

*Workers of all Countries, Unite!*

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

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## **THE FORCES OF THE DEMOCRATIC CAMP ARE GAINING STRENGTH**

Major changes have come to pass in international political life, since the Declaration of the Nine Communist Parties was first published. The forces of the anti-imperialist, democratic camp have grown politically, ideologically and organisationally in the ever sharpening conflict of the two opposing camps—the imperialist and anti-imperialist. The resistance of the peoples of Europe to the plans of US expansion is mounting daily.

The Communist Parties have opened the eyes of the popular masses to the real state of affairs, have relentlessly begun to expose the predatory plans of the American imperialists, the instigators of a new war.

The activities of the Communist Parties are yielding their results. Today, the Marshall-Truman plans have been shown up in their true colours throughout the world, including the USA. The hypocritical mask of “democrats” has been stripped from the rulers of American imperialism, the imperialist essence of their plan of “relief” for Europe exposed. The number of naive people who believed in the promises of the American imperialists is growing less.

The American colonisers have chosen Western Europe as one of the principal victims to fall at their feet and to be used as a base for struggle against the USSR and the countries of the people’s democracy, as the main force opposing American imperialism and standing in the way of its plans for world domination.

France and Italy occupy a special place in the plans of the American imperialists to enthral Europe. If these countries were under the domination of the American imperialists the latter’s plans to seize Europe would move ahead much quicker, particularly when taking into account the complete subordination of the western part of Germany to American capital.

The corrupt governments of Ramadier and Schuman in France, of de Gasperi in Italy have shown themselves to be the agents of American imperialism by allowing adventurers of the type of Dulles, Lovett and others unceremoniously to dictate to them in matters of home and foreign policy.

The democratic, anti-imperialist forces have taken such a resolute stand against the plans to enslave Europe and prepare for a new war, that the American imperialists are disconcerted; their cards have been upset; they are now passing over from a frontal attack to the defensive, are manoeuvring. As a manoeuvre to save their vassals in power in France, Italy and Austria, they have hurriedly appropriated 597 million dollars for these countries.

This is nothing other than alms, than the regular wage paid their lackeys, who have to disorientate and blackmail public opinion.

The “Marshall Plan” has encountered such resistance on the part of the European nations that even the most impetuous troubadours of American imperialism have begun to sound the alarm and to suggest that the Americans act with more circumvention and adroitness. Characterising the prevalent sentiment in Western Europe none other than Walter Lippman himself was compelled to admit recently that the British will not allow their island to be converted into a permanent American aircraft carrier; the French will not permit their country to become a permanent coastal base for American expeditionary forces; the Belgians and Dutch do not intend to carry out the delirious plans, which doom them to the role of the left flank of American operations in Europe.

Today the businessmen of Wall Street no longer boast that they can easily wade through the European sea and that all and every European obstacle will give way under the pressure of the dollar. Europe is not the Hawaii or the Philippines. The struggle of the European peoples for their freedom and independence, for their national-state sovereignty has developed on a scale that is truly worthy of that great continent. The European nut is more than the American plutocrats can crack. And this is only the beginning, a beginning which surely will have its appropriate continuation.

The tense struggle of two powerful detachments of international democracy—the working class of France and Italy—has been in the centre of world public opinion during the last few weeks. This struggle is far from finished.

The attempt of the American imperialists to strike a frontal blow at French and Italian democracy has suffered a fiasco; the struggle of the advanced democratic forces in France and Italy, spearheaded by the Communist Parties of those countries, has frustrated the plans and upset the cards of the American aggressors.

In keeping with the Marshall Plan the American imperialists have in every way been obstructing post-war rehabilitation in France and Italy. The imperialists have methodically been pursuing the policy to keep the peoples of

those countries in the vise of hunger. They have set against the French working class the anti-popular reactionary front, which unites in its ranks the head of post-war neo-fascism, General de Gaulle and the tried traitor of the working class, Leon Blum. Under the very same aegis there has been formed in Italy the anti-popular reactionary front composed of the erstwhile lackeys of Mussolini and the present lackey of Wall Street—the traitor Saragat.

The strength and scope of the labour movement in France has obviously frightened the American imperialist politicians, and they have been compelled to begin to beat a retreat. During the strike of the French workers Dulles—this tycoon of contemporary American imperialism—hastened to Paris to take urgent measures. The chairman of the National Federation of French Industrialists was urgently called to New York. On the instructions of the Dulleses the French government made concessions, although by no means all along the line. It is a fact that the broadest sections of the French people are showing sincere sympathy and rendering warm support to the working class, which is the initiator and organiser of the struggle for the independence and freedom of France. It is a fact that, despite the insolent campaign of calumny launched by all the corrupt penmen of the bourgeois press from Hearst down to the unscrupulous politicians in “Le Populaire”, and the “Daily Herald” world democratic public opinion backs the cause of the French and Italian workers.

The struggle of the French and Italian peoples is developing under the great banner of national freedom, sovereignty and democracy. This banner is being firmly upheld by the fearless and staunch sons of the French and Italian peoples—the Communists for whom there is not, and can not be, a more supreme and noble patriotic task than to guard their countries against the menace of American enslavement. The Communists alone have taken upon themselves the great mission of consolidating their peoples under this banner. The course of events has confirmed that the Declaration of the Nine Communist Parties strikes at the most vulnerable spot of

imperialism and that it has dealt a sharp blow to the imperialist aggressors.

When embarking on their colonisation crusade in Europe the American imperialists, with the help of their Socialist lackeys, circulated the “theory” that the conception of sovereignty is allegedly now obsolete. Today, however, they dare not butt into a single European country with this “theory”, for the peoples now understand that such “ideas” are foisted on them for the purpose of subordinating the European countries to American capital.

However, it would be incorrect to restrict the lessons of the French and Italian events to these countries alone. These past few weeks we have witnessed the splendid demonstration of the moral-political solidarity of the whole European anti-imperialist camp with the peoples of France and Italy.

The “Marshall men” are clearly disconcerted today, are scurrying about, are manoeuvring. Only yesterday they claimed that the whole West allegedly, headed by the USA, opposes the East. Today, under the Washington baton the “American party” in Europe, London and Rome has suddenly started talking about the need to form a “third force”, which is to stand between the East and the USA.

The lessons of the struggle of the European peoples against the aggression of the American imperialists show how profoundly and correctly the Declaration estimated the alignment of battling forces on the world arena, how timely its emphasis that, in order to “frustrate the plan of imperialist aggression the efforts of all the democratic anti-imperialist forces of Europe are necessary... The forces standing for peace are so large and so strong that if these forces be staunch and firm in defending the peace, if they display stamina and resolution, the plans of the aggressors will meet with utter failure.”

The fact that the first round of the battle for Europe has actually been lost by the overseas adventurers is due to the great, truly historical role played by the European Communist Parties, armed with the Declaration of the conference of the



nine Communist Parties. Thanks to them the forces of the democratic camp are gaining strength. But, they realise that not all the forces have been set into motion. Not everywhere are the popular masses offering the necessary resistance to the imperialists. However, the foundation of a decisive struggle against imperialism, against the warmongers has been laid, the popular masses are moving along the proper path of struggle against the instigators of war—the American imperialists and their lackeys in the camp of the right-wing Socialists. The path, pointed out by the Declaration of the Nine Communist Parties, is the right path, as is being proved by life itself.

The Communist Parties, which have taken up the banner of struggle for democracy, for national independence and sovereignty have already scored their first successes. All the democratic and patriotic forces of the peoples are rallying to this banner, the banner of struggle for a lasting peace, for a people's democracy. And these forces will be victorious!

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# CONGRESS OF REPRESENTATIVES OF PRODUCTION—MANAGEMENT COUNCILS IN ITALY

The first national congress of representatives of the Production-Management Councils and Factory Trade Union Committees of Italy was recently held in Milan at the Pirelli Plant. The Production—Management Councils are the organs of public control in industry and are composed of representatives of the workers, office employees and employers of the given enterprise. The congress was attended by 7,000 delegates from the country's different enterprises.

The congress was opened by the chairman of the Initiative Committee, who is also one of the leaders of the movement for Production-Management Councils, Luigi Longo.

After exposing the manoeuvres of the government, which is trying to prevent the movement for the establishment of Production-Management Councils, and which is not carrying out its promise to recognise these councils judicially, Longo called for the establishment of such councils in all enterprises in Italy “without the participation of the employers, or with them, if they so desire,” for a widespread struggle by the working people for legislative recognition and for the obligatory establishment of these councils everywhere. “All working people”, he continued, “all democratic parties and movements, all mass organisations in the country must take part in this struggle. The question of production-management councils is a political question, a question as to who will decide the fate of the country and the national economy—the forces of capital or the forces of labour. This question must be settled on political grounds.”

The resolution, adopted by the congress, calls upon the “popular forces in Italy to unite into a broad democratic front in defence of labour, peace, and freedom, for a struggle to radically change the social structure in the country so as to

counter the provocations and criminal, attempts at reorganisation by the reactionary and fascist forces with unity of all those who mean to defend the republic, democracy and independence of Italy.”

The congress also passed a special resolution formulating programmatic demands, which include judicial recognition and obligatory establishment of Production-Management Councils, composed of representatives of workers and employers at all enterprises, employing more than 250 workers.

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# **BULGARIA'S PEOPLE GREET NEW CONSTITUTION**

December 4, 1947 the Great People's Assembly of Bulgaria adopted a new democratic constitution. This constitution secures the rights and freedom won by the Bulgarian working people.

In his speech to the Great People's Assembly the Prime Minister of the Bulgarian Government, Comrade Georgi Dimitroff, stated:

“The new constitution once and for all secures the principle that all power belongs to the people and serves only the people. There is not, and can not be, any other power in our country. An end has been put to the privileged position of private capital, the domination of the bourgeoisie has been removed for all time.

“The leading role in the administration of the People's Republic belongs wholly to the working people: the workers, peasants, handicraftsmen, labouring intelligentsia—men and women, the youth; persons engaged in socially-useful labour. physical and mental.”

Mass meetings were held throughout the country to mark the adoption of the new constitution by the Great People's Assembly. The meeting in Varn was attended by 30,000 persons—the city's inhabitants, soldiers of the People's Army, factory workers, office employees. The mass meeting in Burgas adopted a resolution in which the city's inhabitants pledge to spare no effort in building up and strengthening the new People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Meetings were held in Plovdiv, Russ, Plevn, Lom, not to mention many other cities and villages. The country's different trade union and mass organisations also held meetings at which they welcomed the new constitution.

**CONFERENCE OF CZECHOSLOVAK  
WOMEN MEMBERS OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY**

A representative conference of women members of the

Communist Party was recently held in Prague. The conference, which was attended by 2,000 delegates from all parts of the country, discussed a number of concrete questions relating to the policy of the Communist Party and to work among women. Several reports by leading functionaries of the Communist Party were submitted. Comrade Godinova-Spurna, deputy-chairman of the Legislative Assembly, delivered a report on the activities of the Communists in Parliament. The report by the Parliamentary Deputy, Comrade Mahacova, dealt with questions of supplies and the need to combat profiteering.

The report by the Prime Minister, Gottwald, on the international and home situation of Czechoslovakia was followed with close attention. Comrade Gottwald pointed out to the great role played by the women members of the Party (who today number 400,000) in the democratisation of the Republic, and called upon the women members of the Communist Party to further multiply their ranks and actively support the democracy in Czechoslovakia.

The conference, which expressed the determination of the democratic women of Czechoslovakia to fight for peace and democracy, passed a resolution underlying the necessity to increase the role of women in building a democratic Czechoslovakia, and to increase their vigilance with regard to the intrigues of international and native reaction.

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## **PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PEOPLE'S YOUTH OF YUGOSLAVIA**

A plenum of the Central Committee of the People's Youth of Yugoslavia was recently held in Belgrade. The delegations of the youth organisations of Bulgaria, Albania, Rumania and the USSR, attended the Plenum as guests.

The People's Youth of Yugoslavia is successfully consolidating and educating the younger generation. The young men and women are taking an active part in the economic development of the country. More than 270,000 members of the People's Youth participated in the rehabilitation of the country and helped on construction projects this year. The Shamats—Sarajevo railway was constructed by 56 democratic youth brigades, representing 42 countries.

The Plenum gave special consideration to the work of the youth in the countryside. A decision was taken to promote in every conceivable way the activities of the rural organisations of the People's Youth.

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## **THE STRUGGLE OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE**

For several weeks France was the scene of a powerful strike movement. The French people went into action against capitalism, which is dooming them to starvation, against reaction, which is trying to place France under the trusteeship of American imperialism.

The strike covered practically all branches of industry and trade—building and postal workers, workers engaged in the chemical industry, railwaymen, miners, educational, municipal,

marine and river transport workers, workers employed in the tannery, textile, cement and iron and steel industries. On December 5 close to three million workers, office employees and civil servants were on strike in the country.

The events in France have shown that the working class are the vanguard of the democratic forces in the struggle against capitalism and reaction. The French working class, who fought in the front ranks of the struggle for the country's liberation from the German occupation forces and for the restoration of the economy after the war, spearheaded the struggle in defence of Republican liberties and against the enslavement of France by foreign capital.

In an attempt to crush the will of the working class the Schuman government mobilised 120,000 men in the army to fight the working class, adopted an anti-labour law which establishes prison terms up to ten years for strike action.

Carrying out the orders of the French and American capitalists Schuman and his Home Minister, Jules Moch, dispatched police forces and troops against the workers in Paris, Nice, Saint-Etienne, thus revealing the essence of the notorious "third force".

Schuman and his Socialist ministers crowned these "democratic" acts by adopting criminal laws against the working class and the trade unions, laws which revive the anti-social legislation of the Second Empire, and which are an instrument to suppress the liberty of the people.

The reactionary government refuses to repeal these criminal laws. It refuses to release workers who have been imprisoned because they offered resistance to the police in the struggle for their rights.

Despite all the repressive measures the working class have won a 20-25 per cent wage increase as a result of their struggle, They have compelled the Schuman government to reject its decision to block wages until July 1,1948, and to agree to a new subsistence minimum, as a result of which wage increases will be introduced as from December 1,1947.

The French people have seen for themselves during the



struggle that the present government is acting to the detriment of the vital interests of the working people, and is pursuing a policy that corresponds to the will of the American magnates.

The working people now understand that France needs a new democratic government, which would express the fundamental interests of the popular masses of France and in which “the working class and their Communist Party will, finally play a decisive role”. (From the appeal of the French Communist Party.)

The working class of France have particularly vividly seen the extent to which the French Socialists have gone in their betrayal of the working class. It was the French Socialists who together with the MRP and de Gaulle’s followers, resorted to troops and police, ordering them to open fire on the unarmed workers. The hands of the French Socialists are stained with the blood of the French workers. Together with the entire reactionary wing of the French National Assembly the Socialists passed ignoble laws against the French workers. They applied the most foul means of struggle against the working class-blackmail, calumny, splitting activities, provocation, etc. France’s working class will never forget these crimes committed by the French Socialists and the latter will not escape the just retribution of the French people. Not only rank and file workers, but also old functionaries are leaving the ranks of the Socialist Party.

The Communist Party of France alone continues to be the leader, organiser and inspirer of the French working class in the struggle for their interests. The French Communists, not intimidated by threats and persecution, spearheaded the struggle of the working class of France. Once again the country’s working class saw for themselves that they can be victorious only under the banner of the Communist Party. Together with the French Communists also the Socialist workers, Catholic workers, not to mention all the other workers took part in the strike struggle, thus displaying their high level of class consciousness and solidarity.

The reactionaries in all countries are loudly shouting about

the “defeat of the French Communists”, about their loss of influence in the working class, etc. But it is clear to all that by their shouts the reactionaries are simply trying to deaden their fear of the labour and democratic movement, headed by the Communists. They can not fail to see that the authority of the Communists, the love and confidence of the French people in them have, if anything, increased. This is proved by such known facts as the victory of the Communists at the municipal by-elections at Le Havre, the steadily growing influx of new members in the ranks of the Communist Party of France, etc.

The French Communist Party always has been, and continues to be, the leader of the French people in the struggle for their national independence, freedom, and vital interests.

The French Communist Party calls upon the working class to prepare for new decisive battles against the native and American capitalists. The French Communists will, as heretofore, be in the vanguard of the working class and the French nation in these battles.

The ended strike of the French workers is an important phase in the developing post-war labour movement. The Manifesto of the General Confederation of Labour (CGT) of December 9 warns that new heavy battles lie ahead of the working people of France.

The General Confederation of Labour has taken a decision to organise a number of big meetings of French workers to discuss further methods of struggle against the policy of hunger and repression. These meetings will strengthen still more the unity of the working class ranks.

The broad masses of the peasantry; whose interests are also threatened by American imperialism, will join the French working class in the struggle for their rights. The working class can also rely on the growing solidarity of the French intelligentsia, for it is becoming increasingly obvious to the latter that the working people are defending the honour and freedom of the country.

The French working people have shown an example of struggle for national independence, for peace, for freedom and

the brotherhood of peoples. They have proved that the Democratic forces in France are developing and growing stronger, have demonstrated their maturity, their increased strength and organisational consolidation; they have shown that they are in a position to prevent the subservience of France to the domination of American imperialism. In their struggle the French workers will continue to meet with the warm sympathy and support of the working class, of all progressive forces throughout the world.

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## **THE WORKING PEOPLE OF RUMANIA HELP THE GREEK PEOPLE**

The Chairman of the Rumanian Trade Union Committee to render assistance to the liberation struggle of the Greek people, George Apostol, recently reported that the working people of Rumania have resolved to contribute two-hours' earnings in support of the Greek people. Fifteen tons of different kinds of commodities, provisions and clothing have already been dispatched to Greece, while another 60 tons are ready for shipment.

One of the leaders of the people's movement in Greece, Porfirogenis, expressing the gratitude of the Greek people for the assistance rendered stated that "the struggle of the heroic Greek people is a struggle for democracy and peace throughout the world, I know the day will come when we all will celebrate final victory over the forces of imperialism".

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## V. CHERVENKOV. ACTIVITIES OF THE BULGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY (COMMUNISTS)<sup>1</sup>

For more than twenty years our Party carried on an incessant, courageous struggle against fascism in conditions of complete illegality. Despite enormous sacrifices and losses, especially in leadership, the Party maintained its ties with the broadest masses of the people, drew the necessary lessons from the struggle, overcame right-wing opportunist and left-wing sectarian tendencies. Reinforcing itself politically, tactically and organisationally as a revolutionary party, rallying around itself the genuine democratic forces in the country, the Party prepared, and then successfully effected the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, and established the power of the people.

