

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

For a Lasting Peace, for a Peoples Democracy!

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THE COMMUNIST PARTIES—THE VANGUARD DETACHMENT OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

The Communist and Workers' Parties are in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist movement for peace and democracy. They are carrying out their historic role as the forward units of the working class and are rallying around them all progressive elements, by organising the working people for the struggle against imperialism.

This enormous growth in the influence of the Communist Parties is reflected primarily in their ideological and organisational consolidation, in their numerical growth. This is particularly true of the Communist Parties in Eastern and Southeastern Europe, in France, Italy and China. The Communist and Workers' Parties in the new democracies have not only become mass parties, uniting millions of progressive people, they have become influential government parties, and are successfully guiding the people in solving the economic and political tasks facing them, in extending and consolidating the positions of socialism.

An important event in the development of the labour

movement has been the fusion of the workers' parties in Rumania and Hungary and the creation of the necessary conditions for fusion in Poland and Czechoslovakia. This strengthening of the organisational unity of the working class on the basis of Marxism-Leninism promotes the rapid development of these countries along the path of socialism.

The Communist Parties of France and Italy have registered notable successes in rallying the people against imperialism. Notwithstanding the open interference of the American expansionists in the affairs of these countries, notwithstanding the terror and blackmail used by internal imperialist reaction, shielded by the Right Socialists, the Communist Parties of France and Italy were able to rally the leading forces of the working people in the struggle for the vital interests of the people, were able to extend and strengthen their influence among the masses,

There are few who doubt today that the new democracies have scored major successes and that the forces of democracy and socialism have grown in all countries. Even our enemies acknowledge this. However, Communists are not people who rest on their laurels. It is all the more important to bear this in mind because during the transition from capitalism to socialism, the class struggle far from dying down, grows sharper. Any conceit or cocksureness arising from success results in a blunting of vigilance on the part of Party members and has a demobilising effect on them.

Lenin wrote that all revolutionary parties that had perished up to now perished because of their conceit, because they failed to see wherein lay their strength and were afraid to speak of their weaknesses. This statement by Lenin is particularly important today when the Communist Parties, in the new democracies, on the basis of their achievements, are reorganising society. These new tasks, brought forward by the course of historical development, demand of the Communist Parties, and above all of their leaders, still greater effort and ability to estimate the strong and weak aspects of their work.

The cardinal, social-economic and political tasks confronting the new democracies, and in the capitalist countries the mobilisation of all forces in the struggle for national independence and the rights of the working people, cannot be realised without first strengthening the political work of the Parties, without consolidating them organisationally and ideologically from day to day, without maintaining close bonds with the masses.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the strength of the Party lies in its daily contact, with the masses, in its ability to organise and lead the working people. To Marxist-Leninists the Party has never been an end in itself, nor a narrow caste organisation. It has always been a dynamic organism composed of the finest representatives of the working people, who take an active part in the work of the Party, who unite and guide the masses toward one goal—toward the struggle for socialism. This contact with the masses is made possible because both Party branches and individual Party members honestly and frankly speak to the masses in the name of the Party, propagate its ideas and by their day to day example win over the non-Party masses.

There can be no question of contact with the masses where Party organisations and individual Party members are isolated from the non-Party masses, hiding from them so that they do not even know whether there are Party members or a Party organisation in a factory or village. The Party must keep its ear close to the masses, must study the struggle of the masses and thereby check how correct is its own policy. It must not only teach, but also learn from the masses.

Anyone who thinks that the Party and Communists do not need to know the mood of the masses, anyone who hopes to accomplish tasks without taking that sentiment into account will inevitably lose their confidence. Consequently it is the duty of the Party and of its membership daily to win the confidence and support of the masses, to help them on the basis of their experience to recognise the correctness of the Party's

policy.

As the highest form of class organisation of the working people the Marxist party stands above all other organisations, even above the People's Front. It is higher not only because the Party is composed of the best representatives of the working people, but also because it has a specific programme and policy on the basis of which it guides other mass organisations. Any violation of this Marxist principle means that the leading role of the Party is minimised as an important weapon in the hands of the working class, and tending to blunt this weapon, carries with it serious consequences.

Since the People's Front has become a mass organisation of the working people in a number of countries it would be dangerous on these grounds to identify the Party with the People's Front or to place the Party in a subordinate position to the People's Front. This would inevitably lead to the Party ceasing to be the vanguard and leading force of the working people.

Criticism and self-criticism are important conditions for strengthening and developing the Communist and Workers' Parties. As Comrade Stalin teaches us, Party and working class cadres cannot be educated in the proper spirit of revolutionary development without criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism promote vigilance, focus attention on shortcomings and help to overcome them, and make it easier for the working class and the people as a whole to advance leading political figures from their ranks. Criticism should be frank and honest and not veiled and hypocritical.

Criticism and self-criticism affect all, regardless of the individual—such is the law of development of the Marxist parties. Criticism and self-criticism are the driving force in the development of Marxist parties. Criticism and self-criticism are a sign of the strength and not of the weakness of the party, and are an important means of strengthening the Party. Stalin wrote that a party which conceals the truth from the people, which fears the light of day and criticism is not a party but a clique of imposters doomed to disaster. Only the bourgeois parties hide

the truth from the people and cover up their shortcomings with a fine front of wellbeing. The genuine revolutionary parties, on the other hand, are not afraid to tell the people the truth about their shortcomings and mistakes, do not gloss over these shortcomings but draw attention to them and correct them.

Lenin pointed out that the attitude of a political party to its mistakes is the best criterion of how serious the party is in carrying out in **practice** its obligations to its **class** and to the working **masses**. Frankly to admit mistakes, to reveal the reasons for them, to analyse the situation which gave rise to the given mistakes, carefully to discuss ways and means of rectifying them, all this, wrote Lenin, is the sign of a serious Party, this means that it is carrying out its obligations, that it is educating the **class** and later the **masses**. This statement of the great Lenin is the law of development of every Marxist Party.

The Communist and Workers' Parties are carrying out their role as the vanguard of the working class not only by their consistent and scientific revolutionary programme and tactics, but also by their organisation.

Organisational forms and rules of inner Party life are determined by the historical conditions in which they work and with the object of ensuring the fulfilment of political tasks.

An example of this is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union where the Lenin-Stalin organisational principles of Party structure are reflected in the Statutes of the Party, which determine the methods of the practical activity of the Party organisation, Party structure and the rules of its internal life.

The vast practical experience of the CPSU(B) determined the fundamental principles of the organisational structure of the Party: strict centralism, conscious discipline, unity of will and action, no factions and groups permitted, individual selection of people joining the Party, guarding the Party against opportunist elements, inner Party democracy which stipulates reports and elections, constant concern to increase the activity of the membership.

These principles constitute the firm foundation of the Party.

They derive from the bitter struggle against the Mensheviks, Trotskyites, Bucharinites and other enemies of the working class who throughout the history of the CPSU(B) frantically tried to undermine and destroy the organisational principles of the Party.

Experience has shown that any violation of the basic organisational principles in building Marxist parties weakens and dilutes them, reduces the Parties from strong independent organisations to puny, sectarian, bureaucratic groups. This danger arises when the leaders forget about Marxist-Leninist organisational principles.

The enormous numerical growth of the Communist Parties, and their growing contact with the masses insistently demand an improvement in the theoretical level of Communists, and above all, of the leading personnel. There can be no correct political guidance of the masses, they cannot be mobilised for the struggle against reaction and for the successful building of socialism without the ideological Marxist-Leninist steeling of the ranks of the Party.

Recognising the need for the political and organisational consolidation of the ranks of the Party, their ideological and political steeling, the need to raise the vanguard role of the Party organisations among the masses the Communist and Workers' Parties, as the forward units of the working people will raise still higher the banner of the Party beneath which they will successfully lead the working masses to new victories in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

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FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

BIG SUCCESSES IN HUNGARY'S NATIONALISED INDUSTRY

The bulk of large-scale Hungarian industry was nationalised so successfully that neither the owners of the enterprises nor their hirelings could break the continuity of production. Ninety per cent of the country's industry is now nationalised.

