

*Workers of all lands, unite!*

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

**Bucharest. Organ of the Information  
Bureau of the Communist and Workers'  
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## **ELEVATE ORGANISATIONAL WORK TO LEVEL OF POLITICAL TASKS**

The Marxist-Leninist Parties—the vanguard, organised detachment of the working class—have always attached the greatest importance to strengthening organisational work. The organisational nihilism and petty-bourgeois indiscipline, typical of the treacherous Social-Democratic Parties of the Second International, are alien to the Marxist-Leninist Parties. Being revolutionary Parties, Parties of a new type; they base their organisational principles on the granite foundations of Marxism-Leninism and are constantly perfecting organisational forms of work, making them correspond to the historical conditions in which they are operating, and subordinating them to the aims of a speedy consummation of the political tasks.

The organisational principles of Party structure are embodied in the Rules of the Party which outline the ways and means of Party work, the forms of building up the Parties and the rules governing the inner life of the Parties. The essence of these principles is democratic centralism, conscious inner-Party discipline, singleness of will and action, inadmissibility of factions and groupings, safeguarding the Parties from penetration by opportunist elements, inner-Party democracy, and so on. Any departure from or violation of these basic principles leads to the weakening of the Parties, to their transformation from militant and revolutionary Parties into sectarian-bureaucratic groups. A glaring example of this is the treacherous policy of the present leaders of the Yugoslav Party. The Tito clique which has taken the trotskyite path of revising the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the Party and which has trampled under foot the organisational principles of the Party, has established a regime in the Yugoslav Party that is leading

to the liquidation of the Party as an active and effective body, to the introduction of military methods of leadership in the Party similar to those implanted at one time by the trotskyites.

During the post-war years, the Communist and Workers' Parties have done much to improve the entire organisational and political work of the Party. The Communist Parties have become stronger ideologically and politically and have become the most popular parties among the people.

An exceptional role in advancing the organisational and political work of the Communist Parties was played by the letters of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) to the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party, and also by the Resolution of the June meeting of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties on the "Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia".

The Resolution helped the Parties to eliminate mistakes in their work, helped them outline the correct path along which they could consolidate their ranks and enabled them to define clear perspectives in the matter of laying the foundations of Socialism. and in the tasks of restricting and squeezing out the capitalist elements in town and countryside. The solving of these political tasks, demands categorically that the Parties raise their entire organisational work to a new level, and that they secure a radical improvement in Party leadership, for victory, which never comes by itself, is won only through bitter struggle.

Touching on the victory of the general line of the Bolshevik Party, Comrade Stalin underscored the enormous significance of organisational work. "After the correct line has been laid down, after a correct solution of the problem has been found", said Comrade Stalin, "success depends on how the work is organised; on the organisation of the struggle for the application of the Party line; on the proper selection of personnel; on the way a check is kept on the fulfilment of the

decisions of the leading bodies... After the correct political line has been laid down, organisational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure”.

Aware of the complexity of the tasks and difficulties called forth by the struggle to lay the foundations of Socialism, and taking into consideration the sharpening of the class struggle arising therefrom, the Communist and Workers’ Parties in the new democracies are taking measures to reinforce the fighting capacity of the Party organisations and to secure the consolidation of their own ranks.

As a consequence of the mass influx of new members, and of the mistakes made in this respect, serious changes have taken place in the social composition of the Parties: petty-bourgeois elements have increased considerably to the detriment of working class composition; moreover, bourgeois and reactionary elements have penetrated into the Parties as a result of which a blunting of revolutionary vigilance can be observed in a number of organisations in some of the Parties.

Aware of the dangers inherent in this dilution of the Parties, the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers’ Parties in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria have decided to restrict admittance to the Parties, to carry out a verification of the membership and to introduce a probationary period for new members. In the Rumanian Workers’ Party a verification of the leading cadres is already under way. These measures should and undoubtedly will lead to a strengthening of the Party ranks, will sharpen political vigilance and raise the activity of the membership, and will reinforce the entire organisational work of the Party.

A vital condition for improving the organisational work of the Parties is the strengthening of the basic units in the factories and especially the rural organisations, because it is on these bodies, above all, that the work of the Parties depends, it

is through them, mainly, that the Parties organise the masses and guide the entire political, State, and economic life of town and countryside.

Meanwhile, facts are not wanting which testify to the utterly unsatisfactory work of the factory and especially of the rural Party organisations. For example, Comrade Farkas, reporting recently to the Budapest Party membership, painted out that during the grain-delivery campaign, a number of Party organisations came under kulak influence, some partly, others completely, and opposed Party policy in relation to the grain deliveries.

The successful carrying out of the political line of the Party depends on the correct selection and allocation of cadres.

Now, when in the people's democracies the Parties bear full responsibility for the entire work of building up and running the country, the most important task is the training of their own cadres—cadres from the ranks of the working class and the toiling people, who are devoted to the Party, well-grounded theoretically and capable of putting the Party line into effect. Much has already been done in this respect. Tens of thousands of trained people devoted to the Party have been promoted to leading State, administrative, economic and other positions. But much still remains to be done in the matter of training and promoting cadres.

An important condition for correct guidance is controlling and keeping check on the fulfilment of decisions. To guide—means to verify both the carrying out of the directives and the directives themselves.

The experience of the CPSU(B) has shown that the correct organisation of verifying the work of the Party. State and economic apparatus, brings forward people and educates them, teaches them how to avoid mistakes and makes them feel more responsible.

The question is that of organising control and verification.

at all levels of the Party and State apparatus from top to bottom, and of involving the Party membership in the work. Practice shows that regular Party meetings and gatherings of the Active are the best means of checking on the fulfilment of Party decisions, and of mobilising the Party membership to carry out these decisions.

Leninism teaches that the experience of the leaders alone is not sufficient to secure correct leadership. The experience of the leaders must be supplemented with the experience of the Party masses, with the experience of the working class and of all the toilers.

The Marxist-Leninist education of the cadres is of decisive significance for strengthening the organisational work of the Parties and for ensuring fulfilment of the tasks facing them since only Marxist trained cadres can cope with the ever increasing tasks. In the course of the current year the Party organisations considerably extended their Marxist educational work among the cadres. National, regional and other schools were organised in all the Parties; the number of study circles has increased. The desire for self-education by means of individual study of Marxism-Leninism is more in evidence. The educational network of the Parties embraces hundreds of thousands of Party members.

This development is most gratifying. Still, there are a number of serious shortcomings in the way in which the ideological training of the membership is organised. Not all the leading cadres are studying as yet. And not everywhere have skilled propagandists been given the job of guiding the educational work.

Criticism and self-criticism—the driving force in the development of the Parties must become the main means of combating shortcomings in the work. But criticism and self-criticism can favourably influence and facilitate the entire Party activity only under certain essential conditions, that is, when

criticism is not stifled and suppressed. People who in words are for criticism but who oppose it in practice, cannot be tolerated. At the recent Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Party leaders pointed out that not infrequently there are responsible Party workers who talk glibly about criticism and self-criticism but who show no desire to listen when the matter concerns them personally.

The Communist and Workers' Parties, closely linked with the people, are leading the revolutionary movement of the millions of toilers. In the conditions of intensified class struggle they are uniting and organising the masses for the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for democracy, progress and Socialism.

In this struggle the Communist Parties are gaining a fighting, revolutionary experience, and, are learning how to win.

The forthcoming congresses of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Poland Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia will contribute much that is new by way of improving the entire organisational and political work of the Parties. The fact that the agenda for each of these congresses includes among other items the Party rules and programme, is an indication of the attention that will be devoted to organisational structure and to the organisational work of the Parties.

There can be no doubt that better organisational work on the part of the Communist Parties will bring them added strength, will increase their militancy, and will enable them more rapidly and unerringly to perform the political tasks facing them.

## **EVE OF CONGRESS BULGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY (COMMUNISTS)**

Preparations for the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Workers' Party which opens in Sofia on December, 18, are nearing completion.

The numerous suggestions and recommendations received by the Central Committee following the pre-Congress discussion of the draft resolutions at Party meetings and conferences in the localities, are now being sorted out and systematised.

Among the draft resolutions submitted for wide discussion were: changes in the rules of the Party; the first Five Year Plan for Bulgaria; Marxist-Leninist education. These resolutions were discussed at meetings of the activists of the urban and regional organisations, with branch secretaries also in attendance. They also formed the subject of discussion in training circles and at branch meetings.

The keen interest displayed by the membership in the discussion on the proposed changes in the rules of the Party is evident from the fact that the Central Committee received a total of 10,000 suggestions for the resolution. The discussion of the draft resolutions in the branches, and at conferences held in the localities has resulted in a further consolidation of the ranks of the Party and has reinforced its unity.

On December 5, when registration was closed, some 1,000 delegates had been elected. Throughout the Party, Comrade Dimitroff, General Secretary of the Party, has been chosen amid great enthusiasm as first delegate.

Members and candidate members of the Political Bureau and members of the Central Committee, together with leading workers from the factories and rural Party organisations are

among the delegates.

Together with the Party members large numbers of non-Party people took part in the preparations for the Congress in discussing the draft resolutions and were to the fore in raising questions and putting forward proposals. A feature of the pre-Congress discussion was the participation, for the first time, of Moslem Women. The conferences in the localities summed up the fulfilment of the pledges taken in honour of the Congress. The results reveal over-fulfilment of the year's production schedules and increased labour productivity. Similar success attended the organisation of agricultural cooperatives. One thousand cooperatives have been set up, that is, 200 more than the number scheduled for 1948.

## **COMMITTEE IN DEFENCE OF PEACE IN BRITAIN**

A British Committee of workers in the realms of culture for defence of peace has been formed by 21 of the British delegates to the recent Wroclaw Congress. The setting up of the Committee will be followed by a conference of workers of culture for defence of peace. The members of the Committee include:

Dr. Monica Felton, Louis Gelding (author), Prof. Levy, Thomas Russell, Olaf Stapledon, Prof. Waddington, G. Crowther and Dr. Nora Wooster .

Calling upon cultural workers in Britain to struggle for peace, the Committee pointed out that the Wroclaw Congress represented an important contribution to the cause of peace. Wroclaw remains the most serious attempt so far to establish contact between workers of culture in all lands.

## **CAMPAIGN IN AID OF COMMUNIST PRESS IN DENMARK**

A campaign for financial aid to the Communist Press has been organised in Denmark. According to the newspaper "Land og Folk", over half a million krone had been collected by December 1. Thousands of working people both members and non-members of the Communist Party helped in the campaign. Workers in factories where there is not a single member of the Party, participated in the drive. Although this is not the first campaign of its kind in Denmark, "Land og Folk" points out that never before has a financial campaign yielded so much money as this time.

## **INSTITUTE OF WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT OPENED IN HUNGARY**

A new educational body—the Institute of the Working Class Movement was opened recently in Hungary. The new Institute comes under the direct guidance of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Worker's Party. Its task is to help in raising the ideological level of the Party cadres and to make a study of the history of the Hungarian working class movement.

It has a research department, an archives department and a library. The research department is subdivided into sections devoted to the Hungarian and international working class movement.

The Institute will issue a journal devoted to the history of the Hungarian and international working class movement.

## UNITY CONGRESS OF PWP AND PSP

The Unity Congress of the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party opened in Warsaw on December 15. The Congress agenda includes:

1. The ideological basis of the United Party—report by Boleslaw Bierut and supplementary report by Josef Cyrankewicz.

2. Results of the economic development of the People's Poland and the basis of the Six Year Plan— report by Hilary Minc.

3. Statutes and organisational tasks of the United Party—report by Roman Zambrowski and supplementary report by Henryk Swentkowski.

4. Election of central organs of the United Party.

Some 1,500 delegates are attending the Congress.

Among the guests at the Congress are delegations from the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Polish Press is giving considerable space to the nation-wide labour emulation in honour of the Congress. Many industrial enterprises are reporting fulfilment of production schedules ahead of time.

## **STRUGGLE OF ITALIAN WORKERS FOR THEIR DEMANDS**

The de Gasperi Government, conspiring with the employers, has launched an onslaught against the workers of Italy who are resisting the mass dismissals and the closing-down of factories. Motorized police are being despatched to the industrial regions in the North where the workers are displaying considerable activity.

During recent weeks, the workers of Italy have registered considerable successes in the struggle against the arbitrary actions of the employers. At the FIAT enterprises in Turin, a campaign to secure the return of workers who had been arbitrarily discharged by the management ended in victory.

The management of the "Terni" enterprises (Umbria Province) were forced to agree to the trade union demand that dismissals be regarded as lawful only in case the workers themselves agree. The management was also forced to agree to reimburse workers, discharged with their own consent, with a special allowance, equal to six-months wages in addition to the usual discharge pay, and to make provision for the 600 workers concerned to be re-employed at other "Terni" enterprises.

The workers of the "Ilva" iron and steel works and engineering factories in Torre Annunziata are still resisting the employers' attempts to increase unemployment and to reduce production by means of mass dismissals. In Naples, in keeping with a decision of the local trade-union council, a 24 hours strike was launched in solidarity with the "Ilva" strikers. Iron and steel workers in Genoa also struck work in solidarity with the "Ilva" workers and as a protest against the policy of the management of this particular concern in dragging out the negotiations.

Neither Scelba's police, nor the strikebreaking activity of the Saragat and Christian-Democratic splitters have succeeded in undermining the spirit of the Italian workers.

## **CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST PARTY OF CUBA**

The Fifth National Congress of the People's Socialist Party of Cuba took place at the end of November. According to the programme adopted by the Congress, the activity of the Party will be based on the organisational principles of Marxism-Leninism. The programme calls for an all out mobilisation of the forces of the working people to resist the plans of the imperialists, to secure higher wages, the development of a multi-crop agriculture and of a number of branches of industry. The Congress also decided to reorganise the Socialist youth movement in Cuba.

Greetings were sent from the Congress to the peoples of China and Greece saluting their struggle against the foreign imperialist plunderers. The message addressed to Mao Tse-Tung stated that the struggle of the Chinese people "is inspiring the people of Cuba to continue their own struggle for national liberation".

## **PREPARATIONS FOR SPRING SOWING IN ROMANIA**

Under the leadership of the Workers' Party the working peasantry of Rumania achieved considerable success in carrying out the autumn sowing. Despite sabotage by the kulaks, the sowing of the 3 million hectares envisaged by the plan, was successfully completed. This represents the biggest autumn acreage ever cultivated in Rumania.

At present the Rumanian Workers' Party and the Government are taking measures to secure the carrying through of the spring sowing over an area of 6 million hectares. In the machine-tractor depots and on the State farms the machinery is being overhauled, stocks of fuel are being built up, and plans are being made for the maximum use of every machine during the forthcoming season.

The rural Party organisations have been charged with responsibility for guiding the work of the spring sowing, including the preparation of sowing plans, selection and storing of seed, organisation of work brigades for pairing inventory, etc.

## SECOND INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONGRESS

The Second International Women's Congress which took place in Budapest at the beginning of December was attended by 385 delegates representing 35 countries and 50 nationalities. However, these were far from being all the delegates sent to the Congress by the democratic women's organisations throughout the world. Reactionary circles in the United States and in other imperialist states did their utmost to prevent the Congress from being held. Many delegates failed to reach Budapest although news of their departure for the Congress had been received.

On this occasion, in contrast to the first Congress held in 1945, women from Asia and Africa were widely represented.

The problems discussed by the Congress are of profound concern to women throughout the world.

Eugenie Cotton, President of the International Democratic Women's Federation, reported on the activity of the Federation during the past three years.

A detailed report on the tasks of 'the democratic women's - movement in the struggle for peace and democracy was made by Maddalena Rossi, Chairman of the Italian Women's Alliance, Helen Phillips, representing the Congress of American Women—the democratic women's organisation in the US—took as the theme of her report: defence of the political and economic rights of women. Jeanne Kormanova, Polish delegate, reported on: conditions of children and safeguarding their rights; Tsai Chang, Chairman of the Chinese Women's Association—spoke on the development of the democratic women's movement in Asia and Africa.

