

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

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Parties**



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RAISE HIGH THE BANNER OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Two weeks have passed since the Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was published. It is now clear how vitally important this document of Marxism-Leninism is for the world Communist movement.

The Communist and Workers' parties in all lands are drawing practical conclusions from the Resolution, and are relating them to the concrete situation in their countries. They are outlining a militant programme of action aimed at strengthening the Party organisationally, improving the quality of the ideological, theoretical and political work of the Party, at redoubling revolutionary vigilance and Party irreconcilability towards any manifestation of nationalism.

In studying the Resolution, Party members are centering attention on the task of correctly applying the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle, the Lenin-Stalin doctrine about the Party, and on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism concerning the attitude of a political party to its mistakes. They are concentrating on developing and strengthening the internationalist traditions of the Marxist party and on other vital matters which form the basis of the daily, political and organisational work of the Party.

In their resolutions the Party organisations approved the action of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B), which took the initiative in exposing the incorrect policy of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party. They noted, as was stated in a resolution of the Rome members of the Communist party of Italy, the decisive contribution made by the comrades of the CPSU(B), by its Central Committee and Comrade Stalin, in exposing the mistakes and condemning the

deviations of the present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia”.

A meeting of Party members in Budapest congratulated the Communist and Workers’ parties, the Communist Party of the Soviet (Bolsheviks), united in the Information Bureau and the great leader of the revolutionary working people of the world, Comrade Stalin, for their revolutionary vigilance and consistency in discovering and exposing the mistakes of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, thereby rendering an inestimable service to the struggle against imperialism and the cause of socialism”.

The period that has passed since the publication of the Resolution has demonstrated in convincing fashion the invincible might of the united Communist front, which with unanimous voice, denounced the anti-Party and anti-Soviet policy of the present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and fully approved the Resolution. And simultaneously, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic have discarded their masks and revealed themselves to the anti-imperialist and democratic camp as bourgeois-nationalist leaders who have betrayed the cause of the working class, the cause of national independence of Yugoslavia and have taken the counter-revolutionary Trotsky path of appealing to all shades of nationalist reaction in the country, against the Information Bureau, against the CPSU(B) and against the other Communist Parties.

The correctness of the Information Bureau’s Resolution was fully confirmed by the subsequent behaviour of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party. The “reply” of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party to the Resolution is disgraceful document which reveals: that the Tito clique intend to go ahead with their anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet policy. The “reply” is redolent with nationalist malice, against the world Communist

movement. This “document” is permeated with political knavery and is the product of men who have taken the path of betraying the cause of the working class. The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are striving, again and again, to deceive the Party and the people of Yugoslavia.

The grave mistakes at the present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia were unanimously condemned not only by the Parties belonging to the Information Bureau but also by the Parties which are not members of the Bureau. The Communist Parties of Albania, Great Britain, United States, Argentina, Austria, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Finland, the Labour Progressive Party in Canada, and Parties in other countries bitterly denounced the anti-Party position of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party and expressed the view that the leaders of the Yugoslav Party have taken the path of dishonesty, that by their anti-Soviet behaviour they are inspiring the American imperialists with hopes of restoring imperialist domination in the new democracies. Strongly overestimating the national forces and possibilities of Yugoslavia, the present leaders of the Party believe that they can preserve the country's independence and build socialism without the support of the Communist Parties of other countries, and without the support of the Soviet Union and the new democracies.

The Communist and Workers' parties have expressed indignation at the terror regime in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia where the Party members, intimidated and fearing the same fate as Comrade Djuiovici, Hebrang and others, dare not openly voice their opinion about the prevailing state of affairs in the Party; when any Party member who does not share the views of the nationalist leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party and is disguised with the degrading custom of flattery, and servility to Tito, is threatened with brutal reprisals.

The terrorist regime prevailing in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is expressed also in the “election” of delegates to the forthcoming congress of the Party. Being out of touch with the Party, the leaders, fearing the membership and its criticism, are pulling all kinds of strings and are manipulating the composition of the congress. They accomplish this by actually picking suitable delegates, by preliminary interrogation of intended delegates and by checking the “reliability” of candidates, to mention but a few of the ignoble methods applied. All this clearly shows that the forthcoming congress cannot be the representative, supreme organ of a Party which expresses the real will of the Party membership. The anti-Party, anti-Soviet struggle instigated and fanned by the nationalist clique of Tito, Kardelj and others who have isolated the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and placed it outside the family of Communist Parties, will mean, because of the gross suppression of criticism and rampant terror, that the healthy elements in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, who alone can represent the Party and express its genuine interests, will not be given access to the congress.

Convened in conditions of terrorist regime inside the Party the congress naturally will not be in a position to demonstrate the “monolithic unity of the Party” so demagogically proclaimed by the present leaders. A congress, the composition of which is falsified and decided beforehand of the most reliable yes-men of the nationalist policy of the present Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, can, if anything, only demonstrate the unity of the nationalist strivings of the narrow group of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic who have broken with the Party and have lost every shred of Party feeling and Party spirit, that is, if they ever possessed these qualities, and who have completely betrayed the cause of proletarian internationalism and the vital interests of the people’s democratic republic of Yugoslavia.

“The deviation towards nationalism” Comrade Stalin teaches us, “is the adaptation of the internationalist policy of the working class to the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie... The deviation towards nationalism reflects the attempts of ‘one’s own’ national-bourgeoisie... to restore capitalism”.

The anti-Party and anti-Soviet struggle of the nationalist leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party has become the pet theme of the foreign reactionary press. And in this there is nothing accidental.

The growth of the forces of democracy and socialism throughout the world are causing alarm and fear for the morrow in the imperialist camp. That is why the imperialist circles are gloating with satisfaction and relief at the vicious anti-Soviet attitude of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

Official circles in Washington have been whispering of late that Tito is a genuine national hero who, thanks to his outstanding qualities,” has displayed the desire for independence...” American and British broadcasts are unsparing in their praise of the independent policy pursued by Tito and his colleagues”, and announce that the Yugoslav Government “correctly estimates the foreign policy of the Western powers”, as a policy that “ensures the independence of countries” that the “love for independence and the courage displayed by Marshal Tito merit admiration”.

These and countless other statements by foreign reactionary circles reveal how low the present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have fallen, and how the nationalist policy pursued by them can lead to the degeneration of Yugoslavia into a typical bourgeois republic and its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries.

It is clear why the imperialists praise, encourage and pat the back of Tito’s nationalist clique!

But the reactionary press which reflects the narrow-

mindedness of imperialist circles, is rejoicing in vain. It will never understand the simple fact that frank and honest criticism of the mistakes of the Communist Party Yugoslavia, criticism regardless of individuals, far from being a sign of weakness is a sign of the strength of the Communist Parties and of the Communist front, that it is the regular method of work of the Party organisations, a means of strengthening Party ranks.

One thing is clear to every genuine Marxist—the Communist Party of Yugoslavia will remain true to Marxism-Leninism, it will cleanse the ulcer of bourgeois nationalism and will march forward confidently under the banner of Lenin-Stalin internationalism towards socialism. It will do this because the Communist Party is a party which is rooted deep in life, it is a growing party, a party that is advancing towards victory and draws its vitality, the vitality of its ideological, political and organisational strength, from criticism and self-criticism.

None will succeed in wresting from the hands of the Party the banner of proletarian internationalism and substituting for it the banner of bourgeois nationalism. None will succeed in turning back the peoples of Yugoslavia onto the path of nationalism!

The grave mistakes of the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which constitute a betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, have been disclosed and exposed.

In analysing the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party, and studying the Resolution of the Information Bureau, the Communist and Workers' Parties are drawing the necessary conclusions for strengthening the Party organisations and, guided by the historical experience of the great Bolshevik Party, by the teachings of Lenin-Stalin, are, marching forward confidently beneath the banner of proletarian internationalism, towards new victories in building the people's democracy, in the struggle for further triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

APPEAL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE DANISH COMMUNIST PARTY

Five years ago the Danish Government was forced by pressure from the resistance movement to break with the policy of collaboration with Hitler Germany. In connection with the forthcoming fifth anniversary of this, the leadership of the Danish Communist Party has issued an appeal to the people which says:

“On August 29, 1943, the resistance movement was victorious. This date became one of the most outstanding in the history of our people. On August 29, Denmark won the right to freedom.

“However, it is necessary to continue the fight for freedom. Since, the liberation the dark forces of reaction have tried to violate the people’s right to freedom and to break the promises they had made during the occupation. Peace is not yet guaranteed. Attempts are being made to restore fascism, and the imperialist powers, headed by the United States, are encroaching on our independence. “Hence it is imperative that the people of Denmark should clearly demonstrate their determination to preserve freedom and their right to be masters in their own country.

“We call upon all those anxious to fight for freedom and to resist Denmark being drawn into a military alliance, upon all those ready to defend our national independence and the rights of the people, to make August 29 a day of mobilisation of their forces and of increasing the vigilance of the whole people.”

GROWTH OF COOPERATIVES IN BULGARIA

The cooperative movement, started after the liberation of Bulgaria, has spread widely among peasants, artisans and small traders. Today there are 686 agricultural cooperatives, cultivating over half a million acres of land.

The 889 cooperatives of artisans and small traders fulfilled last year's targets for the economic plan and will be as successful again this year.

The Central Cooperative Union owns a total of 6,100 shops. The Union accounts for 80 per cent of the trade in the countryside and 50 per cent in the towns.

STATE PLANNING COMMISSION FOR RUMANIA

The Presidium at Roumania's National Assembly has passed a decree to set up a State Planning Commission under the direction of the Council of Ministers.

The Commissions terms of of reference are to inform the government on the position of the national economy; to draw its attention to any lack of balance between different branches of production, distribution and consumption and to suggest measures to balance them; to draw up a general economic plan in accordance with the economic and political aims outlined by the government; to coordinate the work of various branches of economy within the framework of the national economic plan; to examine individual plans submitted by various ministries and departments, to coordinate them with the national plan and present them for ratification by the government; to consider special economic problems and work out their solution, either at the request of the government or on its own initiative; to control the fulfilment of the plan and report to the government the conclusions to be drawn from the work of the plan; to plan and direct the entire statistical work of the state; to guide the economic planning.

THE NEWSPAPER “FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE’S DEMOCRACY” BANNED IN YUGOSLAVIA

Another disgraceful act has been added to the departure of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party from the United Communist front and the terror regime inside the Party—the refusal to allow the newspaper “For a Lasting Peace, for a People’s Democracy”, to be circulated in Yugoslavia.

The publication of the newspaper in the Serbian language has also been stopped.

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), expresses indignation at the dastardly attempt by human monsters on the life of the leader of the working class and the working people of Italy, our beloved Comrade Togliatti.

The Central Committee of the CPSU (B) is grieved that Comrade Togliatti's friends failed to protect him from this foul and cowardly attack.

**On behalf of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

Joseph STALIN

July 14-th

THE ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF PALMIRO TOGLIATTI

At noon on July 14, four shots were fired point blank at the General Secretary of the Communist Party at Italy, Palmiro Togliatti, as he was leaving the Parliament building in Rome. Comrade Togliatti was taken to hospital in critical condition.

Upon being taken into custody, the assassin a student named Antonio Pallante, who just shortly before the attempt had been in the company of members of the Parliamentary faction of the Christian Democrat Party declared that he had revenged himself on Togliatti for April 25, 1945 (day of the armed uprising in Italy).

When the news of the attempt on Comrade Togliatti's life became known, a general strike began throughout the country. Monster demonstrations of working people, indignant at the crime, took place in the cities. In Rome, where police fired on the demonstrators, barricades were thrown up by the workers. All work ceased at the call of the Chamber of Labour and Industrial Trade Unions.

In a message addressed to the working people of Italy, the leadership of the Communist Party stated:

“The campaign of slander and hatred, inspired and guided by the government against the members of the Party of working people, who led the struggle against fascist tyranny and the German invaders, armed the hired assassin, who fired the shots at Palmiro Togliatti. The earlier assassinations in Sicily, the shooting at working people in Apulia, the numerous acts of violence and now the attempt on the life or the leader of the Communist Party, these are evidence of an intention to smash the labour movement and to strike a blow at the freedom of the Italian people.

“Liberty must be protected Italians! Working people! The

hired assassin was the perpetrator of a crime which matured in a political atmosphere of provocation and violence, deliberately fostered by the de Gasperi-Scelba Government—a government of civil war. We call upon the whole country to arise and express the indignant protest of all freedom-loving people”.

The message called upon the people to compel the resignation of the de Gasperi Government—“a government of dissension, hunger and civil war”.

BASIS FOR ADMITTING NEW MEMBERS TO CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has made a new ruling with regard to admitting new members. The Presidium stated that in the past the Party had made serious mistakes in taking in new members: they frequently violated the Bolshevik principle of individual selection and applicants were admitted without adequate verification. In some instances, particularly in offices, pressure was applied to get people to join the Party.

Both Party committees and general membership meetings discussed the applications wholesale instead of individually considering each application.

“This practice must be stopped” said the Presidium resolution. The Party can carry out its leading role only when it is really a Party of the most conscientious and advanced fighters for socialism.

In future there will be no mass admittance of new members; the Party organisations are obliged to observe the principle of individual selection. According to the decision of the Presidium, anyone, anxious to join the Party must submit details of his past activity and two recommendations from Party members of at least two years standing with his application.

Party committees are instructed to examine thoroughly the applicant's past activities, his knowledge of the principles and aims of the Communist Party and his attitude to the struggle to consolidate the gains of peoples democracy. In the event of the applicant being poorly grounded politically and not very active in political life, the Party committee must recommend him to

work in one of the mass organisations and to raise the question of his admission to the Party only after he has shown his abilities there.

The decision gives district committees the power to override the decisions of the branches if the applicant does not possess the qualifications of a Party member.

The admission of members who formerly held responsible posts in other political parties, must be ratified by the regional committees.

The Presidium called upon all the Party Organisations to be on the alert to safeguard the Party from infiltration of careerist and hostile elements.

GROWING STRIKE MOVEMENT

India

According to figures given by Indian newspapers, during the first quarter at this year. 1,811 strikes at nearly two million workers took place throughout the country. Last year there were 13.7 per cent more strikes than in 1946 and 30.6 per cent more working time lost.

The strikes at the Bookingram and Karnatak factories in Madras continued for three months. The strike movement in the textile industry is on a particularly large scale.

From September 1947 to March this there were 1,182 strikes over 25 per cent of which were caused by the drop in real wages resulting from soaring prices.

