **“Decision of “Central Committee, CPSU, of Council of Ministers of the USSR and Presidium of Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Forthcoming 300th Anniversary of UKRAINE’S RE-UNION WITH RUSSIA”:**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR have adopted a decision to celebrate extensively the three-hundredth anniversary of the re-union of the Ukraine with Russia, due in January 1954, as an outstanding historic event, a great national holiday of the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples and all the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The decision states that this remarkable event crowned the centuries-old struggle of the Ukrainian people against foreign enslavers—for re-union with the Russian people in a single Russian state.

The Ukrainian people, descended from the single root of the ancient Russian folk, linked with the Russian people by virtue of common origin, affinity and community of entire historical development, always strove to unite with the fraternal Russian people. For a long time the Ukraine was oppressed by foreign enslavers, and suffered terrible ruin and devastation from the aggressive invasions “of the nomad hordes of the Turkish-Tatar khans and the oppression by the Polish gentry (szliachie). The Ukrainian people, threatened

with annihilation, always fought against oppression by foreign enslavers.

In the liberation war of 1648-1654 the Ukrainian people, led by the outstanding statesman and military leader Bogdan Khmelnytsky, waged a heroic struggle for the liberation of the Ukraine from oppression by the Polish gentry, for re-union of the Ukraine with Russia. Bogdan Khmelnytsky's historic service is that he, expressing the Ukrainian people's aspiration for close union with the Russian people and heading the formation of the Ukrainian state, correctly understood its tasks and perspectives, that he saw the salvation of the Ukrainian people in their unification with the great Russian People.

The oppressed peasantry, fighting for the liberation of the Ukraine from foreign enslavement and against the social oppression by feudal landlords, was the main and decisive force in the war of liberation. The struggle of the Ukrainian people against the Polish gentry met with a wide response and sympathy among the Polish peasantry groaning under the yoke of the Polish feudal lords. The wide sweep of the people's movement in the liberation war and the outstanding successes scored by this movement were facilitated by the constant aid and support given by the Russian state and especially by the masses of Russia.

This common struggle was crowned by the decision of the Pereyaslav Rada of January 8 (18), 1654, on the re-union of the Ukraine with Russia, a decision which was a powerful expression of the will of the freedom-loving Ukrainian people, an expression of their centuries-old aspirations and hopes; a decision which marked a turning point in their life. The Ukrainian people, having linked forever their destiny with the

fraternal Russian people who are their kith and kin and in whom they have always seen their reliable defender and ally, thereby saved and maintained themselves as a nation.

The re-union of the Ukraine with Russia, though Russia was at that time ruled by tsar and landlords, was of tremendous progressive significance for the further political, economic and cultural development of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples. The unification of the two great Slav peoples, notwithstanding the reactionary policy of tsarism, of Russian and Ukrainian feudal lords and the bourgeoisie, brought closer the peoples of Russia and the Ukraine who chose the only correct way in their joint struggle against all foreign enemies, against their common oppressors, against the landlords and the bourgeoisie, against tsarism and capitalist slavery.

The finest sons of the Russian people, opposing the tsarist reactionary policy of brutal national and colonial oppression, recognised the right of the Ukraine to national independence and fought shoulder to shoulder with the progressive leaders of the Ukrainian people against the disgraceful policy' of setting 'the peoples of Russia against each other, the policy pursued by the Russian and Ukrainian landlords and the bourgeoisie and their hirelings—the great-power chauvinists and the Ukrainian nationalists.

The intimate, inviolable friendship of the two great fraternal peoples was forged and strengthened in the joint struggle against the oppressors and foreign invaders who encroached on Russian and Ukrainian soil. The great achievements of this friendship clearly and convincingly expose the anti-people's essence of the bourgeois nationalist distortions in evaluating the

historic significance of the re-union of the Ukraine with Russia, graphically reveal the futility of all attempts by bourgeois nationalists to undermine and destroy the unbreakable union of the Ukrainian, Russian and other peoples of the Soviet Union.

The appearance on the historical arena of the Russian proletariat, the most revolutionary in the world, and of its militant vanguard, the Communist Party, was of decisive importance for the further development of the Russian, Ukrainian and all other peoples in Russia.

The peoples of Russia, led by the Communist Party, carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution, threw off the shackles of capitalist enslavement and blazed for the peoples the road to Socialism. The Ukrainian people, the first to follow the Russian people along the road to Socialism, achieved, at last, their age-old dream, creating their own national Ukrainian state laying thereby the beginnings of a new and really glorious era in their history.

The fraternal alliance and friendship of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples were strengthened, and steeled in the Great October Socialist revolution, in the crucible of the civil war against internal counter-revolution and foreign military intervention, in the process of socialist construction, in the historic battles of the Great Patriotic War against the German-fascist invaders.

The epoch-making victories won by the peoples of the Soviet Union and the application of the Lenin-Stalin national policy enabled the Ukrainian people to accomplish their national regeneration by uniting all the Ukrainian lands into a single Ukrainian Soviet Socialist state.

The Russian and Ukrainian peoples, having made tremendous economic and cultural advances, are

confidently marching side by side with all the fraternal peoples of our country under the leadership of the Communist Party towards Communism.

The indestructible, eternal friendship of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, of all the peoples of the Soviet Union is a guarantee of the national independence and freedom, the flourishing of national culture and the prosperity of the Ukrainian people, as of all the other peoples of the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, in their decision, instructed the local Party and Soviet organisations widely to observe this outstanding event—the three-hundredth union of the Ukraine with Russia—as a great national holiday, to arrange lectures, reports and talks devoted to this important event in the history of our Homeland and to the further consolidation of the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union.



## **CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF BULGARIA**

“Rabotnicheska Delo” published a report issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria concerning the convening of the VIth Congress of the Communist Party of Bulgaria on February 25, 1954. The Congress agenda is as follows:

1. Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bulgaria—rapporteur, Vylko Tchervenkov, General Secretary.

2. Report of the Central Auditing Commission—rapporteur, Iordan Katranjiev, Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission.

3. Changes in Party Rules—rapporteur, Tudor, Zhivkov, Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Bulgaria.

4. Election of central organs of the Communist Party of Bulgaria.

## **MINERS' DAY IN POLAND**

On December 4 miners in Poland, together with all the working people of the country, celebrated their traditional Miners' Day. The miners celebrated their holiday with considerable achievements. In 1949 output of coal was 74.1 million tons, but this year it will be 88.6 million tons, i.e. 2.3 times the prewar level. As a result of the large-scale mechanisation the working conditions of the miners have considerably improved.

During the past few years thousands of miners have been promoted to leading jobs. In the first 9 months of this year the sum of 138 million zloty was paid to miners in bonuses.

The Party and the Government display great concern for the welfare of the miners. This year 20 thousand apartments were allocated to them, including 9 thousand in new houses. Another 18 thousand apartments will be available for miners next year. The state also helps them in the matter of individual house-building. 467 creches and kindergartens have been opened for miners' children.

A meeting was held in the town of Stalinogrod on December 3 to celebrate Miners' Day.

## **PEACE DAY IN GERMANY**

The “1953 Peace Day in Germany” is being held in Weimar (German Democratic Republic) on December 10-12. The population of Germany actively participated in the preparations for this occasion. Along with the representatives of the local peace councils in the German Democratic Republic, delegations of peace supporters from Western Germany and representatives of the peace movements of many European countries have arrived in Weimar. Meetings and rallies are being held for this occasion in towns and villages, at which the decisions of the latest session of the World Peace Council are explained to the people.

In the course of preparations for the “German Peace Day” the peace supporters launched an extensive campaign for signatures against installing atomic guns in Western Germany.

# **“PRESENT PHASE IN KOREAN QUESTION”**

## **Letter by Chou En Lai to UNO**

Chou En-lai, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Central People’s Government of the People’s Republic of China, has addressed a letter to Uno, entitled the “Present phase in the Korean question”.

In this letter, which is addressed to Hammarskjold, Uno General Secretary, and to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Chairman of the General Assembly, it is stated:

The situation in Korea has now entered a critical phase. The explanations to the prisoners of war of the Korean-Chinese side have been carried out for a period of only seven days; twenty days have passed since the suspension of the explanatory work for the fifth time, and it has not yet been resumed. As a consequence the agreement for the repatriation of the prisoners of war, stipulated in the armistice agreement in Korea, has been seriously violated. Meanwhile the Panmunjom meetings of the two sides on the subject of the political conference have also encountered serious obstacles; the convening of the political conference is being deliberately delayed.

Referring to violation of the repatriation agreement in respect to the explanatory work Chou En-lai cited secret instructions recently intercepted by the Indian custodian forces at the time the instructions were being transmitted by the South Korean agent Pak Tong Hek to the Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek special agents planted in the POW camp. These secret instructions testify that the Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek special agents planted in the prisoner-of-war camp are

directly ordered by the US military authorities to conduct a policy of terror, to obstruct the explanatory work and prevent' the prisoners from expressing their desire for repatriation; the purpose of this is completely to frustrate the explanatory work and to implement the criminal scheme for forcibly detaining over 20 thousand prisoners of war of the Korean-Chinese side. These agents, continues Chou En-lai, resort to violence and to methods of terror such as assassination and pulling out of hearts for the purpose of intimidating the prisoners: they resort to diverse methods in order to obstruct the explanatory work and to prevent the prisoners from leaving their camp sectors to hear the explanations.

On the other hand, notes Chou En-lai, the explanations carried out by the Command of the Uno forces are proceeding freely. The letter points out that the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission must firmly exercise its lawful powers in conformity with its terms of reference and establish control over the' POW camp, put an end to the activities of the organisations and special agents and also to their terror in the camp. Without this it would be, naturally, impossible to continue the explanatory work, and the terms of the Commission would, undoubtedly; be completely wrecked.

Turning to the question of the convening of the political conference Chou En-lai noted that the meetings concerning the political conference between the two signatories to the armistice agreement have already gone on for six weeks. Throughout this entire period the representative of the US, on orders from the US Government, persists in dragging out the discussions.

