

*Workers of all lands, unite!*

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

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



**NO 16 (19), SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 1948**

**Scanned/Transcribed by  
The Socialist Truth in Cyprus-London Bureaux**  
<http://www.st-cyprus.co.uk>



**&  
Direct Democracy (Communist Party)**



[www.directdemocracy4u.uk](http://www.directdemocracy4u.uk)

**March 2018**

## Contents

CONTACT WITH MASSES—SOURCE OF STRENGTH TO COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES .....	5
MASS TRAINING OF MEMBERS OF THE POLISH WORKERS' PARTY AND SOCIALIST PARTY .....	10
PAS DE CALAIS COMMUNISTS PROTEST AGAINST TITO'S SLANDEROUS STATEMENT .....	11
MACHINATIONS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY .....	12
FUSION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND SLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTIES .....	13
MEETING OF EDITORS OF LOCAL PARTY NEWSPAPERS .....	15
SUCCESES OF THE LIBERATION ARMY OF CHINA .....	17
CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL FRONT ACTION MEETS .....	20
EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN RUMANIA .....	21
MORE SOVIET EXEMPTIONS FOR BULGARIA .....	22
ELECTION RESULTS AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN FINLAND. Aili Mjakinen, Propaganda Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party, Finland .....	23
TO THE INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE FRATERNAL COMMUNIST PARTIES .....	31
MARSHALL MEN'S TRADE UNION CONFERENCE .....	32
BRITAIN: NORTH EAST DISTRICT PARTY CONGRESS .....	34
BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY PROTESTS AT COMMUNIST PERSECUTION IN UNITED STATES .....	35
SITUATION IN ITALY: RESOLUTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP .....	36
14 <sup>TH</sup> NATIONAL CONVENTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF UNITED STATES .....	39
GENERAL EXPERIENCES OF PARTY WORK .....	43
INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY—BASIC LAW OF LIFE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES .....	43
Observe Principle of Election of Party Organs. I. Kovacs, Candidate Member, Political Bureau, Hungarian Workers' Party .....	43

The Active—Mainstay of the Party Committee. F. Strunc, Secretary, Party Committee, Gottwald Works .....	49
DISMEMBERMENT OF GERMANY AND TASKS OF SOCIALIST UNIT PARTY. Otto Grotewhol, Chairman, Socialist Unity Party of Germany.....	57
IN THE FACTORIES AND FIELDS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA .....	64
LETTERS FROM OUR READERS .....	66
As Seen By An Eye-Witness.....	66
HOW THE CONGRESS OF THE C.P.Y. WAS HELD .....	71
JAPANESE COMMUNIST PARTY FIGHTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC JAPAN. Iosio Kodzaka .....	75
DANISH WORKERS PROTEST AGAINST EXCESSIVE TAXATION	80
TORTURE OF PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS .....	81
FASCIST TERROR IN SPAIN .....	82
PRESS REVIEW .....	83
Combatting The Kulaks.....	83
Fascists Active In Britain.....	84
rain Deliveries in Rumania .....	85
FULFILMENT OF TWO YEAR PLAN IN BULGARIA. Dobri Terpeshev, Member, Political Bureau, Bulgarian Worker's Party, Chairman, State Planning Commission .....	87
The Two-Year Plan And Its Realisation.....	87
The Five Year Plan.....	91
BOOK REVIEW .....	95
Two Speeches by Comrade Togliatti—Nicola de Simone.....	95
PUBLICATION OF THE JOURNAL "THE CLASS STRUGGLE"	
RECOMMENDED IN RUMANIA .....	100
INSTRUCTIONS OF BARBARIANS .....	101
BANNING OF COMMUNIST PRESS IN INDIA.....	102
SINGLE GOVERNMENT FOR NORTH CHINA.....	103
STRENGTHENING UNITY OF WORKING PEOPLE OF FRANCE	104
THE SAME OLD STORY—"Figaro" Here, "Figaro There"— Drawing By Constantinescu.....	105
FEUILLETON .....	106
"Figaro" here,—"Figaro" there, "Figaro" lies—Here and there .....	106

## **CONTACT WITH MASSES—SOURCE OF STRENGTH TO COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

The Communist movement is the mighty irresistible movement of the day. The Marxist-Leninist idea, expresses the vital interests of the mass of the people, has become the banner and programme of struggle for millions of people throughout the world. The Communist and Workers' Parties have become mass organisations with an enormous following of workers, peasants and intellectuals.

The prestige of the Communists has grown, as Comrade Stalin pointed out, because during the bitter years of fascist domination in Europe they proved to be selfless champions against the yoke of fascism and for the freedom of the people.

At a time when the bourgeois parties and Right Socialists cringed before the occupation authorities, betrayed and bartered the interests of their peoples, the Communists led the struggle and the resistance movement of the people against fascism. In this way they won the people's trust.

In this post-war period the Communist and Workers' Parties are leading the struggle of the working people for a lasting peace, for a people's democracy and for socialism. The historical changes carried out in the countries of the new democracy have placed them, from the point of view of social development, years in advance of the capitalist states. The Communist and Workers' Parties are the very pivot of these changes which have been carried out on their initiative and under their guidance with the wholehearted support of the broad masses of the people. In France, Italy, China, Greece and other capitalist countries, the Communist Parties guide the struggle of the working people for their liberation, national

independence, for freedom and democracy.

Each day brings additional proof that the Marxist Parties are closely linked with the masses. The recent successful nationalisation of industry, the railways and banks in Rumania and Hungary, as well as the further nationalisation of industry in Czechoslovakia, was unanimously supported by the working class and the masses of the people.

These measures are of decisive importance for the future of the new democracies, and would have been impossible without the support of the people.

In Poland and Bulgaria nationalised industry has given fine result it is successfully fulfilling all target of the plan, a fact which clearly demonstrates the support given by the masses of the people to these measures of the Workers' Parties.

The struggle against the capitalist elements in the countryside is sharpening in the countries of the new democracy. The grain delivery campaigns show that the policy of the Communist and Workers' parties and the policy of the People's Governments enjoy wide support among the working peasantry.

The recent events in Italy are yet another example of the Marxist Parties' unbreakable ties with the masses. The dastardly attempt by human monsters on the life of Palmiro Togliatti, the leader of the working class and working people of Italy, evoked the wrath and indignation of millions of workers' and peasants.

By resorting to open terror and by striking at the very heart of the Communist Party, reaction hoped to cause confusion and disorganisation in the ranks of the champions of freedom and democracy. It hoped to intimidate them and so prepare the ground for a new fascist dictatorship. But the enemy miscalculated.

The working people replied to this dastardly attack by rallying still closer around the Communist Party.

The strength of the Communist and Workers' Parties lies in their contact with the masses, and, as long as this contact exists they have every chance of remaining invincible.

The historical experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) teaches that the party of the working class cannot be a truly mass party, capable of leading the millions of the working class and the working people unless it has wide contact with the masses, unless it constantly strengthens this contact, unless it is capable of listening to the voice of the masses and understanding their urgent needs, unless it is ready not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them.

Isolation from the masses, the loss or even the weakening of its leading role among the working people is fraught with dangerous consequences for the Party "However fine a vanguard the Party may be and however well it may be organised. Stalin teaches us, "it cannot exist and develop without connections with the non-Party masses, and without multiplying and strengthening these connections."

The anti-Party and anti-Soviet policy of the present leader of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia which was condemned and subjected to an exhaustive Marxist-Leninist analysis in the recent Resolution of the Information Bureau, reveals the disastrous consequences that violation of the Marxist-Leninist principle of contact between Party and masses entails for the Party.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are trying to create the semblance of contact with the masses. But the anti-Soviet, anti-Marxist, nationalist outcry of the Yugoslav renegades is a far cry from genuine Marxist-Leninist organic contact of the Community and Workers' Parties with the masses, which is effected not by means of administrative police campaigns, but by daily work among the masses, conducted systematically, carefully and persistently year in and year out.

The Resolution of the Information Bureau particularly underlines how important in the practical work of Party organisations is the Marxist-Leninist doctrine concerning the party of a new type, the need to strengthen continually the Communist and Workers' Parties as the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat and as its most important weapon, the honourable and responsible task of the Party as the leader and educator of the masses.

The new democracies are advancing toward socialism in conditions of fierce class struggle which, far from weakening, is sharpening as these countries develop. In these conditions, the Communist and Workers' Parties must strengthen the leading role in the People's Front, must tirelessly carry out their work among the people, raise the revolutionary vigilance of the Party members and of the people, strengthen the vanguard and leading role of the Communists among the people. Members of the Marxist Parties must be an example of labour discipline and organisation, an example to all workers in strengthening the people's democracy and in building socialism; they must always be with the masses and at the head of the masses.

The problem of contact between the Communist Parties and the masses of the people is a major issue in the capitalist countries. A titanic battle is now unfolding in those countries for the national independence and elementary rights of the working people, against the predatory policy of American imperialism and the treachery of the national bourgeoisie and Right Socialists.

Only daily contact with, the masses of the people can bring victory, to the working class and its vanguard. This is all the more essential because in a number of countries a weakening, of the leading role of Party organisations can be observed. The mass recruitment of new members to the Marxist Parties has in certain cases obliterated the demarcation line between Party

and masses and has lowered the level of consciousness and organisation of the membership. There are Party members and even Party branches who are not carrying out their vanguard role, are tailing in the wake of events.

These fads should serve as a serious lesson to Party organisations in all countries. Tireless work must be carried on to purge the Party of alien elements who have managed to creep in to improve the fighting qualities, the political maturity of its ranks and to strengthen the Party's ties with the broad masses of the working people.

## **MASS TRAINING OF MEMBERS OF THE POLISH WORKERS' PARTY AND SOCIALIST PARTY**

Joint Party, training courses are now being held by the Polish Workers' Party and Socialist Party.

During the past three months, training classes were held after working hours at 1,100 large factories.

About 65,000 students, mostly workers-members of Party committees in the factories and active members of the basic organisations of both parties, attended lectures on theoretical subjects and problems of practical Party work.

The courses evoked considerable interest among the membership of the two parties. In order to eliminate the shortcomings which made themselves felt in the course of the work, and for the purpose of improving the qualifications of the teachers, the two central committees have organised refresher courses of one month's duration.

## **PAS DE CALAIS COMMUNISTS PROTEST AGAINST TITO'S SLANDEROUS STATEMENT**

Democratic opinion in various countries, particularly in France, are protesting sharply at Tito's slanderous statement that before Hitler Germany attacked the Soviet Union the only people and the only party which fought the German fascist invaders were the Yugoslavs and the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The Pas de Calais Federation of the French Communist Party has passed a special resolution indignantly repudiating the false and ambitious claims of Tito.

The resolution states: "Without underestimating the fighting spirit of the working people of Yugoslavia in the struggle against Germany, nevertheless the Communists of the Pas de Calais Federation consider it necessary to recall that only a few days after Maurice Thorez and Jacques Duclos had made the historic call of July 10, 1940, they carried out the first act of resistance against the German army when, under the leadership of Charles Debarge, they set fire to a great motor transport park. In response to the call of Thorez and Duclos, the miners, led by the Communists, conducted a remarkable patriotic strike during May and June 1941, thus proving to the enslaved peoples that it was possible to fight the fascist invaders on their own soil.

"The Pas de Calais Federation of the Communist Party most strongly protests against the calumnies of Tito and the other Yugoslav leaders.

## **MACHINATIONS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY**

Readers of our newspaper have sent us reports from London on the machinations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the matter of circulating anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist literature.

The Yugoslav bookselling agency, “Yugoslovenska Kniga”, which handled the circulation of “*For a Lasting Peace, For a Peoples Democracy*” when it was published in Belgrade has lists of our subscribers in different countries. Utilising these addresses, the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party is distributing booklets and material directed against the Information Bureau. These facts are further confirmation of the dishonest methods used by the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party in their treacherous, undermining activity directed against the united Communist front.

## FUSION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND SLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTIES

The magazine “Tvorba” carried an article by S. Bastovansky, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia, on the fusion of the Communist Party of Slovakia with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Comrade Bastovansky writes: while the principle of a **single** party of the working class, the most important principle of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the Party, prevails in all other countries, Czechoslovakia in this respect was an exception. From the German occupation to the present, two formally independent parties have existed in our country—the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and Slovakia.

Prior to Munich, there had only been one Communist Party in the country—the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. After the Hitler hordes had overrun the country and torn away Slovakia from the Czech lands it became a practical impossibility to direct the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia from a single centre. Consequently, with the aim of furthering and developing the resistance movement against the fascists, an independent Slovak party leadership was set up.

Due to the circumstances of the liberation struggle the Communist Party of Slovakia became a historical necessity, This was well-proved by the organisation of illegal antifascist struggle and later by the Slovak national uprising, it fulfilled its historic mission in the struggle for the liberation of Czechoslovakia and for the introduction of the peoples democracy.

After the liberation of Slovakia by the valiant Soviet Army, the Slovak Communist Party set about rebuilding the country. It was the only force in Slovakia which consistently defended the unity of the Republic and the interests of the Slovak people

against reaction.

The February victory of the working class and of the progressive forces of the Republic opened the way for the realisation of the Lenin-Stalin principle of a single party leadership, and for the formation of one single working-class in Czechoslovakia. The formal creation of a united Communist Party is a question to be settled in the near future.

Comrade Bastovansky stressed that the policy of the Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia and Slovakia has always been, and will always be, essentially the same, being based on the principle of Marxism-Leninism. On all principal and basic questions, the Slovak Party acted in complete agreement with the Czech Party. At the same time, the Czech Party consistently fought for the national rights of the Slovaks and for equality of the Slovak people within the united Republic.

## **MEETING OF EDITORS OF LOCAL PARTY NEWSPAPERS**

Italian Communist Party publications include a number of weekly newspapers and journals. “Unita”, the central organ of the Party, has a readership of over 500,000—the biggest circulation of any daily newspaper in the country. At the same time the 45 regional bodies of the Party publish their own weeklies with a combined circulation of 400,000.

These local papers play quite a big role in popularising Party policy and in organising the people. They enable the Party organisations to maintain close contact with the masses, facilitate the political training of the Party members and play a most useful role in propaganda work among the people.

Recently, the Central Committee of the Party convened a meeting of the editors of the local newspapers. At this meeting an analysis was made of the work of the papers, shortcomings noted and their future tasks defined.

Attention was drawn to the fact that a number of the weeklies were prone to eliminate the main dallies instead of devoting space to explaining the Party line on the basis of the concrete examples of their own particular province, and to leading the daily struggles in the localities.

The meeting resolved that the local Party newspapers should keep in close contact with the people (the trade unions, peasant leagues, works councils etc.), should support all actions by the organisations of the working people, explain the reasons for these actions and popularise their successes. It was further resolved that the newspapers should devote more space to political propaganda and issue special supplements more frequently.

The editors were recommended to maintain close contact with the local members at Parliament, to give more space to

readers' letters, to have a question and answer column, a legal advice column and to utilise the services of Party writers.