The output of manufactured goods was increased. In the building materials industry the number of workers in state enterprises soared from 7 to 83%. Output of the woodworking industry increased in April by 20%, and the leather industry by 12%. For that month, the total output of Hungarian industry was valued at 1,370 million forints against 1,266 million in March.

Capital investments in the national economy have also increased. In April 120 million forints of state funds were invested compared with 58 million in August last year. During the first nine months of the Three Year Plan, the total sum of capital investments, including those from the private sector, reached 1,200 million forints which is twice as much as in the previous nine months.

POLISH TARGETS SMASHED

The working people of Poland scored major successes in sending up output in the first quarter of the year. Targets for the oil industry were overfulfilled by 32%, heavy industry and transport by 18%, coal 3% (though the plan itself was increased

over 1947), electrical industry 15%, cement 28%, artificial fertilisers 40%, cellulose 20%.

The peasants have fulfilled the spring sowing plans.

STRIKE MOVEMENT IN ITALY

The Italian employers greeted the electoral “victory” of the Christian-Democrats as a signal for an all-out offensive against the working people.

However, their attack met with firm resistance from workers and peasants who themselves went over to the counter-offensive. There is now no region in the country where there has not been a strike this month.

The strike of the agricultural labourers, was the most significant of the recent strikes in Italy.

Beginning early in May in the Rovigo, Ferrara and Mantua provinces against the same agricultural capitalists who in 1920-21 initiated Mussolini’s fascist regime, the strike spread to all the provinces of North Italy, from Udine to Pavia, until it embraced hundreds of thousands of agricultural labourers.

In Mantua the landowners were forced to retreat. Many individual agreements were concluded with medium landowners. However, the Agrarian Confederation (Confida) urged the landowners to stand firm and requested government mediation. “Confida” is represented in the government by Segni, Christian Democrat Minister of Agriculture and Forestry and by Grassi, Minister of Justice, both of whom are big landowners.

In many places the behaviour of the police is similar to that of the fascist terror gangs of 1920-21; provocations, arrests, beatings and even firing at the strikers are daily occurrences.

In Trenta and Polesine, the police fired on the strikers. De Gasperi and Scelba, are endeavouring to solve the problem by means of unprecedented terror.

After the shootings in Trecenta, the strike spread to the neighbouring provinces of Padua, Venice and Ferrara.

The forces of the working people of Italy, as is seen from these strikes, are more consolidated than ever before.

PEASANT UNREST IN CENTRAL INDIA

The peasants of Telengana (a district nearly as large as Denmark in the great semi-feudal State of Hyderabad which is independent of Hindustan and Pakistan, but under British control), have liberated 15,000 square miles, with over 2,000 villages and five million inhabitants, from the yoke of the Nizam, and landlords.

People's Committees in every village have redistributed the land and thrown out the landlords. They have abolished all levies and taxes and have distributed vast quantities of grain hidden and hoarded by the landlords.

The Committees are even starting schools.

Anyone who acts against the Community or the democratic rule of the Committees is tried by a People's Court.

In a desperate attempt to stop the spread of this democratic peasant movement in his State, and to save his tottering, corrupt regime, the Nizam has stepped up his campaign of brutal fascist terror.

The people of Telengana have widespread support throughout all India. In Bombay, for instance, 15,000 textile workers struck work on Hyderabad Day at the end of last April.

THE STRUGGLE FOR HIGHER WAGES

The working people of France are wresting concessions from the employers.

After a strike lasting a few days the foundry workers at the Longwy iron and steel works won a wage increase ranging

from 1,000 to 3,000 francs. The 15-day strike at the Peugeot works in Bourguignon resulted in a wage increase of 15-17 per cent retrospective from March 1, 1948.

The workers of the Alfa-Laval factory in Nevers won a 5 per cent increase and their main demand for a revision of wage rates. Railway workers staged a number of brief strikes demanding the reinstatement of the workers victimised for their part in last year's strike.

Four thousand agricultural workers in the Eastern Pyrenees district struck work for higher wages. After a 15-day strike, a district agreement was signed which satisfied the principal demands of the workers.

FASCIST TERROR IN GREECE

For eight long and hard years the people of Greece have been heroically fighting for life, freedom and independence.

At the end of 1944 the Greek national liberation movement led by the Communist Party cleared the Hitler invaders out of the country.

The successful offensive of the Soviet Army in South East Europe and in the Balkans and the activities of ELAS inside Greece compelled the Germans to beat a hasty retreat.

Having occupied Greece, the British and American imperialists forced a monarcho-fascist regime on the country and plunged the Greek people into a long civil war.

As admitted by the Americans themselves, most of the so-called U.S. aid to Greece was used to fight the Democratic Army. American imperialism ousting its weakened junior partner, British imperialism, has deprived Greece of political and economic independence. According to the Greek-American agreement of June 20, 1947, not a single economic or political step can be taken by the Athens government without the knowledge and consent of the American mission.

While Greek people are bleeding in the struggle against the monarcho-fascist bands, American businessmen, helped by the reign of terror, are going about their disgusting business of enslaving the country. For example, the American firm of Mays got a 50-year concession for lead mines in Thrace.

Despite the abundant aid which flows in increasing quantities from the U.S. to them in the form of money, arms and equipment, the monarcho-fascists are completely unable to crush the heroic struggle of the Democratic Army of Free Greece. It is quite clear that without such aid, the monarcho-fascist clique in Greece would have been smashed by the Greek people long ago. In their impotent fury the traitors of the Greek people are resorting to unprecedented terror.

Since the end of 1944, the monarcho-fascists have been murdering Greek democrats, particularly anti-fascist ELAS fighters.

The concentration camps and prisons are overcrowded. According to figures given by the Free Greece radio, since June 1946 the monarcho-fascists have shot 1,600 patriots, sentenced by special military courts. Over the same period state bodies and various monarcho-fascist organisations supported by the government brutally murdered over 10,000 people—men, women and children. There were mass murders in the prisons.

Today some 25,000 democratic citizens are in prison. Forty-five thousand more are in concentration camps. On one tiny exile island alone there are 18,000 democrats.

Such slaughter of men, women and children, such terror against people fighting for their freedom, has not been known since the wartime atrocities of Hitler.

The ferocity of the former Hitler hirelings who, at the instigation of the American and British imperialists are strangling the militant people of Greece, has caused a wave of indignation and protest all over the world.

Millions of working people, progressive organisations and public figures are demanding a stop to this criminal terror and the release of patriots in concentration camps. The Soviet and

Yugoslav governments have spoken of the indignation and protests of their peoples at the unsurpassed brutalities committed against the Greek patriots who shed their blood to drive out the German fascists. They notified, the Greek Government that they shared the sentiments of public opinion in their countries and hoped for an immediate cessation of the executions.

But the terror in Greece continues. Prime Minister Sophoulis defiantly, said that “no matter what happens, the government will not change its view regard to the civil war.” There is no doubt that the “boldness” of the quisling monarcho-fascist government is based on the protection of the American and British imperialists and on the fact that the terror against the Greek people is carried out on their directives.

And indeed, the American gauleiter in Greece, Griswold, openly supported the murders and stated that it did not contradict the American conception of democracy. Greece has once again laid bare before the whole world the true meaning of American “democracy” which fosters the mass killing of those who fight for freedom and independence.

In his speech at the Scarborough Labour Party Conference, Bevin defended his foreign policy and rejected any changes in the policy of the British Government in respect of Greece.

The terror in Greece has shown to everybody that in order to create bases from which a new world war could be unleashed, the American imperialists are ready to dye with blood the soil of any freedom-loving people. But the great wave of indignation and protests, the expressions of sympathy which the free world gives the Greek people in their struggle in which they are inspired by the Communist Party are absolute proof that the forces of democracy are growing and strengthening.

M. Gorshich

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA—VICTORY FOR UNITED PEOPLE

The general election held in Czechoslovakia on May 30 resulted in an overwhelming victory for the National Front.

Defeated in February, reaction feared to come out in the open with its anti-people's and anti-state programme, and did not contest the election. Its only hope lay in the white ballot papers available for electors opposed to the candidates on the joint lists.

