

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

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

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1955

PRICE 3d (8 cents)

No. 41 (362)

## STRUGGLE OF WORKING PEOPLE IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES FOR THEIR VITAL DEMANDS

Never before has the role of the masses—the decisive factor in historical development—been so great as in our times. And the masses, above all the working class, are becoming more and more keenly aware of their role and significance in the economic and political life of their countries, in social development. The working people of the capitalist countries are becoming better organised and are intensifying the struggle for their fundamental, vital interests.

This just struggle is a logical and inevitable phenomenon in capitalist society, which is torn by deep social contradictions. The realities of modern life graphically confirm the great Lenin's words that: "Wealth grows in capitalist society with incredible rapidity—side by side with the impoverishment of the working class."

Indeed, while monopoly profits are growing steadily and to exorbitant proportions, the condition of the working people in the capitalist countries is deteriorating from year to year. For instance, real wages in Italy and France are now half what they were before the war; in Japan they have fallen to less than half. The drop in the real wages of the working people of Brazil, Chile, Argentina and many other countries has been even greater. In their pursuit of profits, the monopolies are practising "rationalisation of production"; they are "perfecting" the speed-up and forcing the workers to increase the intensity of their labour to the limit. The attacks of the monopolies on the vital interests of the working people are gaining momentum.

It stands to reason that the working class cannot accept this situation. It is steadily developing its struggle in defence of its vital interests and for the satisfaction of its urgent demands. The workers are demanding higher wages, the cessation of mass dismissals, increased unemployment benefits, improved working conditions, abolition of the speed-up, and the end of discriminatory rates of payment for women and young workers.

In France metal, engineering, textile and building workers are steadily broadening the struggle for higher wages and better living and working conditions.

In Britain the Ministry of Labour reports that twice as many workers took part in the strike in the last few months of

The successful struggle of the St. Nazaire metal workers, of the Genoa port workers and many other examples prove again and again that the strength of the working class lies in unity, that unity of working people of diverse political and trade union trends is fully possible, that it is achieved in the course of struggle for concrete, clear and specific aims and, above all, in the course of struggle in the factories.

Seeking to smash the strike movement, the ruling circles of the capitalist countries take repressive measures against strikers and strive to break up the united action of the working people in their struggle for bread, liberty and peace. Employers and reactionary trade union leaders try to convince the workers that their struggle for higher wages is senseless inasmuch as higher wages must, they claim, necessarily result in higher prices and inflation. The unscientific nature of such "arguments" was long ago brilliantly exposed by Marx, who showed that raising wages at the expense of profits can in no way affect prices.

The working class is the most advanced class in present-day society. It realises ever more deeply that it is only through stubborn struggle that it can achieve any improvement in its material conditions and the satisfaction of its vital demands. While fighting for better living conditions, Lenin taught us, the working class also develops in the moral, mental and political respects; it becomes more capable of realising its great emancipation aims.

Another characteristic feature of the struggle of the working class for its vital demands in modern times is the organic link between this struggle and that of all the working people for peace and relaxation of international tension, for only a peace policy and the ending of the arms drive can have a favourable effect upon their conditions.

In the course of mass actions the working people of the capitalist countries more and more frequently put forward the demand for a peace policy and the development of economic and cultural relations between all countries, irrespective of their social and state systems. In the struggle for peace and national independence, for bread and democratic freedoms, an alliance between the working class and the peasantry is the working class and the peasantry's front.

## USSR Friendship Societies' Congresses

The Fifth Congress of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society was held in the Stalin Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw on October 8 and 9. It was attended by representatives of the C.C. of the Polish United Workers' Party, the State Council, the Sejm and the Government, by numerous visitors from Poland and other countries and by a delegation from the USSR.

The report on the Society's work since the Fourth Congress was made by Comrade Stefan Ignar, Vice-Chairman of the Central Board of the Society, who stressed that the idea of Polish-Soviet friendship had become dear to all honest people, to all patriots who wished their homeland happiness and wanted to see it prosper and develop. In 1952 the Society had some 4.5 million members, whereas it now has more than 7.5 million.

After making a thorough analysis of the achievements and shortcomings in the work of the Society, Comrade Ignar dwelt in conclusion on the main tasks of the Society.

Polish-Soviet Friendship Month, which recently ended, was reviewed by the Congress. The Congress adopted new Rules and elected a new Central Board.

On October 8-9 the Rumanian-Soviet Friendship Society (ARLUS) held its Fourth Congress in Bucharest. It was attended by 450 delegates from all parts of the country, by leaders of the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Government of the Rumanian People's Republic, by Rumanian guests and a Soviet delegation. Delegates from the Austrian, Belgian, Finnish, Czechoslovak, Polish, Bulgarian and Hungarian societies for friendship with the USSR were also present.

A report on the activities of ARLUS was made by Academician I. Murgulescu, Vice-Chairman of its General Council. The congress noted the good work carried out by ARLUS in spreading knowledge of the great achievements of the Soviet Union, of its advanced experience in all spheres of the national economy and of the immense achievements of Soviet culture. Through its activity ARLUS helps to strengthen friendship between the Rumanian people and the great Soviet people.

Since 1950 the Society's membership has increased by more than two million, bringing the total up to over six million.

National Conference  
in Sofia on Industrial

## EMULATION IN THE SOVIET UNION IN HONOUR OF TWENTIETH CONGRESS OF CPSU

A socialist emulation campaign to greet the forthcoming Twentieth Congress of the CPSU in a fitting manner is gaining momentum in the Soviet Union.

Those taking part in it are focusing their attention on raising labour productivity, on technical improvements and on designing and mastering new machines, as well as on lowering production costs. The production of hundreds of new machines, machine-tools, mechanisms, units and instruments has been mastered at engineering factories in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov, Sverdlovsk, Kuibyshev, Gorky, Novosibirsk and other industrial centres. Many leading workers are already on production assignments for 1957. The metal workers of Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk and Zaporozhye are stepping up their rate of production. Magnitogorsk's blast furnace workers are increasing their output of metal. Since the beginning of the year they have effected a saving of nearly nine million roubles over and above that called for by the plan.

Hydro-electric power station builders completed the construction of the first section of the Narva station and the first unit of the Kakhovka station ahead of schedule.

The first three turbines of the second section of the Kama Hydro-electric Power Station are already generating current. Installation of the first turbines of the Kuibyshev Hydro-electric Power Station is proceeding successfully. Construction of the Kniazhegub Power Plant—one of the largest on the Kola Peninsula—is nearing completion.

Trial runs of the Leningrad metro trains have already been held.

Oil workers have substantial achievements to their credit. Employees of the "Lenin-neft" oilfields in Azerbaijan have produced thousands of tons of oil above plan, while those of the "Bavlyneft" oilfields were the first in the oil industry of Tataria to fulfil the Five-Year Plan for oil output.

Every day gratifying reports pour in from the Republics, territories and regions announcing the completion, ahead of schedule, of plans for the delivery of grain and other agricultural produce.

By their devoted efforts Soviet workers, collective farmers and intellectuals are demonstrating their unshakable unity with the Party and their indomitable will to achieve fresh advances in the last year of the fifth Five-Year Plan period.

## Protest Movement Against Colonial Repression in North Africa

A popular movement is spreading in France against the policy of colonial repression in North Africa and against provisions for a recall of young men recently demobilised and the retention in the army of soldiers due to be discharged.

In the department of Hérault, elected officials, leaders and rank-and-file members of the Communist and Socialist Parties have jointly appealed to the workers and peasants and all patriots in the department to take united action for the immediate cessation of military operations in North Africa and for settlement of the Algerian and Moroccan questions in accordance with the legitimate wishes of the peoples of these countries and the interests of France.

Numerous petitions are being circulated throughout the country demanding that all those recalled to the colours shortly after demobilisation and soldiers retained in the army be sent back to their families. In response to an appeal issued by the area committee of mothers and wives of newly recalled men and retained soldiers, a meeting of the mothers, wives and fiancées of mobilised soldiers domiciled in the Paris area was held in the IXth District of the city.

strations is "Enough of Bloodshed in North Africa!". Young men and women are energetically collecting signatures. In Argenteuil (Seine-et-Oise) they have collected 1,544.

A delegation of 400 employees of the Paris metro and autobus services, who live in Fontenay-sous-Bois, went to Fort Nogent, where recalled troops are stationed, and presented to the Commander of the fort a resolution signed by working people of the most diverse views. A big demonstration was held in front of the fort in which hundreds of citizens took part, including about one hundred soldiers soon to be sent to Morocco. The demonstrators signed a letter and then dispatched it to the President of the Council of Ministers demanding the return of the soldiers to their homeland and the cessation of repression in North Africa. Supported by thousands of Rouen working people, 600 soldiers in the Richepanse barracks in Rouen refused to go to North Africa and held off security forces that attacked the barracks with tear gas bombs for several hours.

On October 9, Algerian working people held big demonstrations throughout France. In Paris, Douai, Lille, Saint-Etienne, Thion-

## Meeting of C.C., Communist Party of Finland

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland held a meeting in Helsinki on October 8-9, at which Comrade Ville Pessi, General Secretary of the Party, made a report.

Speaking of the recent Soviet-Finnish negotiations, Comrade Pessi stressed the fact that the overwhelming majority of the Finnish people welcomed with joy the agreements reached in the course of those negotiations.

The relinquishment of Porkkala-Udd by the Soviet Union testifies to the further strengthening of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Finland, he went on.

Referring to the steps taken by Finland with a view to joining the Northern Council, Comrade Pessi reminded those present that the Communist Party opposed Finland's accession to that body, in the belief that it was being used to make Finland and Sweden, together with Norway, Denmark and Iceland, serve the military aims of the Atlantic pact.

Comrade Pessi stated that one could not adopt an attitude toward the Northern Council without taking into account the international situation as a whole and in particular the situation of the Scandinavian countries. He noted in this connection that international tension had lessened and that the contradictions in NATO had grown sharper, while in Denmark and Norway there was a movement afoot for a breakaway from the Atlantic pact. Should the circumstances which prompted us to object to Finland's affiliation to the Northern Council change, said Comrade Pessi, this will understandably call for a revision of our position.

In conclusion, Comrade Pessi outlined the tasks arising from the preparations for presidential elections.

The meeting adopted a resolution warmly welcoming the agreements reached by Finland and the Soviet Union prolonging their Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance, and restoring Porkkala-Udd to Finland.

## Statement by the Political Committee of the British Communist Party

On October 8, the Political Committee of the E.C. of the British Communist Party issued a statement on disarmament which reads in part:

"The British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Mac-



# INTERNATIONAL DÉTENTE AND POPULAR PRESSURE

In deciding to put off the visit Messieurs Edgar Faure and Pinay were to have made to Moscow on October 14, the French Government has taken a serious responsibility upon itself.

This decision, adopted a short time before the Foreign Ministers' conference, which is due to take place in Geneva at the end of this month, reminds the working class and the whole French people of the need to fight to secure and consolidate the international détente.

