

*Workers of all lands, unite!*

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

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## **STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM—MOST IMPORTANT TASK OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

In its struggle against the steadily growing forces of democracy and Socialism, imperialist reaction is resorting to its well-trying poisonous weapon, bourgeois nationalism. It is trying to undermine the unity of the ranks of the working people, to weaken their class consciousness and solidarity in order to facilitate the realisation of its class policy and its predatory plans.

The revolutionary Marxist parties base themselves on the Lenin-Stalin doctrine that bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism are two irreconcilable, hostile slogans corresponding to the “two great class camps in the entire capitalist world and expressing two policies” (Lenin); that the “deviation toward nationalism reflects the attempts of ‘one’s own, ‘national’ bourgeoisie... to restore capitalism.” (Stalin).

The Great October Socialist Revolution delivered a mortal blow to the legend that bourgeois nationalism was the only method of liberating the oppressed peoples.

By liberating the peoples of this great State from the national oppression of centuries the October Revolution showed the peoples of the world that the proletarian, internationalist method of liberating oppressed peoples and of creating a voluntary and fraternal alliance of workers and peasants of different nationalities based on internationalism was a practical possibility.

The Bolshevik Party has always considered that the interests of building Socialism in the Soviet Union completely

merge with the interests of the revolutionary movement of all countries that the international ties of the Soviet working class with the workers of the capitalist countries, the fraternal union of the workers of the Soviet Union with the workers and the working people of all countries form one of the corner-stones of the strength and might of the Socialist State.

The valiant Soviet Army, educated by the Bolshevik Party in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, has brilliantly fulfilled its international duty, liberating the peoples of Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Finland and Yugoslavia from the German fascist yoke. The Soviet Army has saved the peoples of the entire world from enslavement and the threat of enslavement by Hitlerism.

Since its inception, the Bolshevik Party and Lenin and Stalin waged relentless struggle against all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has considerable experience of the struggle against great-power chauvinism and local nationalism, an experience which is instructive for the fraternal parties; it exposed and crushed the bourgeois nationalists, the agents of international imperialism who sought to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Stalin's wisdom and the clear-sightedness of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) exposed the nationalism of the Tito group in Yugoslavia in good time. The letters from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party, the Resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia were of vital, historical significance in strengthening the people's democracies, for their national freedom and independence.

The nationalist policy of the Tito group aims at fostering

nationalist hatred toward the peoples of the neighbouring democratic countries. How deep is the decline and corruption of the nationalist leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party is shown, among other indications, by the fact that the Tito group is borrowing widely the traditional methods of chauvinist provocation from the arsenal of the imperialists who waxed rich on the blood of the peoples of the Balkan peninsula which they had turned into the powder magazine of Europe.

Only traitors and enemies of the people could organise centres of espionage, trotskyism and terrorism in the fraternal people's democratic Republic of Albania and other people's democracies as the Tito group are now doing.

It is necessary to understand without any reservations that in the present international situation, the solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, mutual cooperation and friendship between the people's democracies and friendship with the Soviet Union are the main guarantees of further development and prosperity for the people's democracies, of the further consolidation of their national freedom and independence.

Bourgeois nationalism is manifested in the strivings to weaken the bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union; it reflects the influence of foreign imperialist reaction and the class enemy inside the country. The attitude toward the Soviet Union is now the test of the devotion to the cause of proletarian internationalism, of willingness to put the Lenin-Stalin doctrine on the national question into practice for this doctrine is an integral part of the general question of socialist revolution.

The national peculiarities and varied political conditions in each country naturally leave their imprint on the forms which bourgeois nationalism takes in the given country. But the reactionary class essence of bourgeois nationalism remains the same in all its manifestations, expressing the ideology and policy of the capitalist world. The methods of bourgeois-

nationalist reaction are varied. They include nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda, provocative rumours spread to sow mistrust between the peoples, the use of catholic reaction and of the kulaks in the countryside.

On the basis of self-criticism, the Polish Workers' Party has exposed the Right nationalist deviation existing in the Party and the conciliatory attitude taken to this deviation. It has mobilised the Party organisations for a resolute struggle against these expressions of bourgeois nationalism. The result of this struggle is that the Party's ranks are being considerably strengthened both ideologically and organisationally. The forthcoming fusion of the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party is a decisive blow to nationalism in the Polish working class movement and signifies the victory of the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Studying the Information Bureau Resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Communist and Workers' Parties of the people's democracies are strengthening their vigilance against the machinations of nationalist reaction which is resorting to economic sabotage and subversion and striving to undermine the basis of the new order in these countries.

The recent trial of a group of spies and conspirators in Rumania showed what abominable methods bourgeois-nationalist reaction will use to carry out the will of the Anglo-American imperialists.

Instances of a peculiar form of bourgeois nationalism in Hungary find expression in the search for a "third path" and "neutrality" in foreign policy.

It is therefore clear that Communist and Workers' Parties and the broad mass of the people must now strengthen considerably their vigilance against the machinations of international reaction.

In an unprecedentedly short historical period, the feeling of

fraternal international solidarity among the working people of various nations has grown and become firmly consolidated in the people's democracies. An end has been put to the criminal discord between nations which had been deliberately cultivated by the bourgeoisie for many years.

One of the most important political tasks of the Communist and Workers' Parties is to fight against any national prejudices and relics of capitalism which cling particularly to the national question, to raise the level of ideological work, to study the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) which has accumulated such valuable experience in the struggle against all deviations. from Marxism-Leninism on the national question.

The Communist and Workers' Parties of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and others, still have much work to do to uproot the old nationalist prejudices and hostile relations between the different peoples and nationalities in individual countries. Revivals of these bourgeois, nationalist relations still make themselves felt here and there. This is bound to occur also in the future if the Communist Parties do not resolutely and whole-heartedly adhere to the Marxist-Leninist policy of solving the national question. That is why a scornful attitude to the work of developing the ideas of proletarian internationalism among the Party and the people is impermissible.

It is imperative that the Party organisations should propagate the historical achievements of the Lenin-Stalin friendship among the peoples on the basis of the historical experience of the Soviet Union, that they should further develop and strengthen the ideas of internationalism and cooperation among the peoples in the new democracies. The achievement of this task is one of the pre-conditions for further successes in carrying out the national policy of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

## **30TH ANNIVERSARY OF COMMUNIST PARTY HUNGARY**

The 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Formation of the Communist Party of Hungary was celebrated recently by the working people of the country.

Several thousand people were present at a celebration meeting held in Budapest on November 20 under the auspices of the Party Active.

Members of the Central Committee of the Party and delegates from fraternal Communist Parties were also present.

Arpad Szakasits who opened the meeting stressed that without the stubborn and resolute struggle waged by the Communists, the Hungarian working class movement could never have reached the scale that it did and, in the final analysis, would have been destroyed by treachery and opportunism.

Addressing the meeting, Comrade Rakosi reviewed the struggle waged by the Hungarian Communists and pointed out that the formation of the Workers' Party was the crowning point in consolidating Hungarian democracy.

Comrade Rakosi also stressed the enormous significance of the setting up of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties for the cause of peace and democracy, to which the Hungarian Communists had readily affiliated.

## **PLENUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

A Plenum of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party was held over November 17-18.

This was the first Plenum since the fusion of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties and likewise the first since the Czechoslovak and Slovak Communist Parties were merged into a single Communist Party for the Czechoslovak Republic.

In addition to the members and candidate members of the Central Committee, the Plenum was attended by regional committee secretaries, Communist members of Parliament and prominent Party figures.

Comrade Gottwald, Chairman of the Party, delivered the main political report. Comrade Slansky, General Secretary of the Party reported on the organisational measures to ensure the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan and the new tasks of the Party.

Comrade Siroky, Chairman of the Communist Party of Slovakia reported on the significance of the amalgamation of the Czechoslovak and Slovak Communist Parties.

Among those who took part in the discussion which followed the reports were Comrades Kopecky, Dolansky, Nosek, Nejedly and Firlinger.

The Plenum decided to hold the next congress of the Party—the ninth—over May 25-29, 1949. It ratified the agenda for the Congress and the procedure for electing Congress delegates, adopted the suggestion for the creation of a Party Control Commission, the decision of the Presidium of the Party concerning probationary membership and a statement on

membership dues.

In this issue we publish excerpts from the reports delivered by Comrades Gottwald and Slansky.

## **DECISIONS OF BOARD OF ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY**

The November 14 issue of the newspaper “Unita” contained the decisions of the recent meeting of the Board of the Italian Communist Party.

It is pointed out therein that instead of the improved economic situation promised by de Gasperi in connection with Marshall “aid” entire branches of industry are being dismantled, more and more workers are being discharged, from the enterprises, industrial bankruptcies are increasing and so on.

The decisions state that the struggle of the working people for work and bread and against the Government-supported arbitrary actions of the capitalists, is a struggle on behalf of national interests.

The Board of the Communist Party has requested the Communist deputies and senators to insist on special Government measures to secure the position of the workers during the winter months to stop the dismissals and evictions; double unemployment benefit for the winter period and the organisation of public works under Parliamentary control; to freeze rents and consumer goods prices.

## **FORTHCOMING UNITY CONGRESS OF POLISH WORKERS' PARTY AND POLISH SOCIALIST PARTY**

Final preparations are being made in Warsaw for the Unity Congress of the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party, scheduled to open on December 15.

The final joint local meetings of the two parties for the election of delegates to the Congress were held on November 28.

About 1,500 delegates will travel to Warsaw for the Congress.

The pre-Congress campaign has revealed a striking ideological and organisational strengthening of the Polish Workers' Party brought about by the struggle against the Right-nationalist deviation. The quality of the delegates present at the city and regional conferences testified to the growth of the Party and to the activities of its members. At the regional conference of the P.W.P. in Anin, the delegates included 56 industrial workers, 42 poor and medium peasants and 16 representatives of the intelligentsia.

In the Polish Socialist Party the campaign was preceded by a serious struggle against the Rights, most of whom had already been expelled by the worker elements in the P.S.P. This struggle which was continued in the course of the pre-unity campaign helped to prepare the members of the P.S.P. for unity with the P.W.P on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. About 90 per cent of the membership took part in the election of delegates at the conferences held by both parties at district and regional levels.

Criticism and self-criticism were the keynote of all these conferences which were distinguished by the large number of delegates who took part in the discussion. The city and regional conferences of the two parties displayed the same lively spirit. Delegates entered wholeheartedly into the discussion of the ideological and organisational tasks connected with the fusion and in nominating candidates for the Congress.

They devoted special attention to the matter of carrying out in the localities the decisions of the July and August plenums of the Central Committee of the P.W.P. and the decisions of the Central Council of the P.S.P. They discussed the projected rules of the party, the international tasks of the Polish working class movement, the further cleansing of the ranks of the two parties of alien and corrupt elements and the need to consolidate the successes achieved in this respect.

The fusion is being hailed with enthusiasm by the Polish working class.

On the initiative of the miners at the Zabrze-*Wschoid* pit, industrial workers throughout the country are taking part in labour emulation in honour of the unity congress.

Every day, the press reports instances of successes on the industrial front achieved by tens of thousands of miners, metal workers and others.

On November 18, three hundred thousand textile workers in a report to Comrade Bierut announced that they had reached the target set for the year and promised in honour of the Unity Congress to produce a million metres of fabric in excess of the plan.

Peasants, too—members of the million and a half strong Mutual Aid League—have entered into labour emulation in honour of the congress.

The unification of the two workers parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is a major event in the political life of the People's Poland. It has a significance spreading beyond the

boundaries of the country and will contribute to a further strengthening of the forces of the international front of struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism.

## **DRAFT SOCIAL SECURITY LAW IN BULGARIA**

The Bulgarian Council of Ministers has approved a Bill providing Social Security for the working people of Bulgaria.

The new Bill contains provisions for People who have lost the capacity to work either through illness, industrial accidents or old age.

It also provides increased benefits for those already enjoying the right to social security. Pensions, for example will be increased by 60 per cent and will be doubled for some categories.

The minimum old age pension is now 3,000 leva monthly.

The new Bill constitutes one of the most important measures of the new democracy in Bulgaria for raising the standard of life of the working people.

# **FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA**

The first Congress of the Communist Party of Albania was held recently in Tirana. The Congress discussed the following questions:

Central Committee report made by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

Report on the Two Year Economic Plan (1949-50), made by Comrade Gogo Nushi.

Draft Statutes of the Communist Party of Albania—report by Comrade Tuk Jakova.

Election to the Party's Central organs.

In the report on the work of the Central Committee, Comrade Enver Hoxha, General Secretary analysed the development of the Albanian people's national liberation struggle against the feudal yoke and the Zog terror regime, and against the country's enslavement by British and Italian imperialism.

The Soviet Union's entry into the war against Hitler Germany, said Hoxha, gave a new impulse to the resistance movement of the Albanian people and created conditions on which the Albanian Communist Party could be founded. From the beginning of 1941, the Party headed the people's heroic struggle against the Italian and German invaders and since the end of the war has played a decisive role in strengthening, the people's power.

Hoxha then turned to the agrarian reform which he described as the most significant measure taken by the Party and the people's power. Through it 320,000 hectares of land were distributed among 70,000 poor, and landless peasants. Feudalism has been eliminated in the country and conditions

are now such that the living standards of the people can be improved.

Concerning the successes of nationalised industry, Hoxha stressed that the help given by the Soviet Union was of great significance in extending and strengthening Albania's industry.

Having outlined the Party's political tasks to develop the national economy, education and culture, Hoxha then spoke of the Party's attitude on foreign policy. Our Party, he said, has firmly pursued the policy of strengthening its bonds with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

He exposed the plans of the British imperialists who both during and after the war had tried to undermine the forces of democracy in Albania, to occupy the country, and by imposing quislings on the Albanian people, turn the country into another Greece. But all these attempts of Anglo-American imperialism had failed utterly.

Comrade Hoxha emphasised the fraternal friendship between the peoples of Albania and Yugoslavia which had been cemented in joint battles against the Hitler invaders fought by Albanian and Yugoslav troops on Yugoslav territory. He exposed the intrigues of the nationalist Tito group and its Albanian agency of Kochi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and Seifulla Maleshova.

Hoxha pointed out that the Tito clique had endeavoured to undermine the basis of Albania's national independence to turn Albania into an economic appendage of Yugoslavia and isolate the country from the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. The adventurous Five-Year Plan projected for Albania by the Tito clique aimed at making Albania a market for Yugoslav goods at prices unprofitable for Albania, and at depriving her of the possibility of developing a national industry.

The Tito group and its agents in the Albanian Communist Party refused to learn from the world historical experience of

the Soviet people. They condemned the help given by the Soviet Union, circulated the slander that the Soviet Union would sacrifice Albania to the imperialists and vilified the Soviet Army.

By trying to subordinate the activities of the Communist Party and the Democratic front of Albania to the anti-Marxist policy of the Tito clique; said Hoxha the Yugoslav nationalist agents did considerable damage to the Party and the country.