A decisive role in the Bolshevik development of the Party was played by the fact that the Party, after the fascist coup d'état of June 1923, found the strength and courage to rectify its serious mistake when it took a neutral position at a time when civil war swept the country. In September 1923 the Party called upon the masses to take up arms against fascism and headed the uprising. Although the September uprising was crushed it played an exceptionally important role in the destiny of the country in the sense that it strengthened the alliance of workers and peasants and formed a deep gulf between the

<sup>1</sup> Informative report made at the conference of representatives of several Communist Parties at the end of September, 1947, in Poland.

working people and fascism, which the latter could not span in the subsequent twenty years, no matter how much it tried.

Our Party met the Second World War a tempered militant party, the only organised force in the country capable of

rallying and leading the Bulgarian people in struggle against the German invaders and their agents in the ruling circles. In the winter of 1940-41 our Party headed the broad popular movement for a pact of friendship and non-aggression between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union.

On March 1, 1941 the King Boris—Filoff clique joined Bulgaria to the Axis countries and immediately thereafter opened her frontiers to German troops. They hastened to get the support of the German armed forces for they feared the people and the Communist Party. The Bulgarian agents of German imperialism circulated the legend about the German “allies” with whose help Bulgaria would allegedly realise her age-old aspirations for “national unification”. The occupation of Macedonia, Thrace and part of Serbia by Bulgarian troops with the sanction of the Hitlerite bandits, was presented as the creation of a “Greater Bulgaria”. Through this hullabaloo Hitler’s agents in Bulgaria strove to confuse our people and disarm them, morally and politically, in the face of Nazi aggression. Certain sections of the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia were temporarily influenced by this. The invasion of German troops in Bulgaria was not accompanied by the destruction of the state apparatus, by the introduction of purely German rules and regulations. Actually, however, the Germans held sway in Bulgaria, which they turned into a hose for their robber war against the USSR, Yugoslavia and Greece. In Bulgaria they hall the native fascist rulers do their work for them. Thus, for instance, they paid handsomely for goods

purchased in Bulgaria, but the people were ignorant of the fact that the money for this was taken from the Bulgarian National Bank.

Our Party sharply opposed the incorporation of Bulgaria in the Axis, the entry of German troops into the country, and branded this act as betrayal of the vital interests of the country. It exposed the hypocrisy of the so-called national unification, and called upon the people to rally all democratic forces in defence of the national independence of the country, to fight against Bulgaria being drawn into the war.

After the treacherous attack of Hitler Germany on the Soviet Union our Party appealed to the workers, peasants, artisans, patriots in the army, intellectuals loyal to the people to launch an armed struggle against the Nazi invaders and their Bulgarian agents, a struggle which eventually had to develop into an armed uprising of the people and lead to the overthrow of the fascist government, to the expulsion of the Germans from the country, and to the establishment of a government of the people.

Despite the reign of military and political terror in the country in 1941 already the first partisan detachments were formed, as well as combat groups composed in the main of members of the Party and of REMS (Young Communist League), which carried out diversion and sabotage activities. However, partisan detachments were not operating on a wide scale during 1941-42.

The fascist government, which still possessed a strong state apparatus and all the armed forces of the country, realising the danger of a partisan movement, took drastic measures to suppress this movement in its early stages. The prisons and concentration camps were overcrowded with Communists: death sentences were the order of the day. Despite all this however the struggle continued. Developing the partisan movement the Party consolidated the democratic forces in a common front of struggle against German aggression and fascism. On the initiative of Comrade Dimitroff the foundation of the People's Front was laid in the summer of 1942, and its

programme published. The programme aimed to prevent drawing Bulgaria in the war against the Soviet Union, to wrest Bulgaria from the countries of the Axis. The programme called for the overthrow of the fascist government and the establishment of a genuine national government capable of securing the freedom and independence of the country. The Communists were the initiators in forming the People's Front committees and constituted the overwhelming majority in these committees in the localities.

The turning point in the Patriotic War brought about by the great battle of Stalingrad, marked the turning point also in the development of the resistance movement in Bulgaria. In the second half of 1943 resistance mounted. However, it was only in 1944 that it acquired a mass character, when separate partisan detachments formed into brigades. The country was divided into military operative zones in each of which big partisan forces operated. The partisan movement had its General staff headed by such outstanding Party figures as Hristo Mikhailoff (killed), Anton Jugoff, Dobri Terpesheff and others. The armed resistance grew into such a force that the government gendarmerie specially formed for defence against the resistance movement and reinforced with regular troops, proved of no avail. In the meantime the network of the People's Front committees, headed by the National Committee, which in addition to Communists, included representatives of other democratic organisations, extended far and wide.

The glorious liberation movement of fraternal Yugoslavia greatly influenced the growth and development of the resistance movement in Bulgaria. The example of the Yugoslav fighters inspired the Bulgarian partisans,

The emergence of the Soviet Army at the Danube and northeastern frontiers of Bulgaria, the Soviet Union's declaration of war on the Bulgarian fascist government, hastened the popular uprising, prepared and led by the Bulgarian Communist Party.

On the 5th and 6th of September mass strikes of miners, tramway workers, cotton spinners and other workers in the

industrial centres swept the country. Partisan detachments left the mountains and took possession of the different cities. On the night of September 9 the victorious armed uprising of the Bulgarian people, under the direct leadership of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army and under the general leadership of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) was effected in Sofia and other big cities of Bulgaria. This uprising overthrew fascism and established the power of the people in the form of the People's Front.

## **I. The Struggle for People's Power in Bulgaria**

A historic change took place in the internal and international development of Bulgaria as a result of the people's armed uprising on September 9, 1944. Radical changes were effected in the alignment of social forces and in their role in the state, social, political economic and cultural life of the country. The state power was wrested from the big capitalist groups rallied around the monarchy and closely linked with German imperialism and was given over to the people—to the militant alliance of workers, peasants, artisans and progressive intelligentsia embodied in the People's Front. The Communist Party spearheaded this alliance. Thus, the state power in our country became the power of the people.

The government of the People's Front mobilised all the material and moral resources of the country for the war against Hitler Germany. For eight months the Bulgarian army under the leadership of the Soviet Army and together with the people's liberation army of fraternal Yugoslavia fought for the expulsion of the German hordes from the Balkans.

On September, 9, 1944 the fascist forces in Bulgaria were routed. A most positive role in this was played by the specially formed people's courts. The most dangerous fascist criminals and other enemies of the people were rendered harmless. The foundation of the monarcho-fascist dictatorship was virtually liquidated soon after September 9. The referendum held two



years later, that is, on September 8, 1946 in which 92% of all the Bulgarian electors voted for the abolition of the monarchy and favoured a people's republic sanctioned the actual elimination of the monarchy, this most dangerous hotbed of German agents in the country.

After striking a crushing political blow at fascism and reaction on September 9 and in the subsequent weeks, and after routing their organisations the new power was unable, nonetheless, to deprive them of their economic base and to completely uproot them.

Reaction's first reconnaissance was undertaken in December 1944 by the notorious Dr. G. M. Dimitroff-Gemeto, the hireling of the British and Americans who during the war was in one of the British possessions in the Near East. When he returned to Bulgaria after September 9 he headed the Landowners' and rather Union crudely tried to counterpose the Landowners' Union to the Communist Party; he also tried to proclaim the slogan of independent power to the peasants and that the Communists be stopped from taking a decisive part in the People's Front and in governing the country. Dr. G. M. Dimitroff-Gemeto's group took a defeatist stand on the question of the patriotic war and tried to operate in this direction. Energetic measures had to be taken and the masses called upon to combat this group. Reaction's first attempt after September 9, 1944 to split the People's Front, this genuine people's movement, and to set the peasants against the workers by bringing forward the old slogan of Alexander Stambolisky of the independence of rural power, suffered a crushing defeat, G. M. Dimitroff-Gemeto fled to America with the help of the American ambassador in Sofia Barns.

Another and more serious attempt by reaction to oppose the People's Front was made in the summer of 1945. This was connected with the outright interference of the governments of the USA and Great Britain in the internal affairs of Bulgaria. Under foreign influence the reactionary wing in the Bulgarian Landowners' Union, headed by Nikola Petkoff and also the reactionary wing of the Social-Democratic Party broke away

from the People's Front. These two reactionary wings formed an opposition and openly opposed the People's Front on all questions of home and foreign policy. Behind democratic phrases about the struggle for democracy and freedom the opposition tried in every way to take advantage of the temporary difficulties in the country and especially of the unstable international position of the new Bulgaria at the time.

At the elections to the People's Assembly the reactionary opposition polled 29% of the total vote. The representatives of the opposition used the People's Assembly to launch an unbridled campaign against the People's Front, openly calling upon the population not to heed the orders and laws issued by the government; they placed all their hopes on aid from abroad, on the interference of the Western powers, and especially of the USA, into our home affairs.

Our Party as the most active and main force in the People's Front started a stubborn fight together with its allies to isolate the opposition leaders from the masses of electors who had voted for their lists. This struggle was crowned with major successes.

Bulgaria has signed the Peace Treaty, Great Britain has been compelled to recognise us de jure. With the help of the Soviet Union the People's Front government has saved the population from starvation and has introduced fundamental reforms envisaged to its programme. When the plans of the opposition began to collapse, when the electors, who had cast their vote for the opposition leaders gradually began to take part in building up the country and, thus, actually to draw away from the opposition the opposition leaders took the path of conspiracy, of sabotaging the measures of the people's power, took the path of organising reactionary plots to sow confusion in the country and in this way create conditions for outside interference.

Our Party, educating the masses to be vigilant led them in struggle against the saboteurs and wreckers. One after another, the conspiracy organisations in the army, which were linked with Nikola Petkoff's headquarters were exposed. Thus the

opposition degenerated into a center of plotters against the people's power and into arrant agents of Western imperialism. It had to be utterly routed in the interests of peace and democracy in the country and in the Balkans.

The rout of Petkoff's opposition was a blow not only against the fascist and reactionary forces in Bulgaria, but also against the reactionary plans of the Anglo-Saxon imperialists in Bulgaria and in the Balkans. This undoubtedly is a victory for the People's Front and for people's democracy, a victory which will bring favourable results in the further democratic development of our country. This victory, however, must under no circumstances lull the vigilance of our Party and of the People's Front for reaction has not been completely uprooted and the foreign patrons of the Petkoff group still continue to provoke the people's republic of Bulgaria.

The democratic constitution of Bulgaria, which will be finally adopted by the People's Assembly in the near future reflects the profound changes which have taken place in the political, social and economic structure of the country as a result of the overthrow of fascism. The main points of the new constitution were formulated by Comrade Dimitroff prior to the referendum on the question of the abolition of the monarchy and the creation of the people's republic.

"Firstly", said Comrade Dimitroff, "Bulgaria will not be a Soviet republic; it will be a people's republic in which the leading role will be played by the overwhelming majority of the people—by the workers, peasants, artisans and people's intelligentsia. There will be no dictatorship in the republic, but the basic and decisive factor in the people's republic will be the majority of the working people, socially useful people and not the capitalist minority of the politically and morally rotten bourgeois upper strata.

"Secondly, Bulgaria will be a people's republic in which private property, acquired by labour, will be protected by the state authorities against all sharks and profiteers, but in which big capitalist profiteering private property will not be allowed to doom the labouring people—workers, peasants, artisans

employees and people's intelligentsia— to hunger and poverty;

“Thirdly, Bulgaria will be a people's republic, which will leave no open doors for the return of the shameful past—monarchism, fascism and the Greater Bulgarian chauvinism and which will provide all the necessary constitutional, political, economic, material and cultural guarantees for the development of our country along the path of progress, right up to the elimination of all exploitation of man by man;

“Fourthly, Bulgaria will be a people's republic, a free and independent state with its national and state sovereignty. It will not dance to the tune of capitalist concerns and trusts, which would like to enslave the small nations politically and economically;

“Fifthly, Bulgaria will be a people's republic—a factor of Slav unity and fraternity against any possible aggression. It will not be the chours of the anti-Slav and anti-Soviet policy that leads to enmity between nations;

“Sixthly, Bulgaria will be a people's republic which, together with the other democratic and freedom-loving nations, will constitute a strong factor of peace and democracy in the Balkans and in Europe and will not be a tool of military adventures and aggressive wars”.

## **II. The Economic Development of the Country**

The biggest problem that faced the People's Front from the very outset was the rehabilitation of the country's economy, plundered by the Germans.

Of course, it is not a question of merely restoring the economy, it is a question of its rehabilitation and further development on new democratic lines. The economic policy of the People's Front is based on the principle of combining the state, cooperative and private sectors in the economic life of the country (here the predominant and leading role is played by the state sector); on the principle of planning, state and public control of production, exchange and credit; on the principle of

the rapid industrialisation of the country.

The People's Assembly has approved a two-year economic plan, the carrying out of which is now of paramount interest to the government and the people. The main tasks of the Two-Year Plan are;

1. To surmount the economic difficulties caused by fascism and the war and further aggravated by the two subsequent droughts; to attain and surpass the pre-war level of production in agriculture, industry and other branches of the economy.

2. To rapidly industrialise the country by building new works and factories with state funds, bank credits, internal loans, with funds supplied by rural and urban councils, cooperatives and private savings and, where possible, with foreign credits and also by expanding and rationalizing existing industry.

3. To rapidly surmount the crisis in electric power supplies and the lagging behind in coal production by building new electro-hydro power stations, by exploiting new mines and reconstructing the old mining equipment.

4. To radically improve the technique of production and to use it to the maximum in all existing industries as the most important condition for increasing production and raising the productivity of labour.

5. In every way to support the development of agriculture, livestock-raising, forestry and the fishing industry; to promote agronomy, veterinary and other measures in agriculture; in every way to support the productive agricultural cooperatives which are being founded voluntarily.

6. To improve the development of railway, automobile, water and air communications.

7. To modernise handicraft industry and supply the craftsmen more regularly with materials; the establishment of handicraft cooperatives will be encouraged in this connection.

8. To strengthen and extend home and foreign trade, to eliminate the socially harmful practice of mediation, to regulate prices of agricultural and industrial goods, these prices to be fixed in accordance with prices on the world market.

9. To carry out a strict regime of economy and to cut down the cost of production.

10. To train the necessary skilled cadres.

11. To raise the general material and cultural level of the population.

The Two -Year Economic Plan must lay the foundation for the industrialisation and electrification of the country, facilitate the reorganisation of agriculture and considerably increase the role of the social sector in production and exchange.

Industry in our country is weakly developed. Industrial production constitutes 26% of the total national output. Industry is particularly lagging behind in the output of iron ore, electric power, in the production of ferrous and non-ferrous metals, in the engineering, chemical and coal industries. In 1946 industrial production reached 91% compared with 1939. It is planned to increase industrial production by 34% in 1947 and by 67% in 1948 compared with 1939.

There are 6,250 large—and small-scale industrial enterprises in our country, of which 492 are considered to be key enterprises. 16.6 of the key enterprises are owned by the state, 2.6%—by cooperatives, 77.8%—by capitalists. Transport, the mines and banks are in the hands of the State. Apart from this the state has the monopoly on the production of tobacco, spirits and in insurance. A considerable part of the home trade is in the hands of the state and cooperatives. The state has also the monopoly on essential goods. Foreign trade is controlled by the state. By developing state stores and the “Horemag” municipal enterprises we shall gradually force out private retail trade.

In the course of the last three years the cooperative movement in Bulgaria has become a powerful factor in the country's economic life. The cooperatives, stated Comrade Dimitroff, must play the same role in the economic life of the country as that played by the People's Front in her political life. In April of this year all the cooperative unions amalgamated in the Central Cooperative Union. This union numbers about 5,000 cooperative organisations with a membership of one

million.

In 1947 the cooperative share in the country's trade turnover will amount to 99,000 million lev which is 60% of the total trade turnover. In foreign trade their share will constitute 14%.

Certain branches of industry, such as sugar refinery and wood-working, are almost entirely in the hands of the cooperatives. In the canning industry the cooperatives in 1947 will contribute, according to the economic plan, 48% of the entire output, in the meat industry—50%; in the dairy industry 90%. In the period of the Two-Year Economic Plan the cooperative movement will steadily develop, especially in the field of handicraft production and agriculture.

The Two Year Plan likewise provides for the increase in agricultural production. The Plan envisages the increase of arable land by tens of thousands of hectares which will be made possible mainly by draining the Danubian marshes. The Plan provides for the increase of agricultural production by 13% in 1947 and by 34% in 1948 compared with 1939.

As a result of the agrarian reform carried out by the government of the People's Front 88,358 peasant households have received land totalling an area of 100,000 hectares. However the real salvation for Bulgaria's scattered small households lies in organising into labour productive agricultural cooperatives, which will create the conditions for the mechanisation of agriculture and will do away with the backwardness of the countryside. We shall help to organise such cooperatives, which already number 565 and possess some 200,000 hectares of land. In accordance with the economic plan in 1948 there will be 800 such cooperatives and this will mean that one-fifth of Bulgaria's villages will be covered by the cooperative network.

Although these labour cooperative households are as yet inadequately mechanised, and although there are still many difficulties, due to the lack of experienced and skilled cadres they have nonetheless proved their vitality.

The labour cooperative agricultural households are not

collective farms, They retain the peasants ownership of the land. Moreover, part of the incomes of the cooperative households goes to the owner in the form of land rent. Nevertheless, the advantages of these cooperatives from the economic point of view as well as from the point of view of educating the peasants in the spirit of collectivism are considerable. The development of agriculture is also facilitated by the machine-tractor stations of which there are now 30. In 1948 their number will reach 50 with 1,317 tractors not to mention a number of other agricultural machines.

The difficulties in carrying out the economic plan are major ones. They are due not only to objective circumstances (lack of raw materials and machines), but also to poor organisational work, to the still existing bureaucracy, stagnancy, as well as to sabotage and wrecking activities by reactionary and hostile elements.

However, the fulfilment of this plan is guaranteed by the response of the masses to it, by their unremitting labour enthusiasm. In this respect the youth are in the vanguard. They are organised in youth brigades which voluntarily contribute their share to building the new Bulgaria.

The Dimitroff youth brigade this year numbered 80,000 persons. Ever greater sections of the working class are involved in labour competition and shock-brigade work. Labour discipline is steadily improving. The productivity of labour is increasing. Of exceptional importance in this respect is the role of the trade unions. Particular note should be taken of the cultural labour brigades, which are being organised in the cities to help the countryside. The scope of this movement and its results can be gathered from the following figures: in the first quarter of 1947 9,543 brigades numbering 1,061,000 thousand persons were sent to the countryside. These brigades worked 1,067,000 work day units, thus performing useful work to the value of 348,000,000 lev.