The Congress showed that the past three years of active struggle in defence of peace and democracy, for political and

economic rights for women, and in defence of the life and health of children had resulted in the International Democratic Women's Federation becoming the only authoritative international democratic women's organisation. By its everyday work, the Federation has made a considerable contribution to the common struggle for a lasting peace and for a happy future for the coming generations. It has become the mighty champion of the interests of mother and child.

Uniting a total of 80 million women in 56 countries the International Democratic Women's Federation is the most powerful women's organisation in the world.

The manifesto adopted by the Congress calls upon the women of the world to fight with greater vigour, and determination for peace and democracy, for the security and independence of the peoples, for the welfare of the children. "Our forces are countless", says the manifesto. "Unite to win the battle for peace and democracy!"

Congress underlined the need to coordinate the activity of the, International Democratic Women's Federation with that of the World Federation of Trade Unions and with the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Addressing the leadership of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Congress expressed the urgent desire that the Federation would quickly defeat the actions of those elements who are trying to smash international trade-union unity.

The unanimity which marked the proceedings at the Congress showed that the ranks of the International Democratic Women's Federation are consolidated and that attempts to split the international women's movement by forming reactionary organisations have ended in fiasco.

The Congress decisions were passed unanimously. The only discordant note was sounded by a Swedish delegate Andre Andreen who wanted the delegates to be more diplomatic, not to expose the instigators of war, and so on.

This speech was severely condemned by all the delegates including the representatives of the democratic women of Sweden.

The members of the Congress expressed their profound gratitude to the great Soviet Union and to its Army for the liberation of the peoples of the world from the fascist yoke. They expressed sympathy and gratitude to the land of Socialism which is heading the struggle waged by the democratic forces of the world for peace. The delegates mentioned with emotion the name of the great leader and teacher of the peoples of the world, Comrade Stalin—the most consistent, irreconcilable and, staunch champion of the security and independence of all the peoples, of the happiness of all mankind. The mention of Comrade Stalin's name evoked stormy applause on the part of the delegates.

The Congress unanimously elected the Council, the Executive Committee and the Secretariat of the International Democratic Women's Federation.

Eugenie Cotton, well-known scientist and one of the outstanding representatives of the progressive women's movement, was re-elected President. Dolores Ibarruri (Spain), Nina Popova (USSR), J. Weltfisch (USA), Tsai Chang (China) were re-elected Vice-Presidents.

## **REPORT OF COMRADE RAKOSI TO PLENUM C.C. HUNGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY**

At the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party, Comrade Rakosi reported on the "Home and foreign political situation and the tasks of the Party". Comrade Szakasits reported on organisational matters.

Comrade Rakosi in his report dwelt on the growth of the forces of democracy in the international arena and within the country. He pointed out that the main element in this strengthening of the forces of democracy is the powerful post-war economic and political consolidation of the Soviet Union. The economic and political successes of the new democracies are equally known, and likewise, the strengthening of the international working class movement and the anti-imperialist movement.

Referring to the policy of American imperialism, Comrade Rakosi mentioned the case of "Maort", the largest oil undertaking in Hungary, which until the recent sabotage was uncovered, was in the hands of American capital.

He said: In those instances where Americans exercised influence on the economic life of Hungary, they pursued the aim of weakening and devitalising our economy and of lowering the standard of life.

We are experiencing the same thing with regard to Hungarian property which was taken to the west where for four or five years it has been rusting in the American zone.

Our relations with Yugoslavia, Rakosi said,—are deteriorating accordingly as the leaders of the Yugoslav Party openly go over to the camp of trotskyite provocateurs and

agents of imperialism.

We have been informed by leading members of the Yugoslav embassy in Budapest, who are opposed to Tito, that they received directives from Belgrade instructing them to do all in their power to organise factions in the Hungarian Workers' movement and to bring about a split. Why, any Fascist would readily subscribe to these foul designs of the Yugoslav leaders against Hungarian democracy.

An organised campaign of vilification of Hungary is now being conducted throughout Yugoslavia. In this way the Tito clique aims at deflecting the attention of the Yugoslav people from its treacherous activity. But the vileness of the Belgrade traitors will not change the attitude of our people towards the people of Yugoslavia—the working people of Hungary regard the working people of Yugoslavia with the same sympathy.

Comrade Rakosi then gave details of the successes attending planned socialist construction in Hungary.

The October output of the metal and machine building branches of industry showed an increase of 62% compared to October 1938; the figures for the chemical and textile industries were respectively 23% and 10% higher. The nationalised enterprises which at first were running at a loss are now earning for the state a monthly profit of 60 million forints, and these profits are increasing steadily. Real wages have not only reached the prewar level: this year real wages are from 10% to 25% higher, although the three year plan anticipated an 8% increase over the prewar level only by 1950.

Comrade Rakosi stressed the need to replace the obsolete norms by new norms and to alter them in accordance with the increase in the productive forces. He recalled Stalin's words that Socialism can triumph only on the basis of high productivity of labour, higher than that achieved under capitalism.

He urged the need for strict economy in all spheres of the

national economy. Touching on questions connected with the inner political development of the country. Comrade Rakosi commented on the leftward progress in the Coalition Parties—in the pendent Smallholders and National Peasant parties which are gradually weeding out the anti-democratic elements.

These parties are aware of the need to build Socialism; they support the restriction of the exploiting elements in the countryside—the kulaks and speculators; they support the cooperative, joint, and comradely way of cultivating the land as the sole means of securing a rapid, all round improvement in the standard of living of the working peasant. This healthy development of the democratic parties in the coalition enabled us to go ahead with the setting up of the new, Hungarian Independence Front. The point is that this is not a new mass organisation but a rallying together of democratic forces having a common aim. The programme of the Independence Front naturally, will go much farther than was the case four years ago.

The leading role of the working class and of our Party will grow considerably in this new consolidation.

With regard to the Barankovits party, Rakosi said: ever since the general ejection, this party has afforded a legal cover for fascism; it is nothing but a hindrance, a useless ballast in democracy.

Rakosi dwelt in detail on the matter of building Socialism in the countryside. The scattered peasant households, he said, were able with the help of democracy, to reach the prewar level in a matter of four years, but they are a long way behind the level of the more developed agricultural countries and still more behind the level of the Soviet Union.

If our agriculture were to remain on the capitalist path it would constitute a threat to all the gains of our people's democracy.

With some 2 million small households, a good part of

whom own but tiny plots ranging from one half to a quarter of a hold, cheap agriculture and certainly planned agriculture are made exceedingly difficult. The way out must be sought in joint cultivation of the land. The question of the day in the countryside is—cooperation.

Comrade Rakosi stressed the need to learn from the experience of the Soviet Union. We must, he said with all the means at our disposal, give our working peasantry the possibility of becoming acquainted with Soviet collectivised agriculture.

Turning to clerical reaction, Comrade Rakosi pointed out that the state had reached agreement with the Protestant church, only the leaders of the Catholic church, Mindszenty and his colleagues rejected agreement. A spontaneous people's movement in many hundreds of villages, in thousands upon thousands of organisations, is demanding a change in our policy of patience in relation to the reactionary, fascist leaders of the Catholic Church, and in the first place in relation to Mindszenty. The new masters of the land are beginning to understand that the anti-democratic vilification of clerical reaction is but a screen for the strivings of the bishops and archbishops, to get the landlords back and their huge estates of tens and hundreds of thousands of holds. The working peasantry have not the slightest desire to bring back the old landlord regime and are insistently demanding that reaction and fascism, dressed in priestly robes, be curbed. This demand is supported because the working peasantry realises that, as a rule, the anti-democratic actions of the reactionary priests and the kulaks, coincide. Hungarian reaction as a whole is striving to use the Catholic Church as a battering ram against democracy.

Hungarian democracy and our Party must change their policy. As before, we shall continue to cooperate in our effort aimed at a peaceful regulation of the matter on the basis of

mutual concessions and agreement, and on conditions that would enable the democratic element, in the Catholic Church to arrange for the clergy (the Catholic hierarchy) to find ways and means of living together with democracy.

But that policy of patience, which meant being lenient towards spies, traitors, currency blackmarketers, to those calling back the Hapsburgs, fascists and friends of the old reactionary regime, scandal-mongers dressed in the robes of priest or cardinal—this policy is ended. Ended too is the state of affairs when the law punished only the minor, clerical defaulters and the big ones remained unpunished. If order cannot be reached by means of mutual agreement, we shall achieve it by the will of the people, by the force of the state.

Comrade Rakosi then turned to matters connected with file verification of the Party membership and with the task of raising the ideological level of the Party. He underscored the need, in addition to improving ideological work, to intensify the study of the rich experience of the CPSU(B) and the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties.

Nowadays, he said, when questions of socialist construction are advanced one after the other, it becomes clearer than ever that all the main features of the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union are applicable everywhere.

To the ways and mean of building Socialism, each people can and will add features of its own, but in the main essential, and decisive questions there is no special "national" road. The experience of the other new democracies in building Socialism teaches us the same thing. But the Tito clique will break its neck in the matter of the "Yugoslav road to Socialism" also.

Comrade Rakosi concluded by stressing the need for vigilance and for better mass-political work among the working people. The masses must be conscious of the new historical tasks facing them. If they are aware of this, then this consciousness will be transformed into a new, rich source of

strength, it will give new horizons to the work of our Party and democracy as a whole.

The plenum adopted Comrade Rakosi's report as a decision of the Central Committee.

## **THE MINERS STRIKE IN FRANCE AND AFTER. George Cogniot, Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of France**

On the eve of the calling of the strike by the bureau of the Miners' Federation, part of the strikers had already returned to work. With bitter indignation, the miners had returned to work because their wives and children were starving. Even those local authorities who were more sympathetic to the miners were forced through lack of means to cease issuing milk for the children. As for the Government it touched the lowest depths of baseness in devising new weapons in addition to tanks and guns. Not satisfied with taking over the typical fascist methods, for example, the seizing of hostages and holding concerts by brass bands on the squares which ended in rounding up the people gathered there, the Government resorted to the most base of all weapons, war against the children, unlawfully depriving the strikers of their children's allowances.

Under these conditions, after eight weeks of heroic struggle, the bureau of the Miners' Federation which is affiliated to the General Confederation of Labour issued instructions for a return to work, although the miners achieved only one of their demands—increased pensions for aged miners. The main demands of the miners were not satisfied. Why was a return to work decided upon when over 100,000 men were still out? These were the more skilled and politically advanced workers, and their ranks included all the men working at the coal face. The point is that the criminal manoeuvres of the Government were intended to secure the isolation of this invincible unit of the miners, force one section of the strikers against the other, and by this means wipe out the

enormous political capital acquired by the working class in the course of this magnificent struggle.

This design of the Government was frustrated by the wise decision of the Miners' Federation. On November 29th when they returned to the pits, the miners marched in columns with banners flying, heads proudly erect and singing working class songs. The miners changed their methods of struggle, but they did not relinquish the struggle. They demonstrated this by their solidarity in protesting against the arrest, imprisonment and victimisation of their active comrades. They demonstrated this by the influx into the General Confederation of Labour of rank and file workers and lower functionaries who prior to the strike had been members or local officials of the breakaway unions.

The miners are convinced that their hard fought, bloody strike, was justified and necessary. They are aware that they avoided the worst form of defeat—defeat without struggle. More than that, they know that their struggle enabled other sections of the workers to secure splendid successes. As a result of the miners' strike the Government was compelled to grant wage increases and to make considerable overtime payments to the workers in the gas and electricity undertakings, the Paris metro workers and to all railway workers. The Government and the owners were forced to satisfy the demands of the dockers and seamen. They were forced to make the astounding offer to the shop assistants of two free days each week. And in the final analysts certain demands of the miners themselves will be satisfied.

While the Government was forced to retreat and had to grant a number of the economic demands advanced by the masses, its political defeat was even more significant, since it meant the crash of the machinations by means of which it had hoped to convince the country of the existence of a Communist plot. The Minister of the Interior, the Socialist Jules Moch, roared and ranted that the strike had been organised by

“international Communism”. He represented the expressions of international solidarity displayed by the working people as the secret transfer of “foreign gold” intended for “evil purposes”.

This absurd legend was completely exposed, and, consequently, Jules Moch, the man whose hands are stained with the blood of French workers, has entered into French history as a record-breaking liar. The sword rebounded against those who had raised it, slander had to give way to truth. No one denied the presence of British gold at the disposal the Socialist Party and of its central organ “Populaire”. The recent admission by Sir Stafford Cripps in the British House of Commons concerning the support given by the Labour party to the French Socialist Party, the difficulties experienced by “Populaire” which was reduced by half, the moment the supplies of sterling ceased, the expulsion of the “intransigent” Socialist deputies, the obvious disapproval of the Government’s actions by a number of Catholic deputies during the debates in the Chamber about the “Communist conspiracy”—these and other facts testify to the defeat suffered by the French Government.

After this the only thing the Government could do was to change the direction of its blow. This explains why it sought to institute court proceedings against the Communist Party in connection with the statement issued by the political bureau of the Party to the effect that the “French people will never fight against the Soviet Union”. This persecution is exposing the present rulers of the country in the eyes of many Frenchmen who hitherto were far removed from the Communist Party and who are now asking themselves: is not the “crime” of this Party the fact that it is striving for peace. The fact is that in France at the present moment considerable elements at the population, people who until now displayed a passive attitude, are taking part in a broad movement in defence of peace.

This movement is expressed in the most varied forms,

representing at times a strange mixture of illusion and reality. But even in this form, the fact of its existence is causing alarm and is infuriating the instigators of a new war against the Soviet Union and the new democracies.

The struggle which the Communist Party is waging against the aggression, now being prepared, is meeting with a deep response on the part of French public opinion, because this struggle has a profound national significance. The people as a whole are moving into action, opposing together with the Communist Party, the Anglo-American imperialists who are planning to return the Ruhr industry to former Hitlerites and who in effect have already secured the acquiescence of the French Government after a purely verbal resistance.

This explains the enormous success which attended the National Congress for defence of peace and freedom held in Paris during the last week of November. Some twelve thousand delegates elected at meetings all over the country, were present at the Congress. At this Congress, to the voices of representatives of Labour and outstanding representatives of French culture, were added the voices of prominent Catholics. It can be said that the National Congress for defence of peace and freedom opens up a perspective for the unification of the democratic forces on a far wider scale than that achieved in the past by the People's Front. At present, democratically elected local councils for defence of peace and freedom are functioning in the factories, and in the towns and villages.

The broad movement now unfolding in France against the policy of aggression fully confirms the basic idea of Comrade Stalin, the greatest strategist of the struggle for peace, that the peoples will compel the instigators of a new war to retreat.

The outcome of the Marshall Plan so far as France is concerned, will result inevitably in the peasants, artisans, and intelligentsia orientating themselves more and more on the working class. In view of the war preparations arising from the

Marshall Plan, military expenditure in France is increasing steadily. In 1949, according to official estimates, military expenditure will reach 325,000 million francs. Actually, this expenditure will be in the region of 500,000 million francs. Because of this, a five-fold increase in the tax on peasant income is on the order of the day. The burden placed on the artisans, shopkeepers, professional workers and intelligentsia will be made still heavier. The battle of the budget is now in full swing in France. At the same time, this is a battle against the preparation for war, a battle for the alliance of the worker elements belonging to the non-proletarian strata of the population, and of the middle classes with the working class—the leading force of the people in the struggle against the American slave-owners and the warmongers.

In this way, the situation now unfolding in France calls for an ever greater consolidation of the people; in the eyes of the people it increases the urgency of the struggle for a government of democratic unity. A feature of the political situation in France as the year draws to an end is, undoubtedly, the failure of the plan in which reaction reposed so much hope. Their calculations designed to drive a wedge between the Communist Party and the masses, to isolate the Party, have gone awry.