On the eve of the poll the streets of Prague and other cities were thronged with people in what was a striking demonstration of national unity.

Preliminary results in 152 of the 163 constituencies in Czechia and Moravia show that 4,343,787 people went to the polls, of whom 3,882,546 or 89.08 percent voted for the joint list of

candidates. In 65 of the 81 constituencies in Slovakia 1,262,838 went to the polls of whom 1,086,231, or 86.02 percent, voted for the joint lists.

The election took place in a free and democratic atmosphere and amid great enthusiasm.

In Prague after the election many thousands of people gathered on the Palace square and streets adjoining the Party Headquarters. The people greeted the election results with enthusiastic applause and cries of approval.

This National Front success is a smashing victory for the entire democratic, anti-imperialist camp.

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STRUGGLE OF THE FRENCH WORKING CLASS FOR ITS DEMANDS. Rene Arrachar, General Secretary of the French Federation of Building Workers

The struggle of the French working class for its demands has been gaining in intensity since the big strike movement at the end of last year. The main demands of the strike were a subsistence wage rate and the automatic revision of wages whenever prices went up 10 per cent. While awaiting a general settlement the General Confederation of Labour demanded a preliminary 25 per cent wage increase.

Starting in Marseilles the strike movement involving more than 3 million workers swept the country. Displaying a high degree of class consciousness and magnificent courage the strikers, regardless of their poverty resisted the combined forces of the

big capitalists and the Government, the terror of Jules Moch's police and the treacherous manoeuvres of the splitters in the "Force Ouvriere" group, which was supported and guided by the Right Socialists.

On December 10, in response to the call of the majority of the CGT Bureau and the National Strike Committee, the strikers returned to work. It was necessary to ensure that the blow directed against the strike did not weaken the front or split the workers. It was also necessary, as stated in the CGT call, to **"regroup and unite forces for the difficult battles that lay ahead."** This call was heard and correctly estimated. The workers were not defeated and did not lose heart.

On the contrary they achieved big results. Whereas at the beginning of the strike the Government flatly refused to make any concessions it was forced later to agree to a cost of living benefit of 1,500 francs, to introduce a minimum wage of 10,500 francs (starting with December 1), to a 22 per cent increase in family allowances, to regulating the wage scale and to maintaining the existing relations between wages and prices up to June 1, 1948. As from June 1 the general problem of wages, prices, production and capitalist profits was to be revised.

Thus the November-December strike did not end in a defeat for the working class, as was claimed by its enemies. There were positive results the most favourable of which was the general 25 per cent wage increase.

However, the main demand—the automatic revision of wages whenever prices went up by 10 per cent—was not met. The struggle for the realisation of this demand is today the principal weapon which prevents the reactionary rulers from continually boosting prices for the sole profit of the big capitalists.

Increased prices for manufactured goods which Started last December caused price rises of foodstuffs and other essentials. For instance, prices of certain goods, went up 160 per cent compared with December 1, 1947.

That is why the CGT again raised the question of wages at the

beginning of February. Reminding the Government of the obligations it had undertaken the CGT delegation in the Economic Council demanded either an immediate 10 per cent cut in prices or a 20 per cent wage increase.

The Economic Council was forced to recognise that the CGT's case was well founded, and its own committee of experts confirmed the fact that the cost of living had gone up 20 per cent between December 1 and February 8. But the Government, the big capitalists, landowners and their mercenaries—the leaders of the Christian trade unions and the “Force Ouvriere” splitters—staged a new comedy. The splitter Jouhaux, who is in the service of the American monopolies began to preach the workers a sermon on the need for renouncing wage claims and waiting for a drop, in prices—a drop which was announced each morning but was refuted each day by the facts.

Denouncing this trickery the CGT is insisting on its demands.

The working class of France has time and again given proof of its political maturity. The offensive of the Government against democratic liberties, social gains and nationalisation, their betrayal of the national interest in favour of American monopolies, the growing insolence of the de Gaulle and Vichy men—all this was more than enough to make the French workers realise that they must smash the plots of the splitters, consolidate the ranks of the CGT and resist the schemes of the Government and capitalists who are striving to force living standards still lower. The French trade union movement is confident, more than ever before, of its strength and its future.

June 1, the date fixed in December 1947 by the Government itself is here. The problem of wages, prices and profits is absolutely clear to the workers.

1. The cost of living has gone up on the average more than 20 per cent since. December 1, 1947. Moreover, there is every

indication that prices will continue to rise on manufactured goods and essential agricultural products.

2. As a result of high prices, capitalist profits increased by more than 200 billion francs in the first quarter of 1948.

3. Nothing has come of the promised cut in prices, despite assertions by the Government and its hirelings.

These facts determine the demands put forward by the CGT and supported by the French Communist Party.

At its meeting on May 19 the CGT Bureau decided to present the following demands to the Minister of Labour the Socialist Daniel Mayer:

1. to restore the balance between wages and prices by increasing real wages, pensions and benefits by 20 per cent, taking the minimum wage rate at 12,900 francs;

2. to preserve the purchasing power of wages by automatic revisions each time prices go up by 10 per cent.

These demands are vigorously supported by the workers, as witnessed by the big strike movement now taking place. They are undermining the small number of organisations formed by the splitter Jouhaux and are weakening the position of the French Confederation of Christian Workers. This Confederation was forced to turn to the CGT with a proposal to organise joint activity to increase the purchasing power of the workers—another sign of the growing militancy of the working class.

The monster May Day demonstrations displayed the confidence of the workers in their strength and organisation. The strength of the CGT lies in its influence among the workers and its determination to defend the interests of the working class.

While defending the purchasing power of the workers the CGT is also waging a struggle against the reactionary plans of the imperialist camp. It is taking a stand on all current matters and is heading the struggle of the working class in defence of the national interests of France. It remains master of its decisions, clearly sees the aims and manoeuvres of the enemy which must

be denounced.

The French workers know that the defence of their daily bread is closely bound up with defence of national independence. Numerous strikes are taking place in different industries. The majority of these strikes end in victory, in wage increases which take different forms, as, for instance, bonuses. However, the problem of a general wage increase and defence of French industry against the encroachments of the American monopolists remains the problem of the day.

All this confirms the correctness of the line mapped out by the Executive Committee of the French Communist Party at recent meetings and particularly at the April meeting of the Executive. The Communist Party is concentrating on the 17-point programme in defence of national sovereignty, which supports the demands of the CGT.

It is clear, however, that this is a programme which can be realised only by a **“government of democratic unity, in which the working class and its Communist Party will play the dominant role.”** Consequently, the struggle for wages is part of the common struggle of the French working class against the reactionary and predatory policy of the French bourgeoisie, its ruling circles and its allies—the Jouhauxs and Blums. Sure of its strength the working class looks with confidence to the future, to the victory which it will achieve in the struggle for bread, freedom and peace.

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EX-KING MICHAEL DEPRIVED OF RUMANIAN CITIZENSHIP

According to a communique issued recently by the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of Rumania, the former royal family owned the following property: 15,190 hectares of arable land; 136,990 hectares of forest land; 29 castles with 1,081 rooms; 114 mansions with 1,979 rooms; 16 hunting lodges and villas with 88 rooms; 3,991,502 shares in key industries and banks and also numerous treasures, yachts, valuable paintings and other property.

By decree of the Council of Ministers the property of ex-king Michael and the members of the former royal family now belongs to the state. Taking into consideration the fact that contrary to the duty of a citizen, Michael Hohenzollern, together with members of his family, is continuing activities hostile to the interests of the people of Rumania and the people's Republic, the Council of Ministers has deprived of Rumanian citizenship Michael Hohenzollern, his mother Helen, Elizabeth Hohenzollern, Ylhana Habsburg and Nicholas Hohenzollern.

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US NATIONAL GUARD USED FOR STRIKE BREAKING

In South St. Paul, Minnesota, 2,500 members of the National Guard attacked 1,000 packing-house strikers affiliated to the Congress of Industrial Organisations.

The national guardsmen rushed at the pickets with fixed bayonets in order to let strikebreakers into the Swift Company packing plant.