In carrying out her economic plan our country relies, first and foremost, on her own resources and on the aid rendered by



the fraternal Slav countries, particularly the extensive aid of the Soviet Union, which we are getting to this day.

We embarked on the fulfilment of our Two-Year Plan only on April 1, 1947.

### **III. Questions of Foreign Policy**

Bulgaria's international position can be regarded as established. She has normal diplomatic relations with practically all states, barring the United States of America and monarchist Greece. Thanks to the support of the great Soviet Union and the other fraternal Slav countries, Bulgaria has received a peace treaty which, although it contains certain onerous conditions, especially as regards reparations to Greece, preserves the integrity of the country's territory, the inviolability of her national independence and state sovereignty. However, even though the Peace Treaties have been signed and the government of the People's Front pursues a policy of peace, the Party and the people have to be most vigilant for Bulgaria borders with such states as Greece and Turkey. Monarcho-fascist Greece and reactionary Turkey are the hotbeds of perpetual danger to the democratic states in the Balkans. This is borne out by a number of provocations on the Greek border lately, by the attempts of the Anglo-American imperialists to interfere in our internal affairs. The pressure brought to bear on the government of the People's Front by the British and Americans to save their agent Nikola Petkoff, lays bare their aggressive plans against the freedom and independence of Bulgaria, not to mention the other democratic Balkan states.

The underlying principle of our foreign policy is to preserve, at all costs, the national independence and state sovereignty of the country in cooperation with all the freedom-loving nations. As has been repeatedly stressed by Comrade Dimitroff the essence of this policy is lasting friendship with our liberator, the great Soviet Union, fraternal alliance with the

new Yugoslavia, close cooperation with the rest of the Slav countries, and the other democratic nations.

The conference in Bled and the decisions taken there spell the beginning of a new phase in the relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia; they mark a big step forward in establishing close ties between the two countries. The Bled conference took a decision on concerted action and joint defence of the peace in the Balkans. Agreements of friendship and mutual assistance will be concluded with Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, which will further strengthen the international position of Bulgaria.

Bulgaria emphatically refused to take part in the Paris conference, convened to put the "Marshall Plan" into effect, for she does not want to cede her political and economic independence in the slightest degree. Our Party regards consolidation of the national independence and state sovereignty of the people's republic as the paramount task in the country's home and foreign policy.

#### **IV. The Political and Organisational Work of the Party**

Our Party plays a leading role in the state, as well as in the social and political life of the country. The first Parliamentary elections in the autumn of 1945 were carried out in agreement with our political allies and on the basis of a common list. We agreed to the parity principle for the Agricultural Party in the distribution of mandates. Elections to the Great People's Assembly were conducted on a common platform, although we introduced different coloured voting papers. We carried out the election campaign together with our political allies, addressing meetings jointly. At the meetings of the National Committee of the People's Front, a special decision was taken, in conjunction with the leaders of the parties in this Front, to the effect that the parties refrain from attacking one another during the election

campaign. As is known our Party scored a big victory in the elections. It received 54 per cent of all the votes and 286 mandates, i.e. 60 per cent of the seats in Parliament. Our Party thus received the absolute majority. In keeping with parliamentary procedure our Party could have formed a purely Communist government. However, being interested in strengthening the People's Front and national unity, it afforded all parties of the People's Front, regardless of the number of votes polled by them, the opportunity to take part in the government. In this way the Party helped to strengthen the People's Front still further, and increase the confidence of our allies in it.

Our Party is the principal, most active and leading force today in the People's Front and in the administration of the country.

The People's Front is not a simple coalition of parties. It is, above all, a popular movement, a militant alliance of workers, peasants, artisans, office employees and the people's intelligentsia, to build the country on truly democratic foundations, Our Party works to strengthen the People's Front, the militant alliance of the vigorous forces of the people. On our initiative the National Committee of the People's Front, together with the leaders of the parties, adopted a number of essential measures defining the statutes and internal discipline of the People's Front, obligatory for all its members. The National Committee of the People's Front operates as a united centre of the united democratic forces of the country. We frequently hold joint meetings of the National Committee of the People's Front with the leadership of the parties and mass organisations, at which important questions of domestic and foreign policy are discussed.

The People's Front committees are still composed on the parity principle. Every political party, and also the mass organisations are represented in the committees. Decisions are adopted unanimously. However this composition of the committees does not correspond to the underlying principle of the People's Front.

The People's Front consists of five political parties: our Party, the Bulgarian People's Agricultural Union, the people's union "Zveno", the Social-Democratic Party, and the Radical Party. Also all the trade unions, economic, cultural, women's, youth and other organisations are represented in the People's Front.

Our Party has (according to figures for June 30, 1947) 510,000 members. After September 9, 1944, the composition of the Party radically changed when it opened its doors to hundreds of thousands of new members from among workers, peasants, intelligentsia, who had come into contact with political life for the first time. It was necessary to re-educate this membership mass politically and ideologically in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Hence the colossal tasks of our Party. on the educational front.

The Party has now actually restricted admittance into its ranks. We are now devoting our attention to the political, Marxist-Leninist education of Party members, to tightening discipline in the Party organisations, particularly in the countryside. We are now purging the Party of chance and alien elements who joined it for their own ends or in order to cover up traces of their shady activities in the past.

The social composition of the Party shows the following picture: 132,153 workers; 223,386 peasants; 82,345 office employees; 72,108 artisans, small merchants, students, pensioners, housewives etc. In all, more than 509,000 members, including 67,105 women.

There is not a single big village in which our Party organisation is not functioning.

In speaking of Party cadres the following should be stressed: during the fascist dictatorship the Party's present cadres found themselves in different conditions and did not all move along the same path.

The first category of our cadres joined the ranks of the Party prior to September 9, some of them have been in the Party since 1923, took part in the struggle against fascism, in the partisan movement, in the uprising of September 9, 1944,

and are now active in the Party. Among them are members who were in prison or concentration camp for a long period of time, others who were forced to emigrate for years. The first is the main category of our Party cadres.

The second category includes Party members who, prior to September 9 were not active, were not Party members, but who helped it to the best of their ability, sometimes sheltered Party functionaries, rendered material assistance. They are people who were afraid to join the Party during the fascist dictatorship, but were Party sympathisers.

The third category covers those who were Party members prior to 1923, when the Party went underground. During the fascist regime they deserted the Party, and became preoccupied with their own personal affairs. Although they did not help the Party, they were not hostile to it, did not go over to the enemy, did not assist fascism.

The fourth category consists of persons who joined the Party after September 9, when it threw its doors wide open for political activity. They began to work as new cadres of the Party in the state apparatus, in public organisations and in the Party itself.

Such are the outstanding features of the four categories of our cadres. Our policy is to utilise all these categories rationally for work in the Party, in the state apparatus, in the different public organisations—in a word everywhere. We have set ourselves the task to hasten the process of consolidating these different categories into one whole.

However, we do not handle all the categories alike. The Party leadership in the centre, in the regions and provinces consists for the most part of persons in the first category. This category is the backbone of the Party. They are the guarantee of its proper development. Then follows the second category, i.e. those who in one form or another helped the Party during the fascist regime. We are somewhat cautious with regard to the third category, that is to the extent that it can not guarantee sound leadership. As a rule the people in this category are at least 20 years behind the times, are still imbued with

sectarianism. We use these cadres mostly in the state apparatus, in the mass organisations, in the economic field, but under the leadership of the Party. They are primarily lawyers, physicians, engineers, teachers.

Our policy towards the fourth category is to help them in every way to master the experience of the Party up to September 9, the principal lessons in the history of the Party, to solder them politically and prepare them as potential Party cadres.

The prime task when educating all our cadres is to teach them to govern the state in cooperation with our allies. Comrade Dimitroff sharply raised this question at the beginning of 1946 in his speech to the Sofia regional Party conference. when he said: “We were not the ruling party, we were the opposition party; we criticised and fought at the time, but did not govern. Now, after September 9 we are acquiring experience as the ruling party. We need this experience. No matter where they be, our Party cadres must

learn ... We must all learn to build together with our allies in the People’s Front, must learn to work in harmony with them, to compete with our allies, so that we can give the best experts, and so that our cadres always be in the forefront and always justify the confidence shown. This demands labour, knowledge, ability; there can be no laxity, complacency, sectarian selfsatisfaction and resting on our laurels; this demands study and once again study, demands tireless self-study...”

Unquestionably, we have scored big successes in this direction since then. Our cadres are learning to govern the state, to guide the work in the economic, cultural and other spheres. However, Comrade Dimitroff’s slogan “learn to govern” remains in the fore.

Our Party cadres in the countryside (secretaries and members of the Party committees) are for the most part politically weak. The further development of the Party as a leading force in the People’s Front and in governing the country today depends on how soon this is overcome. That is

why the Central Committee has placed on the order of the day measures promoting the ideological and political education of our cadres, particularly in the countryside. From 4,000 to 5,000 circles, attended by 50,000 persons, have been organised at which the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the history of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) and current politics are being taught. We are arranging numerous one-month and fortnightly evening courses. Three-month courses are functioning in Plovdiv, Plevne and Sofia. We also have a one-year school in Sofia attended by 60 persons. All these measures are yielding positive results, but they are inadequate. Bearing in mind the Party's pressing need for qualified and trained cadres the Central Committee of the Party has taken steps to improve the ideological and political education of its cadres.

The Party has a big agitational apparatus at its disposal. Together with the Remsists (YCLers) we sent out hundreds of thousands of agitators during the elections. We are now strengthening the Party's permanent agitation department to enable our agitators to be in regular contact with the population of their section where they can carry on daily explanatory work. As a rule we carry on agitational work among the population together with our allies. Usually joint instructive conferences of the agitators of all the parties in the People's Front are convened. The agitational centres where propaganda material is circulated and instructions given, are organised on one and the same principle for the whole People's Front.

The Party's publishing activities are extensive, and it is the biggest publisher in the country. We publish Marxist-Leninist literature on a mass scale, have translated into Bulgarian and published the important works of Lenin and Stalin, and also several volumes of the selected works of Lenin. Stalin's Biography will soon come off the press, and the works of Comrade Stalin are being prepared for publication.

The central organ of the Party "Rabocheye Delo" is printed in 240,000 copies. The Party issues its theoretical magazine "Novoye Vremya" ("New Times") in 25,000 copies, as well as

“Filosofskaya Mysl” (“Philosophical Thought”) in 10,000 copies. In addition to this the Central Committee publishes the magazine “Partinyi Rabotnik” (“The Party Worker”), which deals with questions of Party organisation, agitation and propaganda (10,000 copies) and “Bloknot-agitatora” (“The Agitator’s Note-Book”) (10,000 copies).

We have no Party papers in the provinces where the committees of the People’s Front circulate their press. Our regional Party committees have printshops which turn out only leaflets and other such materials.

The ideological work of the Party is still weak. The experience gained in new organisational work has not as yet been theoretically elaborated and generalised. The number of Marxist forces is still small. We are trying to group them around the magazine “Novoye Vremya”. The remnants of the fascist ideology have not yet been completely exposed and uprooted.

Our Party has considerable influence among the country’s intelligentsia, the overwhelming majority of whom have turned to the People’s Front. Prominent representatives of Bulgarian art, science and technique are members of our Party. The opposition has never had a single outstanding representative of Bulgarian art or science.

The Party is devoting great attention to the cultural front.

The trade union movement in Bulgaria is united and is known as the General Worker’s Trade Union with a membership of 576,000 out of the 747,000 persons engaged in industry. The General Workers’ Trade Union thus unites 77 per cent of all employed persons.

Here mention should be made of the organisation of farmers, which is of particular importance to us. Known as the General Agricultural Trade Union it has 1,200,000 members, of whom nearly a half are women. The tasks of this, organisation are, firstly, to help improve the conditions of the farmers, with the aid of all other public organisations such as the cooperatives, credit institutions, committees of the People’s Front, the municipal councils; secondly, to introduce measures



to raise the cultural level of the countryside; thirdly, to contribute to strengthening the alliance between workers and peasants.

REMS (the Young Communist League—500,000 members), which is now developing extensive activities on the labour front is closely linked with the Party. REMS is the initiator and organiser of the labour brigades in different fields of construction. It is the organiser of the Dimitroff national brigade, earlier mentioned as well as of a number of local youth brigades in the countryside and at the enterprises in the city.

Under the leadership of the Party REMS is fighting for the unity of all the democratic youth of Bulgaria in which sphere it has already made big strides forward. Committees of the democratic youth have been formed throughout the country. The existing 4,000 committees coordinate the joint work of the youth leagues, head the brigade movement of the youth. Apart from the different youth leagues such as ZEMS—100,000 members, SSM—15,000 members, “Zveno”—10,000 members and the radicals, the democratic youth committees also unite the vast mass of non-party youth. REMS is gradually transferring the emphasis of its educational work to the committees of the democratic youth. The urge to unite and establish a single youth organisation is great.

The forthcoming congresses of REMS and ZEMS in October of this year will take place in conditions of close cooperation.

The student youth of the secondary schools are united in one organisation (180,000 members). The People’s Front has succeeded in breaking the pernicious influence of the reactionary elements in the secondary schools and in gaining control there. It goes without saying that much work will have to be accomplished to develop and educate the youth in the secondary schools in a truly democratic spirit, to completely uproot the reactionary ideology.

The youth organisation in the elementary schools has a membership of 600,000.

A characteristic feature of the new democracy is the great political activity of the women. Our Party has taken the initiative in organising a women's league which is to unite all the democratic women of town and country. The present membership of this league is 407,000.

The Party is paying great attention to the physical culture movement (362,000 persons are engaged in sports activities). It is also keenly interested in the Bulgar-Soviet societies which have a membership of a million and which are very active in popularising the Soviet Union and in strengthening Bulgar-Soviet friendship.

## **V. The Principal Tasks of the Party**

What are the cardinal tasks facing the Party? They can be formulated as follows:

1. In every way to defend and treasure the independence and state sovereignty of the country, against all and every interference by foreign imperialism in our internal affairs; to universally strengthen our friendship with the great Soviet Union, with fraternal Yugoslavia, with all the Slav peoples and other democratic states; not to slacken our vigilance with regard to the intrigues of reaction, which has not yet been destroyed.

2. To spare no efforts to secure the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the Two-Year Economic Plan.

3. To observe the strictest regime in economy, bearing in mind that we have to rely primarily on ourselves, on our own forces to carry out our plan.

4. To carry out the autumn sowing in organised fashion so as to ensure our people with bread next year,

5. To adopt the final text of the new constitution, after certain fundamental changes have been introduced (to establish a presidium, subordinate to the People's Assembly, instead of a president of the Republic; to elaborate the question of local organs of state power etc.), and to carry out legislation in keeping with it.

To reorganise the state apparatus on the basis of the constitution (to establish an organ of state control, a planning organ, etc.).

6. To take measures to strengthen the alliance of workers and peasants.

7. To still further consolidate the People's Front, by turning it into a united political organisation of the democratic forces in the country with a new programme.

We regard the People's Front as the most appropriate form of the movement toward strengthening democracy and toward socialism in our conditions. The Party's point of view, on this question has been formulated by Comrade Dimitroff as follows:

“What, strictly speaking, does our policy represent at this stage of social development, i.e. in the era of the People's Front? Briefly, it can be described thus: From the view-point of our Party, as a party of the working class, as a party of the working people today and in the future; full realisation of the programme of the People's Front means providing the necessary conditions which would allow our people to pass over to socialism. As is known the future of all nations eventually lies in socialism. But today the struggle for socialism is different from what it was in 1917-18, in tsarist Russia, when the October Revolution was carried through. Then it was necessary to overthrow tsarism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to pass over to socialism. Since then, as you know, nearly thirty years have elapsed, and the Soviet Union, as a socialist state, has grown into a great world power. In the Great Patriotic War that country of socialism displayed the greatest vitality, made the biggest contribution to the victory over fascism to save civilisation in Europe and throughout the world. It was precisely this war which brilliantly confirmed the strength, power and superiority of the socialist social order. This profoundly influenced, and still does, the whole course of international development. Fundamental democratic reforms were introduced in many countries; among them Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland,

Hungary, Rumania, Finland, Bulgaria, as a result of the war and under the influence of the great deeds of the Soviet Union. We observe these democratic changes; this development along the path of progress against the old, reactionary regimes, against the regimes of big profiteering capital, cartels, concerns; imperialism; we observe it also in the colonies and semi-colonies, in Indonesia, India, and in other parts of the world. The existence of such a great socialist state as the Soviet Union, and the historical democratic transformations that are taking place since the war, confront many countries with the question of socialism, as a question of working class cooperation with the peasantry; artisans, intelligentsia and other progressive strata of the people.

When we in Bulgaria will be faced with the question of transition from the present social order to the new, socialist order, the Communists, relying on the people will build the new, socialist society together with the peasantry, artisans and intelligentsia as a common historical undertakings”.

*(pages 2, 3)*

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## G. GEORGIU-DEJ. THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUMANIA IN THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DEMOCRATISATION OF THE COUNTRY<sup>†</sup>

As a result of the Act of August 23, 1944, Rumania which had been an ally of Hitler Germany, withdrew from the war, joined the anti-Hitler coalition and turned her weapons against the Germans. This was made possible by the breakthrough of the Hitler front in Moldavia by Soviet troops, which disintegrated, and spread panic in the army and in Antonescu's state apparatus. Although there were no widespread anti-Hitler activities in the country when she was fighting on the side of Nazi Germany, the patriotic forces, headed by the Communist Party, which organised an armed workers' guard and appealed to the working people to oppose the Hitler regime of Antonescu, were the initiators of the Act of August 23, 1944.

### **I. The Struggle for a New Regime in Rumania**

Our Party began the struggle for a democratic regime in Rumania in difficult conditions. Although numerically small when Rumania withdrew from the Hitler war, our Party enjoyed considerable authority and influence in the country. It immediately rallied the democratic forces in the country reorganised the Party organisations, formed united trade unions which, in a short space of time, grew to be an influential social force. To date the trade union membership is close to one and a half million and covers the overwhelming majority of workers and office employees. The Social-Democratic Party, with whom our Party concluded a united front agreement as far back as May 1944, helped to organise the trade unions. The

<sup>††</sup> Informative report delivered at the Conference of representatives of several Communist Parties held in Poland, at the close of September, 1947.

organisation of the toiling peasantry—the Agricultural Workers' Front, headed by Petru Groza, gained influence throughout the country. On the initiative of our Party a national-democratic front was formed composed of all the democratic parties—the Communist Party, Social-Democratic Party, the Agricultural Workers' Front, and others.

