

***Workers of all lands, unite!***

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

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## **POWERFUL DEMONSTRATION OF FORCES IN DEMOCRATIC CAMP**

The foul attempt by human monsters on the life of Comrade Togliatti, leader of the working class and the working people of Italy, evoked a storm of indignation on the part of democratic public opinion throughout the world.

The working people of Italy replied to the attempted assassination by a general stoppage of work and enormous demonstrations. An hour after the shots had been fired, the country was in the grip of a general strike involving seven million workers. The Chamber of Labour and the General Confederation of Labour decided to support the strike which had started spontaneously among the people. We should bear this in mind now that de Gasperi and the Italian reactionaries, in their impotent rage, are shrieking that the Communist Party and the Confederation of Labour planned insurrection.

The general strike was a militant manifestation of the anger of the working people and of their devotion and loyalty to the Communist Party and Comrade Togliatti. The solidarity and determination of this great manifestation has no precedent in the history of the Italian working class movement.

The people of Italy, headed by the working class, plainly told the entire world that they are with the democratic camp,

that they are absolutely confident in their tested vanguard, the Communist Party, and are ready to follow the Party's slogans. The general strike demonstrated that Palmiro Togliatti is the acknowledged leader of all democratic Italy and that the Communist Party which he leads is the most powerful and most influential party in the country.

The great mass movement of Italian working people who rallied round the Communist Party shattered the illusions entertained by international reaction concerning the stability of de Gasperi's victory in the April general election.

It showed them what constitutes the real power and significance of the eight million votes cast for the Popular Democratic Front. And even the reactionaries are now forced to admit this.

The London "Economist" wrote that the power of the strike movement led by the Communist Party after the attempt on the life of Togliatti is a lesson for those who were jubilant about the result of the general election and who tried to interpret the result as the final defeat of the Italian Communist Party.

Faced with a general strike, the de Gasperi Government took refuge in provocation, bringing up police, military units, tanks and armoured cars against the demonstrators and strikers.

Acting on the model of the notorious tsarist satrap, Trepov, the Christian Democratic Minister, Scelba gave the order: "Spare no bullets". Dozens of demonstrators were shot in the back, hundreds of them wounded and thousands arrested. In this way did de Gasperi reply to the people's demand that their Government of terror and provocation must go. During the strike, the de Gasperi Government completely exposed itself as a clique of rulers and political adventurers imposed on the people from outside and Who had entered the lists against the people.

As could be expected, the group of Saragat's right wing socialists were yet again faithful to their shameful policy of

betraying the working people. They condemned the general strike and, like the Christian Democrats, threatened to split the General Confederation of Labour. But who do the agents of Italian reaction, the Christian Democrats and their Saragat hirelings, expect to win away from the united trade unions? Seven million workers took part in the general strike which they opposed. This total is one million more than the entire membership of the Confederation of Labour.

The Communist Party answered the shooting of its leader and the insolent provocation and terror instigated by the de Gasperi-Scelba clique by intensifying its struggle in defence of the people's interests, freedom and democracy and by launching a campaign to draw into its ranks more of the finest representatives of the working people.

The powerful wave of indignation and protest spread throughout the world. At meetings and rallies, working people everywhere protested vigorously against the foul crime of these human monsters. Telegrams of solidarity flowed in an incessant stream to Comrade Togliatti, the Communist Party and the trade unions. Messages came from all parts of the world. Workers and peasants, Members of Parliament, members of women's and youth organisations, writers and scientists—all democratic opinion, all supporters of freedom and progress expressed their anger and protest, sympathy and solidarity.

This was an impressive demonstration of the powerful forces of the democratic anti-imperialist camp, a demonstration of the unity and solidarity of the world forces of progress with the forces of Italian democracy.

The working people of the world once again denounced the policy of encouraging fascists and persecuting democrats, a policy which the American leaders carried out in Italy through their occupation forces and which they are now pursuing through their hireling, de Gasperi.

The American policy-makers are responsible for the legal existence of a fascist party in Italy, the so-called Italian Social Movement.

With the help of these American's, a disgusting campaign of slander and persecution of workers' parties and trade unions has been carried on in Italy during the past years. On their orders, Minister of Police, Scelba, is organising anti-Communist raids and pogroms. For these he uses police units of former Mussolini gangsters. Supported by the American policy-makers, and the Vatican, de Gasperi was able to conduct the recent election campaign under the slogan of an anti-communist crusade. All this, together with the adventurous splitting policy and the attempts to instigate civil war which the de Gasperi Government pursues, has created an atmosphere of reactionary terror throughout the country and paved the way for the attempt on the life of Comrade Togliatti.

However, the direct responsibility of the American imperialists and their Italian lackeys for this act of terror in Rome does not end here.

The whole world knows that the American rulers are the direct instigators of plans to murder the leaders of the Communist movement everywhere.

The reactionary press has sensationally advertised a list of 506 leaders of the international Communist movement drawn up by an American Congress commission. In this list, Comrade Togliatti's name headed the list of forty Italian Communists. For those morons hired by American reaction, this list acted as a kind of address book. In Italy particularly, the fascist scum greeted the publication of the list as a signal for action. It is by no means accidental that two days before the attempted assassination, Andreoni, Trotskyite provocateur and editor of Saragat's newspaper "Umanita", wrote a leading article screaming "that Palmiro Togliatti should be "nailed" and not only in words".

To bolster up their fight against the democratic movement in Europe, the American imperialists have drawn up the so-called Bridges plan which, according to "United States News and World Report" aims to organise espionage and subversive activities and to support all kinds of anti-communist elements and even the murder of Communist leaders. But they miscalculated!

The popular masses of Europe, and above all, of Italy, have singled out the American imperialists as inspirers of the crime in Rome. They declare that unquestionably Pallante's revolver was bought with Wall Street dollars and that the murderer was backed and supported by de Gasperi, Scelba and their transatlantic masters.

Five days after the Rome shooting, another despicable hireling of American imperialism threw a bomb at Comrade Tokuda, outstanding leader of the Japanese working class and, general secretary of the Communist Party of Japan. This Japanese assassin did not even pretend he was a fanatic or, a non-party man. After he had thrown the bomb he went straight to the American intelligence organisation to claim his reward.

The crime in Rome and the attempted murder of Comrade Tokuda, the arrest of twelve Communist leaders in the United States, the ban on the Malayan Communist Party, the persecution of the Communist Party of the Western zones of Germany, the anti-Communist witch-hunt in the British Civil Service, the preparations for similar anti-communist legislation in Holland, the mission of a group of American agents in Prague to murder members of the Czechoslovak Government and many similar facts are all, links of the same chain of crime. They prove without doubt that the anti-Communist "ideological" campaign of the American and British imperialists has collapsed.

They failed to undermine the people's confidence in the ideas of Communism either with the help of their army of

propagandists and hired agents from the so-called “third force” which they recruited from working class renegades, or with the help of the Marshall Plan, the plan of corruption and economic enslavement. Defeated in the political and ideological struggle against the forces of democracy and progress, the imperialists are resorting to Ku Klux Klan methods, to terrorism, violence and the persecution of the Communists who are the staunchest champions of freedom and democratic rights.

In history there have been many occasions when the doomed classes have resorted to terror as their last hope in the struggle. Cowardly shootings, bombs and anti-Communist laws are all evidence, not of the strength; but of the weakness of the imperialists. This is their admission of inability to fight in any other way against democracy and progress, against the ideas of Communism which are winning the hearts of the people on an ever greater scale.

Comrade Togliatti is recovering. His life is out of danger. Working people and democrats throughout the world rejoice at this news. But this attempt on the life of one of the finest leaders of the democratic and anti-imperialist camp is a serious warning to working people. It is a signal to strengthen the vigilance of Communists and all working people and to unite still more strongly their forces in the struggle against the imperialists and warmongers.

Comrade Stalin’s telegram to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Italy said: “The Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) is grieved that Comrade Togliatti’s friends failed to protect him from this foul and cowardly attack”.

The reply sent by the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, to Comrade Stalin is worthy, of this well-tested Party. In their answer the Italian comrades assure Comrade Stalin that the solidarity of the heroic Soviet people and Stalin’s warning about vigilance will be for the Italian

Communists “a spur to strengthen and develop the struggle of the united international front of peace, democracy and socialism”.

All the Communist Parties took Comrade Stalin’s message to the Italian Communist Party, as the expression of his great solicitude for the international working class movement and its leaders.

Increased struggle against remnants and revivals of fascism, the welding of all supporters of democracy and progress into a single socialist camp will be the best answer of the Communists of all countries to Comrade Stalin’s solicitude.

## REGENERATION OF HUNGARIAN ECONOMY

One year ago, on August, 1, 1947, the people of Hungary began work on their Three-Year Plan. Industrial output was then barely 75 per cent of the pre-war level, agriculture—60 per cent and the freight turnover—70 per cent.

Thanks to labour emulation and the increased productivity of labour both in industry and agriculture, considerable success has been registered in realising the tasks of the first year of the Plan.

The plan of capital investments has been considerably overfulfilled.

The average monthly level of output has increased considerably. For example, the pre-war monthly output of the metallurgical industry was valued at 108 million forints. During the first year of the Three-Year Plan this industry's monthly output was valued at 148 million forints. Similar increases have been registered in engineering and chemicals. The monthly output of iron and steel is also in excess of the pre-war level.

Last year's drought seriously affected agriculture. This year, however, the peasants are recouping their losses. The sown area is considerably in excess of 1947. Only 1.1 per cent of land remained unploughed compared to the prewar figure of 2.3 per cent. The area sown to sugar beet is 20 per cent above the pre-war figure; rice, poppy seed and other cultures also show big increases.

The successful carrying out of the Three-Year Plan has resulted in an improvement in living standards. Real wages are much higher now than a year ago.

## **POLISH ECONOMIC PLAN OVER-FULFILLED**

The Polish Central Planning Board has published progress figures of the Economic Plan for the first half of this year.

Chief figures are as follows:—coal production has reached 33,400,000 tons (4 per cent above plan and 23 per cent over output for the first half of last year); output of electric power amounts to nearly 200 million kilowatt hours (6 per cent above plan); cast iron output has reached 548,000 tons (9 per cent over the plan); steel 926,000 tons (9 per cent over the plan); rolling stock 7,039 wagons (8 per cent over the plan); cotton fabrics, over 160 million metres (4 per cent over the plan); woollen fabrics, 20.7 million metres (9 per cent over the plan).

The area sown to crops is 2½ million acres more than last year. Harvest prospects are good. Live stock has increased.

The Central Planning Board has already distributed 81 per cent of the credits scheduled for 1948 under the state investment plan.

The successes achieved by Polish economy and particularly by heavy industry are largely the result of the growing labour emulation movement.

## **LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN SPAIN**

The Spanish Republican radio reports that on July 18, twelfth anniversary of the outbreak of the civil war in Spain, leaflets calling on the Spanish people to overthrow the fascist dictatorship were distributed in Madrid, Valencia and Bilbao.

Meetings organised on that day by the Franco Government in Madrid and other cities were attended only by members of the Falange and Falange Youth organisations, and by representatives of the army and Civil Guard. The “people were noticeably absent.

The Republican radio also reported that Asturian guerrillas had sent a message of greeting to Dolores Ibarruri. In her reply, Passionaria wished the guerrillas every success in their struggle for liberation.

# **TOKYO. MESSAGE TO CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY OF JAPAN**

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has learned with indignation of the dastardly attempt made by a contemptible hireling of the enemies of the Japanese people on the life of our Comrade Tokuda outstanding leader of the Japanese working class.

The Central Committee expresses its sincere sympathy to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan and hopes that Comrade Tokudo will soon return to his fruitful work in building a new democratic and peace-loving Japan.

**GEORGE MALENKOV,  
Secretary, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union**

**July 20.**

## **LABOUR ACHIEVEMENTS OF SOVIET PEOPLE**

The people of the Soviet Union are successfully rebuilding the national economy and fulfilling production programmes. The plan of total industrial output for the second quarter of 1948 was fulfilled by 106 per cent and the targets for the first half of 1948 were exceeded by 5 per cent. Compared with the second quarter of 1947, gross output registered a 24 per cent increase.

Heavy industry—coal, oil, iron and steel and chemicals—considerably exceeded the target figures, thus setting the pace for the development of economy as a whole. Thousands of tons of coal, steel, oil and mineral fertilisers have been produced above the plan. This in turn has helped to improve the work of light industry: textiles, footwear, clothing, etc. The countryside has received thousands of new tractors and agricultural machines. Tractor output for the second quarter of 1948 was 214 per cent higher than for the corresponding period in 1947, that of tractor-drawn ploughs 201 per cent and of agricultural machines 231 per cent.

The self-less efforts of the Soviet people are yielding rich results. This year 27 million acres more were sown to crops compared with 1947. The area sown to spring wheat alone was increased by 13 million acres. A fine grain harvest, far exceeding last year's, is expected in the Ukraine, Moldavia, the Crimea and the North Caucasus. Harvest prospects in most regions are very promising.

All this is making it possible to improve systematically the well-being of the people. There has been a marked increase in the sale of foodstuffs and consumer goods. For instance, the bread sales have increased by 50 per cent, sugar 83 per cent, meat 29 per cent, cotton fabrics 38 per cent. silks 34 per cent

and 50 on. Compared with the second quarter of 1947 the wage fund has increased by 8 per cent. The purchasing power of the rouble is steadily rising.

Each month sees new enterprises going into operation. The scope of capital works during the first half of 1948 was 126 per cent higher than for the same period in 1947. During the past six months alone 1,300,000 square metres of dwelling space were built or restored in towns and 63,000 houses built in the countryside.

These successes are due to the selfless efforts of the working people, headed by the Communist Party and the leader of the peoples, Comrade Stalin.

## **TRAITORS TO INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM**

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia—the Tito-Kardelj-Djilas-Rankovic clique—have done everything possible to conceal their betrayal of Communism. Actually, however, they merely proved that they have adopted the position of nationalism and hostility to the united international socialist front.

The Fifth Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party proves this to the hilt. It is now perfectly clear that the composition of the Congress was handpicked by the police apparatus under the guidance of Rankovic. So-called delegate commissions were elected. These commissions, directed by people sent from above, selected candidates whom they interviewed beforehand. Once the delegate commission was convinced of the “reliability” of a candidate, the latter was recommended to the meeting for nomination.

This “election work” was accompanied by terror-like repressing against those who were in the least suspected of being unreliable.

After the Congress membership had been so well-picked, Tito and Company could boldly count on receiving its unanimous support. This encouraged them to unfurl their national anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist banner completely.

The nationalist position of the Yugoslav Communist Party was the underlying theme in the reports of Tito, Rankovic, Djilas and Kardelj. This was reflected in their distortion of the circumstances in which Yugoslavia was liberated. They distorted the Marxist-Leninist principle about the possibility of building Socialism in Yugoslavia by claiming again that this

can be accomplished without the help and support of the new democracies, the Soviet Union and the international working-class movement.