In attempting to justify this action, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Minister of Foreign Affairs seized upon the occasion of the vote in the UN General Assembly on the Algerian question.

This step is a diversionary act on the part of the Government, which is obstinately pursuing in Algeria a policy of war and repression doomed in advance to failure. It is not by calling up young men—young men who are demanding to be sent back home—or by spending 24,000 million francs a month on waging war against the Algerians that the Algerian question can be settled.

It is only by negotiating with the qualified representatives of the Algerian people, whose aspirations can no longer be ignored, that it is possible to find a solution to the Algerian question that would accord at one and the same time with the interests of the main mass of Algerians and with the genuine interests of France.

Because of its war policy in Algeria and Morocco, where the ultra-colonialist saboteurs of negotiation have succeeded in developing their manoeuvres and in creating a situation tantamount to a veritable state of war, the Government is conscious of its shaky position in the international arena, particularly in connection with its July proposals at Geneva for a reduction in armaments.

The Geneva Conference of heads of government was hailed by all peoples as a great victory for the cause of relaxing international tension, as a turning point in relations between states, as an expression of the tendency to settle questions by negotiation and not by force.

The French Government, preferring force, apparently believes, like Georges Bidault, that the "Geneva breeze has become cooler...", that the Geneva spirit is no longer in season. On the other hand, the working class and the entire people of France definitely want our country's foreign policy to be animated by this spirit.

The meeting of Foreign Ministers will have to concretise the directives of the heads of government on the following questions: reduction of all armaments and armed forces; European security; settlement of the German problem and the reunification of Germany; development of East-West contacts.

As concerns Germany, the Soviet Union, in deciding to establish diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic, took a

\*  
**Jacques Duclos**  
Secretary, French Communist Party

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step towards alleviating tension, whereas the three Western powers, declaring that they do not want to recognise the GDR, are sticking to their former positions and acting as if the Eastern part of Germany did not exist.

In fact, this is just the way they act in relation to the Chinese People's Republic with its 600 million-strong population.

Everyone knows that the implementation of the London and Paris agreements, which bring a remilitarised Western Germany into membership of NATO, constitutes an obstacle to the peaceable and democratic reunification of Germany.

Nevertheless it should be possible to establish a system of collective security in Europe which would embrace the two parts of Germany. For France this would to some extent offset the disastrous decision to put the London and Paris agreements into effect.

When one sees how enraged the forces of war and international tension are, one is better able to understand the need for arousing French public opinion in order to exert sufficient pressure to prevent our rulers from jeopardising the relaxation of international tension under the pretext of demanding the immediate unification of Germany and its inclusion in the Atlantic pact.

There is a problem on which agreement can and must be reached and that is the problem of disarmament.

After the Geneva Conference in July the Soviet Union gave evidence of its good will on this question. It decided to reduce its armed forces by 640,000 men. Following its example the People's Democracies also decided to reduce their armed forces.

The Soviet Union took the decision to return the Porkkala-Udd military base to Finland, and this is of particular interest to us, the French, since there are numerous U.S. bases on our territory.

The Soviet delegate to the Uno Disarmament Subcommittee has made proposals that correspond to the wishes and aspirations of the masses.

The Western powers formerly reproached the Soviet Union for proposing only a percentage reduction of armed forces, which, they said, would not alter the correlation of forces. What must be said, and reiterated, is that the Soviet Union has proposed to fix the numerical strength of the armed forces for the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and the Chinese People's Republic at a level ranging from a million to a million and a half men, of Britain and France at 650,000 and of other countries at 150,000-200,000 men.

The Soviet Union has proposed that there should be a prohibition of all types of atomic

weapons after implementation of the disarmament convention to the extent of 75% and that they be entirely abolished after the disarmament measures have been fully carried out.

The Soviet Union has also proposed that until atomic weapons are banned, the Great Powers should consider their use prohibited, except in cases of defence against aggression, recognised as such by the Security Council.

It also proposed that until these measures were carried out the Great Powers should agree to cease tests of atomic and thermonuclear weapons.

All these proposals are in accord with the wishes of our compatriots and all peoples of the world.

If Edgar Faure and Pinay had gone to Moscow they could have had a useful exchange of views with the Soviet leaders on these and many other problems, and this would have contributed in no small degree to the preparations for the Geneva meeting.

Reactionary elements and the cold war advocates acclaim the acts of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Minister of Foreign Affairs; working people and all democrats must therefore be vigilant.

The Socialist Party cannot but see that the manoeuvres of Messieurs Faure and Pinay are insolent diversionary acts; it is forced to admit that results can be achieved on the disarmament question at the Geneva conference.

It is therefore the duty of Communist working people to put proposals for joint action to the Socialist working people with the object of bringing popular pressure to bear on the Government to ensure that the Geneva conference results in a triumph for the cause of a détente.

The National Peace Council has decided to hold tens of thousands of popular meetings, giving all men and women desirous of maintaining and consolidating the détente an opportunity to speak up and unite for joint action.

The Communists have a duty to take part, side by side with other patriots of all shades of opinion, in this vast popular action.

As concerns Communist Party branches, they will certainly make it their job in this sphere of our Party activity to hold one or more small public meetings at which all viewpoints can be voiced and decisions taken as regards action necessary for mobilising public opinion. If all the necessary efforts are made, peace committees can be set up at these meetings which will add new forces to the peace movement.

Victory for the cause of easing international tension depends, above all, on the actions of the popular masses. It is our duty as Communists to be in the front ranks of the organisers of this victory.

(L'Humanité, October 6, 1955)

# In Communist and Workers' Parties

## RESULTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY

The Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Uruguay, held recently in Montevideo, demonstrated the firm unity of its ranks. The Congress unanimously adopted a resolution on the report of the National Committee and elected a new National Committee of 29, which was instructed to draw up a new Party programme and Rules and submit them for the consideration of the forthcoming special Congress of the Party.

The Congress also elected an Executive Committee of 11, with three alternate members, and a Secretariat of five. Comrade Rodney Arismendi has been elected First Secretary and Comrades Rosario Pietrairoia, Enrique Pastorino, Alberto Suárez and José Luis Massera, Secretaries. Ways and means of raising the political and ideological level of the Party and its cadres were outlined.

The Congress called for further development of the struggle for peace, and the strengthening of the unity of the working class and of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, as the basis for establishing a democratic front of national liberation from the yoke of imperialism and the big landowners.

## MEETING OF C.C., COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium held a meeting in Brussels to discuss the question of the Communist press, in particular the newspapers *Drapeau Rouge* and *De Rode Vaan*. At the conclusion of the meeting it adopted a resolution which reads in part:

"While reminding members of the Communist Party that the position of working-class newspapers, which are obliged to compete with publications lavishly financed by the banks, still remains difficult, the Central Committee believes that the political situation offers favourable conditions for an offensive on the press front.

"The Central Committee urges all members of the Communist Party to take part in regular fund-raising activity for the Communist press. Doing everything possible to encourage the initiative of Party organisations in this matter, the C.C. has decided to issue a stamp bearing the likeness of Joseph Jacquemotte, founder of the Belgian Communist Party and its press, as a means of raising funds for the Communist press.

"The Central Committee urges members of the sections and branches of the Party to carry out regular canvasses of fresh streets and blocks of flats, and organise activities every month for extending the sales of the Sunday issues of *Drapeau Rouge* and *De Rode Vaan*...

"In this way preparations will be made for the Communist Press Month which the Central Committee plans for June 1956."

## DE WAARHEID MONTH IN HOLLAND

A *De Waarheid* Month is at present

## PARTY WORK IN ITALIAN ENTERPRISES

A provincial conference of plant and factory Party branches was recently held in Ancona (Italy) to consider the new conditions that had developed in the enterprises as a result of the employers' intensified attacks on the democratic freedoms of the working people, and to decide on concrete action to be taken by our organisations to halt this onslaught. Present at the conference were 120 delegates from 36 plants and factories, 22 Party and trade union leaders, and many visitors. The conference helped us to get a better understanding of the situation in the enterprises of Ancona Province, of the particular types of action taken by the employer at this factory or that, and of the sentiments and political views of the working people. It helped us to analyse the effectiveness of our political activity and the state of organisation in the factory Party branches.

During the conference preparations 77 branches held meetings, at which members of the Secretariat and full-time workers of the Federation were present. There were also meetings of executive committees and activists of sections.

To enable a deeper study to be made of the state of political, trade union and organisational work and to answer the numerous questions raised by Communist workers, several Party branch meetings were held at the biggest enterprises.

The conference gave particular attention to the discussion of various political measures aimed at reinforcing industrial Party organisations so as to enable them, in the new conditions prevailing in the enterprises, to implement the Party's political line, put an end to the arbitrary actions of the employers and, by going over to a resolute counter-attack, force them to respect the human dignity, democratic rights and the liberties of the working people.

Two negative features in Party work at enterprises were disclosed at the branch meetings and during the conference: the first political, the second organisational. Both these features spring from the same root, namely, poor political orientation of those in the leadership of Party organisations at enterprises. A clear political orientation makes it possible to realise more fully the significance of the role of a Party branch in carrying through the political line of the Party. Once the actions of the employers, their intentions and purposes are known, and a correct plan has been drawn up to bring about a change in the situation in our favour and in the interests of the working people, everything then depends on the Party organisation whose efforts can bring the Party's political line home to all workers in plants and workshops and transform them into a conscious and effective force.

Another shortcoming is that every one of our branches is inclined to confine its discussions almost exclusively to economic and trade union problems: production, workers' shifts, rates of pay for piece-work,

canteens, wage increases and so on. These questions must undoubtedly be dealt with, as this enables Communists on the works committees, in the trade unions and Party organisations to support the struggle for these demands by wide propaganda work. But we must say that as yet inadequate attention is given to the main political questions, to political activities of general and particular significance, to carrying out propaganda and winning over the workers to our ideals. As was justly noted at the conference, Party branches still do not do enough to explain to the masses of the workers the link between immediate economic actions and the general working-class political struggle. This results in Party organisations confining their work to problems of the day, and at times losing sight of the general perspective. And when a struggle for immediate demands ends unsuccessfully, then the working people find it difficult to understand what they have been fighting for. Thus they begin to lose confidence in their strength, to hesitate and surrender to the arbitrary actions of their employers.

It is clear that when a narrow economic orientation of this kind predominates, then the importance and role of Party branches are also not understood; no counter-measures are taken against the employers' (meetings of Party members, written and oral propaganda and conferences on ideological subjects, publication of factory newspapers, all of which are of great help in orientating and uniting the working people and exposing the positions, the discriminatory policy and other actions of the employers, etc.). This has an effect on the entire organisational structure of Party branches at enterprises.

The winning of greater freedoms at the enterprises, respect for the rights of the works committees and trade union and political organisations can only result from powerful and organised political activities by the working class. The winning of greater freedoms and the removal of barriers—unlawfully raised by the employers—to the normal functioning of democratic bodies of the working people at enterprises will provide better conditions for making a start on the solution of all economic, trade union, political and organisational problems.