The National Guard was also used against strikers at other packing plants.

The South St. Paul pickets ignored an order to break-up, shouted by Guard officers from an armoured car. After this Guardsmen advanced on the pickets with bayonets at the ready. A deputation of 250 trade union members called on the Governor of Minnesota to protest against the use of the National Guard for strikebreaking. The Governor rejected their protest and condemned the strikers for creating “anarchy” which, he said, could not be tolerated by any self-respecting Governor.

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PRESS REVIEW

RIGHT SOCIALISTS UNDERMINE TRADE UNION UNITY IN AUSTRIA

The May issue “Weg und Ziel.” organ of the Communist Party of Austria, carries an article by Member of Parliament Honner, entitled, “The Trade Union Federation of Austria on a Dangerous Path.”

Honner reminds readers that in 1945 Austrian workers wholeheartedly welcomed the new Trade Union Federation as a united organisation that would safeguard the interests of factory and office workers. However, today, because of the policy of the majority of its leaders, the Federation has been turned into a tool of the Right-wing of the Socialist and People’s Parties.

Lately this majority, instead of combating reaction, have launched a violent attack on Communists in the Federation.

Collaboration between members of the Socialist and People’s Parties resulted in many capable and energetic trade union functionaries being hounded from their posts only because they were Communists and consistently fought for the workers’ interests.

Honner emphasises that anti-Communism, inculcated in the trade union movement by the Right Socialists on the orders of their American masters, threatens to split the movement. He gives the bitter example of France.

The author calls for democratisation of the unions to strengthen their unity. At present the Austrian trade union leadership is taking demons behind the backs of the rank and file.

COMMUNIST PARTY IN BIZONIA DEMANDS FREE TRADE

The Communist Party in North Western Germany is demanding free trade for Germany at reasonable prices.

In a statement published in its organ "Hamburger Volkszeitung" the Communist Party suggests that Germany should be allowed to import regular supplies of fish from Norway, fats from Sweden, vegetables from Holland and bacon from Denmark. The East European countries could give food and other supplies in exchange for German industrial goods. "Germany needs free export," says the statement. "This is the way to a better life."

FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN RUMANIAN- HUNGARIAN PEASANTS

The Rumanian press has widely commented on the centenary of the great peasant demonstration near Blai. On May 15, 1848, in the valley where Blaj lies afterwards called "Freedom Valley", 40,000 Rumanian and Hungarian peasants met together to demand their liberation from the yoke of the Austro-Hungarian Hapsburg monarchy and the incorporation of Transylvania into Rumania. They pledged themselves to fight for the freedom and equality of all nationalities living in Transylvania and for the abolition of feudal exploitation.

"A century had to pass," writes "**Scantia**", organ of the Rumanian Communist Party, "before the hopes of the Rumanian and Hungarian peasants of Transylvania came true, thanks to the struggle of the working class and the victory of the Soviet Army.

"Today the Hungarian and Rumanian peasants in Transylvania own their land on an equal basis, enjoy the fruits of their labour and live peaceably under conditions of complete liberty."

The newspaper "**Frontul Plugarilor**", organ of the

Ploughman's Front, writes, "In the People's Republic of Rumania, the Rumanian and Hungarian peoples live as brothers in harmony. In close alliance with the working class, the Rumanian and Hungarian peasantry is fighting for the country's reconstruction and in defence of peace and independence from the imperialists and instigators of a new war."

"The ideals of the Rumanian and Hungarian peoples in Transylvania," writes "**Natiunea**", have been realised only now when the democratic forces, headed by the working class, crushed the power of the bourgeois landlords and by this enabled all nationalities in Rumania to live together in friendship."

INDUSTRIAL WORK OF FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

The May issue of "Cahiers du Communisme" carried an article by the Secretary of the Communist Party of France, Leon Mauvais on the Party's industrial activity.

Comrade Leon Mauvais points out that mass party work has improved not only in such industrial departments as the Seine, Pas de Calai-Bouche du Rhone, Nord, Meurthe-et-Mozelle but also in other departments where the concentration of industry, and the industrial potential are comparatively small, as for example in Haute-Vienne and Var.

In certain branches of industry in successful struggle for increased wages is accompanied by considerable recruitment to the CGT.

Factory Party branches have also strengthened. The recruitment of workers into the Party has increased and great attention is devoted to the publication of newspapers at factories.

Leon Mauvais gives the example of the Pas de Calais district of the Party. The reorganisation of Party work on the basis of setting up branches in different coal pits made it possible for

the miners to carry out successful strikes at the end of last year; later, at the pit elections, the CGT won an absolute majority. At the same time in certain district, for example in the Drome department, the members do not devote sufficient attention to setting up factory branches. In places where the Party's industrial work has weakened, membership has also decreased. Comrade Mauvais calls upon Party organisations to analyse frankly at meetings, in newspapers and bulleting the positive and negative examples and to draw the rank and file into discussing these examples.

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THE WORKING PEOPLE OF ITALY REPEL REACTION. Giuliano Pajetta, Member of the CC of the Communist of Italy

The election “victory” won by de Gasperi's party was made possible by the interference of American imperialism, the Vatican and big capitalists and landlords in Italy. These three forces are pursuing one and the same aim—the economic,

political and military subordination of Italy to American imperialism, the elimination of democratic liberties, abolition of secular education and culture, the transformation of the country into a clerical state, the prevention of structural reforms and an offensive against the standard of living.

The crusade against peace, against the independence, freedom and rights of the Italian people is being launched precisely along these closely interrelated lines.

Having secured a Parliamentary majority for the Christian Democrat Party, Italian and foreign reaction are now in a hurry to present the bill to de Gasperi and his colleagues. Their haste betrays the alarm and weakness of the reactionary forces. Here it would not be amiss to remind falterers such as Romita, who today prattle about the general offensive of world imperialism and the “ebb”, the alleged retreat of the democratic forces throughout the world, that military history and the experience of the class struggle are rich in examples of offensives which launched in sheer desperation, were consequently doomed to failure.

While the elementary rules of tactics consist of a rapid consolidation of the ground gained, the haste displayed by de Gasperi—Scelba and Co. is conditioned by the simple fact that their masters are fully aware of the steady deterioration of the positions of international imperialism. They take an altogether realistic view of their “victory” on April 18, when more than 8 million Italians, that is, the overwhelming majority of the industrial and politically alert elements of the population, joined forces in the front line of the struggle.

It is now possible to outline briefly the methods which the Christian Democratic Government will apply and the policy which the de Gasperi party will pursue.

The entire State apparatus, and the police in particular have been turned into a weapon of the class struggle in the hands of the Christian Democrat Party. The nature of the party militia, which is how Scelba described this particular force at the time of the election, is becoming increasingly clear; the police are

being used in all social conflicts as, for instance, during the recent lockouts at the Ducati and Falk plants and during the strike of agricultural labourers.

Apart from direct intimidation of the working people the use of armed forces has yet another aim—to foster an anti-labour and especially anti-Communist sentiment in the police force and army and to class all who are battling for wages and bread as “rioters” in the eyes of the millions of small proprietors.

These measures are connected with the efforts of the Christian Democrats to prolong the panic which they succeeded in whipping up during the election campaign and which won for the Church and Scelba millions of people who feared to lose their bread, peace, blood and even... their souls in the event.. of victory for the Popular Democratic Front. Hence the “search” for stores of arms and “black lists” allegedly prepared by the Communists on the eve of the election, the “raids” on gun-powder works and so on. The very crudeness of these incidents betrays their real authors across the ocean who seem to be under the impression that they can reproduce in Italy what their lackeys Videla and Dutra engineered in Chile and Brazil.

Not relying, however, on the might of the mailed fist, directed against the working people, or on the fears which animate the middle classes, the Christian Democrats are resorting to social demagogy. The gentlemen who during the election campaign never once uttered a single word, or advanced a single slogan in favour of constructive reforms, are now talking about agrarian reform, about the need for “improving” trade union work, etc. Having taken the path of clerical-fascism they cannot avoid the corporative demagogy of fascism, which they are now presenting in revised form to the Italian people.