## **SUCCESSSES OF THE LIBERATION ARMY OF CHINA**

In the course of the sweeping offensive launched recently by the People's Liberation Army in Central Shansi, in the vicinity of its capital, Taiyuan, eleven county towns were liberated.

In the fighting for these towns, seven Kuomintang divisions and one brigade were defeated and suffered heavy losses.

Substantial gains are also reported from the Kaifeng area and from Eastern Honan. According to the Sinhua Agency, Kuomintang losses in the recent fighting around Kaifeng amounted to 39,000, killed.

In Eastern Honan, units of the People's Liberation Army completely routed the enemy forces. Upwards of 50,000 enemy troops were annihilated in this operation.

Commenting on the Kaifeng and Eastern Honan operations, a People's Army observer declared that in the final count, these victories will lead to a fundamental change in the military situation in Central China and will pave the way for further heavy blows against the enemy. According to this observer, a feature of the, East Honan fighting was the large scale desertion of Kuomintang troops to the People's Army.

Report from China speak of serious alarm in Kuomintang quarters at the successes of the People's Liberation Army and of frantic attempts to avert the critical situation now developing on various sectors of the front.

The newspaper "Sinwenpao" reported that at an unofficial meeting held on July 23rd, certain members of the Kuomintang National, Assembly decided to request Chiang Kai-shek to invoke the emergency powers granted him by the Constitution in order to deal with the critical situation. They pointed out

that only by means of emergency powers would it be possible to overcome the crisis.

An official communique issued by Liberation Army Headquarters at the end of July summarised the results of the military operations during the past twelve months. Enemy losses for the year ending July 1948 totalled 1,521,400. Of these 953,000 were taken prisoner, killed and wounded numbered 540,200, while 28,200 men turned their guns against the Kuomintang forces and joined the Liberation Army.

Liberation Army losses for the same period amounted to 452,900, that is three and a half times less than the losses inflicted on the enemy.

Over the two year period, July 1946 to July 1948. Kuomintang losses numbered 2,641,400. Liberation Army losses for the same period amounted to 810,900. Of the total Kuomintang losses 1,630,000, that is over 60 per cent, were taken prisoner.

Liberation Army losses in prisoners were only 7,800 men. In other words, for every Liberation Army soldier taken prisoner, the Kuomintang lost 208 prisoners.

Even more interesting is the fact that of the Kuomintang officers and men taken prisoner, between 50 and 75 per cent join, the ranks of the Liberation Army.

Together with the Kuomintang units which came over to the side of the Liberation Army, the prisoners volunteering for service in the Liberation Army more than compensate for its losses.

During the past year 150 Kuomintang generals and 39 colonels were taken prisoner. For the two year period the numbers are 326 generals and 42 colonels.

Territory liberated from the Kuomintang during the year ending July 1948 amounted to 155,000 square kilometres. The total area liberated to date covers 2,355,000 square kilometres, or about one quarter of the entire territory of China.

Another 37 million people were liberated from Kuomintang rule during the past twelve months. It brings the total population of the liberated territories to 168 million or 37 per cent of the entire population of the country. Towns liberated during the past twelve months numbered 164, Altogether there are 586 towns on liberated territory, 28 per cent of the towns in China.

## **CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL FRONT ACTION MEETS**

Comrade Slansky, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, outlined future tasks facing the Czechoslovak National Front when he spoke recently to a meeting of the Front's Central Action Committee.

He pointed out that the work of the National Front since February had greatly benefitted the Republic. A new system of political life was being created in the country. The National Front, declared Comrade Slansky, is now a militant organisation both among the regenerated political parties and for all mass democratic organisations. Certain people were wrong when they thought, that Action Committees were no longer necessary. These Committees would carry out big tasks also in the future.

Reaction at home, working together with foreign imperialists, was increasing its activities. Proof of this was given by incidents during the Sokol festival as well as by other incidents. Consequently, the struggle against reaction and the removal of all hostile elements from public life remained primary tasks of the National Front Action Committees.

Comrade Slansky also outlined practical work facing the Action Committees, stressing that broad sections of the people should be drawn into the work of these Committees. Today the most important task was to bring in the harvest and complete grain purchases in good time. Last year the kulaks had not fulfilled the targets and had deprived the market of 25 per cent of the supplies anticipated. It was necessary to combat the black market more vigorously.

The Committee adopted a resolution on the lines proposed by the Communist Party.

## **EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN RUMANIA**

On the initiative of the Workers' Party of Rumania the Government has introduced an educational reform.

The present system of education does not meet the country's requirements with the result that there is an acute shortage of engineers and technicians and other trained personnel for industry, agriculture, and cooperative trade.

The reform is designed to raise the cultural level of the people and to ensure the necessary personnel in the near future.

Free education in the native language (7 classes) will be introduced and the network of special schools extended. Also one and two-year courses, with a grammar school curriculum, will be opened to abolish illiteracy among the adult population.

Russian will be taught in all schools. starting with the 4th class.

## **MORE SOVIET EXEMPTIONS FOR BULGARIA**

The Soviet Government has reduced by half—from nine million dollars to four and a half million dollars—the sum due to the Soviet Union from German assets in Bulgaria. The German assets in Bulgaria were turned over to the Soviet Union on the basis of the Peace Treaty. This big reduction represents a great boon to Bulgaria and will greatly facilitate the further development of her economy.

The Soviet Government has waived its claim against Bulgaria for 2,970 million leva for damage caused to former German assets during the period when they were at the disposal of Bulgarian Government organs.

This should have been made good on the basis of the agreement signed on January 10th, 1948. The Soviet Government has also decided to return to the Bulgarian Government at 50 per cent of their cost, Soviet trading and transport enterprises in Bulgaria, one credit establishment, two small power stations, buildings and other property valued at 576 million leva.

Expressing its gratitude to the Soviet Government for these exemptions, the Bulgarian Government said that this action was further evidence of the friendship and help which the Soviet Government is extending to Bulgaria and the other democratic countries.

## **ELECTION RESULTS AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN FINLAND. Aili Mjakinen, Propaganda Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party, Finland.**

The general election held in Finland on July 1 and 2, resulted in a certain setback for the Peoples Democratic Union and for the Communist Party which formed a single election bloc. Compared with the last election, the Democratic Union this time received 38 seats against 49. Of these 33 are held by Communists and 5 by Left Social Democrats. In the 1945 election the Democratic Union polled 23.3 per cent of the vote in July 19.9 per cent.

At the same time the Social Democratic Party increased their seats from 50 to 51, the bourgeois Agrarian Party from 49 to 56 and the extreme Right Coalition Party from 28 to 33. The Coalition Party benefited from the election bloc. It deprived the so-called Progressive Party, which occupies a still more reactionary position of four seats. The Progressive Party now has 5 seats instead of 9 as previously. The Swedish Party, which unfurls the banner of defence of the national interests of the Swedish minority, but at the same time docilely carries out the behests of big capital on all social and economic questions, also lost one seat in favour of the Coalition Party, thus bringing down its number of deputies to 14.

The election results somewhat change the relation of forces inside Parliament. The bourgeois parties which had 101 seats out of the 200 in the previous Parliament have increased their majority to 108. The fact that the Right leadership of the Social Democratic Party refused to join the election bloc with the

People's Democratic Party, signified a loss of 6 seats for these groups, for the election law gives priority to big parties.

However, there, was no "collapse" of people's democracy as internal and foreign reaction so loudly declared. The Democratic Union and the Communist Party demonstrated that they are, and will remain, an exceptionally important factor in the political life of the country.

At the same time the election showed that the reactionary, right wing front had fully mobilised their forces. When the 1945 election was held, reaction was still in a state of confusion. The fiasco of its fascist anti-Soviet military policy was fresh in the minds of the people; members of the war government who had not only been members of the Government but also leaders of the Coalition, Agrarian, Social Democratic and Progressive parties, ignominiously surrendered their seats. After 27 years underground, the Communist Party of Finland emerged into the open under the armistice terms. Along with the left wing of the Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Union of the People of Finland was founded. On the eve of the elections many prominent leaders of the Social Democratic Party, among them M. Pekkala and J. V. Keto, joined the Democratic Union. All fascist organisations were smashed and their papers banned. The people's democratic movement won a major victory. Three Communists and three Left Social Democrats joined the Paasikivi Government of April 1945; in the Pekkala Government of March 1946, the same relation of forces was preserved. The Ministry of the Interior went to a Communist.

The Communists, however, fully realised that a bitter struggle with reaction lay ahead.

Finland's bourgeoisie was not deprived of its key economic positions. It lost only part of its political power and retained the greater share of state and public influence.

Fully aware of this situation, the Communist Party strove

to use its influence in Parliament, in the Government and in the mass organisations to unite the progressive forces and to form a people's front. This was the aim of the agreement signed in April 1945 between the three main parliamentary parties—the People's Democratic, Social Democratic and Agrarian parties.

This was an agreement for cooperation which later formed the basis for the post-war economic and political recovery programme. This programme rejected the disastrous foreign policy pursued by reactionary circles; it called for close friendship between Finland and the Soviet Union. The programme's home policy gave the main task as the eradication of fascism, the democratisation of state departments, the army, the law and the police. It called for a planned economy and the nationalisation of large scale industry. The signatories to this agreement pledged themselves to work for a decent standard of living in the countryside and land for the landless. It also called for new social legislation and a democratic educational system.

The greatest progress was made in the sphere of foreign policy. Although all political groups declare their support of the Government's peaceful foreign policy, which aims at developing friendly relations with the Soviet Union, this does not mean in the least that they all try to carry out this policy in practice.

Typically characteristic of Finnish conditions is the history of the Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance, signed between Finland and the Soviet Union last April. The Communist Party and the Democratic Union were the only organisations which gave wholehearted support to Generalissimo Stalin's proposal for an agreement. The Progressive and Coalition parties even objected to taking part in the talks; the Agrarian Party declared that it was categorically opposed to the Agreement; the Social Democratic Party took a similar stand. Nevertheless, negotiations were begun and, largely due to the considerate attitude taken by the

Soviet representatives to the Finnish delegation's proposals, the Agreement was signed and approved by Parliament. It was signed in spite of the eleven Agrarian and Coalition Party diehards who voted against it.

Together with the Peace Treaty, this Agreement is of great significance from the point of view of our country's security and independence. It expresses the new foreign policy which the country adopted after the Armistice, under the leadership of the Communist Party and the People's Democrats. The result of this policy was also the magnificent gesture of the Soviet Government in agreeing to the request of the Communist Ministers to cut Finland's remaining reparation payments by 50 per cent.

But reactionary circles in the country did everything possible to strengthen their ties with the imperialist powers. The attitude towards the Marshall Plan in the spring of 1947 is a good illustration. When it was suggested that Finland should come into the Plan, Leskinen, Secretary of the Social Democratic Party asked Parliament to accept the Plan. He was supported by Annala, representative of the extreme Agrarian right wing. However, Parliament did not agree to accept this anti-Soviet project, though later on, ties with the Western imperialists were strengthened through trade policy. When Virkkunen, Foreign Ministry Trade and Political chief, returned from the United States early in 1947, where he had taken part in talks concerning credits for Finland, he said that it was openly hinted in the US that "the measures directed towards socialising Finland might deprive her of credits in the future". Virkkunen is now a director of the National Bank. On July 1 general election day—the conservative "Uusi Suomi" carried an article from its Stockholm correspondent who wrote: "Should Finland prove that she will take a heavy stand and protect herself from all kinds of social economic ventures, she would enjoy the growing favour of America."

These examples illustrate now blatantly the US imperialists are trying to interfere with Finland's Internal affairs and to dictate conditions to her.

It was far more difficult to make headway in home than in foreign policy because of the resistance of right-wing circles.

During the past two years, cooperation between the three Parliamentary parties has been brought practically to a standstill because the Rights are now determining the policy of the Social Democratic and Agrarian parties. The Democratic Union alone supports the policy of agreement. As a result, it has not been possible to form a people's front, even though the agreement on three-party cooperation was the cornerstone for this front. On the eve of the election, that is, in May, the Social Democratic Party formally rejected the agreement. The leadership of the Agrarian Party followed their example.

The Communist Minister of the Interior, who tried to carry out the principles of the three-party agreement and to curb the pro-fascist elements, encountered furious resistance from Right circles. The bills introduced by him were blocked in Parliament. The Rights asked endless questions with the object of obstructing the work of the reorganised State police who had uncovered a number of conspiracies and most effectively upset the plans and manoeuvres of the fascists.

The right-wing offensive against the Minister of the Interior reached culmination point last May. By recording a vote of no confidence in him, the Rights caused a Government crisis which was only solved by workers taking an active hand by means of strike action. The post thereupon remained in the hands of the People's Democrats.

The right-wing circles had the support of the reactionary law courts, which after the armistice, carried on as before. The courts actually assisted the fascist criminals, exonerating them wherever possible and, at worst, imposing very light sentences.

Reaction also succeeded in retaining its grip on the key

economic positions. As a consequence, economic progress was retarded, and political development within the country was held back.

The main industries and the banks were prevented from being nationalised by the action of the Right Social Democrats who hastened to the aid of the capitalists. In February 1945, the Social Democratic Party, alarmed by the mass movement of the working people, suggested that the Government should undertake an immediate study of ways and means of transferring to the state a number of the biggest industrial enterprises, certain branches of industry and some of the commercial banks. A commission, headed by prominent Social Democrats was appointed for the purpose. But to this day the commission has not submitted a single suggestion for the transfer of a single industrial enterprise to the State.

Only two years later, in February 1947, after every proposal submitted by the People's Democrats for cooperating in the matter of nationalisation had been scuttled, was the Seim, on the initiative of the Communist Party presented with a bill for nationalisation, of large-scale enterprises and banks. The entire right wing of the Social Democrats without exception, opposed the Communist Party on nationalisation. They marshalled all their officials and politicians for the purpose of paralysing and defeating the bill.

Varionen, former secretary of the Social Democratic Party cynically declared: "This slogan about socialism is just the dogma with which the working-class movement blinded the ordinary man".

The Rights in the leadership of the trade unions likewise refused to take part in the struggle for nationalisation, notwithstanding the unanimous decision of the 1947 trade union congress in favour of nationalisation. The trade union leaders resorted to every means, fair and unfair, in the attempt to wriggle out of making a public declaration of their views in

the matter of nationalisation.

To this day there has been no land reform, although all the smallholders in the countryside are impatient for the reform. Both Agrarians and Social Democrats adopted a negative attitude to every proposal submitted by the People's Democrats concerning the transfer of land to the landless peasants and peasants with tiny plots of whom there are over 200,000 in Finland.

Discontent among the poor peasants has made itself felt, meetings have been held in the villages and they have submitted their demands to the Government. But the Land Ministry in which the Agrarians are entrenched has always managed, aided by the other parties of the Right, to hamstring every proposal of the People's Democrats.