## **BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM OF TITO CLIQUE UNDER MASK OF SOCIALISM. Radontja Golubovic**

Exposing the bourgeois nationalism of Bauer, Comrade Stalin in his work “Marxism and the National Question” wrote:

“We can always cope with open nationalism, for it can easily be discerned. It is much more difficult to combat a nationalism which is masked and unrecognisable beneath its mask. Protected by the armour of Socialism, it is less vulnerable and more tenacious. Implanted among the workers, it poisons the atmosphere and spreads noxious ideas of mutual mistrust and aloofness among the workers of the different nationalities.”

These words, written almost 36 years ago, can be fully applied to the present nationalism of the treacherous Tito clique.

This clique holds up its bourgeois nationalism as proletarian internationalism, while revision of Marxism-Leninism is hailed as its further “development”. This revision is designed for the purpose masking the going over of the Tito clique into the bourgeois-nationalist camp, and, in the end, into the imperialist camp.

With regard to the foreign policy of the Titoites it is clear that they have not convinced anyone in the country of “their proletarian internationalism”. This clique, which is fighting against the USSR—the land of Socialism, against the new democracies, against all Communist Parties and the socialist front as a whole, has nothing in common with proletarian internationalism, nor with Socialism. Even now, this clique is a tool in the hands of international imperialism in the struggle

against the Soviet Union and against the new democracies.

In matters of home policy the switch over to the bourgeois nationalist position was accompanied by a revision of Marxism-Leninism concerning the main questions of our development at the present stage.

## **Question of Carrying through Revolution in Yugoslavia during the War**

For some time past the revisionists in the leadership of our Party have alarmed that we accomplished a revolution during the war years. It should be noted that never at any time during the war did the directives issued by the leadership of the Party contain the slogan about realising the revolution. Nowhere in any speech by anyone of the Party leadership was the matter of the revolution and of its realisation parallel with the national liberation war, ever touched upon. Moreover it is well known in the Party that when in 1941, the leadership of the Party in Montenegro directed the national-liberation war along the line of carrying through the revolution, it was severely condemned by the Yugoslav leadership.

During the war, the Party leadership regarded any tendency in the liberation struggle in the direction of carrying through the revolution, as a grave mistake warranting severe punishment. Now, all of a sudden, the Tito clique “theoreticians” have made a discovery—that the significant feature of our struggle was the “carrying through of the revolution, which transferred power into the hands of the toiling people headed by the working class”.

This “doctrine” about “carrying through the revolution” in **the course** of the war appeared later, simultaneously with the betrayal by the Party leadership of proletarian internationalism and its switching over to the position of bourgeois nationalism

in the main questions of the home and foreign policy of our country. True, during the war, they were unable to elaborate this “theory” about the revolution, nothing was said about the character of the revolution, about its main slogans and the direction of the main blows about the main driving force of the revolution, about its basic and auxiliary reserves.

In effect, their entire “theory” consists of the declaration that “in the course of the armed struggle against the invader, a revolution was effected in Yugoslavia, power was transferred to the hands of the toiling people headed by the working class.”

The fairy tale of “carrying through the revolution” is bound up with, the declaration to the effect, that “Yugoslavia was liberated by its own forces”. The principal aim of these declarations is the striving to “prove” that the revolution in separate countries and the liberation of the colonial peoples from the imperialist yoke can be realised not on the basis of uniting the forces of the international working class, and all the exploited and colonial peoples, but in the isolated struggle of the peoples of individual countries and colonies without any contact with the common struggle of the international proletariat against imperialism.

In this way, the essence of the revision of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of revolution by the leading clique of our Party, consists in an attempt to justify splitting the unity of the international working class movement and the socialist front; in the striving to prove “theoretically” that the split in the international workers’ movement is not a betrayal of Socialism and proletarian internationalism; is not a switch over to bourgeois nationalism, but means “the building of Socialism in our country with our own forces”. Only betrayers of the working class and of Socialism could make such a declaration.

At present the main aim of international imperialism is to weaken the influence of the Soviet Union on the international proletariat, to deflect a part of the international working class

from the general front of struggle against imperialism and make a breach in the front. The leading clique in our Party has, on its sector, justified the hopes of international imperialism by betraying the international socialist front and by switching over to the position of bourgeois nationalism. Hence, the “theory” about building Socialism in our country with our own forces; hence the “theory” about the revolution that took place in our country during the war, the mere mention of which, at that time, was fraught with severe punishment. And now, only a few years after the war, these modern magicians address themselves to the working class and the working people of our country something like this: “We carried through a revolution during the war, we led you in this revolution but you knew nothing about it and indeed were not allowed to know anything about it, since this was our new strategy and tactics of revolution”. A real miracle! A revolution is brought about. This revolution transfers power into the hands of the working class and poor peasantry—but they, the creators of the revolution are ignorant of the fact that they have had a revolution. But who believes in such fairy tales nowadays?

## **Main Question In Revolution is the Question of State Power**

“The main question of every revolution”,—Lenin said,—“is the question of state power”. And as Stalin points out: “In the hands of which class, or which classes, is power concentrated; which class, or which classes must be overthrown; which class, or which classes, must take power—such is the main question of every revolution.”

Did the workers and poor peasants of our country wrest power from the bourgeoisie while the war was still on, and did they build up their own state machine for the entire country,

prior to its liberation from the German fascist yoke? Of course not. Did we have during the war the strategical slogan for the transfer of power into the hands of the working class in alliance with the poor and medium peasants? No, there was no such slogan. The main wartime slogan was the struggle against the fascist invader for the liberation of the country. In this struggle there took part not only the working class, the poor and medium peasantry, but also part of the bourgeoisie, small urban bourgeoisie, kulaks and other elements. In addition to the Communist Party, there participated the petty bourgeois parties and members of the individual bourgeois parties. Actual leadership was in the hands of the Communist Party, but the Party advocated not the seizure of power by the workers and poor peasantry, but the most active participation in the struggle against the fascist invader, irrespective of class and nationality. The working class created a number of conditions necessary for **the seizure of power, but one must not confuse or substitute conditions for the seizure of power with the act of seizure. That is the first point.**

To declare that we carried through the revolution during the war is tantamount to saying that we achieved victory over the invaders and their satellites with **“our own forces”**. This is the very point that the new “theoreticians” of the Tito clique are so anxious to “prove”. Is there any truth in this? Clearly, there is not.

Before the Soviet Army reached the borders of our country and before its break through in the direction of the Northern Voevodina and Hungary, four-fifths of the town, and approximately three-fourths of the territory and population of the country were held by the German fascists and were under their authority. Shortly before this, the Germans had begun a hasty withdrawal northwards from the southern Balkans where they found themselves in a trap. By doing so, they reinforced the sector of the front in Hungary and in the Voevodina, where

the Soviet troops had broken through—avoiding thereby the danger of being cut off. Only under the direct blows of the Soviet Army did the German fascist invader make a hasty retreat from that part of our territory which was taken over later by Yugoslav partisan units. Every soldier in our Army who fought against the Germans beginning with the second half of 1944 until the end of the war, is aware of this fact. All our people know this. The direct result of the further victories of the Soviet Army over the German fascist army—a struggle in which units of our Army also took part, making a considerable contribution thereby to final victory, was the liberation of our country from the fascist yoke.

We say nothing of fact that we would not have been able to wage our struggle had not the Soviet Union entered the war and had not the main forces of the German Army been engaged against the Soviet Army. This is clear to everyone. The point is that we, despite the unequal struggle which we waged for four years under the most difficult conditions, despite the heroism of our peoples and despite all our sacrifices, we would not have been able to liberate ourselves **by our own forces**, nor did we secure liberation by means of **our own forces**. We did everything in our power in the common struggle against the common enemy. But all our efforts would have been in vain without the decisive assistance given by the glorious Soviet Army which **secured our liberation**. There was a time when the people from the Tito clique too, acknowledged this, but that was before they became bourgeois nationalists.

Irrespective of whether our units had been there or not, the Germans would have been compelled, in any case, to withdraw their troops from the area South of the Sava when the Soviet Army, driving through Hungary in the direction of Austria, endangered their position. To allege now that we liberated ourselves with our own forces, and that the Soviet Army helped us only in liberating “Belgrade, Eastern Serbia and part

of the Voevodina” is simply a shameful falsification of history worthy only of bourgeois nationalists. That is the second point.

The territories liberated in the course of the war were never one and the same, they were continually changing. On these liberated territories, people’s committees—organs of the popular masses participating in the war against the invaders—were set up. The main function of these committees was to mobilise all forces for victory over the invader. Anti-Fascist Assemblies of the people’s liberation were also formed in a number of the present republics, and also the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) headed by the National Committee. However, this organisation was but a form of the future State power. The actual organs of this power and the genuine organ of State administration came into being only shortly before the end of the war; some of them never even developed into administrative organs and carried on, in the main, as organs of struggle against the invaders.

Is it possible on the basis of this fact to conclude that we, in the course of the war, carried out a revolution? No, it is not. In order to wield power it is necessary to bring into existence not only the forms of the organisation of the State power, it is necessary to secure the actual exercise of this power by the class, or classes which hold power. Was this power in the hands of the working class, in alliance with the poor and middle peasantry, during the war? No, it was not. The people’s committees which were organs for mobilising all forces to resist the invader and for carrying out the tasks arising therefrom, were the organs of all classes and of all the parties taking part in the war. They represented not only the working class, the poor and middle peasantry, but also the kulaks, part of the urban bourgeoisie, urban petty bourgeoisie, and other elements. But even in this form they existed on a territory smaller in extent and population than the territory held by the invader. This is the third point.

The fact of the formation of the Tito-Subasic Government even before the end of the war shows that the working class and poor peasantry did not completely seize power either during the period of the war or during the first few months of the post-war period. This fact reveals that for several months after the war, the working class and the peasantry as a whole shared power with the big urban bourgeoisie. This agreement of the working class and the peasantry with the bourgeoisie was the outcome not only of the international situation; it was due also to the nature of the class relations which then prevailed in the country. At the same of the liberation, the working class and the poor peasantry were not strong enough to take power into their hands. They took power only after the war. This is the fourth point.

However, from the fact that we did not carry out a revolution in our country during the war we must not conclude that our working class and the poor peasantry did not wage a revolutionary struggle parallel with the national-liberation struggle. On the contrary, they waged not only a revolutionary struggle of a bourgeois-democratic nature but also a struggle bearing a socialist character. In this struggle they secured a number of revolutionary gains which paved the way for the seizure of power.

As the Soviet Army approached the borders of our country, the tempo of revolutionary development was accelerated and culminated later on, in power passing into the hands of the working class and the poor peasantry. Only ignoramuses and revisionists identify revolutionary developments in a country with actual revolution, and the struggle for power with the actual seizure of power. In the given instance we have to do with both types of people.

## **Stages of Our Revolution**

Until the middle of 1944, the people's committees were concerned mainly with the national-liberation struggle. At first there was no outstanding difference in the forms of the mass organisations. In Slavonia, for example, only People's Front committees were set up as organs for rallying the people to struggle against the invaders, people's committees were not established. At the same time, in other parts of the country, people's committees were formed, and only at the end of the first half of 1944, did People's Front committees come into existence. So that for quite a considerable time the activity of the people's committees did not differ from that of the People's Front committees and this activity was restricted to organising the masses and accumulating means of fighting the invaders. This proves that at that time the people's committees were not real organs of people's power. They merely represented the best organisational form of the future people's power.

In the middle of 1944, when the Soviet Army drew near the borders of our country, it became clear that the day of complete liberation was not far off. The question of State power and of its organisation was becoming increasingly acute for all classes in the country. More and more, an obvious rallying of the bourgeoisie around the monarchy and the King was taking place. They were joined in this by a section of the petty bourgeoisie and by the top layer of the kulaks, particularly in Croatia and Serbia.

On the other hand, the approach of the Soviet Army evoked a powerful revolutionary upsurge in the country. The alliance between the broad masses of the poor and middle peasants and the working class was reinforced and consolidated under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party. The consolidation of this alliance was designed not only with the aim of securing complete liberation from the fascist

invaders, but also, and clearly so, of wresting power from the hands of the bourgeoisie and of establishing the power of the workers and peasants. Our Army rapidly gained in strength.

Day by day the people's committees were being transformed into genuine organs of people's power. To the People's Front flocked ever broader masses of the people, and in the first place, the working class and the peasantry. The front was also joined by a considerable part of urban petty bourgeoisie and by that part of the bourgeoisie which fought against the invaders.

The process of revolutionary development in the immediate post-war period may be characterised as follows: the people's committees—the lower organs of the State power—were in the hands of the classes that had participated in the war. Participation in the work of the people's committees was determined not by class position but by participation in the national-liberation struggle. In effect, the people's committees at that time were organs of the working class and the peasantry as a whole (excluding that part of the kulaks which even then had sided with the bourgeoisie, particularly in Serbia and Croatia). Utilising the higher organs of State power—the Provisional Parliament and the Government—the bourgeoisie roamed in an effort to prevent the further development of the revolutionary movement and to preserve the monarchy—the mainstay of its class interests. This signified that all the lower organs of the State power, were in the hands of the working class and peasantry, the bourgeoisie was represented in the higher State organs, while the question of the monarchy remained unsolved. The agrarian problem also awaited solution.

The post-war period until November 1945, was a period of swift revolutionary development in our country. This period brought the first phase of our revolution to an end. The monarchy was abolished, and the more reactionary elements of

the bourgeoisie were removed from office, the democratic system was finally established and agrarian reform was carried out. At that time, this was the period of the greatest development of the Socialist revolution: the people's committees—organs of State power—were more and more, passing into the hands of the working class and the poor peasantry, and the alliance with the middle peasants was gaining strength. The kulaks marched alongside these classes as long as it was a matter of doing away with the monarchy of proclaiming the Republic, and carrying through the agrarian reform. **B**ut afterwards, they began to abandon these classes and initiated a stubborn, struggle against the measures taken by the people's organs to strengthen the positions of the working-class and the poor peasantry. After the abolition of the monarchy and when the Republic had been proclaimed, the rapid removal of the kulaks from participation in the people's committees begun. Power passed into the hands of the working class and the poor peasantry, in alliance with the middle peasantry.

## **Brief Conclusions**

No revolution took place in Yugoslavia during the war as the nationalist Tito clique is noisily trying to prove. The revolutionary movement in our country was accelerated and intensified accordingly as the Soviet Army approached our borders in the middle of 1944. It gained momentum during the successive phases of the war, and, rafter the war, led to power passing into the hands of the working class and the poor peasantry during the first half of 1946.

The unfolding of events in France and Italy during the war years afford a good example of the fact that revolutionary development and the transfer of power from one class into the

hands of another class as a result of this development, are two totally different things.

In France, the working class in addition to fighting against the invaders had to fight simultaneous struggle against the treacherous bourgeoisie which was in the service of the invaders. In the course of this struggle, the French working class, created organs for rallying the masses, similar to our people's committees, and took over the leadership of all the masses taking part in the struggle. Simultaneously with the liberation struggle revolutionary development in France had, by the end of the war, reached a comparatively high level. Nevertheless, the working class of France did not succeed in taking power and in carrying out the revolution, because the arrival of the Anglo-American imperialists in France prevented the further development of the revolution and enabled the French bourgeoisie to retain power.

In Italy, in the northern part of the country, the working class in its struggle against the invaders and the traitorous bourgeoisie had been able to create and develop organs of power in a number of provinces, and even took over a number of enterprises. But this revolutionary development was interrupted with the arrival of the Anglo-American troops who helped the bourgeoisie to wipe out the quite considerable revolutionary gains of the Italian working class and to maintain power in its hands.

The heroic struggle waged by the working class and by the entire working people of Greece against the German invaders during the war, likewise did not lead to the liberation of the Greek people who are still waging an exceedingly heavy battle for liberty and against the new, Anglo-American occupationists and their mercenaries.

There can be scarcely any doubt that if Anglo-American imperialist troops had not entered these countries, power would now be in the hands of the working class.