But neither the demagogic declarations of de Gasperi on the day after the election, the bombastic resolutions of the National Council of the Christian Democrat Party, nor the hypocritical speeches of their representatives in the trade unions, are as significant as the cynical programme of action formulated by Scelba at a meeting of party functionaries held in Rome at the

end of April. The avowed aim of monopolising the economic, political, social and cultural life, which was expressed in this programme, evoked the indignation of Italian public opinion and caused confusion even among the Saragat group.

The de Gasperi party is opposed by the united and active forces of the Popular Democratic Front. That is why the arbitrary measures taken during the past month by the victory-intoxicated Christian Democratic Government, have not brought it success nor added strength. In foreign policy neither brazen nationalism nor the naked hostility towards the USSR and the new democracies yielded the desired results. Despite the lavish promises made on the eve of the election, the American and British imperialists acted with extreme caution in the matter of a unilateral revision of the Trieste problem and the Peace Treaty as a whole.

With the time drawing near for the practical application of the "Marshall Plan" more and more difficulties are cropping up, while its supporters are becoming increasingly nervous and anxious. Articles in the organ of the big capitalists "Corriere della Sera" reflect the apprehension felt at the consequence of the "Marshall Plan", particularly the financial aspect which is directly affected by the so-called Lira Fund (made up of the sales of American goods in Italy). Count Sforza's serenading of Wall Street and Truman's telegrams can no longer allay the fears of those who dreamed of speculating with American grain, coal and cotton but who now see that American businessmen will gather the fruits.

The victory of the Popular Front, which wrested 31 Greek patriots from the Athens' executioners, made it clear to the masters of Tsaldaris and de Gasperi that there are forces in Italy which have got to be reckoned with. The ignominious defeat of Count Sforza—the de Gasperi candidate for the post of president—shows that not only the Popular Front but also many representatives of other parties, including the Christian Democrat Party, are opposed to the foreign policy of the Italian Government. The fiasco of the Truman—Marshall demagogic

manoeuvre in relation to the Soviet Union has had a sobering effect on Italian political life and on those sections of the Italian people which the Church and the Saragat group succeeded temporarily in stunning with anti-Soviet propaganda.

During the election of President of the Republic and the Chairmen of the two Houses, the formation of the new Cabinet and the formulation of the Government's programme, it became clear that the Popular Front, far from weakening as reaction had hoped, had retained the initiative and was gathering support and sympathy even in the difficult parliamentary struggle.

Depicting themselves as supporters of the "American conception" of democracy the Christian Democrats are parrot-like repeating their overseas mentors not only in words but also in deeds: a free hand for capitalists and landlords, persecution of political and trade union workers, encouragement of all fascist forces—such are the measures which the Christian Democratic Party is now carrying out after the election.

Facts show that the Christian Democrats are not able to put these slogans into practice with any ease.

The general strike in Turin is evidence that the workers will not stand for attacks on the Communist and Socialist Party organisations. The ban on celebrations of April 25- the third anniversary of Italy's liberation — merely contributed to turning May Day in Italy into a nation-wide demonstration of the militant forces of the working people.

By giving the capitalists and landlords a free hand and by turning the police force into their personal guard the Government has actually helped to increase the number of strikes and to bring workers who voted for the Christian Democrats or the Saragat group closer to their fellows in the Popular Front.

Scelba has openly spoken of the need to "draw the trade union movement into the new regime", while the Christian Democratic secretary of the Confederation of Labour, Pastore,

stressed the need for state trusteeship of the trade unions, starting with Government and police control of the factory committees and other union activity.

The splitters intensified their campaign during the May Day celebrations and put forward a slogan for holding trade union elections ahead of schedule. Despite these manoeuvres of the Christian Democrat Party and the Saragat group, manoeuvres which have Government encouragement, the offensive on trade union organisations and on unity was a failure.

The measures taken by the Christian Democratic Government in the sphere of culture and education have convinced many Italian intellectuals of the danger now threatening culture in Italy. Such actions as the removal of the famous painter Carpi from his post as director of the Brera Academy just because he is a Communist, or the ban placed on d' Annunzio's drama at the instructions of the Catholic Church, evoked such protests that the de Gasperi ministers had either to justify themselves or retreat.

The election victory of the Christian Democrats has not caused the struggle to relax. On the contrary as noted in the decision of the, May meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party, this victory will "inevitably aggravate still further the class and political contradictions inside the country as the struggle grows sharper in the international arena between the imperialist groups of war provocateurs and the peoples who are defending their independence and peace."

The resistance encountered by the Christian Democrats and their foreign patrons in their attempt to impose a clerical-fascist dictatorship of the Dolfuss or Salazar type on the Italian people, will not stop them from carrying out their plans.

With the State and Church machine in their hands, manoeuvring with the help of their Saragat agents, the reactionaries will leave no stone unturned to divide the Italian people, to isolate their vanguard and to consolidate the power of the monopoly groups.

To smash these forces the people must launch a more powerful

and united counter offensive.

“The widespread struggle in defence of peace, freedom and the well-being of Italy, for the economic and political recovery of the country, will be effective only if this struggle is waged by the masses united in the Popular Democratic Front and is not carried on separately by different democratic forces and parties. The Front has by no means exhausted its functions in the election struggle and it must continue its activities in order to extend its organisational contacts to all spheres and to strengthen its unity, drawing in new groups of citizens whose interests and rights need to be protected against clerical arbitrariness and capitalist exploitation.” (From the decision of the May meeting of the EC of the Italian Communist Party.)

(page 2)

THE PARTY—THE VANGUARD. Matias Rakosi, General Secretary, Communist Party of Hungary

Remarkable changes have taken place in the Soviet Union during the past 20 years. As a result of the Stalin Five Year Plan, the number of industrial workers has increased enormously, while their skill and culture are on a much higher level.

The working class is no longer the proletariat in the former sense; it is no longer an exploited class.

Among the peasantry, too, profound changes have taken place. By means of collective farms they have liberated themselves from the oppression of money-lenders, kulaks and speculators. A new intelligentsia, an intelligentsia that serves the people, has grown up.

In 1936 Comrade Stalin said that in the Soviet Union the border line between the working class and the peasantry, like the demarcation line between these classes and the intelligentsia, was being obliterated and 'the old class distinctions were disappearing.

In accordance with the fundamental social changes in the country and the corresponding changes made in the Constitution of the USSR, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is known as the "vanguard unit of the working people". The vanguard of the working class has become the vanguard of the working people. In figures this means that the 386,000 members, registered in 1923 at the time of the Twelfth Congress of the Party, had grown to 1,600,000 by 1939, when the Eighteenth Congress was held. Since then the membership

has increased at an even more rapid rate.

It would be incorrect, of course, to draw a parallel between the Communist Party of Hungary and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But what can' be said is that in our Party there are relatively — and in absolute figures all the more so — considerably fewer Communists possessing a clear understanding of Marxist-Leninist theory and who could, in all justice, be considered members of the general staff of the working people.

From this it follows that, comparatively speaking, our Party should have considerably fewer members than the CPSU(B). But what is the actual state of affairs? Last autumn Party membership reached 800,000 and, notwithstanding thousands of exclusions in connection with the exchange of membership cards, is now reaching the million mark. In view of the forthcoming fusion of the Communist and Social Democrat Parties, and the mass entry of peasants into the Party. this growth will continue in the united party.

Our Party is not only made up of the vanguard detachment of the working class, but also includes the absolute majority of industrial workers. Such, in all probability, is the situation in most of the new democracies.

How did it come about that our party found itself developing in this way? At first we strove to get the most conscious workers, peasants and progressive intellectuals, who had had some experience of struggle, to join our ranks. To ensure this we accepted members only on the basis of a detailed questionnaire, backed with recommendations by two veteran members of the Party.

However, we quickly realised that by following this procedure, we remained in the minority compared with the Social Democrats and other parties which were competing with us. These workers, peasants and intellectuals who were eager to join the Party became they sympathised with the Soviet Union, the Soviet Army or with the vigorous and selfless activities of our Party, these people, in their overwhelming majority had

never taken part in the labour movement and wanted to master Communist theory as members of our Party. When we did not accept these sympathisers into the Party, disillusioned and hurt they joined the Social Democratic Party which had a united front with us and which did not follow a line of such strict selection.