\*\*\*

In summing up the results of the general election, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Finland noted that the Democratic Front had not been able, in the preceding years, to break the back of reaction.

The Communist Party is fully aware that it is now confronted with new difficulties, in the matter of ensuring the democratisation of the country. The situation calls for a more careful concentration of forces, for blows at the decisive objectives, for painstaking propaganda work and for resolute struggle to improve the condition of the working people.

It is necessary to extend and strengthen the alliance between the working class and peasantry. For years the Social Democrats, like the bourgeoisie, have been preaching that the interests of the working class and peasantry conflict with one another, that the same political party cannot defend simultaneously the interests of the two groups.

Our job is to overcome the prejudices among the worker

and the peasants. We must convince them that without cooperation and mutual action on their part there can be no economic and political progress in Finland.

During the election campaign the Communist Party tried out new organisational forms—working by means of Party groups in the districts and with quite satisfactory results.

The outcome of the election did not cause any dismay in our rank to the extent that difficulties increased, the Communists felt a heavier responsibility for the fate of the people as a whole.

The Party is conscious that an even more grave responsibility rests with it—that of preventing the country from being drawn into irresponsible warlike ventures and into fresh misfortunes.

Although the progress recorded, in the past few years was not satisfactory in every respect, it has provided us with certain guarantees for the future, and has paved the way for our onward march.

In the time that has elapsed since the armistice, the working people of our country have discovered wherein lies their strength; they have become more conscious of themselves, and will never be deprived of the gains they have won. The Communist Party will struggle ever more resolutely for the democratic development of the country, for a higher standard of living for the working people, for a peaceful policy and for a lasting friendship between the peoples of Finland and the Soviet Union.

# **TO THE INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE FRATERNAL COMMUNIST PARTIES**

BUCHAREST

We, the undersigned, in complete agreement with your Resolution concerning the situation in our Party, today reported this decision to the Central Committee of our Party, and have requested that the leadership should unreservedly acknowledge their errors, correct them immediately, and take the only correct path of internationalism and proletarian solidarity.

Greetings to the Information Bureau, headed by the Lenin-Stalin Party.

With comradely greetings from the members of the Party group in the Yugoslav Mission in Teheran.

Secretary: Petar Kogol  
Members: Asim Alihodjic  
Mate Urlicic  
Stanko Breshic

Teheran, 14 July, 1948

## MARSHALL MEN'S TRADE UNION CONFERENCE

During the last week of July, self-appointed representatives of Marshall Country trade unions held a so-called International Trade Union Conference.

The “representatives” came from 16 countries and from a grand total of 25 organisations. Although the rank and file of the British trade union movement were not consulted in the matter, they were “represented” by Arthur Deakin and our other stalwarts of the Right, Leon Jouhaux, pensioner of the Marshall men, represented his highly anaemic “Force Ouvriere” which is kept in a state of animation by continual dollar injections.

Mr. Kuypers of the Dutch trade unions was there and the various dollar seeking splinter groups of Italian and other splitters were well to the fore.

The big trade union confederations of Europe, the French CGT and the Italian Confederation of Labour, were not represented.

The most significant thing about this “international trade union conference” was that it was organised by inspirers of the anti-union Taft-Hartley Law—the multi-millionaire capitalists, Harriman and Hoffman.

The conference ended by agreeing that each body represented should appoint a full-time officer “to specialise in Marshall Plan problems” and to maintain contact with an “advisory council” presided over by Kuypers with Tewson of the British unions as secretary.

Irving Brown of the AF of L and one of the leading Marshall agents in Europe based somewhat rashly that the conference marked the beginning of a new trade union international.

Harriman and Hoffman and their lieutenants in the American Federation of Labour and in the Congress of Industrial Organisations followed up the London conference with a special meeting in Paris of the “Labour attaches” from the American embassies in the Marshall countries.

They want the World Federation destroyed and for this purpose are using dollars and trade union quislings for all they are worth.

The prostrate state of the Force Ouvriere, as well as the sorry state of the other splinter groups in Italy and elsewhere seem to indicate that they will hardly get value for their money.

Jack BERING

## **BRITAIN: NORTH EAST DISTRICT PARTY CONGRESS**

Some 200 delegates and visitors were present at the recent North East District, Party Congress in Newcastle.

Comrade Lee, District Secretary and member of the Executive Committee of the British Communist Party reported on the situation in the North East which is prominently a centre of the mining, shipbuilding and engineering industries.

The report revealed that considerable work had been carried out during the past year. Over 300 new members had been made during recent months.

A District Committee of thirty members was elected. Of these, twelve were new members.

## **BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY PROTESTS AT COMMUNIST PERSECUTION IN UNITED STATES**

The British Communist Party has protested to the American Ambassador in Britain at the charge filed against the leaders of the United States Communist Party.

In a letter to the Ambassador, the General Secretary, Harry Pollitt announced the “trumped up charge of conspiring to overthrow by force the United States Government”, and referred to the invidious position in which the American people were placed by such anti-democratic actions of their Government.

## **SITUATION IN ITALY: RESOLUTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP**

The leadership of the Communist Party of Italy, after discussing a report from Comrade Luigi Longo on the political situation in the country following the general strike, adopted a resolution which states:

The general strike demonstrated the solidarity of the democratic forces of Italy, their unshakable determination to defend democratic liberties and to wreck the machinations of internal and foreign reaction. The general strike which took place under conditions of sharpening class struggle, was in a serious battle fought by the working people of Italy in defence of democracy and peace”.

The leadership of the Communist Party exposed the provocative attitude taken by the De Gasperi Government when the people voiced their indignation and demanded severe punishment for those responsible for the dastardly attempt on Comrade Togliatti’s life. By ignoring the voice of the people who are demanding a change in the country’s policy, the De Gasperi Government proves without doubt that it is an anti-popular government, that it cannot express the will of the people nor defend their interests.

The resolution calls upon all progressive forces of the country to unite in a great united action front to combat internal and international reaction. Only a united front of the working people, continues the resolution, will be able to put an end to the Christian Democratic Governments propaganda of discord and hatred and will be able to change the country’s policy. The need for unification is necessitated by the new offensive of the employers and the Government against the vital interests of the working people. The Government is bent on destroying the leaders of the democratic movement; it is encouraging the dark

forces of reaction, is creating an atmosphere in the country conducive to provocations and political ventures.

Reaction plans to disrupt trade union unity, to reduce wages (the plan of the Labour Minister, Fanfani), and to victimise militant workers in enterprises. The need for such unity has now been made clear the broad sections of the working people even to those who hitherto believed the propaganda of the Christian Democrats and voted for them in the general election last April.

They realise that the Parliamentary majority of the Christian Democratic Party is leading the country to a new totalitarian, dictatorial regime and is threatening the vital needs of the Italian people and their will for freedom and peace for the sake of the self interests of the ruling classes.

The general strike demonstrated the growing influence and militancy of the democratic forces.

The resolution stresses that the working people of Italy are not alone in the struggle against the forces of reaction. Behind them is the support and help of the democratic forces throughout the world. Examples of this are to be found in the unanimous demonstrations of solidarity with the working people of Italy after the attack on Comrade Togliatti, which were held by workers of all countries.

The resolution of the Communist Party leadership outlines the tasks of the Party's the vanguard of the working people in condition of the sharpening class struggle. These tasks include: organisational and political strengthening of the Party, raising the ideological level of the Communists, developing criticism and self-criticism, and strengthening the vigilance of all Party organisations.

The leadership of the Communist Party of Italy heartily thanks those genuine democrats throughout the world and the fraternal Communist Parties who joined the protest movement of the working people of Italy and who expressed their

indignation at the attempt on Comrade Togliatti's life.

The leadership of the Communist Party of Italy expresses wholehearted gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to its great leader Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin's call to strengthen vigilance will help all democratic forces fighting today for peace, progress, freedom, and against social injustice, slavery and war.

## **14<sup>TH</sup> NATIONAL CONVENTION OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF UNITED STATES**

The 14<sup>th</sup> National Convention of the Communist Party held in New York over August 2-6, was attended by 250 delegates.

The Convention was held at a time when reaction in the United States is conducting a fierce drive against the democratic movement, the working class and the working people as a whole. The capitalist monopolies, by means of intensified exploitation, are piling up enormous profits. Whereas in 1939 the profits of the corporations (before tax payments) totalled 6.5 billion dollars, in 1947 the figure had increased to 28 billion dollars. Conscious of the oncoming economic crisis, the U.S. Government is seeking to avert it with the aid of colossal war preparations and military ventures and by subordinating the nations to world domination by American imperialism. The 1948 military appropriations amount to 20 billion dollars. US imperialist circles are resorting to blackmail, intimidation, provocations, to say nothing of other extremist measures—terror, assassinations and draconic laws. They are trying to camouflage the setting up of a fascist regime with false words about democracy and the “American way of life”. The Government is encouraging unbridled Negro baiting, and is persecuting all who dare to protest against the war hysteria now being whipped up in the country. During the preparations for the Convention the Party leaders were placed under arrest.

However, the American people are realising more and more whither the ruling imperialist circles are taking the country. Despite the brutal terror the influence of the Communist Party is growing.

Eighteen thousand people were present at Madison Square Garden when the Convention opened on August 2. The chairman of the Party, Comrade Foster stated in his speech that, like Hitler, Wall Street needs fascism to carry out its programme of world conquest.

Spending billions of dollars, continued Foster, Wall Street is seeking to establish American economic control over Europe, to rearm the European continent, and especially Germany and to unite the capitalist countries into an active military alliance against the Soviet Union. The "Marshall Plan", Foster said, which has split the world into two hostile camps will not secure American world domination. The United States is tightening its grip on the shattered capitalist countries of Western Europe and Latin America, but it has not succeeded in intimidating the Soviet Union or in smashing the political democratic movement in Europe and the widespread liberation struggle in the colonial world.

The cardinal task facing the democratic forces of the world continued Foster, is to stop the war campaign of the Wall Street imperialists, and in this connection, a grave responsibility rests with the American people.

Speaking of the forthcoming Presidential election Foster noted that the Progressive Party in the United States will enable the forces battling for peace to wage a struggle against inflation and fascism. The new party destroys the two-party system which for generations had paralysed political activity on the part of the working class of America. Those who charge the Communist Party with attempting to seize the leadership of the new party or who ascribe its establishment to the Communist Party are simply lying.

The forces of international democracy, Foster declared, are much stronger than any Wall Street sponsored coalition of international reaction could ever be. The forces of democracy will resolutely combat fascism and war preparations.

The General Secretary of the Party Comrade Eugene Dennis, outlined a programme of struggle against the fascist danger. All the forces of the working people must be mobilised to fight the Taft-Hartley Law, for Negro rights and to defend the Communists. This struggle must be headed by the working class. The Communist Party supports the Progressive Party which is the outcome of the crisis in the monopolistic two-Party system and in bourgeois democracy. However, support for the Progressive Party does not alter the fact that there are certain differences both in principle and of a tactical nature between the Communist Party and Wallace and with the Third Party forces around him.

Comrade Winston, Organisational Secretary of the Party, in his report stressed the need to make the Communist Party into a mass, political party of the working class. Communist Party members are at present organised in 1,700 local sections, approximately 300 factory sections, 421 so-called industrial sections composed of workers employed in one and the same branch of industry, 200 trade union sections and 200 student and youth clubs.

In intensifying the struggle for the leading role of the working class in the progressive movement, in organising the struggle for the vital needs of the people and against the danger of war and fascism, the Communist Party must draw into its ranks, above all, the industrial workers. The sharpening class struggle in the United States requires from the Communist Party that Party discipline be tightened up, that Party members be educated in the spirit of selfless devotion to the cause of the working class and the entire working people, and an ability to extend and strengthen contact with the masses. Hence the task of waging resolute struggle against every manifestation of opportunism, of inculcating in the working class the ideas of the irreconcilability of its interests with the interests of the imperialist bourgeoisie who are leading the country to fascism.

The delegates discussed the reports and adopted resolutions defining the tasks of the Party. The Convention unanimously rejected Earl Browder's application to be reinstated in the Party.

The Convention elected the leading organs of the Party. Comrade Foster was re-elected Chairman of the Party and Comrade Dermis, General Secretary.

## **GENERAL EXPERIENCES OF PARTY WORK**

### **INNER-PARTY DEMOCRACY—BASIC LAW OF LIFE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

*The Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic centralism which is the basis of the organisational structure of the Communist and Workers' Parties, is one of the sources of their invincible might. The iron discipline of the party and the high prestige of the leading bodies, fuse with the creative initiative of the rank and file. Each member of the Party regards himself as an active fighter and vanguard champion of the socialist cause.*

*Below we publish some experiences of Party building in the Communist and Workers' Parties. The exchange of these experiences should facilitate the further strengthening of inner Party democracy.*

#### **Observe Principle of Election of Party Organs. I. Kovacs, Candidate Member, Political Bureau, Hungarian Workers' Party**

Regular elections and reports from leading bodies constitute one of the most important principles of inner Party democracy.

After Hungary had been liberated by the victorious Soviet Army and our Party had become legal, the Central Committee

started to put this principle in to practice.

The National Party Conference of 350 delegates in May, 1945, was the first step in this direction. The Conference discussed how the Party could be strengthened organisationally and elected its leading bodies.

The following January and February conferences were held in 25 regions and the five biggest cities which elected city and district Party committees. At these conferences delegates enjoyed complete freedom to criticise the work of leading bodies.

They pointed out that representatives of regional and district committees seldom visited the branches and paid only the bare minimum of attention to organisations in the countryside. Delegates also demanded that leading bodies should give more planned and active help to branches.

Since then conferences are held regularly in regions, districts, cities and factories, where the committees concerned report on their work as laid down in the Party rules.

The Central Committee is paying special attention to seeing that Party leaders study the principles of Marxism-Leninism. A network of party schools has been set up and large-scale Marxist-Leninist propaganda is being conducted. Besides this the Central Committee is taking steps to help new functionaries to benefit from the organisational experience others.

Meetings of Party leaders form one way in which organisational experience can be shared so that leaders can benefit from it.

The first meeting of this kind was held in Budapest soon after the regional Party conferences in 1946. Over 400 delegates were present. In April of last year a similar meeting was held attended by 800 Party functionaries. In January of this year the third national conference of leading Party functionaries took place with 1,200 delegates. These meetings

became a school to educate young cadres and a platform for exchanging experiences in practical Party work.

The Third Party Congress—the first legal one—was held in September 1946 and marked an important stage in developing inter Party democracy. After considerable discussion, Congress elected a Central Committee by secret ballot.

This year each regional and city organisation held two conferences. In many districts, branch committees have been re-elected twice, first at the beginning of the year, and then in May after the Right Wing of the Social Democratic Workers Party had been defeated and moves to fuse the Communist and Social Democratic Parties were being made.

Even before the Unity Congress, regional, city and factory unity conferences were held to discuss the draft programme and statutes of the new party. All the merged organisations elected new leadership.