France

At the beginning of July, the crews of five ships belonging to the Transatlantic General Company (Marseilles), struck work and refused to leave port until their demands were satisfied. Despite the fact that police took over the ships, the men remained firm. They were joined by the seamen of other shipping companies in Marseilles who struck work in sympathy with them. The strike spread to Havre, Nantes and Rouen.

A number of strikes, ending in victory for the strikers took place in other parts of the country. In Belfort the workers of the Alstom works after a 12-day strike won their demand for a revision of wage rates. In Clermont Ferrand a two-weeks strike of the workers of the Amiante factory ended in partial victory.

A two weeks strike by the workers of the Gaynor factory in the Loire department resulted in 16 per cent wage increase and improved working conditions. Paris was the scene of a strike by civil servants who demanded wage increases.

United States

Forty thousand mine workers in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, Utah and Colorado struck in protest against the refusal of their employers to sign a collective agreement. The strike slogan is: "No work without a collective agreement."

Thousands of mine workers employed by different companies are coming out in solidarity. All the mines owned by the ten biggest companies are at a standstill. Coal output in the Pittsburg region alone has dropped to a third because of the strike.

LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA RENOUNCES MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY OF CLASSES AND CLASS STRUGGLE. I.

Lautu

The teaching of Marxism-Leninism is all-powerful because it is correct. It has been tested in the hundred years history of the revolutionary struggle of the working class against capitalism, a struggle which culminated in Russia in the historic, world-resounding victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and in the building of a socialist society.

The irresistible force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism has also found confirmation in the creation of the new democracies and the growing revolutionary struggle for peace and democracy of millions of oppressed and exploited people against the yoke of imperialism.

In the historic battles now being waged for the happiness and future of mankind it is necessary, more than ever before to cement the united front of the workers of all lands and to combine the efforts of all Communist parties against the imperialist bourgeoisie who, headed by the monopoly circles in the United States, are creating military and economic blocs directed against the U.S.S.R., against the New Democracies and against the working people of the whole world.

Proletarian internationalism, the solidarity of the working people of the world, can only be strengthened on the firm, rocklike basis of Marxism-Leninism—the world outlook of the working class. Any attempt to depart from Marxism-Leninism constitutes a grave danger to each Communist Party and to each people.

That is precisely why the Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia condemned the anti-Marxist views of the leaders at that party who have been recently pursuing an incorrect line on vital matters at home and foreign policy, a line which represents a departure from Marxism-Leninism.

Upon breaking with Marxism-Leninism, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party adopted an unfriendly attitude toward the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B). In home policy they have taken the stand of a populist kulak party in the matter of the leading role of the working class. They are upholding the opportunist view that the class struggle dies out during the transition from capitalism to socialism and are resorting to adventurism, to leftist deviations which are detrimental to the national economy of Yugoslavia.

The anti-Party and anti-Soviet views of the leaders of the communist Party of Yugoslavia have resulted in them breaking away from the united socialist front against imperialism, in betraying the international solidarity of the working people and taking up instead a nationalist position.

The Break with Marxism-Leninism

As is known, the question of the revolutionary role played by the working class as leader of the working people in their struggle for socialism. is one of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. The peasant question, as the question of an ally of the proletariat in this struggle, is a by-product, a subordinate question. Nevertheless, the peasant question is of vital importance to all Communist parties.

Speaking of the leading role of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle, Lenin pointed out in 1919, that the

experience of all revolution and movements of oppressed classes and the experience of the world socialist movement teaches us that the proletariat alone is capable of uniting and leading the dispersed and backward elements of the working people and all exploited population.

This keystone of Marxism-Leninism must be the guiding principle in the revolutionary practice of every Communist Party. Guided throughout by this principle, the Bolshevik Party delivered crushing blows to Narodism, Menshevism, the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Trotskyism which denied the revolutionary leading role of the working class and its ability to lead the peasantry.

Is this Marxist-Leninist principle binding for the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party in their political activity? Undoubtedly it is. It may be that because Yugoslavia is a predominantly peasant country the Yugoslav Communists should rely on the peasantry as their main bulwark and not on the working class in alliance with the overwhelming majority of the peasantry. But to take up a position of this kind signifies failure to understand the relationship of class forces in the country, and a direct departure from Marxism-Leninism in a vital and decisive matter.

Here is what Lenin said on the question:

We have concluded an alliance with peasantry. As we understand this alliance, it means that the proletariat liberates the peasantry from exploitation by the bourgeoisie, from its leadership and influence and wins this peasantry over to its side in order jointly, to vanquish the exploiters.

The Mensheviks reason thus: the peasantry constitute the majority, we are pure democrats. Consequently the majority must decide. But since the peasantry is unable to act independently this in practice means nothing other than restoring capitalism.

Throughout Western Europe, and in all the countries of the

people's democracies, including Yugoslavia, it is the, working class and not the peasantry, which is the sole and consistently revolutionary force capable of leading the working people, and above all the main mass of the peasantry to the victory of socialism. As far as the peasantry is concerned it maybe that the majority, that is, the poor and medium peasants, are already in alliance with the working class.

The Communist Parties, including the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, are the parties of the working class. This does not mean that only advanced workers can belong to the Communist Party. Revolutionary elements from among the poor and medium peasants and likewise the intelligentsia can become members of the Party. But the Communist Parties, including the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are not peasant parties.

This is the ABC of Marxism. It is absolutely impermissible for any Communist to forget this elementary principle. And yet certain prominent leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are deviating from the Marxist-Leninist path on the question of the leading role of the working class. Whereas Marxism-Leninism is based on recognition of the leading role of the working class in abolishing capitalism and building a socialist society, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party expound entirely different views.

One need only quote the statement, made by Comrade Tito in Zagreb in November 1946 ("Borba", November 1946).

"We tell the peasants that thy are the most stable foundation of our state not because we are out to get their vote but because this is really so."

And so, according to Comrade Tito, the peasantry and not the working class constitute the most stable foundation of the present Yugoslav state. Comrade Tito thus not only denies the leading role of the working class but declares that the peasantry as a whole, including evidently the kulaks, represent the "most stable foundation" of the new Yugoslavia.

Isn't it clear that this viewpoint represents a direct departure from Marxism-Leninism, that it reflects views appropriate to petty-bourgeois politicians, but not to Marxist-Leninists?

This deviation of the leaders at the Yugoslav Communist Party from the Marxist-Leninist theory concerning the leading role of the working class as the guiding force in the people's democratic state, is reflected also in their absolutely incorrect estimation of the role and significance of the People's Front.

As is known together with workers, peasants and the progressive intelligentsia, the People's Front is composed of representatives of bourgeois parties. But the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party refuse to recognise that the decisive role in the People's Front should belong to the working class.

Denying the working class its leading role has brought about a situation in which its vanguard—the Communist Party—remains a quasi-legal party. The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia even go so far as to treat the trade unions as organisations of exceedingly minor importance in the People's Front. The trade unions which serve as the school of Communism" (Lenin) are reduced to the status of third-rate bodies and their activities are restricted even with regard to holding meetings. "It is absolutely incorrect and senseless", stated Djilas in January 1947, "to call special trade union meetings and special Front meetings. They should be merged into one since the trade-unions, too, are affiliated to the Front".

Moshe Pjada wrote recently that Yugoslav trade unions (that is, the working class) played no role whatsoever in the liberation struggle, and therefore they do not represent a leading force in the system of state power in the country.

The break with Marxism-Leninism in this most vital matter has resulted in the fact that the leaders of the Yugoslav

Communist Party do not express the interests of the working class, do not want to admit that the working class displayed heroism in the liberation struggle, and that it is displaying the same heroism in building the new Yugoslavia. In practice this is tantamount to betraying the working class.

Slipping to the Standpoint of a Narodnik, Kulak Party

By refusing to acknowledge the working class as the leading element in the people's democratic state, and by asserting that the peasantry "the most stable foundation of the Yugoslav state", the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party appear in the role of the ill-starred "friend of the people"—as representatives of the old peasant socialism—slipping backward from the Marxist-Leninist position to that of a Narodnik kulak party.

They ignore Lenin's off-repeated view that only in the working class can democracy find a supporter that makes no stipulations, displays no hesitation and that never looks back. Only those fighters are strong who firmly rely on this tenet of Marxism whereas those who depict themselves as Communists and builders of socialism, while at the same time seeking their main support among the peasantry and not the working class, are weak and helpless.

Peasant democracy never produced anything other than its own disintegration. Proof of this is the history of the Russian Narodniks who slipped down to the position of defending the interests of the wealthy kulak section of the peasantry. The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are with relentless logic, travelling exactly the same path.

The views expressed by Comrade Tito are not new. On the

contrary, he is repeating the dogmas of revisionism which were refuted years ago by the Marxists. Anyone acquainted with the history of Marxism knows this. In his work "The Peasant Question in France and Germany", written in 1894, Friedrich Engels resolutely condemned the attempts of the French Socialists to write into the Nantes Programme a point about defending the interests of the peasantry as a whole.

Engels declared: in general this represented a "direct violation... of the main principle of socialism." When at the Frankfurt Congress of the German Social Democrats the revisionist Folmar "planned to bribe the peasantry", including the kulaks, with the promise of defending their interests. Engels emphatically rejected this view, saying: "it is impossible to agree to this without renouncing the main principles".

It is strange, to say the least, that more than half a century later, there are Communists who consider the peasantry to be the "chief support" in the transition from capitalism to socialism.

The point is that Comrade Tito and certain other leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, not only deny the leading role of the working class, but hold anti-Marxist views in regard to the class nature of the peasantry. They regard the peasantry as a single entity and fail to see its class structure of poor peasants, medium peasants and kulaks. The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are afraid even to pronounce the word "kulak". Forced to speak about the social nature of the peasantry they confine themselves to the empty phrase that there are wealthy peasants in the countryside. They ignore the Marxist-Leninist teaching about the class nature of the peasantry and its differentiation. In this matter, as in others, the leaders of Yugoslavia deviate from Marxism-Leninism, and ignore the entire historical experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

The great creators of Communism, Lenin and Stalin, have always emphasised that the rich experience of the Bolshevik Party is of primary importance for the socialist revolution of the future. In his report to the Third Congress of the Communist International on the tactics of the Worker's and Peasant's Party, Lenin said:

“The fact that we are striving to define the attitude of the proletariat, which holds state power in its hands, toward the last capitalist class, to the deep-rooted basis of capitalism, to small property, to the small producer, is a big step forward from the international point of view. Practice confronts us with this question. And I think we shall be able to solve this task. At any rate, our experiment will be useful to future proletarian revolutions, they will be better prepared technically to solve this question.”

In this same report, in which described the peasantry as the “last capitalist class” Lenin pointed out that in order to maintain its leading role and state power, the working class must in every way strengthen the alliance of the workers and peasants. There is nothing contradictory in these statements. When Lenin declares that the peasantry is the “last capitalist class” he implies that the peasantry is a specific class, which runs its economy on the basis of the private ownership of the instruments and means of production, and therefore differs from the working class, which builds its economy on the basis of the public, socialist ownership at the instruments and means of production. At the same time, Lenin held that small production gives birth to capitalism and the bourgeoisie, constantly, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale”.

Clearly this is not an unsurmountable obstacle in the way of organising an alliance of workers and peasants. But in the conditions of transition from capitalist to socialism, the alliance of the working class with the peasantry does not signify an alliance with the entire peasantry. The alliance of the working

class with the peasantry is an alliance of the labouring masses of the peasantry.

Such an alliance presupposes a vigorous struggle against the capitalist elements a struggle against the kulaks. Carrying forward the Leninist teaching on the alliance of workers and peasants in conditions of the transition from socialism to communism, Stalin said:

“This is a special form of class alliance of the working class and the labouring mass of peasantry which has as its aim: a) to strengthen the positions of the working class; b) to ensure the leading role of the working class within this alliance; c) to eliminate classes and class society. Any other conception of the workers and peasants’ alliance is nothing but opportunism, Menshevism, social-revolutionary—anything but Marxism or Leninism.

Evidently, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, due to their ignorance of Marxism-Leninism, are unaware of this. That is why they consider the peasantry as a whole to be the chief bulwark in the countryside, and have forgotten the struggle against the kulaks.

Opportunist Theory about the Dying Out of Class Struggle

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party bypass the question of the class struggle and of restricting the capitalist elements in the countryside. Moreover, the Yugoslav leaders time and again gloss over the question of the class differentiation in the countryside. Nor is the Yugoslav Communist Party mobilised to surmount the difficulties arising from the growth of capitalist elements in the countryside.

In his speech on the subject of the Five Year Plan.

Comrade Tito, commenting on the tasks in agriculture, never said a single word about the political difficulties in the Yugoslav countryside, about the bitter struggle being waged by the kulaks against the people's power. He did not call upon the deputies in the Skupsehina to be more vigilant, did not warn them against the inevitable intensification of the class struggle in the country and particularly in the rural areas, did not expose the form and methods employed by the kulaks in their struggle against the people's power. There was striking evidence of the kulak struggle last year during the grain deliveries. There were numerous cases when the kulaks with the object of disrupting the grain delivery plan, deliberately destroyed their grain and murdered Communist Party functionaries and representatives of the people's power. Having infiltrated into the local organs of the people's power kulak elements are committing all manner of abuses in an effort to incite the labouring peasantry against the state organs.

Addressing the Congress of War Veterans last October, Comrade Tito admitted that the organs of the people's flower had made serious mistakes during the period of grain deliveries. He cited a number of instances when grain was taken away from the poor peasants and war widows. Comrade Tito promised that the grain would be returned to the poor peasants and that the blunder would be rectified, but he did not attempt to show how these mistakes came about, did not reveal the reasons for them from the point of view of the sharpening class struggle in the Yugoslav countryside.

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party underestimate the role and possibilities of growth of the kulaks who will inevitably, and intact are now offering fierce resistance to socialist construction in Yugoslavia. They ignore the Leninist-Stalinist tenet that the Communist Party must arouse the working class and the exploited masses of the countryside, must foster their militancy and mobilise them to

combat the capitalist elements in town and countryside, to combat the resisting class enemy.

This denial of the growth of capitalist elements and the simultaneous sharpening of the class struggle in the Yugoslav countryside is the outcome of the opportunist line which alleges that the class struggle does not become more acute during the transition from capitalism to socialism, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, but dies out, as affirmed by the Bucharinites who propagated the rotten theory about the “peaceful growing over” of capitalist elements into socialism.

Certain Yugoslav politicians propagate the anti-Marxist theory of spontaneity in socialist construction.

For example, the Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Trade, Petrovic, in the article “Yugoslavia’s Five Year Plan” published in the magazine “Slavyan” (No. 5, 1947) writes:

“Without constituting an insurmountable and fundamental obstacle in the socialist sector and to its development, agriculture which is closely linked with the socialist sector and is included in the general economic plan will itself gradually change its nature accordingly as the plan is realised and will gradually reach the phase where all spontaneity in economic laws will be completely and finally destroyed regardless of the spontaneity of economic laws in this sphere”.