As the initiator of the united action of the democratic forces our Party considerably enhanced its authority among the popular masses. It organised a number of monster demonstrations in all parts of the country, in the first place in Bucharest, to hasten the democratisation of Rumania's internal regime. The Sanatescu government, which came to power after August 23, was composed in the main of reactionary generals, who acted on the instructions of reactionary leaders—Maniu, Bratianu, and others. The Communist and Social-Democratic parties had each only one minister without portfolio in this government whereas the other democratic parties were not represented at all. The people publicly voiced their demand for a government representing all the political parties. The Communist Party demanded the introduction of a land reform, civic liberties for the working people, the defascisation of the country and, above all, active participation together with the USSR in the war against Nazi Germany. The democratic forces scored their initial successes as a result of this campaign. The government, of generals was compelled to give way to a government representing the political parties in the country. The Communist Party received the ministries of justice and

communications in the new government, as well as the post of deputy minister of home affairs. However, the reactionary parties—Maniu's National Tsaranist Party and the National

Liberal Party—continued to play the leading role in the government.

Following up the successes achieved, the democratic camp, led by our Party, mobilised the people to implement democratic reforms. We denounced the Minister of Home Affairs who took repressive measures against the workers' organisations and against the peasant movement.

A new wave of demonstrations forced also this government to resign. The position of the National Democratic Front was much stronger in the third government. The democratic parties won their demand to have the chairman of the Agricultural Workers' Front, Groza, appointed deputy prime minister. The reactionary parties, however, retained the dominant role even in this government; they sabotaged the armistice with the USSR and conducted a bitter struggle against democratic reforms. This government was headed by General Radescu, who was closely linked with Anglo-American imperialist circles.

The struggle of the democratic forces against the domination of reaction in the government and for the introduction of democratic reforms grew sharper after General Radescu came to power. Reaction organised fascist gangs who openly attacked workers' clubs and leaders of the workers' movement. Radescu recalled infantry, and even tank units from the front, which he then concentrated in Bucharest. The troops opened fire on workers' demonstrations. In Transylvania pogroms were carried out against the Hungarian population.

Our Party applied new methods of struggle in this situation. In answer to Radescu's refusal to replace the provincial prefects and chairmen of the municipal councils, who were the puppets of Antonescu, we appealed to the population to make this change themselves by appointing new leaders, elected by the masses, to take over the provincial and municipal councils. This was done despite the fact that in a number of instances Radescu's hirelings resorted to arms. In answer to the measures aimed at sabotaging the land reform, the Communist Party, jointly with the Agricultural Workers' Front, called upon the landless and poor peasants to divide the

landed estates among themselves. The peasants responded by putting into effect the land reform in keeping with the regulations established in the government programme published by the National-Democratic Front. When Radescu ordered the removal of the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, the latter, on instructions from the Party refused to leave his post and, ignoring the government sent a circular letter to the administrative organs, informing them that he was continuing his duties.

The National-Democratic Front launched a struggle to overthrow the Radescu government, which had the full support of Anglo-American reaction, as well as of the reactionary parties. The mass movement, which culminated in a 24-hour demonstration in front of the palace compelled Radescu to resign. He was given shelter by the British Mission and later taken abroad by the Americans, where he is now conducting a vicious campaign against democratic Rumania. As a result of the mass demonstrations the King consented to the formation of a coalition government of the democratic parties, headed by Dr. Groza. The reactionary parties were excluded.

Our Party as well as the parties of the National Democratic Front (the Agricultural Workers' Front, the Social-Democratic Party, the People's National Party, etc.) received important posts in the new government, which came to power on March 6, 1945. The Communist Party received the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Communications, With Tatarescu's party represented in it, the new government had a bigger political base than did the National-Democratic Front. Despite the difficulties presented by Tatarescu's party in the government (this party tried to restrict the land reform, attacked the government's finance policy, etc.), the extension of the government's political foundation was a positive factor under the circumstances.

We had to surmount great economic difficulties in the period between the Groza government and the Parliamentary elections on November 19, 1946. The country's economy was in a state of chaos and decline; there had been two successive



years of drought. However, despite all these difficulties, a number of reforms and measures were undertaken, which marked a big step forward in the democratisation of Rumania.

The land reform was completed and made law. One million, four hundred thousand hectares of land were distributed among 726,000 peasants. Under the leadership of the peasant committees the poor peasants, in response to the Party's call, which cooperated with the Agricultural Workers' Front, actively helped to carry out the reform.

An important role here was played by the workers' brigades sent to the villages by the Party and the trade unions to render assistance to the peasants. The brigades helped the peasants to carry out the spring sowing, to repair agricultural machinery, etc. In many enterprises workers sent agricultural implements to the peasants as gifts.

The support given to the poor peasants by the proletariat, mobilised by the Communist Party consolidated the alliance of workers and peasants and strengthened the leading role of the working class in this alliance.

When the democratic government came to power Rumania took an active part in the anti-Hitler war, dispatching 14 Rumanian divisions to the front, which fought shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet troops.

After the reactionary governments, which sabotaged the armistice terms with the USSR and Rumania's participation in the anti-Hitler war, were removed Rumania's foreign policy underwent a historical change with the establishment of friendly relations with the USSR.

Democratic Rumania enjoyed the support of the USSR. When the reactionary governments were in power the Soviet government, in answer to the outrages perpetrated by the fascist reactionary bands in Transilvania, demanded that Rumania's reactionary administration be recalled from Transilvania. On the third day after the establishment of the Groza government, Comrade Stalin, in reply to the letter of the Rumanian government, gave his consent to the restoration of a Rumanian administrator. in Transilvania.

The new Rumanian government pursued a democratic national policy, based on the equality of all nationalities. This afforded the conditions for eliminating the age-old antagonism existing between the Rumanians and Hungarians in Transilvania. Our government openly condemned the imperialist seizure of South Dobrudja by Rumania in 1913. It thus removed all disputable questions between Rumania and Bulgaria.

The government took measures to remove fascists from the state apparatus. The principal war criminals were tried and executed.

The apparatus of the Home Ministry was reorganised; its personnel was renewed with active democratic elements from among the working class. Many reactionary generals and officers were removed from the army. A political education apparatus was formed in the army. Reforms were introduced in the electoral system which disposed of the two-chamber system and gave women and the military the vote. The government set about to restore the country's economy and scored big successes in railway transport, which had suffered heavily in the war.

Our Party was the initiator and most active party in the campaign to help the famine-stricken districts. A special organisation was formed for the purpose with representatives of the state organs and mass organisations in which the Party played the leading role. Positive results were scored in saving children in the famine-stricken areas and checking starvation.

These reforms and measures were effected in conditions of a sharp struggle between the forces of democracy and native reaction, which was inspired by foreign reactionary circles. Under the influence of the latter the King demanded that the Groza government, soon after its formation, resign. The King declared that he no longer recognised the Groza government, broke off all relations with it and refused to sign government laws and decrees so as to make them "unconstitutional".

The Groza government continued to rule the country for five months under these conditions, and pursued its programme

of democratic reforms.

Parallel with this Anglo-American reactionary circles tried, through channels of diplomatic pressure, to get the new government removed as “unrepresentative” and to put the reactionary parties back in their former dominant positions. Thanks to the energetic support of the Soviet government the British and U.S. representatives were compelled to agree to the decision adopted in Moscow in January 1946. The Groza government remained in power. The reactionary parties were allowed each only one minister, without portfolio, moreover these ministers had to be approved by the government. Following this decision the King renewed his contact with the democratic government.

The governments of Britain and the USA once again attempted to interfere in the internal affairs of our country on the eve of the elections, when the two governments demanded a revision of the electoral law. This demand was emphatically rejected by our government.

At the Paris Peace Conference the British and American delegations, including other delegations, acting on their instructions, tried to introduce onerous conditions in the Peace Treaty, conditions which would have threatened our political and economic independence. However, they succeeded only in part, thanks to the stand taken by the Soviet delegation. The Anglo-Americans won their point with regard to reparations for losses suffered by Anglo-American capital in Rumania, etc.

Inside the country the National Tsaranist Party was the main weapon in the struggle of the reactionary forces against the democratic regime and its reforms.

The reactionary parties practised extreme methods in their drive against the new regime. Apart from widespread anti-Communist, anti-Soviet and chauvinist propaganda and provocative rumours, these parties resorted to assassinations, armed attacks on party, trade union and peasant functionaries, etc. In November 1945 the fascist bands opened fire on a workers' demonstration, killing nine persons. The security organs discovered a ramified network of underground fascist

organisations, which were preparing for an armed uprising.

Drastic repressive measures were taken against the activities of the reactionary parties.

We succeeded in smashing the manoeuvres of reaction— both native and foreign—which aimed to provoke a split in the government coalition and to isolate our Party from its allies. Reaction pinned its hopes on the former chairman of the Social-Democratic Party Titel Petrescu, who openly opposed cooperation between the Social-Democratic and Communist parties, and who concluded a secret agreement with the reactionary parties. At the congress of the Social-Democratic Party in March 1947. Petrescu was denounced and expelled from its ranks. He tried to form a new “independent” social-democratic party, but only a small number of right-wing Social-Democrats followed him. The united front and government coalition remained in force. Petrescu and his group were isolated and exposed as direct agents of reaction.

Home and foreign reaction exerted strong pressure also on the Tatarescu party. A group of the party’s leaders broke away and went over to the reactionary Liberal Party, opposing participation in the bloc of democratic parties. However, the attempt to split the government failed. The fact that the masses actively supported our policy of decisive struggle of the democratic forces against reaction, enabled us to preserve our political stability and avert a government crisis, in spite of the difficult economic situation.

In April 1946 the democratic parties formed a bloc to carry out the elections jointly. It was decided that all government parties enter the elections with a joint list of candidates. Here again the Soviet government came to the support of the Rumanian people in this difficult period. Apart from diplomatic support, which off-set the brazen interference of Anglo-American imperialism in our internal affairs, the Soviet government made the armistice terms easier for Rumania, and also gave us economic assistance, which enabled the country to emerge from the difficult situation caused by the drought.

Such were the conditions in which we launched one of the

most important campaigns carried out by our Party during the past three years, a campaign which aimed to strengthen the democratic regime by a victory in the Parliamentary elections, to win a solid democratic majority in Parliament.

## **II. The Democratic Transformation in the Country**

The victory won by the democratic parties at the Parliamentary elections in November 1946, helped to facilitate the process of Rumania's democratic development.

The Communist Party ran in the elections in a bloc with other parties—the Social-Democratic Party, the Agricultural Workers' Front, Tatarescu's party, the National People's Party, the National Peasants' Party of Alexandrescu. Our Party secured cooperation with the other parties on strict issues of principle. We elaborated the platform of the democratic party bloc which was adopted by all the other parties. The programme called for government activity in all spheres of the country's life. It outlined a number of important reforms—the handing over of the National Bank to the state, the democratisation of the taxation system, reforms in jurisdiction, shortening the term of military service, etc.

We had to conduct a bitter struggle during the election campaign against the coalition of reactionary parties, which availed themselves of the open support of certain British and American representatives in Rumania. These parties still had some influence, especially among the well-to-do sections of the peasantry. They tried to take advantage of the difficult material conditions of the population.

The election campaign extended to the broadest sections of the people, with more than 20,000 agitators working among them. All forces of the Party, as well as of the other democratic parties, were mobilised to ensure victory.

The election victory showed the strength of the democratic regime and the government. The bloc of democratic parties was preserved, despite the attempts made, within and without, to

disrupt it. The election campaign once again proved that the main force in our country is represented by the working class, the toiling peasantry and the progressive intelligentsia, headed by the Communist Party. The new Parliament has a solid democratic majority.

The Party has consolidated its position in the government. In addition to the previously-mentioned Ministries it now holds the Ministry of Industry and Trade, formerly in the hands of Tatarescu's party.

After the elections the Party and the people tackled the task of restoring the national economy. It was necessary to take radical measures against the activities of capitalist circles aimed at undermining the currency system. It was also necessary to check the inflation and chaos in the economy.

A number of important laws were adopted in a comparatively short space of time. The Emission Institute of Rumania—the National Bank, which was in the hands of Bratianu's reactionary capitalist group, went over to the state. The law reorganising the Ministry of Industry and Trade went into effect, thus considerably extending the Ministry's sphere of activity. Parliament passed a law establishing industrial councils for the key industries. This enabled the State to extend its control over the industrial and commercial operations of private enterprises.

In July 1947 the Party published its proposals to improve Rumania's economic and financial system. These proposals, later adopted by the government, outline a six-month programme for industry, a programme which sets the target of industrial output at 70 per cent compared with 1938. The proposals consider the introduction of a monetary reform and stabilisation as the cardinal task of the government of democratic forces.

A number of new democratic laws cover agriculture. This year's favourable harvest will have a beneficial effect on the country's economy. Grain deliveries have been organised so as to supply the urban population with bread. A law has been adopted regulating the sale of landed property, and thus

preventing the concentration of land in the hands of the rich peasants; it gives priority to the state in land purchases. The sale of land by the peasantry, allowed during the period of famine, has been annulled. Corvée one of the remnants of feudalism in our agriculture, has been abolished. A special institution has been established to strengthen the agricultural property (state farms, etc.) of the state and their rational utilisation by the latter.

Additional measures to further democratise the state apparatus have been adopted simultaneously with the above-mentioned laws and measures, which aim to consolidate our democracy in the sphere of economy. The curtailment in the staff of civil servants has cleared the state apparatus of a number of reactionary and mercenary elements.

The elections have strengthened the ties between our Party and its allies. The election campaign was a battle of the working class and the Communist Party for allies, especially for the principal ally—the toiling peasantry. The Agricultural Workers' Front played an important role in this battle. In a number of places kulak, anti-labour and anti-Communists infiltrated into the organs of the Agricultural Workers' Front. After the elections the leadership of the Agricultural Workers' Front took a decision to remove the kulak elements from the Front's leading organs and to transform the latter into a party of the toiling peasantry. In its resolution the leadership of the Agricultural Workers' Front stressed the need of an alliance between the workers and toiling peasantry, recognised the leading role of the proletariat, and the need for close cooperation between the Communist Party and the Front.

Democratisation of the leading organs also took place in the Hungarian People's Union—the democratic group of Transilvanian Hungarians have 29 deputies in Parliament.

Work among the youth was for a long time neglected in the activity of the democratic forces. The League of Working Youth, formed this year has in a short space of time become the biggest and most influential youth organisation in the country.

The League of Working Youth, the Youth of the Agricultural Workers' Front and the democratic student organisation, predominate in the National Youth Federation, which unites all the youth organisations in the country.

As regards the women's movement, all women's organisations in Rumania are united in the Democratic Women's Federation. The Anti-Fascist Women's Union is the biggest and most influential women's organisation in the country.

Reaction still has deep roots in the intelligentsia. Quite a number of reactionary professors have remained in the universities. However, the progressive trend among the intelligentsia is gaining momentum. A large number of prominent representatives of the intelligentsia—scientists, writers, artists, actors have joined the Party, or are close to it.

The measures to strengthen democracy's positions were effected in conditions of a sharpening struggle against reaction.

The National Tsaranist Party started underground activities, made fresh attempts to provoke foreign intervention. In an interview with an American journalist, Maniu openly called for armed intervention against the Groza government. A group of the party's leaders tried to escape abroad where they planned to put up an emigre "government".

The activity of the National Tsaranist Party was obstructing the democratic development of Rumania, which could not be tolerated. The government recently banned this party, annulled the mandates of its deputies, and arrested several of the deputies and the party's leadership. The trial of Maniu will deal a heavy blow not only at native reaction, but at Anglo-American reactionary circles as well.

The dissolution of the National-Tsaranist Party was a crushing political blow at the most reactionary and aggressive section of big capital and the expropriated landlords, whose interests were upheld by the National Tsaranist Party. Inside the bloc of the democratic parties the Communist and other democratic parties had to combat the anti-democratic actions of the liberals in Tatarescu's party.



Judging by Tatarescu's statements he plans to turn his party into a rallying centre for bourgeois groups hostile to the democratic regime. However, he is meeting with no success in his attempts to manoeuvre inside the government bloc, to disrupt the unity of the democratic forces and to isolate the Communist Party.

Already at the Paris Peace Conference Tatarescu opposed the government's home and foreign policy, and tried to impose his point of view on the other members of the Rumanian delegation, who had been sent by the government to defend the national, economic and political interests of the Rumanian people.

After the Peace Conference Tatarescu redoubled his activities inside the government bloc and beyond its confines. He outlined his position as chairman of the liberal party in a "memorandum", which he was inspired to draw up by the same circles, which are responsible for the removal of the Communists from government in France and Italy. This "memorandum" defends the enemies of the democratic regime and advocates a revision of Rumania's home and foreign policy. Although this "memorandum" was presented formally as a basis for discussion inside the bloc, actually it was designed for reactionary Rumanian and foreign circles, to be used as a weapon against the government and the Rumanian state.

In August 1947 Tatarescu held a meeting in Kraiova on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of his open letter to his supporters. Here it is appropriate to note that in this letter Tatarescu refrained from attacking the Germans and advanced a number of demagogic slogans. The letter was circulated through the good offices of the authorities of General Antonescu. At the meeting in Kraiova Tatarescu clarified his views regarding Rumania's foreign policy—whereas geographical conditions link us to the Soviet Union age-old traditions and sympathies link Rumania to the Western powers. It is obvious therefore that cooperation with the Tatarescu group is coming to an end. There has been a new realignment

of forces in the government camp, which is now following a firmer line.

Our cooperation with the Social-Democratic Party encountered certain difficulties due to the anti-Communist, reactionary and anti-Soviet position of the Right elements. For a time there was actually no united front of the two parties because of these elements. The Communist Party denounced the right wing in the Social-Democratic Party. Social-democratic workers in a number of industrial centres, on the other hand sharply opposed the right wing. The Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party expelled a number of right-wing leaders and recalled two of them from the government. These measures strengthened the united front of the Communists and Social-Democrats.

Trade union elections were recently held in Rumania on the basis of trade union autonomy. The majority of the workers voted for the Communists, who are in the forefront in production and social activities, and who have won authority and popularity among the working masses.

Here it should be pointed out that despite certain obstacles in our relations with the Social-Democratic Party, both parties acted in unison on all decisive questions.

The joint activities of the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties, the denouncement of the right wing of social-democracy and, finally, the leading role played by our Party in ensuring the democratic regime's cardinal successes led to a widespread movement in the ranks of the Social-Democratic Party in support of unity with the Communist Party. This movement among the Social-Democratic masses gained momentum, especially among the workers, after the success of the monetary reform.