Altogether different was the path of development in the people's democracies. Here, the Soviet Army destroyed the German fascist invaders, liberated these countries and thereby prevented the entry of the imperialist Anglo-American troops, which secured the further peaceful development of the revolution. These were the elementary and decisive conditions for the development of the revolution alike in Yugoslavia and in the other people's democracies. Consequently, it is not just a matter of the creation of general conditions arising from the Soviet Union's participation in the war. The same general conditions prevailed in France, Italy and Greece. The point is that the Soviet Army liberated the countries of Eastern Europe and thereby secured for them the further development of the revolution. This is the basis for the development of the revolution in all the people's democracies.

Nor is it true that our revolution is distinguished from the revolutions in the other people's democracies in that we, as is alleged, carried out the revolution in the course of the war, while in the other countries it developed only after the war. Neither is it true, as is alleged, that we liberated ourselves with our own forces, while the other countries were liberated by the Soviet Army. Only enemies of the Soviet Union can make such an assertion. This assertion is made by the treacherous Tito clique together with its patron, the British General McLean. All the new democracies including our own country, were liberated by the Soviet Army. The revolution in all these countries developed as a result of this liberation and of security against the pressure exercised by the Western powers at the decisive moment for the revolutionary development of these countries. Therein lies the essence of the general conditions for all these countries.

Our revolution is distinguished from the revolutions in the other countries by a faster tempo of development.

At present the development of the revolution in our country

is in danger. Our country is on the way to degenerating into a bourgeois republic, and of being turned into a colony of international imperialism. The treacherous Tito clique has already deflected the country on to this path.

The historical task of the majority of our Party which has remained loyal to the international traditions of the Party and of the entire working class, is to do everything possible to return to the country to the ranks of the common front of Socialism and democracy, and, in this way, prevent the degeneration of our system into an ordinary bourgeois-democratic republic, to again take the path of our revolution, to secure the building of Socialism in town and countryside and enable our working class to fulfil its obligations to the international working class.

## **AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND WORLD MARKETS. William Rust, Member Political Bureau, Communist Party, Great Britain**

American imperialism is attempting the conquest of the markets in all live continents and to establish its domination over the entire world, while at home the democratic rights of the people are being systematically assailed, as witness the recent campaign against “dangerous thoughts” by the Un-American Committee, the State prosecution of the Communist Party, the Taft-Hartley Act against the trade unions and the virulence of the fight against the Negroes in the South.

The United States succeeded in enormously enriching itself as a result of the world war, especially at the expense of its strongest rival, Great Britain. It is taking Britain’s markets, naval and air bases and spheres of influence. Even in Britain itself air bases for American Superforts have now been established.

In Europe, through the medium of the Marshall Plan, American imperialism is trying hard to bring the Western capitalist States under its domination together with Turkey and Greece. Franco Spain, although not formally within the Marshall Plan, is increasingly subordinate to America and, indeed, could not exist without the backing of Washington. The Mediterranean has become an American lake, through which the American Fleet sails at will. The U.S. authorities, with British approval, have re-opened the Mellaha airfield in Tripoli.

Western Germany is rapidly becoming an American preserve and is being rebuilt as one of the European bases of

Wall Street imperialists.

The whole of the Americas can be written off as an American sphere of influence and of strategic domination. The colonisation of Latin-America is a fact. Canada remains part of the British Empire but economically it is becoming part of the United States. Argentine also lays claim to a precarious independence but only by balancing between the conflicting interests of Britain and the U.S.

A water-surface control over a very large area of the Atlantic secured by the bases in Greenland, Iceland and the Azores. The Pacific area is dotted with American bases.

Kuomintang China is within the sphere of American strategic domination and under its general tutelage, General MacArthur is the new Mikado of Japan. Considerable interest in India has been displayed in Washington of late and the U.S. Ambassador to the Nehru Government has been talking in terms of a Marshall Plan for India and its neighbours.

In Africa, the U.S. has established its bases and is stretching out to grasp the colonies of Belgium, France and Britain. The American economic penetration into the Dominion of S. Africa is well known.

In the Middle East, American imperialism, especially through the oil companies, exercises a powerful influence in this vital area. Indeed, it is quite clear from their activities in Iran and Saudi Arabia that the American imperialists aim at bringing the whole of the Middle East, one of the key centres of the world from the standpoint of oil and communications, under their domination and to maintain their military domination in Turkey and Greece as defence outposts of the Middle East area.

Mr. Dulles, proudly examining these world bases and spheres of influence has declared with exultation: "We are never going back to Teheran or Yalta."

But Mr. Dulles, like Hitler before him, is showing certain

signs of over confidence, a belief in the permanence of temporary historical phenomena. Mr. Dulles is overlooking the significance of the inner contradictions of American capitalism and the power of the masses who have no desire to be enslaved by the millionaires of Washington and New York.

The U.S. waxed rich and fat on the world war, and increased its production by more than two-fold. Today, its production exceeds that of all the other capitalist states put together. The whole of the capitalist world has become dependent on the U.S., on its food and raw materials, especially because of the effects of the war in Europe and Asia. This strong demand for U.S. goods on the world market is one explanation of the upward swing of American prices which is producing inflation within the U.S. itself and increasing the inability of the purchasing countries to pay for American goods. Chief cause of the sky-rocketing prices, however, is the unrestricted drive for profits by the American trusts and monopolies.

The fear of a new economic crisis, arising from the disparity between the purchasing power of the masses and the actual expansion of production, has now regularly featured in the speeches of President Truman for the last twelve months. The American bourgeoisie have endeavoured to stave off this crisis threat mainly by means of a truly enormous and monstrous armaments programme, and by a State-planned export drive in which the Marshall Plan or European Recovery Programme figures as the main political and economic weapon.

The Marshall Plan is in reality a weapon for furthering the war aims and plans for world domination of American imperialism.

The recent report of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe throws a flood of light on its real meaning. According to this report Western Europe is becoming more and more dependent on the United States: European

imports from the U.S. were more than twice as large in 1947 than in 1938 while Europe's exports to the United States have reached a very low level. This results in a huge deficit in the foreign trade of the West European countries, particularly Britain and France, which there is no prospect of overcoming. Most of these countries have now exhausted their gold and dollar reserves in the purchase of American products. The economic position of the West European countries would, however, be considerably improved if they were permitted freely to develop their trading relations with the countries of Eastern Europe and with the Soviet Union.

Against such a development of inter-European trade the Marshall Plan stands as a barrier especially designed to divide Europe into two parts and to keep Western Europe fast in the American grip. The administrators of the Marshall Plan actually forbid the growth of this trade.

American imperialism is striving to widen its markets for the disposal of its food surplus and manufactured goods, to invest American capital abroad under close control while holding back the export of steel and other capital goods which could be utilised by the receiving countries for purposes of reconstruction.

Thus the U.S. is not only increasing its grip on the world markets and the economics of other countries but is also taking special steps in order to establish a monopoly control over the supply of strategic raw materials and to build up a huge stockpile of these in the U.S.

It is of interest to note that, according to the Economic Co-operation Agreement between Britain and the United States, money obtained from the sale of Marshall goods in Britain will be kept in a special account and part of it allocated to the obtaining of additional materials within British colonies, as distinct from the Dominions. An agreed percentage of such materials is to be transferred to the United States, and

American companies are to have equal access to the material resources of the Empire as British companies.

Apart from the additional rights given to American capital this agreement also means that materials which might have been sold to the United States for dollars will be given in exchange for Marshall Aid. This means a reduction in Britain's dollar earning capacity.

So far as the British bourgeoisie are concerned they have swallowed the American terms hook, line and sinker although they have haggled somewhat over Empire tariffs. But the British ruling class and Labour Government are so terrified of their own economic and so desperately afraid of the growth of the world Communist movement that they have accepted all American terms even to the point of the establishment of an Anglo-American Industrial Council which has the right to supervise the running of British industry. Under the Economic Co-operation Agreement, the U.S. Government receives full rights to suggest changes in the monopoly practices of British industry. No similar right is accorded to Britain in the U.S.!

Western Germany (America's special favourite) is to get access to British markets on the most favourable terms given to any other country and negotiations are to proceed for similar terms to be offered to Japan. This is part of the process of building up, under American control, of the economy of the two defeated fascist countries, both in order to further American war aims and in order to penetrate still further into Britain's markets and spheres of influence.

American political leaders and commentators are adopting an over-bearing tone towards Britain, expressive of their sharp discontent at the failure of the Labour Government to take a stronger initiative in the establishment of a European Assembly as recommended by Churchill. This is in accordance with the views of the U.S. Congress Herter Committee which wants "full' economic union" and as a means to this, a "political

federation”.

Britain, obviously has nothing to gain by the subordination of her economic interests to the views of a general European Assembly in which she would be merely one of the seventeen Marshall Powers. But the Americans are desperate to press ahead with the knitting together of their Western European bloc in order to strengthen their positions in Europe. They look with anxious eyes at the political and economic strengthening of the countries of Eastern Europe which is in such sharp contrast of the continuance of economic crisis and political disunity in the West.

The Labour Government must therefore come to heel. It will be whipped into line by its brutal overlord. In fact, the bargaining as a preliminary to surrender is now taking place. The Labour Government is asking for military guarantees as a preliminary to its acceptance of America's economic terms.

This is the road along which the labour Government is leading the people of Britain, the road of enslavement to American imperialism and of war against the Soviet Union. But it is a road which the British people are showing no desire to follow, especially as the burdens of American economic domination and of increasing armaments are now bearing so heavily upon them.

## **PRESS REVIEW**

### **People's Democracy Secures Equal Rights of Peoples**

Reporting the Congress held in Cluj on December 10, of the Hungarian People's Alliance—the democratic organisation of Hungarians living in Rumania—the organ of the Rumanian Workers' Party. "Scanteia" writes: "The system of people's democracy has secured complete equality for the working people, whether of Rumanian or other nationalities.

Heading the struggle of the working class and of all the working people of our country against all forms of nationalism, against national inequality, the Rumanian Workers' party supported and continues to support the development of the economic, social, political and cultural life of the working masses of all the nationalities inhabiting our country; we regard this as the of the basic conditions for the development of the system of people's democracy".

Commenting on the significance of the Congress, "Scanteia" said: "The democratic forces of our country, led by the Party of the working class, must tirelessly fight for the up-rooting of chauvinist tendencies among the Rumanian people. In its turn, the Hungarian People's Alliance must mercilessly expose and root out all chauvinist tendencies among the Hungarian population".

### **Mechanisation of Agriculture in Czechoslovakia**

"Rude Pravo", organ of the C.C. of the Communist Party

of Czechoslovakia, has published in condensed form the text of a speech delivered by Comrade Duric, Minister for Agriculture, at the Socialist Academy in Prague.

Referring to the difficulties encountered by Czechoslovakia in the matter of developing agricultural output (the scattered households, primitive methods of cultivation in most of the holdings, the consequence of last year's drought etc.). Comrade Duric pointed out that the realisation of the tasks placed before agriculture in the new Five Year Plan would result in a considerable improvement in the matter of supplying the population with agricultural products.

In the course of the Plan, a big change will take place in the ratio between the two main branches of agriculture—crop raising and livestock farming—in favour of the latter. Arising from this, the peasant households will be confronted with a number of complex tasks. It will be necessary to secure large-scale development of cattle breeding, pig raising and poultry farming on farms under the jurisdiction of the State and local authorities.

The tractor stations are playing a big role in the development of agriculture. In 1930, Czechoslovakia had a total of 3,700 tractors. Of these, 96% were owned by kulaks and landlords. Now the Republic has 22,600 tractors. Of this number, 65% belongs to the State and to tractor depots owned by the cooperatives.

It is estimated that by the end of the Five Year Plan, a total of 45,000 tractors will be at the disposal of Czechoslovak agriculture. This will be equivalent to one tractor for every 125 hectares of cultivated land.

If to this is added the considerable number of other complex machines which the peasants will receive during the Five Year Plan, it will mean that by 1953, Czechoslovakia will have completed, in the main, the mechanisation of agriculture.

Comrade Duric dwelt on the development of co-operatives

in Czechoslovakia, on a number of measures connected with the restriction and squeezing out of the kulak elements, and on the need to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

## **Order For Sabotage Came From Washington**

The trial of a group of spies and saboteurs who were ensconced in the management of the “Maort” oil enterprise, took place in Hungary at the beginning of December.

Commenting on the outcome of this trial, the newspaper “Szabad Nep” writes: The Americans who owned the undertaking during the war, did everything in their power to increase the output of oil and sold it to the Germans. After the liberation of the country, with the aid of Hungarian traitors, they reduced the output of oil by one-half.

The American, Bannantine, made the following admission in the course of the trial: “At the end of 1945, I received directives from the New York chiefs of “Standard Oil”, instructing me to do everything in my power to lower the output of oil in Hungary, since the economic strengthening of the East European countries was regarded as undesirable”.

Following the reorganisation of the Ministry of Industry which was in the hands of the Right Social Democrats, Ban and Kelemen—the sabotage which, until then, had been explained away by various “inevitable”, “technical” and other reasons, were exposed. The State took over the undertaking and the saboteurs were punished.

The scheduled output of the “Maort” undertaking for the coming year will be double that which the spy “experts” regarded as “technically” impossible.

## **De Gasperi Is Leading The Country To The Catastrophe**

The newspaper “**Unita**” carried an article by Comrade Donini, member of the C.C. of the Italian Communist Party, in which the author exposes the provocative speeches delivered by de Gasperi upon his return from Brussels and Paris.

The de Gasperi Government, writes Donini, carrying out the policy of a vassal of the U.S., has resulted in the complete international isolation of Italy, De Gasperi can find no explanation for his irresponsible activity other than slander against Communism and the Soviet Union.

The activity of such people, whose example de Gasperi is following, “begins with provocations against the Communists and ends on some square or other or at a Nuremberg tribunal. By his crude and provocative slanders against the U.S.S.R., de Gasperi is trying to make the Italian people forget that the Soviet Union is battling for peace. By means of this slander, reaction is endeavouring to conceal from the Italian people the fact that only the meddling of the American imperialists in our trade relations with the countries of Eastern Europe, prevents us from developing our industry and improving the condition of our working people.”

Concluding his article, Donini wrote: “In order to preserve peace, the people of Italy must fight to change our foreign policy and return our country to the path of friendship and cooperation with all peoples before it is too late.”

## **THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN GREECE. N. Zachariadis, General Secretary, Central Committee, Communist Party of Greece**

November 1948 marked the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the Communist Party of Greece. At that decisive turning point in the history of mankind, brought about by the Great October Socialist Revolution, the working class of our country founded the General Confederation of Greek Workers (October-November 1918) and its political party, the Socialist Workers' Party of Greece.

The birth of this party was a historical necessity for our internal development, an expression of the will of the advanced workers of Greece for struggle and social emancipation. Until then the working class of our country had no party of its own. The example of the Russian Bolsheviks and the October Revolution inspired the Socialist Workers' Party and illuminated its path; the party drew support from the revolutionary struggle of the advanced workers.

In 1920, the Socialist Workers' Party joined the Communist International. In 1924, it was renamed the Communist Party of Greece (the Greek section of the Communist International). For more than ten years the Communists of Greece fought to advance surely along the path of Marxism-Leninism.

From 1918-1924, Right opportunist elements dominated the leadership of the Communist Party. They tried to harness our party and the working class movement to the chariot of the local plutocracy and its foreign masters.

During the period of the “partial stabilisation of capitalism” the party was faced with a crisis engineered by the Trotskyites and liquidators who were out to destroy the Greek Communist Party. At the time of the new revolutionary upsurge in 1929, the party leadership proved incapable of analysing the new situation. It became involved in an unprincipled factional struggle which lasted for two years, fanned and encouraged by the class enemy. Here it should be stressed, however, that throughout this long crisis, the backbone of the party always maintained a revolutionary stand and remained loyal to the ideas of the October Socialist Revolution and the Communist International.