According to this, the small peasant household and big kulak economy do not represent a fundamental obstacle” to the building of socialism in Yugoslavia, but of its own accord agriculture will “gradually change its character”. There is no doubt whatsoever about the anti-Marxist essence of this “theory”.

The steady sharpening of the class struggle conforms to the development of the new democracies, including Yugoslavia. But forgetful of this, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, have lost the ability to lead their country along the socialist path.

Adventurism in Policy

Lacking a firm, tried Marxist policy, the Yugoslav Communist leaders are floundering from side to side—either to the right or to the left. After the criticism made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) of the under estimation by the Yugoslav leaders concerning the growth of capitalist elements, and the idea of the dying out of the class struggle in the country, these leaders resorted to hasty measures with the aim of proving the “injustice” at this criticism. In an endeavour to show that the foundations of reaction had been completely eliminated in Yugoslavia they decreed the further nationalisation of industry, including medium industry and trade, though the basis for this was completely unprepared. Because of the haste the new decision only hampers the supply of goods to the population.

With the same haste they have brought in a new grain tax which can only dislocate grain supplies to the population. Moreover, of late, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, with perfect aplomb, have been declaiming a policy of abolishing the capitalist elements in the countryside.

In its Resolution the Information Bureau justly qualified the attitude of the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia toward the abolition of the capitalist elements, in view of the conditions prevailing in Yugoslavia, as adventurism. For it is impossible to solve this task as long as individual peasant economy exists which inevitably gives birth to capitalism, as long as conditions have not been created for the large-scale collectivisation of agriculture. This adventurous policy pursued by the leaders at the Yugoslav Communist Party stems from their denial of the Marxist-Leninist theory regarding the methods of eliminating classes, of ignoring the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The

experience of the CPSU (B) shows that the liquidation of the kulaks as a class can be secured only on the basis of collectivisation which must be an organic component of socialist construction in the countryside, the collectivisation of agriculture. Any attempt to solve this task differently, by administrative measures is equivalent to petty-bourgeois adventurism and is doomed to failure.

Everybody knows of the profound revolutionary changes effected in the Soviet Union as a result of the October Socialist Revolution. The bourgeoisie and landlords were eliminated. The land, factories, banks and transport were nationalised. In the bitter class struggle waged by the poor peasants against the kulaks, the foundations of the latter were drastically undermined. After securing considerable material gain, a great part of the poor peasantry reached the level of the medium peasantry. The level of the countryside became that of the medium peasant. But the CPSU (B) never drew the conclusion from these facts that the class struggle in the countryside should be relaxed of the remnants of capitalism in the countryside could be abolished in the course of a few days. Lenin pointed out that “as long as we live in a small peasant country, capitalism has a more stable economic base in Russia than Communism”.

It is also known that for a period of some fifteen years after the October Revolution, the Bolshevik Party never lost sight of the need for measures to restrict the capitalist elements in the countryside, and thereafter of liquidating the kulaks as a class.

“During the NEP period, said Comrade Molotov at the Fifteenth Congress of the CPSU (B), “the Party steadily pursued a policy of restricting the growth of capitalist elements and introducing progressive taxation, by restricting the leasing out of land, increasing the demand for hired labour in the interests of agriculture, supporting the small households with credits and by the entire policy of the Soviet Government

(including increased support for state industry, etc.). But our task is completely to overcome and eliminate the capitalist elements in the town and countryside. In brief, the task is nothing other than the task of building socialism”.

By its policy of restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements in the countryside, the Lenin-Stalin Party rallied around itself the medium and poor peasants, isolated the kulaks and fulfilled the necessary pre-conditions for leading the main mass of the peasantry along the path of collectivisation.

Once these pre-conditions were created, the Party passed over from the policy of restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements in the countryside to a new policy—the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class, on the basis of all-round collectivisation which was crowned with the world historic victory of the collective farm system.

In securing the main conditions for building socialism in Yugoslavia any underestimation of this experience of the CPSU (B) is fraught with serious political danger and is impermissible as far as Marxists are concerned. For socialism cannot be built only in the town, only in industry—it must be built also in the countryside, in agriculture.

The recent leftist measures of the Yugoslav leaders go beyond the task of restricting the capitalist elements. These adventurist measures do not correspond to the real possibilities in Yugoslavia. In view of this, these measures will inevitably further disorganise the alliance of the working class and the peasantry.

Right Opportunist Conception of the Cooperatives

Certainly no one wants to detract from the agrarian

transformation that has taken place in Yugoslavia. But there is a grave danger of overestimating the results of this reform.

Commenting on the results of the agrarian reform Comrade Kardelj stated at the conference of the Information Bureau in Poland:

“The Agrarian reform has brought the people’s power still closer to the labouring masses and has helped to isolate the rich speculators in the countryside. It is clear that a heavy blow has been struck at the capitalist elements in the countryside since the land reform considerably weakened their pressure of the small peasant producer and has restricted their development beyond a certain limit”.

However, the political situation in the Yugoslav countryside gives no grounds whatsoever for such complacency. At present agriculture in Yugoslavia, which is predominantly an agrarian country (80 per cent of the population being peasants), is a sea of small peasant households.

Land in Yugoslavia is not nationalised and is the private property of the peasant. The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia consider it inexpedient to nationalise the land and want to build socialism while preserving the principle of private land ownership, it should be borne in mind that about two million peasant households in the country possess small-holdings of less than five hectares. Side by side with these there are big kulak households since according to the 1946 agrarian reform, the maximum holding was fixed at from 15-35 hectares of cultivated land. Clearly there are big possibilities in Yugoslavia for the growth of kulak households which form the basis of reaction in the countryside.

Because of the nationalisation of industry and the development of agricultural producers’ cooperatives, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party lull themselves with the belief that economically a “mortal blow has been delivered

to the capitalist elements in our country.” (Kardelj). This overestimation of the struggle against the capitalist elements in Yugoslavia, which is harmful to the cause of socialist construction, is the result of a distorted interpretation of the principles of the Lenin-Stalin cooperative plan.

The agricultural producers’ cooperatives in Yugoslavia, which are still very weak organisationally and function badly, cover the sphere of distribution only, and hardly affect production, that is, the basis of small commodity production—this deep-rooted foundation of capitalism. Comrade Kardelj denies an obvious fact namely that the consumer-distributive cooperatives cannot as yet deal a “mortal blow to the capitalist elements in the countryside.

What is more, capitalist elements are growing in the sphere of production, even though the consumer and distributive cooperatives embrace a wide network of individual peasant households. The kulak households, by virtue of the superiority of large-scale production, dislodge the small, dwarf peasant households and by competing with them, force them into a hopeless position.

Let us recall again the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. In 1926-27 the socialist sector accounted for 81.9 per cent of the country’s trade turnover, while the cooperative and state organisations increased the marketing of agricultural products by 63 per cent. But this did not mean that a “mortal blow” had been struck at the kulaks. The CPSU (B) emphatically warned against the danger of the growth of capitalist elements. At the Fifteenth Party Congress, held at the end of 1927, Comrade Molotov said:

“The main question of the economic development of the countryside is that the wealthy kulak elements have the advantage of bigger households and therefore they are able, economically, to hit at the small and medium households. Herein lies the principal economic contradiction of our

countryside, a contradiction from which a way out must be found at all costs—a way out for the poor and medium peasants”.

The Party of Lenin and Stalin found this outlet in the collectivisation of agriculture, in the producer cooperatives embracing the small peasant households.

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party overestimating the significance of consumer and distributive cooperatives, counterpose them with producer cooperatives/ But this is alien to Marxism-Leninism. The Lenin-Stalin cooperative plan regards the elementary forms of cooperation as one of the pre-conditions for collectivisation. The collectivisation of agriculture is of decisive importance in eliminating the capitalist elements in the countryside.

The Lenin-Stalin cooperative plan means, in practice, building a large-scale socialist industry technically capable of re-equipping agriculture; it means elevating the basic masses of the peasantry from the elementary forms of cooperation which cover the sphere of distribution, to the level of producer cooperatives, that is to the level of collective farms. Only on this basis can a “mortal blow” be struck at the kulaks and can socialism be built.

As can be seen from the foregoing, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party have broken with the Marxist-Leninist theory of classes and the class struggle, which is a serious danger to the Communist Party and people of Yugoslavia. The departure from Marxism-Leninism ideologically disarms the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and contains the danger of the bourgeois degeneration of the people’s republic of Yugoslavia.

COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES UNANIMOUSLY APPROVE RESOLUTION INFORMATION BUREAU CONCERNING SITUATION IN COMMUNIST PARTY YUGOSLAVIA

The Resolution of the Information Bureau on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia met with a ready response on the part of all the Communist Parties, including those parties not members of the Information Bureau.

The Central Committee of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, France, Italy and the Soviet Union have heard reports from their delegates on the results of the June meeting of the Information Bureau and have approved both their work and the Resolution.

This important document of the Communist movement was discussed both at national level and in regional and district committees, in the local branches and at open Party meetings.

In resolutions adopted, the organisations and Worker's Parties have unanimously approved the Resolution and strongly condemned the anti-Soviet and anti-Party attitude of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The Communist Parties stressed in their resolutions that the Information Bureau, and above all the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by their timely exposure of the treacherous policy of the Yugoslav leaders, have made an important contribution to the Communist Movement and to the cause of peace, freedom and independence of the

peoples.

Below we publish the comments of the Parties on the decision of the Information Bureau.

Communist Party of France Upholds Resolution Of The Information Bureau

The Political Bureau of the Communist Party of France unanimously approved the Resolution of the Information Bureau. A meeting of the Central Committee held on July 9 and 10 to discuss the Resolution was addressed by Comrade Fajon. The resolution of the Committee states:

“The Central Committee approves the resolutions of the Political Bureau of April 28 and May 12 condemning the mistakes of the Yugoslav leaders.

“By departing from the principles of proletarian internationalism, by denying the leading and decisive role played by the Soviet Union in defeating Hitlerism, liberating Yugoslavia and other countries and in helping the struggle of the peoples for their national independence, peace and socialism, the present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party have carried out a policy which breaks with Marxism-Leninism on all principal questions.

“The policy is characterised in particular by anti-Soviet tendencies, by the abandonment of the class struggle, against capitalist elements which the Yugoslav leaders try to cover up with leftist excesses and adventurist measures directed against the working peasantry and small traders and by a tendency to liquidate the Party as the vanguard of the working class and all popular democratic and national farces.

“On the international scale this policy represents a criminal attempt to disrupt the democratic peace front. It serves the

plans of the imperialists and endangers Yugoslavia's independence.

"In view of this, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France declines the invitation of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party to take part in the forthcoming congress.

"The Central Committee is confident that by its exposure of the mistakes and double-dealing, the Yugoslav leaders, the Information Bureau's Resolution will help the healthy elements in the Yugoslav Communist Party to change the situation in their Party, forcing the present leaders to recognise and rectify their mistakes or, if they prove incapable of this, removing them".

The resolution called upon the entire Party to let its work be guided by the decisions of the Information Bureau.

In conclusion, the resolution states: "The Central Committee once again confirms the fraternal solidarity of the French Communists with all the fraternal parties loyal to the cause of Communism and in particular with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which has brought to light the false policy of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party.

"In this connection the Central Committee once again expresses its confidence in and its love for Comrade Stalin teacher and leader of all Communists, the true and wise friend of the peoples fighting for their national independence, democracy and peace".

The newspaper, "l'Humanite" states that the rank and file of the French Communist Party is studying and approving the Resolution of the Information Bureau.

The Soviet Union—Firm Bulwark of the Independence of the Peoples

The delegation of the Rumanian Workers' Party composed of Georgiu-Dej, Anna Pauker and Vassili Luca reported on the decision of the Information Bureau at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party. The members of the delegation also addressed special Party meetings on the subject.

The party meetings expressed unanimous agreement with the resolution and severely censured the nationalist anti-Soviet attitude of the present Yugoslav Communist leaders and their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. These meetings, which were distinguished by the high political level of the discussion had as their object the strengthening of the party ranks, raising the political and ideological level of the membership and combating manifestations of nationalism.

The membership expressed boundless love for the Soviet Union, for the communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and for the brilliant teacher of the working people of the world, Comrade Stalin.

The Party organ, "Scanteia" said,

"There can be no doubt that only the military, political, economic and diplomatic support by the Soviet Union—the champion of all peoples in their struggle for freedom and democracy—prevented the imperialists from abolishing the national independence of the countries of south eastern Europe and from restoring the rule of the bourgeoisie and the traitors.

"Had our country been liberated not by the Soviet Army but by the armies of the Anglo-American imperialists, we would never have been able to build the system of people's democracy. We would have lost our independence and become a satellite of the imperialist states.

"Every worker or patriot understands that the Soviet Union

is a powerful champion of the independence of his native land, the most powerful bulwark for the democratic development, economic well-being and complete liberation of his people from capitalist exploitation.

“Disarming Yugoslavia in face of the imperialists, and counterposing themselves to the front of democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union—the most firm bulwark in the struggle for national independence—the present Yugoslav leaders do not understand or pretend not to understand that they have taken the path of betraying the national independence of their country.”

Strengthen the Alliance Between Workers and Peasantry

In Hungary, the Resolution of the Information Bureau was received with lively interest both among members of the Hungarian Worker’s Party and among the broad sections of the people.

An enlarged Central Committee meeting of the Hungarian Workers’ Party discussed the Information Bureau’s Resolution. The meeting unanimously approved the attitude of the Party delegates at the Bureau’s meeting and fully supported the Resolution condemning the incorrect policy of the Yugoslav Communist Party. The Central Committee especially considered the conclusions that should be drawn from the Resolution and how they applied to Hungary.

Later, a meeting of some 5,000 people from the Budapest organisation of the Party was addressed by Comrade Rakosi. Asked how it was possible that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had made the mistakes criticised in the Resolution, Rakosi replied:

“The majority of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party failed to

understand the leading role of the Party and of the working class and the essence, of the alliance between workers and peasants”.

The meeting enthusiastically applauded Rakosi’s statement that the Workers Party believed that the country’s own interests could best be served through close alliance with the Soviet Union and the People’s Democracies.

Comrade Rakosi pointed out that the Yugoslav situation demonstrated the results of conceit and fear of criticism.