Tito lied when he declared that someone wanted to underrate the role of the partisan struggle in the liberation of Yugoslavia. No Communist or Communist Party would ever dream of underrating the heroism and self-sacrifice displayed by the Yugoslav people. This is how the matter is presented by Tito who, having completely lost his head, is playing on backward instincts and fanning nationalist sentiments in the Party and among the people.

When Tito declared in his report that the Germans could not conquer Yugoslavia because the Yugoslav army numbered 300,000 men, he cut a ridiculous figure. In his ignorance and conceit he thinks he can play the role of military genius. World War Two was not a question of thousands but of millions of men. As is known the Germans had an army of more than 10 million. Tito had to resort to this trick—a most illiterate one from the military and political point of view—so that he could prove that Yugoslavia smashed the Germans singlehanded and won her liberation without the help of the Soviet Union and the other countries.

International reaction has lost no time in supporting Tito on this score. The following day the British reactionary journalist Lindley Fraser declared that the liberation of Yugoslavia was the work of Tito and not of the Red Army. Brigadier General Fitzroy-McClean declared that Yugoslavia alone expelled the Germans with the help of considerable British and American air support. Tito asked for these compliments when he stated in his report that Yugoslavia was helped at a critical time not only by Soviet troops but also by the Western allies.

Kardelj, Rankovic and Djilas tried to “prove” that Yugoslavia, can build socialism alone, since it enjoys all the necessary conditions for this.

Altogether the Yugoslav leaders present the sorry spectacle of people who are ignorant of the ABC of Marxism. They are so intoxicated with nationalism that it does not even occur to them that, however sincere its intentions, a country with a population of 15 million, and an economically backward country at that, will be strangled in the space of a few months by the imperialist robbers if it has not the help and support of the international socialist front.

The Yugoslav leaders imagine that by means of a cheap stunt they can deceive their people and the international working class. The same Lindsey Fraser observed that Tito wants to dance at two weddings at once, that is, to choose the “middle” way between the imperialist and Socialist camps. But the more intelligent imperialist politicians believe that Tito and Co. will move into the imperialist camp, at first for the sake of trade, then for credits and finally for political support.

Not without reason did the bourgeois commentators point out that there was hardly any criticism of the “Western powers” at the Congress, whereas the Soviet Union and the new democracies were subjected to slanderous attacks.

The Yugoslav leaders are trying to foment hostility between Yugoslavia and the other new democracies. How else can one explain the statement of Tito to the effect that of all the countries occupied by Hitler Germany only Yugoslavia waged a struggle against the invader. How to explain his chauvinistic remarks addressed to the peoples of Hungary and Albania and to the people of Bulgaria in particular over the question of Macedonia.

And after this the leaders of the Yugoslav Party continue to describe themselves as Marxists. Their declaration of loyalty to the theories of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin can only be regarded as a pharisaical mask for their opportunism.

Tito and his kind have deceived the Party and the people. They concealed the fact that every Communist Party refused to

send fraternal delegates to the Congress because the leaders of the Yugoslav Party had betrayed the international Communist movement. had betrayed the cause of the working class and of Socialism. They concealed this knowledge from the membership because they knew perfectly well that its dissemination would reveal them as traitors, would make it plain to all that things are far from being as they should be in the Party.

Notwithstanding the terror and deception, the verbosity against the USSR and the pharisaical Marxist pledges, both inside the Yugoslav Party and among the people, many are already conscious of the abyss into which the traitors Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic are dragging Yugoslavia.

The Communist Party and the working class will have the last word and will not permit the vital interests of the Yugoslav people to be sacrificed by a clique of traitors.

## **FROM A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC POLAND TO A SOCIALIST POLAND. Hilary Minc, Member, Political Bureau, Polish Workers' Party**

At a meeting at the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party held in April 1947, we analysed the system of which our people's democracy is built.

We defined it as a mixed economy of three social-economic groups: socialist, capitalist and small producers.

We described our state industry at that time as an industry with considerable socialist elements. But we could not then call it a completely socialist industry, since our state is not, as yet, a socialist state and therefore is not strong enough to counteract the negative influence exercised by the capitalist and small trade sectors on the economy as a whole. We pointed out that quite a considerable portion of the output of our state industry was finding its way into the hands of the capitalist elements.

Our Party concentrated on combating these elements, on bringing them under the control of the people's democracy, on restricting their activities and transforming them into state capitalism.

The theoretical line worked out by the April meeting was the starting point for an offensive against the capitalist elements, which was prosecuted successfully during 1947-48 and, became known as the "battle of trade". The result was a marked development of the socialist elements in our economy. The capitalist elements were restricted in some sectors and

dislodged from others.

## **Poland's Economy**

What does the socialist sector of our economy represent, of what is it composed, and what is its strength? The socialist sector of our economy includes state industry, industries run by local authorities and cooperative industry. These three branches account for about 85 per cent of the total output of the country and 75 per cent of the entire labour force in industry and the handicraft trades.

In transport the socialist elements are represented by rail, road, river and sea transport; in finance by the state banks; in trade by the wholesale and retail state trading organisations and in a certain sense by the wholesale and retail cooperative undertakings.

In April 1947, the Central Committee noted that the choice facing the cooperatives was this. Either they would become the specific form by which the broad masses of the population, especially the small producer, is linked with the economy of the people's democracy and its driving force, state industry, or they would become a weapon enabling the small producers, especially the small capitalists to oppose state control by the people's democracy and to fight for the restoration of capitalism.

However, by overcoming the incorrect views which prevailed about the cooperative movement by fundamentally changing its structure and by linking its activity with state industry and trade, it was guaranteed that the cooperatives would take the first course.

State industry accounts for 59.1 per cent of the country's wholesale trade, the cooperatives for 35.6 per cent, while private wholesale trade has dropped to 4.3 per cent. This has

not only prevented private wholesale trade-from diverting a considerable part of the surplus output of state industry but has also made it possible to use state wholesale trade as a lever for controlling private retail trade.

As for the all-important problem, the grain supply, purchases made by the state fund supply the urban grain market almost completely, direct purchases constitute 16 per cent, purchases through the cooperatives 70 per cent and purchases through private wholesale trade 14 per cent.

The meat supply position is less satisfactory. The state and cooperative apparatus account for less than 40 per cent of the trade turnover.

On the whole the proportion of socialist elements (state and cooperative) in wholesale trade, in industry and agriculture, is somewhere between 60 and 70 per cent. Such is not the case in retail trade, although the proportion of socialist elements now totals about 25 to 30 per cent as a result of the "battle of trade" and the development of state trading and other forms of state retail trade including, of course, the growing network of cooperative stores.

In agriculture, the socialist elements are represented by land which is social property, such as state estates and so on, which today covers about 10 per cent of all the arable land and which accounts for approximately 7.5 per cent of the gross grain output and for about 10 per cent of the marketable grain.

In summarising, it should be stressed that the basically socialist elements of our economy occupy dominant position in industry, transport and finance, that they are an important factor playing a decisive role in wholesale trade, that they are growing steadily in retail trade and construction. They also occupy important positions in agriculture although so far these positions have not been fully utilised from the point of view of production.

These positions were won in a steady struggle against the

capitalist elements. As a result at economic and administrative steps taken by the state, the capitalist elements in town and countryside were resolutely, though not sufficiently, restricted. These capitalists tried to force up prices, to undermine our economic foundation to cash in on state industry and to plunder the workers and working peasantry.

If this blow had not been struck at the capitalist elements during 1947-48, successful economic development in Poland would have been quite impossible. We should have come up against a serious development of the capitalist sector of our economy, a danger of undermining the economic and social system of the people's democracy and with this, the threat of a return to capitalism.

We can see from our own experience that when the socialist elements play a decisive role, by waging a resolute class struggle, they are restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements from the economy, and, at the same time, are changing the structure of small trade economy. This is the fundamental law which governs the development of the social-economic system of the people's democracy.

It would, however, be a grave mistake to underestimate the reverse side of the medal, namely, the limits and scope of activity of the small-producer and capitalist elements in our economy.

Capitalist economy in Poland consists of the following elements: 1) 18,000 private industrial and building enterprises employing about 200,000 workers; 2) certain independent handicraft workshops which employ a large number of workers; 3) private trade; 4) retail private trade of a capitalist nature; 5) peasant households of a capitalist type which constitute approximately 10 per cent of all the peasant households; 6) other capitalist groups such as property owners, private transport firms; 7) various types of speculators.

Small-producer economy in Poland consists of the

following elements:

1) about 90 per cent of the households of small and medium peasants; 2) a large part of the 140,000 independent handicraft workshops (a total of some 327,000 people are employed in these workshops; 3) the bulk of the retail private trade (in all about 300,000 people are engaged in this trade).

A comparison of the scope of activity of the socialist, small producer and capitalist sectors on the basis of the number employed in each of these sectors (the only index possible in our statistics under the present circumstances) shows the following approximate figures: socialist sector 24 per cent; capitalist sector 14 per cent and the small producer 62 per cent.

These figures, of course, have nothing in common with the division of the population into social classes. For instance, the data of the capitalist sector include not only the number of capitalist owners of farms or industries, but also the number of workers employed by them.

These figures also have nothing in common with the cost of production or the share at the different sectors in the national income, for it is clear that the proportion of the socialist sector in the national income is relatively much higher.

These figures indicate that, in spite of the considerable scale of the socialist sector, the capitalist sector in present-day Poland still holds a strong position and that the small producer is still predominant, especially in the countryside.

## **No Middle Way**

The strength of the capitalist elements in our economy should not be measured only by the direct scale of their operations. This strength should be gauged also by the framework of the small producer, which is the basis for the development of capitalism. Marxism-Leninism teaches that

small individual economy gives birth to capitalism and the bourgeoisie constantly, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale.

Before the war, under capitalist conditions the process of capitalist differentiation in the countryside had reached the stage where about 65 per cent of all the households in Poland had become impoverished households of the rural poor.

During the enemy occupation, the Germans continued the policy of the old Polish landlord-capitalist government, a policy of forcing the medium peasants out of existence, swelling the ranks of the poor peasants and strengthening the rural capitalists—the kulaks,

This process was arrested, but only for a short time, by the national liberation and the formation of a people's democratic government. The land reform and the resettlement of the Western territories gave millions of acres of land to landless, poor and medium peasants. This enabled a section of the poor peasants to reach the level of the medium peasants and stopped the downgrading process among part of the medium peasants.

However, regardless of the land reform and the resettlement of the Western territories, our government policy has always aimed at restricting the capitalist elements in the countryside and at halting the differentiation process which had been taking place there.

This is being accomplished through a tax policy mainly directed against the rural capitalists and through the credit policy which helps the poor and medium households. These are also the aims of our policy for the distribution of manufactured goods—especially goods needed in production—by the policy of the organised redistribution of the surplus rural population and by attracting these people to industry.

It is clear that the process of capitalist development is continuing in Poland even if at a slower pace, that the rural capitalists exploit a large section of the countryside by

exploiting labour, lending grain and money and by other means. From this, it follows that in order to secure the forward movement of the people's democracy it is necessary not only to completely dislodge the capitalist elements but also to transform the small producer economy into a socialist economy. Experience teaches that any attempt to remain still, to establish some kind of equilibrium or compromise with the capitalist elements, any attempt to regard small commodity production as a constant and in variable factor, must inevitably lead to the return of capitalism.

In spite of this, there are people who are seeking a so-called middle way. These people reason something like this: since the people's democratic order is a line thing and excellent results have been achieved under it, why change it, why move forward? Why not stabilise the present order which would be the third path, the middle way between capitalism and socialism?

Or take another version of this form of reasoning: since it is necessary to advance from a people's democracy to socialism, this should be done in the towns while preserving the prevailing system in the countryside. Everything then would be socialist with the "exception" of agriculture which would continue as small-commodity production, or capitalist agriculture.

Is it not obvious that the so-called third path, the middle way between capitalism and socialism, the path of strengthening the Peoples Democracy in its present form, while holding up the forward movement, the path of attempting to build socialism in the towns while preserving the countryside as a permanent source of small commodity and capitalist production, is certainly no third path. It is in reality nothing other than the first path, the capitalist path. For the capitalist elements which have not been dislodged by the socialist elements would, before long, breach the dykes of the economic

and social system of the people's democracy by basing themselves on small commodity production. They would sooner or later submerge the main elements of this system, and particularly of socialist state industry and would lead to the restoration of capitalism.

The experience of building socialism in the Soviet Union is of world historic significance and serves as an example to all peoples who have taken the path of socialism, as well as to those who are still fighting for the overthrow at capitalism. The experience of the Soviet Union teaches that the complete and final abolition of capitalism and the building of socialism in the countryside is possible only on the basis of socialising the basic means of production on the basis of collective economy.

The transition to socialism in the various countries including Poland, will take place in different ways, according to their economic, political, historical, national and other peculiarities.

The specific character of our path is in the forward movement toward socialism through a people's democracy. Hence it would be a mistake in principle to think that the Polish way to socialism is to preserve intact the present form of economic and social system of the people's democracy, for this would be the way back to capitalism. There is only one way and that is the path leading from the Poland of the people's democracy to a socialist Poland.

## **Paths to Socialism**

Side by side with the all-round steady development of industry, with the construction of socialism in the towns, the main task of socialist construction in Poland will be the transformation of the small-producer, peasant economy, into an economy of a socialist type.

The peasant masses oppressed and ruined by capitalism in the countryside have for years been searching instinctively for precisely such a new form of development. The desire to abolish rural poverty and to develop large-scale well-ordered farming by re-organising the peasant holdings on cooperative principles, found expression in the programmes of the peasant movement, especially of its Left Wing. It was expressed, for example, in the articles of the founder of the Polish peasant movement, M. Malinowski, and in the programme adopted at its congress in June 1919 by the Polka Stronniectwo Ludowe—by its Left Wing (so-called Stapinczycy).

The Marxist working class movement regarded these cooperative conceptions of the peasant parties—conceptions which, incidentally, found expression not only in capitalist Poland but also in a number of other countries—as fantastic, utopian and harmful.

Experience has shown that under capitalism, cooperatives and especially agricultural cooperatives—contrary to the idealistic and romantic principles of the old co-operators—soon became organisations which served the capitalists, particularly the rural capitalists. Under capitalism, instead of hindering or weakening capitalist agricultural development and capitalist differentiation in the countryside, the cooperatives intensified these processes.

However, under the economic and social conditions of people's democracy, the situation has changed radically.

This is because at present, power is not in the hands of the capitalists but of the people's government, based on the alliance between the workers and peasants in which the leading role belongs to the working class. Thus, popular power is able to influence the development of the cooperative movement, helping and speeding it, and with the help of the peasant masses, preventing the rural capitalists from utilising the cooperatives in their own interests it also means that the

people's power is able to control the cooperatives and coordinates them with the national plan, making them an integral part of the economic system of the people's democracy in its development toward socialism.