We can already say that the work done immediately before the conference and during and after it has yielded some good results. The foundation has been laid for improving the work of all factory branches. Organisational difficulties have to a great degree been overcome and the best methods found for holding successful branch meetings, for eliminating schematic methods of work and long-standing habits and tendencies to give in to the increased difficulties that have arisen as a result of the new policy pursued by the employers.

Vero CANDELARESI  
Head of Mass Work Department  
of the Federation of the  
Italian Communist Party in Ancona

## Communist Party Conferences in Australia

At the annual State Conference of Victoria and the Sydney (New South Wales) District Conference of the Communist Party of Australia, held recently the

struggle for its vital interests was stressed time and time again.

At the Victorian State Conference Comrade L. L. Sharkey, General Secretary of

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He said: "We must see that the touchstone of who is a good Communist organ-

in season. On the other hand, the working class and the entire people of France definitely want our country's foreign policy to be animated by this spirit.

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At the annual State Conference of Victoria and the Sydney (New South Wales) District Conference of the Communist Party of Australia, held recently, the main subjects discussed were the fight for peace, how to marshal the forces of the people to fight against the pro-war policy of the Menzies-Fadden Government, and Party building. Speakers stressed that the Budget, with its increased allocations for war, was in direct contrast to the spirit of the Geneva Conference of the Great Powers.

At both conferences the need for unity, for a powerful united working class in the

struggle for its vital interests was stressed time and time again.

At the Victorian State Conference Comrade L. L. Sharkey, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia, in his statement on the mass work of the Party, criticised the tendency to hold too many inner-Party meetings and stated that the number of Party members was not growing and that there was no increase in sales of the Party press or in finance. He then called for a big effort by all Communists to turn the face of the Party outwards, with a great increase in the volume and effective-

ness of oral propaganda work—factory meetings, cottage lectures, and so on.

He said: "We must see that the touchstone of who is a good Communist organiser becomes—How many members has he recruited?—How many factory branches has he built?"

The present objective situation, Comrade Sharkey said, offers everything for a tremendous jump ahead in the numbers and influence of the Communist Party.

At the Sydney conference a resolution called for the development of a public campaign to force the Menzies-Fadden Government to revoke its decision on sending troops to Malaya.

## Implementation of Principles of Lenin's Co-operative Plan in Poland

The Polish United Workers' Party is at present discussing the documents of the fourth meeting of its Central Committee on ways and means of achieving further advances in agricultural production and ensuring further success in the socialist reorganisation of agriculture. One of the major problems is that of applying the principles of Lenin's co-operative plan to the concrete conditions obtaining in People's Poland at the present stage of its development.

The discussion touches both on the development of producer co-operation (on the basis of the four types existing in Poland) and on the development of co-operation in trade, as well as on other simple forms of co-operatives. To the latter, as was noted at the meeting, we have not been giving adequate attention. What are the reasons for the underestimation of so important a matter and for the resultant shortcomings?

Between 1946 and 1948 our Party carried on a difficult but successful struggle for imparting a socialist character to trading co-operatives. We waged this struggle against the reformist bloc of the right-wing socialist leaders of the old system of consumer co-operatives and against the kulak leaders of the old agricultural co-operatives, the supporters of Mikolajczyk. The question was whether co-operation in our people's state was to become an instrument of a planned socialist economy and a link between the working class and the working peasantry, or to be the mainstay of the private capitalist elements that were being ousted from trade and industry.

From this struggle we emerged victorious. Our co-operatives have grown into a powerful system which, together with state trade, now accounts for 100% of the wholesale and 94% of the retail trade (including trade in the markets). In trade between town and country they are the chief, the most prevalent form. In some cases, however, as was brought out at the fourth meeting of the C.C., the struggle that had to be waged against survivals of old, bourgeois forms of co-operation took the shape

of the incorrect practice of fettering peasant initiative, the collective peasant initiative from below. Some of the co-operative organisations were needlessly replaced by state economic organisations; others showed signs of gradually developing into state institutions.

There were many reasons for this, the chief objective factor being the rapid growth of the country's needs in the course of its industrialisation and the increasing concomitant difficulties arising from the existence of a petty-commodity agriculture of low productive capacity. This called for a more flexible administrative apparatus, a difficult thing to expect of a mass peasant organisation. Because of this the men in charge of the distribution of goods and credits and of the purchase (by contract) of industrial crops and cattle for slaughter began to grow impatient of the various forms of administration in the peasant organisations, organisations which are always slow to move at first but, to make up for it, possess valuable educational and economic qualities.

These difficulties would not have hampered the broader development of the simple forms of co-operation had not distrust in the initiative of the working peasant masses and in our own ability to guide the co-operative movement and counteract the attempts of the kulaks to gain an influence over it made itself apparent in many instances. This placed upon the state the added and entirely superfluous burden of supervising many economic matters of purely local scope and detracted from the educational role of the co-operatives. One of the most typical manifestations of this tendency was for instance the dissolution of most of the peasant co-operative enterprises producing building materials from

local raw materials as independent bodies, and their subordination to state industry. Another manifestation was the abolition, in a number of districts, of the new forms of peasant co-operation that had only come into existence since the establishment of People's Poland—such as the associations for joint improvement and use of meadows and for joint cultivation of those parts of the former big landed estates that had remained undivided among the peasants or of land abandoned by the kulaks—when these associations did not, immediately upon their formation, transform themselves into producer co-operatives.

The weakening of the initiative and economic activity of the peasant masses in regard to simple forms of co-operation had an adverse effect upon the development of higher forms of co-operation as well, upon the development of producer co-operatives. Most of the producer co-operatives in our country suffer from a shortage of experienced personnel—chairmen, bookkeepers, team leaders, storemen, etc. Administration is not yet functioning smoothly in some of the producer co-operatives, with the result that, having such an example before them, peasants in the neighbouring villages cannot always feel certain that they will be able to exercise their full rights as equal masters in a co-operative if they join one. The co-operatives would stand a much better chance of development if they were staffed by experienced organisers—by peasants from the same village, who already had the training and experience to be gained from the simpler forms of co-operation. Self-government would stand a much better chance of development in the producer co-operatives if each village had its own experience of co-operation in joint associations and of administering the affairs of one or another simple form of co-operative association.

Neglect of the simple forms of co-operation has also had an adverse effect upon the training of the Party activists responsible for organising producer co-operatives. Many comrades look upon Lenin's co-operative plan as something to be studied, but do not always strive to apply it to

part in regular fund-raising activity to the Communist press. Doing everything possible to encourage the initiative of Party organisations in this matter, the C.C. has decided to issue a stamp bearing the likeness of Joseph Jacquemotte, founder of the Belgian Communist Party and its press, as a means of raising funds for the Communist press.

"The Central Committee urges members of the sections and branches of the Party to carry out regular canvasses of fresh streets and blocks of flats, and organise activities every month for extending the sales of the Sunday issues of *Drapeau Rouge* and *De Rode Vaan*...

"In this way preparations will be made for the Communist Press Month which the Central Committee plans for June 1956."

### DE WAARHEID MONTH IN HOLLAND

A *De Waarheid* Month is at present in progress in Holland. It will close on November 7, the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The Communist Party of Holland has appealed to all members of the Party and subscribers to the paper to take an active part in carrying through the month's programme. In the appeal, the Party expresses its confidence that in existing circumstances many new subscribers can be gained for Communist and all other democratic publications.

the specific conditions obtaining in Poland. This attitude found expression, in particular, in attempts to set up producer co-operatives without preparing the ground for them beforehand, ignoring preliminary forms of collective economic activity or sometimes even setting them up in direct violation of the voluntary principle. It also found expression in the tendency on the part of some functionaries and Party committees to give orders to the producer co-operatives, in their inability to direct them properly or to make proper use of the Party organisation within the producer co-operative.

Besides these consequences of the underestimation of simple forms of co-operation, there is also the danger of others. One of these would be to launch a struggle for increased agricultural production without a simultaneous intensification of the struggle for the socialist reorganisation of agriculture.

The Second Congress of the PUWP (March, 1954) stressed the necessity of combining these two tasks. At our present stage of development, when by far the greater part of the working peasantry are still individual farmers, the effort to increase agricultural production should at the same time be an effort to increase the productivity of the small individual farms. How many of them will directly join collective, co-operative farms in the course of this drive? If this were all there was to the idea of unity of struggle for higher agricultural production and for Socialism in the countryside, the prospect would be dim, for most of the peasants do not join producer co-operatives at once, while the assistance and economic incentives provided by the state do not in themselves signify a step towards Socialism in the countryside. They come to signify a step towards a socialist countryside only when combined with various forms of co-operation, specifically those in which, as Lenin put it, "really large masses of the population really take part". The clarity introduced into the matter by the fourth meeting of the C.C. of the PUWP was therefore of immense significance to the Party. For hundreds of thousands of activists it answered the question of how to combine the two tasks put forward by the

Second PUWP Congress, not only in regard to advanced groups of the working peasantry, but also in regard to the majority of the peasants, who are slower to recognise the necessity of adopting co-operative methods of farming, but whom we want to raise to a higher economic level and simultaneously lead towards Socialism.

root, namely, those in the leadership of Party organisations at enterprises. A clear political orientation makes it possible to realise more fully the significance of the role of a Party branch in carrying through the actions of the line of the Party. Once the actions of employers, their intentions and purposes are known, and a correct plan has been drawn up to bring about a change in the situation in our favour and in the interests of the working people, everything then depends on the Party organisation whose efforts can bring the Party's political line home to all workers in plants and workshops and transform them into a conscious and effective force.

Another shortcoming is that every one of our branches is inclined to confine its discussions almost exclusively to economic and trade union problems: production, workers' shifts, rates of pay for piece-work,

### EXCHANGE OF CARDS IN AUSTRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

A decision has been taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria to exchange Party cards. The new cards will be issued for a period of 6 years. The card exchange will enable Party functionaries and others concerned to visit each Communist and have a detailed talk with him on the political situation; this campaign will help to provide an exact record of the composition of the Party and

union, political... immediately before the conference during and after it has yielded some results. The foundation has been laid for improving the work of all factory branches. Organisational difficulties have to a degree been overcome and the best methods found for holding successful meetings, for eliminating schematic habits and work and long-standing habits and tendencies to give in to the increased difficulties that have arisen as a result of the policy pursued by the employers.

Vero CANDELARIES  
Head of Mass Work Department  
of the Federation of  
Italian Communist Party in Ancona

to strengthen Party organisations further.