Comrade Rakosi then emphasised that in the new situation, the Workers’ Party is vigilantly and confidently advancing along its former path and marching alongside the liberator of the Hungarian people—the mighty Soviet Union. The meeting unanimously approved the attitude of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers’ Party and the decision of the Information Bureau on the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The Committee of the National Federation of Agricultural Labourers who were given land by the agrarian reform organised a national meeting to discuss home and foreign policy and the economic situation in the country. In the name of the working peasants, the meeting approved the decision of the Hungarian Workers’ Party concerning the Yugoslav events. Their resolution stressed that the Yugoslav Communist leaders’ denial of the leading role of the working class was incorrect, that the Hungarian peasants had, in the past, experienced the harmful effects of this false “theory” without the support of the working class, the Hungarian peasantry would never have gained their liberation.

Departure from Main Principles of Marxism-Leninism

After hearing Comrade Zawadski's report on the meeting of the Information Bureau, the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party held on July 6 unanimously approved the Resolution of the Information Bureau.

Comrade Zawadski pointed out that the policy and altitude of the present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party demonstrated the dangers that threaten Communist and Workers' Parties in power in the people's democracies when they deviate in the slightest, from Marxism-Leninism under pressure from internal capitalist forces—which have been routed but not completely defeated—and from the external imperialist forces. The betrayal of proletarian internationalism, the hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union and the people's democracies is the most flagrant, example of the departure of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party from Marxist-Leninist principles.

International solidarity of the working people, confidence and mutual assistance in the struggle against imperialism and for peace and socialism, said Comrade Zawadski, constitutes the basis of the correct relations between the people's democracies and the Soviet Union. By departing from this, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are pushing their country into the embraces of imperialism, and allowing it to be used as an instrument of imperialist blackmail".

A special meeting of district members of the Polish Workers' Party attended by over 400 Party functionaries from all over the country was held in Warsaw on July 12. In his address Comrade Zambrowski, referring to the grave mistakes of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, declared that he who does not want to face up to the menace of American

imperialism to the independence of his country, who does not want to see in the alliance with the Soviet Union and the people's democracies the surest guarantee of independence and who places the Soviet Union on the same level as the imperialist countries, disarms his Party and his country in the face of imperialist aggression.

“Our plenum has shown”, said Comrade Zambrowski, “that the Resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has sharpened our vigilance for all kinds of opportunist and nationalist vacillations, for adventurism and sectarianism and has whetted the party's keen weapon—criticism and self-criticism”.

The meeting unanimously approved the resolution of the Information Bureau.

“Glos Ludu”, organ of the Polish Workers' Party stated that every member of the Polish Workers' Party is indignant at the state of affairs in the Yugoslav Communist Party. The newspaper pointed out that the deviation from Marxist-Leninist principles has resulted in the leaders of the Yugoslav Party making dangerous changes in home and foreign policy and in their becoming political adventurers.

“Robotnik”, organ of the Polish Socialist Party, in an article approving the Resolution, writes: “The dangerous worship of Tito the shameful persecution of those Party members who were bold enough to criticise their leaders and to call for the resumption of a correct policy, threatens the very existence of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia”.

They Betrayed The Cause Of Socialism

In Czechoslovakia the decision of the Information Bureau met with unanimous approval among the members of the Communist Party and the broad sections of public opinion.

On June 28 the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Party after hearing the report by Comrade Slansky, expressed its full agreement with the Resolution and decided to organise a big campaign in the Party for the purpose of explaining the ideological questions and political conclusions arising from the Information Bureau's resolution.

After hearing a report by Comrade Siroky, the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party expressed full support for the decision of the Information Bureau.

In an editorial comment on too resolution "Rude Pravo"—organ of the Czechoslovak Communist Party stated:

"The discussion by the Information Bureau of the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia testifies to the enormous strength of the socialist front which is not afraid openly to speak of the weaknesses and mistakes of the Communist Parties. History teaches us that those in the labour movement who betrayed Marxism-Leninism proved incapable of retarding the onward development and fell by the wayside. The socialist front, more consolidated than ever, will continue its forward march".

An editorial in "Pravda"—the organ of the Slovak Communist Party—pointed out that the decision of the Information Bureau was of great significance for the struggle for socialism in Europe.

All the district and regional committees, and the local organisations of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia are discussing the resolution. The resolutions adopted at these meetings wholeheartedly endorse the decision of the Information Bureau. The mass party meetings held in the big factories in Prague, Brno and other cities strongly condemned the leadership of the Yugoslav Party.

According to a decision reached by the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Party will not be represented at the forthcoming congress of the Yugoslav Party

because “by its refusal to attend the recent meeting of the Information Bureau and by its attitude to the Bureau’s decisions, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has seceded from the united socialist front and has cut itself off from the fraternal family of the Communist Parties”.

The decision further states:

“Even after the publication of the Communique of the Information Bureau the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party continue to reject the well-grounded criticism to which they were subjected. They are adhering to an anti-party viewpoint and instead of admitting their mistakes, are waging an unprincipled struggle against the Communist Parties. Moreover, reports from Yugoslavia say that the 5th congress of the Yugoslav Party is being prepared not on the basis of inner-party democracy but in line with the undemocratic inner-party regime. Consequently, the congress cannot express the real sentiments of the membership”.

The hundreds of telegrams and resolutions pouring into the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party declare complete unanimity of the party organisations with the resolution of the Information Bureau and the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Communist Party of Albania on Resolution of Information Bureau

A statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania reads as follows:

“The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania unanimously agrees with the Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation inside the

Yugoslav Party. The Central Committee denounces the treachery of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the socialist camp and who have embarked upon an open struggle against the glorious fatherland of socialism, against the Party of Lenin and Stalin and the democratic anti-imperialist camp.

“The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, have betrayed the sacred cause of the heroic and fraternal Yugoslav people and set the country on the road to -catastrophe,

“The Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party has always been in conflict with the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party which tried to impose upon our country and our Party their own methods and their treacherous Trotskyite policy”.

The Central Committee of the Albanian Party charged the leaders of the Yugoslav Party with attempting to distort political and economic relations between Albania and Yugoslavia and to “colonise” Albania.

Our Path—Together With The Countries Of Socialism

The Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party in a statement on the Resolution of the Information Bureau declares that it “unanimously, and unconditionally approves the decisions of the Information Bureau”.

On July 8, a meeting of Party members of the Rome organisation discussed the Resolution.

Comrade Togliatti who addressed the meeting analysed in detail the mistakes of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party. He declared also that the Communist Party of Italy would not be represented at the forthcoming congress of the Yugoslav Party.

The meeting, which endorsed the decision of the leaders of the Italian Party to support the Information Bureau's Resolution wholly and unconditionally, pointed to the decisive contribution made by the comrades from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by Comrade Stalin in exposing the mistakes and denouncing the deviations of the Yugoslav leaders.

Meetings of Party organisations were also held in Milan and Turin.

"Unita", organ of the Italian Communist Party, carried articles by Party leaders analysing the mistakes of the Yugoslav leadership and outlining the practical tasks facing the party.

In an article in "Unita" on July 2, Comrade Togliatti wrote: "Our united socialist front consists of the land of socialism, where socialism is already victorious, of the people's democracies which have just started along the path to socialism under special conditions which vary in each of them and differ from those which existed at the time of the October Revolution in 1917 and, finally, of the labour and democratic movements developing in the capitalist countries which, as in our country, are under the yoke of the imperialists.

Marching toward socialism, our united front employs different forms of struggle, changing according to the concrete conditions. However, the direction of the movement must be the same for each one: in the sphere of theory—Marxism-Leninism and in the sphere of real forces—the land of socialism which is headed by the Marxist-Leninist Party steered in the battles of the three revolutions and two victorious wars.

"The main reason for the mistakes of the Yugoslav leaders lies precisely in their failure to understand this.

"Eaten up with arrogance and ambition, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party cannot understand that the

liberation of Yugoslavia would have been impossible without the decisive victory of the land of socialism in World War Two and without the help given them by the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav leaders, having lost their orientation, having broken with Marxism-Leninism, committed mistake after mistake until they found themselves outside the united socialist front.

“There is no doubt”, Comrade Togliatti continued, “that inside the Yugoslav Party there are people capable of fighting who will not permit themselves to be driven along the path of the betrayal of socialism and the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia”.

Our Gratitude to Central Committee of CPSU (B)

The Resolution of the Information Bureau was discussed at an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists).

The Central Committee meeting was followed by meetings of regional and city Party committees. Throughout the country Party branches also debated the Resolution, and the decisions taken on it by the meeting of the Central Committee.

Denouncing the anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist attitude of the Yugoslav leaders, the Party organisations adopted resolutions wholeheartedly approving the decision of the Information Bureau and the Central Committee meeting.

The Party organisations in Plovdiv, Plevna, Staro-Zagarsk, Vrachansk and other areas, expressed the belief that the healthy elements inside the Yugoslav Party would successfully overcome the crisis brought about by the mistakes of the present leaders.

A meeting of branch secretaries of the Smolyan area

passed the following resolution:

“We express our intense gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to its great leader Comrade, Stalin who vigilantly guard the united front of the people’s democracies, who always give warning of deviation from Marxism-Leninism and who wisely point out the correct and sure way to socialism”.

After hearing a report from Comrade Chervenkov, Secretary of the Workers’ Party, the Executive Committee of the Fatherland Front unanimously approved the Information Bureau’s Resolution. Thousands of similar resolutions are being passed at local meetings of the Front.

These resolutions show that the people of Bulgaria, striving for close unity with the people of Yugoslavia, resolutely condemn the nationalist policy of the Yugoslav Communist leaders.”

Yugoslav Communist Leaders Court Anglo-American Imperialism

In a special statement on the Resolution of the Information Bureau, the Chairman of the United States Communist Party, W. Z. Foster and the Secretary of the Party, Eugene Dennis, stressed that the leaders of the Yugoslav Party have deviated from Marxism-Leninism. Of late they have pursued a course hostile to the Soviet Union and are playing up to Anglo-American imperialism.

They have forsaken working class internationalism for bourgeois nationalism and have displayed hostility toward the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Seeking to liquidate the Party, they have embarked on a policy that can only lead to the restoration of a Yugoslav capitalist state controlled by

imperialism.

Through their press and the State Department, the statement goes on, the United States imperialists are distorting the Resolution of the Information Bureau and the reasons for it. However, the Resolution shows that throughout the world the leading forces of peace and democracy are on the alert. Their timely actions doom to failure the attempts of the Marshall politicians to divide and disorientate the anti-imperialist camp in its fight for peace and social progress.

But in spite of the treachery of the present leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the anti-imperialist peace camp is steadily growing.

In our country, as throughout the whole world, the statement continues, the forces fighting for peace acknowledge that the keystone of the problem is friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union whose influence among the peace-loving people of each country is increasing every day.

Decision of the Political Committee of British Communist Party

The Political Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain unanimously approved the decision of the Information Bureau and expressed its confidence that the rank and file of the Yugoslav Party would rectify the errors of its leaders and respond to the suggestion of the fraternal Communist Parties to carry through the changes necessary for the application of Marxist-Leninist principles of the policy and practice of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

THE SECTARIAN, BUREAUCRATIC REGIME IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA. A. Pauker, Secretary, Central Committee, Rumanian Worker's Party

One of the most serious mistakes made by the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is the sectarian, bureaucratic regime which they created inside the Party.

The resolution of the Information Bureau, in its analysis of the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, stated: "the type of organisation in the Yugoslav Communist Party can only be described as a sectarian, bureaucratic organisation".

The system prevailing inside the Communist Party of Yugoslavia reflects the profoundly incorrect and harmful attitude of its leadership. The departure from the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle, and the negation of the leading role of the proletariat resulted, logically, in the leadership of the Yugoslav Party glossing over the role of the revolutionary party of the working class, in belittling the Party as an active and creative organism, and rejecting direct, open and day-to-day contact between Party organisations and the working people. And finally, it led to the Party becoming bureaucratic, to the cutting off and isolation of its branches and leading organs from the class and from the people.

Departure From Organisational Principles Of Marxist Party

This sectarian, bureaucratic regime, itself an expression of the departure the Yugoslav Communist leadership from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is, at the same time, one of the main obstacles in the way of rectifying the mistakes of the leadership.

Hence, the liquidation of this regime is matter of life or death to the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The resolution of the Information Bureau pointed out that the policy pursued by the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party “threatens the very existence of the Party and ultimately carries with it the danger of the degeneration of the People’s Republic of Yugoslavia.” It is up to the healthy elements in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to put an end to the sectarian, bureaucratic regime inside the Party in order to remove this danger.

The great Lenin teaches us that the Party cannot live and develop if it keeps aloof and isolates itself from the people. In order to exist and develop, the Party must maintain living contact with the masses through its organisations, must broaden out and strengthen this contact and in this way win the confidence, love and support of the mass of the people.

The experience of nearly half a century of the Bolshevik Party brilliantly demonstrates the correctness of the Leninist-Stalinist doctrine about the Party. The strength of the Bolshevik Party lies in its indissoluble ties with the masses, in its readiness not only to teach the masses but also to learn from them. The strength of the Bolshevik Party lies in its consolidation and its discipline. But this discipline has nothing in common with “blind” discipline, with the discipline of the big stick. **“Iron discipline does not preclude but**

presupposes a conscious and voluntary attitude, for only a conscious discipline can be an iron discipline". (Stalin).

This historical experience of the Bolshevik Party was the basis on which all the Communist Parties grew and developed as Leninist Parties. Their own experience showed how correct is the Leninist-Stalinist doctrine about the Party.

But the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia deny these organisational principles. Blinded by nationalist conceit, Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic no longer think it necessary to be guided by the world historic experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and are now denying this experience.

The fact that one of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party declared that Stalin's "Short History of the CPSU (B)" should not be studied in Party schools on the pretext that this would result in a "mechanical" application of the experience of the CPSU (B) to Yugoslav conditions, cannot be regarded as a chance occurrence. It is not at all accidental that such objections were raised precisely in connection with the "Short History of the CPSU (B)" which is the clearest, most profound and militant account of the experience of the Soviet Communist Party.

The self-confident opinion of the Yugoslav Communist leaders who allege that they have contributed something new to the organisational principles of the Party is nothing but empty phrase-mongering. As a matter of fact their opinion is a weird mixture of Narodnik, Menshevik and Trotskyite views.

Close contact with the masses is the underlying principle of the activities of the Communist Party. How is this principle realised by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia? "The primary party organisations are the foundation of the Party". The primary Party organisation links the mass of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia with the leading organs of the Party. This principle is recorded in the Statutes of the CPSU (B) and

in the statutes of the other Communist Parties.