The second important factor is that the worker-peasant alliance, represented by the people's government not only wields real political power but also considerable economic power. It means that by basing ourselves on our socialist strongholds in industry, the wholesale and retail trade transport and finance and by taking certain steps concerning credits and the distribution of consumer goods, we can prevent the danger of the cooperatives developing along capitalist lines.

Under the economic and social conditions of people's democracy the cooperatives can put into practice the dream of the old peasant leaders by stopping capitalist development in the countryside and setting the village along a new path.

Under the economic and social conditions of people's democracy, the agricultural cooperatives constitute the best way of coordinating the individual interests of the peasants with the national interests. They are the simplest easiest and most acceptable way for a peasant to change over to new learning methods— to large-scale collective farming, utilising all the achievements of modern agricultural science.

We have in mind the three types of cooperatives— distributor, consumer and producer. This does not mean that all these can develop equally parallel and at the same rate. It is quite obvious that the distributor and consumer cooperatives since they are the simplest form requiring less expenditure and less psychological effort, will develop more quickly than producer cooperatives.

This is borne out by the development until now. While distributor and consumer cooperatives enjoy comparatively strong positions in the countryside, the producer cooperatives either have not yet got going, or are still in the early stages of

organisation.

The programme of the United Workers' Party must make it clear to the Polish peasants that the way out of the blind alley of capitalism, the rapid abolition of a hundred years of poverty, the saturation of the countryside with modern technique and science, the really rapid and large-scale improvement at the material and cultural well-being of the peasant—that all this cannot be secured by consumer and distributor cooperatives alone. For this, agricultural producer cooperatives are essential.

Recognition of this prevails not only in working-class circles and among the people who understand the science of Marxism. It is realised on a growing scale by many peasant leaders. For instance, No. 4 of the magazine WICI January 1947 (issued before the democratisation of WICI, the Peasant Youth Union) contained an article entitled "Cooperative Problems" I which stated: "Since modern agricultural technique frequently needs expensive machinery, capital expenditure and collective work beyond the scope of a single family, there is no other way out but the way of collective work".

To ensure that the transformation from small peasant farming to cooperative farming in the spheres of consumption, distribution and production—that is to collective farming—is really a large-scale process, it is necessary to observe the following conditions:

- 1) Our state industry must supply the countryside with agricultural machines in sufficient quantities—tractors, lorries, fertilizers and electricity, all of which are essential for effective large-scale farming.

- 2) Lenin teaches that every social system comes into being with the financial support of a definite class.

The large-scale development of agricultural producer cooperatives requires financial assistance—and on a big scale—from the people's democratic government. It is natural that

our people's government which is solving such enormous tasks on the financial side as economic rehabilitation, reconstruction of ruined cities, rehabilitation and extension of the communications, ports, industry, and so on, can only gradually accumulate and allocate the large sums of money necessary for the development of agricultural cooperatives, especially producer cooperatives.

3) For the large-scale development of agricultural, particularly of producer cooperatives, a radical change in the psychology of the individual farmer is necessary. This change can only take place as the result of the actual experience at the peasants and their conviction that the formation of agricultural cooperatives is the only way to safeguard the peasant families from degradation and ruin. This psychological change will take time. Even more time will pass before the mass of the Polish peasants are able, through their work, to find the forms of producer cooperation most appropriate to Poland.

Engels once stated with brilliant foresight: We resolutely support the small peasant; we will do our best to make his life easier and to help him to set out on the path of cooperation, if he decides to do this. However, in case he is still not in a position to make such a decision, we shall try to give him as much time as possible to think it over on his own allotment.

The extension of industry, the accumulation of large financial means, the change in the psychology of the mass of the peasants, their ability to profit from their experiences and the development of the most suitable forms of producer cooperatives—all this will take time. It will be a complete stage in the development of the people's government and of the masses of workers and peasants. This is obvious since it represents a very considerable undertaking.

I The large-scale development of agricultural cooperatives which will undermine and eventually abolish capitalism In the countryside will create the essential basic elements of a

socialist system of agriculture in Poland.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that classes departing from the stage of history will resort to all means in order to cling to their existence. However, both outside and inside our Party there are people who believe that this basic Marxist-Leninist principle does not apply to present-day Poland. They think that after the downfall of the big capitalists and landowners, the capitalists who still remain in town and country will be too reluctant, or not strong enough to resist the forward march of people's democracy toward socialism.

Such views are entirely false and harmful. How can one say that the capitalist element in Poland have been completely defeated, that they are not strong enough to wage a fierce class war, or to mobilise every means to defend themselves?

Is it not refuted daily and hourly by the experience of life itself? Should we not call it a stubborn class struggle when the rural capitalists after consolidating his positions in trade, is trying to disorganise it, while we, basing ourselves on the broad masses of the people are smashing these attempts? Should we not call it class struggle when the rural and urban capitalists are trying to evade tax payments and to place the burden of taxation on the small and medium peasant or artisan? Should we not call it class struggle when the urban capitalists is trying to corrupt our economic machine and to plunder our state industry and trade while we are holding him back? What is it but violent class struggle when the capitalist in the countryside is sparing no effort to get his grip on the agricultural cooperatives and to get hold of the credits and agricultural machinery provided by the state through the machine-tractor stations to the poor and medium peasants, while we are taking steps to stop him? As the capitalist elements are being more speedily dislodged, this struggle does not weaken. On the contrary it intensifies.

Immediately after the liberation, the alliance of workers

and peasants was directed against the big landowners and capitalists and was aimed at disrupting the large estates among the poor and medium peasants and to setting the Western territories. At that time the working class had as its ally not only the poor but also the medium peasants while the rural capitalist, hostile and certainly not reconciled to the land reform, nevertheless pursued a comparatively neutral line, since his interests were not directly threatened. Indeed, on some occasions, for example during the settlement of the Western territories, he even succeeded in grabbing something for himself.

However today, when the big capitalists and landowners have been eliminated, when the land reform has been in the main completed, when the settlement of the Western territories has advanced considerably the situation has changed. Now the alliance of workers and peasants is acquiring a new meaning and embarking on new tasks. Indeed, what would be the feeling of both the poor and medium peasants if the working class left them alone to face their class enemy, the rural capitalist, and if it allowed unrestricted capitalist development in the countryside without interfering!

It is natural that now the rural policy of the alliance of workers and peasants is to restrict consistently the capitalist elements and help the small and medium peasants. As conditions and opportunities grow, it must become a policy of all-round assistance to the working peasants in organising small agricultural cooperatives, especially producer cooperatives.

Now the worker-peasant alliance will be directed against the capitalist elements not only in the towns but also in the countryside, which in itself is further proof of the intensification of the class struggle.

Only a clear socialist programme which at the same time shows the way to socialism can be the compass which will

prevent the danger of losing the adventurism—a danger which exists in the in both the Workers' and the Socialist Parties.

What does it mean under our present conditions to lose the socialist perspective?

It means: 1) failure to differentiate in political theory and practice between capitalist and small-producer elements, regarding them as a single entity without perceiving their differences; 2) not to carry on a resolute class struggle against the capitalists of town and country, not to restrict their development by all possible measures; 3) not to take good care that stale help is given to the poor and medium peasants; 4) not to realise the great importance of the cooperatives, particularly of agricultural producer cooperatives, not to support them in every possible way nor to create by sheer hard work the conditions for their large-scale development; not to struggle for the socialist character of the cooperatives, not to remove the capitalists from the leadership of the cooperatives in town and countryside.

What does adventurism mean under our present conditions? It means: failure to understand that capitalist production still plays a considerable role in town and countryside, that under certain conditions the people's democratic government permits the activity of capitalist elements and tries to eliminate these elements by administrative measures when the social and economic conditions necessary for their presence no longer exist; 2) while steering a steady course for the development of producer cooperatives, not to see that at present and for a long time to come we shall be a country of small producers, that individual farms constitute the basis of agricultural production; not to fully utilise the resources of the artisans and the poor and medium peasants so that their output can be raised; 3) mechanically to try to reorganise the small commodity economy, without the necessary economic, financial and psychological preparations

which require a great deal of time.

There is no doubt that by their joint efforts the Polish Workers' and Socialist parties will work out a programme which will secure the leading role of the united parties in Poland's transition to Socialism.

## **UNDER THE BANNER OF CRITICISM. V. Chervenkov, Central Committee, Bulgarian Workers' Party**

An enlarged meeting of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) attended by the secretaries of the regional Party committees held on June 27, discussed and approved the Resolution of the Information Bureau on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The meeting decided to take a number of practical steps to explain the Resolution to the Party members, to Fatherland Front members and to the people.

It also decided to convene another Central Committee meeting very soon to discuss thoroughly the lessons and the conclusions that the Party and its leadership can draw from the Resolution, and particularly from the criticism made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), on the mistakes and deviations of the Yugoslav leaders.

This second Central Committee meeting was held on July 12 and, 13. For the Political Bureau, the General Secretary of the Party, Comrade George Dimitrov, reported on the basic lessons and conclusions to be drawn by our Party from the crisis in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Both the report and the discussion following it, extensively examined the work of the Party and the Party leadership on the basis of outspoken Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

The meeting unanimously declared that the leadership of our Party has never doubted the leading role played by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union in the democratic camp. Neither has it ever doubted the position of Bulgaria inside the united front of the Soviet Union, the people's democracies and the democratic movement in the capitalist countries.

Regarding the leading role of the Bolshevik Party and of the Soviet Union in the light of an indisputable truth, both for itself and for the Party as a whole, the leadership of the Workers' Party has been educating the Party—and through the medium of the Party the working people of the country—in the spirit of infinite love for the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet Union and Comrade Stalin—the brilliant teacher and leader of the working people of all lands. It is educating them in the spirit of resolute international solidarity in the struggle against imperialism, for democracy and socialism.

The leadership of our Party has always been convinced of the need to strengthen the leading role of the working class and of its Communist vanguard, the Bulgarian Worker's Party, and has taken every possible step to do this.

The meeting also considered that the success of our Party in rallying around it the democratic forces of the Bulgarian people, in strengthening the people's democracy, in reconstructing the national economy on the basis of the new democracy, irrefutably shows that the Political line of our Party has been basically correct.

However, the meeting pointed out that a correct political line and the good results achieved thereby does not mean that there are no weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the Party and its leadership, nor that the Party leadership had not made mistakes, sometimes quite serious mistakes.

Dwelling on our not inconsiderable achievements, the meeting also stressed that the Party must not forget that the Soviet Union, by its help and support played a great role. We

must not forget that immediately after September 9, the presence of Soviet troops—the liberation troops in Bulgaria made it considerably easier for us to defeat reaction speedily and decisively and enabled us to ensure and strengthen the leading role of the working class. Because of this, weaknesses, shortcomings and mistakes in the Party's work did not greatly harm the general positive results of the Party's struggle, as they might have done had not the Soviet Army been present in the country. Nor must we forget the invaluable and timely help we received from the Bolshevik Party in the form of counsel, advice, criticisms and warnings. That is why we have no reason to be conceited and complacent over our successes, nor to underestimate our weaknesses and shortcomings,

The meeting of the Central Committee declared: "Certain mistakes have been made, chiefly those of underestimating the inevitability of the class struggle during the transition from capitalism to socialism, of illusions concerning an easing-up of this struggle because of the specific conditions in our country; of overestimating the forces of reaction and underestimating the forces of the working class. This latter resulted in slackened vigilance and in procrastination before the proper steps were taken to eliminate our inveterate internal enemies and to smash their economic basis".

The meeting also said that in the Party "there was not sufficient clarity about the perspectives and rate of our development toward socialism".

In this connection the meeting drew attention to the fact that "during the transition from capitalism to socialism the class struggle is bound to grow sharper, since the enemies of the people's democracy and socialism will do everything to stop progress and restore the power of the capitalists and reaction". The meeting called upon the Party "to be increasingly vigilant and irreconcilable in relation to the class enemies—saboteurs, wreckers, spies traitors, blackmarketeers

and disorganisers of the national economy, and to fight for their complete elimination”.

Our leadership never attempted to revise the principles of Marxism-Leninism. But the Central Committee has often issued directives which lacked a Marxist-Leninist basis. The meeting considered this insufficiently serious approach to theoretical formulations a major weakness of our leadership. The formulation of important policies was often improvised without preparation beforehand. This was mainly due to the fact that, as a rule, these questions were not discussed and decided collectively to the Central Committee. The meeting condemned this harmful practice which, unquestionably, should be stopped immediately.

Busy with day-to-day practical work, the Central Committee undoubtedly severely underestimated the need for a collective and theoretical solution to fundamental policy problems in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. Usually these matters were handled haphazardly. In many instances biased, inaccurate and completely incorrect formulations were made.

Among such incorrect formulations were too following: — those concerning the harmonious combination of the three sectors in the national economy—the state, cooperative and private sectors; the possibility of toning down the class struggle during the transition from capitalism to socialism; overestimation of the specific features of the so-called Bulgarian path to socialism and so on.

Considered that inner Party democracy was by no means perfect even though elections were held annually in all Party organisations. The Central Committee has not always functioned as a collective organ. It has not completely changed the method of issuing commands to Party organisations. It underestimated the Party as a self-acting organisation and did not always listen to the voice of the membership nor take into account the experience of the Party, Criticism and self-

criticism, regardless of persons, are not, as yet, the motive power of our Party's development. We often speak about criticism and self-criticism, but have not, as yet, created the necessary conditions for criticism to function properly, moreover, there were quite a number of occasions when criticism was suppressed.

Nor is all well with the composition of the Party. Viewed from this angle, our Party does not meet fully the Marxist-Leninist requirements to the effect that the Party must consist of the most advanced elements of the working class and the working people.

The ideological-political level of our Party members is still far behind that necessitated by the tasks facing the Party. There are, especially in the countryside a number of Party members and even entire basic Party units which do not carry out their vanguard role, lagging behind events and often becoming the exponents or obsolete views.

The Central Committee meeting approved a number of measures to secure a full-blooded Party life and to develop criticism extensively, starting with the Central Committee right through to the leadership of the basic organisations, on the basis of collective work, and the participation of all members in the discussion of Party problems. It also decided to take steps to eliminate the Party's backwardness on the theoretical front, to improve the Marxist-Leninist education of its members in every possible way and to change the composition of the Party.

The meeting decided to summon a Party Congress on October 31. In addition to the report of the Central Committee, the Congress agenda will include reports of the Five-Year Plan on Marxist-Leninist education and ideological struggle, suggestions for the Party programme, changes in the Statutes of the Party and on other organisational questions.

After discussing the crisis in the Communist Party of

Yugoslavia and the anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist policy of the Yugoslav leaders, the Central Committee considered that we, as an immediate neighbour of Yugoslavia, having close ties with the Yugoslav Communists, had not displayed the necessary vigilance toward the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and were uncritical even though certain facts made it apparent that there was every reason for criticism.