The result was that the Social Democratic Party grew by leaps and bounds and soon outnumbered us. In the summer of 1945, for instance, it frequently happened in the course of the factory committee elections that Social Democrat comrades, using the arguments that they had double our membership in the factories, insisted on getting two-thirds of the majority. This argument carried weight with the masses not experienced in politics. Moreover, the Right Social Democrats referring to this fact made even more extravagant demands on us. They used this argument in the autumn of 1945 at the time of the General Election when they prevented a common election list being put forward.

The immediate effect of this rivalry was that we opened wide the Party doors, which explains the rapid increase in its membership. We were not happy about this and we recognised the dangers inherent in the influx into our Party as the following excerpt from a speech I made on May 6, 1947, shows:

“The membership of our Party is now about 700,000... Unfortunately, however, the size of this figure is a negative rather than a positive factor. The fact that the Communist Party of Hungary has a total membership of 700,000 cannot be regarded as a healthy phenomenon ... Unquestionably many people have come into our Party—and this is even more true of the Social Party — for whom it would have been much better had they first passed through a definite preparatory school of socialism in the trade unions or in other mass organisations, and had not immediately joined the Party which they can thus directly influence ... Realising the fact that swelling the ranks of the Party is an unhealthy phenomenon, we have rejected the

idea of recruitment to the Party”.

We can raise frankly the matter of our shortcomings because our Party is strong, because it has successfully coped with its political and economic difficulties. It smashed the strongholds of international and domestic reaction rooted in the Smallholders' Party, which formerly had an absolute parliamentary majority and it routed the Right Social Democrats. Our Party is successfully leading the people of Hungary along the path of social, economic and cultural progress.

Comrade Stalin has pointed out how dangerous it is to turn the Party into a scattered, amorphous, disorganised “formation” which loses itself in a sea of “sympathisers” and obliterates the demarcation line between the Party and the class and bypasses the task of the Party to raise the unorganised masses to the level of a vanguard detachment.

We failed to take full account of the danger that a quantitative increase can lead to a deterioration of quality. We were misled by the circumstance that, despite its swollen ranks, our Party was able to carry out its tasks: to create and consolidate the people's democracy.

At the same time however, there were signs that the existence of a vast number of members lacking Communist education was beginning to hamper the Party in carrying out its vanguard role. A number of recent symptoms show that at critical moments some of its members allowed themselves to be influenced by non-class conscious elements and even enemies of democracy.

We have not forgotten the Mishkol incidents when part of the Party membership was influenced by anti-Semitic and even anti-democratic provocateurs. Only six months have passed since the reactionaries and Right Social Democrats provoked a strike at the Czepel—Red Czepel!—works, in which some of our Party members took part. Every time the Communist Party is faced with tasks which at first sight appear unpopular, or meet with the strong resistance of the enemy, part of our

comrades begin to waver. In January, the more backward elements among the workers were dissatisfied with the new norms which called for strict discipline and hard work. Today this discontent is a thing of the past: the norms proved to be the correct thing and were one of the essential factors which contributed to increased production. Three months ago, however, even some of the Party group organisers supported those who wavered.

In 1919, when the Soviet Republic was established in Hungary, Lenin, in his greetings to the Hungarian workers, drew attention not only to the resistance of the capitalists but also to the working people and peasants weighed down by petty-bourgeois habit and tradition who as often as not, are resisting non-consciously. The peasant, as a toiler, continued Lenin, is drawn to socialism ... As a producer of grain he is drawn to the bourgeoisie, to "free trade", back to "custom", to the past, to hoary-old capitalism.

Many of these workers and peasants with petty-bourgeois backgrounds are now in the Communist Party. Even the most conscientious of them bring with them ingrained habits and prejudices. Their re-education is a slow process. In certain sectors, as for instance in the struggle against reaction, as expressed by the Church, our Party is only now getting down to the job.

Chauvinism, too has deep roots. During the nationalisation the workers at one of the Budapest factories—they were not Communists—asked protection for the factory owner who they described as a "benefactor".

It should be noted that careerists of all kinds and enemies are now trying to get into the Party. The alleged obligatory recruitment into the Party which the Communists vigorously censure and reject, refers in part to those few instances when certain careerists who are by no means Communists when asked by their acquaintances why they had joined the Party, squirm and say they had been "forced to do so by their chief". Our enemies are trying to get into the Party in order to cause us

a lot of harm.

There is a growing danger that Party organisation and discipline will grow weaker, that the ideological level will deteriorate as a result of the rapid growth of the Party ranks. Big numbers are not always a sign of great strength. The history of the Hungarian labour movement is most instructive in this respect. In 1919 the Communist Party, which had no more than 20,000 members, united with the Social-Democratic Party (counting several thousand members), which had accepted the Communist programme. The actual result was that the striking force and ability of the united and, consequently, bigger party, were less than was the case with the smaller Communist Party. Fortunately, the relation of forces today is greatly in our favour, but we are not blind to the danger, even in the embryonic phase.

At one time the membership of the CPSU(B) increased rapidly. During the 3½ years that preceded 1933, that is, approximately the same period of time that has elapsed since our liberation, the ranks of the CPSU(B) increased by 600,000. Commenting on this growth Comrade Stalin wrote that the Party could not but feel that this mass influx of new members in the conditions of 1930-33 was an unhealthy and undesirable expansion. The Party knew, continued Stalin, that its ranks were being joined not only by genuine and loyal people but also by casual elements, by careerists, striving to use the Party banner in their personal interests.

The Party, —continued Stalin, could not but know that it was strong not only in the number of its members but, above all, in their quality. (My italics, M. R.).

The Bolshevik Party combated this danger in various ways: Party purge, temporary non-acceptance of new members. but mainly by adopting a series of measures designed to raise the ideological level of the Party. The composition of the Party must be steadily improved, wrote Stalin at the time, by raising the level of the Party member's consciousness and by accepting into the Party on an individual basis, only comrades who have

been tested and are devoted to the cause of Communism. It is necessary, said Stalin, to extend the propaganda idea of Marxism-Leninism, to raise the theoretical level and political tempering of our cadres.

In the main we too, must take similar measures. The task will be much easier during the registration of members in the united party when, fortunately, two-party rivalry will play no role. There will no longer be such instances, as was the case, for instance, at one of the smaller factories where we carried out a trial check and discovered 70 people who were members, at one and the same time of the two parties and considered themselves Social-Democrats or Communists, depending on which happened to be more advantageous at the time. The time has passed when facts like the following were possible: after expelling a former police agent from the Party we learned that as a member of the Social-Democratic Party he had been appointed deputy manager of a big factory. At long last we are in the position to check on people applying for membership of the united party and to eliminate undesirable elements. We shall restore the system of two recommendations, a detailed questionnaire and written autobiography. The question of a probation period for new members should be raised: only applicants who have the corresponding theoretical knowledge and who, by their work have proved that they not only sympathise with us but answer certain demands. can become full-fledged members of the Party.

Forty years ago Lenin warned against being “scattered”, against widely extending the title of member of the Party, against the disorganising idea of confusing the class with the Party. These two conceptions are greatly confused here, much against our wishes. Now that the two workers’ parties are combining and the dangerous element of rivalry is eliminated, it is high time that the Party become a party in accordance with Marxist-Leninist theory.

For the purpose of raising the ideological level of the Party, the question of study must be given priority. We must not stint our

cadres in this matter and in order to achieve our aim we must supply the best forces, for the main obstacle to Party study, along with the lack of Communist literature in the Hungarian language, is the shortage of qualified teachers. In the past, too, we attached great importance to the matter of study and we achieved definite results. Of the 172 members of the Regional Party Committees 130 finished two-month courses or other higher Party schools, while 206 of the 281 District and City Committee secretaries attended special studies.