He stressed that the letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Information Bureau's Resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had played a decisive role in the correct orientation of the Albanian Communist Party. They had "saved it and the Albanian people from catastrophe".

On the basis of these vital Marxist-Leninist documents, the Eleventh Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania was able to lay bare the mistakes committed by the Party under the influence of the nationalist Tito group and of the Trotskyite activities of the Kochi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo group.

Hoxha pointed out that after the country's liberation, considerable Marxist-Leninist education had been carried out in the Party, Marxist-Leninist courses have covered 2,571 students. At the same time, he declared that shortcomings still existed in the Marxist-Leninist training of Party cadres.

The Party's most important task, he said, was to extend the network of schools and to improve the whole propaganda work of the Party.

Hoxha put before the Party the task of strengthening revolutionary vigilance and of purging hostile and unstable elements. He also stressed the need for a correct approach to cadres both of the Party and the state administration.

Many delegates took part in the debate on Comrade Enver Hoxha's report, after which the Congress heard and discussed

the report on the Two Year Economic Plan (1949-50) made by Comrade Gogo Nushi, member of the Political Bureau.

Comrade Gogo Nushi said that guided by the teachings of Marx and Lenin and the great experience of the glorious Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union, the Albanian Communist Party has resolutely placed before the people the task of rebuilding the country and transforming Albania's backward, feudal economy into a planned economy, serving the interests of the people.

Comrade Nushi pointed out that the Plan envisages a considerable extension of industry and in particular, the construction of a number of new enterprises. By the end of 1950 land sown to crops would be 203 per cent greater than before the war. New machine-tractor depots and increased herds of livestock are planned.

He described the Two Year Plan to develop the national economy as a great political and economic victory for the Albanian Communist Party. He also stressed the significance of the considerable material aid given by the Soviet Union.

The report on the third point on the Congress agenda—the draft Statutes of the Party—was made by the Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Tuk Jakova. After discussion the Congress unanimously adopted the draft. As pointed out in the Statutes, from now on the Communist Party of Albania will be called the Workers' Party of Albania.

Amid great enthusiasm the Congress sent a message of greetings to Comrade Stalin.

The newly elected Central Committee of 21 members include Comrades Enver Hoxha, Tuk Jakova and Gogo Nushi. Comrade Enver Hoxha was re-elected General Secretary.

# **FEBRUARY EVENTS AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S DEVELOPMENT ALONG PATH TO SOCIALISM**

## **From the Report BY Chairman CC Communist Party Czechoslovakia, Comrade Gottwald at CC Plenum**

Almost nine months have passed since the well-known February events—events which marked a turning point in the history of our State and of our people. Much has fundamentally changed during this period.

At this Plenum we are able to welcome comrades from the former Social Democratic Party. They are with us as a result of the merging of the Communist and the Social Democratic Parties into a united Workers' Party based on Marxism-Leninism. At the same time we welcome here at our Plenum our Slovak comrades as members of the united Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The February events, Gottwald continued, fully confirmed the correct general line of the Party and particularly the line followed by the Party since May 1945.

You are aware that in May 1945, we set out on a new path—that of building the Czechoslovak Republic as a republic of a people's democracy.

Since then, and until February of this year, this path proved most complex. Side by side with positive results there were shortcomings. It was not surprising therefore, that from time to time in our ranks, especially before the February events when reaction began more openly

to rear its head, there appeared signs of lack of understanding and even doubts as to whether or not we were on the right road.

To all these doubts and questionings, the February days of 1948 gave a clear and unmistakable answer. February 1948 confirmed the soundness of the policy pursued by us since May 1945.

After February, the voices of some comrades were heard saying that we had wasted time between May 1945 and February 1948. It was said that what we accomplished in February 1948 could have been done in May 1945. Such views are absolutely wrong. In order to achieve the February success it was necessary to secure the isolation of the reactionary elements, it was necessary to unmask the reactionary parties in the eyes of the people. At that time the people did not know all the details of the policy pursued by Zenkj, Sramek, Lettrich and Majer.

Gottwald then analysed the policy of the reactionary parties who attempted to restore the old, capitalist regime, who endeavoured to repeat 1920, when reaction succeeded in defeating the democratic forces and secured the domination of the bourgeoisie. He pointed out that the events of February 1948 took place in different circumstances and with a different relationship of forces.

In 1920 reaction had its wishes gratified. It had sufficient strength at the time to secure this gratification.

But in 1948, although its desires were just as strong, the means and possibilities for securing their gratification no longer corresponded to these desires. That is the essential difference between February 1948 and December 1920. And while, despite this, there were strivings to bring about a repetition of 1920 they merely testify to the utter political short-sightedness and incompetence of those who undertook the job, since this time the relationship of forces was altogether different.

Wherein lies the fundamental difference between the relationship of forces then and now? In 1918 it could have seemed to some that national liberation from the Hapsburg yoke emanated from the West. True, we know that the beginning of the break-up of Austro-Hungary, and, incidentally, the beginning of the possibility for the existence of the Czechoslovak Republic, were conditioned by the Great October Socialist Revolution, but in those days this truth was not so obvious. The land of Soviets was engaged in a life and death struggle against the interventionists, was fighting for its very existence, and was not in a position to be, for us, that clear and obvious bulwark. Now, the situation is different. The fact that liberation from the Hitler occupation came from the East is so obvious that discussion on the matter is superfluous.

All the speculations by the ideologues and politicians of the capitalist states to the effect that the Soviet Union would come out of the war weakened and that consequently its world, significance would decrease, ended in fiasco. The Soviet Union, although it bore the main burden of the war against Hitler Germany, emerged from the struggle with the enemy stronger than ever, whereas the capitalists, as foretold by Comrade Stalin, were, at the end of World War Two missing a number of their Governments. In 1920, notwithstanding the existence of a big and influential social democracy, we lacked a class conscious workers' party, a party possessing Bolshevik maturity, based on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism.

It was precisely at this moment that the split took place in the working class of our country. Part of the leadership went over to the side of the bourgeoisie. The working class, thanks to Social Democratic leadership, was not in a position to utilise the fruits of its struggle against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and because of this the leadership of the national liberation struggle, remained in the hands of the bourgeoisie. In

1920 the working class lacked its own Bolshevik Marxist-Leninist Party which would not have subordinated its policy to the interests of the bourgeoisie, a Party which would have mastered the Leninist strategy and tactics of class struggle and which would have led the working class despite the obstacles to victory over the bourgeoisie.

In February 1948, in the van of the working class, in the van of the people, stood the Communist Party which had demonstrated during the first phase of our national democratic revolution, beginning with May 1945, that it was able to defend the cause of the working class, capable of seeing that the working class did not trail in the wake of the bourgeoisie and that it was the leading force of the people. This was a Party which had mastered the art of Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics of class struggle, a Party which was able to take its place in the van of the people, able together with the working class to lead all elements of the working people into the struggle against reaction and at the decisive hour of the struggle was able to isolate, defeat and triumph over reaction.

The twenty-eight years of that grim school through which we passed since 1920 bore fruit in the shape of that general development which had its starting point at the time of the defeat suffered in December 1920, and led to the creation in our country of the Communist Party which has mastered Marx-Leninism.

The persecution and humiliation that we experienced, the struggle against Munich, against the German occupation right up to the glorious May of 1945—all this has borne fruit.

We have seen for ourselves that beginning with the 1946 election, the reactionary elements in the Government began to draw closer and closer to the reactionary elements outside the Government and actually became the mouthpiece of the reactionary forces.

Reaction calculated that it would be able to isolate the

Communists both in the Government and outside, confront them with a solid phalanx of all the other parties and in this way compel the Communists to capitulate, to form a government of officials and force them to make substantial concessions. Then, having achieved their regrouping of forces in the Government, the reactionaries would arrange a general election on the “Italian model”, that is, should elections in general become a fact. The enemies of the people intended to abolish gradually all the gains of the people’s democratic revolution.

The Communist Party of course, was not sleeping either. Nor did it lose anytime. Our preparations consisted of a clean fight for the carrying out of the Government’s programme. From the beginning of 1947 we exposed before the people those who bore responsibility for the non-fulfilment of the Government’s programme. And the people of town and countryside followed us.

Shortly before February 1948 we put forward new demands relating to the nationalisation of industry and to agriculture—demands which went beyond the programme of the Government. We advanced these demands as the programme of our Party for the general election.

On this basis the congress of factory committee and the peasant congress were called. Reaction regarded our demands as a signal indicating that the time for the final break was drawing near. These demands made reaction nervy, accelerated its action and, in doing so, contributed to its mistakes.

On the basis of the fight for an honest fulfilment of the Government’s programme and putting forward the chief points of the new pre-election programme, we advanced to the election with the slogan: win the majority of the people.

The reactionaries ranted about what they alleged was an unrealisable slogan. But in the end, terrified. at the growing influence of the Communist Party among the masses, they

began to plot and conspire. Reaction was confronted with the prospect that in a country characterised by all the rules of formal democracy, the majority of the people supported the Communist Party on the basis of its programme and its activity.

This forced reaction into premature activity.

The February days demonstrated, above all, the political and organisational maturity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. We can say this quite definitely, without closing our eyes to shortcomings that are still with us.

Second, the February events confirmed the leading role of the Communist Party among the people. There were certain bold “critics”, self-styled Marxists, who considered we were mistaken in saying ever since May 1945 that the Communists must be the leading force of the working people. These critics asked what had Marxism-Leninism in common with our affirmations when, as is known, the Communists are the advanced detachment of the working class. According to these “critics”, to affirm that the Communist Party must be the leading force of the people was tantamount to lowering the concept of the Communist Party.

Our Central Committee was sufficiently experienced to see at once the senseless, Trotskyite spirit of the “critics”. The whole purpose of the struggle of our Party was to stand at the head of the masses in order that the people—and this means the overwhelming majority, the toilers—would respect us and recognise us as their Party. We achieved this purpose. Without the leading role of the Party among the people, without the majority of the people recognising us as their heart and brain and as their leader, the bourgeoisie would not have been isolated, there would not have been the February victory and we would not be sitting in this Prague City Hall.

Third, the political maturity of the working class of Czechoslovakia was demonstrated also during the February

days.

Fourth, the lesson of the February events is: they were a demonstration of the genuine unity of the National Front, and, above all, the genuine alliance between the basic elements of the working people, between the working class and the peasantry. Gottwald observed that during the February events the state apparatus demonstrated that it served the interests of the people.

Gottwald continued by saying: whereas prior to February there was still a possibility that the old, capitalist regime might be restored in Czechoslovakia by the forces of native reaction, after February this possibility was liquidated. The main line of our policy after the February victory consisted in consolidating this victory.

Touching on the important measures carried out in the economic and political field since February, Gottwald mentioned the ratification of the Constitution, a number of decrees concerning supplementary nationalisation of big industry, the law restricting private property in land and so on.

The February victory was reinforced by the elections to the National Assembly, which enabled us to create a real parliament of people's democracy, a parliament that is not and will not be ,in opposition to the Government and the people, but which will realise its programme.

Another important result of the post February period is the strengthening from top to bottom of the regenerated National Front.

Of greatest importance is the fact that the reactionary elements have been cleared out of the higher offices of state and public administration, out of the economic organs and organs of state security, the Army and cultural organisations.

Particularly important is the fact that during the post February period we put an end to the split in the working class movement by means of uniting the Communist and Social

Democratic Parties on the only correct platform—the platform of Marxism-Leninism.

As a result of combining the Czech and Slovak Communist Parties, we have created one Communist Party with a single leadership for the entire territory of the Republic.

Gottwald referred to matters connected with the struggle against reaction which suffered a crushing blow in February, but which now, after the fear and panic, is once again becoming active.

We must not relinquish vigilance. Reaction will endeavour to utilise every possibility in order to create difficulties.

We must get to know all the methods and means of the subversive activity of internal reaction which maintains contact with international reaction. Defeated in open battle and burrowing underground, reaction has taken to terror, espionage and sabotage, linking all its hopes with a new war, with a aggressive German Army restored anew.

Our struggle against reaction will be developed in the direction of carrying through a correct political line in all spheres—in the sphere of economy, prices and so on.

Gottwald pointed out that in the sphere of economy there are three basic sectors in the country: socialist, capitalist and petty trade. The first, socialist, sector was extended considerably after February 1948. It comprises primarily the nationalised industry which embraces about 95 per cent of the industry of the country.

To this sector belong also the completely nationalised banks and insurance societies and the completely nationalised foreign trade, internal wholesale trade and the cooperatives.

To the capitalist sector which was considerably reduced after February 1948 belong in the main the rural rich and landlords, owners of small enterprises, the bulk of the big handicraftsmen, traders and other elements engaged in exploiting wage labour.

The third sector—small enterprise—did not change greatly after February.

The development of our economy since February, Gottwald said, is characterised by a strengthening of the socialist sector which is decisive for our further advance along the road to Socialism.

Gottwald then made a detailed analysis of the policy of the Communist Party in relation to the peasantry.

In the Resolution of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties concerning the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party it is stated that, in Yugoslavia, it is necessary to carry out a policy of restricting and squeezing out the capitalist elements. This, the main task at present, is the prerequisite for going over gradually to the abolition of the capitalist elements in general and the capitalist elements in the countryside in particular.

Does this relate to us, comrades? Yes, it relates to us, too. Why cannot we bypass this inevitable stage? How is it that in the countryside we cannot speak about the abolition of the capitalist elements and are compelled to carry through a policy of restricting them? We must not forget that our main aim now and in the future is the alliance of the workers and peasants within the framework of the National Front.

It follows therefore that our policy in the countryside must be based on the small landholder, it must help to consolidate the alliance with the medium landholder and isolate the big landholder, gradually restrict his capitalist development and relegate him to the background. This goes also for the handicraftsmen, traders and artisans.

Undue haste in our policy in the countryside can bring only harm. The question on the order of the day is that of restricting and squeezing out the capitalist elements in town and country.

Formulating the main tasks, the realisation of which will create the pre-conditions for the further advance toward

Socialism. Gottwald said:

1. It is essential to secure and improve supplies to the population, to complete the Two Year Plan and begin work on the Five Year Plan. Improving supplies to the population, above all, provisions, completing the Two Year Plan, beginning the Five Year Plan and improving the work of the economic organs, means delivering the death blow to reaction.

2. In purchasing agricultural products in the countryside it is essential to ensure that the big landholders deliver bigger quantities in order that certain privileges accrue to the small house-holds. It is necessary in practice to pursue the aim of restricting and squeezing out the capitalist elements in the course of carrying out the tax policy, the price policy and the supplies policy.

3. In fixing the standards of food supplies, the workers should be rated higher than the non-working elements.

4. The material-technical base must be strengthened in the rural areas, a broad network of machine-tractor depots must be created. It is necessary to extend social forms of animal husbandry and poultry raising.