The Central Committee had not taken sufficient interest in the political activity of the Yugoslav leaders with the result that their policy had a certain harmful influence on the policy of our Party. A certain weakening of the Party leadership resulting from the reorganisation of the Fatherland Front into social-political organisation was undoubtedly due to the influence of the detrimental policy of the Yugoslav leaders.

As a result of our uncritical attitude to the Yugoslav leaders and to their policy, we failed to stop the pernicious practice of sending unofficial emissaries, leaders of the Communist Party of Macedonia, to Bulgarian Macedonia where these emissaries took it upon themselves to create the impermissible situation of a state within a state and to incite Macedonian hostility toward the Bulgarian people.

The meeting raised particularly sharply the question of vigilance toward enemies of the people. It drew attention to the need for special measures to raise the vigilance of the whole Party, of the Fatherland front and of all public and state organs so as to smash in good time the attempts of our class enemy to undermine the national economy and prevent our forward movement.

The decisions of the meeting are now known to the Party and to democratic public opinion. They are being discussed by all Party organisations which are thoroughly examining and revising their work on the basis of these decision and are developing widespread criticism and self-criticism.

Party organisations must now expose more boldly the

weaknesses, shortcomings and mistakes in their work. They must take steps to eliminate them, to strengthen inner Party democracy and to enable the Party to lead a full-blooded life. They must rally the Party ideologically and politically around the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Dimitrov.

“Taking into account the invaluable and timely help rendered our country and our people by the Soviet Government and the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union in liberating Bulgaria from fascism, in safeguarding our freedom and independence against the encroachments of the imperialists, in speedily reconstructing our national economy; recognising the decisive role played by the Soviet Union as the main force in the democratic camp in the struggle for peace and for strengthening the international front of democracy and socialism; drawing the necessary lessons from the crisis in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Central Committee called for the education “with redoubled energy of all members of the Party, of the Fatherland Front, the youth and the Bulgarian people as a whole, in the spirit of firm loyalty to our united front with the Soviet Union, with the other new democracies and with the democratic movement in the capitalist countries, as the most powerful guarantee of the freedom and independence of our country and its development along the path of a people’s democracy and socialism”.

The Central Committee meeting called on Party members “to study and apply extensively the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in accordance with conditions in our country; to heed, as hitherto, the wise advice of the great teacher and leader of the working class and working people of the world, Joseph Stalin”.

By openly recognising its weaknesses and mistakes, by disclosing the basis of these mistakes and taking the necessary steps to overcome them, our Party will strengthen its ranks as the militant vanguard of the working class and of the working

people and will carry out its duty to them and to the democratic camp, headed by the great Soviet Union.

## **PARTY CHRONICLE**

### **Chinese Communist Party Approves Information Bureau Resolution**

A resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia reads as follows:

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China fully agrees with the resolution adopted by the Communist Parties of Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, the Soviet Union, France, Czechoslovakia and Italy. The convening of the Information Bureau meeting and the adoption of this Resolution was a duly incumbent upon Communists of all countries for the defence of Marxist-Leninist principles, of the revolutionary cause of the working class and the peoples of the world.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party believes that the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is not an accidental nor isolated phenomenon. The opportunist elements which express bourgeois counter-revolutionary views will always try to penetrate the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat and the Communist Party, hoping to undermine them from within. Such phenomena occurred on

many occasions in the history of the international movement. They found expression at one time in the Chinese Communist Party.

Such phenomena make it imperative that Communists should take every measure to raise their political consciousness and their knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory so that they can distinguish the bourgeois elements and combat them. They must defend the cause of the proletariat and the people as a whole from sabotage, and safeguard the ideological and political clarity of the Communist Party.

With this aim in view, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has decided that Party members should thoroughly study the Information Bureau's Resolution in order to strengthen the class and international spirit of the Party, and criticism and self-criticism within its ranks.

## **Indian Communist Party on Information Bureau Resolution**

A statement issued by the Communist Party of India on the Resolution of the Information Bureau lends in part:

The Resolution of the Information Bureau clearly sets forth the shortcomings and mistakes of the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party. These serious and grave shortcomings were pointed out by fraternal parties, all of whom have a prolonged record of glorious fight against imperialists. Among them is the great revolutionary Party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)—the Party of Lenin and Stalin. It is the policy of this Party, and the heroic Soviet people led by Stalin that saved the world (including Yugoslavia and its leaders) from fascist bondage.

A warning coming from the fraternal parties, especially

when the initiative in giving that warning is taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, must be taken very seriously by any party calling itself Marxist.

The blank refusal to discuss questions raised, only exposed how deep down in the mire of bourgeois nationalism the Yugoslav leaders have sunk; and how in their bourgeois conceit and arrogance they are openly refusing international cooperation and mutual help.

Only the confirmed agents of the bourgeoisie can denounce such cooperation between Communist Parties as interference in each other's affairs. The bourgeoisie have always denounced every kind of international cooperation among the workers as foreign interference. The Yugoslav leaders seem to hold the same view when they refuse to discuss their policies before the Information Bureau.

## **To Improve Political Work Among The Masses**

The Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party has passed a special resolution on the improvement of political work among the people.

The Central Committee noted the weaknesses in the Party's mass political work and censured those branch officials who underestimated this most important means of educating the people. The Central Committee called on all Party organisations to devote special attention to this question.

According to the Committee's decision, groups up to twenty people will be formed in all Party branches to carry out propaganda work. It will be their task to explain the policy of the Party and the Government to the working people, to mobilise the people for fulfilling the tasks facing the country,

to expose reactionary propaganda, to circulate the Party's press among the people, and so on.

In view of the sharpening class struggle in the countryside, the Central Committee especially drew the attention of rural Party organisations to the need for large-scale political work among the peasants. "It is necessary to ensure," says the Central Committee's resolution, "that our propagandists in the countryside become political leaders that they keep the people informed about political life, the government's measures and so on".

The Central Committee also called on urban Party organisations to give all the help possible to the rural branches in organising political work among the peasants.

**PETTY-BOURGEOIS  
NATIONALIST OUTLOOK OF  
YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST  
PARTY LEADERSHIP. Vasile  
Luca, Secretary, Central  
Committee Rumanian  
Workers' Party**

The Resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist Parties declares that the roots of the mistakes made by the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia must be sought in the undoubted fact that nationalist elements... dominate in the leadership, and that the leadership of the Yugoslav Party, having broken with the international traditions of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, has taken the path of nationalism.

Tito and his clique are trying to deny the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in Yugoslavia's liberation. They are trying to deny the role and significance of the aid, direct and indirect, given by the Soviet Union, by the new democracies and also by the new democracies and labour

movement throughout the world, in safeguarding Yugoslavia's very existence and national independence, in developing and strengthening the democratic order in the country.

The anti-Marxist position of the present leaders of the Yugoslav Party reveals their nationalist and petty-bourgeois outlook; it is driving them toward isolation from the Soviet Union and the new democracies into the arms of imperialism.

What is the ideological and practical difference between the exponents of the "third force" and the Tito-Djilas-Kardelj-Rankovic group who, by their anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist behaviour are playing into the hands of imperialist circles, who have taken the path of nationalism, of breaking away from the united socialist front against imperialism and who have betrayed the international solidarity of the working people?

The Right Socialists, reformists and opportunists, invoking the "higher interests" of the nation, have always betrayed the interests of the overwhelming majority of the nation—the working people.

"Defending" the interests of the nation in this way, the Right Socialists split the internal socialist front, and reject all cooperation with the Communists. They consider themselves to be the creators of the "third force" which they allege, is neutral, standing midway between the socialist democratic forces, headed by the Soviet Union and the forces of imperialism headed by the United States.

Just like the exponents of the "third force", Tito's petty-bourgeois, nationalist group confuses—in a bourgeois sense—the interests of the working class and the working peasantry with the interests of the nation; it ignores the existence of antagonistic classes and the sharpening of the class struggle in Yugoslavia and thus denies the danger of the rebirth of capitalism in the country.

Tito and his clique are trying to convince the world that they have discovered a new way of building socialism, peculiar

to themselves. They even tried to export this and certain of their “theories” to other countries: for instance, the “theory” of dissolving the party of the working class in the mass organisation of the People’s Front, or the “theory” that “final victory over the invader can be achieved with the help of partisan warfare” as General Vukmanovic declared in one of his works.

The paths which Tito proudly claims to have discovered were, as a matter of fact, the paths taken in the past by the Narodniks, Liquidators, Mensheviks and the Trotskyites, and are being followed today by the Right Social-Democrats. These paths lead inevitably to the camp of imperialism and not to socialism.

Nowhere does Leninism deny the peculiarities or specific features of the social revolution in each given country. The people’s democracy is a specific and special form of the transition to socialism.

In October 1917, Lenin declared that all nations would advance toward socialism but not along one and the same path, that each nation would contribute its specific features to the one or other form of democracy, to one or another tempo of socialist changes in the different aspects of social life.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, however, fail to appreciate that this specific form does not at all signify the dying out of the class struggle. Quite the contrary. The people’s democracy cannot be a form of transition from capitalism to socialism without engendering sharp clashes between antagonistic classes,

Sharpened class struggle and not the easing-up of this struggle—such is the law or development of the people’s democracies toward socialism. Failure to appreciate this and to educate the party of the working class in this spirit, failure to mobilise the working class and its allies in the struggle for socialism (which is exactly what the leadership of the

Yugoslav Communist Party is doing) is tantamount to helping the People's Republics degenerate into ordinary bourgeois republics, tantamount to depriving the working class of its leading role in the historical development of the given country,

Nationalist conceit hinders the present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from seeing that the defeat of fascism and the liberation of Yugoslavia did not as yet signify the complete victory of the people's democracy, did not completely clear the path for the building of socialism. In Italy, France and the other countries where the workers' parties displayed the same heroism in the struggle against the Hitler invaders, and where the influence exercised by all these parties among the masses of working people is as strong as the influence of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the other Communist and Workers' parties in the People's Republics, the struggle for democracy and socialism is developing differently and under much more difficult conditions than in our countries, which were liberated by the valiant Soviet Army.

One of the really decisive factors favouring the formation and development of the people's democracies was absent in Italy, France and the other countries of the West and also in Greece. These countries were entered by the armies of the imperialists who trampled underfoot every principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of the liberated countries, the principle of granting each nation the right to decide its own fate and to choose its political and social order.

The presence of the Soviet Army as an army of liberation, the might of the Soviet Union and its influence on world politics, prevented the imperialists from interfering successfully, on behalf of reaction, in the affairs of the people's democracies. The Soviet Union and its army secured the free development of the democratic forces in the liberated countries. This was how the people's democracies arose and developed, where the hegemony belongs to the working class

which, under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' parties, is engaged in bitter struggle and constructive work.

Viewed through the narrow prism of nationalism and petty-bourgeois conceit, one cannot but be blind to the role of the heroic struggle of the working class, of the democrats forces of Western Europe against imperialism, against reaction and the rebirth of fascism, a struggle which is a serious obstacle in the way of the imperialists who are bent on destroying the new democracies and on turning them into a supporting base against the USSR.

The betrayal of socialism and democratic unify by the Tito group is pushing Yugoslavia on to the path of degeneration into a bourgeois republic dependent on American imperialism. The petty-bourgeois conceit of the Tito clique, is nothing short of idolatry. Everything centres around the individual.

It is not the "Leninist youth" but the Tito youth", the "Yugoslavia of Tito", and the "Tito Party," The Party as such is substituted by Tito the man. All this points to Tito's aspirations toward personal dictatorship, and has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism which defines the role of the individual in history quite differently.

The Tito group represent themselves as the makers of history and believe that the globe should revolve around Tito. Because of their nationalist, petty-bourgeois, narrow-mindedness, this group fails to see the previously mentioned conditions, which enabled the peoples or Yugoslavia to achieve their successes In the struggle against the invader and in fostering democracy in Yugoslavia. Conceited to the point of absurdity, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party ascribe everything "heroic" and "sagacious" to Tito. They have forgotten the Marxist-Leninist teaching to the effect that people make history, but always under definite material conditions.

The influence of outstanding personalities and their role in history depends on their proper understanding of objective laws

and the main trends in the development of social life.

The successes of the national liberation struggle and the achievements of the people have blinded Tito and his clique. The enemy is taking advantage of the petty-bourgeois conceit and arrogance of men who confuse the masses and the history of the masses with their own personality, thereby isolating them from the masses.

The absence of control, of criticism and self-criticism has resulted in the fact that Tito has surrounded himself with petty-bourgeois fawning elements and has landed him in the swamp of betrayal of the Ideas for which the Yugoslav people went into battle, And now, caught in the net spread by the imperialists and having taken the path of adventurism, Tito is dragging the people and their country into the clutches of imperialism.

It is also known that those who, in the past, tried to reverse the march of history, contrary to lawful development, and thus inflicting untold suffering on their own and other peoples disappeared ignominiously from the political scene.

Petty-bourgeois conceit is preventing Tito, Djilas, Kardelj and Rankovic from honestly recognising their mistakes, on the basis of criticism, and from rectifying them. They claim that this would lower the prestige of the Party leadership. This anti-Leninist attitude to criticism and self-criticism explains why the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are hypocritically denying the facts and why they have become deeply entangled in their pernicious practice.

The reply of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party to the Resolution of the Information Bureau is replete with slanders against the Soviet Union and its heroic Bolshevik Party. The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have reacted with hostility to the fraternal help of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties. They regard this as a

blow to their prestige, which just goes to show the extent of the moral and political disintegration of these leaders.

Tito and his clique tried, with the help of the recent Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party, to strengthen their nationalist position against international, socialist and democratic solidarity. They saw to it that the Congress was not organised along democratic lines.

Threats, blackmail and terror were used against those who remained true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Tito and his clique are relying on the state machine, on the petty-bourgeois masses, on the kulaks,

In these conditions, the healthy forces in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia must wage a bitter struggle for the Party, for a free and independent Yugoslavia. Marxism-Leninism has triumphed, and will always triumph, and there can be no doubt whatsoever that the time will come when the Yugoslav Communist Party will severely condemn the nationalist and petty-bourgeois leadership, will replace this leadership and once again take the path of Marxist-Leninist internationalism,

**SITUATION IN ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY. Gian Carlo Pajetta, Leading Member, Communist Party Italy**

The object of the reactionary forces in Italy and those from abroad who are exercising more and more pressure on the political life of our country, has always been to split the unity between Communists and Socialists.

The demonstration made by Lombardo, the undercover Saragat follower, when he resigned from the Socialist Party on the eve of the April election, was used by the Christian Democrats and the enemies of the Communist Party as one of their arguments against the Popular Front. Lombardo had used his Party membership to organise a fifth column inside the Popular Front. The notorious Scelba, Christian Democrat Minister of the Interior even went so far as to personally

recommend in his speeches that those who did not intend to vote for the Christian Democrats should vote for Lombardo.

The right-wing Saragat Social Democrats, for their part, took advantage of the treachery of the Lombardo clique, which had no following, to manoeuvre under the guise of “restoring” Socialist unity. The Saragat Party and the Lombardo group formed an election bloc which they called “Socialist unity”.