This work was completed by the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party which opened on June 12, this year, and by the Unity Congress of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties which followed it. The Unity Congress elected, by secret ballot, a Central Committee and a Central Control Commission for the new Workers' Party.

As far back as 1946, Comrade Rakosi, speaking at the Third Congress of the Communist Party, stressed that regional, district and local committees must report on their work to Party meetings and that it was imperative to acquaint the rank and file with all important decisions.

Meetings of the most active members are now held every four or five months. Party leaders make their reports, at these meetings on the vital tasks facing the Party. At these meetings comrades fully utilise their right to criticism freely the work of the Party leadership.

Branch leaders in their turn report to branch meetings on

the work of branch committees.

After our Party, became legal, there were some Party committee members who tried to lead the work not by convincing the membership but by ordering them to perform certain duties. The annual general meetings strongly denounced these attempts as anti-Marxist. By educating the membership and leading cadres in the spirit of inner Party democracy, we are increasing the activity and fighting capacity of our Party.

The members of the Hungarian Workers' Party have unanimously approved the Information Bureau Resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. They realise that the readers of the Yugoslav Party have abandoned the principles of inner Party democracy laid down by Lenin and Stalin.

After the Soviet Army had liberated our country, the Central Committee of the Party insisted on developing inner Party democracy and has made big strides forward. However, it would be a serious mistake to say that all shortcomings have already been overcome,

Learning the lesson of the serious mistakes of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the cadres and entire membership of the Hungarian Workers' Party will be yet more vigilant and will fight relentlessly to develop inner Party democracy still further. For this is the rock-like basis of the activities of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

### **Criticism and Self-Criticism—Our Sharpest Weapon. Secretary Party Committee, Czecho-Moravska-Kolban- Danek Enterprise**

The Czecho-Moravska-Kolben-Danek enterprises is one of the biggest in Czechoslovakia.

Our workers have a fine tradition both for revolutionary spirit and for skill. Our workers are taking an active part in

building up the people's democratic State.

Reaction is using every means in its power to resist the people's government and the Communist Party, and to hold up the fulfilment of the Two-Year Plan.

It is the imperative duty of our Party and of every Czech Communist to expose the reactionaries, the hidden enemies. Criticism and self-criticism, the keen weapon of Communists everywhere, will help us to discover and eliminate shortcomings, to expose the reactionaries and to overcome difficulties.

Our Party committees have a well-earned prestige among the rank and file membership. This, of course, does not mean that there are no shortcomings in the work of the Party committees or of their leaders. On the contrary, such shortcomings exist and at times they are very serious ones. Many Communists still fail to realise this, and are apt to take criticism of the shortcomings of Party committees and their leaders as criticism of the Party line. Considerable educational work is needed, especially among the new members, to help them to see the incorrectness of this view and encourage them to use their right to criticise Party committees and leaders at meetings and discussions. Such educational work has only just begun in our Party organisations, but already it is yielding positive results.

Many of our comrades react with hostility to criticism of their work and activities. This is particularly true of the technical personnel infected with petty-bourgeois prejudices. The main work of Party organisations in our plants is to see the Two Year Plan fulfilled. As was the case during the February days when the workers of our enterprise, led by the Communists, provided rocklike support for the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Party, so, today, our workers are an active force in the struggle against reaction and for the prosperity of our people's republic.

Wages is a subject for lively discussions at our meetings. We operate on a piece-work system. Each is paid according to the amount of labour expended and the quality of his production. This system is not always properly understood by certain workers, especially those who are politically backward. Some of them try to leave for work in another plant where the basic wage is higher. This results in fluctuation of labour and prevents the enterprise from efficiently carrying out its production programme. Communists and advanced workers are perturbed at this situation. They sharply criticise the slowness of the Ministry of Industry and its various bodies which seem to be in no hurry to introduce wage-scales standards for all the enterprises in the Republic.

Our members rightly criticise the district and regional Party committees for their failure to react speedily to the demands of factory organisations. Often these demands are unanswered or are replied to only after great delay. This is most harmful. However, it should be noted that Party organisations react properly to criticism from the rank and file and try to eliminate their shortcomings. Of course, this is not always the case, since many of our leaders are accustomed to criticism from above rather than from below.

An increasing number of Communists are beginning to recognise the fact that the sharper and more widely practised is criticism and self-criticism in all Party organisations, the stronger we shall be in the struggle against reaction, and the more successfully shall we be able to eliminate mistake and surmount obstacles standing in the way of building Socialism. The rank and file is beginning to realise that the absence of criticism and covering up of mistakes can lead to disintegration as is strikingly borne out by the example of the Tito clique. Recognition of mistakes means forging ahead.

## **The Active—Mainstay of the Party Committee. F. Strunc, Secretary, Party Committee, Gottwald Works**

The Communist Party organisation is the leading element of the entire social, political and economic life of the Gottwald Works.

Its leading body, the Party Committee, usually consists of forty members. It is elected annually at a factory Party conference and is made up of the best Party workers who have the confidence of the men and women in the plant.

The annual conference also approves the Committee's secretary and two deputy-secretaries. The first meeting of the new Committee elects all the rest of the leading functionaries and the chairmen of various sub-committees.

The sub-committees are auxiliary bodies. They carry out an important job on the basis of the Committee's plan of work and help the Committee's secretariat to raise various questions in the field of social, political and inner Party life. Each sub-committee ranges from ten to fifteen members. In addition, the more active Party members are drawn in to help the sub-committees, and this is what we call the "active."

The work of the sub-committees and of the Party committee clearly reflects the Bolshevik principle of inner Party democracy. A great number of Communists take part in examining and working out all the important questions and in deciding how the workers can be mobilised for the fulfilment of the Two Year Plan ahead of schedule and for the struggle against reaction.

The way the Party active takes part in forming decisions makes it possible to avoid mistakes and to work out the best line of work for our organisations under the present difficult conditions of political struggle for the triumph of the new

order, for socialism.

At present each Party Committee at our factories operates with ten sub-committees: including those on social-political, economic, organisational, cultural-propaganda, cadres, trade-union discipline, youth and women.

The social-political sub-committee plans and supervises the carrying out of the decisions of the Central Committee and of the Government in our enterprise. It also engages in large-scale explanatory work, propagating the tasks of building peoples democracy.

For the fulfilment of the Two Year Plan it is essential that in all sectors of production and of Party work there are capable and talented people loyal to the cause of the Party. The sub-committee which handles matters appertaining to personnel is in charge of selecting and developing such people. Its job is to know the members, to direct their work, and to help the Party Committee to place in leading positions those who are best able to justify the confidence of the people.

The cultural and propaganda sub-committee guides the work of the numerous study circles and political courses and all Party propaganda at our enterprise. It holds lectures on Marxism-Leninism, on home and international policy and on the cultural and social life of the Republic. For this purpose it has at its disposal factory magazine "Onslaught" and radio network.

A very important role is played by the national-economic sub-committee. The factories which now make up the Gottwald enterprise were formerly owned by capitalists. Today they are nationalised and belong to the people.

They are run by the representatives of the people. It is the task of the national-economic sub-committee to give every assistance to these new leaders. The sub-committee helps the manager and the heads of departments in overcoming shortcomings in the organisation of labour and production, and

obstacles holding up the supply of the necessary materials.

The national-economic sub-committee takes an active part in planning production. The national-economic sub-committee explains to Party members and to the entire personnel that the struggle for quality output and for economy is simultaneously a struggle for strengthening our national economy and for the prosperity of our democratic Republic.

The work of the sub-committees directed by the Party Committee is closely linked with the work of the 46 Party branches at our enterprises. Each of these Party branches has its own democratically elected committee.

For the purpose of involving all Party members in active Party life, we formed groups of ten members. At present there are 607 such groups. Each is headed by a group organiser, whose job is to raise the political level of the members, acquaint them with political literature and arrange for informal discussions.

Relying on these groups, the group organisers strive for high quality production and against wastage. They endeavour to see that the members of their groups are models of discipline and selfless labour.

The big tasks facing Party branches make it essential that there should be better direction of the work of the branch organisers from the main Party committee. To meet this, we organise studies for branch organisers, hold meetings, confer with them and give them to day-to-day assistance. We seek to develop from these local party functionaries future Party leaders devoted to the cause of socialism, to the cause of the people.

Our Party organisation, despite shortcomings, is considered to be the best in the Brno region. We were awarded the banner of the regional Party committee for good political work and for reaching the production targets. We have challenged a number of enterprises in the Brno and Prague region to a competition.

But we are far from resting on our laurels and are striving to improve the forms and methods of our Party work. And in this we receive great support from our mainstay—the Party active.

**The Party Meeting, School of Political Education. A. Mogioros, Member, Political Bureau, Rumanian Workers' Party**

When the means of production passed into the hands of the people's state, it was a great revolutionary achievement in Rumania's history.

The nationalisation of 90 per cent of industry, and the measures taken to restrict the capitalist elements in the countryside are an important step toward building socialism in our country.

The Rumanian Workers' Party is the vanguard of the working class and the recognised leader of the working people. True to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and guided by the rich experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) it is making, every effort to widen still further the democratic changes in the country. The tasks facing the Workers' Party today demand that each member should be an active fighter for socialism, an example of labour discipline, the initiator of socialist emulation, a vigilant protector of social property and should have an irreconcilable attitude to the class enemy.

The education of Party members in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism is an important task of the basic branch organisations. The Party rules define the task of the basic organisation as follows: to carry out the political line of the Party and all decisions of leading Party bodies. Its duty is to take an active part in the political and economic life of the country, raise the level of production, fight for the strict observance of labour discipline and mobilise the working

people under the Party slogans. It must strengthen and safeguard the unity of the Party and educate the membership in the spirit of proletarian solidarity.

Party meetings have a particular role to play in the solution of these tasks. They serve as a school for the political education of the members.

Attaching great importance to the general Party meeting, which it regards as an expression of the collective will of the Party, the Central Committee instructs all Party committees and organisations to hold regular meetings of their membership at which current questions of Party policy must be discussed.

Considering that one of the essential tasks of the Party is to draw all members into active political life, the Central Committee proposed that all Party organisations should discuss the Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and the decisions of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party.

Meetings which discussed these two important documents were marked by great enthusiasm on the part of the membership. They unanimously approved the Information Bureau Resolution and the Central Committee decisions on this question.

Serious preparatory work preceded the meetings in the branches. A special conference of the most active Party members was held and was attended by leading Party workers. A report on the Information Bureau Resolution was delivered by the Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade V. Luca.

As a guide for those reporting back to their organisations, another conference was organised for regional committee members engaged in propaganda work. This conference also explained how this important document should be studied in the branches. Conferences of district committee secretaries and heads of organisational departments were held in the regions.

Meetings of Party committees were held in sixty districts attended by some 36,000 Party workers. The Central Committee proposed that regional and district committees should ask the more qualified propagandists to deliver reports on the Information Bureau Resolution. Considerable help was given to rural Party organisations by sending a group of highly qualified reporters from Bucharest into the countryside.

The thorough preparations which preceded the Party meetings ensured their high ideological and political level. The meetings which discussed the Resolution were a serious political school for the membership. They helped to show up many shortcomings in various aspects of our work.

The lively discussion which followed the reports centred chiefly around essential problems of inner Party life. The members spoke of the organising and mobilising role of the Party, of the need to sharpen class vigilance, to develop inner Party democracy, strengthen proletarian internationalism and develop self-criticism.

In discussion they acknowledged the Soviet Union's historic role in the creation of the new democracies, pointing out that the leading position of the Soviet Union in the united socialist front guarantees the invincibility of the forces of socialism in the struggle against the anti-democratic, imperialist camp, headed by the United States. The membership unanimously condemned the treachery of the Tito clique in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

These meetings sharply criticised the harmful methods of work practised by certain Party committees and their leaders. instances were given of conceit, self-advertisement, violation of Party ethics on the part of district committee secretaries. The meetings censured certain committee secretaries for their attitude of delivering commands to lower organisations. The resolutions adopted at these meetings noted that the suppression of criticism inevitably led to bigger mistakes

which caused great harm to the Party.

They also noted instances of chauvinist sentiments and lack of vigilance in a number of organisations.

This discussion of the Information Bureaus Resolution helped to stimulate Party life. Party branch meetings which are held regularly, suffer from serious shortcomings. For one thing, the agenda is often cluttered with questions of secondary importance; the secretaries of these organisations rarely report to the membership; criticism and self-criticism are seldom practised.

At the same time, the experience of many Party organisations shows that Party meetings considerably develop the organising role of the organisations in the struggle for socialism.

The Party organisation in the Brasov tractor plant is achieving good results in raising the ideological level of the Party membership. The branch meetings regularly discuss current political questions, as well as questions concerning production and increased labour productivity. After a suggestion made at one meeting a machine was installed which sent up output considerably. Another innovation cut the time needed to turn out spare parts for tractors. These are only two of numerous rationalisation proposals made at these meetings.

The Party branch in a village in the Feheraj district discusses all matters affecting village life. For instance, the membership discussed the matter of building a dam which would prevent flooding in the neighbourhood. When the proposal was put to the villagers it met with their unanimous support.

At their meetings village branches pay great attention to the questions of grain deliveries and the struggle against hostile class elements who try to disrupt the system of centralised State purchasing. The Party members, discussing all sides of the grain question, help to expose abuses in various

organisations of the State apparatus and to expel saboteurs and disruptive elements from these organs.

Experience shows clearly that the success of Party branch meetings depends very largely on how well they are prepared and on the help given to the branch secretaries by city and district committees. Unprepared meetings often result in disorganisation and inactivity.

A serious shortcoming in the work at Party secretaries is their inability to draw up a proper agenda for a general meeting. In many cases the items presented for discussion are so numerous that important political issues get lost in a maze of petty detail which need not be discussed at such meetings.

Party organisations are not always able to propose activity which would place concrete tasks before the mass of the membership.

After studying the experience of general branch meetings, the General Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party declares that all Party committees must work to raise the ideological level of these meetings and turn them into a real school of political education for the mass of the Party.

## **DISMEMBERMENT OF GERMANY AND TASKS OF SOCIALIST UNIT PARTY. Otto Grotewhol, Chairman, Socialist Unity Party of Germany.**

The Socialist Unity Party and the Socialist People's Party of Germany (former Communist Party of the Western zones), are the only two parties in Germany, which from the very beginning, have vigorously upheld the view that the Yalta and Potsdam agreements must be taken as the basis for building the new German State.

The spirit of Potsdam is clear. The Agreement is, directed against German monopoly capital, against feudal landlordism and against militarism.

The Western allies are pursuing a policy that is at complete variance with Potsdam. Instead of carrying out the Agreement they are carrying out a policy of sabotage and dismemberment of Germany. The Western powers, dominated by monopoly capital, are strenuously resisting the setting up of a united, democratic Germany. Beginning with 1945, this resistance has obstructed the fusion of the Social Democrats and Communists into a united Socialist Party in Western Germany; has led to the banning of the Cultural League for the Democratic Recovery of Germany, and the Socialist Unity Party in the Western zones; to gagging the press and numerous other repressive measures.