On the one hand, writes Chou En-lai, the US representative arbitrarily ignores the fact that

throughout the Korean war the Soviet Union constantly preserved the status of a neutral state and made a big contribution in the matter of achieving the armistice in Korea this representative insolently distorts the definition of the concept of a neutral state contained in Article 37 of the armistice agreement in Korea and insists that the Soviet Union takes part in the political conference on the list of one of the belligerent sides and participates in voting, that is, he denies, in this way, the neutral status of the Soviet Union; on the other hand, he advanced all kinds of unreasonable restrictions in relation to the participation of other neutral countries in the political conference and seeks to prevent the neutral countries from playing their assigned role in the conference.

The fact that the representative of the US wants to stalemate the meetings of the two sides by means of endless discussion is proof not only of the fact that the US Government has no sincere intention of holding the, political conference for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question; it also testifies to a criminal desire on the part of the US Government to undertake, fearing discussion of the POW issue at the political conference, unilateral and unlawful action for the forcible detention of prisoners of war of the Korean-Chinese side after completely wrecking, the explanatory work; this explains why the US Government wants to put off convening the political conference until January 22 when, according to its assertions, the time limit for holding the POWs expires. Statements made by Arthur Dean, US representative, the ravings of Syngman Rhee and numerous reports released by US news agencies fully confirm this.

From the facts cited, concludes Chou En-lai, it follows that the present critical phase in Korea is due solely to the criminal policy pursued by the US Government which is trying to frustrate the armistice agreement in Korea, forcibly detain the prisoners of war, to prevent the peaceful settlement of the Korean question for the purpose of maintaining the international tension. This is not only a blow to the aspirations of the people of the world who want a peaceful solution of the Korean problem, it is also fraught with serious consequences. If the General Assembly evades its responsibility for this state of affairs and continues to excuse the criminal actions of the US Government the situation in Korea will become more serious and the United Nations Organisation will, to a still greater degree, become a pawn in the hands of the US Government for fomenting international tension.

Concluding, Chou En-lai requested that his letter and two accompanying texts—the communique issued by the Korean-Chinese delegation at the Panmunjom’ meeting on B, November 30, including the “General proposal of the Korean-Chinese side”, and the secret orders issued to the special agents in the POW camp intercepted on November 8, 1953, by the Indian custodian forces—be circulated among all members of Uno with the exception of the Kuomintang clique.

## **SOME QUESTIONS OF IDEOLOGICAL, MASS-POLITICAL AND ORGANISATIONAL WORK OF THE PARTY. Antonin Novotny, First Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia**

The September meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia thoroughly analysed political and economic conditions in our Republic and, on the basis of this analysis, put forward the next tasks of the Party.

The Central Committee particularly stressed the fact that the building of Socialism was proceeding successfully. Our paramount task is to ensure conditions for the further successful building of Socialism in our country, and, on this basis, a further rise in the material and cultural level of the people. At the same time the Central Committee emphasised that we must immediately eliminate the shortcomings which are to be found in our economic construction. This means, first and foremost, that we must liquidate the disproportion between certain branches of the national economy and ensure its harmonic development. The Central Committee stressed the need for mobilising the working people for a further development of the economy and for increasing the productivity of labour. It pointed out

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\* From Comrade Antonin Novotny's report at meeting of Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, December 8-5, 1953.



that the mobilisation of the entire Party is the main prerequisite for these great tasks.

The directives of the September meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia make it incumbent on us to direct the entire activity of the party towards the intensification of ideological and mass-political work, towards elevating it to the level of the tasks facing the Party.

## I.

The strength of our Party has always been in its unity. This explains why the Party, proved capable of ruthlessly smashing in good time all the traitors who wormed their way into its ranks. The exposure of the gang of traitors—imperialist agents—headed by Slansky testifies to the strength and unity of our Party which without the slightest vacillation and with an iron hand smashed this gang of enemies and rallied still more closely around its Central Committee. This further enhanced the prestige of the Party in the eyes of the Czechoslovak people.

The ideological unity of the Party, the unity of views of the Communists based on Marxism-Leninism lie at the bedrock of the unity of the Party. The assimilation of Marxism-Leninism enables the Party members to advance our course along the correct pathway and to orientate themselves in the most difficult situation. The all-conquering Marxist-Leninist teaching enables the communists and non-Party people correctly to understand and carry out the decisions of the Party and the Government, educates them in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism and helps

overcome the difficulties we are encountering in our construction.

To enable our Party tirelessly to strengthen its ideological unity we must constantly improve and extend to the utmost our ideological work, placing it above everything else in the entire activity of Party organisations.

The ideological work of the Party still lags behind the grand tasks of socialist construction. Many Party organs and bodies show concern only for the economic questions while neglecting those of ideology.

The underestimation of the ideological work and its shortcomings are due in no small measure to the fact that many of our leading cadres do not strive to raise their theoretical level. The experience and results of everyday political work prove that it is impossible to become a mature and efficient leader without having mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The consistent and ruthless struggle for purity of the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and against its vulgarisation and distortion is the urgent task of the Party. We must wage a consistent struggle against such unhealthy and harmful tendencies in our propaganda as dogmatism and scholasticism; against carrying out propaganda in an abstract way and against quotation-mania; against tendencies which prevent those studying in the Party education network from creatively assimilating the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist theory and from implementing in practice.

The immediate task of the Party in this field is to improve and extend on the widest possible scale the propaganda of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the theoretical foundation of the Communist Party. In this connection it is essential to bring home to all

Communists and non-party people the role of the popular masses in view of the fact that our Party propaganda in this respect is guilty of some vulgarisation, in the sense that it underestimated the role of the masses and overestimated the role of personalities in history.

The popular masses are precisely that force which brings about social revolutionary transformations. Our Party can advance successfully only provided it stands at the head of the million-fold masses. Consequently, if it is to fulfil its leading role the Party must strengthen its bonds with them, lead and educate them as the conscious builders of a new, socialist society. The Party propaganda must contribute to the strengthening of the unity of the Party and its bonds with the masses, it must thoroughly and systematically explain the leading role of the Party and the constant solicitude it displays for the good of the working people of our people's-democratic state.

It is also necessary for our Party propaganda to tackle questions of Marxist political economy. Our theoreticians must explain and elaborate the questions connected with our national economy. Our leading workers must profoundly study the questions of socialist industrialisation of the country and collectivisation of agriculture. The Party propaganda must more concretely and more profoundly explain the significance of the worker-peasant alliance—the basis of the people's-democratic system—explain its essence and the need for strengthening it in the interests of the successful construction of Socialism.

We need to intensify Party propaganda for the study and utilisation hitherto, learn from the experience of the CPSU. We must more than hitherto, learn from the

experience of the CPSU how in practice to carry out correctly the leading role of the Party in building Socialism and strive for the purity of the Party ranks.

The general task of the working class and the working people of all countries at the present moment is the struggle for peace headed by the Soviet Union. Consequently the task of the ideological work of the Party consists in explaining the role of the Soviet Union in the defence of peace, in explaining the fact that the solid alliance with the Soviet Union is the first and foremost prerequisite to ensure the existence of our people's democracy and the flowering of our country. We need constantly to bring home to the masses the fact that great ideas of proletarian internationalism manifest themselves in the solid alliance with the Soviet Union, in mutual co-operation of the countries of the camp of democracy and Socialism and in the active participation in the struggle against the warmongers.

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Socialist ideology gains in scale and strength in the struggle against bourgeois ideology. In building Socialism we inevitably encounter influences of bourgeois ideology on the consciousness of the people, which partly account for many shortcomings in our work. In our country bourgeois nationalism, Social-Democratism and Masarykism are the most widespread and dangerous manifestations of bourgeois ideology.

What does Social-Democratism mean, what are its manifestations and how must we combat it?

In our country, in the new conditions of class struggle, in the conditions of building Socialism when the unity of the working class has already been built up,

Social-Democratism seeks to isolate the working class from the other sections of the working people, particularly from the peasantry and intelligentsia. Social-Democratism manifests itself in sectarianism in relation to the working peasantry and intelligentsia and seeks to weaken the alliance of the workers and the working peasantry. On the other hand, it shows itself in a conciliatory attitude towards the kulaks and the capitalist elements in general.

One of the widespread manifestations of Social-Democratism in our country is the tendency of equalitarianism. In our conditions it reveals itself in the desire for an equal wage, equal apartment, etc., for all, irrespective of the quality, quantity, importance and difficulty of the work performed, thereby flagrantly contradicting the principles of Socialism, Marxism-Leninism has nothing in common with this petty-bourgeois equalitarianism. He who gives little to society; who causes waste in workshops; offices and other places of work cannot expect to receive from society equal remuneration with those who perform their duties in an exemplary way. We must energetically struggle against those who strive to instil in the workers self-seeking tendencies by demanding wage increases without taking into account the character of production and of the work performed. \this tendency to squander state funds is, in fact, directed against the interests of the working class and of the entire working people.

Another widespread and harmful manifestation of survivals of Social-Democratism in the Party is the weakening of the basic principle of Party building, the principle of democratic, centralism. This is shown, for example, in breaches of Party discipline, in the failure of lower Party organs to recognise the decisions of the

higher organs as obligatory for them, in the demand for “freedom of opinion” for the alien and hostile elements, etc.

In the sphere of ideological work Social-Democratism manifests itself in distorting and vulgarising Marxist-Leninist theory, in incorrectly interpreting the questions of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and in an incorrect presentation of historical facts, especially the facts relating to the establishment of our state and its history.

Social-Democratism must be combatted. In this respect Party propaganda is faced with a great task. It must expose social-democratic tendencies of all shades and fight these tendencies with all the means at its disposal. Our lectures, Party study and press, as well as our practical political work, must serve these aims.