Although the party leadership changed six times between 1918-1931, the Communist Party of Greece was never split. On November 1, 1931, the central organ of the party, “**Rizospastis**” carried an appeal from the Executive Committee of the Communist International to all members of the Communist Party of Greece.

This appeal put an end to the factional struggle and the protracted internal crisis in the party. The Communist Party of Greece, being a revolutionary body with a healthy proletarian basis, grew stronger, acquired experience and with the help of the Communist International overcame the crisis.

A characteristic feature of the Communist Party since then has been its consistent day-to-day work among the masses. At the same time the Party itself has matured ideologically and theoretically. It courageously stood up to its first great test in the years of the monarcho-fascist Metaxas dictatorship. From the very outset of the Hitler occupation it headed the struggle of the masses, was the initiator in forming EAM (National Liberation Front) and organising ELAS (People’s Liberation Army). It was the leader of the national liberation struggle of the Greek people.

Why then is it that in spite of this, Greece did not win her independence, freedom and democracy after World War two? In the autumn of 1944, after three years of armed struggle in the mountains and pitched battles in towns, especially in Athens, the armed forces of the National-Liberation movement of the Greek people (ELAS) freed the country of the Hitler invaders. The sweeping offensive of the Soviet Army in southeastern Europe and in the Balkans, together with the active operations by ELAS inside the country, compelled the Germans to beat a hasty retreat from Greece. Thus the British troops did not have to fight the Germans when they entered our country. In fact the British were least of all concerned with the Nazis. They were preoccupied with other matters in Greece; they set about to disarm and disband ELAS, to bring the people's liberation movement under their control; to make Greece once again economically and politically dependent on foreign imperialism, above all, on the American and British imperialists who held the key positions in the economic and political life of the country. The British and American imperialists tried to turn Greece into a base for struggle against the countries of the people's democracy.

## **Our Mistakes During the Occupation and in December 1944**

The strength of the national liberation movement in Greece lay in the fact that, parallel with the struggle to drive out the Nazi invaders and restore the national honour and independence of the country, it raised the cardinal problems of a people's democracy and, above all, the agrarian problem. The national liberation movement being of such a nature made it possible for EAM (National Liberation Front), to rally the overwhelming majority of the Greek People and draw them

into the struggle for their freedom and independence. However, it must be acknowledged that the national liberation movement had its weaknesses. And these weaknesses came to the fore in the autumn of 1944. When the British again landed on Greek territory both EAM (National Liberation Front) and the Communist Party, the leading elements in the National Liberation Front, displayed indecision, lacked a clear perspective and harboured illusions regarding the object of Anglo-Saxon imperialism in Greece and the role it intended playing in the country.

During those decisive days for Greece, when the people's democratic revolution, covering the overwhelming majority of the population, was advancing victoriously, the Party leadership became dizzy with success. Satisfied with the achievements scored, the Party allowed its revolutionary class vigilance to grow blunt and committed mistakes which had serious consequences, which made it impossible to complete the people's democratic revolution. This explains why ELAS was subordinate to the British command in the Middle East, why pro-British elements were appointed to decisive posts in PEEA (the government of national resistance), which was absolutely contrary to the real relation of forces in the people's liberation camp. Most characteristic too, in this respect are the unjustified concessions made by us during the Lebanon conference when the national government headed by Papandreou was formed. The Communist Party leadership made a mistake when we accepted the Kazerta agreement which conferred full powers on General Scobie, the British commander in Greece.

The leadership of the Greek Communist Party did not have a firm and clear line when estimating the role of British imperialism in Greece. EAM and ELAS should not have allowed the British to land troops in Greece, for there was nothing for them to do in our country which had already been

cleared of the German invaders. The sole aim of the British was the suppression of the people's liberation movement.

It was clear from the very outset that the people's liberation movement would sooner or later, be threatened by British imperialism. It should have vigorously prepared to combat the danger. The more active and widespread these preparations, the greater would have been the chances of success and the less the chances of the British to suppress the popular movement while the war against Hitler was still in progress.

Instead of being thus fully prepared, we voluntarily conceded our positions to the British and their local agents—monarcho-fascist reaction with the result that when in December 1944 an armed clash broke out, we found ourselves at a disadvantage in the military and political field.

But even in December we did not wage a sufficiently resolute struggle. With the exception of the Athens-Piraeus sector the British lived peacefully in Greece. Only an inconsiderable part of the ELAS forces were in action, even in the Athens area. Without doubt had we concentrated our forces, we would have achieved speedy success, liberated Athens and Piraeus and forced the British troops back to sea. But this was not done. The heroic struggle of the people and ELAS units in Athens and Piraeus ended in a military defeat, which compelled us to retreat. This was reflected in the Varkiz agreement, signed on February 12, 1945 between EAM and the British puppet government in Athens. The British acted as the "guarantors" of the agreement.

The Varkiz agreement was the outcome of the military defeat suffered by us as a result of armed intervention by British forces.

For us the Varkiz agreement represented a retreat. But it gave us the chance to reorganise our forces and launch a new offensive after the policy and practice of monarcho-fascism

and the British occupation had been exposed without active assistance, and after the vacillating sections had learned for themselves that EAM path – the path of national independence and popular democracy, was the only correct way to save the people from hunger and slavery.

## **For Democracy and Peace**

EAM elaborated and proclaimed its programme for a people's democracy in Greece. The programme calls for the liberation of the country from foreign economic dependence (expropriation of the foreign colonial concessions), the introduction of an agrarian reform, nationalisation of large scale industry, democratic solution of the national question (Macedonia). EAM raised high the banner of struggle for national independence and state sovereignty, for a lasting peace in the Balkans, for fraternal democratic agreement and cooperation with the neighbouring Balkan Peoples.

EAM systematically led the struggle to consolidate and unite the working people, striving, above all, to strengthen the alliance of workers with the artisans and small tradesmen in the towns and with the peasants in the countryside, directed the full weight of the people's struggle against the exploiters. The democratic front grew stronger and extended its base, as reflected in the establishment of the Greek Federation of Democratic Leagues, which centres its activities around the struggle for democracy and the independence of the country. The Federation is a mass organisation and is headed by General Alexander Ophoneos, former prime Minister and Commander-in-chief of the Greek Army.

The Communist Party decided to dissolve all its rural organisations in order to further the consolidation and organisation of the democratic forces in the countryside. In

agreement with the Peasant Party, the Communists in the rural areas joined this party.

The Peasant Party unites all the progressive democratic elements in the countryside. It is fighting for consistent people's democratic reforms in the countryside, stands firmly for a close alliance with the working class which it regards as the basis for the victory of people's democracy in Greece.

The Peasant Party, the biggest mass party in the country today, carries on its activities in close cooperation with the Communist Party.

With the aim of strengthening the Greek Union of the Youth (EPON), to consolidate its bonds with the broad sections of the working-class youth, the Communist Party has relieved its members of this organisation of their routine Party duties to enable them to work in EPON. This measure has favourably influenced the further development of EPON as a genuine people's democratic organisation of the youth.

EAM and all the democratic forces opposed the policy of the British invaders aided by the monarcho-fascists of fomenting internecine war inside the country and preparation for war in the Balkans, with the slogan of national reconciliation, based on the defence of the common interests of the working people and the struggle against the exploitation of the capitalists and the landlords, the struggle for democracy and national independence against Anglo-American imperialism and monarcho-fascism. Considerable sections of the people responded to the call for national reconciliation, and under their pressure, even certain elements in the monarchist, anti-democratic camp.

This call yielded, and continues to yield, positive results, even though in some places, as for instance in Crete, it was interpreted and partly carried out not as a call to unity and struggle for the partial and common demands of the people, but as a form of capitulation to reaction.

Exposing the provocations of the monarcho-fascists and their Anglo-American patrons in the Balkans, EAM launched a widespread campaign in favour of agreement with and cooperation on the part of all the Balkan nations.

The Communist Party, as the leading force in the EAM, fought for the consolidation and development of the forces of democracy. Native reaction and Anglo-Saxon spies, resorting to deception, bribery and violence, tried by every means to undermine the unity in the ranks of EAM and the democratic camp. But without success. The Communist Party succeeded in preserving this unity intact, without making any concessions in its programme and consistent struggle against foreign occupation.

## **Camp of Reaction and Our Tactics**

When analysing the alignment of political forces in Greece, note should be taken of the so-called Republicans, or more correctly speaking, the pseudo-democratic centre, the main force of which is the liberal party headed by Sophoulis.

In September 1947, Sophoulis agreed to collaborate with Tsaldaris, thereby helping the Americans out of the tight corner in which they found themselves as a result of political, military and economic failures of the monarcho-fascists. Sophoulis directed his so-called appeasement policy against the people's democratic movement in general, and against the democratic army in particular, hoping through a pseudo amnesty either to liquidate them or at least, to weaken them considerably.

While struggling against foreign occupation and its main support inside the country—monarcho-fascism—the people's democratic movement at the same time exposed these pseudo-democrats who, by seeking a compromise with the foreign invaders, were helping them to destroy democracy and the

national independence of Greece. We succeeded in isolating this pseudo-democratic party from the middle classes.

By carrying out a consistent policy for securing the normal democratic development of the country on the basis of democratic national reconciliation and the establishment of a lasting peace in the Balkans—a policy which has the full confidence of the people—the national democratic movement strengthened its positions. The object of this policy was to expose the foreign occupation forces and monarcho-fascism, which obstructed the carrying out of a democratic home and foreign policy in Greece.

The Communist Party and EAM placed the monarcho-fascists and the foreign occupation forces in a difficult position and exposed them. For instance, in the autumn of 1946 we accepted the conclusions of a British Parliamentary delegation, headed by Cox, as a basis for solving the internal political problems of Greece. The delegation, representing the three main parties in Britain, came to Greece at the official invitation of the Greek Government. The delegation's conclusion, especially in the political sphere, confirmed the views of EAM. Thus, the British occupation forces and monarcho-fascists were exposed and compelled to disown the delegation which they themselves had invited to Greece in the hope that it would whitewash them. The same thing happened to the proposals on the trade union question, submitted by the representative of the British Ministry of Labour. When the anti-fascist trade unions of Greece accepted these proposals the British immediately rejected them.

It became all the more clear to the broad masses on the basis of concrete examples and facts that the British occupation forces and monarcho-fascists were aiming to establish a fascist regime in the country, were resorting to open terror and assassinations on an ever bigger scale because their policy was not meeting with the support of the people.

## **Against Anglo-American Invaders and Monarcho-Fascism**

The Varkiz agreement was torn to shreds by reaction. Tens of thousands were thrown into prison, hundreds of democrats murdered.

Popular resistance grew. Out of the mass economic and political battles for bread and democratic liberties, out of the armed struggle of individuals, fighters and groups, defending their lives, honour, family and property, was born the Democratic Army, which holds high the banner of struggle for democracy and the independence of Greece. The schemes of the Anglo American imperialists came to nought. They signed the agreement in Varkiz in order to mislead the people's democratic movement. Later, with the help of terror they tried to intimidate us. Their calculations failed because they encountered popular resistance.

The Anglo-Saxons in Greece prepared their crafty schemes; they reckoned that by signing the Varkiz agreement they would curb the popular movement, set up a fascist state apparatus, supported by the foreign bayonets of the new occupation and afterwards, at their discretion and with the approval of "foreign observers", would stage elections and a plebiscite. And so they would emerge clean from the dirty water of the tiresome "Greek question". Simultaneously with this, the British hoped to carry out their imperialist plans aimed at undermining peace on the Balkan peninsula.

The Greek people frustrated these plans. They prevented the Anglo-Americans from solving the Greek question as they wanted to, that is, by forcing falsified elections and afterwards legalising their policy. The election held on March 31, 1946, and described by Prime Minister Sophoulis himself as a faked election, was boycotted not only by the Left parties, but also by

the Republican centre. The political meaning of the boycott was that it frustrated the manoeuvre of the Anglo-Saxons and the monarcho-fascists who wanted a “Parliamentary solution” of the Greek question so that later they could place responsibility on the popular democratic camp for the scandals and incompetence of the present Parliament.

The plebiscite followed the elections, and this despite Bevin’s categorical declarations that there would be no plebiscite until 1948. The plebiscite was accompanied by a growing terror, especially in the countryside. But the threats and repressions were of no avail. The people refused to be intimidated. A majority of the urban population voted against the monarchy. The foreign invaders and the “foreign observers” once more faked the results of the voting, and the former Glucksburg king, after three expulsions from the country, returned to Greece. The plebiscite was held under conditions when a new armed resistance movement—the partisan movement – was spreading rapidly in the mountains. On October 28, 1946, which was the 6th anniversary of Mussolini’s attack on our country, a General Staff of the Greek Democratic Army headed by General Markos, the ELAS leader, was set up in the mountains of Greece. Since then the armed struggle of the Democratic Army for democracy and independence has been the focal point of the Greek political life.

The beginning of 1947, British policy in Greece experienced a serious crisis. As is known, British imperialism came out of World War Two considerably weakened. Britain had to relinquish a number of her positions to American imperialism and because of certain internal weaknesses and contradictions became economically dependent on the USA. At the same time, the resolute resistance of the Greek people against the British invaders and their hirelings inside the

country made it impossible for Britain to maintain her domination in the country.

The offensive launched by the Tsaldaris government against the Greek Democratic Army failed. President Truman considered the time was ripe for open interference in the internal affairs of our country.

Intervention by the U.S. undoubtedly encouraged the monarcho-fascists and made certain middle class sections of the population adopt a wait-and-see position. But life dashed the new hopes and upset the new plans of the monarcho-fascists. Their spring and summer offensive in 1947 against the Greek Democratic Army ended in failure.

The Democratic Army reduced to nought the initial successes of the monarcho-fascists and emerged from the struggle stronger than before. Failure led to a new crisis in Athens, and this time the Americans turned to Sophoulis who came forward with an appeasement programme though at the same time he used force. Sophoulis failed in both.

The Greek Democratic Army has successfully extended its operations. It is setting up local organs of state power based on popular councils, is carrying out an agrarian reform and a number of other democratic measures and is leading Greece along the path of a popular democratic regeneration. On December 23, 1947, a provisional democratic government was formed on the liberated territory of Greece.

## **Military Operations in 1948**

At the beginning of 1948 the Americans and the monarcho-fascists began operations to “completely eliminate” the Democratic Army. They started their offensive in Murgan, Central Macedonia and Rumelia. In June 1948 they concentrated their main forces in the Northern Pindus

(Smolika-Grammos) to deliver the “final” blow to the Democratic Army.

This operation was personally directed by the American General van Fleet and his staff. The relation of forces favoured the monarcho-fascists, for they had ten times as many men and fifty times as much equipment as the Democratic Army which had neither a single plane nor tank. After a seventy day battle, brigades of the Democratic Army broke the enemy encirclement and seized the mountain of Vitsi, where after two months they repulsed each enemy offensive and eventually forced them to retreat. This was the end of the 1948 campaign of the Americans and monarcho-fascists against the Democratic Army.

The enemies of the people had failed again. The consequences of this failure are now far more serious for the monarcho-fascists than in the past. For it has smashed the legend that with the hope of the Americans, the monarcho-fascists would be able to defeat the Democratic Army and strangle the democratic struggle of the Greek people. For some time this legend coloured the hopes of reaction but such illusions have been scattered by reality.

Never was the crisis in the ranks of Greek reaction so serious as it is today. In spite of all the American dollars, the monarcho-fascist economic basis has been shattered. The poverty of the mass of the people is growing; strikes are developing in the towns; a new mass movement is beginning. The monarcho-fascist troops do not want to fight; mutinies are becoming frequent. Many army officers have been shot during the past few weeks and numerous officers of the navy and air force court-martialled: a group of senior air-force officers was also brought to trial. In the course of the year the high command of the monarcho-fascist army has changed three times.