We must now, of course, do much more. The Political Bureau has decided that the six-month Party school be changed into a one-year school for 50 students. The six-month school will be attended by 100 members annually, the number of three-month courses will be increased to six. About 10,000 Party members will attend the weekly Party school in the course of a year. We shall increase the number of courses and promote individual studies. Each year every Party worker must master, in independent study, at least the material of the three-month course. Naturally, members of the united party will attend these party schools. Apart from this, the special commission handling the matter of study for the two parties is now dealing with the question of refresher courses for the Social-Democratic comrades.

We are devoting special attention to the education and discipline of the Party functionaries. This includes branch organisers, members of leading committees, members in mass organisations, leading comrades in the administrative organs. They number about 200,000. This figure will increase correspondingly when the two parties unite. These comrades perform the main Party work; they are the backbone of the Party which now, with its duties increasing, must in every way be strengthened if we want to cope with our assignments. Special attention must be devoted to these functionaries who will, before all else, be enrolled in the Party schools.

Such are the principal, urgent measures by means of which we hope to remedy the damage which the sudden rapid growth has

caused and may cause the Party. We believe that there are similar manifestations in the Communist Parties of some of the new democracies. And we are under the impression that in certain places a virtue is made out of misfortune: unrestricted expansion is regarded as an aim in itself; there is no struggle against obliterating the demarcation line of the Party, that is, against dissolving the Party in the Working class, or working people. Indeed, our foreign comrades may experience something similar to what I heard during a conversation at the Congress of the National Peasant Party. When I drew the attention of the delegates to the fact that reaction was now infiltrating into the Peasant Party, the delegates agreed among themselves that I was right but added: reaction is trying to get into the Communist Party, too, and sometimes not without success.

I mention this warning because we must never turn a deaf ear to words of caution. We don't shut our eyes to mistakes and weaknesses; we are trying to appreciate and put into practice Lenin's words that, frankly to admit mistakes, to disclose the reasons for them — to analyse the situation which gave rise to the given mistakes, carefully to discuss ways and means of rectifying them, that all this is the sign of a serious Party, this means that it is carrying out its obligations, that it is educating the class and later the masses.

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PARTY CHRONICLE

MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE ITALAIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

The report of the last Central Committee meeting of the Communist Party of Italy held early in May was published in “Unita” on May 19.

Analysing the election results and the circumstances under which the Christian Democrat Party won the majority the resolution pointed out that this electoral victory of the Christian Democrats confronted Italy with the danger of being turned into a military base for American imperialism and the Italian people with the threat of being used as cannon fodder in a war against the democratic countries of Europe.

The policy of the Christian Democrat Party was wrecking basic sections of the country's economy for the sake of American capital and aimed at restoring the fascist corporate system and

the domination of privileged capitalist groups which had been responsible for the rise of fascism.

The resolution also declared that the progressive forces rallied round the Popular Democratic Front could frustrate the plans of reaction, and emphasised the need to fight for the realisation of the Front's programme and for agrarian, industrial and credit reforms.

The Central Committee called for a vigorous struggle in defence of democratic liberties against the dangers of wage cuts and the reversal of agricultural agreements. It also urged the people to fight for an immediate reduction in taxes on small and medium producers, for pension increases and against the danger of inflation.

The meeting emphasised that the movement of works councils, the Agricultural Constituent Assembly, the League of Democratic Municipalities and similar mass organisations set up by the people, made up the main elements of the democratic movement of the Italian people, the principle means of their struggle for freedom and peace.

The Central Committee then pointed out the need to safeguard and maintain the unity of democratic forces in all mass organisations, especially in the trade unions, and to expose the splitting activities of the Christian-Democrats.

"However," says the resolution, "the struggle against the Christian Democrat splitters can only be successful if the democratic movement rallies in defence of the trade unions and trade union independence and radically dissociates itself from any conservatism basing itself on the programme of the General Confederation of Labour and on the vital needs of the working people."

Warning of the way the Right Socialists menaced working class unity, the Central Committee declared that the only way to eliminate this would be "on the one hand to strengthen still more cooperation with the Socialist Party inside the Popular Democratic Front, and, on the other, to intensify and make more effective the propaganda of the socialist aims of the

Communist Party and the aims and successes of the struggle for democracy and socialism throughout the world.

“It is imperative,” it went on, “to wage a consistent ideological struggle against social-reformism, and particularly against the leaders of the Saragat party, who are the agents of imperialism and reaction in the ranks of democracy and the working class.”

The meeting noted that there were considerable sections of the population where the Party’s influence, as shown by the elections, was not yet strong. In this connection it stressed that “the main aim of the Party remains to win the majority of the workers and the working people by means of struggle and vigorous work in all mass organisations, at the same time strengthening the party organisationally.

“The winning of the majority of the working people for democracy and socialism should make it possible for the Communist Party to give a lead to the entire country, to break the last resistance of the capitalists and restore full national sovereignty and create an order of new democracy, labour, peace and social justice.”

Concluding, the Central Committee drew attention to the need to make a critical analysis of the weaknesses in the work of Party organisations. It called for a steady improvement of organisational work and the raising of the ideological level of Party members.

PRESS WORK OF THE RUMANIAN WORKERS’ PARTY

The Publishing House of the Workers’ Party of Rumania has issued and distributed during the past 31/2 years some 12 million copies of various books. The circulation of these books has reached an unprecedented scale.

More than one million copies of Marxist-Leninist classics were published. Marx’s works were issued in 116,000 copies, of which 20,000 copies of Volume I of “Capital” have been sold.

Works by Engels were issued in 143,000 copies, Lenin 335,000, Stalin 453,000. A new edition of 110,000 copies of the “Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union” is now being prepared. The previous editions of the book have been completely sold out.

Reports of the Congress of the Rumanian Workers’ Party were issued in 1,362,000 copies, while Comrade Georgiu-Dej’s report at the Congress has been distributed in 400,000 copies.

Commenting on the publication work of the Party, the newspaper “Scanteia” writes: “No matter how correct had been the general line of the Central Committee of our Party, it would not have been understood and applied by the party if members had not been equipped at least with the elementary knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory.”

ORGANISATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE BULGARIAN WORKERS’ PARTY (COMMUNISTS)

Analysing the results of the election campaign of the Bulgarian Workers’ Party (Communists) from February and April, this year, the Political Bureau of the Party has reported an improvement in Party work as a whole, greater activity among the membership and the strengthening of Party organisations.

At the same time the Bureau criticised in detail the shortcomings revealed in a number of Party organisations. For example, it pointed out that the regional, city and district committees of the Party gave little help to party branches. There were serious weaknesses in the work of recruiting and balancing the Party’s social composition.

In the period under review the main recruitment to the Party consisted of office workers, while some districts even showed a falling off of working class membership, for instance Varna, Plovdiv and Sofia.

The Bureau's resolution declared that there was a lack of

vigilance in accepting new members. Consequently alien elements had managed to penetrate certain Party organisations and were now disrupting them and compromising the name of Communist.

The resolution stressed that inside the Party there was still no clear understanding of the fact that “the transfer of the entire mass political and educational work into the field of the unified Fatherland Front organisation and the realisation of a number of objectives through the work of this organisation does not in any way mean the weakening of our party organisations. To maintain correct functioning of the Fatherland Front and the mobilisation of the mass of the people to build socialism in our country and for moral-political unity, we should tighten up our Party organisation still more, strengthen its leadership and carry out the complete ideological-political Marxist-Leninist training of every Party member so that he is a real Communist leader.”

The resolution exposed serious weaknesses in the ideological-political education of Party cadres, the small attendances of members at education classes and meetings and the way many Communists misunderstood the role and nature of the Party as a leading force of the Fatherland Front and the State.

“Being a government Party,” said the Political Bureau, “our Party entrusted its cadres with practical work, and there is a danger that these leading cadres will lag behind ideologically because they are preoccupied with daily practical jobs. This is a serious danger not only to the Party cadres themselves but to the Party as a whole.”

On the basis of its analysis of the election campaign results, the Political Bureau defined the tasks of Party organisations. It directed that secretaries and other representatives of regional Party organisations should meet to study the results of the campaign. Local committees have been given the job of taking steps to improve their methods of work and leadership, of strictly and thoroughly checking the membership and tightening up discipline.