The policy followed by the Western powers of systematically refusing to honour the obligations undertaken at Potsdam explain, the futility of the conferences of Foreign Ministers and has resulted in the setting up of a separate Western German State. Bizonia came into being and an Economic Council was set up in Frankfurt-on-Maine. The four-

power administration of Germany and Berlin was completely abolished. All these separatist measures were accompanied by false propaganda to the effect that the Soviet Union, consistently upholding the fulfilment of the Potsdam Agreement, was responsible for the dismemberment of Germany.

Matters culminated with the London Conference of the Western Powers and the Benelux countries which openly favoured the unification of the Western zones. The Potsdam Agreement was thrown to the winds. Moreover, the formation of this West German State was entrusted to the prime ministers of the 11 West German laender and not democratic and anti-fascist organisations. The relations of the new State with the occupation powers will be regulated by occupation statues and not by a peace treaty. This, naturally, gives the Western powers a decisive voice. The period of occupation will continue indefinitely and the Ruhr, vital to German economy, will remain subordinate to the Western powers. An attempt will be made to change the face of Germany by drawing up new frontiers. The Ruhr will become a special Ruhr State. This will bring it under American control and make possible its inclusion in the Western bloc. The admission of Dr. Adenauer, representative of the Christian Democratic Union in the British zone, that “the Versailles Treaty was a bouquet of roses compared to the London Agreement”, reveals that even the defenders of the dismemberment policy are in bad way.

Unlike the London conference which met to complete the dismemberment of Germany, the Foreign Ministers of Eastern and Southeastern Europe met in Warsaw to insist on the fulfilment of the Potsdam decisions. While London dismembering Germany and trying to turn the West German State into a democratic farce, Warsaw made proposals in keeping with the interests of the German people.

The behaviour of the 11 prime ministers of the West

German laender is a disgrace to the people of Germany. Together with the bourgeois and Social Democratic politicians of the Western zones these prime ministers are only too eager to follow the follow the splitting policy of the Western powers. This was made possible because considerable elements among the population of Western Germany are still under the influence of the anti-Soviet ideology, implanted by the Nazi regime. But in the long run this is to be explained by the fact that the occupation authorities in the Western zones, supported by the German bourgeois and Social Democratic politicians, are fostering Nazi Anti-Soviet baiting, combining it with lies and slander of the worst kind. This is the key to the striking fact that while the Soviet Union favours the restoration of German unity and the sovereignty of Germany, German politicians are rubbing shoulders with monopoly capital, with the splitters of Germany and, headed by the Social Democratic leadership and its press, are openly demanding withdrawal from the agreements signed in Yalta and Potsdam.

In this set-up the role of the Schumachers is more than grotesque. They keep on saying that there can be no future for Germany without introducing Socialist measures. At the same time, however, they join forces with the representatives of foreign monopoly capital for joint struggle against the Soviet Union and Communism. The Schumachers are loudest of all in the demand for a revision of Potsdam.

In connection with the Berlin conflict it should be pointed out that the currency reform introduced by the Western occupation authorities without consulting the Soviet Union, threatened the Soviet zone with inflation. Hence the issue of new money in the Soviet zone was just as necessary an economic measure as was the extension of the currency reform to Berlin. Berlin is the centre of the Soviet zone and closely linked with this zone economically. Cooperation by the Western powers in carrying out measures connected with the

currency reform proved superfluous in the Soviet zone and in Berlin, since the governments of the Western powers had, by their separate actions, destroyed the four-power administration of Germany and the Control Council had ceased to function. The setting lip of the West German State with its capital in Frankfurt-on-Maine precludes all possibilities of any further four-power administration in Berlin.

The Western powers decided to introduce the new money into their sectors in Berlin and by doing so caused confusion in the capital's economy. The Soviet Government's statement that it would take care of supplies for the entire population of Berlin, and the necessary measures taken in this connection put an end to the provocative machinations of the war mongers.

Until the very last moment the Social Democratic press insisted that the Western powers remain adamant and prohibit Soviet zone currency from being circulated in their sectors of Berlin. The fact that this hullabaloo eventually subsided can be ascribed to the influence of certain official organs as well as the fact, for instance, that the Social Democratic organ "Telegraf", issued in Berlin wrote August 6 that there should be uniform currency for Berlin "regardless of whether it be the currency of the Eastern zones, the currency of the Western zones, or any other special currency". The statement that Berlin "should maintain the same economic ties with all zones of Germany", is in contradiction to what had been written hitherto by the press hostile to the Soviet Union. Until now it was a question of Berlin being included in West Germany, and of the economy of the capital maintaining close ties with Western Germany.

The talks which took place in Goblentz and Rudesheim between the generals—representing the Western occupation authorities—and the Premiers of the 11 West German laender about carrying out the recommendations of the London Conference, ended with the Premiers agreeing to the

dismemberment of Germany.

Quite clearly it is impossible to remain deaf to the demands of a big majority of the German people who insist on the restoration of German unity. The response to the People's Congress in Berlin and, indeed, throughout Germany brought home to the splitters that the urge for a united Germany is strong among the people and will always be counterposed to their policy. It is not surprising, therefore, that the movement for the People's Congress which was supported by all trends of political opinion, and which called people to the struggle for unity and democracy, was banned in the Western sectors of Berlin. The People's Council, elected by the Congress, called upon the people to engage in what it described as national self-help, and undertook the preparation and prosecution of measures designed to secure a united Germany and the signing of a just peace.

Among the measures initiated by the People's Council was the collecting of signatures to a petition which called for a nation-wide referendum. Fifteen million men and women, that is, more than one-third of the adult population signed the petition which demanded a referendum on the question of the unity of Germany. Documentary evidence in the form of 15 million signatures was presented to the Allied Control Council by the Presidium of the German People's Council who at the same time, requested permission for carrying out the referendum.

Despite certain differences, the German People's Council which consist of representatives of all the legal organisations in the Soviet zone, and of representatives of the progressive organisations in the other zones, will go ahead with measures necessary for the building of a united, democratic Germany. The Council has set up subcommittees which will examine questions relative to a Constitution for Germany, her economic future, cultural development and so on. The Constitution sub-

committee has already submitted to the Council certain guiding principle for the Constitution. These directives were unanimously accepted by the representatives of the people. The forthcoming autumn session of the People's Council will debate and decide upon the new Constitution. At the present moment Germany is experiencing an ever growing sharpening of class contradictions and class struggle. The enemies of Germany's unity are conducting a smear campaign against the Soviet Union and the new democracies. And the policy pursued by the Socialist Unity Party will, in the long run, put paid to this baiting. Of this the members of our Party have no doubts whatsoever. They know that for the people of Germany, close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the new democracies in Eastern and Southeastern Europe constitutes the basic condition for the creation of a united democratic Germany and of normal conditions of life.

The Two-Year Economic Plan for the Soviet zone which was reviewed recently by the Board of the Socialist Unity Party and ratified by the German Economic Commission, will increase the productivity of all branches of industry. The driving out of the private property monopolists in the Soviet zone and the change-over from the monopoly system to people's enterprises, is bringing about a complete change of attitude on the part of the people towards production tasks. The Party of the working class is conscious of the difficult tasks which face it. But it knows also that it is the sole force which is capable of overcoming the difficulties. Taking this into account, and conscious of its responsibility, the Party is anxious to play a leading role in political and economic life.

All one can say to the critics in the bourgeois parties who still refuse to recognise that the Party lays claims to the leading role is that no other party has the influence necessary in present day conditions to achieve the 30 per cent increase in output within the framework of the Two Year Plan.

Taking into account the magnitude of the tasks, the Board of the Party recognises the need for ideologically strengthening the Party in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

The forthcoming 30th anniversary of the Revolution of November 1918 was the subject of discussion by the Board, which reviewed the historical ties of this unsuccessful revolution and critically debated its lessons for the German labour movement. The Party Board considers it of prime importance to acquaint all members with the reasons that gave rise to opportunism and its pernicious influence.

That is why the Party Board has decided to carry out the special campaign with the object of increasing the activity of the membership. A check up will be made of Party members and measures taken to eliminate existing shortcomings in the work of the Party.

We are confident that, thanks to the selflessness of the broad mass of the membership and the strengthening of the Party organisations, the Socialist Unity Party will cope with its tasks and successfully realise the democratic development of Germany.

## IN THE FACTORIES AND FIELDS OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Communist Party and trade unions of Czechoslovakia are battling for the elimination of shortcomings in industry and in the organisation of labour. They are tackling such questions as the general introduction of the principle of payment based on the growth of labour productivity, securing public control over the utilisation by factory workers of a 10 per cent share in the profits of the enterprise; the elimination of absenteeism and work stoppages; tightening up labour discipline and so on.

In May, the volume of the Czechoslovak industry reached the figure of 111 per cent compared to 1937—the best pre-war year. However, the above mentioned shortcomings hinder the further rapid development of industry. Hence these new measures, which are designed to eliminate these shortcomings as quickly as possible. Czechoslovakia has all the prerequisites for this.

the Party and trade union press have begun to popularise the successful expedience of applying the principle of payment based on the growth of individual labour productivity. This principle was introduced, for instance in two mines in Moravska Ostrava, where the miners were formerly paid according to the output of the brigade as a whole. The positive results were soon apparent both pits began to exceed fixed targets.

At the same time voluntary harvesting work is going on in the fields. Thousands of work brigades composed of factory and office workers, students and professional workers are helping the peasants to secure the food supply.

At the same time, harvesting work is going on in the fields. Thousands of work brigades composed of factory and office workers, students and professional workers are helping the

peasants to secure the food supply. This year's harvest is far in excess of last year's.

## LETTERS FROM OUR READERS

### As Seen By An Eye-Witness

The very moment when Comrade Togliatti, seriously wounded, was being hurried by ambulance to hospital, the working people of Italy, enraged at the dastardly attempt on his life, downed tools and poured out onto the streets.

This movement was so powerful and the outburst of indignation so unanimous that De Gasperi sought to explain it by conjuring up the charge about the notorious "K Plan".

According to this gauleiter of the American imperialists, the "Defence Plan of the Italian Communist Party went into operation at noon on July 14th." That was how the contemptible hireling of reaction tried to explain the heroic protest strike of eight million workers, a strike which brought all industrial activity to a standstill.

For months past and especially after the general election, the press and radio of the Christian Democrats and other reactionary parties had been screaming about "the loss of prestige suffered by the Communist Party". They claimed that Togliatti was now "bankrupt as a political reader". They lied so outrageously that they were caught in the net of their own gross fabrications. On July 14-15, the manipulators of the election "miracles" found themselves face to face with the genuine article—the magnificent rebuff of reaction by the people.

True one can afford to be merciful toward the Christian Democrat and Saragat leaders when it is borne in mind that they observed those heroic days from the cellars where they had taken refuge from the indignation of the people.

It is never easy, of course, to take in the magnitude of a struggle from peepholes and it is even more difficult to get an

idea of its perspectives. Submitting themselves to the mercy of the Lord—or perhaps we should be more correct in saying, to Italy's No. 1 policeman, Scelba—they burrowed deep underground. They had not even done this during the fascist regime. In those days they were busy in Rome speculating and indulging in shady transactions.

Just how badly Italian reaction was scared was revealed by Senator Aldizio, a leading member of the Christian Democratic Party. Speaking in the Senate, Aldizio said that when he was in Paris during the general strike days he had given up hope of being able to return to Italy. Another who shook in his shoes was Andreoni, Trotskyite provocateur and director of "Umanita", who called for the assassination of Communists. This gentleman hurriedly left his comfortable headquarters and departed for an unknown destination. And Andreoni was no exception.

During the general strike the most out-of-the-way Italian resorts were swarming with "very important persons" and the proprietors of Swiss hotels soon realized that the Italian strike considerably improved the somewhat slack tourist trade. There was a sudden and enormous influx of "titled" tourists. Hundreds of luxurious limousines, belonging to big capitalists and landowners and to top leaders of the Christian Democratic organisations crossed the border at Cijaso, Spluga and Siplona, bearing their frightened owners not only to famous resorts but also to the strong-rooms of Swiss banks where they safely deposited their funk money.

The Government, scared out of its wits circulated the most fantastic reasons for the attempt on Comrade Togliatti's life as well as ridiculous stories about the man who fired the shots. These inventions were meant to convince the people that the would-be assassin was an irate fanatic of no party affiliation. They tried to prove that he acted singlehanded without accomplices and that he fired on Togliatti for purely personal

reasons. In this way the heads of the Government parties tried to absolve themselves of political responsibility for this foul crime.

The Government representatives, afraid to appear before the people with their false explanations, dispatched instead Scelba's police armed to the teeth with tommy guns and armoured cars.

Scelba, confident of American support, grew more and more insolent. But his crafty calculations went awry. He had hoped to intimidate the "rebels" and introduce order by deploying a great force of police and by firing on the unarmed people.

But the Italian working class cannot be so intimidated. The tanks and armoured cars failed in their purpose.

The over-zealous prefect of Genoa was forced to leave his post. He wanted to suppress the strikers anti wreck vengeance on them with his armoured cars. Alas, the armoured cars on which he had pinned his hopes were in the hand of the workers, and the police, disarmed by the strikers, beat a hasty retreat.

Of late, police flying squads have been attacking the working people, the unemployed and housewives. However, after the events of those July days, Truman's police expert and Minister Scelba will have to revise the question of the tactical use of police gangsters who have been trained along American lines. The point is that the working people of Italy applied such forms of struggle that they could protect the protest demonstrations against police raids. They displayed not only examples of courage and solidarity, restraint and coolness, but also revolutionary initiative which clamped the ardour of Scelba's police.

In the principal street of Rome, armoured police cars ran into small stone barricades erected by the strikers. The workers occupied many plants and workshops. And everywhere, especially at the iron and steel works, automobile, aircraft and

chemical factories, the workers turned out “technical means of defence” which frustrated all attempts by the police to penetrate the enterprises.

The police in Bijellja province spent a whole day pulling down the barricades erected on the roads. No matter where they moved they were confronted with obstacles which hampered the movement of their columns and armoured cars. Many police officers were seized with panic. Thousands of policemen presented doctors’ certificates that they could not carry out their duties due to poor health. In the North, many police officers, discarding their uniforms appeared in civilian clothes and departed for the countryside where they waited until things settled down.

The general strike, which was staged as a powerful protest demonstration, was concluded in an organised fashion on the instructions of the leading trade unions. During this strike the working people of Italy displayed magnificent examples of organisation and revolutionary discipline.

In Milan for instance, thousands of people attended the mass meetings. There were no incidents—not surprising since there was not a single policeman to be seen on the streets of Milan during those days. Wherever the authorities tried to use force against the strikers, and where they trampled on the constitutional rights of the working people, there they encountered stiff resistance.

In order to keep up their morale and to reinstate their prestige in the eyes of their American masters, De Gasperi, Scelba and company are now circulating the story that during the strike they themselves by their decisive “action” defeated the attempt of the Communists to organise an armed uprising in the country.