Neither American threats nor Marshall's visit to Athens have been able to solve the dissension in the enemy camp. The American imperialists are seeing for themselves that they cannot defeat the Democratic Army with the help of the monarcho-fascist rabble. That is why they are now trying openly to interfere in Greece with armed force. For this end they are trying to use the pseudo Balkan Committee, at the same time taking cover behind the United Nations. The chief aim of the American imperialists in Greece is to build airfields, naval bases and military roads for a strategic bridgehead and to use the Greek people as cannon fodder in the new war they are preparing.

At the same time, the Democratic Army has come through the battles of 1948 stronger in every way and still more confident of victory. While it was diverting and pinning down the main enemy forces at Grammos and Vitsi, a wide popular-democratic movement was gaining momentum in other parts of the country. This is especially important in the Peloponnese, in the extreme South of the country, which has now the largest liberated area with a strong army of high fighting capacity. At Grammos the flag of freedom is once again flying.

Never before was the position of the monarcho-fascists so unstable and the Democratic Army so strong. The policy of American domination will meet with fiasco. Monarcho-fascism is being more and more isolated. The Democratic Army calls for genuine democratic agreement favoured by the people. The slogan "Only the pen (that is, agreement) can solve the problem" which was put forward from the ranks is now steadily taking root among the monarcho-fascist troops. It is also winning increasing support among various sections of the people.

To maintain their positions, the American invaders and the monarcho-fascists are resorting to the most vicious terror. Thousands of people's fighters have been shot. Tens of

thousands more are in prison, concentration camps, or in exile. This unprecedented terror has evoked indignation throughout the world, and international opinion, led by the Soviet Union, has come out against this monarcho-fascist brutality.

But neither violence nor terror can bring the Greek people to their knees.

## **Communist Party Heads the Struggle for Independence and Freedom**

The Communist Party is the chief organizing and political force in the popular democratic movement in Greece. During the Hitler occupation the Greek Communist Party was the first to raise the banner of struggle for independence and for a people's republic.

The Communist Party organised EAM and ELAS, and was the driving force in these organisations. During the most difficult periods Communists were always in the vanguard. Throughout the anti-Hitler struggle and today, in the struggle against American imperialism, against the British occupation and the monarcho-fascists, the Communists suffered and are suffering heavy losses, losing their best comrades, resolute fighters for the people's cause.

After December 1944, the Communist Party, developing its activities under the difficult conditions of the reactionary offensive, shed its weaknesses and its shortcomings. It has eliminated the mistakes committed in the period of the German occupation, has clearly defined its line, preserved its unity and is consolidating its ranks and strengthening its bonds with the masses. Its principal task now is to further develop and consolidate the national, anti-imperialist democratic front. It must spare no efforts to raise EAM to the level of the united popular political organization in Greece and to strengthen its

main body—the politically and organizationally united workers' and peasant front, represented by the Communist and the Peasant Parties. Such a consolidation of the forces of the people's democracy will enable the Democratic Army successfully to solve its tasks.

The Democratic Army has become a regular army. It is waging large scale battles and is resolutely defending the liberated areas. The Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece held in Grammos on July 28 and 29 examined the experience of the struggle, delivered a blow at the opportunist vacillations and took a number of measures to strengthen further the Democratic Army and to raise the struggle to a higher stage.

True, the difficulties are enormous. In their efforts to isolate the Democratic Army from the population, the Americans and the monarcho-fascists have concentrated over 700,000 peasants in the towns. The Democratic Army is short of arms, ammunition, food, equipment and foot wear. However, the strength of the Greek Democratic Army lies in its bonds with the people. At the same time, the morale of the Anglo-American Army fighting against the people, is low. This army has numerical superiority. It is abundantly supplied with foreign arms. And yet the Anglo-American army suffered fiasco in all previous campaigns and will meet with more in the future. The Democratic Army with the Communist Party in its vanguard, is heroically overcoming the difficulties and unswervingly advancing towards the victory of its just cause. The Communist Party is the leading force in the country, it is the brain, honour and conscience of the new Greece.

The present internal and international situation differs greatly from that of December 1944. Then British imperialism, taking advantage of our mistake and our relative isolation, compelled us to retreat temporarily. Since that time the situation in Greece, both economically and politically has been

steadily deteriorating. Today a regime of Anglo-American occupation and of monarcho-fascist terror rules the country. The country is experiencing a profound revolutionary crisis.

The popular democratic revolution in Greece has entered into a new phase. This phase dates from the moment when the popular resistance developed into armed struggle and the Greek Democratic Army became the vanguard of this resistance.

Notwithstanding the fact that some people in the West have characterized the struggle of our people as “lacking perspective” the Greek people have seen for themselves of the armed struggle and are firmly confident of their victory. They see the shining example of the victorious popular democratic construction in the people’s democracies and they have again taken to arms. They regard this path as the only correct path, which makes it possible to save the country from American imperialist bondage.

The Slogan “All to arms! Everything for victory!” resounds throughout the country. The monarcho-fascist and imperialists’ plans will meet with defeat. Greece will never be a hotbed of fascism nor jumping off ground for imperialist expansion. The people of Greece will never go against the new democracies. This is guaranteed by the struggle and by the blood that is being shed in Greece for the sake of democracy and Independence and peace.

Enjoying the support of the international democratic movement, our people, despite of all hardships, are marching forward, towards the victory of the people’s democracy in Greece, towards peace and the fraternal cooperation of the Balkan peoples.

## **INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN BULGARIA. Petko Kunin, Candidate Member, Political Bureau Central Committee. Bulgarian Workers' Party**

When the Fatherland Front Government was formed after the people's victory of September 9, 1944, it found Bulgaria's national economy in a very difficult position. It inherited from the old regime a country which was industrially extremely backward. The little industry in existence was mainly light industry.

The principal reason for this economic backwardness was the policy of the Bulgarian exploiting classes—a treacherous anti-popular policy which expressed only their narrow class interests. The dominant positions in the country's economy were held by foreign capital, particularly German.

This extremely low level of economy which the Fatherland Front inherited is instanced by the fact that Bulgaria produced no pig iron. Its coal and cement production per head were among the lowest in Europe. Similar examples can be given for the food industry and other light industries.

To give a more complete picture of the state of our industry it should be noted that we are very short of basic raw materials, even though Bulgaria has favourable natural and geographical conditions. With the exception of food, our industries were all dependent on foreign materials either completely or to a considerable extent.

The Bulgarian bourgeoisie did not even consider how to improve the country's economic situation. It was unable to develop the productive forces, to start industrialisation and electrification, to exploit our mining and timber resources or to

mechanise and reorganise agriculture.

Only the Fatherland Front Government led by the Workers' Party (Communists) was able to set such a task after the victory of September 9, 1944, when the monarcho-fascist domination and the bourgeoisie were overthrown and power passed into the hands of the workers and peasants, into the hands of the people.

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Since that date, the country's economic development and our Party's economic policy passed through two stages. The first was from September 9, 1944 to December 23, 1947. During this phase the main economic task of our Party and of the people's power was to carry out a number of measures mobilising the people's forces to rehabilitate the devastated national economy and overcome the major economic difficulties. The solution of this task was made more difficult since it was to a considerable extent carried out under conditions of the Patriotic War against the German fascist invaders when it was necessary to subordinate the entire national economy to the interests of combating the enemy, and also under the conditions of three successive droughts.

Nevertheless, to the credit of our Party, this task, was successfully carried out.

Because of the quick and energetic measures taken by the people's Government on the initiative of the Workers Party, the heroic efforts of the working people, and thanks to the great help in raw materials given us by the Soviet Union, our economy was saved from catastrophe in 3 short space of time our industry managed to overcome the difficulties facing it and embarked upon the path of speedy rehabilitation. By the end of 1947, industry had reached, and in some branches surpassed, the pre-war level.

During this period working class control of production was organised and strengthened in the form of trade union committees set up at the enterprises. Though, they still owned the factories, the capitalists were compelled to organise their production in line with the targets determined by the people's state. During this period the working class and the new State gained considerable experience, and, the necessary minimum of cadres were trained, capable of leading economic work, taking production into their own hands, and holding key positions in the economic field.

In agriculture, the question of peasant producer co-operation, of forming agricultural cooperatives was advanced.

The measures of our Party and of the people's power were carried out through a resolute struggle against the attempts of the bourgeois and Right elements to swing the country onto the path of bourgeois democracy and to harness it to the Anglo-American bandwagon. In this period the role of the working class and its vanguard, the Bulgarian Workers' Party, was consolidated among the people and recognised by the Fatherland Front organisations and political parties.

In this period broad masses of the working people realised that there was a vital necessity of developing the country along the path of Socialism.

The section of the country's' development was clear to our Party. This was our main stimulus in the struggle against the Right elements in the Fatherland Front. But it was essential that this should also become clear to our allies in the Fatherland Front, and all progressive sections and movements in our country.

The struggle for industrial development made clear to the people the need to effect radical changes in the sphere of economy and helped to expose the anti-popular designs of reaction. All the plans and efforts of the Fatherland Front Government and of the working class to accelerate the

rehabilitation and development of industry met with many difficulties—the enterprises were scattered and of a primitive nature, the instruments of production were private property, and there was sabotage on the part of manufacturers.

The temporary measures taken by the Government immediately after September 9—confiscation of the property of fascists and German agents condemned, by the people's courts; action against those who had grown rich during the war through illegal methods, and so on—did not change the development of productive forces essentially. The state sector of industry was scarcely 6 per cent, the cooperative sector 10 per cent, the public sector 0.4 per cent, while 83.6 per cent remained private industry.

The nationalisation of private industry carried out on December 23, 1947 radically changed both the rate and the nature of our further development.

Above all, the class character of industry changed radically. At present the State sector covers over 93 per cent of industry, the cooperative sector 2 per cent and the private sector 5 per cent.

Enterprises of national importance remained under direct Government control; 2,400 enterprises were handed over to the Ministry of industry. The remainder of the nationalised enterprises were handed over to the local authorities.

Seventeen, State industrial confederations (trusts) have been set up under the Ministry of Industry to guide the work of the enterprises. As a result of reorganisation and improvement in the work of industry, the total number of factories and plants has dropped by one half. This process of reorganisation is still going on. Simultaneously, machinery is being overhauled and improvements made in technique.

This reorganisation and reconstruction of the nationalised enterprises is also a great economy for the State, because it does away with much superfluous expenditure amounting to

millions of leva. It is possible to make the fullest use of machinery, factory premises and skilled cadres. This leads to increased output, to higher productivity of labour and to lower production cost. This will inevitably secure more resources for socialist accumulation and will make it possible to cut prices and steadily improve the material and cultural well-being of the working class.

Together with the new large-scale enterprises now being built, the existing industrial enterprise, are becoming, after their reorganisation and rationalisation, the basis for our country's further industrialisation. In this an important role is being played by the engineering Industry.

With the exception of some "ten large-scale and well-equipped plants, our engineering enterprises and medium and small-scale. Previously they worked along handicraft lines without much specialisation. Through the industrial reorganisation, these enterprises were able to undertake greater specialisation which makes it possible to start mass production.

Now our engineering enterprises are producing a number of machines which previously we had to import. But the possibilities before them are still greater and our task is to make good use of these possibilities alongside the industry's further development.

The fulfilment of production targets for the period January to October 1948, shows a considerable advance in the development of our people's industry. In total, the plan for these months was fulfilled by 98.1 per cent and the annual plan—by 86.4 per cent. Enterprises controlled by the Ministry of Industry increased their production by 37 per cent compared with the corresponding months of the previous year.

For some industries this figure was even higher showing the characteristic feature of the industrial development after nationalisation—the growing proportion of heavy industry.

During the first six months of this year the output of the

engineering industry increased by 195 per cent, against the corresponding period of last year: iron and steel 177.6 per cent; the metal industry 131 per cent (including the growth of output of cast-iron products by 331.5 per cent); the chemical industry 166.1 per cent.

These achievements were the result of this firm consistent and correct political line of the Fatherland Front Government under the leadership of the Workers' Party. They were possible because of the friendly assistance given to us by the great Soviet Union and the unprecedented labour enthusiasm of the working class.

The nationalisation of industry eliminated the main contradiction which had hampered its development—the contradiction between the social nature of production and the private capitalist form of appropriation which is characteristic of the capitalist mode of production.

After nationalisation the attitude of the factory and office workers toward production changed. They began to regard it as their own concern, as the main thing which would improve their living standards. This was a new stimulus which led to a great development of emulation, shock work, rationalisation and inventions.

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All the time we are studying the experience of the Soviet Union in building Socialism, especially the methods used to industrialise the country. We try to learn from this experience.

It is clear to the people's power and to our Party that the economic backwardness inherited by our country can only be overcome by building up our national industry and particularly our heavy industry. The development of industry and first of all, of heavy industry, must become the guiding factor in the development of Bulgaria's national economy.

The main line of development of the country's national economy in the next five year period and in the years' following is to build up heavy processing and mining industry. Nearly 42 per cent of the capital investments envisaged by the Five Year Plan are for industry.

By the end of the Five Year Plan, that is by 1953, we should have reached a level in the production of coal and electricity, chemical products, ferrous and non-ferrous metals as will satisfy, partially or fully, the needs of an industry which will have greatly increased, of more highly developed cooperative agriculture and of transport—in other words, of the entire national economy.

During the Five Year Plan the foundations will be laid for an all-round

Development of the country's engineering industry to satisfy most of our needs. As a result of this, the engineering industry will increase its output six-fold.

As a result of the Five Year Plan, industrial output will increase altogether by 119 per cent, that is, more than double. Output of the means of production will increase 3.2 times and of electricity more than 3.5 times. This will bring the proportion of industrial production in the total volume of the country's economy from 30 to 45 per cent and in the sphere of the means of production as compared with the means of consumption from 26 to 45 per cent.

The socialist sector of our national economy will also considerably increase. By the end of the Five Year Plan the private sector in the whole of urban economy—in industry, trade and transport—will be completely eliminated. The Plan foresees the completion in the main of bringing the artisans into producer cooperatives in agriculture, the Plan provides for bringing into agricultural cooperatives 60% of the peasant households and over 60% of the total crop area.

All this shows that during the Five Year Plan the

industrialisation of our country will make enormous strides.

Industry will actually become a powerful and leading factor in our national economy, the basis for the reconstruction of other branches of economy, particularly agriculture, and for the reorganisation of agriculture along socialist lines.

This will require great efforts and the fullest mobilisation of the forces of the entire people. Our people have all the objective conditions necessary to build Socialism quickly. We have the consistent aid of the land of Socialism, the great Soviet Union, and of the people's democracies. We have a people's government and a people's State. We have a staunch and hardy working class full of heroism and selflessness which is headed by a Communist Party tested in battle.

## **TRAINING CADRES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

A number of schools for training specialists, drawn from the ranks of the working class and peasantry, has been opened in Czechoslovakia.

A short time ago, preparatory courses were initiated for those desirous of entering the Military Academy with a view to becoming officers.

The Ministry of Justice has opened a school in Prague for the training of judges and magistrates. The course at this school is of one year's duration. Two-thirds of the programme is devoted to juridical discipline, while the remainder is taken up with political study.

Beginning with January next, a number of special State courses will be available for young people anxious to enter the higher educational establishments. Most of the first contingent of one thousand youths and girls, upon completing these courses will go to the Higher Technical Schools.

These measures mark the beginning of the realisation of the tasks mooted at the recent Plenum of Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia concerning the training of worker cadres for economic and State undertakings.

## **EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE IN PARTY WORK**

### **For Better Guidance of Party Organisations. Arturo Colombi, Member, Board Central Committee, Communist Party of Italy**

The Italian Communist Party is a fighting Party of the Working class enjoying the following of the majority of the proletariat. It is the only Party in the country which really defends the class interests of the workers and the national interests of the people.

The sharpening class struggle in Italy makes the job of guiding the activity of the Party organisations in the provinces more complicated and difficult and tests the present methods of leadership and work.