Although this bloc had by no means been a brilliant election success, the results showed that there were, especially in the North, groups of working people and petty bourgeois elements who were under the influence of these reformists.

By influencing these groups, the splitters supported by all the reactionary anti-Communist forces, hope to achieve their treacherous aim of weakening the Italian Socialist Party, subordinating it to the reformists and so neutralising its healthy and active elements and isolating the Communist Party.

The decision of the Rome Congress of the Socialist Party, held on the eve of the general election, which, by an overwhelming majority approved the policy of the Popular Front and united election lists, struck a decisive blow at the splitters. It also restrained people from openly opposing the Party line, people like Romita who were prepared to compromise and collaborate with the reformists.

In spite of this, however, opportunist manoeuvres and vacillations were apparent among the Socialists during the election campaign. Romita was often ambiguous in his speeches. In many provinces, leaders of the Socialist Party organisations refused to combat the Saragat men and sometimes adopted a stand detrimental to the election interests of the Popular Front. The so-called “autonomous” trends and demands for “demarcation” often concealed a lack of confidence in the policy of the Popular Front. The election work of the Socialist Party flagged even in areas where it was strong, and it failed to take advantage of the opportunities

favouring their candidates.

The result was that the Socialist Party did not benefit from the election results. The interference of foreign reaction and the Catholic Church prevented the popular victory which had been expected and the Socialists did not achieve the results they had hoped for. In an atmosphere of doubt, the Right-wing both inside and outside the Socialist Party brought increasing pressure to bear on it. The initiative was in the hands of those groups which wanted to provoke a split with the Communists.

Instead of correctly estimating the political situation and displaying the necessary vigilance toward the dictatorship exercised by the Christian Democratic Party, instead of strengthening the unity of the working people, arguments started in the Party about the number of seats lost by the Front as a whole and by the Socialists in particular—because of the Communists!

In this situation helped by the big “independent” newspapers, the Romita group raised the banner of revolt against the Nenni- Basso leadership. The aim of Romita and the less prominent figures who supported him, was to rally the discontented, to win over an unprincipled majority in order to break the united action agreement with the Communists and to merge with the Saragat and Lombardo groups.

But this proved far more difficult to achieve than the Right wingers had expected. They immediately encountered obstacles. There was the open reactionary policy of Saragat and Lombardo, the opposition of the rank and file members of the Socialist Party. Saragat and Lombardo entered the de Gasperi Government, approved his anti-democratic and anti-national programme, and turned their groups into appendages of the clerical bloc.

In the trade unions they became accomplices of the Catholic splitters where working together, they organised the “Alleanza” which plays the same role as the Force Ouvriere in

France. In view of this, the declaration on “Socialist unity”, the appeals for a “Constituent Assembly on Socialism”, and so on lost their magnetic force and even in the ranks of the reformists mounting discontent threatened a crisis.

At the same time, the bulk of the lower Socialist Party organisations began to realise how dangerous the situation was. Romita, who tried to take advantage of the situation, was forced to manoeuvre and hide his real intentions, even though he succeeded in calling a special congress.

Considerable success was achieved by yet another opposition group inside the party. This was the “centrist” group that formed around the congress draft decision, known as the “Riscossa Socialista”. (“Socialist Awakening”).

This group rallied round it all kinds of discontented elements. Its centrist position with its vacillations and dual policy fully reflected the dejection and discontent inside the Party caused by the election results.

The special Congress of the Socialist Party was held in Genoa on June 27. No preliminary discussion on the situation and tasks of the Party preceded the Congress. This, coupled with the prevailing disillusionment and resentment, provided fertile soil for those who, although they condemned Romita’s intrigues and insisted on unity, demanded that the Nenni-Basso leadership be renewed.

The chances of success for the Riscossa Socialista” group were enhanced by the adherence to the group of Sandro Pertini, an old Socialist figure who was considered a candidate for the post of Party Secretary.

The Right Socialists in the other countries of Western Europe played a big role in increasing the strife inside the Party. Supported by the right trends in the Party, the press of the Labour Party, the French Socialists and other Parties belonging to “Comisco” waged a campaign of slander and blackmail against Nenni. On the eve of the election, leaders

and agents of the British Labour Party and the French Socialist Party (Morgan Phillips, Healey, Blum and others) arrived in the country to develop the split in Nenni's party.

Just a few days before the Genoa Congress, the Conference of Right Socialist in Vienna decided to accept the Saragats Party into Comisco. This same Conference attempted to condemn the Nenni leadership and provocatively questioned the Party's membership of Comisco,, that this should depend on the results of the Genoa Congress.

At this Congress, the Left-wing of the Socialist Party strove to bring its organisation and its policy to the level demanded of it by the working people and Italian democracy.

Their object was to strengthen the democratic camp by criticising and correcting the mistakes made during the election campaign. In foreign policy the Left-wingers took an anti-imperialist position in accordance with the decisions of the Warsaw Conference Left Socialists. However, the prestige alone of such leaders as Pietro Nenni, Lelio Basso, Rodolfo Morandi, Luigi Cacciatore and Oreste Lizzadri was not sufficient for them to control the situation.

The Left-wing did not take a sufficiently vigorous and organised stand. The impression created was that although the Left leaders were convinced of the correctness of their policy, they nevertheless passively yielded the initiative to the critics, to the discontented and to their colleagues who were anxious to shrink their share of responsibility.

However, because of its broad unity and ability to analyse matters objectively, the Left-wing is still the most consistent group in the Socialist Party and its influence should not be gauged merely by the number of votes it received at the Congress.

The congress itself, as a matter of fact, showed that the Socialist Party is beginning to recover from the setback suffered during the election and is beginning to take a sober

view of the situation. The gloomy comment of the Saragat paper "Umanita", published under the headline "Everything Will to be Done all Over Again", reveals the disillusionment of Italian reaction and its lackeys with the results of the congress.

The atmosphere at the Congress was such that even the ultra Right-wing did not dare to make anti-Communist statements, whereas the centrist danger was exposed by Pertini himself, who attended the Congress as leader of the centrist faction. Pertini later broke with this faction and exposed the danger of any policy that was not a policy of unity and irreconcilable struggle against the forces of reaction.

Even so the Centre, now without Pertini and led by people who only yesterday had left the disbanded petty-bourgeois "Action Party" and joined the Socialist Party, won a relative majority of votes at the Congress (42 per cent). The Left-wing received 31.5 per cent of the vote and the "autonomists" (Rights) 26.5 per cent.).

Here it should be borne in mind that many of the votes received by the Centre were cast by rank and file Socialists with genuine Left convictions who elected Centre delegates at the Congress because of their loyalty to Pertini.

After their declarations in defence of united action, it was assumed that the Centre trend would form an alliance with the Left to combat the right capitulators. However, this was made impossible by the spirit of compromise (which was represented as a desire for unity), by the blackmail of the Right-wingers who threatened to leave the Party, and the predominance of people among the Centrists whose main concern was "a demarcation line with the Communists within the framework of unity of action".

Thus, the Party today is led by the Centre which is composed of so many different elements that there are now Left-wingers. Centrists and Right-wingers in its ranks.

What will be the policy and practical activities of the new

leadership of the Socialist Party? Will it try, by exploiting Party patriotism, to separate the Socialist workers from their Communist comrades-in-arms and thus prepare the way for new Saragat manoeuvres? Or will the new leadership be sufficiently strong and display sufficient political courage to combat the pseudo-socialists inside and outside the Party by continuing a policy of united action and opposition to the Gasperi's "American" Government? This is essential if the working people are to be successful.

Such is the dilemma facing the new leadership and the Italian Socialist Party. The Italian Socialists will be able to strengthen their organisation and consolidate their forces at the same time as they overcome their vacillation and factionalism and develop the struggle for the vital interests of the working people, the struggle for democracy and pence.

At the Congress, the representatives of the Centre's faction proved unable to combat the Right-wingers. The future will show if they will be able to find their place in the great struggle being waged by the Italian people. It will expose those who are dragging the Party into the position of a "Third Force", that is, those who are out to liquidate it as a party of the working people.

The Communist Party, for its part, has repeatedly explained that political unity of action is not aimed at liquidating the Socialist Party. This unity of action is, on the contrary, the condition for the existence and success of the Socialist Party.

Clearly, the Communists have no intention of combating the new leadership of this party, elected at the Genoa Congress. Leading Socialists have announced that they will pursue the policy of united action and not a single official party document precludes the possibility of effective cooperation. We shall see how this works out in practice.

The sharpening class struggle, the open interference of the

United States and the Vatican are giving rise to a tense situation in the country in which the fog of centrism will be dispersed and the mask torn from the pseudo-Socialists. In this situation the working people will unite their ranks and resolutely reject the splitters from the united front.

## **TWO YEAR ECONOMIC PLAN FOR SOVIET ZONE OF GERMANY**

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany has put forward a Two Year Plea to build up the peacetime economy of the Soviet zone of Germany.

Wilhelm Pieck recently wrote in "Neues Deutschland" that the realisation of this plan would result in an all-round improvement and an increase of industrial and agricultural output and, therefore, in a better life for the people.

To eliminate want, continued Pieck, it is necessary to get rid of the grip of the big capitalists and landowners, and to deprive them of their economic and political power. The working people should see to it that they are able to influence the structure of economy and the state. The spreading of this idea among the working people and strengthening, their sense of responsibility for the future is one of the major tasks facing the Socialist Unity Party.

The Plan calls for increased production of coal and electricity. Targets for 1950 include 857,000 tons of steel, 360,000 tons of iron, 650,000 tons of rolled steel, 120,000 tons of yarn (60 per cent over 1947), 90,000 tons of textiles, 84,000

tons of artificial silk (138 per cent over 1947). The output of the leather, footwear, paper and other branches of peacetime industry will also be increased.

The Socialist Unity Party has noted the increase of cultivated land in the Soviet zone. The area sown to grain and other crops has increased by more than million acres.

## **AMERICAN IMPERIALIST MACHINATIONS IN SINKIOANG**

A letter from Shanghai recently published by the Hong-Kong newspaper "Husian-Pao" states:

"According to recent arrivals from the North-West, American imperialism is displaying a special interest in Sinkiang. In March this year an American expedition arrived in Sinkiang with the object of exploring the uranium deposits, to examine possibilities for the exploitation of natural resources and to look for areas suitable for the construction of airfields. The North side of Kwenlun Mountain was explored. In May, Haney, US Air Attache in China and his advisers paid a visit to Sinkiang. Recently, Sinkiang was also visited by Perrin, Deputy Military Attache in China, and a group of American officers.

The economic situation in Sinkiang is difficult, the letter continued. American agents are utilising the situation to convince the people that only American aid, can satisfy their

needs. Officials of the Nanking Government in Sinkiang helped the Americans. Evidently, the Nanking Government has decided to offer Sinkiang to the American imperialists in exchange for aid. The Nanking Government has actually provided the Americans in the Western provinces with complete freedom of action. Making good use of this, American agents are carrying out a propaganda campaign for Sinkiang to be incorporated into Pakistan. Camouflaging their intrigues under the banner of a “national-liberation movement” in Sinkiang, these agents are also making similar propaganda in the Eastern part of Afghanistan.

But these attempts are not going well, for the slogans of American agents are not welcomed either in East Afghanistan or in the North-West provinces of India”.

## **SALE OF AMERICAN SURPLUS IN AUSTRIA**

Austrian newspapers are more and more often publishing protests against the condition imposed on the purchase of United States surplus army equipment.

According to “Der Abend” the first American credit of 10 million dollars given to Austria for this purpose has already been exhausted. The special commission had made big purchases.

The newspaper claimed that the American goods were kept in large storehouses and were sold in such a way that it was impossible to see them or examine them before purchasing.

When the goods were delivered to Vienna, it was discovered that they included articles which were quite useless to Austria and which could not possibly find a market. But 1½ million dollars were spent on them. For example, as a result of

purchasing American army surplus goods there are now four rucksacks per person in Austria, counting babies and old men,

And, the paper stresses, Austria must start repaying dollar credits in 1950.

## **NATIVE OPPRESSION IN BRITISH COLONIES**

Every once in a while the heavy curtain which shrouds the blacker parts of the “glorious commonwealth and empire” is lifted, and the world is given a glimpse of foul and revolting conditions.

A bit of curtain raising was done recently by the UNO Trusteeship Council. Facts of the probe which was reported in the United Nations Bulletin, included the case of an 80 years old King in the Cameroons (Africa) who keeps a harem of 600 wives. According to the report, “young girls are roped in like cattle” and forced to join the harem. Few will deny that this is a pretty disgusting practice and a flagrant denial of elementary human rights. Yet, a defender of this medievalism was found in

the person of the British representative, Sir Alan Burns, who astonished members of the Trusteeship Council by declaring that the custom was not “shocking” and urged that no action be taken in the matter.

Another British Colonial gauleiter, Mr. John Lamb, not only admitted to, but also actually defended flogging as a form of punishment for colonial people. In Tanganyika, which is Lamb’s domain, corporal punishment is legal and common. Africans may be flogged for leaving their jobs or for using insulting language to their employers. When asked by Padilla Nervo of Mexico if Europeans were punished in the same way, the gentle Mr. Lamb replied that flogging was used only for “backward natives”.

## **ACHIEVEMENTS OF NATIONALISED INDUSTRY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. :LUDWIG FREYKA, Head of Economic Department of Communist Party, Central Committee**

The Congress of Factory Committees held in Prague during the historic February days called for further nationalisation.

The demand to extend nationalisation arose, from

Czechoslovakia's political and economic development during the previous two and a half years.

At the time of the national democratic revolution of 1945, large-scale basic industry was nationalised together with the big banks and insurance companies. Estates belonging to traitors were distributed among the small peasants. Political power passed into the hands of the National Councils and the National Front Government.

The nationalisation carried out in 1945 did not cover all industry. The capitalist sector retained 50 per cent of the productive capacity in food, printing and other branches of industry, while only a very small part of the building trade was nationalised. In large-scale trade the capitalists accounted for 75 per cent of the turnover approximately 15 to 20 per cent of the cultivated land.

After the first round of nationalisation, the remaining capitalists tried to show that their existence was quite compatible with the needs of the planned economy of the people's democracy. In fact, however, they proved the opposite: their sole purpose was to amass profits at the expense of the working people. During the realisation of the Two Year Plan the capitalists showed themselves to be the enemies of the people's democratic state.

The remaining capitalists constituted the chief support of reaction which used as its tools the leaders of the National Socialist, the Catholic People's and Slovak Democratic parties and their representative in the government.

This force stood in the way of economic development and improved living standards. The Supreme Administrative Court relied on it and delivered judgements favouring the return of the nationalised enterprises to the capitalists: this force was the bulwark of the Ministry of Technique and of private building companies which disrupted the Two Year Plan; it was also the bulwark of traitors who were preparing a putsch against the

people's democratic republic.