The desire for unity among the working masses raises the question of a united party of the working class. The establishment of such a party will be preceded by a nation-wide explanatory, ideological campaign. The establishment of such a party, based on the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin will further strengthen the leading role of the working class; will

facilitate the task of eliminating alien influences in the working-class movement and create the prerequisite for the development of Rumania along the path of socialism through a people's democracy.

We plan to draw up a draft programme for a united workers' party, which will be submitted for public discussion.

The monetary reform recently introduced, has further enhanced the prestige of our Party. This reform, which marks an important step toward carrying out the Communist Party's proposals for the economic restoration of the country, struck heavily at profiteering capital which had accrued excessive profits during the inflation. The monetary reform helped to improve the standard of living of the working people, and what is particularly noteworthy, it was accomplished without Anglo-American credits, despite the claims of reactionary parties and the Tatarescu liberals that Anglo-American credits are an absolute condition for the economic recovery of Rumania.

### **III. For Further Development of the New Democracy**

New political and economic tasks face us today following the success of the monetary reform and the growth in the prestige and influence of our Party.

Much has to be done. The state sector in industry and trade is weak, the level of production and the productivity of labour are still low; only part of the administrative apparatus has been democratised, etc.

I shall mention some of the tasks we have started to carry out. They include:

The completion of stabilisation, increase of industrial output, gradual improvement of the living standard of the working masses by lowering prices; consolidation and extension of the state sector in industry; control and leadership of the private sector through industrial councils; measures against excessive profits by taxation, credit policy, state economic control and the law against sabotage;

Concentration of the banks; control of credit and private investments through the nationalised National Bank;

Supplies of agricultural machinery and implements to the peasants, especially to peasants who have received allotments in accordance with the land reform; development of state farms; application of the government's priority rights in purchasing land; extension of the network of consumer and producer cooperatives;

State direction of foreign trade; state stores in domestic trade; the extensive development of workers' consumer cooperatives;

Administrative reforms;

Reforms in the judicature; the introduction of people's assessors in all bodies of the judicature; Democratisation of the educational system;

Tax reforms;

The adoption of a new constitution in keeping with the changes that have come to pass.

The last question I would like to dwell on is our foreign policy and the strengthening of friendly ties with our democratic neighbours.

Our foreign policy is a policy of a new type. It is no longer the policy of vassal Rumania in relation to the imperialist countries. It is based on friendship with the Soviet Socialist State. Our people regard the prospect of an agreement of amity and mutual aid with the USSR as a guarantee of our independence and sovereignty, as a valuable contribution to the cause of peace.

We are carrying on constant work among the masses to imbue them with affection for and gratitude to the Soviet Union. The Rumanian Association for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union is one of the biggest and most active organisations in the country.

As regards our other neighbours, Rumanian government delegations have recently visited Sofia, Belgrade and Prague where the question of cementing our ties with these countries was discussed. There are prospects of further strengthening economic and cultural ties with all our neighbours—Bulgaria,

Yugoslavia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Major tasks face us in the sphere of Party work. From a numerically small party we have grown into the biggest political party in the country. The Communist Party of Rumania today has a membership of 710,000 of whom 44 per cent are workers, 39 per cent peasants. In the industrial areas the percentage of workers reaches up to 60-70.

This big number of young cadres has to be educated and politically trained. This is being done through our network of Party schools such as the higher Party school which has a six-month course, the four-month central school for cadres; the three-month school for newspaper workers, the Hungarian central school, the central women's school, central youth school, not to mention 21 schools for cadres in the provinces.

We have some 32,000 agitators who are attending short-term schools, without interrupting their work.

The Party publishes a number of weeklies and dailies. Its central organ "Skynteija" ("The Spark") has the biggest circulation in the country.

Our Party has developed extensive activities in the publishing field. It has published a number of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. In August of this year Marx's "Capital" appeared for the first time in the Rumanian language.

Soviet literature is widely published.

The Party is devoting its attention to combating alien ideological influences, particularly the reactionary ideological influence of imperialist circles on literature, art, the cinema, radio and the press.

There are serious shortcomings in our Party work, which are the outcome, primarily, of the low ideological and political level of our cadres. Not infrequently our middle and lower functionaries apply administrative methods, which are detrimental to us.

A section of our functionaries, including even those who have just recently been promoted from the enterprises, have poor ties with the masses, have lost contact with them.

In some regions of the country, especially in Transilvania, the

remnants of chauvinism till current among certain members of the Party, have not been totally eliminated.

Our functionaries have committed mistakes in carrying out the united front policy in some areas; there have been instances when relations were broken off with the Social-Democratic organisations for secondary reasons.

Finally, it must be acknowledged, that criticism and self-criticism are not sufficiently practised in the work of our Party organisations.

The cardinal task of our Party organisations is to consolidate organisationally the increased influence of the Party, and simultaneously with this to continue work to remove alien elements from the ranks of the Party. This will help us more successfully to surmount the shortcomings in Party work.

We are of the opinion that a new democracy is in the making in Rumania as well. The strengthening of the Party and its influence will hasten this process.

Our Party received the news of the initiative of our Polish comrades to convene an informative conference of the Communist Parties with a feeling of deep satisfaction. We welcome the proposal to find forms for a regular exchange of experience and coordination of activities between the Communist Parties, and believe that this will be of valuable help to us in the struggle for democracy and the peace.

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## J. REVAI. THE ACTIVITIES OF THE C.C. OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY<sup>†</sup>

### **I. The Political Situation in Hungary**

I shall begin my report on the situation in Hungary with a review of the Parliamentary election results for they disclose the cardinal political problems and show the relation of forces in the country.

Hungarian reaction, supported by American imperialism, was in general opposed to new elections. Its plan was to utilise the Parliamentary majority of the Small Landholders' Party, after the ratification of the Peace Treaty, and after the Allied Control Commission had finished their work, to form a new government of the Right without Communists and to hold elections, with the help of this government, in an anti-Communist and anti-Soviet atmosphere. The reactionaries thus hoped to secure a majority in Parliament, radically change home and foreign policy, and get the country to support American imperialism.

<sup>††</sup> Informative report delivered at the conference of representatives of several Communist Parties, held at the end of September, 1947, in Poland.

The very fact that we were able to hold the elections defeated the plans of reaction. Even at the time of the election campaign the Americans tried to get the Small Landholders' Party as well as the Social-Democrats to boycott the elections.

Our plan was to carry out the elections and thus strengthen the Party, to win a majority of Left democratic parties and thus secure the predominance of the Left parties in Parliament and in the government.

We concluded an election agreement of the four government parties for our proposal to form a 4-party bloc with a common list of candidates was rejected by the Social-Democrats and Small Landholders.

The election agreement pledged these parties to abstain from attacking one another and to carry on a joint struggle against the reactionary parties. However, it was more of a formal agreement, since the democratic parties were conducting an election struggle also among themselves. That is why the Hungarian National Front of Independence (formed in March 1944 during the German occupation, when both the Social-Democrats and Small Landholders were underground parties), formerly a militant alliance of the democratic forces, based on the popular movement, became a parliamentary coalition.

Here it should be noted that at the time of its establishment already the Hungarian National Front of Independence was sooner an alliance of leaders of the democratic parties rather than an organisation which reflected popular resistance to the Germans and their Hungarian agents. In 1944-45 national committees were established on the territories liberated by the Soviet Army. These committees, however, were based on the parity principle, were weak and the provisional government, formed in Debretsen in December 1944, could not rely on them.

The reactionaries infiltrated into the Front of National Independence and succeeded in using the Party of Small Landholders to further their own ends. The Front thus simply became a coalition in which an incessant struggle was carried on.



What are the positive results of the Parliamentary elections?

We became the leading party after twenty-five years of illegality, when our Party actually constituted only a small group.

After the country's liberation by the Soviet Army we became the first party in the country as a result of constructive work and a resolute struggle against the enemies of the people.

In 1945 the Communist Party received 800,000 votes, i.e. 17 per cent of the total vote; in 1947—1,118,000 votes, i.e. 22.3 per cent of the total vote.

The social composition of the votes polled by the Party is as follows:

peasants 500,000

workers 450,000

intelligentsia and

petty-bourgeoisie 160,000

The following figures are also most interesting: the Communist Party's candidates polled 70-80 per cent of the miners vote, 65 per cent of the votes in the heavy industrial centres and 27.5 per cent of the vote in Budapest (as against 22 per cent in 1945).

Whereas in 1945 we were in the minority in the provincial towns, today we are ahead of the Social-Democrats.

That same year the Communists received 145,000 votes in the six biggest cities and the Social-Democrats 207,000; in 1917 the figure was 203,000 for the Communists and 186,000 for the Social-Democrats.

However, it would be incorrect to overestimate our increased influence among the working class. Facts and figures go to show that we have as yet not won the decisive majority among the working class.

There are important industrial centres and cities where the forces of the Communists and Social-Democrats are equally

balanced, and in some cases the Social-Democrats predominate, as for instance, in the capital's suburbs.

A new and positive factor in Hungary is the turn of the peasantry to the Left. This, of course, is not as yet a common feature; it does not as yet effect even all the poor and middle peasants, There is still considerable dissatisfaction among the peasantry. They are still greatly under the influence of the Church. However, note should be taken of the positive fact that 1,450,000 peasants, that is to say, two-thirds of the whole peasantry cast their vote for the 4-party coalition. Of the 1,450,000 peasant votes the Communist Party received 500,000, the Social-Democrats 200,000, the Peasant Party 350,000, whereas the Left parties together polled 1,050.000 votes.

This fact is particularly important when one bears in mind that the Hungarian reactionary bourgeoisie is trying to set the peasants against the workers and, with the help of the former, to isolate the working class, headed by the Communists.

This plan of the bourgeoisie has not been completely frustrated. The fight for the peasantry continues and we have scored certain successes in this field, as evidenced by the election results.

The National Peasant Party grew stronger in the course of the elections and received 420,000 votes, i.e. 90,000 more votes than in 1945. It should not be forgotten that this party is the party of the poor peasant.

Thus, the coalition as a whole received 60.8 per cent of the vote or, 65 per cent of the mandates, and the three Left parties, which polled 46 per cent of the vote, received 50 per cent of the mandates.

I shall now pass over to the factors, which show that we have nonetheless not fully succeeded in achieving our aim, namely, that of creating a firm majority of the Left in Parliament, and thus ensuring the development of Hungary along the path of a people's democracy.

The situation inside the government coalition is complicated by the fact that the Social-Democrats and Small Landholders have

sustained heavy losses: the Social-Democrats lost some 80,000 votes in the elections and the Small Landholders nearly two million votes. In view of this the right-wing groups in these parties staged a revolt and tried to seize the leadership.

As for the Social-Democrats, their policy in the election campaign was dictated by the right wing. They wanted to become the successors in the Small Landholders' Party and hence took the line of winning the votes of the reactionary elements. To achieve this they propagated the anti-Communist and, occasionally anti-Soviet slogans and arguments of reaction. Thus, for instance, the provocative rumour was circulated throughout the country that if the Communists emerged victorious in the elections collective farms would immediately be instituted. By conducting anti-Communist and anti-Soviet agitation they did a service to the right-wing parties and a disservice to themselves.

The Social-Democrats failed in their plan to become the strongest party in the country. Firstly, because the leader of the right-wing, Karl Peijer, withdrew from the Social-Democratic Party and ran on the ticket of one of the bourgeois parties. This, of course, gave rise to confusion among the Social-Democrats. Secondly, because the Social-Democrats and bourgeois parties fought for the vote of the petty bourgeoisie, with the result that the Social-Democrats lost heavily in this struggle.

The Social-Democrats not only failed to gain a foothold among the peasantry, they also lost their influence in the central agrarian areas, lost many votes in the very places where the peasantry, as a whole, are democratically inclined.

As for the Small Landholders they suffered a complete fiasco. As earlier stated this party lost some two million votes. It was the bulwark of Hungarian reaction. American and British imperialism, particularly, placed high hopes on this party, all the more so since it held 57 per cent of the vote, was known for its democratic traditions in the past, relied for much of its support not only on the kulak but also on the middle peasant, was in the opposition to the government at the time of the Horthy regime. All forces of reaction, including the landlords,

and bourgeoisie unanimously supported this party at the 1945 elections.

We succeeded, as the result of a two-year struggle, in offsetting, to a considerable extent, the influence of the reactionaries on the democratic core and peasant mass of the party.

You know of reaction's plot, which was headed by the leaders of this party. Reaction, which took cover in this party, was dealt a crushing blow when we exposed Nadj Ferenc, former premier of the government and leader of the Small Landholders' Party as one of the ringleaders in the plot. This took place while he was vacationing in Switzerland. Although advised by the Americans not to resign and return to Hungary to further the plot, Nadj Ferenc lacked the courage to face trial.

What is the situation today in this party?

After the Small Landholders' Party compromised itself in the conspiracy . and left-wing elements took over leadership, a large number of the reactionary forces withdrew from the party. The struggle for leadership between the democratic and reactionary forces inside the party, started at the time of the elections, continues.

As a result of the disintegration in this party the reactionary elements .in its ranks and outside, the party realised that it could no longer be used as the principal tool in the struggle against Hungarian democracy. That is why they formed new reactionary parties.

I have in mind two parties mainly; They are:

1. The so-called Democratic People's Party, headed by Barankovich. This party actually represents in the main the Catholic clergy.<sup>17</sup>) In the elections it-received 800,000 votes. Politically it relies on the most backward sections of the peasantry, and above all, on the women.

<sup>17</sup> Apart from enemies of Hungarian democracy this party also has elements who are opposed to following the path of reaction. It is therefore possible to make certain differentiations in its ranks.

2. The pro-fascist Pfeiffer party, the so-called Hungarian Independence Party, which is the principal enemy of Hungarian democracy. In the last Parliamentary elections this party polled more than 600,000 votes, mostly in the cities. It is the open agent of American imperialism which is using this party mainly to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungary.

It must be acknowledged that we underestimated the strength of these two reactionary parties. It was, therefore, only in the last stage of the election struggle that we opened fire on them.

Before passing over to my report on the present situation in Hungary allow me to summarise the aforesaid, briefly.

1. The democratic forces, and above all, our Party, have grown stronger, that is to say, Hungarian democracy has a more solid foundation today.

2. The differentiation of forces in the country continues, This, in its turn, means that the struggle between the democratic and reactionary forces of Hungary is growing sharper. We know just how strong we are, that we are consolidating our positions. However, we are not blind to the enemy and under no circumstances mean to underestimate his strength.

3. Parallel with the general alignment of forces a differentiation is taking place in the camp of democracy itself, where right-wing groups are being formed which intend to collaborate, up to a point, with the anti-Communist forces; on the other hand the left-wing elements in the democratic parties are gradually moving over to us in order to combat reaction jointly.

Bearing all this in mind, as well as the acute international situation, it can be said that Hungarian democracy is advancing toward major political battles.

## **II. The Struggle Around the Formation of the New Government**

The sharpening of contradictions, earlier mentioned by me, became evident during the negotiations to form a new government.

1. The right-wing group in the Small Landholders' Party tried

to capture the party leadership with the object of having their representatives in the new government who would, actually, have been the trusted agents of the pro-fascists. Moreover, these same groups made stipulations which, once accepted, would have signified the adoption of a virtually reactionary programme by the new government.

The right-wing Social-Democrats held the left wing responsible for their defeat in the elections; in order to seize the party leadership they held mass demonstrations against the leftwing leaders. Under this pressure the Social-Democratic leadership adopted a decision that Social-Democrats would participate in the government only under certain conditions, that is, only if they were given a number of key positions in the state apparatus.

This would have threatened our Party with isolation, would have retarded the formation of the new government. Even more. It would have jeopardized the very possibility of its formation, or made it possible only by major concessions on the part of the democratic forces.

How did we avert this danger?

By mobilising the masses to combat the danger of reaction and, by publishing our government programme. Three hundred thousand persons attended the mass meeting on the Square of Heroes in Budapest.

Our slogans were:

Immediately form a new strong democratic government! Put a stop to the political intrigues started in connection with the formation of the government and set to work! Down with the enemies of democracy!

Our government programme contained the demand for a three-year economic plan; we proposed a series of measures to cover the deficit in the government budget, to combat high prices, corruption, and to provide the working people with provisions.

We organised a popular movement around these slogans and our government programme. At the same time the plenum of the Central Committee of the Party resolutely declared that the Communist Party does not intend to extend the government

coalition to the Right; that it does not intend to include right-wing elements of the democratic parties in the coalition.

We succeeded in this way in reaching agreement on the formation of the new government.

Of the 15 members in the new government 5 are Communists, 4 Social-Democrats, 4 Small Landholders, 2 members of the Peasant Party. The composition of the present government precludes the possibility of decisions being taken detrimental to the Left democratic forces.

It is clear that the attempts of the right-wing elements to establish a united front against the Communists have suffered only a temporary setback, and that these attempts will be renewed.

### **III. The Line of the Party in the New Conditions and Its Prospects**

We have won one of the battles with the formation of the new government, but we are aware that the cardinal question of Hungarian democracy, that is, whether this democracy will, ultimately, be a popular democracy or a bourgeois democracy, has not yet been settled.

In connection with this also the second major question—whether Hungary will join the ranks of the neighbouring people's democracies, or whether she will, in one form or another, become the bulwark of Anglo-American imperialism—has not been settled.

In order to understand the internal political struggle in Hungary account must be taken of the policy of American imperialism, which is aimed at turning Hungary into a base of struggle against the USSR and the countries of the people's democracy. Hungarian democracy contains the elements of popular and bourgeois democracy.

What are the economic elements of the people's democracy to date?

1. Feudal relations have been eradicated in the country, and a radical agrarian reform introduced; 650,000 poor peasants and

land labourers have received allotments at the expense of manorial and church estates; the democratic government is helping them in every way to develop their farms.

2. Heavy industry—iron and steel, mining, electric power—has been nationalised. Also the bauxite and aluminium industries will be nationalised in the near future.

3. The big banks, which control about 60 per cent of Hungary's industry, will be nationalised<sup>7)</sup>

4. State control of the country's economic and financial life through the Supreme Economic Council where Left democratic elements predominate.

5. The introduction of a three-year plan to restore the national economy. This plan is promoting the development of the state sector and curbing the activities of the capitalists.

What are the political elements of the people's democracy?

1. The decisive role of the working class in the country's political life has been secured by the united front, even though cooperation between the two workers' parties is passing through a crisis now.

2. The alliance of the working class with a considerable section of the toiling peasantry. This has been achieved primarily through the close alliance of the Communist Party with the National Peasant Party and with the democrats in the Small Landholders' Party.