It must be acknowledged that there are still serious weaknesses and shortcomings in the methods of a number of our federations and sections. Perhaps the most dangerous of these is the bureaucratic corrosion, the tendency "to operate from the office", to engage in "high" politics, while neglecting the direct, operative guidance of the branches waging the every day struggle.

On the whole, our Party organisations and the membership successfully resisted the brutal repression and violence of the police and employers; they counter-attacked energetically and returned blow for blow. This was the case particularly in those places where the federation (provincial Party organisation) committees were able to give counsel, orientation and encouragement; in other words, where they were successful in

giving real leadership. In the places where the guidance was up to the mark, our organisations and our influence gained considerably in strength as a result of the hard fought struggle, against repression. Proof of this is seen in the examples of the leading Modena and Bologna federations.

It is understandable that at the present moment when the enemy is intensifying his political, ideological and police onslaught, the Party branches need more than ever constant support and personal daily guidance from the leading Party committees in the provinces. But not all the leading Party committees are in a position to meet these just demands. For example, the leaders of one of the federations in Emilia are now being subjected to severe criticism by the Party branches notwithstanding the fact they had quite serious successes to their credit during the election campaign and in trade-union work. The branches are stressing that the federation committee did not display sufficient boldness in tackling a number of political and trade union questions, that it failed to secure proper coordination of the work of the secretariat and its individual members, that the federation leaders rarely visit the branches.

In this criticism there is an element of exaggeration. But the fact that it emanates from different sources, and from honest comrades devoted to the Party, shows that not all is well in relation to the methods of guidance used by this federation. It is obvious that the people there are neglecting the work of direct and operative leadership of the branches, that they are not devoting the necessary attention to work with the section and branch cadres—to those mundane tasks which at first glance appear to be trifling and unimportant but which are essential for the consolidation of the Party, which help the membership, strengthen the Party spirit and discipline and enhance the prestige of the leaders and the leading body just as any other activity does. Only by taking part in the every day

mundane work can the leaders gain contact and become closely acquainted with the masses of people with whom they are jointly carrying out Party policy.

In some of our federations, for example, the Bologna federation, the leading Party committees always maintain political contact with the Party Active and with the Party membership as a whole. Nevertheless certain committees in these federations still suffer from serious shortcomings.

It is not enough for a Party leader to explain thoroughly the main line of Party policy. He must also be able to apply this line in the concrete situation. And this cannot be done without taking part in discussing problems, without having a clear idea of burning questions and of the difficulties confronting the comrades in the localities, without knowledge of the counter measures taken by the enemy, and of the difficulties arising from shortcomings in the sphere of organisation, allocation of cadres and political orientation.

A wide-spread shortcoming in the leading bodies of our federations is an inability to organise their work in the proper manner. Not always and not everywhere is a distinction made between the functions of the secretariat, the executive and leading committees of the federation. The sole difference between them often consists of the number of people present at the meetings and conferences. Some comrades from one of the Emilia federations once noted that whenever the secretariat meets, the federation secretary holds forth with a long political report just as if he were appearing at a general meeting. Then, the report is discussed, and everyone considers himself bound to take part in the debate. As a result the meeting drags on for 5-6 hours discussing points on which there is no disagreement, whereas the secretariat should discuss dozens of matters requiring immediate solution.

This bad habit ignores the important fact that the secretariat is a working body. The immediate consequences of such

incorrect methods of work is that the members became exhausted and their activity is restricted to meetings to the detriment of the concrete, living work of guiding Party organisations. Another consequence of this method of work is that the secretariat and other leading bodies suffering from these shortcomings, meet but rarely and do not fulfil in the proper measure functions of an organ of collective leadership.

The majority of our federation leaders are able correctly to analyse the situation, to reveal mistakes and shortcomings in the work of this or that organisation, of this or that comrade engaged in trade-union work, in the cooperatives, municipal bodies, press, and so on. But sometimes when it is necessary in take action, to pass from words to deeds, to criticise and draw thee necessary organisational conclusions, a kind of paralysis, a fear of difficulties real or imagined, sets in.

A leading organ must be able to criticise, must be able to explain its point of view to any comrade irrespective of his position, past services and temperament. Criticism should not be separated from self-criticism and self-criticism should not be substituted by criticism of others, as is sometimes the case.

Complaints are received by us concerning the poor work of a number of Party branches and our inability to transform them into genuinely militant Party organisations. However, little is being done as yet to eliminate these shortcomings. Our provincial bodies should not confine themselves to stating the facts of the shortcomings and negative aspects of Party work; they must also disclose the reasons and find means of eliminating these shortcomings. First of all, we ourselves should learn how to organise meetings properly and to direct them. Some of our leaders set the bad example of restricting meetings to hearing reports without any discussion taking place after the report. Meetings attended by hundreds and sometimes by thousands of members cannot, for obvious reasons discuss questions; the members come to the meeting, listen to the

speakers, applaud and leave, fully confident that they are taking part in the life of the Party. Many members have become so accustomed to attending meetings at which important speeches are made, that they do not find it necessary to attend meetings when no well-known reporter is expected.

The leading federation committees must examine organisational questions and eliminate the existing defects. They must spare no effort to make our Party branches really militant Party organisations where the members can live a genuine Party life, where they can discuss and participate in elaborating measures to carry out the political line of the Party.

In order to prepare the Party for the solution of the increasingly complex problems of the struggle, we must devote more attention to organisational questions, uncover the weaknesses and shortcomings in this sphere and overcome them by patient and diligent work, and we must devote more attention and give more energy to the further building of the Party. Every Party leader must work to increase the activity of the Party members, to make each Communist a fighter,, to transform the Party branches into vigorous and efficient political organs and each Party committee—into a headquarters, rendering operative and efficient guidance to the masses.

## **PARTY-POLITICAL WORK IN FACTORY ORGANISATION. E. Rodan, Head Propaganda Department, Bucharest Committee, Workers Party Rumania**

The Rumanian Workers' Party, utilising the rich experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is devoting considerable attention to "party political work in the industrial organisations of the Party. This work was intensified after the nationalisation of the basic enterprises.

By way of illustration, the work of the Party organisation in the "Vulcan" factory (Bucharest) may be mentioned. This factory employs some 1,400 people. The 417 Party members in the factory are organised in 9 basic units which are subdivided into 29 groups. In addition to the Party members, some 120 non-Party people are active in the political life of the factory. All the workers there are trade-union members and also take part in the functions organised by the social organisations in the factory.

In order to really lead the workers and be able to unite them and direct their efforts towards a single aim, the Party organisation itself must be well organised and its inner Party life well developed.

The leadership of the "Vulcan" Party organisation has certain successes to its credit in relation to inner Party work. Evidence of this is the high level of the Party meetings held at the factory.

Regular meetings are held not less than once a week. During the past six months, the attendance at the meetings has increased considerably. Up to 90 per cent of the membership attend the meetings of the basic units.

The quality of the meetings has like-wise improved. It is not unusual to find theoretical questions included on the agenda together with topical matters relating to output and the light for increased labour productivity.

Much attention is devoted to the matter of involving all Party members in active work. This is secured by means of individual assignments to the members. Assignments are allocated at the unit and group meetings. The number of members carrying out such assignments is steadily growing. For example, in No. 2 unit, during the recent period, only one member reported non-fulfilment of his assignment.

Particular attention is devoted to the political education of the membership. An evening school for Party education has been opened at the factory. The programme of lectures includes such subjects as the political, organisational and ideological principles of our Party and the tasks of party members; the teaching of Marx and Lenin about classes and the class struggle; the Lenin-Stalin doctrine of the Party; the role of the Soviet Union in the liberation of our country and in developing the system of people's democracy in the country, etc.

Thirty two students recently finished their studies at this school. Of these, two have been promoted to Party work in the district, the others have been given responsible jobs in the Party organisation in the factory. Their places in the factory school have been taken by another group of 35 students. A number of Party members from the factory are studying in other Party schools.

In our opinion, talks and discussions on political and ideological questions are of the greatest importance for political educational work. Even though sometimes the speakers are not sufficiently grounded and the talks are not always theoretically profound, they help all the same in raising the theoretical and political level of the membership.

Political study is one of the most important means of

deepening the consciousness and increasing the activity of the members., This is evident, for example, from the fact that those who engage in systematic study are as a rule, the first to fulfil Party obligations; they regularly take part in the discussions at Party meetings and they contribute in a big way to the successful political work of the Party among the masses.

One of the results of the political work carried on in the factory is the increased interest displayed in studying political and theoretical literature. More people are attending the Party and trade union libraries. Many “Vulcan” workers are studying the brilliant teachings of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, the world historic experience of the Soviet Union, and the decisions of our Party. During the last two months over a hundred copies of Comrade Stalin’s book “The Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B), were sold the factory.

The party-political work carried out in the factory has contributed to the development of socialist emulation for higher productivity of labour and for better quality production. This emulation has yielded good results. For example, as a result of the emulation in honour of the 31 Anniversary of the October Revolution, the output for October was 40.3% above the September level.

The Party organisation has involved in the emulation movement many workers who have pledged themselves to secure output in excess of schedule. Seventy propagandists are popularising the experience of those workers who have distinguished themselves in the emulation.

A considerable role in stimulating the emulation movement was played by the “wall newspapers”. We have 15 of these “wall newspapers” in the “Vulcan” factory. Keen interest is taken in the reports describing the achievements of the leading workers.

These are but modest achievements of the Party organisation in the factory. There are still many shortcomings

in the work. The main weakness is the insufficient popularisation of the experience of the leading workers and the inability to bring all forms of social influence to bear on those lagging behind.

By tackling these and other shortcomings, the Party organisation in the “Vulcan” factory will improve its political work among the masses, and will secure a more successful realisation of its tasks.

**THE OLDEST THEORETICAL JOURNAL.  
Review of “Novo Vremye;—Theoretical  
Organ of Bulgarian Workers’ Party  
(Communists), Nos: 8, 9 and 10 for  
August, September and October, 1948**

The Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers’ Party publishes a monthly theoretical journal. Since the beginning of last year the journal has appeared under the title “Novo Vremye”. This was the name of the first publication issued after the Party had been formed.

On its cover we read that the journal was founded by Dmitri Blagoev and that it was published for 24 years. The Central Committee of the Party thus emphasises that after nearly a 25 year interval caused by the banning of the journal in 1923 when the Communist Party was outlawed and by the Bulgarian fascists’ systematic elimination of the Party’s cadres of revolutionary Marxists, the Party continues the traditions of its founder, Dmitri Blagoev.

The August issue of “Novo Vremye” devotes special attention to questions of Marxist-Leninist education in the Bulgarian Party and puts forward the decisions of the Sixteenth Plenum of the Central Committee to extend the existing network of Party schools and courses, to raise the ideological level of the membership in every way, to eliminate the Party’s backwardness on the theoretical front. The article not only reviews the results of the Party’s positive work on the ideological front during its past four years of legality, revealing all its weaknesses; it also poses problems of the further development of ideological work, more extensive utilisation of

intellectual cadres for Party educational work, inauguration of a higher two year Party school for a more detailed study of Marxism-Leninism, more extensive propaganda of Marxist-Leninist ideas through public lectures and the propagation of this scientific knowledge among the masses.

The October issue of the journal devoted a leading article to the 10th anniversary of the publication of the “Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)”.

Referring to this brilliant work of Stalin’s as a powerful ideological-theoretical weapon for all Communist Parties, the journal dwelt in particular on certain conclusions drawn from the history of the CPSU(B) which in the present phase have a special significance for Bulgarian Communists, namely: the urgency for party, state and economic cadres to master Marxism-Leninism; the dangers arising from glossing over class struggle in the countryside; how best to take over and utilise in Bulgaria the experience gained in building Socialism in the USSR.

The issues under review give a theoretical analysis of such questions as the leading role of the Communist Party, the revolutionary traditions of the uprising in Bulgaria in September 1923, the reorganisation of the State apparatus, the country’s industrialisation and the class differentiation in the Bulgarian countryside.

The question of the leading role of the Bulgarian Workers’ Party is discussed in an article by P. Georgiev from the point of view of the conclusions to be drawn from the Information Bureau Resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Exposing the attempts of the Tito clique to revise the Marxist-Leninist teaching about the Party, the author quotes the main Lenin-Stalin theses on the Party and dwells on the experience of the CPSU(B).

The article shows the revolutionary Marxist organisational traditions of the Workers Party’ from the very outset. With the

help of valuable quotations from historical documents—the program published in the first issue of the newspaper “Rabotnik” which announced the formation of the Party in 1892, and the manifesto by the Tesnyaks issued when the Party was split in 1903—the author proves, that from the very outset the Bulgarian Workers’ Party was built on firm Marxist principles, that the Party defended these principles in a stubborn battle fought against all kinds of opportunists and that after the Great October Socialist Revolution it based itself ideologically and organisationally on Leninism.

The author points out that the Workers’ Party was able to take the leading role in the creation of the Fatherland Front and in organising the victory of September 1944. The concrete examples given in the article show, that the Party, which is the main organising force in building the people’s power and the initiator and leader of the country’s social, political and economic life, did not at any decisive moment in the development of the people’s democracy hide itself behind the Fatherland Front. It did not dissolve itself in it.

Comrade Georgiev’s article is deeply self-critical. It shows how detrimental were the shortcomings in Party work which were’ exhaustively disclosed by the Sixteenth Plenum of the Central Committee. The readers’ attention is particularly drawn to the fact that commands were issued to the Party instead of developing conscious discipline. This inevitably leads to a suppression of criticism and self-criticism.

In No. 8 of the journal, Comrade A. Yugov writes on “The reorganisation of the state apparatus and the role of the people’s councils”. The author shows how the Lenin-Stalin doctrine of the State, the correctness of which has been fully proved in Bulgaria, was applied to the conditions which prevailed in the country after the armed uprising of 1944 when power passed into the hands of the Fatherland Front. Comrade Yugov shows the great role of the Party in reorganising the

State apparatus, and the activity of the masses who, through the Fatherland Front Committees, are playing their part in building the new State. The author also gives facts to illustrate how the class struggle has developed around the creation of the new State.

“Novo Vremye” gives a great deal of space to questions of the economic development of the new Bulgaria. Number 9 of the journal carries an article by Comrade E Mateyev, “Industrialisation—the economic basis of our development on the road to Socialism”. The article deals with the ways, forms and methods of the country’s socialist reorganisation.

The author points out that the way forward is through building up the country’s heavy industry which is the key task of Bulgaria’s first Five Year Plan (1949-1953).

The question of developing the country’s backward productive forces (for Bulgaria was until recently economically dependent on capitalist countries) is considered by the author in the light of the need to eliminate capitalist elements both in town and in countryside. Following the directives of Lenin and Stalin on the role played by socialist industry as a basis for consolidating the alliance between the working class and the poor and middle peasantry, the article outlines ways of organising Bulgaria’s agriculture along socialist lines.

In his article Mateyev makes use of the rich experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

Comrade Mateyev stresses that the experience of the Soviet Union and the aid given by it are helping in the socialist industrialisation of Bulgaria.

The October number contained another article by the same author on the subject “Absolute Ground Rent in our National Economy”. Taking the Marxist-Leninist teaching of ground rent as his starting point, the author analysing agrarian relations in Bulgaria seeks to depict the role and forms of ground rent, and absolute rent in particular, prior to and after September 9,

1944.

The author dwells on the factors contributing to the socialist reorganisation of the countryside. In this connection, the article deals in detail with the agricultural cooperatives and particularly with the difficulties involved in switching the cooperatives onto the path of Socialism, due to the fact that the co-operatives still retain private property in land and that the members are paid for the use of their land. Nevertheless, Comrade Mateyev theoretically bases the Party's policy on the building up of the agricultural cooperatives, plus the further restriction of the kulak and the development of industry, as the path which will lead the working peasantry—the poor and middle peasants—to the solution of the main tasks of the socialist reorganisation of agriculture—the liquidation of the kulaks as a class and the socialisation of the main means of production.