The historic changes effected in February made it possible to carry out immediately the demand of the Congress of factory committees. Extended nationalisation was effected on the basis of five principles. All industries employing more than 50 workers were nationalised (formerly nationalisation covered enterprises employing from 150 to 500 persons). Certain industries, such as those producing medicines, liquors, etc., were completely nationalised, whereas others were nationalised according to their technical indices and production capacity, and not on the basis of the number of workers employed. The new law contains yet another important point. In the event of the non-nationalised capitalist exceeding a fixed limit, this will be nationalised.

A special decision was taken to organise large-scale trading, a decision which made it possible to exclude completely the capitalist sector which, until February, accounted for nearly 75 per cent of the trade turnover.

In the sphere of foreign trade, special organisations were formed to deal with imports and exports. We plan to establish twenty such organisations. Until these organisations were formed, the nationalised enterprises handled more than half of the total exports. The remainder, with the exception of the inconsiderable share contributed by the cooperatives, was primarily in the hands of the capitalists.

These changes are bound up with the principle according to which largescale trade, both import and export, must be conducted separately from production. The new foreign trade organisations will as a rule be independently administered and organised. The organs of large-scale internal trade may be linked with certain enterprises but they must develop their economic and financial activities independently.

Today it can be definitely stated that the new system of Czechoslovakia's economy, developed under the Plan, has

fully justified itself.

Thanks to the great help given us by the Soviet Union, 194—the first year of the Plan,—was marked by rapid economic progress which continued in spite of the disastrous drought.

Industry fulfilled its plan by 101 per cent—the most important result of nationalisation. Industry as a whole was able to fulfil the Plan primarily because the nationalised basic industries completely met their target. At the end of the first year of the Plan, output surpassed the level of the best pre-war year. The productivity of labour also reached the pre-war level.

But although the targets were realised in the nationalised enterprises, the Plan was not fulfilled in industries where the capitalist sector held strong positions. For example, the building industry, which was in the hands of the capitalists, only reached 54 per cent of the Plan. Thus, it was clear in practice that the bigger the share of the capitalist sector, the worse the fulfilment of the Plan.

Large-scale trade where the nationalised sector accounted for a mere 5 per cent of the total turnover, also considerably lagged behind the Plan. Relying on the help of private manufacturers and sometimes on dishonest officials in the nationalised enterprises, the big textile traders undermined the supply of essential commodities for the people.

In the sphere of foreign trade, the capitalists injured the economy by importing and exporting regardless of the planned needs. In this way they made huge profits and, concealing their dividends from the Government, transferred them to their personal accounts abroad. According to an estimate made by the National Bank, in 1947, the flow of capital abroad amounted to 2,500,000 million crowns, that is, about ten per cent of the entire export. This meant that goods valued at this sum were exported abroad while Czechoslovakia got nothing in exchange.

The capitalists sabotaged the Plan in other ways. For example, in some industries (paper, ceramics, textile, leather and food) the capital investments of the private sector were 50 per cent more than the investments of nationalised industry, although this was not envisaged in the Plan. Most of these capital investments were not permitted in

the framework of the Plan and they could not be made out of legal profits. This meant that the capitalists increased their profits by trade speculation, tax evasion and by plundering the people and the Government.

Experience has shown that the capitalist sector in economy is hostile to the people's democracy, that it steadily increases its threat to the peaceful development of the economy and the state. The February events in Czechoslovakia, together with further nationalisation, have put an end to this danger.

The February events, the subsequent changes and the series of important steps taken to improve the standard of living of the working people, stimulated the workers to increase the productivity of labour.

Workers in factories and offices worked out counterplans and pledged themselves to fulfil the Two-Year Plan ahead of schedule.

One of the conditions contributing to increased production was the essential change in the attitude of a considerable section of the working people toward production. In May 1945, as a result of nationalisation, the main means of production passed into the hands of the people's democratic state. However, until the February events, the class instinct of the working people kept them alert. They could see that certain exploiting, parasitic elements were still busy, especially in the sphere of building, commerce and foreign trade and among the upper strata of the bureaucratic apparatus.

After the February victory over reaction, the extended nationalisation, the purge of traitors and reactionaries and the way the working people rallied around the Communist Party and the National Front, the people became confident that now they are really working for themselves.

However, while we must encourage this confidence we must also overcome a number of shortcomings in industry and in the organisation of labour: wages must be increased in accordance with increased productivity of labour the reasons for work stoppages, absenteeism and the frequent changing of jobs must be eliminated; steps must be taken to ensure labour for those industries suffering from a shortage of workers, enterprises must be supplied with raw materials in good time, and so on. The trade unions and all conscious

workers must be mobilised to carry out these tasks and to promote labour emulation on a still wider scale. As always, the Communists who, by their selfless work set an example must head the struggle to overcome shortcomings in industry and in the organisation of labour.

Now, after extended nationalisation we can plan our economy still better and on a wider scale. Basing itself on the people's democratic order, on the powerful nationalised sector of the economy and on the constructive efforts of the working people, our Republic will successfully fulfil the Two-Year Plan of economic rehabilitation and construction and will create favourable conditions for a Five-Year Plan for the further building up of the country.

## **IRON AND STEEL WORKERS STRIKE IN MEXICO**

Four thousand iron and steel workers in Monterreia recently struck work for a sixty per cent wage increase.

Another 2,000 iron and steel workers in Monclova have been on strike since June 9. They are demanding the reinstatement of victimised trade unionists.

**STRUGGLE FOR WAGES IS  
INSEPARABLE FROM THE  
STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND  
DEMOCRACY. Roger Garaudy,  
Member, Central Committee,  
Communist Party of France**

The great strikes of last November and December and the Clermont-Ferrand action this June, which was followed by a one-hour general strike in solidarity, were important stages in the development of the class struggle in France.

The French workers' struggle for wages is extremely significant now, in view of the general crisis of capitalism.

The real masters of the French state, the big monopolies are striving to intensify the exploitation of the working class and to burden it not only with the full weight of French economic rehabilitation but also to make it bear the brunt of the crisis threatening their American masters.

The capitalist offensive against the living standards of the working people aims at harnessing them to a double yoke of colonial exploitation: exploitation by the French and American monopolies. The entire state apparatus, not to mention the instruments of home and foreign monopolies, is engaged in this struggle against the working class. And every ideological and propaganda method is being used to camouflage this offensive and its real aim.

The battle of wages is the working class answer to the capitalist offensive which is directed against its vital interests.

The policy of the banks and trusts which today rule France, has given the capitalists surplus profits to the tune of 200 billion francs.

In July 1946, the purchasing power of the workers dropped to 80 per cent compared with 1938; in January 1947 it was only 61 per cent and in November of the same year it had slumped to 48 per cent.

The devaluation of the franc brought in by the Schuman Government at the behest of its American masters, the increased taxes imposed on the working people, and the growth of unemployment in the industries sacrificed to American interests have brought down the standard of living still more.

The intensified exploitation and the struggle waged by the

monopolies against the just demands of the workers are backed up with the full weight of the state apparatus.

The state, as an employer representing the dictatorship of the big monopolies, showed its true colours during the miners' struggle in the Nord and Pas-de-Calais departments. After the workers' representatives were withdrawn from the board of nationalised industries, nationalisation took on an entirely different and peculiar role: carrying out the instructions of the big mining trusts, the state, as the employer, now actually coordinates the coal magnates' exploitation of the working class.

The state as a gendarme embodies all the repressive state apparatus—army, police and magistrates—which was placed at the disposal of Bergougnan in Clermont-Ferrand. What is more, special police were rushed by plane, the speedier to carry out the will of the employers.

The state as the vassal of the most powerful imperialism, United States' imperialism, has demonstrated the role it plays in the efforts of international capitalism to stave off the crisis. American imperialism is threatened by a crisis of unprecedented magnitude. According to official statistics there were 2,600,000 unemployed in the United States in June 1947. This does not include the 1,600,000 war veterans registered as unemployed and the 1,700,000 part-time workers (who are employed less than 14 hours a week), which would bring the figure of workless up to 6 million.

The Marshall Plan is mainly designed to export the American crisis to Europe. In order to export American unemployment it is necessary to dismantle European industry and to open new markets for American goods. The film, aircraft, automobile and building industries of France have already felt the effects of this operation, American imperialism hopes to soften its contradictions by "dissolving" them in a

world crisis.

The government of the trusts in France needs the protection of American imperialism just as the Vichy Government needed the help of the German fascists to combat the Hench working people. To secure this protection, the French monopolies and their hireling government had to agree to the Marshall Plan, the plan for the enslavement of France.

While using the repressive measures of the state apparatus, the big monopolies are at the same time using propaganda and ideological methods to cover up the strategic plan of imperialism. In France the imperialist fraud is being engineered chiefly through the dissemination of four ideological “theories” which were worked out with particular zeal by the Right Socialists.

The theory of the “vicious spiral” of prices and wages was taken up by Blum with the object of demonstrating the futility of the workers struggling to raise their living standards. Capitalism’s “honest executives” systematically reply to every wage increase with a corresponding price increase even applying to the old wage scale.

The “right to work” is guaranteed by the Ministry of the Interior with the help of tear gas and shooting so that a handful of blacklegs can work in peace.

“Trade Union independence” is safeguarded by the Ministry of Labour and the former American Ambassador to the Vichy Government, William Bullitt, by official or secret subsidies to the “Force Ouvriere” renegades.

By “denying national sovereignty” the Right Socialists are trying to depict the “West” or “Europe”—that is, the preserve of American imperialism—as the first step toward a “socialist United States of Europe”. The idea is to pin the label of “socialist internationalism” onto the colonising activities of the international trusts in capitalist Europe.

The aim of the instigators of this ideological campaign,

designed to split and disarm the working class, is clear: should the imperialist agents succeed in sufficiently demoralising the working class by lowered living standards and unemployment, the way will be cleared for new fascist ventures.

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The working class struggle for wages open up perspectives of progress in which the class struggle of the proletariat is the motive force.

The Communist Party of France—the vanguard of the working class and its leading force—guided by the invincible doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, clearly explains this perspective of struggle to the working class and the people of France, The Communist Party is doing everything possible to direct the movements of the various sections, of the people for their demands, toward a single political aim: the struggle for national independence, for peace and democracy.

At the recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Maurice Thorez said: “The broad masses of the working people, confirming the correctness of the Communist Party’s policy, are joining the sweeping movement for the realisation of their urgent and vital demands, linking this movement with the common struggle for national independence and peace”.

The development of the class struggle shows more clearly every day that there is only one path along which the French working class can achieve its aims of bread, freedom, peace and genuine democracy. And that is the path pointed out by the Communist Party.

This is borne out by the numerous strikes which unite and organise the working class and are a school for unity. In Clermont-Ferrand the leaders of the Christian trade unions and the “Force Ouvriere” traitors were unable to play the role of

splitters assigned them by the employers and the government, because the workers who had been tricked into joining their organisations, saw for themselves that disunity among the workers was the finest weapon the employers could wield in the attack on the living standards of the working class.

The role and the class significance of the French state are becoming apparent in the struggle. Interference by the police and the army is lending a political aspect to the workers' economic struggle. The results of the struggle are teaching the worker to identify the employer who exploits him with the state, which open fire on him when he resists exploitation.

The struggle for wages is growing into a struggle for democracy. It is not only becoming the struggle for the "right to strike" and for the Constitution which guarantees this right, but also a struggle for the "right to live", for a genuine democracy.

In the battle for wages, the working class is coming forward at the same time as the advance unit and decisive factor in the struggle for freedom and national independence.

The imperialist camp understands this quite clearly. Hence, it regards the Western military alliance now being formed not only as a means of preparing for a new war against the Soviet Union and the new democracies but also as a means for suppressing the labour and democratic movement in the capitalist countries.

The struggle for wages is inseparable from the struggle for the unity and organisation of the working class. It is a struggle against the state and the monopolies, a struggle for a people's democracy on the path to socialism, for national independence, for human progress.

Marxism-Leninism enables the Communists of France to guide this struggle correctly, and to lead it, taking into account its true historical perspective where the forces of the past, the monopoly reactionaries are confronted with the forces of the

future, the force of progress which are embodied in the working class, the class which can build anew.

## **FUSION OF POLISH YOUTH**

A Unity Congress of Polish Youth was held in Wroclaw on July 20 and 21. The delegates, numbering over one thousand, unanimously decided to set up a Polish Youth Union. The Union was joined by the four democratic youth organisations representing a total of 700,000 young people.

The new Union of Polish youth is a broad non-party

democratic organisation of the youth of town and countryside. Members of the Union are free to join the political party of their choice.

A statement issued by the Union says that, together with all working people, the youth will work to transform Poland into a modern industrial-agrarian country, to eliminate the exploitation of man by man, and to put an end to the backwardness of the Polish countryside.

The Union will be guided by the ideas of the entire democratic camp of Poland. Recognising the right of freedom of belief and conscience, the Union at the same time will combat the reactionary activities of clerical circles which are taking advantage of the religious sentiments of the people.

On July 22, Polish National Holiday, a great rally of 50,000 young people from all over the country was held in Wroclaw. The meeting was addressed by Boleslaw Beirut, President of the Polish Republic.

## **EDUCATION IN THE RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY**

The newspaper "Scanteia", organ of the Rumanian Workers' Party, has started a "Party Life" column which

systematically publishes various material on the activity of Party organisations. On July 24, the newspaper, carried information about the political studies in Party organisations at Cluj.

In February this year, a Party school was started in Cluj. In May, the first group of 42 students graduated from it. Apart from this, since the beginning of the year 1,338 students have passed through 58 evening courses organised at the factories, offices and districts. At present, 548 students are attending 36 evening schools.

Party members, who due to various reasons cannot attend evening courses, are studying independently under the supervision of their Party organisations. In Cluj there are six groups studying individually the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union".

The regional Party committee encourages individual study and helps with the subject matter and with organising study circles.

To further propaganda work among the membership, the regional Party committee has formed a group of 33 lecturers, a propagandist group, working in rural areas, and a control group which examines the state of political studies and the propaganda work among the masses.

## FAILURE OF LATEST MONARCHO-FASCIST OFFENSIVE IN GREECE. L. Apostulu

The battle which has raged north of the Pindus and Grammos Mountains ever since June 15 is a fiercer and bloodier than any that has been fought on Greek soil since the country was invaded first by the Axis and later by the Anglo-Americans.

This operation, the culmination of the monarcho-fascist spring campaign, was organised by American imperialism which is supplying the monarcho-fascists with equipment and is directing all their military operations through its military mission headed by General van Fleet.

The Pindus-Grammos battle was preceded by a number of less important operations on a lesser scale which were also undertaken by the monarcho-fascists with the help of American arms and under the high command of the American military mission.

These operations began in the middle of last February in the mountains of Eastern Macedonia and in Rumelia. Monarcho-fascist troops engaged in the Rumelian battle numbered 35,000.