3. The Communist Party is the biggest party of workers and peasants in the country.

4. The decisive influence of the workers' parties in the armed forces, and the police.

What are the elements of bourgeois democracy?

1. A considerable part of industry and practically the whole of commerce are still in the hands of the capitalists.

2. The kulak farms, which obstruct grain deliveries are supplying the black market.

<sup>7)</sup> The Hungarian Parliament has already adopted laws nationalising heavy industry and the banks.—Ed.



3. The administrative apparatus is made up, for the most part, of old officials.
4. The influence of reactionary clericalism, which constitutes a serious force is far from having been eliminated.
5. The existence of reactionary parties and of a pro-fascist party in Parliament.
6. The existence of right-wing, anti-Communist groups in the democratic parties.

Since the country's liberation by the Soviet Army the conflict between the two elements in Hungarian democracy has sharpened. The course of this conflict shows that the elements of the people's democracy are growing and already outbalance the elements of bourgeois democracy.

What are the facts that prove this? The introduction of the agrarian reform in 1945, the stabilisation of the currency system in 1946, the denouncement and liquidation of the plot against the republic, the adoption of the Three-Year Economic Plan in 1947 and the formation of a democratic government after the elections in August of this year.

The conflict between the two trends continues and is growing sharper.

Hungary has scored major successes in the field of economic restoration. Our industry has reached 80 per cent of the pre-war level. Transport, destroyed by the war, has been restored, thanks to the effective measures taken by Comrade Gere, the Minister of Communications. The country's coal mines are producing 85 per cent of the pre-war output.

The stabilisation of the monetary system in August 1946 enabled Hungarian economy to develop rapidly and raise the standard of living of the working people. Thus, for instance, on August 1, 1946 workers' earnings did not exceed 50 per cent of the pre-war figure. In the succeeding year however real wages averaged 60 per cent of the pre-war level.

Stabilisation of the economic base strengthened democracy's political foundation. However, it also strengthened the position of the capitalist especially in commerce.

Here it should be mentioned that the country's economic and

financial difficulties have resulted in additional hardships. For three successive years Hungary suffered a drought. This means that this year the grain crop was only 30 per cent of the estimated harvest, i.e. five million centners less than was expected. Because of this the government has been compelled to cut the bread ration. The national income this year will be 150 million American dollars less, i.e. a cut of 10 per cent of the total income.

It follows from this that the stabilisation measures introduced last August have not as yet taken firm root and that we have to continue the struggle to accomplish this.

The Central Committee of the Party has outlined a series of measures to cope with the difficulties in the spheres of economy, finance and supply. The most important of these are:

1. Increased productivity of labour in industry. Industrial output averages approximately 80 per cent of the pre-war level, and in certain branches as, for instance, in the textile, 100 per cent. However, the productivity of labour is very low, which explains why the net cost of production is comparatively high, resulting in a deficit in nationalised industry.

2. To eliminate the deficit by introducing rationalisation measures, especially in the state enterprises, by tightening labour discipline, etc.

3. To combat high prices by means of economic and administrative measures.

4. A substantial tax increase on the incomes and property of capitalists.

5. A strict economy regime in the state apparatus. To accomplish this we have even decided to cut capital investments, provided for in the Three Year Plan, by 25 per cent in the initial stages of the Plan in order later, when the economic situation is more favourable, to speed the realisation of the Plan.

The paramount task of our Party in its economic and financial policy is to support the stabilisation measures, to counteract the inflation tendencies and, at the same time, more vigorously to curb the capitalists.

Our experience has shown that inflation saps the foundations of democracy, economically and politically. We can not cope with our political tasks unless we preserve democracy's firm economic base.

Experience has also proved that it is not easy to advance and secure the victory of the people's democracy in Hungary so long as right-wing elements exist in the democratic parties. The 4-party coalition which, at the close of 1944, formed a provisional national government on the basis of the National Front of Independence, has actually dwindled down to Parliamentary and government cooperation. The right-wing elements consider the policy of cooperation with the Communists a temporary evil, and at the first opportune moment will try to oppose the Communists and break off contact with them.

Our Party must strengthen the alliance with the democratic forces which can solve the cardinal question of developing the people's democracy in Hungary.

How can the people's democracy be further developed?

The following is imperative:

1. To help the Left elements in the Social-Democratic parties successfully counter-act the aggressive policy of the right-wing Social-Democrats; to strengthen the united front and thus bring closer the prospect of establishing a united party of the Hungarian working class.
2. To help the democratic elements in the Small Landholders' Party which rely on the peasant masses in this party strengthen their cooperation with the workers' parties.
3. To strengthen the alliance with the National Peasants' Party in every conceivable manner.
4. To further extend the mass base of the Communist Party.
5. We consider the disbandment of Pfeiffer's pro-fascist party, which serves as a legal cover for Hungarian fascism<sup>1</sup>), an

<sup>1</sup>) The Hungarian government has disbanded Pfeiffer's pro-fascist party, and Parliament has annulled this party's deputy mandates.—Ed.

important step toward consolidating the people's democracy.

#### **IV. Party Activities**

The Party has won great authority in the past two and a half years since the liberation of Hungary by the Soviet Army. Even our enemies admit that the Communist Party is the driving force in the country's state life. Before the elections the Institute of Public Opinion asked the question: who is the most popular government figure in the country? Comrade Rakosi received the majority of votes. He enjoys the greatest authority and popularity of the leaders of Hungarian democracy.

Our Party today has more than 750,000 members, During the election campaign in August 1947 100,000 new members joined the Communist Party. The social composition of the Party is as follows:

workers 420,000  
peasants 280,000  
intellectuals,  
artisans, small traders, etc. 50,000

Twenty-five to thirty per cent of the membership are women. We have 4,700 primary organisations at factories, in the countryside and in the cities. Of the 3,200 villages only 60 have no Party organisation. Some 10,000 of the 750,000 members were in the Party at the time of its illegality. Nearly 50,000 were former members of the legal Social-Democratic Party or the trade unions, persecuted by the Horthy regime.

After the liberation of Hungary the Party found itself in conditions similar to those existing in the other countries, earlier mentioned by the comrades from the fraternal Parties. The increase in the Party's membership meant that it had been joined by people lacking practical experience and ideological training. With regard to cadres our Party has the same shortcomings as the other fraternal Parties. However, I do not

intend to start with the shortcomings; I shall speak about the successes and strength of the young Party members. The Party would not have been able to successfully solve the tasks of the last two and a half years with the help of old cadres alone.

Thanks to the assistance of the young cadres we were able at the beginning of 1945 to divide up the landed estates virtually in the space of a few weeks; the Budapest Party organisation dispatched hundreds and thousands of workers to the villages to assist the peasant committees in this work with the result that the peasants received three and a half million morgens of land. Furthermore the alliance between workers and peasants, was formed and consolidated.

With the help of the young cadres the Party was able to advance and put into effect the slogan to restore transport. Thanks to the fact that 10,000 railway cars and 500 locomotives were repaired by December 31, 1945 our cities were not caught in the vise of hunger in the winter of 1945-46.

By relying on the assistance of the young cadres the Party was able to spearhead the popular movement for the economic rehabilitation of the country, which started immediately after the liberation of Hungary. The young Communists inspired the workers in the difficult period of inflation when it was impossible to purchase anything on their earnings and the workers went hungry. Together with other Party members they tightened discipline in labour with the result that the country's industrial output increased from month to month, and in August 1946, at the time of stabilisation, reached 60-70 per cent of the pre-war level.

With the help of these young cadres we were able in the two years to mobilise the popular masses against reaction and emerge victorious in the struggle.

We do not mean to conceal the shortcomings of our young cadres, shortcomings which are sometimes reflected in a certain lack of understanding of the democratic and national policy of our Party.

The broad masses looked upon the Party as the Party of 1919, as the party of the dictatorship of the proletariat. There were

many “old Communists,” who thought that the Soviet Army had liberated Hungary in order to establish Soviet power, in order to continue what had been started in 1919. These people did not understand the policy of cooperation with the other democratic parties, and acted like “small dictators” in the villages and regions where they caused considerable harm to the Party.

Left sectarianism, particularly in relation to the Social-Democrats, still exists, even though we have removed many comrades with left-wing tendencies from responsible positions.

Our organisations have started everyday explanatory work among the working people, to display interest in municipal questions and to visit villages on Sundays. Thanks to this change we were successful in the last election campaign.

We are striving to overcome the theoretical and political weaknesses of our cadres. Our Party education is organised as follows: in every area we have three-week courses; there are two three-month Party schools and one six-month central Party school.

Apart from this we have organised hundreds of lectures and special courses for officers, students, municipal workers, etc. In preparation for the elections our special courses trained thousands of agitators. Over 150,000 Communists have received their training at various Party schools, courses and circles.

Our theoretical organ, which has a circulation of 15,000 copies, plays its part in the education of our Party cadres. The Communist daily press has a big circulation in the country. The Party's central organ with a daily circulation of 110,000 copies, and Sunday issue 160,000 copies, is the biggest paper in Hungary. In addition there are 3 popular papers in the country with a total circulation of 180,000 copies. We publish 15 dailies and 45 papers which appear 1, 2 or 3 times weekly.

The Party Publishing House has issued a considerable amount of political literature and fiction. Our influence on the cinema and radio is extensive.

The Party's influence also among the intelligentsia is

widespread: nearly 20 per cent of the country's physicians and engineers are Communists; many prominent writers, actors, scientists and artists are members of the Party.

There are a number of mass organisations in Hungary of which the trade unions are the most Important. Their membership is close to 1.5 million. The influence of the Communists in the leading trade unions is increasing.

The mass organisation of women (the Democratic Union of Hungarian Women) and of the youth (the Democratic Union of Hungarian Youth) are not as yet playing their appropriate role.

The Union of New Landholders, the organisation of the peasants who received land in keeping with the agrarian reform, is the most important mass organization in the countryside. Formed on our initiative its leadership consists of peasants belonging to different parties.

The Party also enjoys influence among the democratic organisations of handicraftsmen and small merchants.

Regarding the further tasks of our Party it should be pointed out that it must still further strengthen its contact with the masses, raise the ideological level of its members, remove careerists and alien elements from office and promote to leading positions Communists who have the confidence of the people and are popular among them.

## **V. Foreign Policy**

The questions of home and foreign policy of Hungarian democracy are closely interlinked. The reactionary section of Hungarian society—the big capitalists, former landlords, kulaks and the Horthy bureaucracy, are enemies of the people's democracy and the proponents of Angle- American orientation in the country. The weakening and eradication of native reaction narrows down Anglo-American imperialism's base in the country and guarantees the democratic orientation of Hungary's foreign policy.

Hungary's former ruling classes were the vassals of German fascism and fought on its side up to the very last. Thanks to

their policy Hungary remained Hitler's vassal; they led the country to catastrophe. The Hungarian big capitalists and landlords were linked with Germany; in German fascism they saw their champion against the Hungarian workers and peasants.

The desire to dominate the Slav peoples and the Rumanians of Transylvania turned Hungary's ruling classes into a vassal of German fascism. Chauvinism and revisionism always served as the tools in the Greater Hungarian policy to distract the attention of the Hungarian working people from exploitation inside the country, from the national treachery of the ruling classes and for instigating the Hungarian working masses against the neighbouring nations.

The struggle against the German menace to the independence of Hungary has always been closely linked with the struggle for Hungarian democracy and for an alliance with the Slav peoples. The history of the Hungarian movement for independence knows of innumerable attempts to establish contact with the neighbouring Slav peoples.

Already during the war the Hungarian Communists declared that the struggle against the German invaders is linked with the struggle for independence in alliance with the neighbouring Slav nations fighting for their freedom, that it is linked with the struggle to reject the chauvinism of a Greater Hungary. We defended this viewpoint also after the country's liberation, at the time of the preparations for the Paris Peace Conference, when chauvinism was again rearing its head in the country.

While opposing these chauvinistic tendencies we at the same time supported certain moderate national demands at the Peace Conference since this corresponded to the just national sentiments of the Hungarian people. After the Peace Treaty was signed, however, the Communist Party resolutely declared that it was necessary to put an end to revisionism, that Hungarian democracy can not tolerate any measures aimed against its democratic neighbours. We are guided by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin that the national question must be subordinated to the general questions of democratic progress.



The Greater Hungarian chauvinism is still evident in Hungary. Today it is being fostered by Anglo-American imperialism, instead of by the Hitlerites.

However, Hungarian chauvinism is losing influence among the popular masses. The working class is grateful to the USSR for its liberation. Six hundred and fifty thousand Hungarian peasants will always remember that they received land thanks to the Soviet Army. When land allotments were being made the following inscription was a common sight in the countryside: "We thank Stalin for the land."

The sympathy of the Hungarian people for the new Yugoslavia is explained by the fact that they know that Federative Yugoslavia has given the Hungarians inside that country freedom and the opportunity to develop their own national culture. For the same reason Hungarian reaction finds it very difficult to incite anti-Rumanian sentiments, for the Hungarians in Transylvania have received national rights.

The policy of American imperialism, which applies the methods of German imperialism the life-long enemy of Hungarian independence—makes it easier for us to combine the defence of Hungary's independence with the struggle against American imperialism and for an alliance with the neighbouring democratic nations, above all, with the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

The Hungarian people are interested in joining the union of the democratic peoples fighting for freedom and independence. The democratic peoples, for their part, are interested in helping Hungary achieve this so as to prevent her being used as a wedge of Anglo-American imperialism in the valley of the Danube.

We, Hungarian Communists as the party of the people, represent the interests of the people. We can not accept the fact that the Hungarians in Slovakia have been deprived of civil liberties. We hope that ultimately an agreement will be reached on this question.

Hungarian democracy has also displayed its strength on questions of foreign policy.

The Communist Party successfully opposed Hungarian chauvinism in connection with the Peace Treaty.

The government unanimously decided not to participate in the Paris conference on the question of the "Marshall Plan".

Despite Anglo-Saxon intrigues Hungary has concluded a Hungarian-Yugoslav treaty of mutual economic assistance which was welcomed by the people.

Our government programme envisages the conclusion of treaties of amity and mutual aid with our democratic neighbours and we hope to settle these questions without delay. We are educating the Hungarian people to despise the Anglo-Saxon and, particularly, the American imperialists, and are combining this with the struggle for Hungarian independence; we are exposing the reactionary classes as the traitors of the people and as the servitors of foreign imperialism.

Hungarian democracy needs the assistance of the neighbouring democracies to carry out its home and foreign tasks. This assistance can be either economic, as for instance, the trade agreement with the Soviet Union or the economic agreement with Yugoslavia, or in the form of moral-political help.

But we do not only seek assistance. The Hungarian Communists realise their responsibilities. They also realise they can render invaluable assistance to our comrades in the neighbouring countries by eradicating native reaction and building up a state in Hungary which the neighbouring nations need not fear and which they could rely upon as an ally. To cope with this task we need the advice, consultation and exchange of experience of our fraternal Parties. The Hungarian Communist Party therefore greets this conference, all the more so since the international situation, in our opinion, is becoming more complicated with every passing day and the coordination of policy of the Communist Parties is imperative.

There are a number of international questions which can be solved only by collective effort. I greet the conference on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party.

(pages 5, 6)

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## **PARTY NEWS BRIEFS**

### **THE PLENUM OF THE CC OF THE CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia recently held a plenum attended by Parliamentary deputies of the Communist Party, by secretaries of the regional and district organisations.

Regarding the economic development of the country Comrade Gottwald stated that the two-year plan for industry (excluding food), has been fulfilled 100.4 per cent for the first ten months of the current year. However, this year's very poor harvest has temporarily interrupted the improvement in the living standard of the people. Hence the other difficulties in Czechoslovakia's present economic situation. Comrade Gottwald particularly stressed that for the first time in the history of Czechoslovakia her farmers have received government relief in connection with the drought.

Speaking on the internal political situation Comrade Gottwald stated that a stubborn struggle has been conducted during the last few months against reaction in all spheres of the country's social and political life. The reporter raised the following tasks before the Communist Party: 1) at all costs to introduce order in the supplies and agriculture of Slovakia; 2) to smash the anti-government plot and carry out a purge in the civic bodies of Slovakia; to mobilise the Slovak people to help carry out these tasks.

A report on the organisational tasks of the Party was delivered by Comrade Slansky. He reported that since the beginning of the year the Communist Party has accepted 237,384 new members: on January 1, 1947 the Communist

Party of Czechoslovakia had 1,043,3,754 members, on November 28—1,281,138 members. In November alone 63,000 persons joined the Party. The Communist Party today is, numerically, bigger than all the other parties taken together.

The closing session unanimously passed a resolution on the Party's principal tasks with regard to food supplies for the population, and the proper distribution of goods.

The plenum of the CC fixed the dates for the annual meetings at which the Party organisations are to report on their work. A resolution was adopted on measures to raise the ideological and theoretical level of the Communists.

## **MANIFESTO OF THE CC OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF DENMARK**

The Central Committee of the Danish Communist Party published a manifesto calling for solidarity with the French people. The manifesto states: "With the help of the army and police attempts are being made to smash the trade union movement and hamper the struggle of the French people against hunger and exploitation. Using methods, which do not in the least differ from those applied during the war and the occupation, reaction has now launched a crusade against the French Communist Party, which by its heroic struggle played a decisive role in the liberation war of the French people, and which is the only champion of the Republic, the trade unions and the interests of the French people.

"The French people have risen up in struggle. They will not permit reaction and the US imperialist bosses to deprive them of their freedom and hinder their struggle for human living conditions.

"We send our ardent militant greetings to the French people and the French Communist Party in this hour. We call upon all Danish workers, upon all progressive and democratic elements in Denmark to come out in solidarity with the fighting French people."

## **RESOLUTION OF THE CC OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BELGIUM**

The Central Committee of the Belgian Communist Party recently held a session at which the general secretary of the Belgian Communist Party, Comrade Lalman, reported on the political situation. The Central Committee sharply criticised certain forms of work practised by the Belgian Communist Party among the population.

In the section dealing with foreign policy the CC resolution states that the Belgian Communist Party will “ruthlessly expose all those who, under cover of false neutrality, are advancing the idea of the so-called third force, which allegedly is to play the role of arbitor but which, actually, can only deceive the working masses and serve the ends of reaction; will conduct extensive explanatory and propaganda work to disclose to the working masses the real aims of American imperialism and its threat to the working people; will unswervingly link the struggle against American imperialism with defence of peace and democracy, and popularise the achievements scored by the Soviet Union and the people’s democracies in building a socialist society.

“The Central Committee considers it necessary to stress the fact that reaction and the magnates of capital continue to be enemy No. 1.”