An important task facing us in improving the ideological work within the Party is the struggle against Masarykism, against the ideology of false democracy and false humanism. Masaryk was always a rabid enemy of the working people and a devoted henchman of the international and national big bourgeoisie. His hypocritical utterances about “democracy and humanism” were designed to camouflage the profits of the capitalists, on the one hand, and the poverty and sufferings of the working people, on the other.

Masarykism is the mask now assumed by the counter-revolutionary gang, the betrayers of our people residing in the West and the reactionary elements inside the country. These betrayers, outside and inside the country, who sold themselves to the American imperialists, are seeking to change people’s-democratic

system in the to impose with the bayonets of the West-German fascists a new slavery upon our people.

Masarykism in our conditions represents at the same time bourgeois nationalism which is quite a dangerous weapon in the ideological arsenal of the warmongers. Our people have rejected the political parties based on the ideology of Masarykism. However, there are as yet strong survivals of the Masaryk bourgeois ideology which will not die out by themselves and which must be resolutely fought.

The Party creates favourable conditions for their members and the broad masses of the working people to master the immortal ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. We have published nearly all the main works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism in a total edition amounting to roughly 12 million copies in the Czech language and to 3,200,000 copies in the Slovak language. We have also published in millions of copies other important works on political, economic and other problems, among which the works written by our unforgettable Comrade Klement Gottwald have a primary place.

An important link in the ideological education of the Party cadres are our Party schools. The opening in the current year of the Higher Party School under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is a big achievement in furthering the education of the Party cadres.

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Political agitation among the masses is the most important means of strengthening the Party's links with the working people.

In eliminating the shortcomings prevailing in our political agitation we must first of all improve its content and enhance the ideological level and effectiveness of the agitation. In order to make the educational work effective it must be closely linked with the concrete tasks of building Socialism, with the struggle for raising the material and cultural level of the people. And the task of our political agitation is to explain questions relating to production, not isolation from the general political questions but linked with our internal and foreign policy.

In our ideological work we attach considerable importance to the press and radio. And although our press is becoming the voice of increasingly wider masses of the working people and its activity is steadily improving, it has not yet acquired the ideological level demanded by the extremely important home and international political developments.

In speaking about the level of our press it is necessary to mention the level of the newspaper "Rude Pravo". Being the central organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and occupying the first place among the newspapers in our country, it must be the model for all our press by its high ideological level, militancy and irreconcilable attitude towards hostile ideology, towards everything which is dying out. In view of the special role of the "Rude Pravo" we must make greater demands on it and more strictly examine its shortcomings.

"Rude Pravo" does not regularly orientate the broad masses of its readers on the basic problems of our construction, on the need to develop further socialist emulation and the struggle for economising in funds and raw materials. It insufficiently popularises the advanced



methods of our and Soviet innovators and the best workers. In addition the newspaper must pay great attention to the questions of improving social and cultural services to the workers in factories.

These shortcomings are even more pronounced in the columns of other newspapers.

There are considerable shortcomings in the struggle against the false and slanderous hostile propaganda. Only occasionally do the newspapers carry material exposing the enemies of the people, who fled abroad, and insufficiently expose the true face of the transatlantic warmongers.

Of special importance is the question of developing in the press columns wide criticism from below. In recent months the number of critical contributions has considerably increased but they still fail to acquire due sharpness and effectiveness.

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Of great importance for all branches of our national economy and for the political and cultural life in the country is the further development of science. It is therefore necessary to give great attention to science, to promote its numerous successes and to eliminate many of its shortcomings. From the point of view of improving the ideological work it is particularly important to eliminate the lag in the development of our social sciences and, above all, in philosophy, political economy, pedagogics and in the sciences dealing with the state and law, etc.

Progressive, realistic art plays an important part in educating a new, socialist man, in the struggle against the survivals of capitalism in the minds of the people.

By reflecting reality in its own way it exerts a strong influence on the life of society and shapes the feelings, thoughts, will and moral principles of the people.

Literature and art cannot develop without the conflict of opinions, without principled, creative and concrete criticism. It is necessary to put an end to the indifferent attitude which exists towards outstanding works of art, to dilettantism and the lack of principledness. The development of principled and thorough criticism is the way to enable our art workers to advance more rapidly and to create new works of art worthy of the great epoch of our socialist construction, works which would inspire our people to further heroic exploits. It is necessary for . this purpose, above all, to improve considerably the activity of the associations uniting our art workers and turn them into the centre of vigorous ideological activity, to ensure that they discuss important problems in the field of art on the basis of concrete and principled criticism of works of art. These associations must display greater concern for a constant ideological development and for improvement of the skill of individual art workers, giving more opportunities for them to acquaint themselves more frequently and directly with the daily life of our working people.

## II.

Implementation of the Party Rules in everyday practical Party work had the effect that Party members began to tackle their tasks with greater responsibility, which resulted, in turn, in a certain improvement of the work on all sectors of our Party, economic and social life. The tasks of our construction demand that shortcomings which put a brake on our progress be

combated in a more vigorous manner. To do this it is necessary that the Party Rules be put into effect more and more consistently than hitherto in the life and work of all Party organs and organisations. The Party members must fulfil the decisions of the Party and the Government on all sectors of work, strive for the observance of state and Party discipline, and develop criticism and self-criticism, Their life and work must be imbued with the Party spirit and serve as a model to the whole people. This refers particularly to the leading functionaries of the state, economic and Party apparatus.

It is essential that the Party organs should rely on the activists closely rallied around. the Party committees and should carry out more consistently and successfully than before their everyday organisational work among the working people with a view to ensuring the realisation of the great and complicated tasks of building a new socialist society. The Party organs are duty bound to replenish. strengthen and extend the ranks of the Party activists, since the higher the quality and the greater the number of Party activists the more effective their work. More vigorous activity of the Party activists, their knowledge and experience will enable the Party committees to promote on a wide scale new cadres for different sectors of Party and state work. Hence, the Party activists will become a source of new cadres and will help the Party committees promote to the leading posts the best and most reliable comrades, who have been tried in the course of practical work.

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We embark on an important phase in the life of the Party, the phase of preparing for the Xth Congress of Czechoslovakia. This phase will require greater activity on the part of each and every organisation, of each and every Party member. The Party, as the political leader of the working people, is translating its line into life through the Communists who work in mass organisations, state and economic organs.

Particular attention should be devoted now to the youth. It is also necessary to show solicitude for the trade unions, to guide and direct their activities towards the solution of the vital problems of the day.

It is necessary constantly to see to it that the principle of collective leadership—the most important principle of leadership—is observed throughout the work of the Party organs and organisations.

Following the national conference the regional and district committees as a rule hold regular meetings and discuss a number of questions. There are, however, frequent instances when meetings of the Party committees bear traces of a formal attitude to the discussion of problems though it is precisely these meetings which must put into effect the principle of collective Party leadership. Provided meetings do profoundly and in detail discuss the problems of principle which arise from the life and work of the organisations and do verify the activities of the committees and bureaus—this is reflected in the entire work of the Party organs.

It is also absolutely necessary that the Party meetings indeed become what they are rightly designated to be—the schools of Communist education and of inner-Party democracy. However, not everywhere do Party meetings play their proper

educational role. Some Party organisations underestimate the role of Party meetings. The committees mainly fill their agenda with problems of a purely economic nature and pay inadequate attention to Party political work, which is of top priority. Hence, Party meetings assume, in fact, the character of production meetings and the members of the Party committees become more like economic executives than Party leaders.

The Party Rules clearly lay down the duty of the Party members to develop criticism from below. It would be wrong, however, to think that criticism and self-criticism will develop spontaneously. To ensure consistent criticism and is necessary for us to root out the formal attitude towards criticism, to wage resolute and consistent struggle against those who stand in the way of its development, and to defend those who actively indulge in sound criticism, so that everyone who puts forward correct criticism has behind him the organised strength of the collective.

Reporting back and election Party meetings and conferences, preparations for the elections to the National committees and the elections themselves call, undoubtedly, for much closer contact between the higher and lower Party organisations, for more effective help to the lower organisations and a more thorough check on the fulfilment of decisions.

It is necessary to see to it that members of elected bodies, from the Central Committee down, not only participate more actively than hitherto in the work of meetings of the bureaus and of Party activists, but also attend meetings of Party branches and have a knowledge of the state of affairs in the branches not

only by means of reports but also from their own experience.

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Our first Five-Year Plan period will come to an end in a few days. The great tasks set by the Party in the first Five-Year Plan have, on the whole, been successfully fulfilled as a result of the selfless, enthusiastic labour of our workers and of all working people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Our task is to continue our march forward and to build Socialism in our country. We will attain this goal provided we keep close contact with the people. The strength of the Communist Party lies in the people and the strength of the people lies in the Communist Party—their leader and organiser of all their victories. Hence, we shall continue to strengthen and consolidate our Communist Party.

The supreme duty of our Party is its concern for the welfare of the people. We direct every effort to ensure the maximum satisfaction of the constantly increasing material and cultural requirements of the working people. The successes we have attained with the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union help us in our new work and in the new struggle. We are firmly confident that we shall cope successfully with the great tasks of the future which face us on the road to Socialism. We shall fulfil them if the entire Party is mobilised to carry out a vigorous struggle; we shall fulfil them together with our National Front and the entire working people in town and country.

## **IN COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

### **MEETING, CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

A meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia heard reports on "Some questions of ideological, mass-political and organisational work of the Party" made by Comrade Antonin Novotny, and "Election to National committees and preparation for the Xth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia" delivered by Comrade Viliam Siroky.

The discussion of the reports once again demonstrated the unity of Party organisations around the Central Committee of the Party. The concluding speech was delivered by Comrade Jaromir Dolansky.

The reports by Comrades Novotny and Siroky were unanimously approved by the meeting, which agreed to adopt them as directives for the work of the Party. The meeting also unanimously adopted the proposal of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party to convene, on June 11-13, 1954, the Xth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia with the following agenda:—

- 1) Report on the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and further tasks of the Party.