5. In rural areas we must support and encourage all forms of cooperation, and in the first instance, cooperatives of a producer nature. We shall take care that the cooperatives are not dominated by the rural rich, that the decisive voice in them belongs to the small and medium peasants.

6. We must take decisive measures to ensure that the remnants of the capitalist elements in town and countryside fulfil their state and public obligations. Any display on the part of these elements of anti-state, unlawful activity must be countered by economic sanctions against them.

7. We must reform and reorganise the administration on the basis of the regional national committees. It is necessary in all spheres to introduce new legislation based on the Constitution and to ensure that the people's democratic state

apparatus becomes a powerful lever for the socialist reconstruction of the countryside.

8. We must train our Party, trade union, economic, administrative and military cadres and also the personnel of our security organs so that they will not only excel in their particular spheres, but will also master the science of sciences—Marxism-Leninism.

9. We must strengthen from top to bottom the regenerated National Front in order that the Front will not provide legal cover for reactionary elements, as was the case prior to February 1948, and to ensure that in the future it remains the political form of our public life on the road to Socialism.

These, then are the tasks, Gottwald said in concluding this report, that we must decide today in order that tomorrow we shall be in a position to accomplish other, more complex and far-reaching tasks.

The experience of the Soviet Union, the new democracies and, not the least, our own experience, teaches us that we should always put in the foreground those tasks which must be solved for a further advance. We must concentrate on completing the main tasks in order to provide favourable conditions for our onward march.

Have we the forces and means with which to solve the tasks facing us at this stage on our way to Socialism? Yes, we have. We have the united, powerful Party which won a glorious victory in February of this year. The verification now under way in the Party will rally it still closer around the Central Committee on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

The Soviet Union is with us; with us is Comrade Stalin.

## **NEW TASKS**

### **From Report of General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Comrade Slansky, at CC Plenum**

Addressing the Plenum, Comrade Slansky said that the nine points formulated by Comrade Gottwald constituted the general line of Party policy for the immediate future.

He went on to detail the tasks facing the Party for the successful fulfilment of the Five Year Plan. On the solution of these tasks depended the speed at which the transition to Socialism could be made in Czechoslovakia.

Comrade Slansky declared: Now we are fully responsible for all the state matters of the Republic. We must prove that we are capable of increasing productivity of labour, of surpassing the old production rates, of rapidly increasing the level of production. The Party must master the art of directing its organisational work to guarantee that production plans are carried but.

He devoted considerable attention to the work of Party organisation on the production front, to the reorganisation of the Central Committee's economic department, to the mobilisation of the people to fulfil production targets, to the strengthening of labour discipline, to the organisation of socialist emulation and a Stakhanovite movement, to the work of production committees, to the introduction of cost accounting.

Speaking on the shortcomings in the work of the economic organs, Comrade Slansky declared that industrial management

had been over-centralised. This was also true of the State bodies. He outlined a number of measures to improve the work of the administrative and managerial apparatus.

On the problem of cadres, Comrade Slansky said: Before the February events we had tried to see that no obvious reactionaries held vital and decisive positions and that only Communists and people devoted to the people's democracy held these positions. But this is no longer sufficient.

Even among Communists there are many people who are conservative and politically illiterate, who have not become organically bound up with the Party and the working class. Today we must apply another, stricter criterion in selecting and allocating cadres.

Now, when the class struggle is sharpening, we can see much more clearly who are the people capable of carrying out present-day tasks. The worthlessness of those functionaries who have not a sufficiently developed political consciousness is clearer, as is the harm they have done and the need to rid the apparatus quickly of all those inclined toward reaction.

Our principal task in this sphere is to develop our own cadres for leading posts in the state and administrative apparatus, for Army and Security Corps commanders, cadres who have come from the working class and are devoted to the Party.

We will clear out all reactionary-minded students from the secondary schools and high schools and will see that the children of the working class and the working people form the overwhelming, majority there, Marxism-Leninism must be included as an essential in the curricula of all schools and universities; all the sciences must be taught from the viewpoint of our world outlook.

In the near future we shall set up one-year preparatory courses where the factories can send their best young workers.

After a year's training these comrades will be able to

matriculate and enter university. We have already set up schools in the Army where young workers will study for a year and take the entrance examination for the Military Academy.

We should educate young workers to be future factory managers, high state officials and to hold other leading positions.

Comrade Slansky stressed the urgency of measures making it possible to send capable workers to leading industrial jobs.

The Communist Party is also taking the initial steps to select new cadres for the state apparatus, he continued. To illustrate this, he explained that the Ministry of Justice had opened ten-month courses for able and conscious Party members to become public prosecutors.

Similar training of leading cadres for industry and transport will be organised. At the same time schools will be organised at the factories to train young skilled workers.

Another important task in the training of cadres for the state apparatus, said Comrade Slansky, is to give political education to reliable specialists, employees and officials. This is already being done.

Comrade Slansky further stressed the need to fight continually against bureaucracy. The most important way of doing this, he said, is to organise firm control from top to bottom; to see that all Party members exercise criticism and self-criticism.

Of great significance will be the setting up of a new organ, the Party Control Commission which will be elected by the Central Committee. Its tasks will be to control, investigate and hold responsible all Party members holding position in the state, economic or Party apparatus who do not behave as true Communists. The main task of the Control Commission is to prevent such as event arising or to nip it in the bud.

Comrade Slansky also instanced frequent cases where inner Party democracy had been violated. We have responsible

Party workers, he said, who talk glibly about criticism and self-criticism but who do not want to listen to it when it concerns them personally. We have also Party functionaries who themselves admit that they do not work sufficiently well in one or another sector of work, but heaven forbid that anyone should dare to criticise them. They would call such a Communist a factionist and might almost demand that he should be immediately expelled from the Party.

The Party's leading role is not ensured by orders and decrees but by convincing the people, guiding them and through this guidance, helping them.

Neither a Party organisation nor a Party functionary has any right to issue orders. But they are obliged to control the work of a state office, a factory or a trade union organisation; to reveal shortcomings and to demand that they be eliminated.

Comrade Slansky referred to the great significance of the verification of the membership which has already had favourable results for the Party. The verification which is accompanied by considerably increased activity on the part of the membership has been distinguished from the outset by a growth of mass criticism and self-criticism; by the increased interest displayed in ideological questions, in Marxist-Leninist science.

Shortcomings and mistakes have been manifested also in the course of the verification. The most serious mistake is that sometimes the verification of Party members is restricted to their personal qualities and to their personal lives.

We must also devote attention to the matter of preventing the verification of the political knowledge of the members from being turned into a school-room examination.

It is necessary to rebuff decisively any attempt to punish active and loyal members of the Party for their, as yet, unsatisfactory theoretical knowledge.

Now, with the amalgamation of the Slovak Communist

Party, the Party membership numbers more than two and a half million. We shall transfer considerable part of the membership recruited after February and particularly the non-worker strata, to the status of probationers. By instituting probationary membership, we shall make entry into the Party a much stricter matter.

At present we must do our utmost to stem the flow into the Party and only in exceptional cases to accept new people as probationers; when it is a matter, say, of taking in members who have distinguished themselves in production. Main attention must now be focused on educational work.

The verification is not a wholesale purge. But we are aware that with such an enormous influx into the Party, bad elements, careerists and enemies of the Party must have penetrated.

Our path to Socialism is accompanied by increased activity on the part of the class enemy and we shall be able to paralyse this activity only by all members of the Party maintaining revolutionary vigilance, only by ridding the Party of hostile and alien elements.

Concluding his report, Comrade Slansky said: After February many comrades thought that having won final victory, everything would now go easily and smoothly. But immediately after February, Comrade Gottwald reminded us that the class struggle in the broadest sense of the word was only beginning, that we had but passed our journeyman's examination.

The Resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has proved the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teachings that the path to Socialism is accompanied by sharpening struggle and is beset with difficulties and obstacles.

We are confident that our Party, which numbers hundreds of thousands of selfless and active workers, which is deeply

embedded in the masses, will, under the leadership of Comrade Gottwald, pass the examination for craftsmen and will reconstruct our country along Socialist lines.

## **MILAN WORKERS FIGHT FOR THEIR VITAL INTERESTS. G. Brambilla, Member, central Committee, Communist Party of Italy**

Milan, the main industrial and commercial centre of Italy, is particularly hard hit by the policy of the de Gasperi clerical Government which is designed to shackle our country to the American imperialists.

Unemployment in the province of Milan is in the vicinity of 200,000 and a like number is on short-time working from 24 to 30 hours a week. Altogether, about half of the working people of Milan together with their families are doomed to starvation. Unemployment relief is a bare 200 lire a day, while a kilo of rationed bread costs 105 lire. Matters have been made worse still by the recent Government decision to reduce the period of unemployment benefit from six to four months.

As a result of the resistance of the Milan workers under the leadership of the works Councils and the General Confederation of Labour, to the dismantling of factories by the owners in conspiracy with the Americans, industrial output for 1947 reached 80 per cent of the pre-war level. Now it has slumped again and is barely 50 per cent of prewar. Entire branches of industry, as for example, the metal industry, textiles, chemicals and building have been seriously affected by the crisis caused by the anti-national economic policy of the de Gasperi Government. Of the 1,500 metal enterprises in Milan province, 300 closed their doors during the past twelve months. Well-known firms such as Breda, Caproni, Alfa Romeo. Safar. Isotta, Fraschini, Salmoirage, Borlette and others have discharged considerable numbers of workers and more are being paid off.

Here is a typical example of the consequences of the Marshall Plan: there are 300 finished tractors stowed away in the stores of the Motomecanica tractor plant and yet the Government is encouraging the import of tractors from America.

Together with the factory and office workers, artisans and small land owners are in difficult circumstances due to increased taxes and the Government's economic policy which in all respects favours the big industrialists and landlords.

Economically, the conditions of the working people are deteriorating steadily—the outcome of Government measures aimed at completely abolishing the fixed prices on consumer goods and at doing away with the economic and social gains won by the people during recent years. These measures caused prices to soar, especially bread prices, while charges for electricity, gas fares and rent went up by 10 per cent.

The combined attacks of the Government and the capitalists on the General Confederation of Labour are designed to secure the abolition of the “sliding scale” for the regulation of wages (one of the most important gains of the working people of Italy). They also aimed at abolishing the labour agreements which at present secure the workers from certain taxes, guarantee an annual bonus the equivalent of monthly earnings (the so-called thirteenth month), an annual fifteen days paid holiday and which also provide for amenities such as canteens, special food shops, hygiene, first aid, clubs and rest rooms.

The Milan workers are waging a selfless struggle—a struggle rich in experience and which is an example to the Italian working class movement.

Trying to break this resistance, the capitalists, openly encouraged by the Government and the Vatican, are resorting to all means: police violence, besieging factories, clubbing and arresting workers, encouraging criminal actions by neo-fascist

elements and venomous anti-Communist, anti-working class propaganda conducted by the clergy and the “Catholic Action” organisation at the behest of Cardinal Schuster, Archbishop of Milan.

The workers, however, are resisting strenuously. At those factories where personnel is threatened with dismissal, the workers and technical staff draw up plans to further production and prepare resistance to the schemes of the owners. Quite frequently the struggle assumes exceedingly sharp forms including the occupation of the factories. The people of the adjoining neighbourhoods, headed by district committees composed of representatives of the progressive democratic parties and mass organisations, organise solidarity actions with the strikers and aid them. The weight of the mass movement often compels the capitalists to refrain from discharging workers and from reducing output. They are forced instead to take measures which secure the normal working of the enterprises.

The Government of course gives its support to the capitalists and renders them all kinds of assistance. This was strikingly demonstrated during the struggle at the Motta plant against the attempt to discharge 800 workers. The factory was literally besieged by the police who used armoured cars and tear gas. They clubbed and arrested workers. Supported by the people of the neighbourhood, the Motta workers waged a vigorous 70 days’ struggle. The struggle revealed to those who had voted for the Christian Democrats the reactionary nature of the de Gasperi Government, which did not hesitate to use violence in order to throw 800 workers onto the street.

In its struggle for work and bread, the working people exposed the manoeuvres of the Christian Democratic trade union traitors aimed at disrupting trade union unity. Ninety per cent of the workers of Milan have remained loyal to the CGT, thus demonstrating their profound attachment to the idea of

unify of the working people in the struggle against reaction.

During the past two months, the Milan Chamber of Labour has done a big job in guiding and leading the struggle against high prices. On the initiative of the Chamber a provincial committee embracing all the mass organisations including artisan's societies has been formed. By means of daily propaganda carried out by the district, suburb and street committees, the provincial body is strengthening the resistance of the working class and is cementing its bonds with other sections of the working people.

As a result of their organised efforts, the working people of Milan have already succeeded in winning lower prices for bread and for better quality bread. At present they are in the midst of a campaign against rent increases.

The recent decision of the monopoly companies controlling electric power to raise the price of electricity has encountered a broad protest movement.

Some 40,000 householders have refused to pay the increase. When officials of the Edison Company escorted by police detachments tried to cut off the current in the houses, housewives forced the Company agents and police to a shameful retreat.

The struggle now being waged by the working people in the city of Milan and the province of Milan is acting as a powerful stimulus in the nation-wide struggle to safeguard democratic liberties and peace. To the manoeuvres of the clerical Government and of the American imperialists whose representative, Zellerbach, is coordinating and directing reactionary activities against the democratic forces in Italy (similar to Hitler's emissary in Italy, S.S. General Zimmermann who supervised the hounding of workers to forced labour in Germany), the workers of Milan demonstrated on November 7—on the occasion of the 31st anniversary of the October Revolution—their earnest desire for peace and their

determination to resist all imperialist machinations aimed at involving Italy in a new war.

For over three hours 500,000 people marched through the streets of the city. The demonstration ended with a monster meeting addressed by Comrade Togliatti—the largest outdoor meeting ever witnessed in Italy.

The scale of the working class movement in the Milan area is a source of disquiet to the capitalists and their mercenaries who are now resorting to intimidation and police terror. But the workers of Milan with their glorious traditions and rich revolutionary experience can be relied upon in the new and heavier class battles. They understand more and more clearly that they are defending the interest of that people as a whole that they are fighting to strengthen the unity of the international working class movement for peace and Socialism.

The selfless work of 155,000 members of the Communist Party in Milan who have always headed the struggle of the masses, is the sure guarantee that the struggle will be waged in the spirit of unity of all the popular democratic forces. The Milan Communists will also in the future play their role of vanguard of the working people of Milan, of leading fighters for work, peace and freedom.

## **EXPERIENCE OF WORK WITH CADRES IN BULGARIA**

The establishment and development of the people's democratic Republic of Bulgaria confronted the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), the leading force in the Fatherland Front, with the need to overhaul and reorganise the State apparatus and purge it of fascists, saboteurs and other reactionary elements hostile to the people's democracy, replacing them by new cadres who have been developed in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship.