Since the signing of the State Treaty number of workers have joined the Communist Party in Austria. The prestige of Communists among many Socialists and non-party people, especially in the factories has grown. A favourable atmosphere has thus been created for discussion and recruiting leading workers and intellectuals to the Party.

goszcz area, a key agricultural one of our country. Characteristic of this area before the war was a relatively high concentration of the agricultural proletariat, one pole and capitalist landed estates and kulak farms at the other. With expropriation of the landlords we made a big leap forward in the process of bringing about a preponderance of middle peasants in the countryside. The masses of the agricultural proletariat, transformed into "new middle peasants", took to co-operative farming quite easily, so that in this district 90% of the peasants of this group are members of co-operatives. At the same time there is a large section of "old middle peasants" in this area, who have long been running their farms on a well developed commodity economy basis and who, thanks to the economic policy of the Polish Government, are strengthening and expanding their commodity production. This attention has not yet been drawn into producer co-operatives to any great extent and the question of its transition to co-operative farming is now of paramount importance for the development of the Polish countryside.

What difficulties have to be overcome to guide this section onto this new path? Some people are inclined to consider the strongly developed commodity tendencies of these farms as the main difficulty, which, at first glance, would correspond to Stalin's formula on "the commodity-capitalist tendencies of the peasantry". This, however, would be a one-sided and consequently erroneous interpretation, an incorrect understanding of the words of Stalin, who, referring to the middle peasant farms under the dictatorship of the proletariat, described them as "farms at the crossroads", which can develop in the direction of either capitalism or Socialism. A vital condition for the middle farms to be developed in the direction of Socialism is the broad extension of the links between town and country, the middle peasant's ties with the planned economy of socialist industry, and the inclusion of the peasant farm in the general stream of socialist development through a mass co-operative movement of the peasantry. And it is a fact that the "old middle peasant" of the Poznan-Bydgoszcz area, while boasting the most highly developed commodity economy of all the middle farms in Poland, has the strongest trading ties with the people's state, his voluntary, sale, by contract, of his entire

Incidentally, it is not only in the most backward areas that the gap between the vanguard and the rest of the working peasantry is too great. Especially noteworthy in this respect is the Poznan-Byd-

FROM COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PRESS

## Falangist Cold War Supporters

Mundo Obrero — Organ of the C.C., Communist Party of Spain

Recent world developments, characterised by a certain degree of relaxation of international tension, a relaxation made possible by the unvarying peace policy of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp, have evoked a keen response in Spain. One of the latest issues of *Mundo Obrero*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, contains an article by Comrade Fernando Claudin, member of the Political Bureau of the C.C., entitled "Spain and Geneva".

The article opens with the remark that in appraising the results of the Geneva Conference of the heads of government of the Four Powers, one is struck by the difference in the reactions of the Falangist organ *Arriba* and nearly all the rest of Spain's legal press, despite the reactionary nature of the latter and its dependence upon the censor's office. Whereas *Arriba* regrets the prospects of "moral and material disarmament" and the reduced possibility of an "imminent conflict", other Spanish newspapers, such as the *Heraldo de Aragón*, find that the Geneva Conference "eased international tension to such a degree as to dispel some of the constant fear of war".

Comrade Claudin shows that the Falangists' hostility to the "spirit of Geneva" springs from the fact that the policy of the Franco regime is based on its taking part in preparations for another world war. The proof of this, he stresses, is "the pact with the U.S.A., the construction of U.S. military bases on Spanish territory, subordination of the national economy to the needs of rearmament and the conversion of our native land into an atomic testing ground".

The author cites convincing examples of the pernicious effects of the Franco cold war policy upon the country's economy and culture. Spanish fabrics, fruit and ores are badly in need of foreign markets. On the

other hand, the national economy requires imported machinery and raw materials. If such an exchange were effected with the socialist countries, it would be mutually advantageous and not burdensome, as is often the case with the country's foreign trade at present. "Why", asks the article, "must Spain lag behind the U.S.A., Britain, France, Germany and Italy in commerce with the East? Why should not

Spanish science and engineering be enriched by a free interchange of ideas and experiences with

other, more highly developed countries?" Comrade Claudin justly observes that the existence of a dictatorial fascist regime permeated by anti-communist mysticism prevents Spaniards from freely shaping their own destinies, assuming command over their country's wealth and co-operating with other peoples on a basis of equality and mutual advantage. However, there are forces in Spain that are interested in democratic changes and these "are at present much more powerful than the clique in power". Agreement between these forces would mean the end of Francoism and the beginning of a new era in the history of Spain.

The chief difficulty in the way of such agreement, Comrade Claudin points out, is that the leaders of a certain section of the anti-Franco forces are to a great degree infected by the cold war spirit which suffered so strong a blow at Geneva. Agreement between Communists, Socialists, members of the General Confederation of Labour, Republicans, liberal Conservatives of all shades, as well as anti-Franco monarchists, is the easiest and quickest way towards bringing about in Spain the urgent changes the situation demands.

There can be no doubt, concludes Claudin, that the best contribution Spaniards can make to the struggle for world peace is to destroy the Franco hotbed of war and obscurantism.

## First General Elections in Indonesia

Statement by D. N. Aidit

On September 29, for the first time in the history of Indonesia, general elections were held in 172 constituencies of the country. Reactionary forces tried might and main to prevent these elections from being held. In 36 constituencies they have not yet taken place because of the actions of Darul Islam bands and of travelling difficulties. In these constituencies elections are planned to be held before November 29.

According to figures so far available, about 80% of the electorate took part in the voting.

A statement on the preliminary results of the elections by Comrade Aidit, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Indonesia, was published in *Djakarta* on October 11.

He stressed the fact that despite all the efforts of the reactionary forces and the "democratic" powers, "the democratic forces

and the Socialist Party, it advocates national unity and independence, and protests against colonialism.

Aidit emphasized the importance of the success of the Communist Party, which, according to preliminary data, received 6,075,000 votes. The elections, he said, showed that the Communist Party is one of the strongest forces in the country. Its success is a victory for the spirit of unity and indicates that it has strong links with the masses. These links are particularly strong in Java and Sumatra.

The Western powers, and especially the SEATO member-countries, observed Aidit, are disturbed by the victory of the democratic forces, for they had hoped to draw Indonesia into SEATO. Now, as a result of the elections, he pointed out, there is every possibility of setting up a genuinely national coalition government headed by the Nationalist Party and the Nahdlatul Ulama. The Communist



The co-operative movement is steadily expanding in the Chinese countryside. Since the summer more than 100,000 new producer co-operatives have been set up in five provinces of East and South China alone. Above: Peasants in Szechwan Province joining a producer co-operative.

## New Slovakia Flourishing

Bourgeois-landlord Slovakia was a backward, agrarian country. During the ten years of people's rule since the war, 288 big industrial enterprises have been built or reconstructed in Slovakia and industrial production has increased nearly five times. Heavy industry has been developing rapidly. In 1955 the level of heavy industrial development was nearly eight times higher than before the war.

Side by side with increasing production there is a steady growth in consumption. Between 1937 and 1954 the consumption of meat increased by 80%, fats 101.3%, cheese 203%, wheat flour 51%, sugar 94.2%.

The cultural level of the people is also rising rapidly. Whereas under capitalism there were only 196 cinemas in Slovakia, in 1954 there were 944. Before the war Slovakia had 232 primary and secondary schools with 71,000 pupils and only one higher educational establishment with 2,784 students. By 1954 there were already 927 eight-grade secondary schools attended by 306,000 pupils and 12 higher educational establishments catering for 13,300 students.

The public health service is steadily improving. In comparison with the prewar period the number of hospital beds has increased by 134%.

## Women of People's Albania

The victory of the people's democratic system in Albania has brought full equality in work, in society and in family life to its women and has opened up before them wide new horizons of active participation in building a new life. Under the anti-people's governments there were only 700 women industrial and office workers, whereas now there are about 30,000.

Women are taking an active part in running the state. Sixteen were elected as deputies to the People's Assembly and about 2,200 are deputies to local people's councils.

## Educational Work Among Hungarian Youth

Ervin Hollós

Secretary, C.C., Union of Working Youth of Hungary

The message of greetings sent by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party to the Second Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Hungary, held in mid-June, stated:

"At the present stage of socialist construction, the part played by the Union of Working Youth in the Communist education of young people has become even more important. May it instill in Hungarian youth an even greater, more fervent love for their homeland! May it strengthen their devotion to and love for our liberator—the great Soviet Union! May it educate our young people in the spirit of indissoluble friendship with the people's building Socialism, in the spirit of respect for all peoples! May it rally them for consistent struggle for peace!"

Guided by the Party's instructions, the Union of Working Youth considers Communist education of young people to be its principal task, as it is precisely in this way that the Union can best help to carry out the Party's policy, to step up youth's efforts for peace and the building of Socialism. The very rich experience of the Leninist Young Communist League is of invaluable assistance to us in carrying out this task.

The Second Congress of the UYW noted the good results obtained by the Union in its educational work. The Union's members took an active part in constructing new plants and factories, and played an outstanding role in building our big new towns of Komló, Sztalinváros and Kazincbarcika. The overwhelming majority of working youth is taking an active part in socialist emulation. The Union's educational work has resulted in the emergence of new young Heroes of Labour in the course of constructive labour, heroes whose names are known all over the country. Among them is that of István Molnár, a coal-hewer from Komló, the initiator of the 100-metre cut movement; Rozália Gerencsér, the best tractor-driver; László Dobrotka, a young engineer, the initiator of the movement for improving quality of output at textile mills.

Taking part in emulation at present are 500 youth brigades in the mines and more than 1,500 at plants and factories fulfilling export orders. The Maresyev team at the Klement Gottwald Works has effected a saving of five million forints by rationalising production. Emulation between youth brigades is making good headway in agriculture. The youth brigades taking part in emulation for laying in silage have siloed fifteen times more fodder than the 1938 figure for the country as a whole.

The UYW does important educational work in the institutes and universities, in the secondary and 7-grade schools, and it has played no small part in the moulding of a new intelligentsia from the worker-peasant youth.

It is due to the efforts of the UYW that tens of thousands of young people of both sexes are annually studying the foundations of Marxism-Leninism. In the past year alone 65,000 studied at the Petöfi youth schools, and 55,000 young men and women in the Party education network. Last year especially, the Union made considerable progress in the cultural and physical training of young people. Some 10,000 teams took part in the amateur art performances held in honour of the Second Congress of the UYW and the World Festival of Youth and Students in Warsaw. All this has substantially enhanced the

not infrequently, in those of the C.C. of the UYW too. Some of our organisations are still trying to run things by simply giving orders, instead of conducting all-round educational work of a high ideological standard.

It is all the more important to eliminate these deficiencies because survivals of capitalism still persist in the minds of quite a considerable number of our young people who are still influenced by bourgeois ideology. There are former manufacturers, landowners, kulaks and reactionary clericals living among us who try to corrupt the youth. There are sections of young people who tend to be undisciplined at work, disrespectful towards their parents and who do not conduct themselves as they ought towards women; there are elements of hooliganism in the behaviour of some young people.

All this calls for an improvement in our educational work amongst young people, and in this the resolution "On improving work among youth", adopted by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party on May 27, has been of great assistance to the Union. The resolution points out that the education of young people is a matter for society as a whole, and the responsibility for this rests with all state and public bodies.