- 2) Report by the Central Auditing Commission

- 3) Directives for working out a perspective plan for the development of the national economy for 1955 and for 1956-60.

4) Election of the Central Committee of the Party and the Central Auditing Commission.

## **FOR HIGHER IDEOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL LEVEL IN PARTY PROPAGANDA. DECISION OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WORKING PEOPLE'S PARTY, HUNGARY**

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party has taken an important decision which defines the basic tasks in Party propaganda. The decision points to the need for a further improvement of creative ideological work by Party organisations and above all a still better theoretical elucidation of the problems raised by the June and October meetings of the Central Committee, such as the operation of the basic economic law of Socialism in Hungary, some aspects of the application of the new economic policy in the country, contact of the Party with the masses, etc.

The decision states that a text-book on the history of the Hungarian Working People's Party must be published in 1954. Its publication will enable tutors to connect theory closely with practice by applying it to the concrete conditions of the historic development of the country.

The Central Committee also proposed to draw necessary conclusions from the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union suitable to conditions in Hungary, eliminating the erroneous anti-historical parallels, which occur, primarily, in the study of theoretical questions in relating to the problems of



socialist construction. The tutors must give a broader and more profound elucidation of the influence of the revolutionary movement in Russia and the struggle of the CPSU on the Hungarian working-class movement.

The decision points out that the broad masses of the Party members must constantly raise their political level. The Central committee notes that the subjects of political economy and particularly of philosophy and the history of the working class movement are as yet taken only in the Party schools of a higher type. In the academic year 1953-54 three-year courses on philosophy and political economy and two-year courses on the history of the Hungarian Working People's Party have been started. The period of study for the courses on the history of the CPSU has been extended to enable the students to study, in addition, the major questions of the international working-class movement and the basic questions of Marxist philosophy.

The Central Committee stresses the primary importance of raising the level of propaganda in lecture form, particularly on international politics. These lectures must deal with the successes of the foreign and home policy of the Soviet Union and the growing strength of the camp of peace; they must resolutely expose the false imperialist propaganda.

The Central Committee decided on the publication of study methodological materials to help the tutors, together with lists of literature which must be read by students of the Party schools and those studying Marxist-Leninist theory individually. In order to give the tutors better training it is essential to increase up to two months the term of the summer courses for improving their qualifications, to raise the ideological-

theoretical level of the seminars for tutors and give them more effective methodological aid.

The decision of the Central Committee aims at a further improvement of the ideological-political level of Party propaganda and creates conditions for a systematic improvement in the Marxist-Leninist education of Party cadres.

## **FORCE OF EXAMPLE OF RUMANIAN COMMUNISTS—OIL WORKERS**

The reporting-back and election meetings now held in the organisations of the Rumanian Workers' Party contribute to enhancing the activity of Party members in the work for the realisation of the decisions of the August plenum of the Central Committee.

A meeting of the Party branch at the Boldesti oil boring trust critically analysed the work of the bureau and of the entire organisation. The meeting pointed out that the activation of inner-Party life and improvement of mass-political work among non-party workers, together with the application of advanced Soviet methods of labour, the efforts for economising in funds and raw materials and for higher labour productivity have contributed to the fulfilment of the 1953 production plan a month ahead of schedule.

The bureau kept a close check to see that every Party member showed an example in work. For this purpose the Communists—highly skilled workers, including 17 team-leaders, 22 foremen and 6 drillers who had perfectly mastered their jobs—were placed at every vital point of production. Together with the

engineer-technical personnel the Party members and non-party workers thoroughly studied production problems and disclosed technical and organisational shortcomings on their respective sectors of work. For instance, the Party organisation asked foremen comrades Vasile Dosaru and Constantin Paduraru to explain to the workers the significance of one of the latest advanced Soviet methods of oil boring. Responding to the call of the Communists the workers at 24 derricks began to apply this method in their work, considerably raising labour productivity with a consequent increase in their wages. Eleven derricks were put into action ahead of schedule.

At another sector of production foreman-driller Jon Nicorescu mechanised some production processes and so brought about the elimination of technical defects. The realisation of proposals for rationalising the work put forward by Communist team-leader Oprea Moraru resulted in a considerable economy in funds and raw materials.

The drawing of all Party members into discussion and realisation of the tasks facing the Party organisation, the assignment of concrete Party tasks and verification of their fulfilment, an attentive attitude towards the criticism and proposals of the workers, the improvement of the work of Communists in trade-union and youth organisations—all this has led to an enhancement of the leading role of the Party organisation at the Boldesti oil boring trust and to the strengthening of its ties with the masses.

22 Communists took part in the discussion at the reporting-back and election meeting. They sharply criticised the shortcomings in the work of the Party organisation, especially the weakness in verifying the

carrying out of Party decisions and rendering concrete help to the members of the organisation.

Those speaking in the discussion emphasised that probationers are not drawn sufficiently into Party work and that the tasks facing the Party organisation are not properly explained to them. A concrete example of an active members of the Union of the Working Youth who recently entered the probationer group was quoted. He was not given a concrete assignment by the Party organisation, and this resulted in a slackening of his activity. He did not mobilise members of the youth organisation for struggle against absenteeism and non-fulfilment of the production plan on the part of some young workers and did not help to improve the political education of the youth.

Shortcomings in the work of the bureau were also revealed in the verification of Party study. The speakers pointed out that measures were not taken to ensure better attendance at political classes, and stressed the need for improving the level of study. Party members who do not make sufficient effort to raise their ideological and cultural level were seriously criticised. For instance the secretary of the Party organisation was told that he should work harder to raise his general educational level.

The meeting elected as members of the new bureau the worthiest Communists, Both the Secretary of the Party organisation and some members of the old bureau were re-elected.

**V. GHEORGHIU, “instructor, Department of leading Party, trade-union and youth organs, Central Committee, Rumanian Workers’ Party**

# **IN CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC**

## **TRAINING PERSONNEL FOR INDUSTRY IN NORTHEAST CHINA**

To meet the requirements of planned national economic construction, the Party and People's Government organisations in various places in Northeast China are actively carrying out their industrial cadre-training programme.

Spare-time courses have been opened by the Northeast, Harbin and Dairen Institutes of technology in the various factories and mines. More than 1,000 such cadres attend these courses. At present, there are six regular secondary technical schools with a total enrolment of 3,492 in enterprises in Northeast China.

For the purpose of training cadres and raising the level of skilled workers in a planned way, larger enterprises have set up spare-time technical and cultural schools and regular technical courses. For instance, the Anshan Iron and Steel Company has established a spare-time technological institute, an evening school for technical personnel and several spare-time secondary schools with an enrolment of more than 7,600. The Fushun Mining Administration has opened a spare-time technical school which is attended by more than 3,000 workers and staff members. In addition, large numbers of cadres attend short-term political, vocational and technical training classes and technical group studies which have been organised in almost all the enterprises.

## **PROMOTION OF LOCAL NATIONAL MINORITY CADRES TO LEADING POSTS**

In the four years since the liberation the local people's governments and the Chinese Communist Party organisations in Sinkiang have trained for leading posts more than 30,000 local national minority cadres.

At present, national minority cadres constitute nearly 24 per cent of the members of Party committees at and above the county level in Sinkiang. Such cadres are also given responsible administrative posts in the organs of state power at all levels in the province. More than 60 per cent of the county heads and those occupying positions of a higher level are national minority cadres. An even greater percentage of national minority cadres work in the various basic organs of state power and in economic and cultural organisations.

## **WORK OF HOUSES OF CULTURE**

An extensive network of cultural organisations has been built up in People's China in the past few years.

At the time of writing, there are 2,464 houses of culture and 4,650 centres in China. These cultural houses and centres organise large teams to go to all parts of the country to propagate government policies and decrees in connection with each stage of the Party and Government's prime task, besides carrying out their routine work, such as propaganda on current affairs, government policies, production, organisation of cultural and sports activities, dissemination of scientific

and technical knowledge, promotion of the literacy campaign, and so forth.

The houses and centres of culture carry their work to the factories, mines, capital construction sites and into the countryside. They give assistance and guidance in establishing and expanding clubs, reading rooms and libraries. For instance, the 2,061 clubs in the Northeast, the 1,079 reading-rooms in Fukien and more than 7,000 peasant theatrical groups in Chekiang have been established with such help.

As a measure to improve their work, the houses and stations of culture arrange periodic discussions for the masses to voice their opinion. In order better to co-ordinate their activities with the tasks of national economic construction, the cultural departments of various local governments acting on the instructions of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs of the Central People's Government, recently organised training courses for cadres from houses and centres of culture.

**PHOTO: STUDENTS—FUTURE OFFICERS OF  
THE MERCHANT NAVY DURING PRACTICE  
HOURS**



Close attention is being paid to the training of personnel for the different branches of the national economy in the People's Republic of China. Photo: Students—future officers of the merchant navy during practice hours.

*Close attention is being paid to the training of personnel for the different branches of the national economy in the People's Republic of China. Photo: Students—future officers of the merchant navy during practice hours.*



## **NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF MEMBERS OF PRODUCER CO-OPERATIVES IN BULLGARIA**

The Third National Conference of agricultural producer co-operatives held in Sofia was attended by over 1,000 delegates including chairmen of the co-operatives, brigade and group leaders and the best leading workers in agriculture.

The delegates heard a Report "Work of agricultural producer co-operatives since the Second National Conference and the next tasks for further political, organisational, economic and financial strengthening of producer co-operatives" delivered by S. Todorov, Minister of Agriculture, and a report dealing with changes and amendments to the draft, Rules of the Producer Co-operatives by S. Pyrvanov, Assistant Minister of Agriculture.

Some 50 delegates took part in the discussion, enthusiastically describing their labour achievements. Distinguished people—Heroes of Socialist Labour and Dimitrov Prize Winners—have come to the fore from among the toiling people in agriculture. More than 4,500 peasants have received Government—awards. In their speeches the delegates stressed that they owed their successes to the paternal solicitude of the Communist Party of Bulgaria and the People's Government as well as to the unselfish aid of the great Soviet Union and the rich experience of the leading Soviet collective farmers.