Another reason why they publicise this calumny is to justify the widespread terror they are using to suppress the revolutionary upsurge of the masses.

Under screaming headlines their papers report the arrest of thousands of the finest sons of the Italian people. But repression, arrests, torture and imprisonment will not solve the social and political problems of present-day Italy. These measures will not succeed to destroying the working class and the Communist Party nor in suppressing the democratic movement. De Gasperi and Scelba should know that the representatives of Italy's working people whom Mussolini in his day threw into prison as the leaders of a small Communist nucleus are now the leaders of an army of conscious fighters, numbering many millions.

The heroic protest strike of the working people of Italy called forth a powerful wave of proletarian solidarity throughout the world. The word of fraternal sympathy sent by the working people of other countries added new strength to the columns of strikers whose banners bear the inscription: "The strike is over but the struggle continues."

The general strike showed the might of the organised proletariat of Italy. Millions of ordinary people realised that they had made a mistake when they voted for the Christian Democrats. They see now that De Gasperi and Scelba are trying to establish a terrorist regime which threatens the Republic with disaster.

The heroic July days show that the Italian people are determined to combat the reactionary policy of the Government and to fight for freedom and democracy, for the national independence of their country, for socialism.

**Paola Ardi**

Italy, Rome

## **HOW THE CONGRESS OF THE C.P.Y. WAS HELD**

I would like to give some impressions of the conditions under which the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was held.

The Congress was held in the military barracks at Topchider, on the outskirts of Belgrade. The Mihailovic trial took place in this same barracks. Topchider can be reached by tram and bus out during the Congress but all traffic was prohibited in the area, and all approaches to the barracks were heavily guarded. Advanced posts were located at points several kilometres distant from the Congress hall.

The State security forces were reinforced with army artillery units in full fighting order.

All this beginning with the organisation of the Congress in the barracks and ending with the way in which it was conducted, indicates the purely military terrorist methods pursued by the leader of the Yugoslav Party. Rankovic, who combines the jobs of Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party and Minister of Home Affairs, saw to it that the Congress delegates were well guarded. The ambassador of one of the new democracies, living in the vicinity of the barracks was not allowed to leave his house. You may well imagine the restrictions imposed by Rankovic on ordinary citizens not enjoying diplomatic immunity!

The Belgrade railway station, the railway lines and even the streets were patrolled by armed guards. Seeing them, I involuntarily remembered that the last time I had seen so many armed patrols was at the end of the war. But then Chetnik, and Ustashi bands were operating in the country. Why did Tito and company imitate them by putting the capital under martial law?

Delegates from the provinces were accommodated in three

large buildings one of which was formerly the “Ivo Lola Ribar” students’ dormitory. A few days before the Congress the students were moved elsewhere. Delegates had their meals inside the barracks. In a word, they were completely isolated from the outside world.

There were several cases of “unreliable” delegates being replaced by others. In Zagreb, for instance, two students, old Party members and former partisans, had their credentials taken away because they questioned the integrity of the present leaders.

In selecting “reliable” delegates the Rankovic machine quite frequently resorted to slander and even arrested comrades who expressed the slightest doubt. Some delegates, elected at meetings on instructions from the top, but who later questioned the correctness of the Central Committee’s line, were immediately replaced. The Party membership, of course, was not informed of this.

Congress discussion was manipulated to prevent delegates from debating the charges made by the Information Bureau against the Party leadership.

The moment Tito made his appearance a special group of cheer leaders began to shout slogans. Some of them were so zealous at this that it seemed as though this were their main job. However, their duties went a bit further—they kept close watch over the other delegates. Rankovic and his men had full command of the Congress hall and its surroundings. Hence the nervous atmosphere of the Congress and the complete absence of criticism.

The impression created was that delegates were obliged to speak about the “unjust” charges levelled against Tito and the Central Committee. Hardly a single delegate thought it worth while to take the floor after Rankovic’s report on the organisational work of the Central Committee. Everything was concentrated on slandering the Information Bureau, the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union.

Now that the Congress is over the Yugoslav Party are once again, and with redoubled energy, resorting to repressive measures against genuine Communists. At the Congress, Tito and his clique threatened any who wavered with severe punishment. All who expressed the least agreement with the Information Bureau Resolution are being hounded out of the Party and persecuted. A purge was carried out among student brigades working on the New Belgrade. The student Emilo Danilovic who at a Party meeting opposed the anti-Soviet policy of the Communist Party leaders has been expelled from the Party and deprived of his scholarship.

On the way back from Zemun today was stopped by an air force captain who asked for a lift into the city. In the course of our conversation he said that Tito and his retinue ought to resign if they did not want to correct their mistakes. He was emphatic that Yugoslavia could not build socialism without the Soviet Union and the new democracies. He confirmed that a large number of officers had been arrested and that the State security organs had everybody terrorised. Arrests among Communists were particularly widespread in Zagreb.

Tito's name is being publicised the way Hitler's was in his day. In Zagren, Party members greet each other with the words 'Long live Tito!' In Belgrade one of the military buildings bears the inscription written in electric lights: "Party-Tito". The word "Party" dimmed out leaving the word "Tito" illuminated.

Portraits of Tito abound everywhere. And Tito's portrait is always bigger than any other and is always in the centre, flanked on other side with small portraits of sometimes Marx and Engels and Lenin and Stalin.

Indignation is widespread particularly among veteran Party members. It is clear that the honest Communists in Yugoslavia who love their country and who do not want to see it in bondage to the imperialists will, sooner or later, replace the

leadership and thus save the Party and the Yugoslav Republic from degeneration.

This conviction of Yugoslav Communists is meeting with support among ever wider circles.

Belgrade

Micunovic

# **JAPANESE COMMUNIST PARTY FIGHTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC JAPAN.**

**Iosio Kodzaka**

Democratic public opinion throughout the world was deeply moved by the news of the dastardly attempt on the life of Comrade Tokuda, outstanding leader of the working class of Japan and general secretary of the Communist Party.

This attempt was directed against the Communist Party, vanguard of the Japanese working class. It was a foul terrorist attack on the working class by the militarist reactionary elements in the country.

The hatred of the Japanese reactionaries for the Communist Party increases in proportion to the Party's growing prestige and popularity among the masses.

After the destruction of the Japanese military machine, the Communists launched a vigorous struggle for the democratisation of Japan. Among the handful of Communists who had survived the terror and remained true to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, was Comrade Tokuda, one of the organisers and leaders of the Communist Party of Japan. Eighteen years in the torture chambers of imperialist Japan failed to crush his militant spirit and revolutionary ardour. Together with other comrades, Tokuda set about the job of rebuilding the Party. He headed the struggle to uproot the survivals of the military-fascist regime, to rally the masses into a united front and for democratic reforms in all spheres of life.

The Japanese Communists won the sympathy of the people. The Party's demands for the speedy elimination of the legacies of the past, for the right to live and work in freedom from the police baton, for political liberties and decent living conditions were widely taken up by the people. An indication

of the Party's growing prestige is found to the great demonstrations held under its militant slogans in spite of the obstacles created by the Japanese and American authorities.

In Tokyo alone, more than a million people demonstrated on May Day. The Communist newspaper "Akahata" has a wide readership.

The strike movement against sabotage by the employers, for improved living conditions and for the fulfilment of the Potsdam Agreement concerning the democratisation of Japan is gaining momentum.

Last year, in response to the call of the Communist Party, the trade unions declared a general strike against the Government's anti-labour policy. This strike was broken on orders from General MacArthur who hastened to the assistance of the Japanese reactionaries.

The strike movement as a whole, however, is spreading steadily.

Irrefutable facts, such as the rapid growth of the Party demonstrated its strength and influence among the masses. Since its emergence from underground, the Party has increased its membership from 1,000 to 100,000. It has the backing of many trade unions, as well as the Peasant Union—organisation of the landless peasants and tenant farmers. The Communist Party's demands to smash the feudal conditions in the countryside, to introduce a just and progressive agrarian reform and to give land to those who till it, enjoy wide support.

No matter where the Communists appear, whether at factory meetings, at mass public meetings or in Parliament, they defend the interests of the people against the attacks of reaction which is once again showing itself.

The Communist Party vigorously opposes the uncontrolled import of foreign capital into Japan which threatens to turn the country into a colony of Wall Street. One of the Party leaders Comrade Nodzaka, speaking in Parliament recently,

emphatically condemned the Government's policy which is handing over the country's economy to American capital. Pointing out the danger this policy brings to Japan's national sovereignty, Nodzaka declared: "We insist on a policy that will allow our country to be rebuilt with its own forces. The foreign policy of the present cabinet endangers our national independence. We demand the establishment of equal economic relations with all countries, without exception."

The Communist Party has called on the people to combat the reactionary policy of the Government and the machinations of militarist elements." It has called on the people to unite and to rally all democratic forces. The Communists are exposing the servility of the Right Socialists to reaction and foreign capital. As is known, the Socialist Party refused to cooperate with the Communists and has entered into an alliance with the extreme Right parties, working together with them in the cabinet and servilely following their reactionary policy.

But the attempts of the Right Socialists to oust the Communists from the trade unions and other mass organisations are a dismal failure. The last Congress of the industrial trade unions of Japan, uniting some four million members, elected a Communist majority to its Executive Committee. The Communist Party has also considerable influence in a number of other trade union bodies.

In the face of the counter-measures of the Socialist Party leadership, dominated by Right Socialists, there is a growing rank and file movement for cooperation between Communists and Socialists.

There was co-operation in a number of districts during the last general election campaign, with the result that the democratic candidates were successful. There is similar cooperation in a number of trade unions and in the Peasant Union. Headed by the Communist Party, the movement for a popular front is steadily growing. The foundation for this front

was laid by the Conference of the Coordinating Council of Workers' and Peasant Unions held in Tokyo on June 9, on the initiative of the Communist Party.

The matter came up for special discussion at a Conference of Communist leaders held at the end of June. The report given by Comrade Tokuda on the role of Communists in this movement was unanimously adopted.

The growth of the democratic forces and the increasing influence and popularity of Party policy among the masses have angered Japanese reaction and the American occupation authorities beyond measure. They are hounding its leaders and using terrorists against them.

Last year fascist thugs stabbed the Communist leader of the Left trade unions, Comrade Kikunami. The reactionary parties have organised terrorist groups to fight the democrats. They are the sponsors of the fascist Anti-Communist League. The fascist hireling, Koga, who threw the hand-grenade at Comrade Tokuda when he was addressing a workers' meeting, was a member of the League.

Repressive measures against both the Communist Party and other democratic organisations have been intensified. Ten Communists were recently arrested in Isikawa on the charge of having "unlawfully entered" the premises of the Komatsu Company. On July 7 the Tokyo police arrested twelve members of the Printers' Union on a charge of "unlawful activities."

There have been numerous cases of raids made by police and fascist gangs working for reaction, on the premises of Communist and trade union organisations, on meetings and so on.

The anti-democratic campaign in the country is headed by the Ashida cabinet and MacArthur's headquarters. With the sanction of the American occupation authorities, the Government is preparing a bill to prohibit Communists from

occupying official positions. On May 20, Ashida, speaking in Parliament, said that this bill was needed “to safeguard Japanese democracy.” Ashida urged the “need” for this law on the grounds that similar measures had been taken against the Communists in the United States and Great Britain.

Another violation of Potsdam is the Government’s anti-trade union bill which is actually a Tokyo edition of the notorious Taft-Hartley Law.

The anti-Communist hysteria and rebirth of fascism in Japan are accompanied by new intrigues against other countries. The reactionary press is already inciting Japan to lead the struggle against Communism in Eastern Asia. Foreign political ventures and aggression are being planned on the pretext of combating Communism. The United States is giving every encouragement to Japanese reaction and is abetting the restoration of Japan’s military potential. In short, the United States wants to make Japan its Far Eastern gendarme.

Reactionaries see in the Japanese Communists the staunch opponents of their criminal plans for new military and political ventures, plans which are being fostered by the Ashida Government—the oppressor of democracy. Reaction is out to suppress at all costs the Communist Party and other democratic forces in the country. That is why it uses assassins against the finest representatives of the people.

But the forces of Japanese democracy are no longer as they were in the past. They are growing and multiplying each day and are resisting the machinations of the militarist and their transpacific masters. And at the head of these democratic force stands the Communist Party, which is fighting to turn Japan into a peace-loving and democratic country.

## **DANISH WORKERS PROTEST AGAINST EXCESSIVE TAXATION**

Working-class conditions in Denmark are deteriorating steadily as can be seen from the price index for July. According to the Danish Department of Statistics, the price index has risen 5 points compared to wages.

The increased prices are accompanied by increased taxation which falls heaviest on the working people. According to the statistics, direct taxation increased during the past month by 32 kroner per head of the population, expenditure on food—by 40 kroner, and other essential expenditure—20 kroner.

Discontent with the Government's policy found expression at big public meetings throughout the country. These meetings passed resolutions protesting against excessive taxes. The workers are demanding a more just distribution of taxation between the wealthy and the poor sections of the population, a reduction in military expenditure and the introduction of a strict control over prices.

## **TORTURE OF PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS**

The Buenos Aires correspondent of the Latin-American press agency "Prensa Continental" reports that eight Radical Party deputies, headed by Rodriguez Arajia are demanding a Government investigation into the numerous cases of torture to which political prisoners are subjected. According to the agency, the working-class leader, Leon Gogiel lost this reason as a result of inhuman torture. Gioldi Orestes, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina, was brutally beaten up by the police, denied food and kept for several days in a cell with the temperature below zero.

## **FASCIST TERROR IN SPAIN**

The Spanish Republican radio reports that during the past six months, 117 anti-fascists were killed in Spain. Of this number, 15 were shot after trial, 36 “shot while attempting to escape”, 22 tortured to death in prison, while 44 peasants were killed by the police.

Reports from all parts of Spain speak of the brutal terror in the country. In a village near Malaga, two peasants were arrested and tortured in an attempt to make them reveal the names of guerrillas known to them. Failing to extract the required information, the police drove the two men into a field and shot them. In the district of Corunia, 9 villagers were arrested for aiding guerrillas, in Almeria, 8 peasants were arrested on a similar charge.

## PRESS REVIEW

### Combatting The Kulaks

The central organ of the Hungarian Workers' Party, "Szabad Nep" has recently given much space to the sharpening class struggle in Hungary. In an article entitled "Progress of the Working Peasantry", the paper writes that reaction is now on the march against grain deliveries, control of threshing and grain prices.

The aim is to create difficulties and disturbances thus disorganising the peoples bread supplies for next year. "The class struggle has intensified in the countryside", the paper goes on. "because we are advancing, because it is becoming increasingly difficult, for the exploiters to sap the energy of the working people, because we are building socialism, and successfully at that. The rural bourgeoisie, like the urban bourgeoisie, is aware that the result can only be the disintegration of its economic power and influence".