## **THE UNITED FRONT OF POLISH WORKERS’ PARTIES**

Numerous meetings were held in Poland to mark the anniversary of the united front agreement concluded between the Polish Workers’ Party and the Polish Socialist Party. The resolutions adopted emphasize the great significance the unity of the labour movement has for the rehabilitation of the country

and the consolidation of the people's democracy. The newspapers carried articles written by the leaders of the two parties.

Before this agreement was concluded, reports the secretary of the CC of the PWP, Comrade Zambrowski, the PSP had a membership of over 400,000 and the PWP—450,000; today the membership of the PWP is over 800,000 and that of the PSP 750000.

This increase is indicative of the confidence of the working class in the policy of the parties. "Is it not a fact," writes Comrade Zambrowski, that cooperation, as expressed in the united front, has "enabled the PSP to remain true to its finest traditions in the struggle for independence and socialism. whereas the independence of Leon Blum, Ramadier and Guy Mollet, has made them, and together with them France, dependent on American imperialism."

## **REGARDING THE FORMATION OF A UNITED WORKERS' PARTY IN RUMANIA**

Joint meetings of Communists and Social-Democrats are being held throughout Rumania, at which committees are being elected in preparation for the formation of a united workers' party. Such committees are being established at enterprises, institutions, in districts, cities, regions. Members of the Central Committees of the two parties will tour the districts in the near future to explain the platform of the united workers' party.

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# **THE TRIUMPH OF GENUINE DEMOCRATISM**

**(REGARDING THE SOLUTION OF THE  
NATIONAL QUESTION IN YUGOSLAVIA.). B.  
ZICHERL**

Profound democratic changes took place in Yugoslavia in the course of the liberation war of the Yugoslav peoples against the fascist invaders and their hirelings. The real democratism of these changes is reflected in the solution of the national question in that multi-national country.

The old Yugoslavia was an imperialist state and not a state of the people. Prior to the war Yugoslavia was “the most typical country of national oppression in Europe”. (Tito)

The popular masses of the downtrodden nationalities in Yugoslavia suffered economic exploitation and political oppression, their cultural development was retarded under the regime of the Greater Serbia bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie of the oppressed nationalities in Yugoslavia betrayed the interests of their peoples, served the Greater Serbia oppressors, or were the weapons of the foreign imperialists, whose plan was to dismember the Yugoslav state. The bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations, and above all, the Croat and Slovene bourgeoisie, considered the solution of “their” national question to mean sharing the power with the Serb bourgeoisie, at the expense of the remaining oppressed nations in Yugoslavia and the working masses of “their” people.

The home and foreign policy of the pro-fascist bourgeoisie in old Yugoslavia was to sell out the interests of the Yugoslav peoples, wholesale and retail, to disunite these peoples and completely disarm them in the face of the looming danger of fascist enslavement. Comrade Stalin’s well-known thesis that bourgeois society has shown its utter bankruptcy in the national question, was strikingly borne out on the example of Yugoslavia during the fascist occupation and the liberation war in 1941-1945. Bourgeois reaction in Yugoslavia at the time acted as the tool of the occupation forces to exterminate the Yugoslav peoples and to crush the nation-wide resistance to the invader.

Convinced of reaction’s outright betrayal of the country’s national freedom the peoples of Yugoslavia entrusted their fate to those, who for many years had pointed out to them the right path leading to the solution of the national question. The peoples saw for themselves how correct was the national policy, pursued by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Herein lies one of the principal explanations for the consolidation of the Yugoslav peoples in the People’s Front, of which the



Communist Party of Yugoslavia is the inspirer, organiser, and leading force.

Comrade Stalin's statements in 1935 on the national question in Yugoslavia greatly helped the Communist Party to correctly estimate and solve the national question. Proceeding from Comrade Stalin's thesis, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia consistently defended the right of every Yugoslav nation to decide its own fate. The Communist Party was of the opinion that the unification of the peoples of Yugoslavia into one state was an historical necessity in conditions of the constant threat of enslavement by foreign imperialism. That is why the Communist Party of Yugoslavia exposed the splitting character of the policy pursued by the bourgeois rulers of Yugoslavia; the Party fought to rebuild the Yugoslav state on genuine democratic and federative principles, to turn Yugoslavia into a free homeland of equal nations.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, under the guidance of Comrade Tito, was able to take upon itself the leadership of the historical struggle of the Yugoslav peoples for their final liberation and democratic unification in a federative state.

The rallying power and vitality of the Lenin-Stalin principle of the equality of nations, were most vividly expressed during Yugoslavia's liberation war. Despite the dismemberment of Yugoslavia by the invaders, despite the artificial borders of the puppet "states" of the traitors Pavelic, Nedic, etc., the new, people's Yugoslavia came into being in the course of the struggle of the masses, who had taken the fate of their country into their own hands.

All the administrative bodies of the fighting people were organised on the principle of the full equality of nations. The political organisation of the people's uprising—the People's Liberation Front—was formed from below, on a mass basis, on the principle of the different national peculiarities: the People's Liberation Front of Slovenia, the People's Liberation Front of Croatia, etc., were established. The People's Liberation Army and partisan detachments came under the direct leadership or the different national general staffs, united under the supreme

command of Comrade Tito's Headquarters. Supreme national organs of peoples power, the People's Assemblies, were formed on the territories liberated by the partisans—in Macedonia, Serbia, Croatia, etc.

On the historic day of November 29, 1943, the Second Congress of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), summarised the decisions taken at the pre-congress meetings of the different. national assemblies. AVNOJ, as the provisional supreme organ of people's power in Yugoslavia, carrying out the will of the Yugoslav peoples, passed a decision on the federative structure of the new democratic Yugoslav state. The decision of the Second Congress was the forerunner of the historical decision of the Yugoslav Constituent Assembly of November 28, 1945 to proclaim Yugoslavia a federative people's republic. This decision was the underlying principle in the new constitution of Yugoslavia, adopted by the Constituent Assembly on January 31, 1946.

The victorious struggle of the Yugoslav peoples against the combined internal and external forces who wanted to partition the country, against the foreign fascist invaders and their native bourgeois hirelings, against the intrigues of the Anglo-American imperialists in the Balkans, was proof positive that the peoples want to live together, want to defend their freedom and independence jointly. This was the supreme expression of democratic self-determination of the Yugoslav peoples.

Liberated Yugoslavia became a federative state, composed of six people's republics: Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The people's republic of Serbia includes the autonomous area of Vojvodina, populated by many nationalities (Serbians, Croats, Hungarians, Rumanians, Ruthenians), and also the autonomous region of Kosovo-Metohija, where Albanians constitute a considerable part of the population. Bosnia-Herzegovina whose composition is multi-national, for many years was the object of discord between the Serb and Croat bourgeoisie, who fomented national strife between the Serbs and Croats. The people's

democracy found the correct solution to the national question, by making Bosnia-Herzegovina a separate people's republic.

The federative structure of the new Yugoslav state is reflected also in the structure of the supreme all-union organs of power. The supreme organ of state power in Yugoslavia—the People's Skupschina (Assembly) consists of two chambers: the Veche (Council) of the Union, and the Veche of Nationalities. Deputies to the Veche of the Union are elected on the principle of one deputy for 50,000 inhabitants. Deputies to the Veche of Nationalities are elected on the parity principle: 30 deputies from every people's republic, 20 from the autonomous area and 15 from the autonomous region.

In this respect the Yugoslav Constitution very much resembles the Constitution of the USSR.

Commenting on this, Comrade Kardelj stated: "The Soviet Constitution served as our model, for the Soviet federation is the most positive example in the history of mankind of how to solve the question of relations between peoples".

Article 14 of the Constitution declares that discrimination against citizens of any nationality, race or religious belief, or the propagation of national, race or religious hatred is punishable by law.

Universities, scientific institutes, museums and theatres are being opened in the people's republics where the old regime deprived the population of the right to independent national development. Thus, for instance, Macedonia, which before the war did not have a single school or newspaper in the Macedonian language, now has 951 elementary and 27 secondary schools, three teachers' colleges, a university with three faculties; the Macedonians today have their own national theatre, their own broadcasting station, One daily, five weeklies, three fortnightly and three monthly periodicals in the Macedonian language are published in the republic. All the national minorities receive their elementary and secondary education in their native language. The peoples of Yugoslavia are advancing to new heights in their culture, which is national in form, popular and socialist in content.

But the builders of the new Yugoslavia, guided by the theory of Lenin and Stalin in appraising the national question, full well realise that the juridical equality of nationalities alone is not enough under the actual differences in the cultural and economic level of development of the different republics and regions, differences which are the outcome of historical circumstances.

The key to the solution of the national question in Yugoslavia at the present stage of the country's development is the elimination of this actual inequality.

The new, progressive social order in Yugoslavia, the existing socio-economic conditions for socialist construction make this possible.

The first five-year plan for the industrialisation and electrification of the country, adopted by the People's Skupschina of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, on April 26, 1947, provides for extensive measures to develop the economy of the backward republics and regions.

The growth in industrial, mining and electricpower production at the end of the First Five-Year Plan will reach (in % of 1939): FPRY—494; Serbia—417; Croatia—452'; Slovenia—366; Bosnia-Herzegovina—1054; Macedonia—2633; Montenegro—1000.

The democratic solution of the national question has won the new Yugoslavia the confidence of the peoples of the neighbouring states. The new Yugoslavia is now an active factor in establishing solid ties of friendship between the liberated peoples in the Balkans.

The solution of the national question is one of the most important indications of genuine democracy. The complete elimination of national oppression is an expression of the highest form of democratism. Second to the Soviet Union this democratism has been achieved in the new Federative Yugoslavia.

A comparison of how the national question has been solved in Yugoslavia with the fictitious solution of the national problem, for instance in British India, or in the Philippines, so

widely advertised by Attlee and Bevin, at once reveals the vast difference between the democratic progressive solution of the problem and the imperialist, reactionary “solution”. The “solution” of the national question, arrived at by the American imperialists and their assistants in the British Labour government, is actually nothing but a new, subtle version of the policy of inciting and dividing the enslaved peoples, while preserving the power of the foreign imperialist enslavers. This is borne out by the course of events in India, the Trans-Jordan, in the Philippines, not to mention by the criminal policy of the Anglo-Saxon imperialists in relation to the national independence of the Greek people.

The peoples of Yugoslavia have won their freedom and Independence in heroic struggle. They attained their equality by their selfless participation in the struggle to liberate Yugoslav soil, which they accomplished, first and foremost, with their own forces. They are building their life without foreign protectors, who take upon themselves the right to determine the form and scope of “liberation”, in keeping with the covetous, predatory plans of the “liberators”. Along with the sundry delights of bourgeois “democracy” the peoples of Yugoslavia have swept out of their path all the bourgeois-reformist methods of “solving” the national question, so haplessly applied in the old bourgeois Yugoslavia, and so detrimental to the existence of the Yugoslav peoples.

By building a new, people’s democratic, socialist Yugoslavia on the ruins of the decrepit Versailles creation, a Yugoslavia founded on full recognition and practical realisation of equal rights for all nationalities inhabiting the country, the Yugoslav peoples serve as a new example to the oppressed peoples of the world of how to fight for complete national liberation, and how to attain this liberation.

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# **THE OUTSPOKEN TALK OF AN OUTSPOKEN IMPERIALIST AND WARMONGER**

## **(REGARDING BYRNES' BOOK "FRANKLY SPEAKING")**

If books have a fate it should not be difficult to determine the fate of the book written by the former US Secretary of State, Byrnes which he has pretentiously entitled "Frankly Speaking". Unquestionably, it will go down in the annals of the miscellany of the primitive and crude documents of contemporary imperialist ideology, which has been elevated to the status of a state doctrine in the USA.

This book merits attention because of its amazing ideological poverty and literary mediocrity. The author's personality literally permeates his hapless work and bears the imprint of a definite provincialism and restricted outlook.

But such is American reality today. So long as there is a big enough dose of reactionary imperialist ideology on hand the political criterion in journalism and politics takes a back seat. In this respect Mr. Byrnes has long since become one of the leading "legislators of fashion".

The state of South Carolina, which put Byrnes into the political limelight in America as its representative, is known in the USA as the state which is more south than the South itself. This formula expresses not so much the specific geographical disposition of the State as its specific political features. True enough, viewed even on the background of the reactionary system of the race fanaticism, customs and traditions of the politicians in the Southern states South Carolina stands out as the most reactionary of them. Without question the rulers of this State have found an invaluable proponent of their customs and traditions in the person of Byrnes. As for that reactionary himself he has found fertile soil in the State to apply his

ideology of the slaveowner.

In 1940 Byrnes aspired to the post of vice-president of the United States. He openly ran against Wallace, who was elected vice-president on the insistence of Roosevelt. Four years later the Byrnes' clique took their revenge. They confronted Roosevelt with an ultimatum, threatening an open split in the Democratic Party if he declined to accept their terms. Again they challenged Wallace's candidature to the post of vice-president, this time putting up Truman instead of the odious Byrnes. Immediately after the death of Roosevelt Truman naturally gave Byrnes the post of Secretary of State and later, on the insistence of the latter, made Wallace hand in his resignation.

Thus started a new phase in the career of Byrnes. He made his appearance on the international scene as one of the men who determined United States' foreign policy.

The fact that one of the most reactionary men of American business became the proponent and representative of post-war American imperialism's policy, was symbolic in a certain sense. American imperialism placed on the order of the day its claims to world domination. Byrnes, an old imperialist fox, a typical representative of the slaveowner's ideology, was the most appropriate person to put these claims into effect.

Byrnes' book deals with certain aspects and phases in the offensive of aggressive US imperialism on the international arena after the end of the Second World War. True to the methods of American business Byrnes would have the reader believe that he is actually the focal point of US post-war policy. With a pretentiousness and a flourish that are positively amazing he encumbers the reader with an account of his own views which, to say the least, reflects the intelligence of an ignoramus. Evidently Byrnes' personal plans and considerations in connection with the 1948 presidential and vice-presidential elections are by no means the least important of the aims, which stipulated the publication of this extremely primitive booklet.

Byrnes himself seems to think that one of the chief merits

of his book is that it is supposedly based on verbatim stenographic notes taken by him during the conferences of the Great Powers in Yalta, Berlin, etc. The repeated references to his own stenographic skill is characteristic, if anything, of the mediocrity of Byrnes' ideological and political mentality. It is really astounding, when one comes to think of it—a man who represented the foreign policy of a great power considers it more appropriate to juggle with quotations from his “stenographic notes” than give an analysis and picture of his country's foreign policy, or the foreign policy of the other great powers. A self-satisfied stenographer instead of a statesman—surely this is eloquent proof of the man's moral and political poverty, of his ideological bankruptcy. Commenting on Byrnes' book “The Chicago Daily News” ironically noted that while the book shows its author to have been an excellent reporter the post of Secretary of State was more than he could handle.

In his book Byrnes, a professional falsifier and warmonger is out to attain at least three objects. Firstly, to compromise Roosevelt's foreign policy and hence, the policy of international cooperation as a whole. Secondly, to whitewash the foreign policy of American imperialism embodied in the “Truman Doctrine” and “Marshall Plan”, and, thirdly, to prove and justify the policy which is aimed at preparing for and unleashing a third world war.

Byrnes does not rush into his first task; he sets about that a leisurely pace, turning and twisting like a snake. However, he can not check himself from criticising, in a most tendentious fashion, not only certain important actions by Roosevelt, but also his whole foreign policy. The reasons for this anti-Roosevelt diversion are absolutely clear. In this case Byrnes is playing the role sanctioned by the two-party reactionary bloc. The latter are prepared to use even forged material to “fortify” the fashionable Truman—Dulles—Vandenberg slogan of “down with Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam.”

In keeping with this Byrnes tries to belittle Roosevelt on the one hand and, on the other, burns incense to one of the leading imperialist jackals, the forlorn “hero” of Fulton—



Churchill. Here Byrnes, loses all sense of proportion. He even goes so far as to portray Roosevelt's attitude to Churchill in idyllic colours, despite the facts known to the world.

Byrnes undergoes a curious transformation all he sets about his second task. He actually crawls out of his skin to depict US and British foreign policy in a noble light. He sings the praises of Truman, of himself, of Bevin. But no matter how hard he tries the expected results are not forthcoming. On the contrary, the results obtained have the opposite effect. Byrnes passed through one door only to find himself in front of another. Despite the author's efforts, **the reader sees American policy in its true colours; sees it as the policy of the most insolent, aggressive imperialism, which has placed on the order of the day the disruption of the peace and world security, a frenzied race for armaments, the suppression of the national liberties and sovereignty of a large number of countries.**

To prove that such really is the case it suffices to view concretely Byrnes' position on such vital problems as the attitude of the United States to the people's democracies, which have emerged victorious in the countries of the Balkan Peninsula, the problem of the control of atomic energy, the control and curtailment of armaments.

What is the policy of the USA In the Balkans? Replying to this question Byrnes brazenly refers to the notorious formula of American imperialist expansion, advanced as far back as at the end of the 19th century in relation to China, namely, the policy of the "open door". And so, the American imperialists see fit to compare the sovereign peoples of the Balkan Peninsula,—who have taken their destiny into their own hands and have, politically, far outstripped the much vaunted Anglo-American capitalist democracy—with China as she was at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. As known, China was the object of a bitter struggle between the pack of imperialist robbers at the time. Is it accidental that the US clothes its imperialist claims in the formula of the "open door" policy? Certainly not. This formula suits the interests of the US rulers,

for, with the present relation of forces in the capitalists camp it means nothing other than the undivided domination of American imperialism in the countries whose doors have remained “open”. New times change the wording even of old songs. The “open door” policy today actually signifies a closed door for all and everybody, barring the United States.

Byrnes, however, does not stop at just a general characterisation of his imperialist programme for the so-called Balkan problem. He obligingly interprets the typically imperialist tactics which aim to put this programme into effect. These tactics are not in the least original. They have been taken from the arsenal of Italian and German fascism, and essentially take the form of organising espionage “fifth columns” made up of the so-called opposition cliques in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria Rumania, etc.

Byrnes makes voluminous and hypocritical statements to prove what is beyond proof, namely, that the US is allegedly not responsible for the birth of the so-called atom diplomacy. It appears that one of the principal authors of this atom diplomacy would disavow his child. But Byrnes himself exposes this unworthy and pitiful farce. With unconcealed satisfaction he boasts of the fact that he had a hand in drawing up the so called Baruch Plan which, as is known, aims to prevent the international control of atomic energy and the atom bomb being outlawed. The Baruch Plan, of course, is by no means the only plan, but it nonetheless offers a most picturesque expression of that notorious atom diplomacy, which came into being with that inveterate imperialist Byrnes standing by its cradle.