The delegates were addressed by Vylko Tchervenkov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

## **PLIGHT OF PEASANTRY IN BRAZIL**

Brazil—the “country of golden fruits”—could feed the population of several countries. However, the domination of the latifundists—“coffee kings”—and the rule of US monopolists have brought about a situation where agriculture in Brazil cannot satisfy the needs of its own population.

Agriculture, the basis of the country’s economy, is seriously deteriorating. The projected state budget for 1954 allocates to agriculture a mere 4.9 per cent of the total expenditure.

The life of the Brazilian peasant is hard indeed. The Brazilian Minister of Agriculture recently admitted that about 9.5 million peasants are forced to cultivate the land of others. Various forms of forced labour and particularly peonazen (debt servitude) are widespread. “Imprensa Popular” writes that 30 odd million Brazilians live “in conditions which animals would fail to withstand”.

Starvation and appalling poverty are the constant companions of the Brazilian peasantry.

## **STRIKE MOVEMENT GROWING IN URUGUAY**

Of late the strike movement involving factory and office workers who demand higher wages has been developing in Uruguay. In November the workers in the - textile mills and brick works in Montevideo and the personnel of the utility enterprises in some 180 towns and communities throughout the country went on strike. On December 7, 100,000 workers—members of the trade unions—held a 24 hour solidarity strike.

The bourgeois press had to admit that the reason for the strikes was the fact that the workers' wages are so meagre that they do not cover their primary needs. According to the figures of the National Union of the Working People of Uruguay the monthly subsistence level of a family of four is 450 pesos while, according to the newspaper "Justicia" the present average wage of the vast majority of the Uruguayan workers barely amounts to 150 pesos a month.

## **PEOPLE OF FRANCE FIGHTING AGAINST REARMING WESTERN GERMANY. Jean Pronteau, Member, Central Committee, French Communist Party**

The foreign policy\* debates in-the French National Assembly on November 17-27 are of great importance. These debates revealed that at present there is no majority in Parliament which would readily hand over the future of France and the destiny of peace in Europe into the hands of the German militarists, and that the ever growing and resolute resistance of the French people to the Bonn and Paris military treaties has found its echo in Parliament.

The situation was quite different in parliament 21 months ago during the previous foreign policy debates. At that time Deputies supported in their overwhelming majority the Government and its overt "Atlantic" policy which hinges on the rearmament of the Bonn revanchists. This testifies with particular force to the fact that the swing of opinion that has taken place since that time is quite considerable.

The significant success of the peace forces, which was reflected in the stand taken by the National Assembly, is a result of the long and persistent struggle. For a number of years the French Communist Party and all peace supporters have waged a ceaseless campaign against the revival of German militarism which is a mortal danger to France and the main threat to peace in Europe. However, until recently a section of public opinion showed indifference and even hostility to this struggle.

Today, however, when the French people are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the policy of American imperialism is a policy of adventures and wars, that it aims at reducing France to an appendage of the American war machine and that it leads to the destruction of the national economy of France and to greater poverty of the working people in town and countryside—today this policy is encountering an ever more conscious and united resistance on the part of the working people.

The accelerated revival of German imperialism resulted in sharpened contradictions among the capitalists and at the same time caused deep alarm among the people. This alarm is based on tragic historic experience, on the dangerous threat to our country emanating from German militarism. It explains why the proposals of the USSR for the peaceful settlement of all outstanding international questions meet with an ever growing response not only among the popular masses but also among various sections of the bourgeoisie. Ever wider circles accept the idea of the necessity of solving the German problems in conformity with the interests of the security of the peoples of Europe and with the interests of the German people themselves through negotiations which would become impossible in the event of Western Germany being rearmed under cover of the “European Defence Community”. Hence, the demand to prevent the ratification of the Bonn and Paris military treaties is becoming the demand of the entire nation, and a broad unity of the popular forces—a necessary prerequisite for achieving this goal.

A few weeks prior to the parliamentary debates Jacques Duclos said in his report to the plenum of the

Central Committee of the Communist Party: “We, Communists, declare: together with all French men and women, whatever they be (and we stress this, whatever they be), provided they oppose, as we do, the new Wehrmacht, we are ready to take part in any political action which can and must become a powerful campaign throughout France. And we add, that on our part we are ready in all our parliamentary activity to further the defeat of the organisers and champions of the European Army”.

This stand of the French Communist Party meets with a profound response among broad sections of public opinion and becomes one of the fundamental factors in the entire political activity of the country.

Big popular peace rallies are now being held throughout the country, supported by outstanding personalities from all political parties and groups. Deputies are receiving numerous resolutions, petitions and are being visited by deputations.

In the light of these events the stand taken by the National Assembly is likewise absolutely clear.

Only 15 out of nearly 60 Deputies who spoke in the parliamentary debates gave unconditional approval to the present policies of the Government. The remaining Deputies, members of almost all groups in the National Assembly, expressed their opposition in various ways and forms. It “is necessary to note that there were sharp differences within the Parliamentary groups of different bourgeois parties.

The most acute arguments between the supporters and the opponents of the “European Defence Community” have taken place in the ranks of the Radical and Socialist parties. In this connection, the

opponents of the “Community” in the Socialist Party were not allowed to express their opinion openly.

The Vatican party—MRP—remains the most solid pillar of the government’s foreign policy which was dictated in a number of Cabinets by Ministers Schuman and Bidault. But there are some, however timid, voices of opposition even within this party.

During the debates in the National Assembly the majority of speakers stressed that the “European Community” would bring to naught the opportunities for lessening international tension and securing peace. They exposed, at the same time, the assertion of the alleged “aggressiveness of the USSR”. For example, the Right-wing Deputy General Aumeran said that “the organisation which is now in the making, as well as the European Army in the form in which it is being created, can serve only the ends of aggressive war”. The de Gaullist, Catroux, said: “Is it not a paradox to form the European Defence Community and simultaneously to propose a non-aggression pact with the USSR?”. “The real Europe”, stressed Edouard Daladier, Radical, “can be created only through peaceful negotiations”.

The opponents of ratification of the military agreements pointed out that these agreements sacrificed the independence of France to the Adenauer “Little Europe”.

The incorporation of France in the “European Community” will result in its army being virtually subordinated to the generals of the new Wehrmacht and in France forfeiting its national independence and its present status as a great power.

Hypocritical allegations of the advocates of the “Community” to the effect that it would be the “lesser evil” and be able to curb German militarism have been

exposed by many. Deputies, particularly by Pierre Andre, Right Independent and leader of a group of 200 Deputies, Senators and Councillors of the French Union opposing the “European Army”.

A large number of Deputies drew attention to the serious danger to our economy which can arise in the event of France joining the “European Defence Community”. A bourgeois Deputy wrote that the French economy would then be confronted with a mortal danger. Radical Mendes-France voiced his anxiety over the economic superiority which can be attained by Western Germany over France as a result of the establishment of the “European Community”.

The statements of the Deputies reflected the alarm of certain bourgeois circles in connection with the menace to their interests in the colonies arising from this “Community”, in which Adenauer’s Germany would hold sway.

Particularly bitter criticism of the government’s foreign policy aimed at rearming the Bonn revanchists was given by the representatives of the Communist group. They showed that the “Little Europe” of the trusts which was portrayed as a factor of social progress would mean, in fact, a prison for the working people and would but add to their poverty. They stressed the fact that France, in particular, owing to its rights as an occupation power in Germany and to the Franco-Soviet treaty can prevent the’ creation of the “European Defence Community”.

The Treaty of Alliance and Mutual Aid between the USSR and France is designed to serve the cause of the national regeneration of France, the cause of world peace and the ensuring of the security of Europe. It must not be forgotten that by virtue of this Treaty the



USSR and France undertook jointly to take measures against any possible new aggression on the part of German militarism. France, the Communists pointed out, can also take action together with the other European countries to curb the influential circles in the USA and Britain, should they decide tomorrow to rearm Western Germany in defiance of the will of the peoples.

The debates ended with voting on the two resolutions. The most important was the first voting of the draft resolution submitted by those socialist leaders who are the most radical advocates of the "European Army". This draft resolution supported by the MRP and which approved the "European Community" and the entire policy relating to the "United Europe", was rejected by 313 votes to 234. The voting on the other resolution which is vague in its content and which contains no reference to the "European Defence Community" temporarily" delayed the downfall of the Laniel-Bidault Government. This resolution was adopted by a mere 275 votes to 244, with 103 abstentions. It must be pointed out that a number of Deputies voted for this draft resolution only for inner political reasons. The de Gaullists and the other reactionary Deputies did not want to bring about the fall of the present government, the more so just a few weeks prior to the election of the President of the Republic.

Such was the end of the heated debates which had the widest repercussions in the country.

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Demonstrations are taking place every day in enterprises, city blocks and villages throughout the country. Powerful mass rallies have already been held in

a number of departments which brought together hundreds of thousands of people of different views. More rallies are being prepared. Hundreds of thousands of signatures have been obtained against ratifying the Paris and Bonn treaties.

The people of France are conscious of the mortal danger which the ratification of the Bonn and Paris military agreements would mean for France and for the cause of peace. They will spare no effort to prevent the rearming of Western Germany.

## **COLLECTIVE METHODS OF LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY.**

**Edoardo D'Onofrio, Member of  
Leadership, Communist Party of Italy**

The questions of inner democracy and of collective leadership in Party and mass organisations, which are now being widely discussed in the Communist and Workers' Parties, are based on Lenin's organisational principles and prompted by the urgent need to ensure broader, manifold and reliable bonds between the Communist Party and the masses. The XIX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the activity of this great Party contribute much in this respect which we must take and put into practice in our Party.