To carry out successfully this and other tasks, the main problem must first be solved—that is, we must bring forward and train cadres for the Party apparatus, for the country's reconstruction, for industry, trade and agriculture.

To understand how serious is this task it is necessary to remember that before September 9, 1944, our Party was illegal and had scarcely 25,000 members. True, by 1947, membership had reached the 500,000 mark but this number included some who had entered the Party casually or who were politically immature.

It was particularly necessary to strengthen the Party both politically and organisationally, to select cadres to guide the whole Party work. The reorganisation of the state apparatus necessitated urgent measures to ensure that responsible posts were held by people loyal to the Fatherland Front.

For example, the newly formed people's councils in town and country districts needed more than 3,500 chairmen and as many secretaries. The nationalisation of industry, banks, mines and the setting up of machine-tractor depots, new industrial and trading amalgamations required a considerable effort from the Party. The nationalised enterprises alone needed immediately 6,000 managers.

Our Party was successful in finding the necessary cadres both in the Party itself and in the Fatherland Front.

To do this, the Central Committee started to select and allocate cadres immediately after September 9.

A special Cadres Department was set up in the Central Committee. Similar departments were established in area Party committees and also in all state offices and mass public organisations.

A cadres department is an integral part and an auxiliary body of each Party committee. It must thoroughly study every Party worker; it must watch how he carries out his tasks; it must also see whether he keeps contact with the masses, convinces them of the correctness of the Party line and links up organisational Party questions with daily political and economic tasks.

The Cadres Department of the Central Committee selects workers to be appointed to various positions. It has several sub departments to deal with Party, economic, cultural, administrative and military cadres as well as those in public and political organisations. The central Cadres Department works in close contact with the leaders of the other cadres departments. The Cadres Department also cooperates closely with the organisational- instruction department.

We did not select our cadres by a routine system. We solved each question according to our concrete tasks. But we always tried to select or leading positions sound tried and loyal cadres who had organisational ability and the determination to work and build a new socialist society.

The Party cadres who before September 9, 1944, had mastered the art of how to struggle against the fascist state and of smashing its basis, must now, when the fascist dictatorship has been overthrown and power has passed into the hands of the working class and the working people, study anew and master the art of reconstruction and government.

In his speech to the Sofia regional conference of the Workers' Party held in February 1946, Comrade Dimitrov particularly stressed this point.

“Our cadres, all of us, must learn to govern,” he said. “Our Party was not a ruling party. All of us must now learn to govern and to build; we must learn to build together with our allies in the Fatherland Front, working harmoniously with them; we must learn to organise competitions with our allies that will bring forward the best specialists to ensure that our cadres are in the vanguard and that they are always able to live up to the trust we have placed in them. This requires labour, knowledge, ability. We must not be lazy and conceited, must not rest on our laurels but must study and study, and tirelessly work to improve ourselves”.

Cadres training was not isolated from the general work of the Party. The Party itself with its organisations and leadership was a school for training cadres.

The successful good training given to cadres in the Party organisations themselves made it possible to provide hundreds of leaders for state, social and administrative work from the area and regional Party committees when this was demanded by the task of reorganisation.

Apart from large-scale training inside the Party organisations, the Central Committee set up a network of Party schools, courses and study circles. For example, since 1946, 51 students graduated from the one-year Party school, 81 students from the seven-month Party school, 153 from the six-month school, 652 from the three-month school, 3,683 from monthly courses, 21,630 from weekly and fortnightly courses, 18,118 from evening courses. During this period, 27,727 people attended classes on various subjects.

In 1947 there were 6,276 circles studying current policy, the Statutes and history of the Workers' Party, the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks),

political economy and other subjects. Altogether, 83,168 people attended these courses.

Considerable attention is devoted to the political and general education of young people particularly to training leaders for the youth brigades. There are several central and area youth courses. Apart from this, many young men and women are attending evening courses after work to study the curriculum of secondary and high schools. They are taking courses for tutors, for leaders of study circles, of the "Septemvryiche" (young pioneers) and local People's Youth organisations and to be physical culture instructors.

Since 1946, 72,095 Communists have graduated from the courses organised by the Party. In 1947, 104,625 students attended circles in 42 areas; 35,832 students graduated from central, regional and area political courses for the young people. The trade unions set up 3,820 courses with 110,367 students.

In all, the Party, youth and trade union courses have trained over 300,000 people. This figure gives a picture of the intensified work carried out to educate leading cadres along Marxist-Leninist lines.

Many courses to improve the work of those employed in various ministries and in cooperatives as well as to train leaders for agricultural cooperatives and machine-tractor depots have been set up throughout the country.

As a result we can quote many excellent examples testifying to the growth of our cadres. Pyotr Kovachev, for instance, formerly an engine driver, was promoted chief of the propaganda department in one of the district committees of the Party. After a three-month course at the Central Party School, Kovachev was elected secretary of the district committee, and of the regional and city Party committees. Later he was elected deputy to the National Assembly.

At the moment Kovachev is Secretary of the Rushuk area

Party committee.

Anka Mincheva, a peasant woman, as appointed instructor of one of the regional Party committees. Upon graduating from a Party school she was elected a member of the regional Party committee. She, too, is a deputy to the National Assembly.

Georgi Chubrikov, member of the Communist Youth League since 1923, was appointed manager of one of the nationalised factories. In this capacity he quickly proved himself an excellent organiser. Under his leadership the factory is overfulfilling its production schedules.

The Bulgarian Workers' Party has acquired experience in training and bringing forward cadres for leading work in the Party and the State.

However, we still have quite a number of shortcomings. Our cadres departments are not always quick or sure enough in helping the Party leadership and Government bodies to bring forward, select and allot jobs to the cadres.

At the same time, not all responsible workers understand the great importance which the correct solution of cadres has for the successful development of a planned economy, for the entire social and political life of the country, for laying the foundations of Socialism in Bulgaria.

Cadres are not reassured as "the golden store of the Party". We do not practise sufficiently open criticism of weaknesses of functionaries, neither do we speak about their successful work. The Sixteenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party pointed out these shortcomings.

However we are confident that we shall quickly overcome the difficulties and weaknesses in our work. We have every possibility to do this. Of invaluable help in this work is the great theoretical and practical experience of the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) which we are thoroughly studying.

## **OCCUPATION AUTHORITIES IN WESTERN GERMANY REVIVE FASCISM**

The “Hamburger Freie Presse” of October 2 carried these front-page headlines: “Western Europe Feverishly Prepares for War”, “America Supplies the Material, Europe the Generals”.

Such sensational and provocative headlines appear, almost every day in the press of the Western occupation zones. But the examples given are particularly indicative. They speak openly of the “division of labour” between the American imperialists and German fascists. The appeal to German generals—aiming at using them for an anti-Soviet crusade—shows the extent of the fascisation of Western Germany.

The Hitler generals who in World War Two fought to destroy the armed forces of the United States, Britain and France, and when laid down their arms only when the victorious Soviet armies smashed their last divisions at Berlin, are now giving their services to these very same imperialist powers, so that they can once again crusade against the Soviet Union. And the Western occupation powers are doing everything to help them. They encourage fascist elements in all spheres of economic and national life and systematically persecute genuine democrats.

The United States, Britain and France started the process of intensified fascisation in Western Germany by building up German monopoly capital and German militarism there.

Article 12 of the Potsdam Agreement which relates to “Economic Principles” provides for the abolition of the “excessive concentration of economic power represented in particular in the form of cartels, syndicates, trusts and other monopoly agreements” in Germany.

Only the Soviet military administration in Germany has observed the Potsdam agreement. It liquidated all concerns, syndicates and trusts and prohibited manufacturers' associations. It ratified the decision of the German laender governments in the Soviet zone that coal mines, raw materials and enterprises belonging to active fascists and war criminals should be handed over to the people.

The big estates were confiscated under the Land Reform. Thus the material basis of the Prussian Junkers, the bulwark of German militarism was destroyed. The genuine democratic policy of the Soviet administration has ended private enterprise by the former monopolies, financial trusts and big landlords.

The administration of the Western zones is pursuing a policy which is the exact opposite. At first, it is true, large-scale enterprises were brought under the control of the occupation authorities. This, however, by no means meant that monopoly property had been abolished. On the contrary, it meant that foreign capital, American especially, was taking a hand in the profits of these enterprises. After the military defeat of Hitler Germany the Western powers no longer regarded German concerns as serious competitors. They intended to use them as a basis for building the economic and military positions in Germany they needed for their imperialist aims.

Under the pretext of destroying the cartels, special legislation was introduced in the British zone in February 1947 whereby member firms of the former cartels became independent stockholding companies. Dinckelbach, who was one of the central figures in Hitler Germany's war industry, was appointed chairman of the commission to abolish cartels. He took advantage of this so-called "decartelisation" to form the new Rhine-Westphalia steel-casting industry.

The real purpose of this manoeuvre which was designed to deceive the people, and the extent of agreement between the West German monopolists and their foreign partners, were

shown particularly clearly to their opposition to the socialisation of the mines in the Ruhr. The Landtag of the North, Rhine-Westphalia laender by a majority vote decided on socialisation measures for the Ruhr. But General Robertson, British Commander-in-Chief in Germany, refused to confirm this decision. Similarly, the American Commander-in-Chief, General Clay, refused to ratify the progressive law of production councils passed by the Hessen Landtag.

This is how the Anglo-American occupation authorities are obstructing an democratic measures to restrict the power of monopoly capital; hew they are, instead, doing everything to strengthen the positions of the former owners.

A similar situation exists in relation to the “denazification” of the representatives of monopoly capital, of those who were chiefly responsible for Hitler’s war. The heads of Krupps and Flicks and I. G. Farben got away with light terms of imprisonment by the Nurenberg tribunal, while others were actually acquitted. Fritz Thyssen, who openly admitted at the trial that he had financed Hitler, received a similarly light sentence. It was established in court that long before 1933, the German monopolists had financed the fascist party to the tune of millions of marks and had financed its criminal war preparations.

Yet despite this these war criminals were either let off with light sentences or were acquitted.

Such was the case with the fascist generals. And these men have now been asked by the British and American governments to write the history of World War Two. Their job is not so much to write a general account of Germany’s strategy and tactics as to describe the experience op the German army in partisan warfare and the methods it used against the Soviet Army.

The courts in the Western zones are functioning in accordance with the policy of the Anglo-American occupation

authorities. Thus, Schacht who financed German rearmament and the Hitler war, was acquitted. High-ranking S. S. officers and members of the Hitler Government, such as Onezorg, Minister of Posts, and fascist authors like Dwinger were judged to be “fellow travellers” and found Not Guilty. Upon paying ridiculously small fines they were released and allowed to renew their disruptive activities among the German people. Ninety per cent. of the police and judicial apparatus in Western Germany are former fascists. The police are again using the methods of civil war. They are breaking up meetings and demonstrations and are carrying out mass arrests.

Special S.S. units are being formed for use in the event of civil war. The American occupation authorities have recruited a force of “industrial police” from former Hitler soldiers, S.S. men and officers. It is indicative that as in the past, this force wears a black uniform bearing the Hitler S.S. insignia. That is why the people justly call it the “black guard”. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the Anglo-American occupation authorities intend to use this “black guard” to smash the working class which is battling for liberty and democracy and for a higher standard of living.

This encouragement of fascist reaction by the Anglo-American occupation authorities is wholeheartedly supported by the leadership of the bourgeois parties in Western Germany and Berlin. But Schumacher’s Social Democratic Party plays the first violin in the anti-Soviet campaign. Schumacher and company are screaming themselves hoarse slandering the Socialist Unity Party, the Soviet occupation authorities and the Soviet Union. They call themselves the “Bulwark against Bolshevism”. Chiming in with Schumacher is Kaiser of the Christian Democratic Union who describes himself as “break-water against Marxism”.

The aim of these enemies of the working peoples is to prevent the formation of a united front of workers against the

growing danger of fascism. They are offering their services to the Anglo-American monopolies as accomplices in their war preparations by their splitting policy they are betraying the national interests of the German people.

The policy of the Western occupation powers is clearly aimed at turning Germany into a colony, into a base for their aggressive plans in Europe and for unleashing a new war.

The Anglo-American occupation authorities can give nothing to the working people of Germany. Their sole interest is to help the monopolies. The monetary reform introduced by them actually increases the profits of monopoly capital and lowers the living standard of the working people. The refusal to socialise the Ruhr industry, the ban on production councils, the appointment of fascist factory managers and the suppression of the movement for a united Germany which developed among Socialist workers—these and many other facts show the working people what the representatives of foreign monopoly capital are aiming at in Germany.

It also teaches them that they can only defend their interests by waging a resolute, united struggle. The task of the Socialist Unity Party is to fight vigorously together with the trade unions and democratic mass organisations, with the democratic and anti-fascist forces in the bourgeois parties and in the Social Democratic Party, against the neo-fascist plans of the Anglo-American occupation authorities and their German lackeys, and to lead the masses into struggle.

Of great assistance to the working people are the measures of the Soviet occupation authorities and the entire policy of the Soviet Union which aims at safeguarding peace, rebuilding the country's economy creating a genuine people's democracy and preserving Germany's unity. The fascist elements have been cleared out in the Soviet Union, the power of monopoly capital has been destroyed, and the reactionary state apparatus smashed.

Hence the fury of the monopolists and fascists, irrespective of their nationality. This is the reason for their malignant smear campaign against the Soviet Union and against the progressive development of the Soviet occupation zone. But this is also the reason for the great mobilising power of genuine democracy which is showing the working people of Germany the way to Socialism.

# **THE POLICY OF HUNGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. E. Gerö, Member Political Bureau, Central Committee, Workers Party of Hungary**

The past eighteen months have seen far-reaching changes in the structure of Hungary's national economy, as well as, in the country's political life and the character of its political power.

The essence of these changes in the national economy is that State-owned industry now predominates in the economy (except for handicrafts) and covers 85 per cent of industrial production. Practically the whole system of banking and credits has been nationalised and nearly all foreign trade is now in the hands of the State. The greater part of wholesale trade inside the country is also a State monopoly now. But there have been no fundamental structural changes in agriculture.

The whole of the national economy is planned. but this applies in a far lesser degree to agriculture than to industry. transport and wholesale trade. This situation is a direct reflection of the present structure of Hungary's national economy.

On August I, 1947, our country embarked on its Three Year Plan and so far we have achieved major results in the Plan. In the first year of planned economy, industry produced 50.6 per cent more than in the previous year and we exceeded our original target figures by 4.6 per cent. These encouraging results of the first year of planning, together with the labour emulation that swept the country, meant that the Workers' Party was able to support the initiative of the workers in the big

industrial plants who proposed to fulfil the Three Year Plan in two years and five months.

These changes in the country's economic life were the result of a stubborn struggle pursued with a singleness of purpose. The Hungarian working class waged this struggle under the leadership of the Hungarian Communist Party, later the Hungarian Workers' Party in alliance with the millions of working peasantry against the exploiting classes, and against the forces of reaction which were supported by the imperialists. In the course of this struggle the so-called Pfeiffer Party was exposed and defeated. This was a bourgeois party in the pay of the American imperialists and represented the remnants of the big capitalist and landlords, that is, all the forces of reaction.