In these actions the monarcho-fascists suffered defeat. They lost thousands in killed and wounded, while the Democratic Army won considerable success. Before the Grammos-Pindus battle, the Democratic Army drove back the enemy attacks, and went over to the offensive throughout the whole Greek mainland and on some of the bigger islands.

The American military mission and the monarcho-fascist headquarters devoted two months to preparing the Grammos

operation. Forces involved in the battle, which is still continuing, include six divisions (1st, 2nd, 8th, 9th, 10th and 15th), big motorised and armoured forces and practically the whole airforce, with a total of 70,00 men.

The monarcho-fascist army is equipped with arms which were certainly never in the possession of the former Greek army.

The Democratic Army forces defending the Grammos, Smolika and Northern Pindus mountain chain are considerably smaller than the fascists. The difference in equipment between the two armies is enormous. The Democratic Army has, in the main, light arms which they have won in battle.

The official American representatives and their Greek hirelings were absolutely sure of the outcome of their Grammos-Pindus offensive, which they called the “crown” of the monarchist-fascist expedition. For example, on the eve of the action, General Griswold stated that the Grammos battle meant the beginning of the end of the rebellion.

Tsaldaris was even more confident than his American patron. “At Grammos we shall put an end to the rebellion,” he boasted.

In answer to the insolent statements of the American imperialists and their Athenian lackeys, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Greece called upon the men of the Democratic Army to turn Grammos into a “death crown” for the enemy and into a “grave for monarcho-fascism”. Simultaneously, the Provisional Democratic Government addressed the rank and file soldiers, national guards and honest officers of the monarcho-fascist army with the offer of a truce. The course of the Grammos battle shows that it is becoming a veritable “death crown” for the enemies of the Greek people.

What are the results of the Grammos battle to date?

The Democratic Army has frustrated the strategic plan of the enemy to wipe out the democratic forces. The enemy has

suffered considerable losses. Between June 15 and July 15, the monarcho-fascists lost 190 officers killed, 212 wounded and 12 taken prisoner; 1,856 soldiers killed, 3,848 wounded and 352 taken prisoner; 96 soldiers went over to the democrats.

Altogether the monarcho-fascists lost 6,556 men. The Democratic Army, captured large quantities of arms.

The Grammos battle shows that the Democratic Army, apart from using offensive guerrilla tactics, as it had done hitherto, is now able to use vigorous defence tactics to hold securely the areas it has liberated, throw back the attacks of the enemy's superior forces, and, finally, to go over to a counter-offensive. This is of extreme importance to the final victory of the Democratic Army.

The Democratic Army has also demonstrated its moral superiority over the enemy. Its soldiers are staunch fighters with both stubbornness and initiative for they know they are struggling for the independence of their country, for the democratic rights of their people, for the battle of peace.

In the Grammos battle the two forces fighting on Greek soil are those of the instigators of a new war and their Greek hirelings, against the armed forces of the people. The people's forces are poverty stricken, starving and exhausted but they are determined to fight for freedom and for the independence of their country till final victory is won.

At Grammes, the people of Greece smashed the plans of the Anglo-American warmongers to turn Greece into a military base against the Balkan countries and the Soviet Union. At Grammos, the people of Greece once again showed the power of their resistance against monarcho-fascist action and their will to win at all costs.

## **PURIFY THE PARTY RANKS**

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has decided to carry out a thorough examination of the Party. This examination, which will be held during the three months, October to December, is aimed at purging the Party of all alien elements and at raising the political consciousness of the membership and its responsibility for carrying through all the tasks facing the Party.

The purpose of the examination is not to engage in mass expulsion but to educate the membership and encourage a constant vigilance over the purity of the ranks of the Party.

The Presidium decision stresses the importance of this undertaking and the responsibility of Party organisations for its realisation.

Special detailed instructions have been issued to help the examination.

# **PARTICIPATION OF INTELLIGENTSIA IN DEVELOPING PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY IN BULGARIA.**

**Prof. Pavlov, President,  
Bulgarian Academy of  
Science**

Before the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia the intelligentsia was in the same dependent position as it is today in the capitalist countries. It was economically dependent on the old exploiting classes and it served these classes. Only a very small part managed in one way or another to break away from dependence on the parasites and serve the exploited working masses.

The intelligentsia became a people's intelligentsia in the true sense of the word only after the Great October Revolution and the victory of socialism in the Soviet Union, when the exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man were abolished and the former proletariat and working peasantry were transformed into completely new classes, and became absolute masters of their native land. An entirely new type of Soviet intelligentsia made its appearance in accordance with the fundamental social and economic changes in the country. "A numerous, new Soviet intelligentsia", said Stalin "has emerged from the ranks of the working class, the peasantry and professional workers. This intelligentsia is flesh of the flesh and bone of the bone of our people, it is an intelligentsia that does not know exploitation, hates the exploiters and is ready to serve the peoples of the Soviet Union loyally, and honestly."

For the first time in history, we have in the Soviet intelligentsia a real, genuine people's intelligentsia which, together with the workers and peasants takes an active and creative part in socialist construction, in defending the Soviet state and in building the new culture of the peoples of the Soviet Union—a culture national in form and socialist in content. It is active in the movement for socialist emulation and shock work, has contributed much through innovation and invention, and is in the vanguard of those who are fighting for a lasting peace, for a people's democracy and for socialism.

For the first time in the history of mankind Soviet intellectuals enjoy the love, respect and care of the state, the Communist Party and the Soviet people.

The achievements, organisation and methods of work of the Soviet intelligentsia are a great inspiration in the struggle and creative work of progressive intellectuals both in the people's democracies and in the capitalist countries.

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In this article I shall try to give a general picture of the conditions of the intelligentsia in the new democracies.

The concrete social-historical conditions and tasks facing the new democracies vary, but all these countries have one fundamental feature in common—they are all advancing toward socialism. Hence, notwithstanding differences in the position, role and functions of the intelligentsia in the new democracies, their development conforms to a certain common principle which differs qualitatively from the development of the intelligentsia in the capitalist countries.

As is known, on September 9, 1944, a people's democratic anti-fascist uprising took place in Bulgaria. The success of this uprising was facilitated and ensured above all by the offensive of the Soviet Army. For some time after September 1944, the

exploiting classes in our country had not been eliminated. Moreover, the old state apparatus had not been completely destroyed. Although the uprising of September 9, 1944 was not a social revolution in the direct sense, it effected such profound social upheavals in the old bourgeois order that political power passed into the hands of the Fatherland Front, headed by the working class and its Party, the Workers' Party of Bulgaria. As a result, our people became the masters of their own destiny.

Political and other preconditions were created for liquidating the big bourgeoisie and for building socialism. The Fatherland Front developed into a powerful political organisation with the Bulgarian Workers' Party as the motivating and leading force.

After September 9, 1944 the influence of capitalist encirclement and the role of the bourgeois reactionary opposition in our country took on a specific form and significance. So far the kulaks and a considerable part of the medium and big bourgeoisie are carrying on still in our country. The people's democracy has inherited from the bourgeois regime the ideology of fascism and of Greater Bulgaria chauvinism—the rooting out of which constitutes one of the major tasks facing our Party. We must also take into account that in the past our country developed economically, along specific lines. Small ownership predominated. In the main, an economy of small property owners, it suffered from an abnormal capitalist development and extremely corrupt forms of finance-monopoly capital, which was closely linked with foreign finance capital.

The people's democracy inherited from the old regime an industry that was extremely backward technically. This was particularly true in agriculture, which had retained certain forms of pre-capitalist production, although the feudal system had in the main been wiped out at the time of the Russo-Turkish war. There were numerous political parties in the

country and also the strong Agrarian Union which even now wields considerable influence among the peasantry.

The people of Bulgaria realise more and more clearly that salvation from oppression and bondage and their national independence are bound up with the transition of our country to a socialist order. The development of our country toward socialism lies in the social order of the people's democracy.

The Soviet Union has given the working people of the world an example of how to fight for socialism and how to build socialism. The path taken by the Soviet Union is, in essentials, the same for all countries which are advancing, or will advance toward socialism. But every country, every people imparts its own traits to the building of socialism.

The Workers' Party is conscious of the fact that the victory of September 9, 1944, and the very existence and development of the people's democracy in Bulgaria would have been impossible had it not been for the given historical international situation and, above all, had it not been for the mighty Soviet Union. Not only did the Soviet Union liberate the new democracies from the yoke of fascism, but it systematically gives them all-round support.

Consequently, absolute insistence on and any overestimation of the specific features of our advance toward socialism would mean failure to appreciate the great significance of the Soviet Union for our entire development and would have resulted in the nationalism embarked upon by the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

In these circumstances, the tasks of our intelligentsia took on a particular character. First of all, since September 9, 1944, our forward movement depends to an ever greater extent on when, how and to what extent we shall succeed in uprooting the exploiting classes and their remnants, both economic and ideological and in determining how successfully we lay the foundation stones of our new, socialist construction.

The increased role of the subjective factor is explained, firstly, by the international situation at the time of September 9, 1944 and after, and above all, by the role of the great Soviet Union; secondly, by the fact that long before the victory of the antifascist uprising, the Communist Party, had been fighting for the intelligentsia against all kinds of hostile, anti-popular forces. We succeeded in winning a considerable part of it and also in developing certain cadres of our own intelligentsia.

After September 9, 1944, and especially after the nationalisation of industry and the banks, our intelligentsia rallied to the Fatherland Front and the new power in ever greater numbers, firmly declaring its support for the people's democracy and its wholehearted desire to take part in the construction of socialism in our country.

In his speech to the Second Congress of the Trade Union Federation, Comrade Dimitrov analysed the far-reaching changes that had taken place in Bulgaria and pointed to the changes taking place in the position of our intelligentsia.

“In our people's state, where the working class constitutes the leading force,” said Comrade Dimitrov, “the intelligentsia which previously served the ruling and exploiting classes need no longer serve the old exploiting regime but is more and more contributing, with all its strength and abilities, to the building of our people's republic”.

Our intelligentsia has clearly shown its attitude to the Fatherland Front and to the beginning of socialist construction not only by mass recruitment to the Worker's Party and other social organisations, but also by the way it is taking part in work for the Two-Year Plan and the work of the people's government. However, certain external conditions such as pressure from reactionary imperialist forces—as well as internal ones (the existence of the remnants and ideology of the capitalist classes, the existence of petty, individual peasant farming and the grave economic difficulties resulting from

three years of drought) are still hindering certain sections of our intelligentsia from joining the cause of people's democracy and socialism.

This negative phenomenon was aggravated by the fact that the Workers' Party which increased tremendously after September 9, 1944, was unable to give Marxist-Leninist education to the half-million new members, many of whom were not up to requirements.

Some Communists in the localities have been displaying a sectarian, unfriendly attitude to the intelligentsia which discourages them from joining the great cause of socialist construction. These politically immature members who do not understand that an arrogant, leftist approach to our people's intelligentsia is impermissible. They do not realise that now "when the Workers' Party has grown stronger, when it has become the ruling party, and when, on the other hand, a process of change and differentiation is taking place among the intelligentsia as a consequence of the severe struggles and great happenings, it is necessary to adopt a different attitude toward the intelligentsia. The healthy section of the intelligentsia, the leading experts, scientists and workers in art and culture should either be within our ranks or at least should cooperate with us and with our allies in the fatherland Front".

In order to intensify the work of our Party among the intelligentsia and to win it completely to the side of people's democracy and socialism, a number of urgent tasks must be achieved.

First, we must train and re-educate in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism the cadres of the intelligentsia, of the Workers' Party and the Fatherland Front. Theoretical, propaganda and Marxist-Leninist work, is of paramount importance just now.

It should be noted that the teaching of Marxism among the intelligentsia calls for highly trained propagandists and for a

proper understanding of the fact that the intellectual's approach to Marxism is different from that of the worker-intellectual.

Second, by radical reorganisation and further all-round development of our educational, scientific and cultural establishments, we must at the speediest tempo train new experts for our socialist construction and for all our state, political and cultural work—experts who would have also the necessary Marxist-Leninist education.

Third, by improving the material and cultural conditions of the intelligentsia, to help it quickly and fully to develop a new, patriotic and international consciousness, a consciousness of eternal friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the new democracies and of the Soviet Union. This task can only be approached and showed correctly through a Marxist-Leninist attitude to our own cultural inheritance, the inheritance gained not only from the great figures of our renaissance period, but also from the democrats, humanists and patriots that arose after liberation from the Turkish yoke, such as I. Vasov and A. Konstantinov. At the same time it is necessary to pay special attention to the inheritance of the proletarian cultural and scientific workers, headed by D. Blagoev, Christo Smirnensky and N. Vapzarov.

Fourth, by means of drawing the intelligentsia into the construction of the people's republic, to strengthen and develop its understanding of the need for the moral and political unity of our people, to inculcate among it the new socialist morals and ethics, which are incompatible with the remnants and hangovers of the bourgeois-individual morals and ethics.

This means that any ideological mistakes or vacillations in the ranks of our intelligentsia must undergo thorough and severe criticism and self-criticism which, in the new social and historical circumstances, can and must become a "new social guiding principle" (A. Zhdanov).

Because the majority of our intelligentsia have come from

the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois sections of society, the weapon of criticism and self-criticism should be applied with skill and care. There should be only one attitude to our open enemies among the intelligentsia—that of crushing exposure and an irreconcilable struggle against them as class enemies. To the vacillating petty-bourgeois and bourgeois intellectuals who have not yet come over to our side, we must take a different attitude—that of explaining to them in detail the position of socialism, of re-educating them in the spirit of the people's democracy.

There is not the least doubt that these tasks will be solved. This is ensured by the history of the intelligentsia itself. Especially after the overthrow of the bourgeois, fascist dictatorship, the intelligentsia showed its democratic attitude, its new patriotism and internationalism.

It has not only shown its readiness and ability to defend successfully its country and the people's culture against the attacks of native and foreign reactionaries and aggressors, but under the guidance of our glorious Workers' Party it is also going over to a counter-offensive on the political, ideological and cultural front.

## **CAPITALIST PRESS OF FRANCE IN GRIP OF DOLLAR. M. Kriegel-Valrimont, Member, Central Committee, Communist Party of France**

“Press of the trusts and trusts of the press”—this is how people usually refer to the domination of finance capital over the press and its control of nearly all the means of publishing and distributing newspapers.

In France, the newspaper “Le Temps” was owned by the notorious Comite des Forges and Comite des Houilleres (organisations of the coal and steel industrialists led by de Wendel, Schneider, de Peyerimhoff, Theodore Laurent and others). The newspaper “Paris-Soir” and its provincial chain was in the hands of the owners of the big textile and sugar enterprises (Prouvost, Beghin, etc.). Through the Havas Agency, the Paris-Netherlands Bank controlled “Figaro”, “le Journal”, “le Matin”, and others.

Gutter press, is how the people described these corrupt rags.

During the war, the Communist Party led the anti-fascist struggle in France. By their heroic struggle against the invaders, the Communist journalists Gabriel Peri, Sampaix and others defended the honour of the French democratic press.