The experience of the CPSU, however, cannot and should not be utilised in a mechanical way. It would be wrong to recommend that the principles of the Party Rules and regulations relating to organisational work elaborated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should be simply and mechanically transferred to the Communist Party of Italy. The CPSU is the Party which has at its disposal fifty years' experience of life and struggle, the Party which for 36 years has been in power in a huge country in which Socialism has been built under its leadership and which is now being led to Communism by it. In the 32 years of its existence the Communist Party of Italy has become a large and powerful party. But it is an opposition party working in a capitalist country. Its programme is the consistent

struggle against the survivals of fascism, for ensuring independence, freedom and democracy, for a policy of peace and the regeneration of our country on socialist line.

However, despite this distinction between the two parties and the difference in the conditions in which they are working, they have a common ideology and common final aims. These things are common to all Communist and Workers' Parties, both in the countries of people's democracy and the capitalist countries. All Communist Parties are interested in the triumph of Communism in the Soviet Union and of Socialism in the countries of people's democracy. From this point of view every single victory of the peoples in these countries is a victory for the working people in all countries. With each and every new victory in the USSR the front of workers and the working people of the world becomes stronger and firmer. At the same time, each and every success of the Communist Parties in other countries and their consolidation signifies support for the Soviet working people, adding to their strength and confidence in the successful construction of Communist society.

The community of interests of all Communist Parties also finds expression in the common struggle against the enemies of peace who are trying to unleash war against the countries of the democratic camp and, above all, against the Soviet Union. The struggle of the Soviet people for Communism is inseparable from the struggle for the relaxation of international tension, for world peace, for freedom and independence of all countries. Consequently, all of us, under varying conditions and using different forms, participate in this great struggle. It is not surprising therefore that all Communists are

profoundly interested in studying and making use of the experience of the fraternal parties, and particularly the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the eldest, best and strongest party, marching ahead of all the rest.

And if the decisions of the XIX Congress and the September Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU show how to extend and consolidate the alliance of the working class with other sections of the people and consolidate the Party's bonds with the masses then we must define just what we should do in order to extend and further strengthen the alliance of our working class with other sections of the people and consolidate the bonds of our Party with the masses. In the Soviet Union this vital principle finds expression in the policy aimed at ensuring a rapid upsurge in socialist agriculture, at raising the living standards and improving the wellbeing of the population. In the countries of people's democracy it finds expression in the work of bringing industrial development into line with the conditions and actual possibilities prevailing in these, countries and in a number of measures directed towards raising the living standards of the people. This vital principle demands better organisation and work by our Party for the purpose of successfully rallying the broad masses around the working class, and we must be guided by it in our everyday work. In the light of this principle many Communist Parties, in accordance with have reviewed the problems of organisational work and adopted necessary decisions.

This must also be done in our Party.

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The question of inner-Party democracy is closely linked with still broader questions, such as the role of the Party in the political and social struggle, the decisive role of the etc. The problem of the method of collective leadership in the Party and mass organisations is linked with the fact that the Communist Parties and mass organisations must be democratic organisations guided by democratic principles. It is in this light that these questions are now being thoroughly discussed. It is in this light that the Soviet Communists, too, are now developing their criticism. Now, at a time when the construction of Communism is taking place in the Soviet Union and the struggle for peace, freedom and democracy is developing throughout the world, the active work and the initiative of the broad masses become absolutely necessary.

Precisely the masses the working class and tens of millions of working people in the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy—are beginning to play an ever more active role in the political life of their country. Precisely the masses—the working class and tens of millions of people—are being drawn into active political life in the capitalist countries. It is essential to make these million-fold masses and the whole of the peoples become conscious of their great role both in political and social life, and to smash any attempt designed to confuse such consciousness, any attempt to inculcate in them a mood of sifting on the fence. This now becomes not only the historical need but the moral and political duty of the Communist and Workers' Parties. The method of collective leadership is fundamentally opposed to the method of placing a personality above the collective, which stems from the idealistic conception of the cult of individual from the

negation or underestimation of the role of the Party and the popular masses. The Communist and Workers' Parties and mass organisations are concentrating the fire of their criticism against one-man leadership, against those leaders who by using methods of one-man leadership seek to replace the Lenin method of collective leadership which is in full conformity with the inner-Party democracy that corresponds to the need to intensify the struggle in the Party as a whole for winning and mobilising the broad masses of the working people and all citizens. The criticism to which the method of one-man leadership in the Party and mass organisations of the Soviet Union was subjected by the Soviet Communists is also valuable to us and our Party and mass organisations. Here in Italy, too, there are instances of deviations from the principle of collective leadership which are incompatible with the principles of inner-Party democracy indicated to us by Lenin –the principle which our Party has repeatedly stressed again and again at its Congresses and meetings of the Central Committee. Certain progress in improving collective leadership in the leading bodies of the Party Federations has been made since the VII Congress of the Party. However, when we begin to analyse, from this particular angle, the work of every given Party Federation we find that things are not what they should be as regards the question of collective leadership. There is no doubt that the Communist Party is today the most democratic political organisation in the country. Great efforts have been exerted to achieve this. At first we had to explain to Party members how to conduct meetings, who must organise them, how to take minutes, elect leaders, discuss the questions raised and

to adopt resolutions on these questions. This was a strenuous job which took months and even years.

By now the situation has changed, and one may think that everything is going smoothly. However the actual positions quite different. There are not a few shortcomings and weaknesses in the sphere of inner-Party democracy, arising largely from the difficulties of the past. We have leading Party cadres drawn from among those who in the course of the 20 years' fascist rule lived abroad, but who have not done their best to understand and to apply in their work the norms of Party and trade-union democracy, There are leading Party cadres from among those who came to the fore in the course of the fight for liberation and who imparted into our organisations their militancy, order and discipline, which were undoubtedly positive features However, they sometimes displayed the tendency to restrict the flexibility of Party organisations, bringing to them the methods of one-man leadership. We also have Party cadres who developed as leaders in prisons, exile and in underground work and who, while bringing into the Party and mass organisations their profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, brought a certain narrowness as, regards political activity and one-man methods of leadership, thereby retarding the initiative of other Party members.

These shortcomings, particularly dangerous in the past, have by now been largely overcome. But we cannot claim, however, that this has been achieved in all spheres of our activity, that all Party leaders have rid themselves of these shortcomings and that the old traditions and habits no longer influence their methods of leadership.



When we turn to the experience of the CPSU in order to see more clearly our general shortcomings and deviations from the correct pathway, in order to get a better understanding of the essence of these shortcomings and, this is the main thing, to work out necessary measures for rectifying them, we must also take into consideration the fact that our Party has been working legally for only ten years. Its development was rapid and impressive. It developed so rapidly that we were unable to find the necessary number of capable leading functionaries for Party organisations and to draw them into the work. In a number of cases, in order to stop the fluctuation of cadres in the leading Party organs, we were compelled to follow such a cadres' policy as would enable us to have at least one capable, energetic and reliable secretary in each Party Federation. At first we did this by transferring leading cadres from one province to another and later by promoting leading cadres from among the local Party leaders.

This policy of selecting and forming responsible functionaries was later spread to the main sectors of the activity of the Party Federations. At present the overwhelming majority of the Party Federations are headed by capable full-time comrades, although, unfortunately, these comrades still frequently lack sufficient ideological training.

After this we tackled the problem of ensuring cadres for Party sections and the most important Party branches. The task then was to select section and branch secretaries. By now we have thousands of well-functioning sections and tens of thousands of well-functioning branches. This is a result of our successful efforts in selecting, training and recommending for

election secretaries of these branches. However we cannot be content with the successes obtained in this field. There are as yet many provinces and many communities in which our sections and branches still need our help in selecting really good leaders. There can be no doubt that the line adopted in selecting and allocating cadres—which was necessitated by the demands of the concrete situation—might in certain conditions and among some leaders of the Federations and sections, give rise to the tendency of one-man leadership in our organisations. Such a tendency here and there became particularly pronounced, probably, due to the fact that we energetically supported such leaders, because of isolation of the Federation secretaries from other leading comrades—their close colleagues—and sometimes due to the fact that in a leading body there was no other leader whose political training and practical experience would fit him for the Secretaryship.

What we want to do is, first, to stress our responsibility for our failure to take in good time energetic and effective measures to eliminate these shortcomings. Secondly, we want to understand and generalise the reasons that conditioned these shortcomings. Our line in selecting and allocating cadres was a correct one. It ensured a capable secretary for every Party organisation, enhanced the responsibility of each of these leaders who should, because of their responsibility, have also taken care to ensure collective leadership.

The majority of the secretaries of Party organisations at all levels always strove to build up and train a leading core which would hold collective responsibility for the activity and leadership of their

organisation. This was done especially because our Party had never failed to point to the need of building up effective leading committees as required by the Party Rules.

If at present collective leadership, though incomplete and limited, is exercised in nearly all Party Federations, the success must go to the credit of the Federation secretaries and the leading organs of the Party. However, even this limited collective leadership is not observed in all Party Federations, in all sectors of our work and is not practised throughout the entire activity of this or that Party Federation. This demands that make a further step forward in developing our Party, the step when the leading committees of our Party organisations will ensure maximum activity and organisation, will help the Party to give a correct lead everywhere. At this stage the old, line in respect to the cadres, the line of orientation on the leader, must be combined with the training and all-round education of all members of the leading committees in the Federations, sections and branches.

**We urge the comrades to adhere unswervingly and consistently to the Leninist principles of leadership and apply boldly and on a wide scale the method of collective leadership. This is a call for the carrying out of one of the basic Party principles. This call should signify the beginning of large-scale everyday work in our organisations for developing the entire Party to a higher level, a campaign which will bring us more cadres, enable the Party to mobilise its members better and lead the struggle of the broad popular masses.**

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As to the methods of leadership in Party Federations the Party Rules stipulate that the Federation committee is a body which directs the work of the Federation between its conferences. The Federation committee, keeps a check on the work of all sections and Party branches. It elects a political secretary, a secretariat and an executive committee from among its members. The Federation committee has a collective responsibility to the provincial conference and the Central Committee for the work of the Federation.