After this the Hungarian Communist Party, co-operating with the left Social Democrats, denounced, isolated and routed both ideologically and organisationally, the Right Social Democrats—the imperialist agents in the Hungarian working-class movement. In this way the path was cleared for the fusion of the two worker's parties—the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party, purged of its Right elements, and for the creation of the Workers' Party of Hungary on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Next, steps were taken to purge the organisations affiliated to the Workers' Party—the independent Party of Smallholders and the National Peasant Party—from which the Right elements were gradually dislodged. All this prepared the ground for the struggle against clerical reaction and for a firmer policy against the exploiting classes in the countryside; against the kulaks.

**As a result of this struggle, the exploiting classes were removed from power, the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry was strengthened and the leading role of the working class in State power and inside the workers' and peasants' alliance was developed.**

The political and economic changes in the country show

that a big step forward had been made in the towns: the prerequisites for building Socialism has been created and we are now tackling the job. However, there can be no question of resting all the results we have achieved. Socialism cannot be built in the towns if we are indifferent to the fact that the countryside is drifting alone the capitalist path. This consideration guided the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Workers' Party after the proper conclusions had been drawn from an analysis of the country's internal situation and from the justified condemnation of the treacherous policy of the Yugoslav Party leaders by the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties. The Political Bureau then decided to concretise its policy in relation to the peasantry and to bring about a turning point in the peasant question.

## **Mistakes and Shortcomings in our Work**

After analysing the development of the Hungarian countryside since the country had been liberated by the glorious Soviet Army, the leadership of our Party came to the conclusion that the land reform which had been applied on a wide scale, was not holding up capitalist development in the countryside. It had, in fact, the opposite effect. An investigation carried out in hundreds of villages showed that during the past few years the exploiting class in the countryside—the kulaks—had actually gained in number and had grown considerably richer. The kulaks took advantage of the situation arising from the fact that though Hungarian democracy had given land to the greater part of the landless agricultural labourers and small peasants, it could not always supply them with the necessary implements, draught cattle and seed. Thus, a section of the working peasantry became victims of kulak exploitation.

Similarly, the kulaks were quick to take advantage of the privations caused by inflation in the first years after the war. They either sold their products at exorbitant prices or speculated. They could do this because they were the only people who had marketable grain and because the exploiting classes in general, including the kulaks had a considerable influence on State power. At this time the Government was headed by the kulak Nagy, the ringleader of the anti-democratic plot.

But it was not only the objective situation and the actual relation of forces in the country that enabled the kulaks to grow richer and to strengthen their positions in the countryside. Another factor was that we had not at the time clarified the principal points of our policy toward the peasantry and had failed to draw the practical conclusions, though this had become essential. Yet the Hungarian Communist Party was the only Party that could do this.

Our principal mistake was that we did not give a theoretical definition and a correct estimation of the place and role of the cooperatives in the new conditions in Hungary, in the conditions of the people's democracy. We made this mistake even though it was absolutely clear to us from the very outset that the only way to restrict capitalist development in the countryside and to transfer agriculture onto a socialist basis was to follow the path mapped out by Lenin and Stalin, a path which had been tested in the Soviet Union where it paved the way for large-scale collective agriculture. It was only after some delay that we began to tackle the difficult and complex problem of the transition period which will take a long time.

We also consider we made a serious mistake when we were actually on the defensive against the slanderous attacks made on collective farming by the kulaks and reaction in general. The kulaks and reaction worked on the basis that for some fifteen years the counter-revolutionaries had with

impunity fed the peasantry in a campaign of lies against the collective farms of the Soviet Union and that this unstemmed flood of slander had left its traces.

The kulaks and reaction clearly realised and, indeed, still realise, that sooner or later Hungarian agriculture would undergo fundamental structural changes. But for their own benefit they were determined to stick to the capitalist path of development, to preserve and intensify exploitation; they therefore, hoped that by belittling the collective farm system they would be able to compromise the only possible and correct paths which would lead to the reorganisation of agriculture and to the culmination of its capitalist development. At the same time the kulaks and reaction wanted to discredit the Communist Party and to isolate it from the millions of working peasants. Our defensive position in face of this slander against the collective farms meant that we had to a certain extent, given way under the pressure of the class enemy instead of launching a counter-offensive.

Although it was clear to our Party leadership that we were heading toward a sharpening of the class struggle in the countryside, that the transition of agriculture and of the countryside to the socialist basis would be accompanied by a sharpening of the class struggle and not its dying down, one member, of the Political Bureau of our Party was of the opinion that it was no longer possible for capitalism to develop in the Hungarian countryside. There naturally followed from this mistaken idea the view that there was no longer any class struggle in the countryside and that, therefore, there was no need to intensify the struggle against the kulaks. The Political Bureau rejected this Right opportunist viewpoint. But it was only much later that we drew the necessary lessons from the fact that Right opportunism existed in the very leadership of the Party.

## **Offensive against Capitalist Element in the Countryside**

Having drawn the lessons from our own mistakes and from the situation in Yugoslavia, the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Workers' Party worked out measures to protect the working peasantry from kulak exploitation, to restrict this exploitation and to prepare for the complete abolition of exploitation in agriculture.

We have already put some of these measures into practice but others still have to be realised.

Thus, on the initiative of the Workers' Party, the Government introduced a sliding-scale for this year's grain deliveries whereby, for example, a kulak with 40 holds of land had to deliver three and a half times more wheat per hold than the small peasant with five holds. Deliveries from farms over 40 holds were raised accordingly.

Under another Government decree similarly adopted on the initiative of the Workers' Party, a kulak must, apart from his basic deliveries, contribute also in kind that is in grain, to the "special fund for the development of agriculture."

Of course the kulaks did not sit back and accept these measures taken against them. In alliance with clerical reaction they tried to sabotage grain supplies and to force the poor and middle peasants to refuse to make their deliveries. At first kulak sabotage met with some success, since our Party organisations did not fully realise that this year's grain deliveries would be made in conditions of sharpening class struggle. Another reason for the initial successes of the kulaks was the fact that because of the great influx of new members into the Party, kulaks and their supporters had managed in many places to infiltrate into our Party organisations and to block the measures directed against kulak sabotage. However,

when the Party mobilised its forces to fight these sabotage attempts and to make sure that deliveries were fulfilled, which they did by using the democratic state power whenever necessary, the saboteurs were beaten and the kulaks defeated.

This was shown, primarily by the fact that an emulation movement sprang up among the poor and middle peasants to fulfil their target figures for grain deliveries. The Workers' Party at once encouraged and guided this movement with the result that we have now smashed this year's targets. By the middle of October, 50 per cent more wheat had been delivered to the State than during the whole of last year. This shows that the resistance of the kulaks can be crushed and millions of working peasants firmly won over to the side of the working class not by making concessions to the kulaks but by pursuing a firm and more consistent policy against the kulaks.

Another important measure introduced by the people's democracy on the initiative of our Party which also aimed at restricting the kulak was the new land-leasing decree. According to this a great portion of the land leased out to the kulak will now be transferred to agricultural labourers or poor peasants at low rents. They will cultivate it individually or through co-operatives. In keeping with this decree 800,000 holds of land, formerly held by kulaks are now being farmed by working peasants.

The new system of contracts has also been a heavy blow to the kulaks. Until this autumn the procedure was that the State chiefly concluded contracts for seed and other supplies with the kulaks, that is, with those who dealt with them under the old reactionary regime. These contracts give considerable advantages to the producer since the customer—the State—supplies the producer with credits, artificial fertilizers and so on. Such was the old system of contracts. The reactionary specialists who have now been removed from the Ministry of Agriculture, had insisted on retaining this system under the

pretext that it corresponded to “the interests of the national economy” and “the viewpoint of specialists”. Actually, they were helping the kulaks to get richer. On the initiative of the Workers’ Party, the contract system has now been revised in such a way that agreements are concluded with agricultural cooperatives, to the exclusion of the kulaks. Thus, contracts now help to strengthen the working peasantry and the agricultural co-operatives.

As they grew richer from exploitation, the kulaks in many districts began to buy up land from the poor peasants. This state of affairs did not escape the attention of our Party. On our proposal the Government prohibited the sale and purchase of land until such time as it could be settled through legislative channels. The sale of land distributed under the land reform had been prohibited earlier. The new decision goes further, prohibiting the sale and purchase of all land.

The increase of agricultural products now being supplied by the co-operative, instead of by the private capitalist sector is weakening the economic strength of the capitalist elements in the countryside. This year the State purchased grain stocks from nearly 2,000 co-operatives as against only 700 last year. Thus the co-operative and not the capitalist sector, supplied the bulk of the State’s grain stocks this year. True, the co-operatives often still have to make use of the merchants which explains why in many instances the co-operatives serve as a cover for the capitalist activity of private merchants.

All these measures are by no means sufficient in themselves to restrict and dislodge the kulaks as the rural exploiting class and to prepare Hungarian agriculture for the switch over to a socialist basis. The same is true for the tax and credit measures adopted by the Government on the proposal of the Workers’ Party, measures which are also directed against the kulaks. Even the most correct government decisions, cannot, in themselves, achieve the desired results. They must

be backed by the working class and the working peasantry. It is necessary for the Party to mobilise this force to fight the exploiters who, as experience has shown, resort to the most subtle methods of struggle and sabotage against the decisions and laws of the State power of the people's democracy.

Realising that an open offensive against the co-operatives cannot bring them any great success, the kulaks are now pursuing the policy of penetrating into the co-operative organisations in order to undermine them from within or to gain control of them. Our Party investigated the work of a number of agricultural co-operative associations and disclosed that a large number of them had fallen under capitalist kulak influence. There were several cases where the kulaks dominated the leadership of the co-operatives under the very eyes of our Party organisations. This shows that our Party organisations lack class vigilance. There was one case of a co-operative association which had been given a Government award as an odd co-operative. But on closer examination it turned out to be a pseudo co-operative directed by kulaks. True, this co-operative association had not always been controlled by kulak elements.

Taking all this into account, the Government on the proposal of our Party, issued a decree barring rural exploiting elements from the membership of agricultural co-operative boards. Under another decree which will be issued soon, these elements **will not be accepted as members of the agricultural co-operatives.** This Government decision has still to be made law. Hence, the policy of the Hungarian Workers' Party is now to investigate all rural co-operatives and purge them of exploiting elements. For the Party and the people's democratic State power can look for support only in real co-operatives and not in kulak households operating behind a screen of co-operation.

## Vital Tasks in Sphere of Developing Co-operatives

By themselves the co-operatives cannot automatically become organisations capable of restricting and dislodging the rural exploiting class and raising the small and middle peasantry to a higher level. A correct policy, appropriate economic measures, stubborn struggle against the kulaks, proper selection, of leading personnel and good organisation of party work in the co-operatives are needed to turn them into real economic organs serving the interests of socialist development. From this it follows that it is necessary to ensure that real co-operatives are able to develop constantly along proper lines, that they are safeguarded against kulak penetrating and kulak influence for **the capitalist danger will be the main danger in the co-operative movement** for a long time to come.

We must not lose sight of yet another danger frequently encountered here: the **danger of sectarianism**. This is mainly apparent where the co-operatives are working fairly successfully economically and where their members have received tangible material benefit. It often happens that the old members object to accepting new ones. There were cases where middle peasants were barred from co-operatives and attempts were made to determine who could join the co-operative on the basis of party membership. The Workers' Party is waging a fight against the sectarian danger, for sectarianism adds grist to the kulak, mill by pushing the middle peasant—who is beginning to draw closer to us and to realise the correctness of our Party's co-operative policy—into the arms of the kulak.

In its co-operative policy the Workers' Party is concentrating on the agricultural co-operative and pursuing the

line of creating a unified general cooperative which will cover production, stocks, and supplies at the same time. Unified general co-operatives are being formed in many places on the basis of the existing agricultural co-operatives. After being purged of exploiting elements the other co-operatives (consumer, supply, dairy, and so on) are joining up. In the unified agricultural co-operatives the Party is following the policy of promoting, above all, the organisation and development of agricultural production on cooperative principles while, at the same time, giving all-round support to the supply, stock and consumer sections.

So far there have been a very small number of co-operatives or productive groups. There are only 200 such co-operatives or productive groups. The party has worked out two sets of rules to improve the work of the co-operatives which are operating on the collective principle: one for the co-operatives of the higher type where all the work is performed collectively and the other for the co-operatives of the elementary type where only certain vital farm processes are done collectively, other production processes being carried out individually.

The Party considers it extremely important that co-operatives engaged in collective production and co-operative accumulation should receive extensive support from the State. In its policy our Party is guided by Lenin's words in his famous programmatic article "On Co-operation" in which he wrote:

"Every social system arises with the financial assistance of a definite class... We, must now realise, and apply in our practical work, the fact that the social system which we must now assist more than usual is the co-operative system. But it must be assisted in the real sense of the word, i.e. it will not be enough to interpret assistance to mean assistance for any sort of co-operative trade; by assistance we must mean assistance for co-operative trade

in which **real masses of the population take part**".

As we know, **the mechanisation of agriculture through machine-tractor depots** is decisive in restricting the kulaks and laying the foundation for socialist agriculture. Or the initiative of our Party measures were taken to organise such depots in Hungary and now 80 of them are functioning in the country. This number is increasing steadily. Hungary's agricultural machine-building industry is sufficiently developed to completely re-equip the country's agriculture in the course of a few years. At present a large number of big agricultural machines are still in the hands of kulaks and other such hostile class elements. But the rapid development of the machine-tractor depots will soon end this state of affairs. For more than a year now the sale of tractors, threshing-machines and other large agricultural equipment has been forbidden to private persons. This guarantees that the kulaks cannot increase the number of machines they own.

With the help of the machine-tractor depots, the influence of which is growing, and with the help of 2,500 tractors and other machines owned by the co-operatives we shall be able to break the kulak monopoly of draught power.

Machines from the depots are hired to the co-operatives engaged in collective economy at 30 per cent less than to individual peasants. The depots also give priority to the co-operatives in their work schedule. Peasants who have formed co-operatives but are not engaged in collective production, get a 10 per cent discount.

The kulaks, of course, are bitterly hostile to these machine-tractor depots. They are trying to incite the working peasants against the depots by scaring them with the tale that the machines and tractors are "only the beginning", that with their help the Communists "will take away the land".

At first this subversive work met with some success because our Party, when organising the machine-tractor depots,

had not paid sufficient attention to the political preparation of the peasants. Another mistake was that in the beginning no care was taken to select suitable personnel for these depots. However, we were able to correct these early mistakes. Now, before opening a new machine-tractor depot we explain to the working peasants what it stands for and what benefits they will gain from it. And now the opening of each new machine-tractor depot is an occasion for great festivities in the village. The executive posts in these depots are now staffed primarily with factory workers, for the most part metal workers, who have been tested in battle. Experience has shown that they can quickly master the necessary knowledge of agricultural technique and are able at the same time to give the peasants the necessary political support in their struggle against the kulaks.