But in the Yugoslav Party, the primary Party organisation does not reveal itself openly. Its membership, leaders and indeed its very existence are shrouded in secrecy. This state of affairs could only result in the Party and its leading organs breaking with the masses and the Party becoming a bureaucratic body.

The organisational structure of the Communist Party is based on the principle of democratic centralism. But in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia there is no such thing as inner Party democracy. According to the principle of democratic centralism, the minority is subordinate to the majority. In the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, where Party meetings are not held or occur at very rare intervals. Party policy is not discussed by the Party members. They are told only of binding decisions taken “at the top”.

According to democratic centralism, Party members are subordinate to their Party leaders, the lower organisations to the higher. But this subordination is based on the principle that all Party organs and all Party leaders are elected. They are invested with the full and freely expressed confidence of the mass of the membership which has promoted them from its ranks as the best and most worthy representatives.

Naturally, in conditions of underground work, the Communist Parties cannot always adhere to the principle of electing Party organs. But the Communist Parties have always regarded such conditions as abnormal and transient. With the destruction of the Hitlerite yoke, nearly all the Communist Parties which had been engaged in underground struggle, set about the job of building up their party organs on the basis of election.

But a different situation prevails in the Yugoslav communist Party where the leadership has, in fact rejected the principle of election. To this day, all Party organs in

Yugoslavia are not elected but appointed from above: There is no justification whatsoever for this bureaucratic, anti-democratic practice.

Not democratic centralism but a bureaucratic, militarist system prevails in the Yugoslav Communist Party.

In 1923, Comrade Stalin, criticising shortcomings in Party work—for the Bolsheviks are never afraid criticism pointed out that the following measures were necessary to eliminate shortcomings in the Party:

“First, in every way and tirelessly combat the survivals and habits of the war period in our Party, combat the incorrect view that our Party is some kind of a system of departments and not a militant organisation of the proletariat which thinks actively, is self-sufficient, lives a full-blooded life, destroys the old and creates the new.

“Second, it is necessary to increase the activity of the Party masses by submitting for discussion all questions that interest them, since there is no reason why these questions should not be discussed openly, by ensuring the opportunity for free criticism of each and every point raised by Party organs. For only thus can Party discipline be transformed into a really conscious, really iron discipline, only thus can the political, economic and cultural experience of the Party masses be raised.

“Third, it is necessary to elect all Party organs and all officials... An end must be put to the practice of ignoring the will of the majority of the organisation when nominating comrades for responsible Party posts. We must see to it that the elective principle is carried out”.

Had the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia not thrown overboard the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, they would have long ago drawn the necessary conclusions from Comrade Stalin’s theses.

Turkish Regime In Communist Party Of Yugoslavia

The Communist Parties, true to the teachings of Lenin and Stalin concerning the Party have learnt from their own experience that criticism and self-criticism are among the main means of strengthening and developing the Party. Criticism and self-criticism are an absolute condition for the existence of a revolutionary party. Criticism and self-criticism give expression to “the broad public opinion of the working class as a living and vigilant moral control, whose voice should be closely heeded by the most authoritative leaders if they want to retain the confidence of the Party, the confidence of the working class”. (Stalin), Criticism and self-criticism are the only method of drawing the working people into building socialism.

But criticism and self-criticism are banned by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Party membership is not educated in the spirit of criticism and self-criticism. Moreover, any attempt at criticism in the Party is fiercely suppressed. Nor is this merely a question of Party repression which, in itself, is impermissible as a means of banning criticism and self-criticism, but of repression by the state apparatus. The state apparatus of the new democracies which has the function of combating the class enemy in town and countryside, of discovering and punishing spies and other imperialist agents, is used to “solve” Party questions by means of brutal reprisals which include threats of physical extermination.

Such is the internal regime in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The shocking fact of the arrest of the Central Committee members, Comrades Djuiovic and Hebrang, as well as other Communists, because they opposed the anti-Soviet

line of the leadership of the Party, is not the only example of this regime which the Resolution of the Information Bureau justly described as a purely Turkish regime.

To this it should be added that the Yugoslav Communist leaders cultivate servility to the top-leadership and that the face of the Party is replaced with the cult of Tito which is fraught with grave consequences for the Party.

“The fact,” said Comrade Stalin, “that the leaders rising to the top become separated from the masses and the masses down below begin to look up at them, and fear to criticise them—this fact cannot but create a certain danger of the leaders drifting loose from the masses and the masses becoming separated from their leaders. **This danger may result in the leaders becoming conceited and regarding themselves as infallible. And what good is it if the top leadership grows conceited and begins to look down on the masses? It is clear that nothing but disaster can come of this for the Party**”. (*My italics, A. P.*)

The atmosphere in which the preparations for the forthcoming congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are being made is indicative of the system cultivated by the Party leaders. The participation of the membership in these preparations is, for the most part confined to voting for resolutions pledging loyalty and allegiance and to electing candidates nominated from above. There is no critical discussion of the work of the Party. The leadership is carefully avoiding any discussion of the sharp, but justified criticism contained in the Resolution of the Information Bureau of the system prevailing in the Party.

The leadership does not want to lace up to these questions that are in the mind of every Yugoslav Communist:—What is the explanation for the semi-legal position of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia? If this is a mistake, why does not the leadership say so openly? Why is there a complete absence of

elections and internal democracy in the Party? Why is criticism suppressed and punished? Why is the leadership pursuing a dual policy, concealing its real line which is leading the Yugoslav Party to complete isolation and to the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party being condemned by the Communist Parties of the world, headed by the CPSU (B)?

It must be noted that in spite of the bureaucratic, terrorist regime in the Party, these questions are beginning to be raised by the Yugoslav Communists. Many Party members have already voiced disapproval of the Central Committee's refusal to discuss the situation to the Yugoslav Party at the meeting of the Information Bureau of Communist Parties.

A considerable part of the membership and non-Party workers refuse to believe that Comrades Djuiovic and Hebrang are traitors. They know that these comrades took an active part in the struggle against the Hitlerite invaders. By opposing those who deny the Soviet Union's great liberating role, by opposing the nationalist, anti-Soviet actions and policy of the leadership at the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Comrades Djuiovic and Hebrang have carried out their duty as Communists.

The leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party threw them into prison along with other Communists and then announced that they were "traitors". This was done to intimidate Party members and to prevent them from openly criticising the anti-Marxist and traitorous policy of the leadership.

However, it is impossible to force genuine Communists who have been tempered in battle, and who recognise their duty to their own people and the international proletariat, to succumb to the terrorist methods of the present leadership. It is this knowledge that convinced the Information Bureau that the people loyal to the great cause of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin will be able to save Yugoslavia from degeneration and disaster.

In order to do this, the sectarian, bureaucratic and terrorist

regime in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia must be ended and the Party must be guided in its political and organisational work by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin and, if necessary, the conceited and bureaucratic leadership must be removed.

Millions of Communists and non-party people are studying and discussing the Information Bureau's Resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. From the example given by the Rumanian Workers' Party we can judge how the discussion of the highly important questions of principle raised in the Resolution is a powerful means of strengthening the Party. Members of the Party are not only trying to understand the essence of the mistakes made by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, but to draw the lessons arising from them for our Party. Discussion of the situation in the Yugoslav Party makes it the duty of every Party functionary to review our Party work critically and to pose the question: is all well with inner Party democracy, are the Party organisations reporting all their activities to the membership, are criticism and self-criticism being practised in all Party organisations from top to bottom?

The imperialists and their propaganda lackeys would like to regard the open discussion of the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as a sign of "weakening in the socialist front. In fact, however, such discussion helps to overcome weaknesses and to correct mistakes in the work of the Communist Parties, helps to strengthen the Parties and to consolidate the forces of socialism and democracy. To be true to the banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, to strengthen the Party and to strengthen the united socialist front of the Soviet Union, the new democracies and the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries—such are the main conclusions to be

drawn by the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries from their study of the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. These are the conclusions which should also be drawn by all Communists in Yugoslavia who are true to their country and to the great cause of the working class.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CLERICAL REACTION IN HUNGARY. I. Revai, Member, Political Bureau, Hungarian Workers' Party

By an overwhelming majority of 230 votes to 63, the Hungarian Parliament June 16, 1948, passed a bill which handed over to the state all schools which had previously been under the direction of the church.

This measure was preceded by a long struggle during which clerical reaction resorting to all kinds of anti-democratic slander, tried to play on the religious sentiments of the people, particularly of the peasants, and to incite their hatred against democracy. Although the new legislation has not put an end to this struggle, it can now be acknowledged that clerical reaction has suffered a decisive defeat.

The struggle between clerical reaction and democracy in Hungary is instructive for many countries, especially for the new democracies where, as in Poland or Czechoslovakia, the Roman Catholic Church has considerable influence among the masses and where a large proportion of the population is Catholic. About 67 per cent of the people of Hungary are Catholics.

Why did Hungarian democracy decide, in the fourth year of its existence, to nationalise the church schools? Why was a struggle between democracy and the Catholic clergy inevitable over this?

From the end of 1944, that is, from the country's liberation. Hungarian democracy did everything possible to secure good relations between the new state power and the church—particularly the Roman Catholic Church which is the biggest in the country.

Although the Catholic Church was the biggest landowner in Hungary and benefited most from the semi-feudal system of big landed estates, democracy spared the church as far as possible when it abolished the remnants of feudalism. At the time of the land reform, the lower clergy received some 12,000 holds of land. Hungarian democracy did not want to give reaction any grounds for coming but against the democratic order under the pretext “defending” the church.

In 1944-45 the church was not separated from the state, although at the time it would have been easy to have made the separation. The schools were not handed over to the state. The democratic state materially supported the church, paying the salaries of the teaching staff and priests and allocating large sums for church expenses. Last year the government gave 140 million forints to the Catholic Church alone, a sum only slightly less than that allocated to the Minister of Health and Social Welfare.

The Catholic hierarchy did not meet this policy of conciliation with a similarly tolerant policy. But in spite of this, our policy was a correct one. It made it difficult for clerical reaction to align itself openly with the various reactionary groups and parties of the landlords and capitalists during the sharpening struggle against them. It helped democracy to win the large mass of religious people over to its camp.

Later, when the struggle against clerical reaction grew sharper, as was to be expected, the higher church dignitaries found it very difficult to get the masses to fight democracy under religious slogans.

The Catholic Church in Hungary was one of the most feudal churches in Europe. It can be compared only with the church in Spain or Poland. During the Horthy regime, members of the church hierarchy sat in the Upper Chamber and supported the counter-revolution the whole time it was in power. Most of them openly supported the war. They did not

feel the least responsibility to the nation and lacked the moral courage that could have roused the people against Szalazi's fascist regime.

They lost no time in actively opposing Hungarian democracy. As early as 1945, Cardinal Mindszenty, head of the Catholic Church in Hungary, opposed the land reform. In 1946, when the legislation proclaiming Hungary a republic was brought in, he protested in the name of the "age-old kingdom of Hungary" against the establishment of the republic and did everything he could to slander democracy and undermine its prestige.

Mindszenty is an active legitimist. He is trying to put the Catholic Church at the disposal of Otto Hapsburg who is campaigning against Hungarian democracy from the United States, and at the disposal of American imperialism.

The threat of clerical reaction grew as the democracy destroyed the political groups and parties of the big landowners and capitalists who were hostile to the people. These included Nagy's right wing of the Smallholder's Party, the semi-fascist party of Suioca and Pfeifer and the right wing of the Social Democratic Party. While the former exploiting classes steadily lost the opportunity of being legally represented in political life and were being ousted from the political arena, they closed their ranks behind clerical reaction, and Cardinal Mindszenty became the leader of the entire Hungarian reaction or, to quote the Calvinist Bishop Revas, head of "the illegal political party of reaction."

This "illegal political party" had its paid "officials", its propaganda and press apparatus (pastoral letters and sermons), held meetings and mass demonstrations (church services and crusades) and had a big following among the clergy.

The democratic government proposed that talks should be opened to settle the relationship between church and state.

The only preliminary stipulations made by the government

were that the church should recognise the Republic and the land reform and that it should make a public declaration to the effect that it did not regard the nationalisation of the banks and large-scale industry as conflicting with the basic principles of the church. Mindszenty emphatically rejected this and intensified his anti-democratic agitation.

The policy of church reaction in Hungary cannot be properly understood merely by looking at it from the point of view of the internal situation. Mindszenty has made no secret of the fact that he is banking on a sharpening of the international situation, on the help of American imperialism and on war. After the general election in Italy, clerical reaction in Hungary decided that the time had come to launch an all-out offensive, and to introduce in Hungary the methods used by the Vatican during the election. Immediately after the Italian election a conference of Hungarian bishops decided to apply one of the measures of church terror against the Communists, namely, that of excommunication. Acting on this the Bishop of Sekesfeherver unfrocked one of the priests in his diocese because the priest had cooperated with Communists in his village and had supported their constructive work.

This was tantamount to a declaration of war on the biggest political party in the country and on Hungarian democracy. The government declared that it would use all its authority to support and protect those who were persecuted by reaction because at their democratic stand. It was impermissible that the church should practise "Italian methods" under the people's democratic order. Clerical reaction could not be allowed to use its influence in the schools to back its struggle against democracy. More than half of all the schools were in the hands of the church. The church schools represented a state within the

state. Hungarian democracy abolished the remnants of feudalism in the sphere of landownership when it redistributed the tenced estates but it did not abolish them in the sphere of education during the initial phase of its development.

As democracy developed it became necessary to abolish feudal relics in this sphere also.

Neither during the 1848-49 revolution nor in 1867 were bourgeois-democratic educational reforms introduced. Among the aims of the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848 in Hungary was the establishment of a unified educational system, and the nationalisation of the schools. The great Hungarian revolutionaries and reformers realised that national unity could only be achieved by overcoming religious disunity and church domination. The national sentiment in Hungary, as in many other countries, was moulded in the course of the struggle against religious oppression.

That is why Hungarian democracy tried to carry out an educational reform by introducing a unified school system. This reform aimed at replacing the old school system with its rigid caste system which made education the monopoly of the children of the wealthy, by a school system which would give every child in the country the opportunity to study.

However, this was prevented by the existence of the church schools. It was absolutely imperative to hand the church schools over to the state if Hungarian democracy was to undertake the cultural development of the working class and the peasantry along with their economic, political and social development.

The spirit of democracy and unity in education had to be secured. We could not tolerate a state of affairs where one section of the children was educated in the spirit of democracy and Hungarian democratic traditions while the other was taught to hate democracy and despise the country's democratic traditions. Hungarian democracy could no longer tolerate the

way the church schools slandered the national liberation struggle of 1848-49 and its leaders, as well as the working class movement and socialism. It could not tolerate a state of affairs where the achievements of science, including biology were derided and rejected under the camouflage of “religious morals”.