In those days the will to fight against the Hitler aggressors for the democratic aspirations of the people was expressed by the programme of the National Resistance Council. This programme spoke of the need to secure the “freedom of the press, its honour, many others defended the honour of the state,

the money bags and foreign influence”.

After the liberation, French reaction—the de Gaullists, MPR and the Right Socialists—did everything to prevent the realisation of this programme. What is more, acting on the directives of the American imperialists, de Gaulle, Bidault and Blum subordinated the French press to the money bags and foreign influence.

Louis Aragon stated recently in the literary Journal “Lettres Francaises” that the Paris edition of the American “Readers’ Digest” had offered him a large sum in dollars for his collaboration on the magazine.

Louis Aragon is a Communist and he refused to sell himself.

But some writers, journalists and newspaper proprietors who once profited from the generosity of Hitler make no hesitation before taking money from the American multi-millionaires.

The increased price of paper, transport and printing and a number of other difficulties connected with newspaper publication have enabled the Americans to get a grip on the French press.

According to an investigation conducted by UNESCO, the total circulation of the French press dropped from 20,000,000 copies in 1939 to 13,560,000 copies at the end of last year. The consumption of paper for the same period slumped from 340,000 tons to 200,000 tons.

The consequences for France of the American orientation and the Marshall Plan become obvious when compared with Poland where, according to the UNESCO figures, the circulation of daily newspapers has doubled compared with 1940.

The French-American agreement signed in 1946 by Blum and Byrnes strangled the French film industry and threatened the aircraft industry. The fate of the French press does not, in

fact, differ from the fate of these two industries.

By creating difficulties in supplying the papers with newsprint, the French Government imposes upon them conditions which make them directly dependent on the finance magnates.

With secret sources of income at their disposal, the newspapers in the service of French or foreign capitalists are opposing the introduction of a profitable selling price for all the newspapers, though the cost of production is steadily growing. For example, the price of paper is thirteen times higher than prewar, transport 24 times and printing 30 times higher.

Together with "buying" French newspapers, the American monopolists are steadily building up the European editions of their own newspapers and magazines.

Out of a special fund of 10,000,000 dollars, the United States Government supplies the European editions of "Time", "Life", "News Week", "Readers' Digest", "New York Herald Tribune" and the agencies Associated Press, United Press and the International News Service. In a letter to the Paris print workers' trade union, the "New York Herald Tribune" stated that credits provided for information purposes within the framework of the Marshall Plan, are open for all the newspapers, magazines, agencies and other institutions of American origin circulating information in Europe in various forms.

Editions of "American origin" published in French are numerous and varied. They appear in different forms such as special editions for children, film magazines, bibles, pornographic sheets, detective stories and so on. Due to large-scale advertisement, some issues of the "Readers' Digest" published in France, appeared in more than 400,000 copies.

However, American imperialism does not confine itself merely to these forms of ideological expansion.

When they read their world news each day, millions of

French people do not realise that this information, practically without exception, is cooked in the kitchen of Hearst or other Yankee press kings.

Nearly all the news about foreign policy appearing in the French newspapers, has as its sources the American agencies, such as United Press, Associated Press, International News Service or the British Reuter agency. The French "Agence France-Press" in the main translates the cables concocted by these agencies on orders from the State Department.

The American are also circulating other news features which are published without any changes in the strip cartoons, reportage and anti-Soviet fabrications.

American "aid" is not confined to the newspapers and the magazines of "American origin". It has been proved that the leaders of the Force Ouvrier splitters and their organ are in receipt of money from the Americans.

It is difficult to imagine that newspapers such as Blum's "Populaire" and the MRP "l'Aube" could manage without American aid, since they make no bones about their financial difficulties.

By their crude anti-Soviet attacks, provocations and sensational make-up, the de Gaulle newspapers like "Samedi-Soir" only prove that they are strictly observing the directives of those who are enabling them to carry on.

Some newspapers, banned after the liberation for their collaboration with the enemy, have recently reappeared and are insolently demanding in the name of "freedom and private enterprise" that their print-shops should be returned to them. At the same time, the concentration of the "information" press can be observed.

The methods used by Hearst and McCormick in creating big press monopolies are now being used in France. A merger of the three evening news papers—"France Soir", "Paris-Presse" and "l'Intransigeant" was effected recently.

Mr. Gaxotte of "l'Action Francaise" sat on the editorial board of "l'Intransigeant". The de Gaulle man, Philippe Barres on the "Paris-Presse" and the Socialist Gombault on the editorial board of "France Soir".

Apart from Barres who before the war more than once met Hitler and circulated his interviews, the leadership of the new concern includes also Lazarev from "Paris Soir"; Schoeller, son of the magnate from the Hachette trust, and Aristide Blank, whose father at one time was on the board of no fewer than twenty-one Rumanian companies. Last year, Blank's "France Soir" admitted that through the swindler Passy, it had received 10,000.000 francs from the de Gaulle DGER Intelligence Service.

At the end of June an Inaugural Congress of the International Federation of Newspaper and Magazine Publishers was held in Paris. One of the objects of the Congress was to "regulate the distribution of paper within the framework of the Marshall Plan". The French capitalist press is in the grip of the American imperialists who are combining their economic and political offensive with the offensive on the ideological front.

## **AMERICANS FORMING A NEW JAPANESE ARMY**

New China News Agency reports that General MacArthur's headquarters has recently set up an organisation which is secretly recruiting and arming a new Japanese army under cover of organising a police force.

According to the report, MacArthur's headquarters is planning to form mixed brigades consisting of one American battalion and five Japanese battalions.

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In an open letter to Tientsin newspapers, 437 professors and lecturers of Peiping University protested against the U.S. policy in Japan.

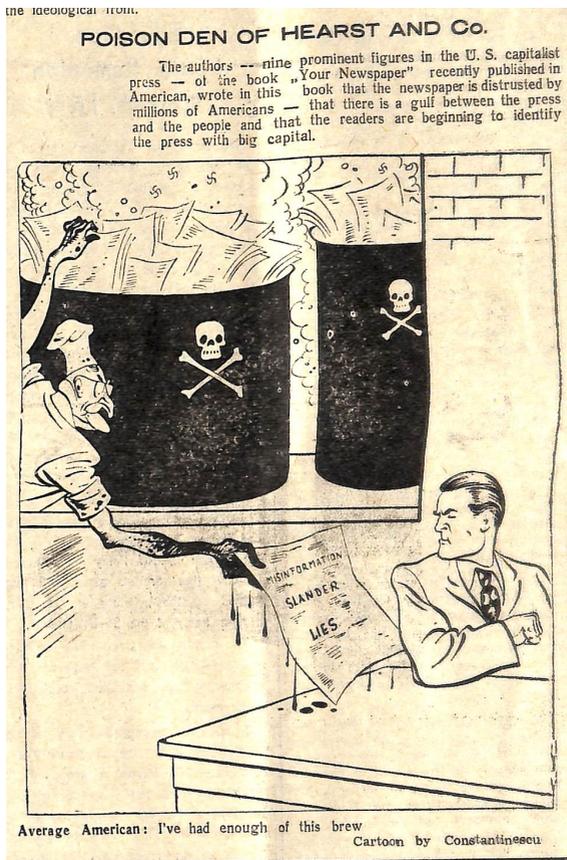
The letter points out that the U.S. Government is reviving militarism in Japan by allowing that country to expand her police forces to 300.000.

Twenty-eight destroyers and submarines are being returned to Japan and her total of naval vessels is being increased to 136. Naval bases at Sasebo, Yokosuka and Kure are being reequipped with American material. Japan is being allowed to retain her airfields and 45 aircraft factories.

The letter concludes: "The U.S. Government is fostering Japanese militarism under the pretext of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism".

## **POISON DEN OF HEARST AND CO.**

The authors—nine prominent figures in the U.S. capitalist press—of the book “Young Newspaper” recently published in American, wrote in this book that the newspaper is distributed by millions of Americans—that there is a gulf between the press and the people and that the readers are beginning to identify the press with big capital.



## POLITICAL NOTES

### The Situation In Berlin

The United States and its Anglo-French satellites, carrying out their policy of dismembering Germany are turning the western part of the country into a hotbed of fascist militarism.

They are not restricting their activities to the Western zones. They are trying to utilise their zones in the German capital as an Eastern outpost to undermine economic life in the Soviet zone.

Everybody knows that Berlin is the centre of the Soviet zone and is a part of this zone. The separate monetary reform in the Western zones threatened to inundate Berlin and the Soviet zone with a mass of cancelled marks.

Naturally, this situation impelled the Soviet Command to take urgent measures to protect the interests of the German people and the economy of the Soviet zone and "Greater Berlin". This is, precisely why the Soviet Command was compelled to introduce a currency reform in its zone; to tighten inter-zonal control, and so on.

In their note of protest which demanded that the Soviet Union should withdraw its restrictive measures in Berlin, the Western Powers, as usual, tried to put the blame for the Berlin situation onto other shoulders and declared that neither "threats", "pressure" nor any other action would compel them to leave Berlin.

The Soviet Government replied to this in the only way possible: "It had no need to resort to a policy of pressure, since by violating the mutual decisions regarding the administration of Berlin, the governments in question have themselves nullified their right to take part in the occupation of Berlin".

The ink had hardly dried on the American note and on the identical notes from Great Britain and France, before the world was subjected to a barrage of hysteria about stock-piles of atom bombs, about flights of Super-Fortresses and jet-engined fighters from the United States to Germany, about announcements that Berlin was on the eve of war, and so on.

Add to this the much publicised "meeting of the generals", and the entire policy of blackmail, threats and intimidation is clear for all to see. This policy lays bare the weakness of the

imperialist camp which is unable to conceal the truth from the people or to justify its splitting and unlawful actions in Germany.

The Soviet Union, faithful to its policy of peace and the interests of the German people, recently allocated the necessary food supplies for the population of "Greater Berlin". This measure upset the game of the Americans who aimed at using the difficult supply situation in Berlin to further their dishonest political gamble.

Even the most obdurate representatives of the imperialist camp are beginning to realise that their venturesome policy, so glaringly demonstrated during the "Berlin crisis", will lead to no good.

U.S. policy in Germany, wrote Walter Lippman recently, a policy which is not wanted by the Germans, the French, the Poles or the Czechs, and certainly not by the Russians, a policy which actually is not wanted by the civilians in the State Department, is not such a masterpiece of State administration that it should be accepted by Europe.

## **Resignation Of The Schuman Government**

On July 19, during the debate on war credits a vote of no confidence was recorded against the Schuman Government and caused its resignation. The reasons for the sudden government crisis should be sought in the home and foreign policy of the “third force” parties.

This policy has undermined the national economy of France, has impoverished the masses and increased enormously the profits of the capitalists; it has caused unemployment, a shortage of raw materials and has led to the closing down of a number of industries. The Schuman Government deliberately encouraged chaos and disorder in the country. In foreign policy it followed meekly in the wake of the American imperialists whose prime object is to unleash an imperialist war. However, Schuman and company were unable to see their disastrous policy through. Faced with the growing indignation of the broad masses they were compelled to resign.

In these conditions the Communist Party of France voicing the demands of the working class and the people as a whole, declared that the way out of the serious situation lay in a fundamental change of policy and in the formation of a democratic government.

The “third force” parties, however, wanted a government that was still more to the Right and more reactionary. And so, together with Catholics, Socialists and Radicals the government is now composed of representatives of the semi-fascist PRL Party, of de Gaulle’s cronies and of “independents” like Reynaud who, in 1940, as everybody knows, sold France to Hitler Germany.

The make-up of the new government can be gathered also

from the fact that it is headed by Andre Mari who, as outgoing Minister of Justice, had acquitted quislings and imprisoned patriots.

A nation-wide protest movement, called forth by the formation of another reactionary government, is now sweeping the country. Socialists and Catholic workers are taking part in this movement alongside the Communists. For example, at the SNECMA works the protest resolution was signed by the representatives of the General Confederation of Labour, the "Force Ouvriere" and the French Confederation of Christian Workers. The workers declared that the formation of a government composed of such notorious "grave-diggers of France" 'as Reynaud and Blum is "a challenge to the working class and the people as a whole".

The new government will facilitate the policy of putting France in bondage to the Americans. This is evident, from the fact that Paul Hoffman, the Marshall Plan European administrator, is insisting that the French Government display "still greater efforts" in Marshallising the country.

The contradictions in the new "broad government coalition" will grow sharper. The resistance of the people will steadily increase. The masses recognise that the salvation of France lies in the struggle for democracy and national independence which can be secured only by a genuine democratic government.

## **Truman's Election Stunt**

The national convention of the third party, held in Philadelphia on July 23, put Wallace forward as candidate for the Presidency and approved the election programme. This programme, which expresses the aspirations of the broad masses of the American people, condemns the "Truman

Doctrine” and the “Marshall Plan”. It demands that talks be held with the Soviet Union to discuss all outstanding questions in a spirit of goodwill, to find a basis for agreement and to win the peace. The programme sharply criticised the Democratic and Republican parties for their subordination to the dictatorship of the monopolies and for preparing war under the pretext of defending peace.

Wallace’s successful appearances at meetings throughout the country, and the support given by broad circles of the American public to the national convention of the party show that notwithstanding the output of the lie factories, and the “priming” of newspaper readers with fantastic anti-Soviet sensations, Wall Street’s press is unable to deceive the American people.

Imperialist reaction is now resorting to demagoguery and terror to suppress the growing democratic movement in the country. An example of this demagoguery was Truman’s sudden decision to summon a special session of Congress in order to force its Republican majority to enact a number of reforms promised the electorate in the Republican Party’s election platform. Even such a staunch champion of the “Truman Doctrine” as Senator Van-denberg, described this decision as the last sigh of a government that is living its last days, and doubted whether anything good would come of the session.

The recent arrest of the leaders of American Communist Party testifies to the growing terror and police provocation. By attacking the Communist Party leadership and indulging in an orgy of slander and insinuation, the Truman Government hopes to fan the anti-Communist hysteria and war psychosis in an attempt to intimidate those honest Americans who support the democratic programme of Wallace’s third party.

**Jan Marek**

## **Terror Against The Democratic Movement In Malaya**

For weeks past Malaya has been in the grip of strikes and actions against the planters. Alarmed at the sweep of the movement, the British exploiters appealed to the British House of Commons for action. The Labour Government of Mr. Attlee willingly obliged—with the result that the most ferocious measures are now being employed against the Malay people.

Posing the question, why has Malaya been turned into a police state, the London journal, *World News and Views* answers: “First, to establish Malaya as a base for launching attacks against the growing forces of democracy in Asia and the Far East. Secondly, because as a result of changes brought about during and after the war, America has smashed Britain’s monopoly of both tin and rubber, the prices of which are deliberately kept low by American pressure. For the rubber and tin kings, therefore, the only way to hold their heads above water is at the expense of the Malayan people. The tighter British imperialism is squeezed by American imperialism, the tighter British imperialism squeezes the Malayan people”.

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