Thus, the machine-tractor depots, each with its Party branch organisation, are designed to play not merely an economic role in the countryside but also an ever greater political role. They will be able to carry out increasingly important tasks in putting into practice our policy on the peasant question. It can be said that the working peasants have thrown off their prejudices against the machine-tractor depots, which kulak agitation, had caused. The middle and poor peasants readily make use of the depots.

## **Improve the Work Organ of Rural Party Organisations**

The coming fusion of the two big organisations made up mostly of agricultural workers and working peasants and the formation of a new organisation on a wider basis, will play a big role in our Party's policy. One of these organisations is the Hungarian Union of Agricultural Workers and Small

Landholders with a membership of 450,000. This Union unites primarily agricultural labourers and also poor peasants with small holdings who are forced to hire out their labour. The other organisation is the Hungarian Union of New Farmers with a membership of 400,000. They are small and middle (but mostly small) peasants who received land under the land reform. Through the fusion of these two organisations we hope to give the new organisation a sounder basis, drawing into it the broad masses of the middle peasantry. At the same time we want to preserve a special section for agricultural labourers and poor peasants inside the organisation and also want to include in it as an autonomous body the union of machine and tractor workers. Representatives on the local executive organs will be drawn equally from working peasants, agricultural labourers and machine-tractor depot workers. In this way it will be possible to help the depot workers, agricultural labourers and working peasants to defend their interests against the kulaks and other exploiting elements in the countryside.

Last, but by no means least, mention should be made of the great role which the verification of the Party membership and organisations has played in realising the agrarian policy of the Hungarian Workers' Party. This verification is being carried out in all Party bodies and is not confined to the rural Party organisations alone. Undoubtedly, however, it will affect the rural Party organisations more than the factory or urban organisations. It stands to reason that the Party cadres in the countryside are, on the whole, less developed and experienced than the cadres in the factories and towns. From the class viewpoint the situation in the countryside, is altogether different from that in the town, and especially in the factories. That is why the decision of our Party's political Bureau of last September to suspend acceptance into the Party for a time and to verify the Party membership is of such great significance, especially for the rural Party organisations, where a

comparatively little number of hostile class element; have penetrated into the Party and where the rural Party organisations are now facing particularly difficult and complex tasks.

It is obvious that the success of our policy for the peasantry depends on the long run on the work of our rural Party organisations, on the extent to which they understand the line of our Party leadership and the extent to which they are capable of putting this policy into practice without committing mistakes and distortions. To accomplish this it is necessary to purge the rural Party organisations of hostile elements which have penetrated there, to equip them ideologically and organisationally.

The policy of the Hungarian Workers' Party is framed on the consideration that the main task at the moment, taking into account the present situation, is to restrict the kulaks, not to eliminate them as a class, The essence of the policy of the Workers' Party on the peasant question lies in the fulfilment of the threefold task of Party work in the countryside, classically defined by Comrade Stalin in his article "Lenin and the Question of Alliance with the Middle Peasant".

Comrade Stalin writes "the triple task of Party work in the rural districts represents a **single** and **indivisible** task, that "the task of fighting the kulak **cannot be separated** from the task of reaching agreement with the middle peasant, and that these two tasks cannot be separated from the task of converting the poor peasant into a bulwark of the Party in the rural districts."

Comrade Stalin's words that this three-fold but single tasks cannot be broken up into parts, cannot be severed one from the other, is a direct warning to our Party in the present situation.

"Some think," Comrade Stalin wrote in the same article, "that agreement with the middle peasant can be brought about by abandoning the fight against the kulak, or by slackening this fight because, they say, the fight against the kulak may scare a

section of the middle peasantry, its well-to-do section. Others think that agreement with the middle peasant can be brought about by abandoning the work of organising the poor peasants, or by slackening this work; because, they say, the organisation of the poor peasants means singling out the floor peasants, and this may frighten the middle peasants away from us. The result of these deviations from the correct line is that such people forget the Marxian thesis that the middle peasantry is a vacillating class, that agreement with the middle peasant can be durable only if a determined fight is carried against the kulak and if the work among the poor peasants is intensified; that unless these conditions are adhered to, the middle peasantry may swing to the side of the kulak as a force...

“But there are other deviations from the correct line, no less dangerous than those already mentioned. In some cases the fight against the kulak is indeed carried on; but it is carried on in such a clumsy and senseless manner that the blows fall on the middle and poor peasants. As a result, the kulak escapes unscathed, a rift is made in the alliance with the middle peasant, and a section of the poor peasants temporarily falls into the clutches of the kulak who is fighting to undermine Soviet policy. In other cases attempts are made to transform the fight against the kulaks into expropriation of the kulaks, and grain purchasing into appropriation of surpluses, forgetting that under present conditions expropriation of the kulaks is folly and the surplus-appropriation system means, not an alliance with, but a fight against the middle peasant.”

The Hungarian Workers' Party will do everything to see that these important directives by Comrade Stalin are fully realised in our policy toward the peasantry.

## **PLENUM OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY OF FRANCE**

The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France held in Ivry On November 15 and 16 was addressed by Comrade Thorez, General Secretary of the Party.

Characterising the political situation in the country Thorez said: “The main reason for the growing mass movement of the people must be sought in the worsening conditions of life, which is admitted and confirmed by members of the Government.

The workers and ordinary middle class people are beginning to understand more and more that this deterioration is the outcome of the policy of subordinating France to American imperialism,

Thorez denounced the terror employed by the Government against the middle miners’ strike.

He said:

Within the framework of the Marshall Plan, a plan for preparing imperialist war, the Government want to strengthen its rear. It is trying to provoke a pogrom atmosphere against the miners, against the General Confederation of Labour and the Communist Party.

Concluding his speech, Comrade Thorez suggested that a national conference of the French Communist Party be held in February and gave a perspective of future heavy battles for peace and national independence. “All the possibilities for the victory of the working class and the Republic exist,” said Thorez.

The resolution passed by the Central Committee declares that the living conditions of the people are steadily deteriorating despite the increased production and a good harvest. It states: “This is because the rulers of France intend to

make the people bear not only the burden of the last war but that of preparations for a new war...”

The resolution paid tribute to the “remarkable growth of consciousness and ability to fight displayed by the working class of France.” It said: “The unprecedented solidarity of broad sections of the population with the strikers, the activity displayed by the women, peasants and middle classes in defence of their interests testifies to the growing unity by the people in the struggle for bread, in defence of the Republic, for national independence and peace.”

The resolution calls upon the Party to be at the head of the mass movement of the people in all circumstances, tirelessly to struggle for united action by the working class and for the rallying of all Frenchmen standing for liberty and progress, for independence and peace; it calls on the Party to frustrate all attempts by reaction to sow doubts in the ranks of the working class and underestimation of its strength.

## **MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION OF JOURNALISTS**

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the International Organisation Journalists took place in Budapest over November 16-18. There were three items on the agenda:

1. Report by the General Secretary, M. Hronek.
2. Motion By the Polish Journalists' Association about combating the instigators of war.
3. Motion by Hungarian Journalists about protection for progressive journalists.

A lively discussion took place on each of the three points and especially on the second item, On the one hand there was the point of view of the delegates of journalists defending the interests of democracy and fighting against the instigators of war and for peace and genuine freedom of the press, and on the other the viewpoint of the leaders of the Anglo-American journalists who sought to prevent any discussion of these questions on the grounds that in their countries there were no journalists, so they alleged, who were serving the interests of the instigators of war and conducting war propaganda in the press.

The Executive Committee carried by an overwhelming majority a resolution which condemned those press organs and journalists who are spreading war propaganda and who are abetting the instigators of war in their criminal work.

The delegations from France, Republican Spain, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and Israel voted for the resolution condemning the instigators of war and also for the resolution calling for safeguards for progressive journalists and against their

persecution by imperialist Governments in the United States, Greece and elsewhere.

None voted against the resolutions. The British, Belgian, Dutch, Swedish and Danish delegations abstained from voting.

The Chairman of the American Newspaper Guild, Martin, who is also a Marshall Plan adviser on credits for European countries demonstratively left the hall prior to the vote being taken.

None however followed his example. Thus Martin's manoeuvre which was calculated to disrupt the meeting of the Executive Committee ended in fiasco.

## **VERIFICATION OF RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY ACTIVE**

Carrying out the decision of the June Plenum of the Central Committee, and the decision of the Political Bureau, the Rumanian Workers' Party began the verification of the Party Active during the month of November.

According to the communique of the Central Committee of the Party, the verification should contribute to the ideological, political and organisational strengthening of the Party.

Taking place in an atmosphere of the Party to expose and eliminate the shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the leading Party and state organs. The verification should lead to an all round improvement in the personnel of the leading Party organs by removing those elements, alien to the working class, to the Party and the people.

It will help to deepen the consciousness and raise the political level of the members, will strengthen their revolutionary spirit and class vigilance and will root out alien influences from the Party.

## **TREACHEROUS ROLE OF RIGHT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS. Lotar Radaceanu, Secretary, Central Committee, Workers' Party of Rumania**

Describing the working-class parties of the old type—the parties of the Second International formed in the years before the First World War—Comrade Stalin writes in “Problems of Leninism” that:

“... the parties of the Second International are unfit for the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, they are not militant parties of the proletariat, leading the workers to power, but election machines adapted for parliamentary elections and parliamentary struggle.”

The new period, writes Comrade Stalin, is the period of open class collisions of revolutionary action by the proletariat, of proletarian revolution, a period when forces are being directly mustered for the overthrow of imperialism and when the seizure of power by the proletariat confronts the proletariat with new tasks and, above all, with the task of building a party of the new type, capable of leading the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), created under the leadership of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, is such a party of the new type.

Was it accidental that, when they were faced with the question of forming a new type of organisation and passing over to new forms of struggle, the parties of the Second International did not realise the historical necessity of doing away with parliamentary cretinism and reorganising

themselves, ideologically and organisationally, in conformity with the new tasks advanced by the march of history?

No, this was not accidental. The parties of the Second International were not revolutionary parties. The Right opportunist, anti-revolutionary elements gained the upper hand in these parties.

“What will the electorate say?”—this was the thought that worried the opportunist leaders of the Second International. They were more concerned with the numerical strength of the parties than with their ideological and organisational level.

Typical petty-bourgeois: liberalism which had nothing in common with working-class democracy, was characteristic of the ideology of the Second International. An application form was all that was needed to enter the party. The requirements of the party as the vanguard detachment of the working class, as the highest form of the class organisation of the proletariat, as the single will incompatible with the existence of factions—these were all completely alien to the parties of the Second International.

Calling themselves Marxist and proletarian parties, they were, in fact, bourgeois labour parties, both in ideology and in social take-up, and were dominated by bourgeois elements.

Hence the bitter arguments that centred around the new ideological, political and organisational principles formulated by Lenin on the basis of the revolutionary experience gained by the Russian proletariat in the course of years.

Thus during the second decade of the present century the international proletariat was split in two. The point was not that of a correct or incorrect understanding of the Marxist doctrine. It was a question of the conflict between proletarian and bourgeois ideology.

Certain proletarian groups which had not clearly grasped their class positions remained within the Second International. Differences prevailed and the conflict between the Left and the

Right, between the revolutionary elements and the Right Social Democrats, continued even after the split. There was a growing process of differentiation and of sharpening conflicts. While the Left elements continued to move toward revolutionary ideology, consciously mastering Marxism-Leninism, the Rights drew closer to the bourgeoisie until they completely merged with imperialism.

The revolutionary elements of the Socialist Parties—the proletarian and other Left elements—began to realise that they were not on the correct path. Thus, they began to look for the correct path and are finding it now throughout the fraternal help of the Communist Parties, first in Unity of action with the working class and later in political, ideological and organisational fusion with the Communists.

This is what happened in Rumania and in the other new democracies.

The process is much slower in the capitalist countries. But the Italian Socialist Party (with Nenni and Basso), the Socialist Party for Unity in France, and Left elements in the British Labour Party are despite vacillations and mistakes, passing in essentials, through the same process and are gradually taking the only correct path for Socialist workers.

We must acknowledge from our own experience that there were also vacillations and unclarity in the camp of the Left Social-Democrats in Rumania. But the Left Social Democrats were able to overcome their mistaken conceptions with the help of the class instinct and revolutionary consciousness of the masses and with the help of the Rumanian Communist Party.

After World War Two the struggle between the Left and Right Social Democrats sharpened. And this was not fortuitous. Contrary to the strivings of the imperialists, the war did not end the way international reaction had hoped it would. The capitalist system grew weaker not stronger. The general crisis of capitalism, vividly illustrated by the situation in Italy,

Britain, France and the United States, intensified.

The land of Socialism, the Soviet Union, far from being weakened by the struggle against Hitler Germany and her satellites, grew stronger and has become the most powerful force in the world. As a result of World War Two, a number of countries dropped out of the imperialist camp. These countries, where peoples democracy has developed, are now building Socialism. This means that the forces of international Socialism have increased.

In those countries where the working class has not yet united as forces, those Social Democrats who have not gone over completely to the bourgeois camp are confronted with the question, a question clearly and precisely formulated by the historical situation itself: whether to join the revolutionary struggle of the international working class against capitalism and imperialism, or whether to become the tool of international capitalism and imperialism?

This explains why the struggle between the Left and Right Social Democrats has become so acute.

This is why the Left Social Democrats must realise that the struggle cannot be of an individual sectarian nature, that it must be waged on a basis of principle, that it must be a struggle to bring about working-class unity, to understand correctly the leading role of the Communist Parties, which have applied the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism organisationally, politically and ideologically.

Special stress should be laid on Lenin's brilliant words that "there can be no revolutionary movement without revolutionary theory."

The Left Social Democrats should guide themselves by this theory for it is the only correct one, through mastering Marxism-Leninism. They should not be satisfied with a time-worn collection of Left phrases devoid of any true ideological content.

Unquestionably, this truth is now being realised. it is difficult to foresee how much longer this process will continue, for the objective situation changes much quicker, than the subjective situation. But it is already obvious that the influence of the Right Social Democrats over the masses, and particularly over the working class, is waning to an ever increasing extent. The rate of this process differs according to the political situation in each country.

Although they call themselves Socialist parties, and although some of them even claim that they are following the teachings of Marx and Engels, those Social Democratic parties which are headed by Rights, are increasingly becoming bourgeois, counter-revolutionary parties. They no longer merit the name even of Social Democrats.

To this day the Social Democratic parties are not homogeneous from the ideological and social viewpoint. Many Social Democrats stand at the crossroads in the irreconcilable struggle between the camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union, and the camp of imperialism Those who support peace and democracy cooperate, and later help to realise unity of the working class. The Social Democratic parties which did not take this path were transformed into bourgeois parties and became agents of imperialism.