Therefore, the secularisation of the church schools was at the same time a political and cultural necessity. The struggle was waged simultaneously in the field of politics and culture.

However, in spite of the manoeuvres of church reaction, Hungarian democracy was not provoked into launching a general offensive or a cultural struggle against the church. We demonstrated this desire when we showed that what we wanted was not a fight at all costs but agreement with the church. We demonstrated this by the agreement reached with the Protestant Church. The Protestant Church was guaranteed financial support from the state for a period of twenty years and was allowed to retain certain schools possessing historic and cultural significance. In order to involve the masses of religious people in the work of building up democracy and socialism, we did not interfere with the system of compulsory religious education in the old church schools nor in the new states ones. The struggle for the secularisation of the church schools was carried out under the declaration of the Hungarian Worker’s Party which says:

“The Party is fighting for complete freedom of conscience. It respects religious beliefs and calls upon the church to break with the bankrupt system of landlords and capitalists, to recognise the achievements of people’s democracy and to cooperate peacefully with the democratic state. At the same time the Party declares that it will resolutely combat any reactionary elements seeking cover behind the church and will relentlessly expose the anti-popular policy which abuses true religious belief”.

Thanks to this policy, clerical reaction was defeated in the fight to bring the schools under state control. Catholic reaction tried to get its followers to rebel against the State. But only in one remote village, did a priest—himself a big landowner who had formed an alliance with kulaks and former Horthy officers—succeed in causing unrest among the people which resulted in the murder of a representative of Hungarian democracy.

It became clear that most religious people were not on the side of church reaction but were on the side of democracy. Moreover, it became clear that a considerable part of the lower clergy were not supporting Cardinal Mindszenty's reactionary policy. Catholic reaction reckoned on the backwardness of the people, on their ignorance and lack of culture. Democracy relied on their common sense. And democracy proved to be right.

A decisive role in this struggle was played by the teaching staff of church schools who were anxious to see the schools secularised and looked forward to the end of slavish dependence on their clerical masters. Fourteen thousand of these teachers openly opposed the religious terror of the upper clergy and joined in the struggle of the Teachers' Trade Union for state control of schools.

One of the more important results of this struggle was the further consolidation of the unity of the democratic parties united in the Independence Front.

People's democracy in Hungary has every reason to look upon the secularisation of the church schools as an achievement every bit as far-reaching as the land reform or the nationalisation of banks and heavy industry.

GERMAN SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY PROTESTS AGAINST FORMATION OF “BLACK GUARD”

The Socialist Unity Party has issued a special statement protesting against the formation of a “Black Guard” in the Western zones of Germany and against Anglo-American espionage in the Soviet zone.

Supported by American monopolists, says the statement, German reaction is systematically organising Black Guard units which in their turn are supported by the regular police in the western zones, which is already composed of former Nazis and Hitler army officers. The aim of these fascists is to provoke civil war in Germany.

In Western Germany the so-called industrial police, formed exclusively from former SA and SS troops, were secretly instructed how to behave toward demonstrations and “public disorders”. According to the instruction, the industrial police must cooperate closely with the occupation troops in attacking demonstrators, in street fighting and in erecting barricades.

The creation of this civil war Black Guard is not confined to the western zones, continues the statement, it is also active in the American sector of Berlin under the pretext of guarding American army stores. The Socialist Unity Party points out that the people of Berlin became only too well acquainted with the Black Guard during the recent referendum on German unity, when the Guard terrorised and tortured members of democratic organisations and supporters of German unity.

The formation of the war “Black Guard”, adds the statement, also aims at hindering rehabilitation in the Soviet zone.

These mercenaries have already been sent to different factories and organisations in Eastern Germany with the aim of sabotaging rehabilitation.

THE DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA. P. Yudin

After the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) in a number of letters had subjected the leaders of Yugoslavia to sharp criticism for their anti-Marxist distortion of the fundamental principles of Party structure, they made haste with a number of demagogic declarations in which they tried to show that all is well, that the Party is built on Leninist principles, and so on.

The Central Committee of the Party began to rush the legislation of the Party, announced the convocation of a Party congress and with equal haste published the draft of a programme for the Party. This Programme which appeared in "Borba" in the name of the Central Committee of the Party, gives the impression of a muddled newspaper article rather than the programme of a serious political party.

The first part of the programme, which is a re-write of the programme of the Communist International, attempts to give an analysis of the general laws of social development, of the laws governing capitalism and imperialism. All this is presented in a way that makes the authors of the programme presented as though they were the original discoverers of these laws, thereby taking upon themselves the role of teachers of the international working class.

Where the authors of the programme confine themselves to copying from the Programme of the Communist International, matters are not so bad. But the moment they attempt their own formulations, the result is complete theoretical helplessness and an anti-Marxist interpretation of things. Attempting to explain the reasons for the destruction of the German fascist armies, the authors merely say that the fascists "lost the war under the

blows of the Allied forces, with the Soviet Union bearing the brunt of the war". No one denies this. It is not simply a matter of the Soviet Union having borne the brunt of the war. The point is that the Soviet Army smashed the German fascist troops and liberated the countries of Eastern and South-eastern Europe, it helped the peoples of these countries to drive out the Germans and to smash the bourgeoisie and landlords, it enabled the peoples of these countries to come to power and create a people's democratic system, Yugoslavia included.

It is this obvious fact that is denied by the Yugoslav leaders; It is this fact that is denied by the authors of the draft programme. Contrary to historical truth, the draft presents the matter as if Yugoslavia alone routed the Germans and expelled them from the country.

Part two of the draft programme in particular shows up the complete theoretical helplessness of its authors. In this section, which contains a description of the old Yugoslavia, one would have thought that Yugoslavia of the past would have been examined from a Marxist standpoint, that the people would have been shown from what oppression they had been delivered. But while the authors displayed remarkable verbosity in outlining the general history of capitalism they are most laconic in describing the social order in the old Yugoslavia. They failed to give a concrete Marxist analysis of their country's history.

The programme devotes much space to the agrarian question in Yugoslavia. But this section makes a strange impression. The draft does not say in whose hands the land is today: (it is private property). Nor is any mention made of the future of land ownership during the transition to socialism. This completely exposes the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as a petty-bourgeois politicians who are afraid to tell the peasant that socialism in agriculture means making the land the property of the people, and that only the working

peasantry will benefit from this change.

The section devoted to socialist reforms in agriculture is such a muddle and distortion of Marxism-Leninism, and so utterly inane theoretically, that it is impossible to imagine the authors at the draft and the Central Committee of the Party, which approved the draft, having the slightest theoretical understanding at the agrarian question.

A most disheartening impression is made by the fact that while planning to reorganise agriculture on the basis of socialist principles, the draft says nothing about the great experience of socialist reorganisation of agriculture in the Soviet Union, It is as if there had been no such experience, as if the Yugoslav leaders had, for the first time, opened the eyes of mankind.

As we know from the experience of the Soviet Union where 25 million peasant households took to the socialist path, socialism in agriculture means that the peasantry socialise the basic means of production and take to collective farming. The collective farms mean socialism in agriculture. The collective farms are the banner of socialism which has stood all tests. Beneath this banner some 150 million peasants of varying nationality in the Soviet Union have victoriously built socialism and are, with great success, developing the socialist system of agriculture.

The question arises why has not the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party, which has held forth on socialist changes in agriculture, mentioned the collective farms as the socialist way in agriculture? The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are silent about the great historical experience of the Soviet Union and about socialist agriculture in the Soviet Union because they are not revolutionary Marxist-Leninists, but kulak ideologists who want to build socialism together with the kulaks.

Instead of the collectivisation of agriculture they proclaim

“labour cooperatives” as a higher form of socialist reorganisation of the countryside.

The term “labour cooperatives” is so vague that it can mean almost anything. The draft programme does not say a word about the socialisation of the means of production, and especially about the land. In this form cooperatives are acceptable to any and everyone, including the kulaks. This is not a Marxist programme of building socialism but a Narodnik-Socialist Revolutionary, kulak programme for developing capitalism in the countryside.

The draft programme proclaims the principle of preserving private ownership of dwelling houses. Everybody knows that private ownership of housing property in towns and cities is lucrative source of capitalist enrichment and a means of plundering the working people. To this day dwelling houses in the towns, including large-scale property, have not been nationalised in Yugoslavia. And the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party undertakes to preserve this state of affairs under the socialist system.

In other words the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party is telling the urban bourgeoisie not to worry too much, and not to be afraid of socialism. The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party reason like Proudhon: “Once the house is built it serves as an eternal juridical foundation for receiving a definite share or social labour”.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are forsaking Marxism in its aspects. In their draft programme they write that in Yugoslavia there remain but the remnants of capitalist elements. They say nothing at all about the fact that an entire capitalist class—the kulaks exist in the countryside. In “failing to see” this exploiting class they are trying to gloss over the fact of its existence, to conceal it from the labouring peasantry, and to depict the kulak as a toiling peasant who will grow into socialism together with the remainder of the

peasantry.

On the question of the class struggle during the transition period to socialism, the Yugoslav leaders adopt a completely opportunist attitude. The draft programme was elaborated after criticism had been made of the mistakes of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party by the Central Committee of the CPSU (B). This included criticism of the incorrect stand taken by the Yugoslav leaders on the question of the intensification of the class struggle in Yugoslavia.

However, all that the programme managed to say on this question was that “the class struggle will continue until the final abolition of the exploiting classes”. But the point is not just that the class struggle will continue. Inevitably it will grow sharper. It is this point that the Yugoslav leaders fail to grasp and indeed refuse to grasp—preferring to disorientate the Party and the people by glossing over the fact of the intensification of the class struggle in the transition period to socialism. The draft programme of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is actually a nationalist, and not an internationalist programme. The programme contains not the Marxist, Leninist idea, but the nationalist idea that Yugoslavia single-handed can build socialism. Its authors bypass the matter of help on the part of the other Communist Parties, the Soviet Union and the new democracies, as an essential condition for the victory of socialism in their country, in building socialism in Yugoslavia. The authors of the draft do not understand, or pretend not to understand, that socialism cannot be built in Yugoslavia with the aid of American imperialism.

It is not a question of whether or not these woe-begone Marxists want closer cooperation with the socialist countries. The point is that it is absolutely clear that socialism cannot be built in Yugoslavia, or in any other country, without organic unity and constant aid, without the concerted efforts of the countries which have taken the path of socialism.

Just how superficial a document the draft programme is can be gathered from the fact that nowhere does it even hint at securing the economic emancipation of women, without which there can be no talk of building socialism.

And in Yugoslavia of all countries, this is a task of primary importance because Yugoslavia is an agrarian country with a backward agriculture and still existing traditions of a purely Turkish attitude to women.

From the examples given it is obvious that this document cannot be regarded as the programme of a Communist Party.

It is a confused, anti-Marxist article which projects the Communist Party onto to path of nationalism, and Yugoslavia onto the path of bourgeois degeneration.

The draft programme of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia shows that the Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party mirrors the present situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ITALY.

Emilio Sereni, Member Central Committee, Communist Party of Italy

The Resolution of the Information Bureau about the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is of great significance for the work of all Communist parties.

Particularly important is the section of the Resolution dealing with the mistakes the Yugoslav Communist leaders made in relation to the peasant question. Condemning the Yugoslav leaders' deviation from the principle of Marxism-Leninism, the Resolution analysed the problem of relations between the working class and the peasantry in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The criticism of the mistakes made by the Yugoslav leaders on this issue is extremely instructive for all fighters for democracy and socialism, especially for Italian agricultural workers who are waging a struggle for their own land.

It is obvious that the conditions in which the mass of the Italian peasantry are fighting for improved living standards are quite different from the conditions in the people's democracies, in our country there has been no agrarian reform; state power is in the hands of capitalists and landowners who are serving American imperialism. Our enemies also realise that there are lessons of great political importance to be drawn from the Information Bureau's Resolution.

The Christian-Democrats and other Italian reactionaries are doing their utmost to distort the meaning of the section of the Resolution dealing with the peasant question. They are doing

their utmost to confuse the question of the class struggle in the countryside, to misrepresent the Communist Party's policy at various stages of the struggle of the workers and peasants against reaction.

However, this fury of the lackeys of the capitalists and landowners only serves to bear out the correctness of the Information Bureau's Resolution.

Commenting on the Resolution, Comrade Togliatti said:

"We have condemned the Yugoslav leaders because their policy in the countryside is confused and mistaken, because they are vacillating between anti-Marxist declarations on the leading role of the peasantry and leftist, demagogic measures directed against the labouring peasants.

"Distorting the Resolution, the Italian reactionaries are insisting that we should abandon our demand for land reform. But we will never cease to fight for this reform because this struggle corresponds to the actual conditions in our country. In the course of this struggle the working class is building a firm alliance with the working peasantry".

Under Communist Party leadership, a big movement of agricultural workers and poor peasants for the taking over of the big estates is under way in the South of Italy. The peasant struggle in other parts of the country is taking various forms according to the agricultural structure. For example, there have been large-scale militant actions of sharecroppers in Central Italy and of the agricultural labourers in the Po valley. The different forms of the peasant struggle have one common feature: they are all developing into a fight to change the present structure of land ownership, into a struggle for possession of the land.

Always expressing and fighting for the demands of the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants, the Communist Party of Italy has for a long time past been carrying on a great campaign for an immediate and radical land reform. Even

before the recent general election, the Communist Party had demonstrated to the working people of the countryside that agrarian reform would not be achieved solely by legislation or administrative means. It can be achieved only through the relentless struggle of the peasants backed by all the democratic forces of the country against imperialism and reaction and under the leadership of the working class and its party, the Communist Party.

During the recent agricultural strikes there have been many examples of the support and guidance given to the peasantry by the working class. This was particularly demonstrated in the cooperation between the committees fighting for the setting up of management councils in industry, and the land reform committees.

The peasant's struggle for land cannot be effective without the leadership of the Communist Party, without the Party making its position clear inside the Popular movement, without strengthening the alliance between workers and peasants and the leading role of the working class in this alliance.

In spite of the brutal terror of the Government and the big landowners after the elections, the Italian agricultural workers have actually intensified their struggle for land. Led by the Communist Party, the agricultural trade unions and the "Landworkers Parliament" are organising widespread strikes round the demand for a land reform which goes beyond the immediate demands of the peasants and aims at radically changing the system of land ownership.