It is characteristic of him that while he disguises his position, for purposes of disorientation, on the question of the control of atomic energy, he discards this disguise whenever the question of curtailing and regulating armaments is brought up. With cynical frankness Byrnes declared that he did not think it necessary to take the Soviet Union’s proposal to UNO to decrease armaments “seriously”.

Byrnes’ book is concerned not so much with the past as

with the present and the future. The bellicose programme of American imperialism, it defines the paramount tactical problems the programme presents. One of the programme's cardinal problems naturally is to break up the United Nations Organisation and turn it into an obedient tool of American Imperialism.

Byrnes even tries "theoretically" to prove the policy of doing away with the United Nations. He just can not reconcile himself with the general viewpoint that the Success of UNO depends on the ability of the Great Powers' to work together. Nothing of the kind! Is the hysterical outcry of Byrnes. Cooperation of "all the Great Powers... is not absolutely essential". What is absolutely essential, in the opinion of Byrnes, is that UNO be converted into an Anglo-American military-political bloc, which has as its prime task the struggle against the bulwark of peace and democracy-the Soviet Union, as well as against the people's democratic republics in Europe.

Byrnes interprets the "Truman Doctrine" and the "Marshall Plan" precisely b this sense, that is, in the sense of disrupting UNO and splitting the world into two opposing camps. The antagonistic policy of setting the West against the East is becoming American diplomacy's underlying principle. The formula "divide Europe and the world so as to rule" is becoming American diplomacy's current and all-embracing formula.

It stands to reason that the division of Germany and the utilisation of Western Germany as an Anglo-American military base is considered by Byrnes to be an indispensable condition to realise this formula.

What, concretely, is the essence of the so-called Byrnes' programme on the German question? Firstly, to secure the division of Germany by incorporating the French zone of occupation into the united Anglo-American zone, to form a "Trizonia", and secondly, to sign a separate "peace treaty" between the USA, Great Britain and France, on the one hand, and the government of Western Germany or even several governments in the separate zones of occupation, on the other.

However, the professional warmonger wanders even further in his raving imagination. Byrnes has elaborated a tactical plan to use the German problem for the purpose of unleashing a new world war.

As a pretext for this war Byrnes “recommends” to use the undoubted refusal of the Soviet Union to recognise the validity of a separate “peace treaty” and to withdraw her occupation troops from Eastern Germany on these grounds.

In this case Byrnes’ tactics demand that UNO, which has by then become an Anglo-American military-political bloc, qualify the situation as “dangerous to the cause of peace” and demand that the Soviet Union withdraw her troops from Germany. In the event of the USSR refusing to do so “we”, declares Byrnes, “must be ready. to meet our obligations.” Even a child can understand that Byrnes is referring to war. War —such precisely is the goal of the adventurist programme of all Byrneses.

“Frankly Speaking” proves beyond a shadow of doubt that its author is one of the members of a new imperialist plot against mankind and civilisation. All genuine champions of peace and security must fight this plot by closing ranks and intensifying the struggle against the instigators of a new war.

**M. Marinin**

*(pages 7, 8)*

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## **THE PEOPLE OF ITALY REPEL REACTION. MARIO KORSI**

The recent events in Italy are the outcome of the policy pursued by the Anglo-American occupation authorities during the last four years. Taking advantage of their full support and of the weakness of the young Italian democracy, native reaction has re-captured and strengthened its positions in the country's economy. After the removal of the Communists and Socialists from the government in May 1947, native reaction gained the upper hand also in Italian politics, and put the reactionary leaders of the Christian-Democratic Party in power. Numerous legal and semi-legal fascist parties and organisations have come into being and grown stronger under the protection of the American occupation authorities. Under the guidance of the American intelligence service, and with the support of the reactionary-monarchist elements in the Home Ministry and in the army these fascist groups have more than once tried to smash the Italian democratic organisations.

The formation of the reactionary Christian-Democratic government, in June 1947, was the signal for a crusade against the political gains and standard of living of the Italian working people, a crusade which had been prepared long in advance. Already in July and August the prices on articles of prime necessity were raised; indirect taxes doubled and tripled; with

the tacit approval of de Gasperi's government, the Federation of Industrialists violated its obligations to the trade unions, and mass dismissals started at factories and plants under the pretext that the enterprises were not operating on a profitable basis.

Along with the trade unions the Consigli di Gestione (Production-Management Councils), established during the liberation struggle against the Germans, were a big obstacle in the way of the arbitrary measures of the employers. The outstanding merit of these Councils was that they mobilised the workers for the rehabilitation of the enterprises, destroyed or damaged during the war. Later, under the pressure of AMGOT (Allied Occupation Administration), the Councils were compelled to hand over the functioning enterprises to their "lawful" owners, and became parity bodies through which the workers controlled production, the proper utilisation of labour power and raw materials, the placing of orders, etc. Taking advantage of the fact that, as a result of sabotage by the Christian-Democrats and the insufficient firmness of the Lefts in the former governments, the Councils to this day have not been given legal status, the employers want to disband these Councils, in other words, to strike a crushing blow at one of the most significant gains of the working class. The American demand to the de Gasperi government that the Councils be eliminated has the same significance as their demand that the Communists and Socialists be removed from the government. Complying with this US order, the Christian-Democrat leaders have once again betrayed the interests of the Italian workers when they openly refused to support the demand to recognise the Councils, at their recent congress in Naples.

In the beginning of October a discussion was held in the Constituent Assembly on the question of a vote of non-confidence in the de Gasperi government, proposed by the Communists and Socialists. The right-wing Socialists (the Saragat group), resorted to their usual splitting tactics and saved de Gasperi, who received only a narrow majority in the voting. The discussion in the Constituent Assembly showed the complete instability of de Gasperi's Cabinet. The subsequent

disintegration in the Qualunque Party, which, up to now, had supported de Gasperi's policy, and the approach of December 15, the date of the withdrawal of American troops from Italy, accelerated the realisation of the reactionary plot against Italian democracy. With the help of the legal fascist organisation—the Italian Social Movement (MSI), the fascist underground went into action.

This was followed by a series of assassinations and the breaking up of the local organisations of the Left parties and trade unions throughout the country. The organisers of this plot reckoned that a number of simultaneous assassinations and explosions would be enough to demoralise the ranks of the working people, split the trade union organisations, provoke disorders and, with the help of foreign and government forces to isolate and drive underground the Left parties.

De Gasperi's government not only refused to protect the democratic organisations, but as subsequent events showed, used the police to support the fascist pogrom-makers. In answer to the demand of the General Confederation of Labour to disband the fascist organisations, and above all, the MSI, the Home Minister, Scelba, insolently replied that he had no legal grounds for this. In other words as if Article 17 of the Peace Treaty, banning fascist activities was not law for the de Gasperi government.

The Italian working people took up the defence of their organisations into their own hands and vigorously repulsed the combined forces of the fascist-monarchist underground, Scelba's police and the arbitrary measures of the employers. Strikes, mass protest demonstrations swept the country—from Milan, Vares and Venice to Sardinia and Sicily; the people stormed and routed the centres of fascist and monarchist organisations. Popular indignation reached such a pitch that in one week alone the workers of the Northern provinces, the farm labourers of April, the peasants and miners of Sicily once again forced the fascist scum to burrow underground, forced de Gasperi's government to arrest fascist bandits and compelled manufacturers and landlords to make a number of concessions.

In face of the onslaught of the democratic forces Italian reaction, with de Gasperi at its head, had to beat a retreat. The government decision of December 3 to form a commission to draw up a bill on Production—Management Councils, was the initial result of the decisive struggle of the working class for their rights, which culminated in a congress attended by 7,000 delegates, representing the country's enterprises. Following the example of the workers the Italian peasants are now preparing their national congress called the Constituent Assembly on the Agrarian Question. Parallel with this a democratic congress of the South is being convened to discuss the acute social problems of the South. Ever wider sections of the urban and rural population are joining the struggle for democratic liberties and democratic reforms. All these facts go to show that in Italy there are now immense reserves and possibilities for consolidating the democratic front.

De Gasperi's Christian-Democratic Party broke away from Italian democracy in the recent class battles, and exposed itself as the obedient tool of American and Italian reaction.

"In the five months of its existence," reads the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of November 13, "the Christian-Democrat government, following the path of subservience to American imperialism and to the most reactionary social groups in Italy, has brought the country's economy to the verge of catastrophe, has facilitated the offensive of the employers against the working masses, has facilitated the revival of fascist terrorist activity."

Having failed in their attempts to smash the democratic organisations of the Italian people, with the help of the fascist underground, Italo-American reaction is preparing to use the de Gasperi party and his government for the very same end. It is also with this aim in view that Saragat, the tried traitor of the working class and de Gasperi's competitor for American favours, as well as the representatives of the Republican Party are being installed in the de Gasperi government. De Gasperi needs them in the government in order to ensure himself against the possible consequences of the campaign of violence



and police terror, which he is preparing to launch against the Left parties and the General Confederation of Labour.

The inclusion of the Saragat group and the Republicans in the government will not strengthen de Gasperi's tottering position, will not cover up the reactionary essence of his policy. Recent experience has shown that the Italian working people are vigilantly guarding their interests and their organisations. In the last two months the Italian working people, under the leadership of the Left parties and the united trade unions, have emerged victorious in the battle, forced on them by fascist reactionary elements on orders from overseas. Even the Insolent blackmail expressed in the concentration of a fleet of American warships in Italian ports, in violation of Italy's sovereignty, and the continued presence of American occupation forces on Italian territory, in violation of the Peace Treaty, were of no avail to the organisers of this battle.

The victory of the Italian working people is, politically, the biggest since the establishment of the Republic in June 1946. The outstanding feature of this victory is that in the course of the two months' battle for their liberties the working class, and the working people of Italy, conscious of the superiority of their forces over the anti-democratic and reactionary forces, demonstrated their strength and rejected the demoralising tactic of "wait and see", and gradual concessions in the face of provocations and blackmail by native and foreign reaction. In winning this battle Italian democracy has proved that it possesses the needed forces to create more favourable conditions for struggle in order not only to check the forces of reaction and fascism, as in the first stage of the battle, but also to route them and to clear the path for the democratisation of the country and the restoration of her independence.

*(page 8)*

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**LEON BLUM—THE TRAITOR OF THE FRENCH  
PEOPLE. ETIENNE FAJONE**

On November 19, when the President of the French

Republic, the Socialist, Vincent Auriol, entrusted Leon Blum with the formation of the government, after the fall of the Ramadier government, the American press enthusiastically welcomed this choice. The imperialist, anti-democratic camp was well pleased at the return to power of the right-wing Socialist, who in his long career has shown that he is prepared to serve loyally those who pay the highest price for betrayal of the interests of the working class, for the disintegration of its ranks, for poisoning its mind.

Leon Blum did not become the head of the government for he did not receive the necessary number of votes in the National Assembly. But he readily offered his unreserved support to the criminal anti-labour and anti-democratic policy of Robert Schuman, the puppet of the French and foreign capitalists.

Leon Blum acts the ideological leader of the American party in France, the party which unites all—from General de Gaulle to the Socialist leaders—the party whose policy is aimed at subordinating France to the United States. Blum plays the principal role in the struggle against the unity of the working class, thus hampering the unification of all democratic and patriotic forces of the French people around the working class.

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In the spring of 1946, Blum made a trip to the USA and signed the Franco-American financial agreement with the US Secretary of State, Byrnes. The immediate consequence of the agreement was to deal a fatal blow to France's film industry—in the first six months of 1947, in accordance with the agreement, 338 American films were shown as against 55 French films.

Another outcome of the agreement, signed by Blum, was that France “fully renounced her pre-war policy of protecting French industry by means of import quotas.” (The Blum—Byrnes Declaration, Washington, May 26, 1946.)

Owing to the marked difference in the technical equipment of the two countries, the above obligation signified a promise to transform France into an American market and to renounce national independence by dooming to idleness the key sectors of France's national economy in the very near future.

The actions of the French Government, such as sabotaging the development of France's aircraft industry by placing orders with foreign firms, allowing American capital investments in France and her colonies, signing the Geneva Trade Agreement which virtually sacrifices the country's national economy to American export firms, are but the logical outcome of the Franco-American agreement signed by Blum.

When Premier of France Blum went to London last January and concluded an agreement with Bevin, which in actual fact nullified France's demands for reparations from Germany and coal from the Ruhr, i.e., nullified one of the decisive conditions for the rapid recovery of an independent and strong France.

Later Ramadier and Bidault followed the line mapped out by Blum. Ramadier pursued a policy of systematically rejecting the legitimate demands of the workers. Blum hastened to provide the theoretical justification for the reactionary and anti-national policy by reviving the old "theory of the vicious circle of wages and prices".

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Solicitously guarding the interests of his imperialist masters, Blum considers it his main vocation to deceive and disarm the working class and nations, to conceal from them the insolent interference of the United States into the affairs of Europe, to legalise this interference with "pacifist" and "Socialist" phraseology.

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In “Le Populaire” of November 6 Blum identifies “international freedom of trade” with a policy “corresponding to all the traditions of democracy and to all trends of socialism”.

As known, “international freedom of trade” is today the insistent demand of the American monopolies.

As a result of the Second World War the American monopolies not only accrued excessive profits, but also enormously increased their productive apparatus. They must now find new markets, which means the tariff barriers must be removed; they are trying to destroy the national industry in the countries of Europe, and then to transform these countries into their semi-colonies. Such is one of the forms of the monstrous attempts being made by the magnates of Wall Street to attain world domination.

Blum calls on the working people to give every support to the undertaking. According to him the elimination of obstacles standing in the way of American expansion would be “something like a division of labour, a rational distribution of production, which would herald and presage the international socialist order”. (“Le Populaire”, Oct. 31, 1946.)

Europe’s enslavement to the dollar is depicted by Blum as “international socialist order,” for, in the words of this renegade it conforms to “all trends of socialism”! Verily the American imperialists could not ask for greater zeal by Blum! Blum’s zeal is manifested today in his ardent defence of the “Marshall Plan”, which is based on the rapid industrial recovery of Western Germany, on humiliating and colonising countries like France.

Long before this Plan came into being Blum in every way tried to lull the misgivings aroused by the U.S.A.’s policy.

On April 23, 1947 he bestowed the title of “peace imperialists” on the warmongers in Greece and other countries.

In his articles on “peace lend-lease” he persistently emphasises the “purely economic aspect” of American interference. He guarantees the disinterestedness of the American bankers whose plans allegedly are based on “an

almost religious sense of the special duties that evolve on the American people from the greatness and even excess of their material power.” (“Le Populaire”, May 21, 1947).

Blum is the only person in France who dares to claim that the American capitalists do not have to export their goods.

“1, personally,” he proclaims, “believe in the genuine disinterestedness of the United States”. (“Le Populaire”, May 21, 1947.)

To those who fear the consequences of American expansion for the independence of their countries, and whom he accuses of “economic nationalism”, Blum retorts that

“No international organisation is conceivable unless every state renounces a portion of its national sovereignty”. (“Le Populaire”, July 9, 1947.)

Fraudulently portraying the cosmopolitanism of the trusts as internationalism of the working people he adjures the latter to replace the “obsolete” conception of national sovereignty with the conception of the “super-sovereignty of the international commonwealth. (“Le Populaire”, July 9, 1947.)

Thus, Jesuitically dodging, this “Socialist” agent of the American pretenders to world domination tries to paint the sordid plans of the imperialists’ projects, which threaten the sovereignty of nations and world peace, not only in the colours of socialism, but also in the colours of peace, altruism, religious mysticism and internationalism!

Needless to say, Blum hastens to justify and support all action of his American masters. Opposing the principle of unanimity of the Great Powers when settling international problems, Blum vigorously supported the designs of Marshall to transform UNO into an office taking American orders.

In an effort to show his zeal as a lackey, Blum went even further than his masters, “The only reproach I should like to make to General Marshall,” he wrote, “is that he is too modest, too timid in his project to revise the statutes of UNO”. (“Le Populaire”, September 23, 1947.

Thus, Blum is an outright accomplice of the capitalist magnates of the United States.

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Our “Socialist” however does not rest at this. With the same ardour that he burns incense to his masters of Wall Street he attacks all the forces that hinder, or might hinder, the realisation of imperialist plans: the Soviet Union, the countries of the new democracy and in France the unity of the working class, the unity of all democratic and patriotic forces.

He rehashes all the old worn-out lies about Soviet “totalitarianism” and “imperialism” in order to get the peoples to forget about the violence, repression and corruption of Anglo-Saxon “democracy”, in order to justify the military measures of the Americans and to prepare public opinion for an eventual anti-Soviet adventure.

He openly defends the traitors who have been exposed and punished by the countries of the new democracy in Europe, and slanders the governments of these countries.

Immediately after the end of the war in 1945 Blum devoted all his energies to combat the strivings of the French Socialist workers for unity with the Communists. In a series of articles, published in “Le Populaire”, he tried to set these workers against the Communists.

Since the anti-Communist and anti-national policy of the Ramadier government, inspired by Blum, has led to the development of neofascism in France under the banner of General de Gaulle, Blum has become one of the “theoreticians” of the “third force”.

It goes without saying that the phrase about a “third force” pursues the sole object of concealing the unanimity between Blum and de Gaulle on the essential question namely, France’s subordination to the masters of Wall street and the internal struggle against Communism. This agreement was strikingly expressed during the latest municipal elections, which was marked by the alliance of the Socialist Party and the de Gaulle RPF. The object of the “third force” is to obstruct the unity of action of the working class, to prevent democrats and patriots

joining against fascism in defence of national independence.

Such are the principal characteristics of the disruptive activities of Leon Blum, activities which are supported in France by such demagogues as Guy Mollet.

Blum's criminal activities

Blum's criminal activities since the end of the war and at present are the consequence and logical conclusion of his political life.

What, above all, characterises the life and activities of Blum? It is the morbid hatred of the bourgeois pharisee for the working class and the popular masses, for everything that reflects their interests and aspirations, hatred for the land of victorious socialism, for the countries of the people's democracy; in France hatred for the Communist Party; complacency and servility toward foreign reaction, which obstructs the development of the labour and democratic movement.

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The activities of the "Socialist Leon Blum are detrimental not only to the interests of the French working people and to the sovereignty of France. They have inspired, in large measure, the policy of the right-wing Socialists in other European countries; this policy is whetting the appetites of American imperialism.

The French Communists therefore consider that by showing the true colours of the Blums and their ilk and by combating them, they are serving the cause of democracy and world peace and also the interests of the working class and the people of France.

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**Editorial Board**

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