An analysis of the struggle waged in the working class movement during the early period of the split shows that the policy of the Social democratic parties has served the interests of the bourgeoisie and counter-revolution and not the interests of the working class and the revolution.

Many honest Social Democrats, and especially the rank and file workers, did not consciously follow this line. It was rather the outcome of an incorrect understanding of the concrete tasks of the working class. This incorrect conception was due to bourgeois influence of the ideology of certain parties, such the case today with the Right Social Democrats?

Of course not.

The Right Social Democrats are enemies of the working class, enemies of the revolution, enemies of Socialism.

What thesis of Socialist theory Calf Bevin cite in defence of his policy in Greece? Bevin, the spokesman of the Labour Party, is supporting and defending monarcho-Fascist reaction against the Greek people, against the Greek proletariat, against the Greek Socialist Party itself, with which the labour, Party comes in contact at international Socialist conferences.

What thesis of Socialist theory can Bevin cite in defence of the Labour Party's policy toward Rumania where Britain gave all-round support to reaction and the followers of Maniu and Bratianu against the new people's forces, against the working class and even against the Rumanian Social Democratic Party?

What thesis of Socialist theory can, Bevin cite in defence of the Labour Government's policy aimed at placing the countries of Europe in bondage to American imperialism, subordinating these countries to the Marshall Plan, at destroying their economic and political independence?

Under cover of hypocritical talk about nationalisation, the Labour Party is also subordinating its own country to American imperialism.

A united front with capitalism against Socialism—such is the deliberate policy of the leadership of the British Labour Party.

And along what channels is Blum guiding the policy of the French Socialist Party? What thesis of Socialist theory can he use to explain the fact that the Socialist Party is putting itself more and more into the service of the French bourgeoisie?

What thesis of Socialist theory call Schumacher cite in defence of his policy which aims to harness the German proletariat to the chariot of Anglo-American capitalism? For Schumacher is viciously resisting any orientation on the land of Socialism, on a united front of democracy and Socialism—the

only correct Marxist and proletariat orientation.

In the face of such facts the attitude to be adopted toward the Right Social Democrats is clear. It is the duty of every worker, every revolutionary, every, honest Social Democrat to struggle ruthlessly against the Right leaders, to expel them from the ranks of the working class, and politically to annihilate their “theories”.

The task of the Marxist parties is to win over the honest elements in the Social Democratic parties where these parties still have a basis among the working masses for joint action with the Communist Parties and all conscious democratic forces, for working-class unity of the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles.

## **THE FRENCH ARMY IN THE SERVICE OF AMERICAN REACTION. Charles Tillon, Member Political Bureau, Central Committee, Communist Party of France**

The liquidation of France's national defence military consequence of the Marshall plan which demands that the French Army should be placed at the service of American imperialism.

Such was the decision taken at the Brussels Five Power conference (Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg) where a military bloc of these countries was formed. The conference of War Ministers held in Paris in September this year was another stage on the way to France's enslavement.

The conference adopted the following decisions:

1. To place the armed forces of the five countries under the command of a permanent military committee under Field-Marshal Montgomery who is himself a subordinate of the Anglo-American General Staff which has its headquarters in the United States.

2. This committee is to draw up the strategic and tactical plans of the "Western military bloc".

3. The committee is also to decide the composition and coordination of the command at various levels, the production and standardisation of arms in each of the five countries and also to set up a joint office for war materials covering the whole of the Western Union.

4. Finally, the committee will decide how to use war bases in the West European countries and their colonies, and also the

troops these countries.

After taking these decisions, the five partners turned to the United States with an appeal for war supplies and credits and also for a new lend-lease which, as stated in the U.S. will be given on condition that Marshall Aid is reduced.

The French Army as such no longer exists. It has been officially placed under foreign command. It has two missions first to supply the “Western military bloc” with manpower and bases; secondly to “maintain order” inside the country.

For the first, ‘the French command must supply considerable military units—infantry, transport and communications. These will compliment the foreign units which for their part must supply heavy artillery and mechanised troops.

Another aspect of this role of the French Army is evident from the growing disproportion between the combat units in the true meaning of the term and the tremendously swollen sapper and supply services.

This disproportion is explained by the desire of the organisers of the Western military bloc to make French territory a base for maintenance and repair shops to serve the military units of the other countries in the bloc.

As for “maintaining order”—the aim is to mobilise sufficient troops to suppress any mass movement in the country. Special units, such as air-borne troops which are mostly formed from criminal elements often recruited at prison gates, are to be used for the dirty war of anti-democratic repression.

The disposition of military units corresponds to these two tasks.

For example, military camps are to be found round the outskirts of Paris; military units destined for special duties are scattered all over the country; the number of arms states in each military zone is increasing.

There are two types of units in the army: mobile and territorial. The mobile units include paratroops, mechanised, armoured and infantry units. These have a small complement of men but are extremely mobile, working directly under government orders to be thrown into any region considered to be “in danger”.

The territorial units, composed of battalions and small detachments or infantry are under the orders of regional commanders and district prefects. Their job is to defend “strategic objectives” (mines, power stations, factories, railway stations and so on) and to “maintain order”. If necessary, these small units can be reinforced with reserves.

Such a disposition of military units represents in fact a kind of military occupation of France by her own army, now under command of the imperialist General Staff.

As to the size of the French Army—the fact is that when the Communists were still in the Government, it was decided that by December 31, 1946, the number of men in the army would be brought up to 495,000. But by 1947 it was at least 580,000. In 1948 this figure went up to 757,300. Together with the irregular units recruited particularly from the occupation zones of Germany and Austria, the French Army now actually exceeds the 800,000 mark, including no less than 490,000 professional soldiers.

The land forces constitute 77 per cent of the entire armed forces. Apart from those now serving in the army, the Government can mobilise three age groups: the second contingent of the 1943 call-up, the first and second contingents of the 1946 call-up and the first contingent of the 1947 call-up about 600,000 men in all.

However, even the regular units have neither sufficient nor standardised arms. New contingents called up would have to be armed with light German, French and American weapons of varying types.

Such is the situation in the French Army, an infantry army where the tanks, aircraft and fleet will be provided by the U.S. and Britain.

In these circumstances, the appointment of a French general to the post of Chief of General Staff of the Western military bloc land forces merely proves the subordination of France to the imperialists' military plans.

The "New York Times" called this appointment "a concession to French prestige". It is known that General Iuin, who is now engaged in turning Morocco and North Africa into an American base, refused this post, declaring he did not want to be Montgomery's "adjutant".

The French Army which has been drawn into the Western military bloc, is, in the eyes of its new masters, a purely mercenary army. It is to be cannon fodder in the aggressive war on the continent which the imperialist forces are preparing.

Without considering here all the contradictions at work in the Western military bloc from Trizonia to Gibraltar and from London to Washington, it is necessary to stress that although France has a considerable army, the first measure taken in connection with the Marshall Plan was to eliminate these industries in our country which could produce materials necessary for national defence.

This is most clearly seen in the aviation industry. In 1946, 60,000 people were engaged on the production of parts for civilian and military planes, In 1948, this figure slumped to 30,000 and recently the Government decided to reduce it to 23,000. Even greater cuts have taken place in the production of airscrews; all designing has either been stopped or is being carried out on orders for the Americans and the British.

France is covered with a network of British Radar installations. The French air force has become part of the British air force. Britain will supply France with jet fighters while the U.S. will supply her with strategic aviation. France's

national air-construction scientific bureau, an extremely valuable institution, is controlled by American secret agents. The ports of Toulon and Cherbourg are in danger of shutting down.

The standardisation of arms agreed upon by the Five States is being carried out under American control. It covers the production of all war materials in Western Europe. At the same time another question is being raised—that of increasing output of certain products for which transportation to Europe would be too expensive and would need large military escorts in case of war. In view of this, the change in the Franco American grain policy is interesting. The Washington agreement fixed the obligatory imports of American wheat to France at 975,000 metric tons a year. This decision meant a considerable cut in France's wheat production. Now, however, the U.S. has ordered the French Government to intensify corn cultivation during the next few years in consideration of transport difficulties which might arise in case of war.

While the French people demand that Vyshinsky's proposal to cut armaments by one-third made on behalf the Soviet Union to the United Nations General Assembly should be accepted, the Right Socialist Ramadier Minister of National Defence, is insisting on modern American armaments. Even supposing that he may some time get these arms, they will have to be paid for. However, the French military budget of 450,000 million francs (including war expenditure in Indo-China) will prove to be insufficient in view of the recent devaluation of the franc. This gives a good idea of the financial whirlpool into which France is being driven by the maintenance of a "Western Infantry army" in which the officer and men suffer the humiliation of no longer being able to bear the name of a French Army.

Thus, the French Army has been reduced to the state of a new anti-Bolshevik League whose task is not to fight in

defence of French territory which can only be attacked from the East by a re-armed German army which has not been denazified, but to fight in defence of the interests of the imperialists who are now utilising all the fascist forces they managed to save from the last war.

The “Daily Mail” wrote that Spain and the West were solidly together, while Truman and Marshall were sending more and more emissaries to Madrid. Experience has shown that those who are friendly with France are always preparing a stroke against France.

Governor Clay recently stated that in addition to the 414 million dollars accorded to Western Germany under the Marshall Plan, 700 million dollars have been supplied by the American Army. He added that it was the first time in history that such efforts had been made from without to put a defeated country on its feet again. Experience has shown that a Germany rebuilt with the help of British or American imperialism will always serve as the preparation for a new war—and France knows well what a terrible burden this is.

Experience has also shown that France, from which the Soviet Union neither makes demands nor threatens, can guarantee her security, prevent war and preserve peace and independence only through an alliance with the Soviet Union.

By trying to turn the French Army into a mercenary army of the imperialist warmongers, into an aggressive army against the Soviet Union and the new democracies, the American party of Blum and de Gaulle are betraying all the interests of the French people.

This is why the slogan of the French Communist Party—the people of France will never fight against the Soviet Union—warmly taken up by broad sections of our people, is also gaining ground in the French Army.

This is why the struggle to free France from foreign trusteeship is gaining momentum—the struggle to win back the

political, economic and military independence, to set up a democratic government which, with the participation of the Communists, could end the catastrophic policy of the American Party in France and give the country a national army corresponding to our needs built on the basis of our independence and on the loyalty of our friendship and our alliance with the Soviet Union, without which France's security, is nothing but an illusion.

## **THE MARSHALL PLAN— INSTRUMENT OF ENSLAVING THE PEOPLES. Harry Pollitt, General Secretary, Executive Committee, Communist Party of Great Britain**

The Harvard speech of June 5, 1947 in which Mr. Marshall enunciated, his “Plan”, was taken up by Mr. Bevin, foreign Secretary of the British Government who, with fulsome praise, described it as “one of the greatest speeches in the world’s history”.

Not to be outdone in the making of such deceptive propaganda, Leon Blum promptly joined in the chorus by his declaration:

“For my part I believe in the true disinterestedness of the United States... American aid to Europe shows an almost religious conception of the duties of solidarity.”

The world is now beginning to see what are the real aims of the Marshall Plan and the significance of the American leaders chosen to administrate the Plan. Every American connected with it in any outstanding administrative capacity is in fact one of the most aggressive representatives of American big business on the one hand, and an avowed enemy of everything the working class movement stands for on the other.

While the leaders of Social Democracy have tumbled over themselves to praise “America’s generosity”, the American millionaires and trust magnates have left no thinking person under any illusions about their intentions.

Long before the Marshall Plan appeared, the United States had been staking its claims in many parts of the world. It was particularly active in the Middle East, Greece, Turkey, India, in

Malaya and Burma and in increasing its capital penetration into Canada and Australia. All these steps were indicative of the intention of the U.S. to take the position that British imperialism had previously occupied. But American expansion was naturally hidden under the deceitful propaganda of the Governments forming the Western Union to the effect that “there was no alternative to accepting American assistance.”

Leaders of Social Democracy, in particular, created the atmosphere that helped to deceive people into believing that with American assistance all was lost and there would have to be an enormous reduction in existing working-class standards of living:

In fact there was a real alternative. This is shown by the example of the countries which have rejected onerous U.S. aid. By changing their structure and planning their economies, these countries are eliminating capitalist crises and raising the living standards of their people. These facts have been hidden or distorted by the barrage of lies of the right wing Social Democrats. The Bevins and Blums concentrated their attacks on the Socialist Soviet Union and the new democracies.

The right-wing Social-Democrats hid the fact that the colonial countries, if they really won their freedom, could become potent sources of world economic recovery, and that it was the duty and in the interests of the people of Western Europe to aid and support the colonial people in their fight against imperialism. Instead they are engaged in colonial war and repression in Malaya, Viet Nam, Burma and other colonial countries.

However hypocritical the supporters of the Marshall Plan may be about its altruistic aims, the United States spokesmen make no pretence about what lies behind it. It was to help postpone the inevitable economic crisis in the U.S.; to make Europe and Asia economically dependent on the products of American industry whilst weakening the basic economies of all

countries accepting Marshall Aid. It is also part of the war aims of the U.S. against the Soviet Union and the new democracies.

But even among those who in the first stages were among the ardent advocates of the Plan, a serious heartburning has set in. This disquiet developed more sharply as the question of the conditions attached to the Plan became more clearly understood and because of the Fuehrer-like language used by Mr. Hoffman, the principal administrator of the Plan.

For example, on May 14, Hoffman was asked whether the process of nationalisation in Britain would be halted as a result of adopting Marshall Aid. He said that they “planned to set up a very strong mission in Britain” and added, “we think we can ensure money is not wasted by channelling it in the proper direction”.

Hoffman later insisted that America still had the last word in all Marshall Aid countries’ recovery plans and warned that “dollars can be cut off from any nation that sends war goods—whether American or home-produced—across the iron curtain”.

Month by month we shall now witness increasing interference in the domestic affairs of nations receiving Marshall assistance. There is a growing understanding that for countries like Britain, American pressure will more and more increase.

Never in Britain’s history has such an agreement with such far-reaching economic and political powers by one country over another nominally independent country been imposed.

**Article II** subjects Britain to achieving production targets decided by the American dominated Organisation for European Economic Recovery. It revokes the final control by the British Government over its monetary and trade policy.

**Article IV** creates a special sterling account to the dollar value of the grants. Such funds are specifically stated to be under the control of the U.S. and can be spent only with its

approval—affording unlimited opportunities for pressure and interference.

**Article V** mainly designed to further American economic penetration of British Colonial possessions. It establishes that Britain must supply the raw materials for American stockpiling. It makes “arrangements providing suitable protection for the right of access of any citizen of the United States of America or any corporation... in the development of such materials.”