It is the great Soviet Union, our liberator, that the Hungarian people and youth have to thank for their freedom and the opportunities for building Socialism. And that is why one of the tasks of the UYW is to explain to young people the liberating role of the Soviet Union, and to consolidate the friendly, fraternal relations between Hungarian and Soviet youth. We must also make the young people constantly aware that the strength and invincibility of our people spring from the fact that our homeland is a free country building Socialism, that it has powerful friends such as the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, all the People's Democracies.

Unquenchable love for the Soviet Union, its glorious Communist Party and the fraternal countries of the peace camp lives in the heart of our youth, and we must constantly develop and strengthen this love among the rising generation.

In the past two years, hostile forces took advantage of the right-wing deviation, became active and tried to spread the poison of nationalism and chapinism among the youth. Here and there, particularly in the universities, they achieved a certain measure of success. To overcome these harmful manifestations and deal a blow at nationalist and chauvinist views, which are so very dangerous, is one of the most important tasks of the UYW's educational work.

The basis of Communist education of young people is to foster among them a conscious attitude towards labour. Socialist labour develops splendid qualities: staunchness, courage, the desire to overcome difficulties. Labour is the sphere in which youth, in contact with the entire people who are building Socialism, realises, above all, its responsibility to society. That is why in educational work we focus our main attention on seeing to it that youth

This year, as in subsequent ones, we want to reinforce producer co-operatives with new young cadres, to develop them and bring about a general advance in the productivity of agriculture. New forms of labour, through which the working peasant youth can be drawn into socialist emulation, will be given our particular attention.

The building of Socialism calls for unremitting efforts and revolutionary fervour. Youth itself changes in the course of revolutionary transformations; it acquires new characteristics, becomes a socialist youth. It is precisely for this reason that the education of young people must primarily be conducted along these basic lines. In the past two years, however, under the influence of right-wing petty-bourgeois views, there were instances of an incorrect attitude to labour among some sections of young people. This likewise found reflection in the work of individual youth organisations. Among them were organisations that considered that educational work among young people should be conducted in virtual isolation from the urgent tasks of socialist construction. Under the leadership of the Party these dangerous and harmful opportunist views have been eradicated.

In all our work we consistently carry out the Leninist teaching to the effect that it is the job of young people to study and build a new society. The UYW must, to a greater extent than ever before, see to it that all our working youth, no matter where they live or work, look upon study as one of their principal tasks. We have not yet done everything necessary to enable all our young people to systematically and industriously enhance their political, vocational and general knowledge, and thus to take a more active part in carrying out the great and noble mission of building a new society. Study must become an integral part of the struggle to implement the Party's policy. Young people's study must prompt and move them to ever new activities.

Communist education of young people is, of course, not merely a matter of instilling in them a conscious attitude towards labour. The lives, wishes and aspirations of young people have many facets, and all forms and methods of Communist education must be used. Together with the various public organisations, the UYW must see to it that the activities of youth organisations cater for all the wholesome interests of young people. It is a paramount duty of the UYW organisations to encourage and direct these interests. In many cases the activities of our organisations are still marked by sectarianism, narrowness of interests and preoccupation solely with their own affairs. There are still some of our branches that ignore and fail to co-ordinate the far-reaching interests of young people in planning their work. These elements of sectarianism must also be eliminated. The Youth Union must conduct all-round educational work. Its organisations must instil in youth sentiments of friendship and comradeship, selfless love, mutual assistance, and respect for their parents.

The UYW must give close attention to the cultural and physical training of youth; much more concern should be given to the fact that sports and all cultural measures train young people in the spirit of internationalism, so that the Party's policy is consistently carried out in these spheres also.

The Second Congress of the UYW focuses its attention on the question of the

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A statement on the preliminary results of the elections by Comrade Aidit, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Indonesia, was published in Djakarta on October 11.

He stressed the fact that despite all the efforts of the reactionary forces and the colonial powers, "the democratic forces have won a striking victory". The Moslem Masjumi Party and the Socialist Party, he said, suffered a defeat which also signified "the defeat of foreign capital".

The Nationalist Party came out on top because it consistently fights against colonialism and because it played an important part in carrying through the Afro-Asian Conference. The Nahdatul Ulama Moslem Party succeeded because, unlike the Masjumi

and the Socialist Party, it advocates national unity and independence, and protests against colonialism.

Aidit emphasized the importance of the success of the Communist Party, which, according to preliminary data, received 6,075,000 votes. The elections, he said, showed that the Communist Party is one of the strongest forces in the country. Its success is a victory for the spirit of unity and indicates that it has strong links with the masses. These links are particularly strong in Java and Sumatra.

The Western powers, and especially the SEATO member-countries, observed Aidit, are disturbed by the victory of the democratic forces, for they had hoped to draw Indonesia into SEATO. Now, as a result of the elections, he pointed out, there is every possibility of setting up a genuinely national coalition government headed by the Nationalist Party and the Nahdatul Ulama Moslem Party. The Communist Party, the Masjumi, the PSII United Moslem Party, the Christian Parkindo Party and other national groups should also be represented in the government.

Such a government, said Aidit, would unite all national forces and begin to work for the complete independence of the country and the greater well-being of the people.

higher educational establishments with 2,784 students. By 1954 there were already 927 eight-grade secondary schools attended by 306,000 pupils and 12 higher educational establishments catering for 13,300 students.

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## Women of People's Albania

The victory of the people's-democratic system in Albania has brought full equality in work, in society and in family life to its women and has opened up before them wide new horizons of active participation in building a new life. Under the anti-people's governments there were only 700 women industrial and office workers, whereas now there are about 30,000.

Women are taking an active part in running the state. Sixteen were elected as deputies to the People's Assembly and about 2,200 are deputies to local people's councils.

In the past, Albanian women were denied any opportunity of studying. Only a few could read and write. In the postwar years 175,000 women have overcome their illiteracy.

Special care is given to mothers. Over 90 maternity homes and maternity departments and hundreds of creches and kindergartens have been opened to cater for their needs.

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It must be admitted, however, that there are still many mistakes and shortcomings in the Union's educational work, the most grave of which is that the highly important task of the Communist education of young people takes a back place in the activities of many committees and branches, and

encourages and helps small peasant farms. Patient and unceasing work is required among the small-commodity producers who, as Lenin wrote:

"...cannot be driven out or crushed; we must live in harmony with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated, but this can be done only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organisational work."

Guided by Lenin's co-operative plan, we have been directing our efforts to ensuring that the material incentives and production help we offer to the peasant masses are at the same time instrumental in bringing them—quickly or slowly, but nevertheless surely—to collective farming.

We are also seeking with increasing perseverance for ways of offering material help directed at strengthening the economy of co-operatives which are already functioning or are being set up. The main thing in this is to find ways of making the producer co-operatives more profitable. The main difficulty here is in attaining a correct correlation between collective farming and personal subsidiary husbandry. A particularly difficult problem to solve is that of developing animal husbandry in view of the fact that there are common fodder stocks for the two "sides". In a number of producer co-operatives we find the situation when the collective farm fulfils all obligatory deliveries while all the advantages—or most of them—accruing from the sale or disposal under contracting arrangements of surplus products fall to the share of personal husbandry. This sort of thing does not, of course, help to increase a co-operative's income and, consequently, its prestige among the local peasants.

It should be noted, however, that commonly-owned livestock in our co-operatives for the most part increases much more rapidly than that of the personal husbandry of the co-operative members. There is, consequently, no reason to restrict the rights which the Rules reserve to personal husbandry. On the other hand, we have every reason to insist on the observance of the Rules as regards the scale of personal hus-

bandry and increasing economic incentives and production help to collective farms.

This is of immense importance for carrying out the two slogans advanced at the fourth meeting of the C.C. of the PUWP as being the most important on this front for the immediate period. What then are these important slogans?

In the first place, the fight for an all-round strengthening of the existing co-operatives, which is inseparable from the effort to win as many poor and middle peasants as possible over to the co-operatives in villages where these have been set up.

In the second place, the struggle—in which the voluntary principle must be strictly adhered to—for the establishment of new and vigorous producer co-operatives that are capable of developing.

The first of these slogans signifies a struggle for a speedy end to the present situation in which producer co-operatives embrace only one-third of the working peasants in their villages and for winning over to the co-operatives as many peasants and as much land as would allow full use to be made of the modern achievements of technique and agricultural science, and of the state's production help; these co-operatives would then subsequently be converted into model, highly productive socialist farms providing big incomes for their members and therefore presenting an indisputable example for the millions of working peasants. The carrying out of these tasks should raise the militant activity of Party functionaries and the co-operative membership, put an end to the essentially opportunist tendencies to set up new, pygmy co-operatives, to ignore the difficulties in winning over to Socialism the less politically conscious peasants living next door to existing co-operatives and to avoid the difficulties of combating the hostile intrigues of the kulaks to isolate the producer co-operatives from the individual peasants. This matter is linked up closely with the struggle for complete observance of the co-operative Rules, for order, proper organisation and healthy, efficient self-management in each co-operative.

The second slogan means, above all, struggle for the so-called "old village" where, so far, not many peasants have

joined the co-operatives. This question is a particularly urgent one in the Poznan-Bydgoszcz area where masses of "old farmers" have before them the live example of numerous co-operatives set up by former agricultural labourers who have, in many instances, succeeded in raising their co-operative farms to an adequate level, and, frequently, even to a very high level. We must give bolder support to the lower-level types of producer co-operative envisaged by the Rules, types which are more suitable for the so-called "old village" but are still underrated by many Party activists.

Thus the programme for implementing the principles of Lenin's co-operative plan in our country is an integral whole, including both the lowest and the highest links of this plan. Dependent upon the degree of development of the village in individual regions one or the other part of the tasks outlined at the fourth meeting comes to the fore. But at the present stage of development there can be no region in which only one or the other section of the plan should be carried out.

It was correctly emphasized at the fourth meeting that the rapid development of producer co-operatives in this region or that does not by any means release local Party organisations from the task of carrying on patient work among peasants who still wish to continue as individual farmers, or from giving them the utmost help in raising the productivity of their farms. It was also correctly stressed that in areas where small peasant farms will continue to predominate for a long time to come, constant and indefatigable efforts are required to develop producer co-operatives.

There cannot be two policies of alliance between the workers and peasants in one historical stage. There is one policy only, that of strengthening the alliance with the masses of working peasants and of leading the peasantry—as its political consciousness develops—to Socialism along the path charted in Lenin's co-operative plan.

agricultural and livestock produce to the state playing a tremendous part in these relations

If to all this we add the relatively high technical level of the peasant farms in this district, their keen interest in the latest achievements of agricultural science and the general need for mechanisation (in connection with the constant flow of labour power from the countryside into industry), we would clearly see that we have all the objective economic conditions for the development of the simple forms of co-operation. Thanks to these forms the gap between the small individual peasant and the co-operative member in this district should be quickly narrowed, and at the same time a section of the "old middle peasants" should go over to the path of forming producer co-operatives more quickly than hitherto.