Instead of a workers' and peasants' alliance, the article points out, reaction is proposing peasant unity. Ferenc Nagy and Bela Kovac sang the same song. And their reason was obvious; they hoped the kulaks, with other exploiting elements in the countryside and the bourgeoisie would lead the working peasantry against the working class.

"We oppose this "peasant unity" not only because it threatens the working class but because it represents the greatest danger to the working peasantry today" declares the paper.

With the help of the working class, the peasantry threw off the feudal yoke, the power of the usurer, manufacturer and banker. Now it is necessary to restrict the economic power and influence of the kulaks whose activity is a menace not merely

to the development of the working peasantry, but to their very existence.

## **Fascists Active In Britain**

In its issue of July 30, the London “Daily Worker” exposed the link-up between the British and German fascists. The paper writes that 10,000 copies of a newspaper printed in Great Britain in German for Sir Oswald Mosley are finding their way into the British and American zones of Germany. The newspaper called *Deutsches Flugblatt* carries a large portrait of Mosley capped with the headline: “Von Oswald Mosley, Fuehrer”.

The “Daily Worker” correspondent writes that district leaders and other members of the Union movement were told to volunteer for the Army with the object of being sent to Germany.

There the main task was to get in touch with the old-gang German Nazis and, having received the papers, to get them widely but subversively, distributed.

Meanwhile fascists in Britain are sending a steady stream of “food parcels” to “friends” in Germany.

Copies are also going to Germany via Mosley contacts in Spain, Ireland, South America and South Africa.

German ex-prisoners-of-war were another important link when they were kept in this country. Many were contacted and Mosley himself had P.O.W.s working for him on his farm at Ramsbury, Wiltshire.

## **rain Deliveries in Rumania**

The Rumanian press is paying great attention to the work of getting in grain deliveries to the State. According to reports from “Scanteia” and “Frontul Plugarilor”, grain deliveries are being fulfilled successfully throughout the Rumanian People’s Republic. This success is due largely to the extensive campaign launched in all districts by the organisations of the Rumanian Workers’ Party and the Ploughman’s Front.

Trainloads of grain are unloaded each day at the State elevators. The working peasantry solidly support this measure which they regard as new proof of the Governments just agrarian policy. Members of the Agricultural Workers’ Union and the poor peasants are seeing to it that the kulaks are properly taxed and are exposing their attempts to evade State deliveries, to hide the grain from the State commissions and disorganise deliveries. Such instances have been registered in a number of villages.

For their own ends the kulaks are trying to build themselves up in the local organisations and even in the special grain commissions. For instance, in the village of Kudalby, the kulaks Mistrjanu and Fusa, owners of big farms, got themselves elected to the grain commission. In other districts kulaks are deliberately misinterpreting the system of deliveries to make the poor peasants shoulder the full weight, hoping to make the peasants discontented with the existing order in the country. Kulaks in the local committee in the villages of Skrisor, Piseljag and Vadescu forged lists of farmers in an attempt to save themselves from having to give up their grain. Kulak agents in the Karakal district threatened to shoot any peasant who delivered grain to the State.

The organisations of the Rumanian Workers' and the Ploughman's Front have sent thousands of propaganda workers into the villages to help carry through the grain deliveries and to expose the disruptive activities of the kulaks and expropriated landlords.

In an editorial entitled "Greater Vigilance toward Kulak sabotage", the newspaper "Romania Libera" writes: "The first task of all responsible organs and the country today is to defend the interests of the working peasantry. This task is particularly important because the capitalist elements in the countryside are trying to use the grain deliveries as a weapon against the State and the interests of the poor peasants. There have been many cases of kulaks and, former landlords trying to evade grain deliveries, concealing grain and inciting the poor peasants against deliveries. However, a positive factor is that the poor peasants are actively helping to expose kulak sabotage. The grain delivery commissions must give the utmost support to the working peasantry and wage a bitter struggle against kulak sabotage which is directed against the interests of the Rumanian people".

# **FULFILMENT OF TWO YEAR PLAN IN BULGARIA. Dobri Terpeshev, Member, Political Bureau, Bulgarian Worker's Party, Chairman, State Planning Commission**

When the people government came to power in September 1944 it was faced with a devastated economy. The Hitler plunderers had looted the country. Industrial and agricultural production dropped by 64 and 84 per cent compared with 1939.

To enable our backward economy to recover and develop, the National Assembly on March 25, 1947, approved the 1947-48 Two Year Plan. For the first time Bulgaria's economy was to be planned.

The concentration of political power in the hands of the people and the expansion of the social sector in the national economy were the main essentials for economic planning.

## **The Two-Year Plan And Its Realisation**

Before the Two Year Plan was adopted, agricultural and industrial production in 1946 reached 85.9 per cent of the 1939 level on the basis of prices for that year.

The principal object of the Two Year Plan was to overcome the economic aftermath of fascism and war which had been considerably increased by two years of drought. It was necessary to reach, and in certain industries to surpass the pre-war level. This was to be done through the industrialisation and electrification of the country, the mechanisation of agriculture, improvement of transport, development of home

and foreign trade, large-scale expansion of the cooperative sector in trade and handicraft production and in agriculture, and by means of training skilled personnel.

Such were the measures needed to raise the material and cultural level of the people.

Conditions during the first year of the Plan were moot unfavourable. It was a year of drought and crop failure. This in turn affected industry because of the considerable shortage of raw materials. The drought also affected supplies to the people and for foreign trade, agricultural products being our main source of foreign currency.

The difficulties caused by survivals of capitalism in our country were overcome by the labour enthusiasm and energy of the people, particularly the youth who formed work brigades and were the initiator of emulation and shock-work.

The Fatherland Front Government led the country out of the international isolation in which it had been confined before and immediately after September 9, 1944, by concluding trade agreements with a number of countries: This helped us to achieve our production targets. We are indebted above all to the friendly help of the Soviet Union, accorded us on the basis of trade agreements.

Last year was a much more satisfactory one and in certain industries excellent results were achieved.

Industrial output (handicrafts excluded) increased by 25.8 per cent compared with 1946 and by 30.5 per cent compared with 1939. The output of the iron and steel and engineering industries registered an increase of 10 per cent compared with 1946, the chemical industry 43 per cent, building materials industry 40 per cent, rubber industry 99 per cent, coal mining 15.3 per cent. Ore deposits were prospected with the result that the mining of ore increased 90 per cent compared with 1939 and 31.7 per cent compared with 1946.

In spite of the drought, agricultural production rose 8.8 per

cent compared with 1916: 524 agricultural cooperatives and 31 machine and tractor depots were established in the course of the year and these played a big part in the mechanisation and development of agriculture.

Capital investments in 1947 increased by 60 per cent compared with the preceding year. A number of undertakings were completed such as the "Hainboaz" the Pernik-Volyak railway, the "Vulcan" works and a number of electric power stations. Work was begun on a number of other projects which laid the foundations for the industrialisation of the country.

Exports increased by 21 per cent while imports went up 68 per cent compared with 1946.

A number of measures were introduced such as the exchange of bank notes and state bonds which averted the danger of inflation. The State took over the monopoly of the tobacco and alcohol Industries; home and foreign trade were reorganised by establishing State wholesale trade; and last, but by no means least, private industries, the mines and banks were nationalised.

The 1948 Plan will take further steps to overcome existing difficulties, to eliminate a number of organisational shortcomings and the disproportion between industrial output and construction.

The Plan calls for a 65 per cent increase in industrial goods and 28.3 per cent increase in agricultural products compared with pre-war. The output of electric power will go up 22 per cent, coal 16 per cent, ore and other mined products 16 per cent. Industrial output as a whole will, increase 38 per cent over 1947 with the chief increases in heavy industry.

The Two Year Plan is changing the social structure of industry as well. By the end of 1946 all coal mining and electric power will be nationalised, and in the rest of Industry the social sector will be 90 per cent. This will make it possible to fully utilise the country's industrial capacity and to enable

existing industry to be brought up-to-date technically in agriculture 4.7 per cent of the sown area is cultivated by tractors while 17.8 per cent of harvesting work is done by machines. The machine and tractor depots of which there will be 70 by the end of 1948, cover an area of some two and a half million dekaras. Marketable product constitute 40 per cent of the total agricultural output and cattle breeding 25 per cent. By the end of the Two Year Plan there will be 800 agricultural cooperative farms, working 3.5 per cent of the total cultivated area.

Despite difficulties, we will have sufficient supplies of building materials by the end or 1949.

The Plan provides for a 100 per cent increase in the trade turnover of the State sector, a 94 per cent increase in cooperative trading and a decrease of 62 per cent in private trade turnover.

Construction work is now under way on a fertiliser plant. Work will soon begin on a number of projects such as steel rolling mills and factories producing spare parts for automobiles and tractors. Capital investments will increase by 54.2 per cent.

The extended network of children's homes, nursery schools, rest homes and clinics, not to mention dwelling houses, will promote the social well-being of the people.

Favourable conditions for the development of our national economy this year and for the successful fulfilment of the State Plan were furnished during the first quarter of the year. This was secured by importing metal, machines, calcium, celluloid, and other materials which enabled us to build our supplies of raw materials and equipment.

Raw materials and equipment continued to flow in during the second quarter which enabled us to increase the capacity of our basic enterprises.

The successful fulfilment of the Plan is guaranteed by the

fact that the people are in power, by the leading role of the Workers' Party and by the powerful upsurge of labour enthusiasm among the people. This is strikingly reflected in tire sweeping development of labour emulation, in the initiative displayed in rationalisation, in the widespread youth brigade movement and the growth in the productivity of labour.

The fulfilment of the Plan will mark the end of the rehabilitation period in our national economy, enabling Bulgaria to be changed from an agrarian into an industrial-agrarian country in the future.

There is every reason to believe that the Plan will be completed ahead of schedule—that is by the end of 1948 instead of April 1, 1949. With the rehabilitation period completed, our national economy will have considerable reserves which will facilitate the fulfilment of the projected Five Year Plan (1949-1953).

## **The Five Year Plan**

The planning organisation is now working out the Five Year Plan which once accepted, will be a landmark in the economic and political life of the country. The realisation of this Plan will fundamentally change the whole of our economic life.

One of the essential economic and political objects of the Five Year Plan is to consolidate the socialist sector in our economy. The socialist sector was considerably extended during the rehabilitation period. By the end of 1948 it will constitute 90 per cent in industry, 60 per cent in trade and 90 per cent in finance. The Fatherland Front programme provides for the steady development of the socialist sector of industry and trade and for the exclusion of the capitalist elements.

At the same time it provides for the socialist reorganisation

of agriculture where the social sector will be steadily extended by the cooperatives formed of individual peasant households and by waging a resolute struggle against the capitalist elements.

In keeping with the programme of the Fatherland Front, of which the Workers' Party is the driving force, the Five Year Plan gives priority to heavy industry—iron and steel engineering, chemical, coal mining and electric power—as the foundation for raising the whole economy; the socialist reconstruction of industry and trade and the exclusion of the capitalist element; developing agriculture by means of cooperatives and mechanisation; increasing the productivity of labour; strengthening the economic and defence capacity of our country and laying the foundations of socialism in our country.

The Five Year Plan provides for the rapid expansion of the chemical industry. This means increased output of chemical fertilisers which in turn, will help raise harvest yields; it means that we will be able to produce the chemical products needed for the development of other industries: sulphuric acid, calcium, celluloid, and so on.

The speedy electrification of our country will help overcome the serious shortage of electric power. This, in turn will enable light industry to work at full capacity.

Geological prospecting will continue. This will give the country the necessary supplies of minerals which are needed, above all, for the development of our iron and steel industry. It is also planned to increase the output of coal and to expand the chemical-coke industry.

The Five Year Plan will lay the foundations of our own machine-tool and transport engineering industries.

The technical reconstruction of the railways will be completed and some of the main lines will be electrified.

Agriculture will be technically reequipped and developed, along modern lines. Agricultural cooperatives will be put on a

solid organisational footing.

Approximately 160 new machine and tractor depots will be established, which will be able to cultivate 15,000,000 dekaras. Machine and tractor depots will be brought up-to-date and the number of repair shops will be increased.

Increased production of fodder will enable us to improve our cattle-breeding.

New universities and secondary schools will be opened. By 1953 we hope to have enough highly trained personnel in industry, building and agriculture.

The material and cultural level of the people will be raised. New settlements with facilities for cultural amenities will be built near the various enterprises. Supplies of food and other goods will be greatly improved as a result of the abolition of rationing and the passing over to extensive State and cooperative trade. By the end of the Five Year Plan the national income will have increased 60 per cent over 1948 the consumers' fund, 35 per cent and capital investments 164 per cent. The spending power of the population will increase from 37,100 leva per head in 1948 to 48,400 leva in 1953, thus exceeding the 1939 level by nearly 30 per cent.

Industry will be allocated some 43 per cent of the total sum of capital investments, the greater part of which will go to industries manufacturing the means of production. The Five Year Plan will develop heavy industry and will provide the basis for the re-equipment of industry, transport and agriculture.

Because of better organisation of labour, labour emulation and rationalisation and the improved skill of the workers, the productivity of labour will leap up more than 50 per cent in the course of the Five Year Plan. This will help to increase the wages fund from 38.7 billion leva in 1948 to 69.1 billion in 1953.

The people of Bulgaria are relying on their own forces to

carry out the Five Year Plan. We are also relying on the assistance of friendly countries, especially the Soviet Union.

In the course of the first Five Year Plan period we can and must create the necessary conditions for laying the economic foundation of socialist society in our country toward which our people are confidently advancing. The decisive pre-condition for this is the public ownership of the means of production and the monopoly of foreign trade, the ever expanding social sector in agriculture and home trade and the unity of the working people under the banner of the Fatherland Front and under the leadership of our Party.

The Party Congress which will be convened on October 31, in accordance with a recent decision of the Central Committee, will discuss to approve the Five Year Plan, and will work out its tempo and general lines of progress. The fulfilment of the Plan will guarantee that our economy continues to march toward Socialism.

In carrying out this historical task the people of Bulgaria will draw from the rich experience of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union and rely on the friendly assistance of the great country of victorious Socialism.

## BOOK REVIEW

### Two Speeches by Comrade Togliatti— Nicola de Simone

One fraternal Communist Party newspaper recently wrote that Togliatti was a man in whom “the humanism of Italian culture combines with Marxist-Leninist ideas and with the iron will of the ascending class”.

These qualities of the leader and teacher of Italian Communists were vividly expressed in his speeches to Parliament in June and July of this year.\*

In his speech on June 10, Comrade Togliatti reviewed the situation in Italy against its background of the whole development of the Italian people. The history of Italy said Comrade Togliatti, was the history of a country in which even those social-economic reforms which had been carried out in other countries by the bourgeois revolution, were wanting.

The failure to carry through these reforms had affected the present development of Italy. The programme of the wartime resistance movement demanded that essential social-economic reforms would be carried out and a new political and social order established in the country. However, because of the situation, this programme was not realised despite the valiant struggle of the working people.