Thus, the Federation committee is the sole leading organ of the Party Federation in periods between conferences, while the executive committee and the secretariat are organs elected by the Federation committee and responsible to it for their work. The duty of the executive committee is to implement decisions of a political, organisational and administrative nature adopted by the Federation committee. The secretariat is mainly, if not exclusively, an executive body since it must translate into life the decisions issued by the Federation committee and worked out in detail in concrete plans by the executive committee. Proceeding from concrete needs the secretariat can and sometimes does adopt important decisions. It must, however, immediately report them to higher Party organs. The Rules stipulate that all these organs are of a collective nature and must bear collective responsibility for their work.

There are, however, instances when these provisions are violated. Here and there under various pretexts the secretariat holds less and less frequent

meetings of the Federation committee to discuss the political line of the Federation, implementation of the political line of the Party and the main and general questions. This is how the first infringement of the principle of collective leadership of the Federation arises—i.e. the Federation committee is prevented from carrying out its direct functions.

Sometimes the executive committees arbitrarily take over the role of the Federation committees, and the secretariats do the same in relation to the executive committees which have already taken over the functions of the Federation committees. Thus, the functions of the two Federation organs of a higher level are partially or fully taken over by the secretariat composed of three, four or five members.

However, can we assert that all the secretariats work in a collective manner, that they hold regular meetings and that each of their members submits the problems relating to his sector of work for discussion with other members of the secretariat? No, we cannot. It is a fact that it is precisely the secretaries and the members of the Federation secretariat who ignore the principle of collective leadership and not infrequently resort to the erroneous methods of one-man leadership.

Instances when the Federation secretary alone reports at meetings are a clear illustration of one-man leadership. The secretary himself thinks over and prepares reports without discussing them with the other members of the Federation committee or of the secretariat; he tries to take upon himself the entire work, including all its details.

Defects and shortcomings of the method of one-man leadership are also shown by the fact that the

executive departments of the apparatus in the Federation are not given instructions and their work is not checked. Hence, they assume an autonomous character within the framework of the apparatus and each carries out simultaneously the functions of the Federation committee. the executive committee and the secretariat, thereby losing the character of executive organs of the Federation committee and taking over the functions of leadership. There are instances when a year or two pass without the secretariat of the executive committee calling meetings of leading members of the Federation committee to hear reports on their work and give them necessary instructions. In some organisations there are instances when the secretariats hand over the leadership, verification and co-ordination of the work carried out by the departments to a leading functionary or to one or another department, and keep themselves aloof from the functions of giving leadership to the apparatus.

All the violations of the method of collective leadership, all the deviations from the correct work of the leading organs in the Federations must be revealed, discussed and eliminated. The responsibility for all these shortcomings and weaknesses does not rest with one person alone, it rests with all members of the leading organs of the Federation. Responsibility, as well as leadership, in our leading organs is of a collective nature.

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As for the work of the leading organs of the Party sections, branches and their contact with the

Federation, committees, here too, the main shortcoming which needs to be overcome is the method of one-man leadership. In addition, there is another shortcoming which prevails in some rural and small town sections and in many production and territorial branches, i.e. general weakness of the leading organs. Our task is to eliminate these two shortcomings.

Small wonder then that under these circumstances the sections and branches can show an over-simplified, anarchical understanding of the method of collective leadership arising from their general political and organisational weakness. There are Communists who think that to carry out collective leadership means only to criticise their leaders, that to carry out inner-Party democracy means to discuss constantly all matters, including the most insignificant, at meetings and to offer no solution unless complete unanimity is achieved.

The reasons for these defects in the methods of leadership in the lower Party organisations depend, in no small measure, on inadequate leadership by the Federation committees. Of particular significance in this respect are meetings of Party activists who effect direct contact between the Federation committees and lower Party organisations.

These meetings are effective provided they are held regularly, with the participation of representatives of all sections and branches of a given Federation. Their effectiveness depends also on the way they are held.

Shortcomings of the way meetings of Party activists are held and organised have been criticised in many Communist Parties; this criticism is of value

to us, too, since our Party Federations also hold meetings irregularly and underestimate their significance in leading the work of the sections.

Meetings of the activists in the Federations are often used to give instructions and directions which are laid down in a one and-a-half or two-hour report by the secretary or by another leading comrade of the Federation. The report, as a rule, is not subjected to a preliminary discussion in the leading organs of the Federation and is not widely discussed at the meeting itself because, of lack of time.

Particularly bad are instances when, in their attempt to imitate the leaders of the Federation, the section leaders often repeat their mistakes at meetings of section activists. It is a bad practice, too, in many branches since they have even less time for the holding of their meetings.

The methods of leadership of some Federations put difficulties in the way of discussing problems of Party life and Party policy. To confirm this it is enough, to analyse the way in which leadership is given to sections and branches in a number of our Federations. On Monday the secretary of the Federation holds a meeting of the section secretaries. On Tuesday the section secretary holds a meeting of the secretariat of the section or its leading committee. On Wednesday, leaders of the section branches meet and are given instructions and directives. On Thursday, the leader of the branch holds its general meeting where the Party members are assigned definite tasks. And the Party member barely have time to begin carrying out their assignments when the week ends and the process starts all over again. This planning by the calendar



ensures work in one direction—directives and instructions go from top to bottom. And when will the experience of the work of the lower organisations reach the higher Party bodies?

This is a serious problem which must be concretely considered by every Federation, every section and branch. Its solution will result in better use of the experience of Party work, in broader inner-Party democracy and in a wider introduction of the method of collective leadership.

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The art of Party leadership is, undoubtedly, a difficult matter. It requires persistence, knowledge, ability and confidence in the justice of the cause. The working class and the Communists heading it possess all these qualities.

He who is willing to master the art of Party leadership must bear in mind the three essentials. The first is the elaboration by Party organisations of the political line which constitutes the basis of the entire struggle waged by the Communists. The second is the transition from elaborating the political line to its concrete realisation which includes the allocation of tasks and working out the plan of struggle and its special and immediate goals. This is the stage of transition to struggle and the struggle itself. And the third and last is checking on the fulfilment of the assignments given and, consequently the exchange of experiences gained.

There are shortcomings in all these three stages of our activity; the most serious of them, however, are the inadequate participation of Party members in

working out the political line, the inadequate verification, insufficient generalisation and use of the Party experience which arises from the weak collective work of Party organisation. Our Party organisations have every possibility to disclose and eliminate these shortcomings.

## PRESS REVIEW

### IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO STRUGGLE OF GUATEMALAN PEOPLE FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, DEMOCRACY AND PEACE. “Tribuna Popular”—First Daily Newspaper of the Working Class of Guatemala



The growing democratic movement and the intensified struggle of the workers and peasants of Guatemala for the consistent carrying through of agrarian reform and for better living and working conditions, together with the struggle for peace and ever more resolute actions by the popular masses against the meddling of the American imperialists in the internal affairs of the country—all this confronted the Guatemalan Party of Labour with the need for a means of daily communication with the people in their own language. In the language needed to the Party. “Octubre”, a weekly journal hitherto published by the Party for a number of years could not, naturally, carry out this role to the full. The Party called upon the

working people to collect funds for building up a daily mass newspaper, and thousands of people responded by collecting in a short space of time some 15,000 quetzals necessary for its production. From August last the “Tribuna Popular”, first daily newspaper of the Guatemalan working class, began circulating in towns and villages throughout the country.

To become the militant vanguard paper of the working people of Guatemala in their struggle for better living conditions, for progress, independence of the country and peace, to uphold with persistence the vital interests of the workers and peasants, to struggle for the consistent carrying through of agrarian reform and to ensure the independent economic development of the country—such were the tasks the newspaper set itself in its first leading article. Other tasks were those of guarding the organisational unity and united action of the workers in the ranks of the General Confederation of Working People of Guatemala, of constantly strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, of upholding the unity and united action of all democratic forces in the country in the struggle against feudal backwardness and imperialist oppression.

The first issues of the “Tribuna Popular” testify to the striving of the newspaper to fulfil the responsible tasks set before it by the Guatemalan Party of Labour. In its columns the newspaper vividly and convincingly voices the profound and unanimous indignation of the popular masses at the flagrant encroachments of American imperialists on the freedom and independence of Guatemala. In addition to voicing resolute protests against interference by the US in the internal affairs of the country—the most blatant of which is an insulting memorandum from the US State Department to the

Government of Guatemala in connection with the expropriation of part of the lands seized by the American United Fruit Company—the “Tribuna Popular” systematically exposes the aggressive designs of the US monopolies.

“The United Fruit Company”, writes the newspaper, “is organising plots in Guatemala, overthrowing governments in Costa Rica, suppressing all the progressive elements in Honduras, perpetuating the rule of Somoza in Nicaragua, fostering intrigues, dictating to and exploiting all the ‘banana republics’, as some US magnates like to call Central America... The United Fruit Company whose interests are being zealously guarded by the US Government financed all the plots, one after another, against the democratic regime and the governments legitimately elected by the people of Guatemala. At present the offices, the homes of the officials and the plantations of the United Fruit Company in Honduras serve as the conspiratorial centres of all the traitors who fled from Guatemala”.

While systematically exposing the interventionist designs of the US monopolists and their unbridled campaign of lies and slander against the country, the “Tribuna Popular” wrathfully condemns the reactionary feudal and pro-imperialist forces, those who barter their country, who, seeking to hide their anti-popular activity behind the outworn banner of anti-Communism, openly demand foreign intervention, urge submission to the US and at the same time shed crocodile tears over the “split in the Guatemalan family”.

Pointing out that “there was never unanimity in the Guatemalan family” the paper writes:

“Can a peasant feel himself a member of the same ‘family’ as a feudal landlord and be satisfied with this

kind of family? Can a man without boots feel himself part of the same family as those who live in luxury at his expense and do nothing?"