Recently Communist senators and members of parliament submitted a motion on land reform and a Bill on agricultural agreements. In the near future a Land Reform Bill which carries further the Communist motion will be submitted for public discussion. It will be considered at meetings of the Land Reform Committees and by the peasants throughout the country. The Bill represents the demands of agricultural

workers, sharecroppers and tenant farmers. On the eve of big new battles, we find guidance in the Resolution of the Information Bureau. It reminds us that the struggle for land is part of the struggle for democracy and socialism, that it can be successful only if the given historical conditions under which it develops are clearly understood and taken into account.

The struggle for socialism in the countryside cannot be won by means of decrees from above; it must be carried out under proper direction.

It is by no means accidental that the inveterate enemies of the working people in the Italian countryside, the Saragat traitors, talk from time to time about such things as “socialist” agrarian reform. These gentlemen contend that the Communists are too “moderate”, since they are fighting “merely” to give the peasants land either in individual or cooperative forms as the peasants themselves think fit.

The Saragat splitters are indulging in demagogy about “socialist projects” and for purposes of provocation are talking about “collectivisation”. But in reality they are the zealous champions of the interests of the exploiters, extolling in the Government and in Parliament, Scelba’s police state policy of shooting the workers and peasants and flinging them into prison by the thousand.

The Information Bureau’s Resolution helps us in the struggle against de Gasperi’s clique, against the corrupt Christian Democratic leaders who are defending the interests of the big landowners and are slandering the Communists by calling them the enemies of the peasants and small farmers.

The Italian Communists have directed and will continue to direct the struggle for land on the basis of the existing level of development of social and political relations in the Italian countryside. We are fully aware that the struggle for a land reform is the best safeguard for the small peasant, his property and his household against the big landowners, the trusts, black-

marketers and the tax system.

The land must be won for the agricultural workers themselves through their own efforts, during which they will be able to choose whether they prefer individual or collective farming methods.

Even now it can be seen that in the regions where the agricultural workers' movement is more advanced and has deeper socialist traditions, the workers are fully conscious of the need for collective cultivation and the demand for it is very strong.

As Italians and as Socialists, we are proud of this high level of consciousness among a large part of our agricultural workers.

We have never concealed, but on the contrary have always openly expressed our conviction that the advantage of socialist agriculture is undeniably demonstrated by the achievements of Soviet agriculture. However, in our struggle we should never mix elementary democratic aims with the socialist aims which can be won only on the basis of the democratic gains.

Leading the working people's struggle for land, the Italian Communists will apply the lessons to be learnt from the Information Bureau's Resolution. They will also be able to organise this struggle correctly, taking into consideration the level of the democratic movement in our countryside and understanding clearly our socialist aims at every stage of this struggle.

ORGANISATIONAL WORK OF FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY. Marius Patinaud. Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of France.

In all its activity the French Communist Party has always based itself on the theses of Lenin and Stalin concerning the organisational principles of Bolshevik Party structure. Moreover, when deciding on organisational forms and methods of work, the Central Committee of our Party always took into account the concrete situation and the tasks confronting the Party.

For instance, in September 1939, when Daladier and Reynaud planned their military attack on the Soviet Union and also made war on the French Communists, our Party adopted organisational forms which corresponded to its illegal position. These forms ensured the safety of the Party and enabled us to maintain contact with the masses, They enabled the Party to play its leading role in the resistance movement after June 1940 and later to head the uprising against the Hitlerite occupation.

The defeat of fascism as a result of the smashing victories of the Soviet Army, the liberation of France, the Party's return to legality, the growth of its influence in the trade unions and other mass organisations—all this made it absolutely necessary to reorganise the work of the Party and to abandon the forms of organisation which had played their role under the German occupation, but which no longer corresponded to the political tasks facing the Party after the victory over Hitler.

France had not been completely liberated and only some

five months had elapsed since the Party had emerged from underground when, at a Central Committee meeting held in Ivry, in January 1945, Comrade Thorez insisted on the need to overhaul the organisational work of the Party and get back to inner-Party democracy.

“After honestly analysing their activity”, said Thorez, “some of our leaders will undoubtedly agree that the five years of underground struggle have left their mark. No time must be lost in getting rid of these relics. It is necessary to overcome a certain sectarian narrowness which, in time, could weaken the Party’s bonds with the masses. We must be closely bound to the masses in order to teach them and to learn from them. It is necessary for the Party to return to a legal position, especially in our internal Party life. The Party statutes empower the Central Committee to appoint officials to leading posts in conditions of illegality. The results show that the Central Committee, relying on the confidence of the Party, did well in its choice of representatives.

“Today the conditions are different. The Party must return to the principles of democratic centralism. This means that at various levels, in the branches and in the district and regional organisations, the leadership must be democratically elected and fully responsible to the membership which elected it.

“Such is the essence of democratic centralism. Such is the basis of voluntary Party discipline for all Communists.”

Following this statement of Party principles by the leader of the Party, an intensified struggle was waged to put them into practice. Our Party vigorously combats any attempt to co-opt members onto Party committees. The elections of leading bodies in the branches, district and regional committees, during the preparations for the Tenth Congress of the Party considerably helped to enliven Party work.

The Central Committee of our Party considers the main organisational tasks to be the strict observance of inner Party

democracy, the development of criticism and self-criticism, the use of forms and methods of work which correspond to the given concrete situation, which help to improve the activity of the Party, and to secure unbreakable bonds between Party organisations and the masses.

The Central Committee constantly explains to the thousands of new Party members that the observance of inner Party democracy is a fundamental law of Party life. A correct Party line can be determined only by collective discussion which throws light on all aspects of the problems raised, makes possible a thorough study of these problems, and which foresees the possible consequences of the suggested decisions.

And this is only possible if every Party member takes an active part in discussing problems of Party life, if he has the opportunity to express his opinion freely, and if this opinion is approved or rejected in a comradely atmosphere of healthy discussion. Only in this way can rank and file Communists take part in the leadership of the Party. This encourages them to be more, active, strengthens the unity of the Party and raises the political discipline of its membership.

* * *

Since the Tenth Congress the French Communist Party has been organised on the following levels: the branch, area and federation organisations and the Central Committee of the Party. The leading Committees of the branches, areas and federations are elected at general meetings of the branches and at conferences of the area and federation organisations. The Central Committees of the Party is elected at the national conference or congress of the Party.

Our Party organisations function on the basis of factory or territorial branches. The Party is concentrating its work in industry and transport where the main struggle is being waged

for the workers' demands, and to safeguard the democratic gains and the national independence of France. That is why we are interested in extending the network of Party branches in the factories and enterprises. At the Eleventh Congress in July 1947, the Party had a total number of 36,283 branches of which 8,363 were based on factories.

In the Bouches du Rhone federation organisation, for instance, of the 1,207 branches with a membership of 27,774 at the beginning of 1948, 546 were at factories with over 10,000 members. Our statutes also provide for the organisation of members on a territorial residential basis; in blocks, streets, local and rural branches. The number of organisations built on this basis is particularly big in the countryside.

In some Party federations the leadership neglected to build factory branches. The federation secretaries gave the reason for this as the alleged unwillingness of Communist workers to be organised at their place of work. As a result not only the number of Party branches in the factories declined, but also the number of Party members. This immediately affected the militancy of the trade unions, and hampered the struggle of the working class for their demands.

Wherever the leadership of the federation Party committees considered their main task to be the building up of Party organisations in factories and mines, not only the Party but also the trade unions are growing stronger. The splitters from the force Ouvriere and Christian trade unions have found themselves isolated in these plants. When strikes take place here they are unanimous. During the trade union elections the overwhelming majority of the workers voted for the nominees of the General Confederation of Labour, who were known as militant members of the Communist Party.

Our Party is actively breaking down the various organisations. Party branches today number from 40 to 60 Party members. The branch is headed by a committee. Each

branch appoints a group of dues collectors who have the special task of keeping contact with a definite number of comrades.

Our Party statutes define the tasks of the Party branch as follows: To carry out systematic political activity among the working people by means of Communist propaganda and agitation, It recruits new members, distributes Party literature, issues propaganda material reflecting the interests and needs of the working people, conducts cultural and educational work among the Party membership and workers in the factories. The branch actively studies and supports the demands of the workers in connection with the common struggle of the working class for its social freedom, led by the Communist Party.

Party sections have been formed at many of the big enterprises. In plants where there are several branches there is a Party committee composed of one representative from each branch. The secretary of the Party committee is elected at a general meeting of all members in the plant. His job is to coordinate the work of the Party branches.

The area organisation often corresponds to the district administrative division, while the federation is a departmental organisation. Wherever several area organisations exist in the localities their work is coordinated by a member of the bureau or by the secretariat of the federation. Decisions can only be taken by the elected organs.

There are a number of serious difficulties in organising and holding Party meetings in some of the bigger factories. For instance, the personnel of the Peugeot works in Sochaux live in 32 different localities, They travel to work and return home at definite times by works buses. Hence, it is very difficult to gather together all the Communists in the works. Branches on the residential principle have been established for members who are unable to meet at the works. The responsible

representative of the given branch coordinates its activity with the work of the Party organisation in the factory.

In the Pas-de-Calais department difficulties of a similar nature resulted in the weakening of the factory branches. It was necessary to be flexible in choosing organisational forms which would eliminate these difficulties and keep the Party close to the masses. For instance, the Communists at pit No. 8 in Auchy-les-Mines are organised on the industrial principle. But Party groups were formed in the by buses which carry the same workers at the same hours to and from work. While travelling in the buses these groups discuss the demands of the miners, distribute Party literature and recruit new members.

The Party expects all its members to work in the mass organisations and to be the best, most active and most loyal defenders of the interests of the working people. Communists often hold responsible, and leading positions in the trade unions, and in the cooperatives, in the agricultural, women's youth, sport and musical organisations, in the mutual aid societies, in the associations of former war prisoners and so on.

These are some of the organisational measures taken by our Party since the end of the war. The Central Committee is promoting the activity of all links of the Party, is, sparing no effort to improve the leadership of the branches, area and federation organisations, to strengthen the ties of the Party organisations with the masses, and to raise the level of organisational work to meet the new political tasks facing the Communist Party of France.

BUILDING THE STATE APPARATUS IN BULGARIA. A. Jugov, Member, Political Bureau, Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists)

When Bulgaria took the path of the people's democracy, she was confronted with the job of building up and reorganising the state apparatus. It was necessary, above all, to abolish the old, bourgeois, monarchist-fascist state apparatus.

The smashing of the monarchist-fascist dictatorship in our country was, in itself, an event of great historical importance, since it resulted in power passing from the anti-popular clique into the hands of the people. But the consolidation of the young people's republic required the speedy building up of a strong state apparatus that would safeguard the democratic gains and ensure the development of the country along the path of people's democracy and socialism. From being the instrument of the exploiting classes in suppressing and plundering the working people, the state had to be transformed into a powerful means of defending the interests of the people, and the progressive social-economic development of the country.

The decisive role in building and strengthening the power of the people belonged to the working class in alliance with the peasantry who under the leadership of the Workers' Party, and through the Fatherland Front committees, lost no time in removing and disarming the monarchist-fascist elements and set about building the people's power throughout the country.

Features of Building The State Apparatus

When setting about the job of smashing the old bourgeois state machine and building up the new state apparatus of the people's democracy, our Party was guided by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin about the state, by the way in which these teachings were put into practice when building and developing the Soviet state as a socialist state of workers and peasants.

Like the CPSU (B) we adhered to the principle of learning from the creative initiative of the working people, drawn into the work of building the state. Nor were we mistaken. The workers, peasants and intelligentsia contributed much, and displayed real revolutionary initiative. The people proved that not only was theirs the fight to govern the state, but that they could do the job better than the bourgeoisie.

One feature of the profound revolutionary changes effected on September 9, 1944, should be noted. The armed uprising did not completely destroy the state machine of the monarchist-fascist dictatorship, as for example, the October Socialist Revolution had destroyed the old state machine in Russia. After the downfall of the monarchist-fascist dictatorship we had to retain, temporarily, elements of the pre-September state administration. However, the new power gave a new meaning to the old forms of administration and advanced new tasks in accordance with the interests of the majority of the people and of the free independent and sovereign state.

The victory of the Fatherland Front resulted in the chief state positions passing into the hands of the working people. All supporters of the fascist regime and enemies of the people were removed from the decisive ministries and from local government. The former regional governors and district administrators were discharged immediately. New people were brought into the job of administration and into the Ministry of

the Interior.

The police and gendarmerie were completely abolished. They were replaced by the people's militia, the armed bulwark of the new power, composed of partisans and armed workers and peasants. The people's militia helped to get rid of the fascist criminals, to smash their plans and their hopes of restoring fascism and reaction. It played no small role in consolidating the people's power.

A beginning was made with reorganising the army. Partisan units and thousands of volunteers—young men and women who responded to the call of the people's government and of our Party—entered the new army of the Fatherland Front. Despite resistance by the anti-popular elements, the leading army cadres were promoted from the ranks of the partisans, political prisoners just released from the concentration camps, and other anti-fascists. An army political department was created. Thanks to these measures the Fatherland Front and our Party were able to bring new life into the army. It was replenished and prepared for active participation in the patriotic war.

The newly created People's Courts played an important part in bringing to trial and meting out punishment to the fascist criminals. These courts were set up under a special law and were staffed with judges drawn from the ranks of the people.

In the immediate post-liberation period the Fatherland Front Government created a number of new Ministries and departments. Among these was the Supreme Economic Council which coordinated the economic work of various Ministries, helped speed up the rehabilitation of the country and got down to the job of planning.

The reorganisation of state administration was, accompanied by many changes in the old laws. The existing constitution and numerous other laws stood in the way of the

democratic transformation of our country. Since Bulgaria was now a people's republic, a new constitution was necessary.

The new constitution provided an entirely new basis for building the administration. Legislation was introduced by means of which the monarchy and the bourgeois state forms were abolished. The Presidium of the People's Assembly—a collective organ of state power—replaced the former single head of the state. A number of new Ministries was set up.

On the basis of the new Constitution the Supreme Economic Council was reorganised and became the State Planning Commission. Planning bodies were set up in all the Ministries and local people's councils. Thanks to these measures and to the new state structure of the country, it was possible to organise a planned economy and to go ahead with construction on a firm basis.

A State Control Commission was set up to ensure regular control over the main state departments and offices and to guard against overspending and corruption. A Council for Science, Art and Culture was also set up. A Prosecutor's Office was formed, headed by the chief prosecutor of the Republic, who is elected by the People's Assembly and responsible only to it.

The judicial organs were radically reorganised, chiefly by means of bringing representatives of the people into the work of the courts.

Reorganisation was extended to the lower organs of the state power. The old regional-territorial revision of the country was abolished, but the district and community councils—elected bodies—were preserved. This system enables the people to take part in local government and in deciding and carrying out all tasks of local and national importance. The setting up of the people's councils has strengthened still more the bonds between the people and the people's power. It enables the creative initiative of the masses to be better

utilised, and, still more, to draw the working people into building the people's republic.