Togliatti further pointed out that only those peoples of Europe who had been liberated with the direct assistance of the

---

\* *Palmiro Togliatti, “The Unity of the People “and the “Marshall Plan—Plan of War.” (speeches delivered in Parliament) Published by CDS Rome 1948*

Soviet army had been able to free themselves from the yoke of imperialism and to open the way to a new life.

“The fate of Italy was different,” said Togliatti. “We were liberated by the armed forces of states that sought and are still desperately seeking to preserve the capitalist structure and imperialist domination.”

The people of Italy demanded social reforms, went on Togliatti. How did the Government of April 18 reply to this demand? The first Parliamentary bill submitted by De Gasperi was a police bill directed against those in possession of arms (those not belonging to the Government party!) Naturally, this measure could not facilitate the solution of Italy’s Social problems, particularly the agrarian problem which had been specially dealt with in a Government statement criticised by Comrade Togliatti.

The Government’s plans of subsidising the big landowners as Mussolini and his ministers had done, would not help to solve the agrarian problem.

A Government that turned police into the armed right hand of the employers could not be a government of social reforms.

“You stand on this question”, said Togliatti, addressing De Gasperi, “is even worse than that of the governments which held office in 1900 and 1910 which even at that time admitted that the state machine and armed police could not be used for solving labour conflicts.”

Togliatti addressed De Gasperi who was brimming over with confidence in his huge majority, with these words:

“Mr. De Gasperi, your majority of 307 is not a bad thing. But are you sure that your uniform as Chairman of the Council of Ministers is not stained with blood? Beware, it is difficult to wash off this blood!”

During the twelve-month rule of the Christian Democratic Government, Italy’s economic situation further deteriorated. There were 2,300,000 unemployed in the country; the budget

deficit exceeded 750,000 million lire; there was more than a 900,000 million lire deficit in the balance of payments; notes in circulation soared during one year from 500,000 million to 800,000 million lire.

Such were the results of Marshallising the country, as the De Gasperi Government was doing, declared Togliatti. Such were the fruits of the De Gasperi policy of enslaving Italy under American Imperialism. Togliatti counterposed the results of this policy with those of a different policy. He quoted figures on the industrial development in the new democracies published in connection with the recent session of the UNO Economic Council. These figures showed that industrial output had increased by 152 per cent over prewar in Poland, by 127 per cent in Hungary, by 134 per cent in Bulgaria and by 110 per cent in Czechoslovakia.

Count Sforza was constantly talking of the “European” policy. But what was “Europe” in his opinion?

“This Europe,” said Comrade Togliatti, “looks too much like the Europe of which the fascists spoke. It has an interesting characteristic feature: it gets smaller after every adventure of its master. The Europe of the Fascists and of Count Sforza is declining steadily because every movement that shakes the capitalist world results in countries where the working people succeed in seizing power and overthrowing the imperialist domination”.

In his speeches, De Gasperi was trying hard to gloss over the question of Italy’s joining the Western bloc and the American plans of preparing a new war. Exposing the Government’s tactics Togliatti demanded that De Gasperi should tell the people plainly whether, with the help of the Western alliance, he was going to lead Italy into war?

“Why not be explicit?” asked Togliatti. “Probably those who supported you so generously during the election campaign won’t let you? Well, speak up!”

Crude abuse was the only answer De Gasperi and Saragat could make.

Togliatti exposed the very roots of the activities of the De Gasperi and Saragat clique. "You decided to harness the entire life of the nation to the system of hatred, slander and division which is represented by anti-Communism," said Togliatti. "What are you going to erect on the basis of this system? You cannot build anything positive or serious. Fascism could not build anything stable on the basis of coercion. What will you build by means of terror, intimidation and corruption? Where will it lead you? Where is this policy leading Italy? Our alarm grows when we see what you are preparing for the Italian nation. But you will never be able to reverse the wheel of history and the forward march of the working people."

The dastardly attempt on Comrade Togliatti's life made a month after this speech, proved the correctness of this statement by the leader of the working people of Italy. Later events have shown that reaction is unable to smash the ever growing movement of the working people. Even the Marshall Plan cannot help reaction.

In his speech on July 10, Comrade Togliatti exposed the essence of the Marshall Plan. "The myth about this "plan" was created in the same way as the myth about the "lira fund". It was the basis for large-scale electoral black-marketeering," said Togliatti. "At present the country is alarmed and worried. It is beginning to realise what is happening. Both the employers and the working people are alarmed, and among the latter not only those who are convinced of the correctness of our stand, but also those who before April 18 allowed themselves to be misled. They too, are now beginning to understand reality. Reality means the closing down of numerous small and medium enterprises and the threat of hundreds and thousands of workers being thrown out of work."

Togliatti explained how the Marshall Plan was conceived

in conditions of capitalism's sharpening general crisis.

The basis of capitalism had been shattered by the loss of influence in Central and Eastern Europe, by the defeat of German imperialism, by the breakdown of the system of relations between Europe and non-European countries and finally by the disillusionment millions of people now felt toward the capitalist system. The democratic movement of these millions could not be suppressed or halted neither in Central and Eastern Europe nor in Britain, Italy and France. U.S. monopoly capitalism was endeavouring to impose its domination on Europe and the entire world. For this end it was pursuing an increasingly aggressive policy. From this angle must the Marshall Plan be considered.

Togliatti condemned the conditions under which this plan is offered to Italy and its disastrous consequences for the country.

The Marshall Plan opened tragic perspectives for Italy. It contained "the embryo of a new national catastrophe, the scale of which is difficult to comprehend."

In his speeches, Togliatti did not confine himself to denouncing the imperialist war plans and to championing the policy of peace advanced by the Communists and all democrats. He plainly warned the warmongers and plainly indicated the path for the friends of peace and freedom.

"Even if our country is pushed into the path which leads to war," he concluded, "even then we know our duty. The imperialist war, today must be answered with a war in defence of the peace, independence and future of our country."

# **PUBLICATION OF THE JOURNAL “THE CLASS STRUGGLE” RECOMMENDED IN RUMANIA**

Publication of the theoretical and political Party journal “The Class Struggle” has been resumed by decision of the Central Committee of the Workers’ Party of Rumania. The journal was banned by the old reactionary fascist government.

In an article on the objects of the journal, Comrade Gheorgeiu-Dej pointed out that it should become the principal means of equipping the Party with the theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, the true leaders of the working class of Rumania, in the struggle for a better social system—the socialist system.

The first issue also carried an article by J. Kishinevsky “Programme and Statutes of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia—New Proof of the Betrayal of Marxism”, in which the author criticises the anti-Marxist position of the Yugoslav leaders relative to the structure and tasks of the Party.

Other articles included “Party Ethics” by C. Pyrvulescu “Nationalised Industry—the Socialist Sector of Our Economy,” by Stef Voicu “Centenary of the 1848 Revolution” by Nestora Ignata book reviews and international notes.

## INSTRUCTIONS OF BARBARIANS

The Greek monarcho-fascists, striving might and main to crush the popular resistance movement, to annihilate the partisans and intimidate the civil population, are resorting to the savagery of Hitler's Gestapo.

In a recent order of the day, No. 145, issued over the signature of Lieutenant General Tsakalatos, commander of the 1st Corps of the fascist army, the latter ordered his subordinates to shoot without trial every partisan taken prisoner.

Directives issued to the gendarmerie contain detailed instructions on how to handle captured partisans. When a partisan has been shot, state the instructions, three soldiers advance cautiously towards him with rifles at the ready, so as not to be deceived should the partisan be feigning death. One of the soldier will then turn over the body and remove all arms. This done, the partisan's head is severed, placed in a sack and taken to gendarme headquarters for public exhibition.

In this way are the Greek fascists trying to smother in blood the aspirations of the people for freedom and democracy.

## **BANNING OF COMMUNIST PRESS IN INDIA**

In “free India” the wave of oppression and terror used against the Communist Party, is hitting a new high level. In an attempt to muzzle the Communist Press, the Congress Governments in various parts of India have, in the past four months, shut down provincial papers with a total circulation of over 400,000, arrested members of their editorial staffs, and confiscated the contributions of readers.

## **SINGLE GOVERNMENT FOR NORTH CHINA**

A North China Provisional People's Congress will be convened soon to form a North China Democratic Coalition Government. This development follows closely the recent merging of the two great Liberated Areas of North China.

The Congress will draw up an Organisational Law for a United North China Democratic Coalition Government and an Electoral Law. It will also elect a Government Council, a Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the North China People's Government.

## **STRENGTHENING UNITY OF WORKING PEOPLE OF FRANCE**

The economic strikes and protest demonstrations against the Marie-Blum-Reynaud Government testify to the powerful movement for unity among the working people of France.

The General Confederation of Labour is gaining strength. During the month of June, 20,000 workers joined the Metal Workers' Union of the Seine Department. In some cases entire trade union organisations are returning to the CGT. For example, the autonomous dockers' union in Havre and the Lille dockers of the "Force Ouvriere" section, headed by their secretaries have voted to rejoin the ranks of the CGT.

The desire for unity is so keen that under pressure of the membership the leaders of the Christian trade unions and "Force Ouvriere" organisations are compelled to conduct a joint struggle on the basis of CGT proposals. Three trade union organisations of the Hérault Department—the CGT, Christian trade unions and "Force Ouvriere"—waged joint action to secure a revision of wage scales and a subsistence minimum of 13,000 francs monthly. In the la Manche Department, the Christian trade unions and "Force Ouvriere" adhered to the proposal of the CGT for wage rates according to zones.



## FEUILLETON

### **“Figaro” here,—“Figaro” there, “Figaro” lies—Here and there**

It is an insult to the gay and mischievous Barber of Seville, hero of the Beaumarchais comedy, that his name is carried by a French newspaper as filthy as it is reactionary.

While the adventures of Figaro the Barber—as we can still see them on the stage today with his harmless escapades in which he leads his master by the nose—keep the audience constantly laughing, the adventures of Figaro the newspaper, evoke an entirely different reaction. They arouse a feeling of revulsion, a feeling that one should not so much as touch the paper for fear of soiling one’s hands.

“Figaro” claims to be an up-to-the-minute newspaper—which it ought to be, considering its title. And sure enough it is invariably to be found at work where slander, lies and wild anti-Soviet fabrications are being concocted, where the new democracies are under fire and wherever Communists are being smirched.

Lately a number of statements made by “Figaro”, apart from evoking a feeling of disgust are also occasion for a little laughter, something the paper would not have happen for all the world. Perhaps the reason for this is the truly scandalous chain of misfortunes which have befallen the rag. In all truth, the handiwork of the forgerers on “Figaro’s” editorial board is too crude for words.

But to the point. About a month ago “Figaro” obligingly, as befits a good lackey, picked up the canard circulated by the British embassy in Paris alleging a “Communist plot in Berlin. Zealous servants of the British embassy provocateurs,

“Figaro’s” hack writers did not stop at merely circulating this fantastic lie: they lost no time in concocting a forgery in the shape of a “secret order” supposedly issued to “Communist branches” in Berlin and signed by a non-existent “General Secretary of the Communist Party of Germany”.

The finale of this ill-starred story is known to all: both the British and French authorities denied all knowledge of this base provocation, realising that it would put them in a ridiculous and uncomfortable position. The fantasy about “secret order L” met with an inglorious end, leaving behind it only a foul smell and leaving also “Figaro” exposed for what it is a filthy slanderer and provocateur.

After landing themselves in a mess, “Figaro’s” swashbucklers lay low. But not for long. And so the editorial board of “Figaro” gave birth to a new Hitler-style lie, a lie that beats all records.

Well-aware that “Figaro’s” dispatches are no longer, treated with the same credulity since the disastrous failure of the canard about a “Communist plot” in Berlin when the paper wrote in the issue of July 6 that “a very important document has come into our possession” the authors of the new inventions are hastening to screen themselves with the “testimony of witnesses”. This time they quote “Page Internationale” which provided them with a “document from a reliable source”.

What does this new “document” say? It appears that this time it is the “Cominform”. The paper starts by warning its readers that the “significance of the recent Cominform meeting far exceeds the importance attached to it, “because at this conference, in addition to the official agenda, organisational questions were also discussed”.

The paper had to invent this to give the impression of a “struggle” within the “Cominform”, which, you see, is not known to the general public.

What was the reason for the “struggle”?

Well, to begin with, the Hungarians, that is, the Hungarian Communists, demanded neither more nor less than a “war against the Vatican”, the “commencement of hostilities” against it and; if you please, the placing of all Catholic priests in Hungary under arrest.

To give added weight to this utterly ridiculous invention, the paper hastened to report an urgent trip to Moscow by Rakosi, carelessly forgetting that the reader could easily establish Rakosi’s whereabouts at the time, and once again catch “Figaro” in a lie.

After Rakosi, Gottwald comes into the picture. Gottwald, it appears, is guilty of “egoistic autocracy” and is opposed to strengthening Czechoslovakia’s economic contacts with the Central European and Balkan countries. Having blurted out this absurdity, “Figaro” then brings in Thorez who is also “guilty” and also “fighting”.

Thorez is “guilty” because, in the words of “Figaro”, there are too many intellectuals in the French Communist Party (the paper is completely unable to stomach the fact that the finest representatives of the French intelligentsia are marching shoulder to shoulder with the Communists), and he is “resisting” the appointment of a “Cominform representative”, which would relegate him to second place.

There is a motive behind this last invention about a “representative”. It is designed to lead up to the essence of the new “organisational measures” which, it is alleged, consist of the appointment in each Communist Party of a “Cominform representative” enjoying the right to take part in the meetings of the political Bureau and to veto its decisions.

In addition to this mythical “representative”, there will be a mythical “consultative council of five members “not holding official posts”.

There is no need to say “Figaro” is running true to form.

What can one expect of this gutter rag which, in the words of Saltykov-Schedrin, has nothing to its name either in the past or in the future.

Even with the naked eye one can see the object of the latest “document”: the myth about the “representatives of the Cominform” is the signal for another smear campaign against the Communists, and another crusade against democracy.

As for the “struggle” in the ranks of the “Cominform”, that is a clear case of wishful thinking on the part of the inspirers of these forgeries and provocations.

They are obviously upset because the world is witnessing the growing consolidation of the democratic forces, the growing prestige of the Communist Parties as the leading force. They are petrified at the might of democracy to whom the future belongs. This fear, and the knowledge that the victorious onward march of history cannot be halted, are voiced in the vicious howl set up by the capitalist papers of the “Figaro” type.

No matter how ridiculous and monstrous the provocation of the type dished up by “Figaro”, it shows that reaction is not asleep, that it will stoop to any means to achieve its aim. And this calls for the further consolidation of the democratic forces, for increased vigilance and alertness toward the machinations of the enemy.

J. Victorov

## **EDITORIAL BOARD**

***Printed, Published, in Rumania, Journal "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!", appears on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of every month. Address of the Editorial Office and of the Publishing House: Bucharest, Valeriu, Braniste, 56.***