This agreement is without parallel in history and represents surrender of Britain’s economic sovereignty to the U.S. It brands with shame the falsehood of Bevin when in a debate on foreign policy in the British Parliament on January 22, 1948, he stated:

“There is no political motive behind the Marshall offer other than the overriding motive to help Europe to help herself”.

But the truth cannot be hidden. Other Cabinet Ministers, quite unwittingly of course, have exposed the Bevin falsehood.

On May 6, 1948, Sir Stafford Cripps stated that Britain would have to agree under the Marshall plan not to manufacture certain types of goods that might compete with other E.R.P. countries.

The American interference with the direction and methods of British export trade may prove to be the most important of the “Marshall” interferences with British industry.

The American trusts have all along been concerned that Britain should not have the chance to extricate herself from the dollar grip by establishing trade agreements with countries that can send her dollar free raw materials in exchange.

The Congress sub-Committee on Marshall Aid for Britain (the Kunkel Committee) last March stressed:

“The desirability of studying the export programmes of the U.K. which appears to involve the allocation of the bulk of the

critical items urgently needed by other Western European nations to areas outside the O.E.E.C. countries... A similar problem is raised by British exports of machinery and equipment to the U.S.S.R. It might appear that the U.K. is thus able to select the most advantageous future markets while the bulk of American exports of similar critical items is channelled into areas of little future value for our export trade.”

The development of trade with Eastern Europe (one of the important sources of food and raw materials) is limited under the Mundt amendment, which give the U.S. right to “screen” every single trade transaction of Britain with non-Marshall Europe, and to veto the export of any item for which the U.S. would not issue an export license.

According to press reports, this included machine-tools, machinery, transport and mining equipment, and it could, of course, extend to anything the Americans chose.

But, further than this, measures are being taken to channel Britain’s trade especially toward Europe. The direct pressure to remove Imperial Preferences (so far mainly resisted) is only one way and not the most important, for America to get a chance to expand in Dominion markets. Even more effective is to direct Britain’s exports of scarce goods largely to Western Europe, where she cannot be paid in kind, but only in borrowed dollars, and where the markets are in any case abnormal and temporary.

The Americans and the British have, throughout, disagreed on the amount of steel Britain could expect to consume. Repeatedly the State Department has declared Britain’s targets for steel production and for steel-using industries such as shipbuilding, vehicles and agricultural machinery to be excessive and has demanded that they be scaled down.

For other engineering products the position is similar. For example, British production targets at Paris were:

	1948	1951
Lorries	142,000	155,000
Goods wagons	59,000	76,000

The Americans considered these should be reduced—slightly for lorries and about 15% for goods wagons, and agricultural machinery targets by 50-60%.

Before the war, Britain imported about one and a quarter million tons of iron and steel a year. In 1948, imports were under one-third of the pre-war level despite the greatly increased steel production and requirements.

The considerable import of iron and steel scrap has now entirely ceased. U.S. pre-war exports of steel-making materials and pig-iron have almost entirely given way to exports of iron and semi-finished products. No better evidence of Britain's growing colonial status can be given than the following table published in the "British Iron and Steel Federation Bulletin" (July, 1948):

U. S. exports in 1,000 tons monthly

	1938	1947	1948 (based on 1st 3 mns.)
Iron & steel scrap	249.2	14.4	17.5
Pig Iron	36.1	3.0	1.9
Total iron & steel products	180.2	513.2	441.6

It was estimated by a British official mission in 1948 that there were 5-10 million tons of scrap surplus to German requirements lying around in the Bizone of Germany. However, because of U.S. resistance there have been great difficulties in getting much of this to Britain.

In view of the great importance to Britain of its shipping earnings, the provision under E.C.A. that 50% of goods should be carried in American ships, represents a blow at a basic British industry.

In connection with shipbuilding, the State Department wrote:

“Attention is called to the possibility of chartering additional surplus dry cargo ships by this Government in the participating countries, to permit immediate utilisation of European steel production in industries which are more vital to recovery than dry cargo ship-building”.

It was proposed in this report that chartering of U.S. tonnage to European countries should be made conditional on a reduction in their dry cargo shipbuilding programmes. This means using the slow and dear U.S. tonnage instead of British merchant ships.

This “desire” of the U.S. had an immediate effect. On January 12, Sir Stafford Cripps announced the revised steel allocations for 1948 and said that there would be a cut in the allocation of steel to the shipbuilding industry of “nearly one-fifth of the 1917 deliveries.” However, this was subsequently increased (February 6), the final cut below 1947 deliveries being estimated in March at about 15%.

When Comrade Zhdanov made his historical report to the Conference of a number of Communist Parties in September 1947, he stated :

“A special task devolves on the fraternal Communist Parties of France, Italy, Great Britain and other countries. They must take up the standard in defence of the national independence and sovereignty of their countries. If the Communist Parties firmly stick to their position; if they do not allow themselves to be intimidated and blackmailed, if they act as courageous sentinels of lasting peace and people’s democracy, of national sovereignty, liberty and independence

of their countries, if, in their struggle against the attempts to economically and politically enthrall their countries, they are able to take the lead of all the forces prepared to uphold the national honour and independence, no plans for the enthrallment of Europe can possibly succeed.

It is essential that this statement should now be studied with even greater care and attention. For the stronger the fight that is waged in all countries now under American domination for the development of new political and economic relations with the Soviet Union and the new democracies, the less dependent will such nations be upon the United States of America and in that way their national sovereignty and independence can be safeguarded, domination by Wall Street millionaires and trust magnates avoided and a new and lasting basis laid for world peace and possibilities for social progress and advance.

## **TITO CLIQUE'S ADVENTUROUS POLICY HAS LED YUGOSLAVIA INTO A BLIND ALLEY. N. PUKHLOV**

The Tito clique's policy of bourgeois nationalism and political adventurism is disarming Yugoslavia in the face of her internal enemies and endangering the gains of her working people.

One of the immediate results of Tito's criminal policy is a serious economic deterioration in the country. This is confirmed by everyone arriving from Yugoslavia, by letters from Yugoslav Communists and even by official data.

The economic plans are not being fulfilled. For instance, figures for the first half of the second year of the Five Year Plan show that only 31 per cent of the target has been reached. The plan is not going well even on the building of the New Belgrade and on the Belgrade-Zagreb highway, jobs which are directly under the "auspices" of Tito, Djilas, Kardelj and Rankovic. Work on these projects is going slowly and without enthusiasm. Criminal adventurism in planning has meant that newly-built enterprises stand idle for months waiting for equipment to be installed. Adventurism in planning is resulting in reserves of materials being exhausted. The shortage of materials and specialists and the bad organisation of food supplies are resulting in labour being wasted and workers exhausted.

Plans at enterprises and construction sites are only being fulfilled by overstraining the capacity of the workers. The sick rate among industrial workers, especially building workers, is high and there is considerable fluctuation of labour.

Due to the shortage at housing and provisions in the industrial centres, workers are leaving enterprises and

construction sites and are returning to the countryside.

This state of affairs is forcing Rankovic to take special measures to ensure “volunteers” for the construction sites. Thus, in the early hours of August 29, house to house searches were made in Belgrade and all young people without documents proving they were employed were arrested and sent under guard to work on the Belgrade-Zagreb road. The same thing happened in other cities on other dates.

A similar state of affairs exists on the railways.

Industry’s inability to fulfil production programmes together with the bad work of the railways is dislocating trade turnover and is especially affecting agricultural supplies to the towns. At the beginning of the year a decree was issued allowing grain to be sold freely. But before long it became clear that the plan would not be fulfilled even by half. So a new order made grain deliveries obligatory. But this is not running at all smoothly. The kulaks who control more than 40 per cent of the country’s marketable grain are sabotaging deliveries and the poor peasants have nothing to deliver.

Even according to the official—and considerably exaggerated—data of the Tanug Agency, the plan for deliveries has only been fulfilled by 70 per cent. The situation with regard to meat supplies is no better.

Deliveries of meat are going badly. Everywhere the peasants are unwilling to hand over their cattle. Rankovic is sending his henchmen into the countryside to take cattle from the peasants by force.

Another outcome of the treacherous policy of the Tito clique is that living conditions are steadily deteriorating. The workers’ standard of living dropped by 50 per cent between 1946 and 1948. The situation with regard to food and manufactured goods is particularly bad. Even essential commodities are difficult to procure. The newspaper “Glas” which, obviously prefers not to write about the true state of

affairs, commented on the markets at Valjevo, Zrjanjanin, Treica, Kragujevac, Kraljevo, Krusevac, Subotica, Novi Sad, Nish and other towns. The newspaper admitted that “although there has been an improvement in supplies of vegetables and fruit, the general food situation in all these towns is unsatisfactory. The provisions supplied to the markets and the state trading network are not sufficient to satisfy the needs of the population”.

Such is the situation throughout the country. Consumer goods and many other essentials have disappeared from the market.

Only on the black market is it possible to buy footwear, kerosene, sugar, meat and similar essentials.

This situation is the result of the adventurous policy of the Tito clique. Supplies got considerably worse after the Leftist laws nationalising small-scale industrial and trading enterprises. In its well-known Resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers’ Parties pointed out that: “The Yugoslav leaders hastily decreed the nationalisation of medium industry and trade, though the basis for this is completely unprepared. In view of such haste the new decision only hampers the supply of goods to the population”. This is exactly what has happened. Most of the nationalised shops are closed. There are very few goods in the shops that are still open and in most cases people are still served by the old proprietors who are now working for the state.

The grain tax legislation is another Leftist measure which has held up supplies to the towns and has hit the living standards of the poor peasants. In its Resolution the Information Bureau also warned that a similar hasty introduction of a grain tax for which the ground was not prepared could only dislocate grain supplies to the urban population. The new law established mutually binding prices.

Deliveries are partly paid for in money and for the remainder the peasant is given coupons which entitle him to manufactured goods at special state prices.

This law is to the advantage of the kulaks since they have the goods to deliver, while it hits the poor peasant who has nothing to sell. And so the kulaks and well-to-do farmers have the coupons which enable them to buy industrial goods.

In his report of October 2 on how the Five Year Plan was being fulfilled, Kidric admitted that “the kulaks and the speculators in the countryside have managed to get hold of many more coupons for goods than were necessary”. The kulaks are buying up goods.

In some places, coupons have already become a method of payment and are functioning as money. In some villages kulaks are paying their farm labourers in coupons. In this way the Leftist laws are helping to enrich the kulaks and impoverish the broad masses of the peasantry.

One of the latest Leftist measures concerns the “purchase” of hogs from rich peasants. This is widely advertised in Yugoslavia as “a significant measure to improve supplies”, and a “new step toward restricting and liquidating the capitalist elements”. This measure, like the nationalisation of the medium industrial and trading enterprises and the grain tax was introduced to a hasty, military fashion and without the necessary preparations.

To enforce the decisions, Tito’s officials made wide use of the militia and the army to suppress the occasional stubborn resistance of the peasants. In some places matters went so far that representatives of the local authorities were killed and there were clashes with the militia.

By means of these Leftist measures the Tito clique hopes it can prevent the people from seeing that the country is being led into a blind alley.

Last June the Information Bureau described the measures

of Tito and his henchmen as an “adventurous tactic” designed to deceive the masses of Yugoslavia.’

The Tito clique is deliberately heading towards the enslavement of Yugoslavia by the Anglo-American imperialists. It has already established close economic contact with Britain and America.

As is known, the financial agreement signed between America and Yugoslavia on July 19 settled among other questions that of the nationalised property of Americans in Yugoslavia. The State Department has announced that the United States has already received 17 million dollars from Yugoslavia on the basis of this agreement. In addition, the Yugoslav Government has undertaken other obligations including recognition of loans totalling 38,500,000 dollars granted to former Yugoslav governments. Yugoslavia has also negotiated a trade agreement with Britain and has agreed on compensation for nationalised British property.

In this way the nationalist and reckless policy of the Tito clique has resulted in the country’s economic deterioration and a sharp drop in the standard of living while at the same time the capitalist elements in town and countryside are growing and consolidating and the subordination of the country’s economy to Anglo-American capital has started.

Tito and his henchmen are concealing the truth from the people. But in spite of this there are fewer and fewer people in the country who believe in the Tito “infallibility”. “Rabotnichesko Delo” in its November 25 issue published a letter from Belgrade reporting a meeting of 104 people—Communists and non Communists—representing various Yugoslav factories and offices which was held in Belgrade on October 11.

Having discussed the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party and in the country, the members of the meeting addressed a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of

Yugoslavia in which they declared that the incorrect and harmful policy of the Central Committee was giving rise to considerable concern among broad sections of the people.

“The line of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia during the past year,” says the letter, “not only represents, a deviation from Marxism-Leninism, but is also in contradiction to the interests of the country and the working people. The numbers of arrests both of Party members and non-Party people show that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, particularly Rankovic, are using the methods of Hitler even against those who are only suspected of being in agreement with the Information Bureau Resolution.

“The Yugoslav leaders,” the letter continues, “do not want unity with the Communist Parties of the fraternal democratic countries, nor with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).”

The letter points out that the peoples, of Yugoslavia are not in solidarity with this splitting activity of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party. The Yugoslav Communists are rebelling against this policy, against those who by terrorist methods, are deflecting the Party onto the path of Trotskyism and revisionism.

“The prisons filled to overflowing, the naked threats and the removal of those who question the correctness of the policy of Tito and his group,” it goes on, “show that in Yugoslavia instead of dictatorship of the proletariat there is a dictatorship of a ruling clique consisting of a handful of traitors. But this will not deflect the Communists of our country in their efforts to overthrow this leadership and elect a new Central Committee.”

The letter concludes by saying: “We Communists and non-Party workers in the factories and offices of Belgrade unanimously condemn the activity of the Central Committee of

the Yugoslav Communist Party and demand that it be changed.

“We welcome the Resolution of the Information Bureau and call upon all toilers, upon all Communists and members of the Communist Youth League, and all non-party people to follow our example.” No longer sure of the ground under its feet, the Tito clique is trying to strengthen its position in every way. They are carrying out a wholesale purge of the state apparatus. All “unreliable” persons are removed from official posts, from offices and enterprises. A special commission is carrying through an intensified purge of the Communist Party. Together with Party members, the commission includes members of the People’s Front.

Terror is growing in the countryside but it cannot intimidate the Yugoslav peoples who passed through the grim school of struggle in the war of liberation against the Hitler invaders and whose heroic exploits are known to all. The Communists of Yugoslavia know that they are not alone in the struggle against the Tito clique. In their fight against Tito and company they are relying on the moral support of the fraternal Communist Parties. The speedier the struggle develops, the speedier will the Communist Party and the working people of Yugoslavia be able to rid themselves of the nationalist Tito clique. In his speech of November 6, 1948 dedicated to the 31st Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution Comrade Molotov said:

“The treachery of the leading nationalist group in Yugoslavia has done great damage to her people but there can be no doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia on its Internationalist traditions will find the way which will enable Yugoslavia to rejoin the closely knit family which embraces the U.S.S.R. and the new democracies”.

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