These differences between the "new middle peasant" and the "old middle peasant" in a district where these two large groups exist side by side, are also to be observed in other areas, with one group or the other predominating. It is precisely this which is the main objective reason for the differences to be observed in the greater or lesser difficulties experienced in the socialist reorganisation of the countryside in the different areas. Another objective factor contributing to these differences is the degree to which commodity farming is developed among the working peasants in the various districts.

In posing as the immediate task the programme for a more comprehensive implementation of the principles of Lenin's co-operative plan, the Party could not but include the tasks of stepping up the work for the highest form of co-operation—producer co-operatives. To carry out the plan in a one-sided way, in one of its parts only, would be to deny its essence—to lead and bring the peasant masses to Socialism—and would not correspond to the constantly growing strength and prestige of people's power among the masses, to the interests of consolidating the worker-peasant alliance or to the immense progress made on the front of socialist industrialisation. We must not forget that although the ra-

tional utilisation of reserves makes it possible to reduce the disproportion between the development of production of socialist industry and the expansion of the production of small individual peasant households, the disproportions themselves are an inevitable factor in the transition period and they might, in one way or another, be turned to account by capitalist elements. In these conditions, if we were to announce and conduct propaganda for a comprehensive programme for the development of the simple forms of co-operation without, at the same time, stepping up the struggle to develop the producer co-operative, this would be a retrograde step and would create a platform for the elements who would like to turn our People's Poland back, or at least to retard the advance of its people to Socialism. Some years ago the advocates of such views inside the Party were the supporters of the right-wing nationalist trend headed by Gomulka.

It is clear that we must wage the struggle for this highest link of Lenin's co-operative plan in full earnest, and not lose sight of the need to raise the living standards of the masses at the same time. We should not forget about the difficulties of the economic reorganisation period in each new producer co-operative, in each new district where large numbers of new agricultural producer co-operatives have been set up. Nor must we be forgetful of the undermining activities of the kulaks, which only increase the peasant's hesitations. We must take account of these difficulties and the hesitations of our ally, the working peasants, in our struggle, which is chiefly aimed at carrying out two tasks: the increasing of agricultural output and the socialist transformation of agriculture.

The first conclusion to be drawn from this thesis is the need to increase our efforts for a speedy expansion of co-operative production, in order to enhance its role in satisfying the requirements of the people and to prove to the workers and peasants that the aim for which we are working is absolutely correct. It is inevitable that in the initial stages difficulties will crop up in every village and region

where co-operatives have been set up. But it is indisputable, too, that with every passing year producer co-operatives in those regions with the greatest number of co-operatives are becoming steadily stronger. The clearest evidence of this is to be seen in the Wroclaw Province. In this province, and in other lands that have been restored to us, agricultural production in general, and that of animal husbandry in particular, was in great difficulties after the war. In spite of the severe devastation these lands suffered during the war, the Wroclaw Province had already reached the country's general level of stock-breeding development a year ago, while during the past year it has outstripped all others in rate of increase in the cattle herd. In order to appreciate the full significance of this, we must bear in mind that not only is this region among the first in the country as regards the number of co-operated peasant households, but it has one of the highest percentages of 3-5 year-old producer co-operatives, co-operatives which have had time to grow stronger and to draw in a considerable number—often even the majority—of peasants in villages with co-operatives.

As regards other provinces, the highest rate of development of animal husbandry was last year obtained in the Poznan Province, which also has some older-established co-operatives and a comparatively high percentage of households in co-operatives but, as we have already stated, there are still many peasant households engaged in individual farming.

Thus, by strengthening the existing co-operatives and encouraging their development, we can avoid ill-effects and difficulties arising in the first stage of existence of newly-established producer co-operatives. We can also, as the example of the Poznan Province shows, effectively encourage the small-commodity farms, in spite of their hesitation, to increase output.

There are therefore no grounds for asserting that the level of agricultural output must necessarily fall while agriculture is being reorganised. And there are no reasons for complaining because the state

encourages and helps small peasant farms. Patient and unceasing work is required among the small-commodity producers who, as Lenin wrote:

"...cannot be driven out or crushed; we must live in harmony with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated, but this can be done only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organisational work."

Guided by Lenin's co-operative plan, we have been directing our efforts to ensuring that the material incentives and production help we offer to the peasant masses are at the same time instrumental in bringing them—quickly or slowly, but nevertheless surely—to collective farming.

We are also seeking with increasing perseverance for ways of offering material help directed at strengthening the economy of co-operatives which are already functioning or are being set up. The main thing in this is to find ways of making the producer co-operatives more profitable. The main difficulty here is in attaining a correct correlation between collective farming and personal subsidiary husbandry. A particularly difficult problem to solve is that of developing animal husbandry in view of the fact that there are common fodder stocks for the two "sides". In a number of producer co-operatives we find the situation when the collective farm fulfils all obligatory deliveries while all the advantages—or most of them—accruing from the sale or disposal under contracting arrangements of surplus products fall to the share of personal husbandry. This sort of thing does not, of course, help to increase a co-operative's income and, consequently, its prestige among the local peasants.

It should be noted, however, that commonly-owned livestock in our co-operatives for the most part increases much more rapidly than that of the personal husbandry of the co-operative members. There is, consequently, no reason to restrict the rights which the Rules reserve to personal husbandry. On the other hand, we have every reason to insist on the observance of the Rules as regards the scale of personal hus-

## Light Comes to the Rumanian Countryside

"Knowledge is light, ignorance—darkness", says an old proverb. The people of Rumania lived in a state of cultural backwardness for many centuries. People who could read and write were a rarity in the old days. For the most part such people were in the employ of the rich and became divorced from the people. Only a very few of them fought against want side by side with the dispossessed and the downtrodden. The memory of those few is deeply revered by our people.

Official statistics are sometimes revealing. A glance at the figures for the interval between the two world wars convinces you that Rumania must have had the greatest number of illiterate people in all Europe. The authors of the Miorita, the wonderful ballad about the shepherds; the skilled stonemasons and wood-carvers; the old masters who built the wonderful Curtea de Arges Monastery and the Three Hierarchs Cathedral; the nimble-fingered needlewomen who worked on Rumanian embroidery famed for its harmonious designs—they were all illiterate. Artistic traditions and experience of life were handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation—a thing that could only be done by a people capable of emerging victorious from the harshest trials.

I developed a passion for reading when I was still a child. There was not a book in the village that did not attract my attention. But how few of them there were in all. Were I a boy now, I would be borrowing any book I liked from the library of a house of culture. But in my childhood this pleasure was denied me. Then I could not even find the tales of Creangă to read. Before liberation there were only 5,000 libraries in the country; today there are 39,251. Of the 46 million volumes on their shelves, eight million are to be found in the 12,974 rural libraries. In all these libraries one can easily find the works of any author—Shakespeare, Tolstoy, Hugo, Eminescu. And how many wonderful books by Soviet and our own modern writers there are! No wonder our writers receive letters from the remotest parts of the country.

Cultural revolutions are not easily made. Much, however, has already been accomplished. Illiteracy is now practically non-existent in Rumania. Here are a few facts chosen at random from notes I have jotted down in the course of my travels about the country.

One Sunday I went to the village of Stoicănești, Drăgănești-Olt District, Bucharest Region, to give a talk on literature and writers. By nine o'clock in the morning there were some 500 people gathered in the house of culture there.

"What a big crowd!" I exclaimed to the chairman of the people's council.

"That's the way it is with us", he laughed. "Folk come to the house of culture as to a wedding."

Ten years ago there were more than 300 people in Stoicănești who could neither read nor write. Today, as a result of intense, persistent work, illiteracy has been eradicated. A big educational influence is the local cinema which was brought into being by the efforts of the people's council and the house of culture.

Once a young boy in Văculești village, Dorohoi District, asked me to explain the value of reading books. The peasants gathered in the house of culture drew around us and listened to my explanation with the keenest interest. At the end they said they would like to meet Sadoveanu and Mihai Beniuc and to know more about the life of Eminescu and Sahia. It felt good to see these people, who were illiterate in the past, now straining towards the light of knowledge as growing plants strain towards the sun.

Dumitru Mircea

Rumanian State Prize Winning Author

council deputies and agronomists—some of them Communists, some not.

How striking are the changes which have taken place in the Rumanian countryside under people's power may be seen from the example of Răcăciuni village in the Bacău District, not far from Siret. In what deep darkness over three thousand people of this village used to live! At one time Răcăciuni was a county centre—a centre!—with a judge, a county court and many public houses. There were two or three landlords there who lived in a state of luxury that was beyond the imagination of the downtrodden peasants who toiled and moiled for the benefit of their exploiters. Even in 1945, 810 of them were still illiterate or could just about manage to sign their names. The situation in other remote villages can easily be imagined.

But a new world suddenly sprang into being and under its impact this age-old darkness began to be dispelled. Those who were illiterate sat down to learn to read and write. From day to day, from year to year the number of illiterates steadily dwindled. Now in Răcăciuni the last 14 are working hard to catch up with the others. "Next year", says one of the teachers, "we will be able to put up at the entrance to the village the inscription: '100% literacy here.'"

The abolition of illiteracy unveiled the secrets contained in books to hundreds of people. The library of the local house of culture has 7,450 volumes on its shelves and there are more than 700 regular borrowers. Among them are Gheorghe Bența, member of a collective farm; Ilie Ghinița, member of an association for joint land cultivation; Constantin Neacșu, one of the foremost growers of sugar beet and maize. At present men and women, young and old, and even little children are all eager readers. Vasile Negru, 18-year-old member of a collective farm, is an avid reader of modern novels. Registered on his card are *The Virgin Soil Upturned* by M. Sholokhov, *Towards a New Shore* by V. Lacis and *Bărăgan* by V. E. Galan.

Children are particularly fond of reading. Dorina Florea, daughter of a railway storeman, a girl of about ten, already has a long list of books down on her card.

Amateur art activities are very popular in Răcăciuni. There is a choir of sixty with over a hundred songs in its repertoire, a dramatic group, dance group and many soloists—vocalists as well as musicians. Take old Nicolae Bălteanu, one of the collective farm members. He is known throughout the country as a consummate performer on the pipe and the shepherd's horn and is sometimes heard over the radio. The young folk of the village are particularly keen on amateur art activities. They sing, take part in the dramatic or dance groups, or take up sport. Some of them have become so devoted to one form of art or another that they are taking it up seriously. One example is Rozalia Clos, who started out as a member of the choir. At the time it never occurred to this dark-eyed girl with the long, long lashes that the little black marks on music paper would come to play so big a part in her life. But today Rozalia is attending a secondary music school. Playing the flute is her passion.