This administrative reorganisation and building up was not a matter of a day's work. It was a long process, closely linked with the country's whole development, was based on the firm support accorded to the new government by the people, and on the vigilance and activity of the masses.

Overcoming The Difficulties

The reorganisation of the state apparatus along democratic lines and the purging of the Ministries and departments was resisted by hostile elements, both openly and secretly. This resistance was particularly pronounced during the purge of the War Ministry (now the Ministry of People's Defence), the Foreign Ministry, Ministries of Finance and Trade and a number of others.

What became known as the "fourth decision" was the most typical and open expression of the reactionary attempt to bloc the government's reorganisation of the state apparatus. This decision was adopted by the reactionary Ministers during the absence of a number of our Ministers. They decided to protect all the fascist officers who were guilty of crimes against the people, to encourage these reactionary elements for armed struggle against the Fatherland Front and the Home Ministry, against the Bulgarian Workers' Party and against purging the Army of fascist elements. However, their schemes came to nought. Led by the Worker's Party, great meetings and demonstration were held throughout the country which quickly reversed this anti-popular decision.

In building up the new state apparatus we encountered any number of difficulties.

In the first place many of our people lacked experience of

work in the administrative organs. And considerable effort had to be expended in training them for this work.

In some areas the Fatherland Front committees and sometimes the Party committees, took upon themselves the functions of the state organs, which caused confusion, led to irresponsibility in the work and hindered the building up of the new state apparatus.

Here and there people fell into the old, bureaucratic way of work, turned a deaf ear to the voice of the masses, thereby causing dissatisfaction among the people.

In other places careerist, alien elements who managed to get their hands on leading posts, violated the law and misused their power, injured the prestige of the people's power and its local organisations.

Then, some Communist Party members and former partisans proved to be unstable and politically immature. They tried to use their official position for their own ends.

Undoubtedly, all this caused many difficulties for the Workers' Party and the Fatherland Front in building our state apparatus .

Role Of The Party In Building The State Apparatus

Our Party, has always drawn the attention of Party members and the people to the need for waging a resolute struggle against bureaucracy, against corrupt and hostile elements, and to replenish and strengthen the state apparatus. Addressing the People's Assembly in December 1945, Comrade Dimitrov said: "Each of us knows perfectly well that there are still many Augean stables to be cleaned out before our state is completely a people's state.

“All the corruption accumulated in the course of years in the state organs and in our social, economic and cultural life, cannot be eradicated at a single stroke. A number of links in the state machine have become rusty and do not correspond to the requirements and tasks of the new epoch. The deep-going roots of the bureaucracy and corruption inherited from the past, must be torn up.... Bureaucracy must be scorched from our daily life”.

At all stages of the country's democratic development and construction of the state apparatus, our Party and especially the Party members in the localities played a leading role. They were the organisers, inspirers and leaders of the people's initiative and creative effort. The popular character of the state imparts a new content to the work of the organs of power. They handle matters nowadays that the old rulers would never have dreamt of handling, matters which can be advanced and settled only by genuine representatives of the people's interests. Under the leadership of the Party organisations, our local and national organs have started a large-scale campaign to improve the social and cultural life in the villages, to build roads and highways, children's homes and recreation centres, hospitals, clinics and various economic undertakings. The resolute and consistent struggle of the Communists against disorder, arbitrariness, bureaucracy and corruption has resulted in a steady improvement in the work of our state organs. New forms and methods of work are being employed, and the state organs and personnel are increasingly adjusting themselves to the new requirements and tasks of the people's republic of Bulgaria.

The strengthening and development of the people's democratic system in our country, the profound transformation effected on the way to socialism and the consistent offensive against the bourgeois-capitalist elements, are accompanied by a bitter class struggle which is expressed in various forms,

sometimes even in the form of open sabotage and terrorism.

But the firm and consistent policy pursued by the working class instils confidence into the people, mobilises them in the struggle against reaction and the remnants of fascism, rallies the people for creative labour and for the rapid political, economic and cultural rehabilitation of our Republic. This policy has greatly facilitated not only the reorganisation and strengthening of our state apparatus, it has exercised a powerful influence on all our work towards building our new life. It is consolidating the unity of the people and is helping to establish unbreakable bonds between the state administration and the people, between the leaders of the state organs and the population.

The strength of our state power lies in the fact that it is based on the broad, creative initiative and support of the working people—on the working class, on the peasantry and intelligentsia. On the basis of this close contact and cooperation between people and state a large-scale labour emulation and a mass youth movement for organising shock work have developed throughout the country. A labour enthusiasm unprecedented in the history of Bulgaria, has spread throughout the country.

The example of the great Soviet Union has enormously influenced the building up and strengthening of the people's power and the state machine. Our people have immense love and sympathy for the mighty Soviet Union, for its statesmen and, especially, for its great leader and teacher, Stalin. Our people have every confidence in the cause of socialism and, in the success of socialist construction. They are confident that socialism will ensure happiness and prosperity for the people, that it is their salvation and their bright future.

Our Party is conscious that the achievements gained in building up the new state apparatus are but the beginning of the great undertaking which will lead to the creation of a socialist

slate of workers and peasants in Bulgaria. We know, of course, that we shall have to surmount many difficulties on this path. But, relying on the masses, and inspired by the great example of the Soviet Union, we shall spare no efforts to overcome all difficulties.

We always remember Comrade Stalin's thesis that the working class needs the state in order to build socialism. And if the people's state is to cope with this task, it must be constantly strengthened and perfected.

POLITICAL NOTES

American Imperialists Complete The Dismemberment Of Germany

The recent Conference of Prime Ministers of the 11 West German states, held in Coblenz behind closed doors, discussed the directives of the occupation authorities concerning the future of Western Germany. What exactly are these directives?

Above all, they complete the dismemberment of Germany. Conscious of their inability to place the whole of Germany at the service of their aggressive plans, the American imperialists are turning Western Germany into a military-strategic base. Hence the urge to complete the dismemberment of the country.

This is the aim of the recommendations of the London conference. That is why the governments of the United States, Great Britain and France are concentrating on one thing only: on setting up, as quickly as possible, a separate, puppet government in Western Germany and to counterpose this to the lawful demands of the German people for, a united and democratic Germany, barely a week after the Allied commanders, Generals Clay, Robertson and Koenig had given instructions regarding the formation of a separate West German state than Schumacher's right-hand man, Ollenhauer, convened a meeting in the Rhineland town of Rudesheim, attended by picked members of the Social-Democratic Party administration and by Social-Democratic prime ministers, at which measures were elaborated to carry out these directives. In this connection it is interesting to note that the day before this meeting, Ollenhauer saw General Robertson in London, from whom he

received instructions regarding the further splitting activities of Schumacher and Co.

As is known, in 1947 Schumacher demanded that Germany be accorded occupation status, and tried to present the hullabaloo raised around this matter as the desire of the German people for a speedy signing of the peace treaty. During the past twelve months the Social-Democrats and their Anglo-American masters exposed themselves more and more, with the result that the idea of unity, the democratisation and demilitarisation of Germany has won millions of new supporters. Seventeen million Germans signed the demand for a referendum on the unity of Germany. That is why the lackeys of the Anglo-American imperialists are compelled to manoeuvre and to take into account the growing popular movement for a united Germany. An indication of how they are manoeuvring can be gathered from the fact that the Coblenz Conference of Prime Ministers, after discussing the directives of the occupation authorities were compelled to elaborate their “counter-proposals”.

According to the foreign press, including the German, these “counter-proposals” relate to matters of secondary importance. They expressed doubts regarding certain petty matters, sought less harsh formulations. But on the all-important issue—the division of Germany—they agreed with their American masters and raised no objection to the London recommendations. It was not in vain that General Clay declared on July 7, just before the conference, that any changes going beyond the framework of the London recommendations, would not be taken into account.

What is the essence of the “London recommendations”, which have embarrassed even such loyal servants of American imperialism, as the Prime Ministers of the Western zones?

These “recommendations” are designed to prevent a peace treaty with Germany. The Governments of the USA, Great

Britain and France are doing their utmost to prolong the occupation regime in Germany, to load the Germans with the burden of occupation expenditure for years to come. The American imperialists are out to dismember Germany, to foist a federal system on Germany in which central power will be handed over to the different laender, and state administration will be restricted to functions of secondary importance.

The carrying through of this plan means entrusting the idea of a united Germany to chauvinists and revisionists who are thus given favourable conditions for working to restore a militarist Germany, which would dominate other nations. This would provide fertile soil for new Hitlers. This, far-reaching plan is directed against the USSR and the new democracies. It is the pivot of the American idea of subjugating Europe and strangling the democratic movement with the aid of new German aggression. And in order to put this plan into practice the Anglo-American politicians are violating the decisions of Potsdam and Yalta.

In putting their imperialist, aggressive plans into effect the Western occupation powers are encouraging war criminals in their zones, are violating the decisions concerning the democratisation and demilitarisation of Germany, are fanning revenge sentiments among the adventurers, and are giving leading Nazis a free hand. And all this is being done in an atmosphere of US economic enslavement of Western Germany where industry as a whole is tied down by the American and British monopolies, and peace-time industry, in particular, is completely suppressed as a possible potential competitor, Western Germany is becoming increasingly dependent on the Marshall Plan, and is forcibly included in this plan. The recent separate currency reform glaringly shows the arrogant and insolent attitude of the Anglo-American imperialists towards the vital interests of the German people, whom they are ruthlessly plundering by imposing conditions of veritable

slavery on them. The American trusts are stretching out their tentacles to the Ruhr which they hope to turn into a military-strategic arsenal in preparation for new war ventures.

It is worth noting that, simultaneously with the meeting of the Premiers in Coblenz, the US began negotiations for the creation of a western military bloc with the countries which signed the Brussels Pact.

It is not at all accidental that the final dismemberment of Germany coincided with the final working out of the Western military alliance. The inspirers of both the one and the other are the imperialistic circles in the US who are dictating an ever more aggressive, anti-democratic policy, with the aim of enslaving Europe.

The policy of the Soviet Union and the new democracies in relation to Germany is, in principle, the very opposite.

The recent Warsaw meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Rumania and Hungary, categorically denounced the London decision as an illegal decision, as a violation of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements on Germany, and advanced a clear and exact programme. This programme foresees, by agreement between Britain, the USSR, France and US, measures which would secure the complete demilitarisation of Germany; four-power control of the heavy industry of the Ruhr over a definite period; formation of a provisional, democratic, peace-loving All-German government composed of representatives drawn from the democratic parties and organisations; the signing of a peace treaty with Germany in accordance with the Potsdam decision, so that the occupation troops of the four powers could be withdrawn one year after the signing of the peace treaty; and, finally, measures that would secure the fulfilment by Germany of the reparation obligations.

This programme is in full accord with the Yalta and

Potsdam agreements and with the interests of all peace-loving peoples, including the people of Germany, it is designed to prevent any recurrence of German aggression, and to secure a firm basis for peace in Europe.

The democratic development of a united Germany is an essential condition for her inclusion in the family of nations fighting for a lasting peace. This programme is in line with the vital interests of the German people. The policy of the American imperialists, on the contrary, is designed to secure the transformation of Germany into a colony, into a weapon for struggle against the USSR and the new democracies, into a weapon of aggression.

Failure Of The Latest Anti-Communist Forgery

A member of the British Embassy in Paris and the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs have confirmed the authenticity of a document which appeared in "Figaro" a few days ago alleging preparations for a "Communist plot" to expel the British, Americans and French from Berlin. This particular forgery is so crude that the "secret instruction", published by "Figaro" is signed: General Secretary, German Communist Party.

Everybody knows that there is no such figure today in Germany just as there is no German Communist Party. A number of capitalist newspapers, eager to exaggerate this latest sensation, succeeded in getting themselves into a mess. Reuters was compelled to announce that British Intelligence circles in Berlin believe that the document printed in the Paris paper with the aim of exposing a Communist "plot" in Berlin is a forgery. The newspaper "Liberation" commented that "the Berlin 'plot'

evidently emanated from the same source as Protocol “M”.

New forgeries are needed by the Anglo-American imperialists in order to place the responsibility for the present difficulties in Berlin at somebody else’s door. As is known the present difficulties in Germany are the outcome of the splitting activities of the Anglo-American imperialists at the London Conference where they decided on the separation of Western Germany. In trying to cover up this they put their hack writers to the job of trumpeting about the responsibility of the Soviet Union and the Communists—who knows, there may be people naive enough to swallow this nonsense. However the number of such people is dwindling rapidly.

JAN MAREK

FASCIST PROVOKATION IN FRANCE

Raids by RPF gangs on Communist Party premises have become more frequent in France. Recently, the Communist Party premises in Saint-Brieux (Cotes-du-Nord department) were set on fire. On the night of July 5, the Party premises in the Thirteenth District of Paris, where the RPF organisation is especially active, were robbed.

“Vandals from the RPF”, reported “L’Humanite”, “have raided the Party offices in Nancy. The bandits broke the windows and carried out further destruction. The activity of RPF gangsters has evoked indignation on the part of the working people of Nancy. A mass protest meeting will be held in the city”.

VOLUNTEER LABOUR OF CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNITIS

The Czechoslovak Republic celebrates its 30th Anniversary on October 18th. The Communist Party decided to mark this historic date by contributing 30 million extra voluntary work hours and have already contributed 18 million hours. Most of this voluntary work is being done in sectors suffering from a shortage of manpower such as agriculture, timber yards and mines.

So far the Communists have built nursery schools, sports grounds, highways and other social-cultural structures.

SUCSESSES OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY IN CHINA

A communique from the General Headquarters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army reports that during June the Kuomintang forces lost 155,950 officers and men killed and 87,180 taken prisoner.

During the same period the People's Liberation Army liberated 42 county towns. Ten Kuomintang generals of the regular army were taken prisoner. The Commanders of the 66th and 17th Kuomintang divisions were killed in action.

Regular troops routed in the course of the June fighting included two divisions, two brigades, ten regiments and eight battalions. Irregular forces smashed up included four brigades, thirteen regiments and 32 battalions. In all, this comprises two divisional staffs, 55 regiments and two battalions.

Equipment captured numbered 1,096 guns including 53 rocket guns; 12 anti-aircraft guns; 24 chemical mortars; 14 anti-tank guns; 2,727 light machine-guns; 257 heavy machine-guns; 4,418 tommy guns; 84,078 rifles; 3,102 revolvers; over nine million rounds of ammunition; over 31,000 shells; 41,000 hand grenades and 51 motorcycles.

EDITORIAL BOARD

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