The henchmen of the US monopolies recently received a "reinforcement" in the person of John E. Peurifoy, new US ambassador, who won notoriety as the inspirer and spiritual father of the Greek monarcho-fascists.

As soon as he arrived in the country, "Tribuna Popular" writes, Peurifoy "began interfering in the internal policy of Guatemala, taking the side of feudal-imperialist reaction". A hardened expert in organising provocations, Peurifoy has sought to cause confusion among the democratic forces of the country, intimidating them with an alleged threat of "danger" from the Communists once the common aims of the democratic forces have been achieved.

"The system of intimidating those whom they are seeking to split and then to defeat is not a new one", write the "Tribuna Popular", thus exposing the machinations of the US Ambassador. "Similar things have already been done over a long period by the press financed by the United Fruit Company, but so far without success".

The people of Guatemala will see to it that Mr. Peurifoy also fails in his mission. At the time when Peurifoy sought to split the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in Guatemala, the "Tribuna Popular" published in each of its successive issues statements and utterances by public and trade-union figures of various political opinions and religious beliefs who unanimously supported the call of the Central Committee of the Guatemalan Party of Labour for the building of a united mass democratic front.

“The United Front suggested by the Communists”, wrote the newspaper at that time, “should include the working class, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and part of the patriotic-minded national bourgeoisie. The aims of this front make the alliance of these classes possible for a long period of time. These aims include in particular: a rebuff to foreign intervention, the defence of national sovereignty and the democratic regime, the struggle for peace and friendship among the nations, for the complete carrying through of agrarian reform, the lowering of the cost of living and improvement of the material wellbeing of the population, the adoption and joint carrying out of measures to ensure the independent economic development of Guatemala... “.

The paper features day by day the struggle waged by the workers, peasants, democratic parties and organisations of Guatemala who are fighting more and more frequently in a united front for concrete demands for higher wages and better living conditions. The newspaper widely featured the general strike of the workers of the “Empresa Electrica de Guatemala” Company—a branch of the US Bond and Share Company—which ended in the workers winning a substantial wage increase. This was the biggest victory in the field of economic struggle won by the working class of Guatemala in the past nine years. At the same time it was an outstanding success for the anti-imperialist struggle against the domination of foreign monopolies.

Recently another blow has been dealt at the interventionist designs of the US imperialists. At a session of the Council of the Organisation of American States held early in November, Guillermo Toriello Garrido, representative of Guatemala, voted against the

US proposal to put on the agenda of the tenth Inter-American Conference to be held in March 1954 an item aimed at stifling the national-liberation movements in the countries of Latin America.

Voicing the opinion of the people of Guatemala “Tribuna Popular” in this connection wrote: “To vote for such a proposal would be tantamount to giving full freedom of action to the pirates of the dollar. In other words, it would mean inviting a robber into one’s house”.

The patriots of Guatemala are intensifying their struggle for peace precisely for the purpose of preventing the American robber from entering the homes of Guatemalans or the homes of other Latin American peoples. Tens of thousands of citizens in Guatemala have signed a document circulated by the National Peace Committee which urges them to wage a struggle to preserve peace, in defence of their national sovereignty, and for peaceful settlement of all international conflicts. The paper skilfully links the struggle for peace with the struggle for national independence.

“The people of Guatemala”, writes “Tribuna Popular”, “are fully aware that the threat of foreign intervention arises from the policy of preparations for war carried out by the leading circles in the United States... The people of Guatemala have an inalienable right to build their life in full conformity with their interests. In order that they may exercise their right to the full, it is necessary to change such an international situation in which attempts are being made to use our peoples as cannon fodder for the aggressive acts of imperialism...”.

Close attention paid by the paper to the struggle of



peasants and agricultural workers for a rapid realisation of agrarian reform and to the actions taken by the workers and all working people demanding higher wages and better living standards is one of the services rendered by “Tribuna Popular”. While supporting the agrarian policy of the government, the newspaper resolutely exposes those who seek to sabotage it; it denounces the arbitrary rule of the owners of latifundia and some representatives to tie authorities in the localities, constantly linking the struggle for agrarian reform with the struggle for the economic independences of the country.

Apart from the struggle of the popular masses in Guatemala “Tribuna Popular” widely features in its columns news of the movements of the peoples of other countries in defence of peace and national independence.

The consistent peace policy and the economic successes of the Soviet Union and other countries of the camp of democracy and Socialism which are featured and will, undoubtedly, be featured on an ever increasing scale in the columns of “Tribuna Popular” inspire the people of Guatemala in their courageous struggle for their freedom.

**Isidoro SATUE**

## **CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF USA SENDS GREETINGS TO LEADERS OF THE PARTY**

A recent Conference of the Communist Party of the USA sent greetings to leaders of the Communist Party who have been framed under the vicious Smith Act: Eugene Dennis, Henry Winston, John Williamson, Gus Hall, Benjamin Davis, Carl Winter, John Gates, Gil Green, Robert Thompson, Irving Potash and Jack Stachel. Noting their courage and patriotism the Conference stresses the gravity of the international situation and points to the tasks of the Party and the responsibility which rests on the American people.

The militaristic schemes and alliances, reads the greeting, which are aimed at the great Soviet Union and other countries of the camp of peace and democracy can be shattered. Great political battles face the American people. The American Communists are not blind to the great dangers stemming from the desperate. Eisenhower Administration, the McCarthy menace, the arms drive and fascism. The eyes of tens of millions of Americans are being opened to these dangers.

The greeting says that the task of the Party is to build ties with the masses, strive to create a powerful mass front rallying the working class, the Negro people, the farmers, the youth and all who insist on peace and oppose McCarthyism. The working class, defending the interests of the overwhelming majority of Americans, must become the standard-bearer of this 'united movement.

In its greetings to Comrade William Z. Foster, the

Conference said that despite the foul slanders and the orgy of McCarthyism throughout the country and despite the persecutions of the Hoover sleuths, the Communist Party of the USA its solidly rallying around its National Committee.

## **AGAINST TREAT ON “EUROPEAN ARMY”**

### **Resolution by Political Bureau, Communist Party of Holland**

In its recent resolution the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Holland called for the development of a campaign against the Paris military treaty and for a new course in the national policy. The resolution states in part that in July last the second Chamber of Parliament ratified the treaty on the “European Army” under pressure of the US and in violation of the constitution of the country. Now Washington is intensifying its pressure on the ruling circles of Holland for the approval of this treaty by the first Chamber too.

faced with the threat of the rebirth of the German Wehrmacht, powerful forces are now uniting. Today the task of all people of good will in Holland, particularly the workers, is to intensify their unswerving struggle without ceasing until the treaty on the “European Army” has been completely rejected. The task is not only to avert the modal danger threatening the country but at the same time to struggle for the adoption of a new line of Government policy.

The resolution concludes with a call to all men and women in Holland and, above all, to the Party members to intensify their activity against the treaty on the “European Army”, for a change in Government policy. for unity of the working class, Socialists and Communists, for united action on a nation-wide scale and for a free Holland.

**WE EXTEND TO YOU A HELPING HAND...  
AND NOW PLEASE EXTEND YOURS.  
Drawing by J. Novak**

The US "aid" to underdeveloped countries, widely publicised by the Western reactionary press, is virtually a means for their economic and political enslavement, enabling US imperialism to plunder the people of these countries.

(Press item).



## **POLITICAL NOTES**

### **The Background to the American \*Atrocities” LIE**

Real possibilities for settling the outstanding problems have developed in the recent period in the international situation. But every time US diplomacy has resorted to the most cynical manoeuvres in a desperate endeavour to prevent any easing of the international tension. Such was the aim of the fascist adventure in Berlin on June 17 inspired by the American military; and stich was the aim of the Syngman Rhee provocation in “releasing” Korean and Chinese prisoners of war.

The reactionary circles in the US have resolved to resort to the same foul machinations now that the armistice in Korea has led to a certain let up in the world tension. They have resurrected the hoary complaint about alleged “atrocities” in North Korea against the “United Nations soldiers” who were prisoners of war, despite the fact that the whole world knows of the humane treatment accorded prisoners by the Korean and Chinese soldiers.

This is not the first time that the ruling circles of the US have resorted to crude forgery about “atrocities”. Way back in 1951 the American Colonel Hanley produced a notorious “report” about mythical “Communist atrocities” against the American prisoners of war.

But the provocateurs have learned nothing from the shameful fiasco of this report. Not long ago they instructed Lodge, the US representative in Uno, to stage

a cynical fabrication about “atrocities”, that is, with the job of resurrecting the same utterly invented “complaints” which even the unscrupulous dollar press once characterised as the “contradictory product of crude liars™. On December 3, utilising their docile machine-like majority in Uno, the US passed shameful resolution which slandered the men of the Korean People’s Army and the Chinese People’s Volunteers. The initiators of this slander campaign banked, by means of foul machinations, on responsibility for the fearful atrocities against the Korean and Chinese prisoners of war.

But the hopes of the US falsifiers are doomed to failure. The whole world knows of the monstrous atrocities perpetrated by the US aggressors in Korea. The instances of soldiers of the Korean People’s Army and of Chinese People’s Volunteers being killed by American troops immediately upon being taken prisoner are countless. According to obviously understated data published in the US press some 3,438 prisoners of war, men of the Korean People’s Army and Chinese People’s Volunteers, were killed or wounded between July 1951 and July 1953. The evil conscience of the invaders bears the brand of the murderer for the cannibal-like atrocities perpetrated on, the war prisoners on Koje Island.

American aircraft dropped thousands of tons of bombs on Korean towns and villages, bringing suffering and death to hundreds of thousands of civilians; the US armed forces resorted to inhuman chemical and bacteriological warfare.

By fabricating a provocative report for the Uno General Assembly about alleged atrocities the sworn enemies of peace seek divert the attention of world

public opinion from their own brutal crimes on Korean soil, to frustrate a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem and to increase the tension in the Far East.

But this is a futile attempt! Try as they may the American diplomats will not succeed in confusing world public opinion.

**Jan MAREK**

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