As in every field of endeavour, none of this was achieved easily, at one go. It involved a stubborn struggle with the old and moribund. Here is an example. When it was decided to organise the choir, so few people wanted to join it that they could not begin rehearsing. Seeing this, members of the Rumanian Workers' Party, the local schoolteachers and deputies took it upon

together they then drew twenty other girls into the choir. Today Maria Sava is one of the best singers in the Răcăciuni choir. And the choir itself is famous, having repeatedly won first place not only in district and regional reviews but also in national reviews of amateur art groups.

Nowadays young folk come to the house of culture themselves, asking to be admitted to one or another of the various art groups.

Back in those early days, however, even the people who were to make up the audience felt dubious about the choir. "Why, these youngsters aren't artistes", they grumbled, "only what's his name's son and the girls from the lower part of the village..." But with time their mistrust faded away; the choir won universal recognition and it became habitual for the peasants to call in at the house of culture for an evening's entertainment.

Besides amateur art performances, the house of culture offers the villagers lectures and radio broadcasts, as well as film shows four times a week.

"We don't have to go to town for any of this", says Gheorghe Bucur, an elderly peasant. "We see the best films right here. I'm trying to get together a dance group of middle-aged people. If we can collect a few expert leaf-players we'll be all set to compete with the young folk."

In Răcăciuni particular importance is attached to the lectures arranged in the house of culture. There is a special group of lecturers, each specialising in some aspect of social, political or natural science or in engineering. Lectures are held regularly every Sunday. They are prepared well ahead of time and are illustrated with the aid of posters, charts or films. A few of the many subjects dealt with are the origin of man, the cultivation of maize and sugar beet, how to deal with agricultural pests, and health problems. Sometimes people ask to be told about various countries and then the lecturer turns to the globe and takes the audience on a trip around the world, as it were. One should see the expression on the faces of these people at such times, people with whom ten years ago nobody spoke of anything but quinine. Each lecture draws an audience of from 180 to 300—a very impressive figure for a village.

Can one wonder, after all this, that yields per hectare of some of the crops grown in Răcăciuni have nearly doubled, that a collective farm of 200 families and a large farming association have been organised here, that 100% of the children are going to school? All these things were brought about not only by the abolition of illiteracy and large-scale cultural, educational and mass political work, but also by the organisation of agrotechnical talks every Thursday which subsequently developed into weekly agrotechnical conferences, each directed by a schoolteacher or deputy.

"Now we want to go still further", schoolteacher Vasile Manciu, who heads the lecturers' group, told me. "We want to take up more difficult questions, particularly in agriculture, zootechnics and hygiene. People are thirsting for knowledge and we cannot leave a single question of theirs unanswered."

People are thirsting for knowledge and not a single question can be left unanswered—there you have the reason for the extensive cultural and educational work now going on in the Rumanian countryside. We must answer every question people put, help them to understand life, natural phenomena, mankind's past and future—that is our duty.

The campaign for cultural development is progressing all along the line in our country. Old Rumania had certain "national sores" which were vehemently criticised by

## PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST PARTY APPEAL

At its recent sixth enlarged meeting the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party adopted an appeal to the people of Portugal entitled "For a Broad National Anti-Salazar Front". In this appeal it states that the repressive machinery of the dictatorial regime violently suppresses even the slightest actions of a peaceful and progressive character. Despite the détente spirit born of the Geneva Conference, the Salazar clique is resorting to arms and opposing negotiations with India for a peaceful settlement of the Goa problem. The big U.S. and British monopolists, the appeal stresses, are seizing the national wealth of Portugal for themselves.

It points out that the interests of the people and the country require that the division of the democratic forces be ended at once and that the forces of all Portuguese patriots be mobilised for the struggle for bread, peace, democracy and national independence. Proof of the people's growing will for unity are the strikes and actions of the textile workers for the satisfaction of their demands, the strikes and demonstrations of the peasants of Alemtejo and Ribatejo, the strike of 17,000 fishermen, the actions of the peasant vine growers, the solidarity campaigns in support of persecuted democratic leaders and the successful actions taken by soldiers against their comrades being sent to India.

On behalf of the working class and the working masses, the appeal states, the Portuguese Communist Party urges all Portuguese anti-Salazarists and friends of peace, all democratic parties and organisations to build up a broad national anti-Salazar front which would establish a democratic system in the country.

## Police Intimidation in South Africa

In the biggest action of its kind in the country's history, Stridjom's police recently swooped on hundreds of homes and offices throughout South Africa searching for "evidence of treason".

In Capetown, where the homes and offices of more than a hundred people of all races were raided, detectives searched the house of well-known progressive Mr. Sam Kahn. Documents were removed by police from the offices of the Community of the Resurrection, an Anglican order which has its headquarters near Johannesburg. The head of the organisation, Father Trevor Huddleston, is an opponent of the Government's policy of racial segregation and oppression.

Mr. Patrick Duncan, son of a former British Governor-General of South Africa, was visited by detectives, and papers relating to the Capricorn Africa Society, an organisation which stands for common citizenship in Africa without regard for racial differences, were seized.

Among the organisations whose offices were searched were the Congress of Trade Unions, the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress.

## Superexploitation in West German Enterprises

The West German newspaper *Münchener Merkur* recently published an article

## POLITICAL NOTES

# Behind the Facade of "Atlantic Unity"

New York Times correspondent Sulzberger considers that the North Atlantic military bloc, so carefully got together by the Western powers, is showing disturbing signs of cracking. This is the dismal conclusion he reaches in a recent article.

What has made this U.S. bourgeois journalist come to such a conclusion? Geneva seems to be the cause of the trouble.

In his opinion a détente might have a negative influence on the implementation of NATO military measures. Already, he says, two of its member-states, Turkey and Greece, have begun to bicker, while Cyprus, which is cast for such an important role in NATO's strategic plans, has become a regular hornets' nest.

The unity of the states that belong to the North Atlantic bloc, he remarks bitterly, is weakening under the warm breeze of Geneva.

Similar views on the outlook for the "Atlantic policy" appear from time to time in the columns of certain other organs of the press which seek to strike a sober note in evaluating the real state of affairs. The French weekly *La tribune des Nations* writes, for instance,

that the "community of strategic and political interests of the Atlantic nations no longer exists". In the view of this weekly, U.S. diplomats were only able to establish NATO because at that time (1948—J. M.) they found in power in Europe statesmen who were convinced that the "Soviet menace" was real. "The disappearance of this conviction", it continues, "involves the collapse of the whole Atlantic edifice." In future, forecasts *La tribune des Nations*, agreement between the NATO member-states will become increasingly difficult.

Thus the numerous cracks in North Atlantic "co-operation" are becoming more and more evident. The leaders of the North Atlantic bloc are placed in a difficult position by the reduction of international tension. A legion of U.S. "counsellors" have to resort to many and diverse methods of putting some pep into the "spirit of unity and co-operation" and of making their intractable "allies" see reason; in some cases they even have to exercise direct pressure. Just now in particular, they have to "influence" those "partners" of theirs who, under the pressure of democratic opinion are displaying an inclination to adopt a realistic policy—that of reducing the burden of military expenditure.

One cannot fail to see too that, in demanding "more vigorous efforts for close co-operation within the framework of West European Union", the fervent partisans of military blocs are making barefaced attempts to revise the positive appraisal of the Gen-

eva Conference results. Certain organs of the U.S. press, for instance, have lately been clamouring loudly for "fresh impetus" to be given to strengthening the Western powers' bloc. These calls are as a rule spiced with a fair dose of anti-Soviet calumny and a demand that the Western countries take a "more flexible" attitude and "show more initiative". In other words they demand a return to the "cold war" and the bankrupt "positions of strength" policy.

It is not, however, merely a question of the irresponsible outpourings of well-paid press hacks. The most rabid supporters of the "positions of strength" policy, holding highly responsible posts, consider it permissible even to engage in sabre-rattling. Speaking in Oslo recently, for instance, Norstad, Deputy Supreme Commander-in-Chief for NATO air forces, used all his rhetoric, in the best cold war spirit, to lavish praise on the NATO military machine. He said, for instance, that the armed forces of this bloc had five times as many planes as in 1950, and that it now had at its disposal 160 air bases. As for

General Gruenther, the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the NATO forces in Europe, he is himself these days taking every opportunity to boost the "shock force" of the Western countries' military bloc. Nor is it possible to gloss over the fact that the Paris meeting of NATO member-states' Defence Ministers a few days ago (to which, by the way, neither Turkey nor Greece sent their Ministers), discussed the question, as United Press reported, of the latest plans to reorganise NATO forces in conformity with the requirements of atomic warfare. General Whiteley, head of the standing group for the NATO military committee, and Admiral Wright, Supreme Commander of the Atlantic naval forces, granted a lot of moonshine—quite in the "cold war" spirit—about the imaginary "Soviet menace".

"Propaganda" of this kind to strengthen North Atlantic "friendship", and the open crusade against the "Geneva spirit" naturally arouses the legitimate anxiety and indignation of the democratic public in all European countries. The peoples of Europe have no wish to be the blind tool of the kind, the peoples of Europe want governments to pursue a firm and independent foreign policy, a policy of peace and business-like co-operation between countries, a policy of all-European collective security and not an anti-national policy in the interests of aggressive military blocs.



chairman of the people's council.  
 "That's the way it is with us", he laughed. "Folk come to the house of culture as to a wedding."

Ten years ago there were more than 300 people in Stoicănești who could neither read nor write. Today, as a result of intense, persistent work, illiteracy has been eradicated. A big educational influence is the local cinema which was brought into being by the efforts of the people's council and the house of culture.

Once a young boy in Văculești village, Dorohoi District, asked me to explain the value of reading books. The peasants gathered in the house of culture drew around us and listened to my explanation with the keenest interest. At the end they said they would like to meet Sadoveanu and Mihai Beniuc and to know more about the life of Eminescu and Sahia. It felt good to see these people, who were illiterate in the past, now straining towards the light of knowledge as growing plants strain towards the sun.

Many factors contribute to this great cultural progress, among them the intensive activity of the houses of culture which are to be found in almost every village, even in the tiniest of them, tucked away in goodness only knows what remote corner. We now have more than 10,000 houses of culture in our country. Working in them are our energetic schoolteachers for whom we cherish the deepest gratitude, people's

the pipe and the shepherd's horn and is sometimes heard over the radio. The young folk of the village are particularly keen on amateur art activities. They sing, take part in the dramatic or dance groups, or take up sport. Some of them have become so devoted to one form of art or another that they are taking it up seriously. One example is Rozalia Clos, who started out as a member of the choir. At the time it never occurred to this dark-eyed girl with the long, long lashes that the little black marks on music paper would come to play so big a part in her life. But today Rozalia is attending a secondary music school. Playing the flute is her passion.

As in every field of endeavour, none of this was achieved easily, at one go. It involved a stubborn struggle with the old and moribund. Here is an example. When it was decided to organise the choir, so few people wanted to join it that they could not begin rehearsing. Seeing this, members of the Rumanian Workers' Party, the local schoolteachers and deputies took it upon themselves to recruit members for the choir. The then chairman of the village council, Mihai Farcaș, decided that he would himself discuss the matter with the girls of the village. One of the girls he approached was Maria Sava.