The author notes that experience of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. has shown that in the final analysis the high-road to Socialism can be taken only by the collectivisation of small scattered peasant households and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class.

The September and October issues of the journal carry articles by Minko Kazandjiev on a vital subject—"The question of class differentiation in our villages."

The journal also devotes serious attention to the question of literary criticism.

The journal "Novo Vremye" which is the oldest theoretical organ, is undoubtedly of great help to the membership of the Bulgarian Workers' Party. But it would play a still greater role in equipping the Party membership ideologically if it also dealt regularly with questions of the class struggle in town and countryside as well as with problems of international life and if it showed the struggle between the two camps—the democratic and anti-imperialist camp headed by the powerful Soviet Union

with its traditional policy of peace and security of all peoples, and the anti-democratic, imperialist camp headed by the aggressive United States imperialists.

## **DECORATIONS FOR MOSCOW AND LENINGRAD SCHOOL TEACHERS**

A large group of Moscow and Leningrad school teachers has been decorated by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet for long and meritorious service.

In Moscow a total of 4,278 teachers were decorated. Of these 920 received the order of Lenin; 934—the order of Red Banner of Labour; 677—the order “Badge of Honour”; 753—the medal, “For Labour Valour”; 994—the medal “For Distinguished Labour Service”.

In Leningrad 2,739 teachers were decorated; 487 received the order of Lenin; 440—the order Red Banner of Labour; 504—the order “Badge of Honour”; 600—the medal “For Labour Valour”; 708—the medal “For Distinguished Labour Service”.

## **DOBI—NEW PRIME MINISTER HUNGARY**

In view of the refusal of Nyaradi, the former Minister of Finance to return to Hungary from abroad, the leadership of the Smallholders Party has denounced his action as treachery to the homeland.

It would be an unforgivable crime on the part of the Party, its Chairman, Istvan Dobi, declared, if we were to rest content with mere denunciation and if we failed to draw from this treachery the necessary conclusions both in relation to our internal organisation and the leadership.

The leadership of the Smallholders Party criticised Lajos Dinjes who, as Prime Minister, displayed insufficient care and caution in relation to double-dealers.

Dinjes acknowledged the justice of this criticism and submitted his resignation.

Istvan Dobi was appointed Prime Minister.

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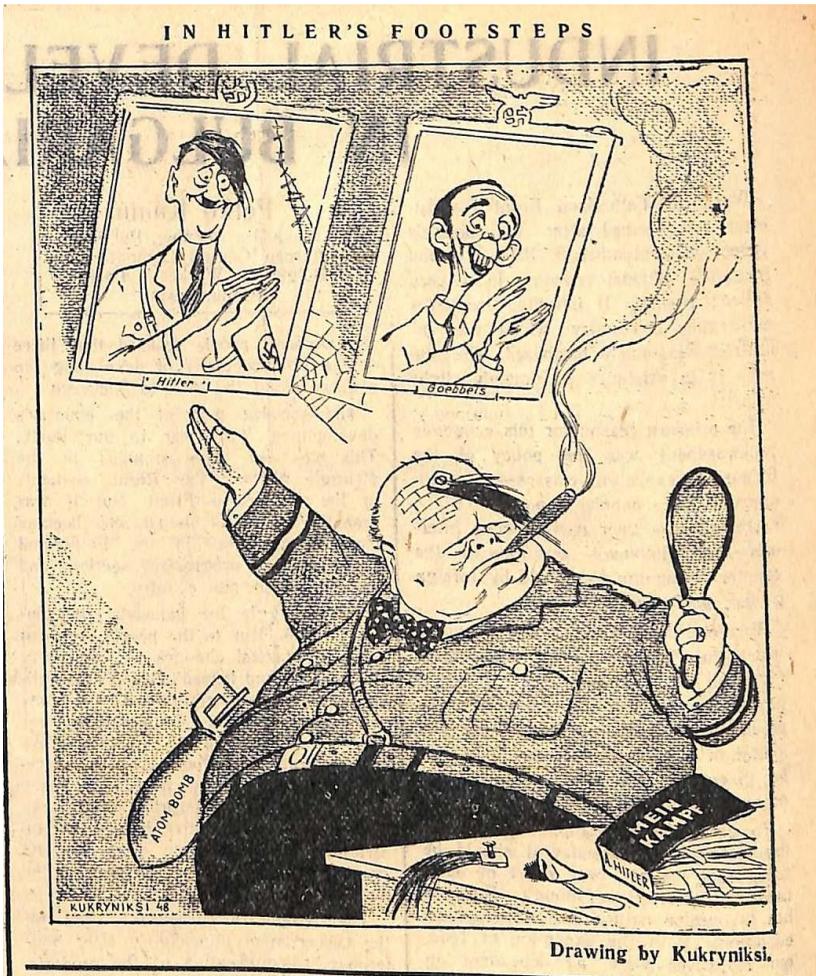
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# IN HITLER'S FOOTSTEPS. Drawing by Kukryniksi



Drawing by Kukryniksi.

## **FRENCH NATIONAL CONGRESS FOR DEFENCE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM**

The National Congress for defence of peace and freedom held in Paris during the last week of November was one of the most important events since the liberation of France from the German fascist occupation. The twelve thousand delegates, who attended the Congress from 81 departments, had been elected at meetings of patriots convened at factories, in the towns and villages by the Fighters for Freedom organisation which unites in its ranks former members of the French resistance.

The Congress, which was addressed also by Charles Tillon, the former Minister, Yves Farge and Abbe Boulier, adopted a resolution calling for the setting up of democratically, elected local councils for defence of peace and freedom.

The resolution calls for struggle against the Government which is betraying the “national sovereignty, conducting social and colonial repressions, preparing odious legislation and which is striving, contrary to the will of the nation, to plunge the country into war.

Upon reading the text of the resolution, Yves Farge declared that one of the immediate tasks of the local councils for defence of peace and freedom will be to develop a protest movement against Field Marshal Montgomery and his foreign staff having their base on French soil.

## **DESTRUCTION OF SURPLUS POTATOES BY CANADIAN GOVERNMENT**

According to press reports, the Canadian Government plans to destroy between eight and ten million bushels of potatoes from this year's harvest. The reports say that, due to the bumper crop of potatoes in the United States the American Government has placed an embargo on the import of potatoes from Canada.

With a view to maintaining potato prices, the Canadian Government is buying up to ten million bushels in the maritime provinces, and leaving them to rot in the fields.

## **NEW LAWS ISSUED BY THE CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT**

On December 2, the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia ratified a law providing for the formation of a unified State centre for the distribution of food stocks to the retail trade network. Another law contains provision for a unified central organisation for the purchase of agricultural products. A third law ratified by the National Assembly transfers the customs defence of the borders to the jurisdiction of the national security corps.

## **MORAL-POLITICAL VICTORY OF SOVIET UNION AND PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES. J. Victorov**

Empty and quiet is the Chailiot Palace in Paris where for three months the 58 delegations to the United Nations General Assembly have been in session. It is now time to sum up at least the general results of the session.

It is well known that the United Nations Organisation was brought into being for the purpose of defending the cause of peace and security. Hence the interest with which world public opinion follows its work and its various committees. The recent session of the General Assembly was distinguished by a bitter and intense struggle which is being waged not only within the framework of the United Nations. In effect, the entire world, all countries, and all peoples are involved in this struggle. This is a struggle between the genuine champions of peace and those who are frustrating this peace. This is a struggle between two camps—the democratic, anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the reactionary, imperialist camp headed by the United States, on the other.

As is known, the agenda of the session was far from being exhausted. This, incidentally, served as a pretext for the US representatives to insist that the session be regarded not as finished, but adjourned. This detail is not without interest. Evidently the American delegates are not pleased with the results of the session and hope to “take revenge” in spring when it will be resumed. The displeasure experienced by the American delegates and their Marshallised yes-men is due to the fact that the strategic calculations of the Anglo-American bloc encountered failure; the session resulted in a smashing

moral-political victory for the Soviet Union and the new democracies.

The entire work of the session and the struggle which took place there showed once again that the Soviet Union and the people's democracies are consistently and stubbornly fighting for peace, for strengthening international cooperation, while the Anglo-American bloc is pursuing aims which have nothing in common with peace and security. Neither the unbridled campaign of the corrupt capitalist press against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, nor the notorious "voting machine" prepared by dollar diplomacy and based on the majority, whipped together from the representatives of the countries lassoed by the Marshall Plan, and not even the flamboyant speeches of the advocates of the capitalist monopolies—Dulles, McNeil and others, speeches as hypocritical as they were vulgar and almost frankly false, could save the Anglo-American bloc from having its nefarious, anti-popular designs and its policy of aggression and unleashing a new war, exposed. In the main, the results of the Paris session of the General Assembly are contained in this exposure of the real nature of the policy pursued by the Anglo-American bloc.

It is highly indicative that even inside the ruling camp of the U.S. voices, can be heard criticising the conduct of the American delegation and stressing the incorrectness of the policy pursued by the United States. These people, in effect, admit the moral-political defeat suffered by the Anglo-American bloc at the session. Who for example would suspect Sumner Welles, former Assistant Secretary of the State Department, of sympathising with the Soviet Union or the new democracies! Welles was one of the advocates of the "tough policy" with regard to the USSR. And now this same Welles writing in the "New-York Herald Tribune" warns the US against attempting to utilise the United Nations as an instrument for attaining its aims. Recalling that the attempts

once made by Britain and France to utilise the League of Nations for their own ends resulted in the destruction of the League, Welles points out that by negotiating the Western military alliance outside the United Nations, just as if Article 51 of the U.N. Statutes never existed, the United States is paving the way for a division of the world which may wreck the United Nations Organisation.

There is no need to dwell on all the questions debated at the session, since during every debate two methods, two ways of handling international problems, two policies clashed. On the one hand, there was the method of the democratic camp based on adherence to existing international agreements, on adherence to the democratic principles of cooperation, respect for the interests, sovereignty and independence of all countries and peoples, large and small; on the other hand, there was the method of the imperialist camp based on suppression of the sovereignty and independence of countries, and above all, of the small countries, on substituting cooperation by the dictates of one or of a group of powers.

One of the important questions debated during the session was the question of the prohibition of the atomic weapon and the reduction of armaments. As is known, as far back as January 24, 1946, the U.N. General Assembly decided to set up a committee to consider problems arising from the discovery of atomic energy. On December 14, 1946, the General Assembly passed a decision on the principles defining the general regulation of armaments reduction. Who can forget the satisfaction with which the peoples of the world greeted these decisions, and their desire for concrete, practical measures which would ensure the carrying out of these decisions! It was these practical measures that the Soviet Union submitted at the recent session by putting a resolution which called for prohibition of the atomic weapon and a reduction in armaments for the great powers by one third in the course of one year. It is

quite obvious that the Soviet Union's proposals were connected logically with the previous decisions of the Assembly. The adoption of the Soviet proposals would have advanced the struggle for peace and security of the peoples.

But the Anglo-American bloc stubbornly resisted the Soviet proposals. The American delegates and their Marshall satellites resorted to every conceivable artifice and subterfuge, trying to drown the Soviet proposals in an ocean of vague resolutions. Their efforts failed, however, and the Anglo-American bloc, shorn of its mask, declared its refusal to agree to the banning of the atomic weapon, and its refusal to agree even to a partial reduction in armaments.

The debate on the banning of the atomic weapon and on the reduction of armaments revealed in all its clarity the aggressive nature of the policy pursued by the Anglo-American bloc, which has no desire to call a halt to the armaments race initiated by it. Mr. Marshall can brag as much as he likes about his smooth running "voting machine". But in doing so he merely confirms the fact that Marshallisation means the loss not only of economic but also of political independence of the countries coming within its orbit, since it is difficult to imagine how the armaments race can bring joy to the peoples of France, Britain and the other countries of Western Europe.

The US delegation succeeded in getting the Soviet proposals rejected. Against the Soviet proposals there voted the Marshallised "majority"; for the Soviet proposals there voted all the peace loving peoples, that is, that actual majority which expresses the will and the aspirations of progressive humanity. The struggle of the Soviet Union and the new democracies for the Soviet proposals will act as a stimulus for the rallying of the democratic forces in the struggle for peace and the security of the peoples.

The movement for peace is embracing ever wider strata of the masses of people in all lands. For instance, at the end of

November in France, nearly twelve thousand delegates from all parts of the country were present at the national congress for peace and freedom. The National Association of Italian partisans announced in a resolution: "Let our Government and all governments throughout the world take note of the existence of the democratic camp, which expresses the hopes and aspirations of all peoples, the camp which is frustrating the manoeuvres of the instigators of war, and which is creating the necessary guarantees for peace and progress". A powerful protest movement against the preparation for a new war has developed in other countries also. The peoples of the world see in the Soviet Union and in the new democracies, a mighty bulwark of peace and security.

While the efforts of the Anglo-American bloc were, on the one hand, directed towards defeating any proposal aimed at strengthening peace, they were directed on the other hand towards turning UNO into a willing instrument of their policy. This was made abundantly clear during the debate in the special committee on the unanimity principle in the Security Council on the so-called "veto". What lay behind this crusade of the Anglo-American bloc against the unanimity principle? It is not difficult to explain that it represented an attempt by the instigators of a new war to carry over into the Security Council the same practice of the "voting machine" as is the case in the General Assembly. This was an attempt to subordinate international cooperation, based on equality, to the dictates of one of a group of powers. The unanimity rule of the great powers in the Security Council, included incidentally, in the rules of UNO on the initiative of the United States, is at the present moment acting as a brake, hindering the American imperialists from dictating their will in the Council. That is why the American delegates displayed such feverish activity in the matter of creating the so-called Interim committee. This committee is intended as a substitute for the Security Council.

But the calculations of the warmongers went awry. Neither the USSR nor the new democracies are taking part in this committee which was set up contrary to and in violation of the Statutes of the United Nations. In effect, this cumbersome machine works in vain. It has failed to satisfy the hopes of its initiators, hence the renewed attacks of the Anglo-American bloc against the unanimity principle.

Nor should one ignore yet another important factor which will be taken into account by world public opinion, by ordinary people everywhere. Gone are the days when it was possible, with impunity, to deceive the masses, to cover up with hypocritical phrase-mongering the criminal policy of unleashing war. The common folk throughout the world have their own views about the policy of this or that state. They will judge them not so much by their words, as by their actions. They have seen that, while the delegates of the Anglo-American bloc were delivering grandiloquent speeches in the General Assembly, professing attachment to the cause of peace, the leaders of this same bloc, operating beyond the framework of the United Nations Organisation and contrary to its principles, were engaged in an armaments race, knocking together a military-political, aggressive bloc, and trampling underfoot the obligations undertaken in accordance with international agreements. Simultaneously with the meeting of the General Assembly, the staff of the Western alliance was announced, the Supreme Command of the armed forces of this alliance, subordinated to American control and inspection, was formed. And while in the General Assembly the advocates of the imperialists were charging the Soviet Union with "intransigency", outside the walls of UNO feverish preparations went on for turning the Western Alliance into a North Atlantic bloc; the policy of completing the dismemberment of Germany was prosecuted, special measures were taken to restore the military-industrial potential of the

Ruhr, for the restoration of the German monopolies and the return of the Ruhr to its former owners, that is, to those who brought Hitler and his gang to power.

Facts are facts. It is impossible to escape from them. And the facts confirm to the hilt the words of the great Stalin to the effect that the policy of the present rulers of the US and Great Britain is a policy of aggression and unleashing a new war. The Paris session of the UNO General Assembly demonstrated this beyond a shadow of doubt. The democratic forces of the world, battling for peace, will draw their own conclusions from the results of the present session of the General Assembly.

The considerable moral-political victory won by the Soviet Union and the new democracies, who were able to show the peoples the genuine way forward to a lasting democratic peace, who laid bare the criminal policy of the Anglo-American bloc, will have the effect of rallying still closer the peace loving peoples, the democratic forces in all lands in the struggle for peace against the instigators of a new war.

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