"But you know yourself it's not the sort of thing for a girl to do", she objected. "It's not proper!"

But Farcaș would not take "no" for an answer. He persuaded Maria to join and

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People are thirsting for knowledge and not a single question can be left unanswered—there you have the reason for the extensive cultural and educational work now going on in the Rumanian countryside. We must answer every question people put, help them to understand life, natural phenomena, mankind's past and future—that is our duty.

The campaign for cultural development is progressing all along the line in our country. Old Rumania had certain "national sores" which were vehemently criticised by our progressive people. These were lack of culture, a very high rate of child mortality, pellagra and unemployment. Today the child mortality rate has dropped substantially and pellagra has disappeared, as has unemployment.

I am certain that, given another ten years of peace, no trace will remain of the old backward Rumania. More than that—Rumania will come to full flower as a land of culture, prosperity and peace, as a land of Socialism.

Trevor Huddleston, is an opponent of the Government's policy of racial segregation and oppression.

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Among the organisations whose offices were searched were the Congress of Trade Unions, the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress.

### Superexploitation in West German Enterprises

The West German newspaper *Münchener Merkur* recently published an article entitled "Apprentices with a 68-hour Working Week", presenting numerous facts testifying to the increasing exploitation of women and juveniles in West German factories. The manager of a shoe factory, for instance, made 15 young girls work up to 70 hours a week; the owner of a cigar factory forced his young employees to work up to 73 hours. A garment manufacturer made some of the women in his employ run special machines for 24 and more hours at a stretch and the other women work for 71 hours a week.

have to resort to many and diverse methods of putting some pep into the "spirit of unity and co-operation" and of making their intractable "allies" see reason; in some cases they even have to exercise direct pressure. Just now in particular, they have to "influence" those "partners" of theirs who, under the pressure of democratic opinion are displaying an inclination to adopt a realistic policy—that of reducing the burden of military expenditure.

One cannot fail to see too that, in demanding "more vigorous efforts for close co-operation within the framework of West European Union", the fervent partisans of military blocs are making barefaced attempts to revise the positive appraisal of the Gen-

bourgeois "Propaganda" of this kind, and the open North Atlantic "friendship", and the open crusade against the legitimate anxiety and indignation of the democratic public in all European countries. The peoples of Europe have no wish to be the blind tool of the NATO bosses. Like all peace-loving mankind, the peoples of Europe want governments to pursue a firm and independent foreign policy, a policy of peace and business-like co-operation between countries, a policy of all-European collective security and not an anti-national policy in the interests of aggressive military blocs.

Jan MAREK

### Facts Expose...

#### No Schools for 700,000 Children

In Thailand more than 700,000 children who have completed their primary schooling during the last three years have no possibility of continuing their studies in secondary schools, where the number of pupils is falling year by year. Only a fortunate few out of the many thousands of pupils who pass the exams succeed in going on to secondary

schools and even these have great difficulty in doing so. "We lack sufficient schools and the means to build them", Deputy Minister of Education Vudhakart recently declared.

The real reason for the lack of funds for schools in Thailand is that 70% of the state budget is spent on the militarisation of the country.

## The People of the Saar Fight for their National and Democratic Rights

Since July 23, this year, the fight around the plebiscite on the so-called Saar Statute, which is part and parcel of the Paris agreements, has been growing ever sharper. Not that it first began on that day. In fact it began long before, almost immediately after the second world war.

In pursuance of this policy of dividing Germany and Europe—the "positions of strength" and cold war policy—the United States and Britain sanctioned the political separation of the Saar from Germany, for which, helped by a handful of separatists, the French ruling circles were working, and agreed to its inclusion in the French economic, customs and monetary system. They sought by this move to win French consent to the restoration and rearmament of German militarism in Western Germany.

The Communist Party was the only one of the parties then permitted in the Saar that, guided by the Potsdam Agreement and the statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany of June 11, 1945, opposed the division of the Saar from Germany and the separatist constitution. Since then, despite terror and repression, despite the ban on meetings and the Communist press, the Communist Party has been steadfastly and undauntedly fighting for the national and social interests of the German population of the Saar.

The establishment of working-class unity of action in the German Democratic Republic, the formation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the heroic struggle which the Communist Party has carried on in Western Germany against the division of Germany have all been of great assistance to the Communists and the people of the Saar. At the same time the stand taken by the French Communist Party has

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also greatly helped the working people of the Saar in their national and democratic struggle. Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, has repeatedly advocated a peaceful and democratic settlement of the German problem, including that of the Saar. You cannot make Frenchmen of the Germans living in the Saar, he declared.

Thus, since 1945, the struggle of the German population of the Saar for their national and social rights and demands, led by the Communist Party, has been waged under the banner of proletarian internationalism.

Despite the terrorist measures taken by the separatist government, this struggle strengthened the position of the Communists in the communal elections of 1949 and in the second Landtag elections of 1952, in which the Communist Party won four seats. As a token of protest against the separatist system 140,000 voters invalidated their ballot papers.

In the Saar, as in the German Federal Republic, the arms drive policy goes hand in hand with intensified exploitation of the workers, rising prices, increasing taxation and lower communal budgets. Simultaneously, ever sharper attacks are being made on the national and democratic rights of the people.

In the mining industry, for instance—the leading industry in the Saar—the daily output of coal per miner was stepped up from

1,356 kg. in 1949 to 1,842 this May. In the same period the total number of workers was reduced from 63,183 to 58,103. Moreover, official data indicates that of the total sum invested, 44,000 million francs were obtained by "increasing production and output per shift", that is, at the expense of the miners.

At the same time, in the iron and steel industry the monthly output of raw steel and of rolled metal rose from 363,000 tons in 1949 to 757,000 in the first six months of 1955, that is, by 394,000 tons, and this despite the fact that the number of operating blast furnaces decreased from 30 to 26.

An example of how profits are multiplying is offered by the Dillingen Iron and Steel Works. Since 1947 its big shareholders have increased their capital several times over. Moreover, between 1947 and 1955 concealed profits amounted to 4,300 million francs.

Comparison between the enormous profits pocketed by the big shareholders and the wages received by the workers reveals a characteristic picture. A metal worker of wages group "F" was paid 69.19 francs per hour in 1948, and 138 francs per hour in July 1955. His nominal wage therefore rose by about 99.4%. In the same period the capital of the big Dillingen shareholders increased by 422.9%. However, although the nominal wages of the workers rose, their real wages, far from rising, actually fell, owing to rising prices, taxes and increased exploitation.

The extent to which real wages have dropped, despite the increase in nominal wages, may be seen from the fact that between 1948 and 1955 the price of milk rose 127.2%, butter 134.2% and men's shoes 156.7%.

Taxation per head of the population went up from 37,887 francs in 1950 to 81,991

in 1953. In 1954 a special law granting tax concessions to the big industrialists in effect made them a gift of several billion francs.

The attack upon the democratic rights of the people finds expression in the ban on the trade union covering workers in the mining industry, in the promulgation of a law on the position of the workers in the factories—a worse version of a similar law in the Federal Republic—which bans free democratic elections of factory trade union councils, in the promulgation of a law on parties and associations (until the beginning of the fight around the present plebiscite this law prohibited the formation of any democratic party and forced many national and democratic mass movements, such as the National Front, underground), in the continued postponement of the communal elections which should have been held two years ago and in the prohibition, since 1950, of Communist Party meetings.

Despite all this, however, under the leadership of the Communist Party and thanks to growing unity of action among all workers, there is developing an active struggle for the national and social demands of the German population of the Saar.

The high lights of this struggle have been the strikes for increased wages; action against the ban on the Mineworkers' Trade Union and against the European Defence Community, for democratic elections to factory trade union councils and a 15% rise in wages; the metal workers' strike and the general strike of February last.

The developing national resistance movement made itself felt in the May Day demonstrations this year when, for the first time in many years, demonstrations were again held in the major industrial centres.

In carrying out these actions the Saar workers placed themselves at the head of the national struggle and the fight for peace, thereby setting the national and democratic forces in motion, forces which, by their resolute "No" to the Saar Statute, are actively opposing the Paris agree-

The Paris agreements represent the main obstacle to the peaceful and democratic reunification of Germany. It was in order to assure the resurrection and rearming of German militarism, as envisaged by these agreements, and to obtain the sanction of the French war industrialists to this, that Adenauer concluded an agreement on the Saar with ex-premier Mendès-France.

The Saar Statute is thus an important cornerstone of the Paris agreements. Its rejection would in large measure contribute to the liquidation of those agreements and thus to the further relaxation of international tension. That is why the supporters of the cold war and the arms drive are afraid of the people of the Saar repudiating the statute and want to avoid this happening at all costs.

In concluding agreements on the Saar and setting a date for the voting (October 23), the advocates of the "positions of strength" policy were calculating that with the help of the separatist Saar government and the exponents of the Bonn policy—who have ensconced themselves in parties that are again allowed—they would easily manage to get the Saar Statute accepted. But they made no allowance for the feeling of the population, particularly the working class.

Apart from the Communists, who have been consistently fighting against the Saar Statute, and the German Committee of Struggle against the Saar Statute (in this committee there are representatives of all sections of the population, including non-party people and active trade unionists), the leaders of the Saar Democratic Party and the German Social Democratic Party have, under the force of mass pressure, also come out against the statute.

The chauvinistic parties are engaged in violent nationalistic propaganda; despite mounting protests by their members they join with the separatists in making vicious attacks on the Soviet Union and the GDR and vilifying the French people. Concealing their true aims, they speak against the separatist government and in

favour of the rejection of certain sections of the statute, particularly the economic agreement. At the same time, however, they are seeking to get the Government to look upon them as "suitable" partners, with whom it can negotiate. Their object is an "amended statute" within the framework of the Paris agreements, a statute that would strengthen the positions of the German militarists.

Thus, the opponents of a détente are now seeking to prevent the rejection of the statute by the Saar's German population before the Foreign Ministers meet in Geneva. The German population, however, first and foremost its workers, insists on rejection, since the statute means separating the Saar from Germany and subordinating it to a Commissioner of the West European Union.

A number of mass meetings have already adopted resolutions addressed to the Governments of the GDR and the GFR, calling for efforts to be made for continued relaxation of international tension, the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe and the rapprochement of the two parts of Germany. They demand too that all-German proposals on these questions be worked out and submitted to the meeting of Foreign Ministers in Geneva.

At the same time the miners are re-establishing their trade union unity, while the metal workers are protesting against the recently concluded wage agreement that makes no provision for any wage increase and are calling for action for higher wages; the workers and active unionists particularly insist on an increased interchange of delegations with the German Democratic Republic. They are becoming increasingly conscious of their task—to head all national and democratic forces in the struggle around the plebiscite, just as they did during the February strike—and thus to do battle against the Paris military agreements.

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