The Political Bureau declared that particular attention must be paid to raising the ideological-political level of Party members and explaining to them thoroughly the role and nature of the Party, its programme and Statutes.

The tasks of the Party in the theoretical and ideological sphere were defined as follows:

To ensure systematic study of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism by extending and improving the work of educational circles in factories, offices and mass organisations;

To cultivate on the widest scale a scientific knowledge of the laws of the development of society and nature;

To explain the character of the class struggle in the transitional period from capitalism to socialism in the sense that the class struggle grows more acute and becomes a real factor in the construction of the socialist system;

To study concretely class difference in the countryside and pursue a firm policy of consolidating the poor and medium peasants in the struggle against kulak and capitalist elements.

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IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

* A meeting of the Prague region unity committee was held recently, addressed by Socialist leader Fierlinger and Svermova, Chairman of the Communist organisation department.

Comrade Svermova emphasised that the unification of the Communist and Socialist Parties is by no means a formal act. It should come about as a result of ideological unity. Every member of the united Party should clearly understand that in a big party numbering a million members, it is imperative to develop criticism and self-criticism, to observe ideological clarity and loyalty to the people and to study the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The meeting was informed that the well-known "Lidovy Dum" (People's House) which in 1920 was the scene of a struggle between the Left and Right wing Social Democrats will now be turned into a labour museum.

A school for the functionaries of the united Party will also be organised in the building.

* In view of the steady numerical growth of the Communist Party, its propaganda department decided not to stop the Party training courses this summer, but to continue to educate Party cadres in Marxism-Leninism.

A number of short-term national courses with a total register of nearly 1.000 students will be organised. Preparations are under way to renew the six months national school.

In the autumn three months national schools will recommence and national courses to train tutors for these will started in June.

This summer short-term regional courses for various categories of Party workers will be organised; for secretaries of provincial, regional and district committees, for the members of the local national councils (organs of local administration)

and so on.

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FORTHCOMING CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF YUGOSLAVIA

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia will hold its 5th Congress on July 21. Among the items on the congress agenda are: the political report of the Central Committee; a) development and activities of the Party; b) the Party's role in the revolutionary changes in the country; c) the activities of the Central Committee; reports on Party organisation and propaganda, on the international and internal situation and the struggle of the Communist Party for Socialism; the building of socialist agriculture in Yugoslavia; the ratification of the Programme and Statutes of the Party and the election of the Central Committee and Central Auditing Committee.

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**THE SLOVAK WORKING PEOPLE
STRENGTHEN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY.
V. Bastovansky, General Secretary
Communist Party of Slovakia**

The historic February victory, won by joint action of the Czech and Slovak people has helped to strengthen their comradeship and to consolidate the Czechoslovak Republic. It became clear that the Slovak people could only progress peacefully to Socialism in close cooperation with the Czechs.

It is no accident that the ringleaders of Slovak reaction — the leaders of the so-called Democrat Party, who for the most part had come from the agrarian party, were the principal agitators for anti-Czech separatism in the people's democratic republic.

During the bourgeois republic the Slovak reactionaries, bolstered by Czech capital, supported the policy of the Czech government in relation to Slovakia, because the organs of this state served the class interests of capitalists and landlords. But, after the changes of the last few years and the consolidation of the people's democratic republic they opposed progressive Prague and became separatists.

Right up to their defeat in February, Slovak reaction—the landlords and capitalist leadership of the Democrat Party—played a cunning, two-faced role in the National Front. In

Prague they swore by the united Czechoslovak state, while in Slovakia they incited the people against Prague, against the Gottwald Government and the new people's democratic order. We put an end to this subversive and treacherous policy in February.

In Slovakia the February events were marked by certain specific features due to the local conditions.

Before all else, account should be taken of the fact that the offensive of the Slovak working people during the political crisis in Slovakia last autumn preceded these events. The crisis in Slovakia was due, in the main, to three reasons: sabotage of supplies, sabotage of the Gottwald Government's agrarian policy and the exposure of a widespread Slovak conspiracy against the State.

The powerful movement of workers and peasants swept aside the old Council of Delegates (Slovak national government organ), in which the Democrat Party had a majority with the result that in the new Council the Democrat Party received only six seats instead of nine.

Slovak reaction was then fully supported by the reactionary leadership of certain Czech parties—a fact which saved it from complete defeat. It was only after reaction's attempt in February to stage a counter-revolutionary putsch that the Slovak people, succeeded, with the help of the Czech people, in completely smashing the forces of reaction.

Reaction was defeated in Slovakia in spite of the fact that its forces were united in the Democrat Party which taking advantage of the religious sentiments of the people and applying demagogic methods polled close to 62 per cent of the vote at the 1946 election.

Finally, the February victory wrecked the imperialists' hope of turning Slovakia, which borders on the Soviet Union, into a base for espionage and subversive activities.

After the February victory political power in Slovakia has passed firmly into the hands of the people. A regenerated National Front, cleared of traitors and reactionaries, has been

created and the alliance of workers and peasants strengthened. So have the trade unions, national resistance leagues, organisations of peasants, women and youth, and so on. The monster May Day demonstration further proved the growing unity of the people. The Communist Party greatly increased its influence and membership during the February period and its leading role in guiding the people's future.

The February events made possible a thorough purge of enemies of the people in public bodies—particularly important in view of the treacherous role played by a number of leading figures in the former Democrat Party who were connected with the Western imperialists.

The new nationalisation is sending up output and ensuring a fairer distribution of the national income.

It is important to note that all these major political and economic changes have been made in a constitutional way, along democratic and peaceful lines, without any serious incidents or any bloodshed. Because of the widespread mobilisation of the people it was possible to expose reaction and to isolate it so completely that it could find no support among the people during the decisive purge of the National Front, the Government and other organs.

At the recent trials the guilt of the traitors was proved to the hilt. The spy Obuch, who got his instructions from the traitor Durcansky and who was secretary to the former deputy premier, Jan Ursiny, was sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment. Ursiny got 7 years.

These trials brought home to the people the need for vigilance and once again proved that the Democrat Party leadership was a nest of traitors and spies. Slovak public opinion as a whole was convinced of the absolute fairness of the trials and fully approved the sentences.

The Parliamentary election campaign strengthened the people's

unity still more. The regenerated National Front put forward common lists of candidates.

A series of important laws for social insurance, a unified educational system, new land reform and soon have been passed by Parliament. State activity is proceeding smoothly and speedily.

The new Constitution, the draft of which was widely discussed by the people and unanimously approved by Parliament, secures for the people their revolutionary gains and achievements, especially the fruits of their February victory. It has found the correct solution to the problem of relations between the two fraternal peoples—the Czechs and Slovaks—in their common state, the Czechoslovak Republic.

It is particularly important that the new Constitution safeguards the national development and equality of the two peoples not only by formal articles but providing equally favourable conditions for their economic, cultural and social life.

It is interesting to note that during the discussion of the draft constitution the construction of a big electrical lathe plant was started at Krompachy, Slovakia. In 1921 the iron and steel works in this town was dismantled and the equipment taken away.

These developments indicate to the people the great difference between the pre-Munich, bourgeois republic and the present people's democratic republic. Whereas capitalist Prague closed down industry in Slovakia causing unemployment and impoverishment, Prague today is helping to build up Slovakia.

The progressive forces, headed by the Communist Party, are mobilising the people in the struggle for democracy and socialism. The Two-Year Plan is being carried out successfully. The number of factory and office workers in Slovakia has grown by nearly 50,000. Wages are much higher. Slovakia's industrialisation will be carried out, for the working class and technicians fully realise what it means for Slovakia to overcome her backward economic structure.

Great headway has been made in the mechanisation of

agriculture. Peasant cooperatives and State-owned machine-tractor stations are being organised and funds allocated so that peasants can buy agricultural machines. The Government's agricultural price policy also helps the small and medium peasants. The new land reform gives land to small peasants and agricultural labourers. In the two months since his appointment, the new Communist Delegate for Agriculture has approved nearly 60,000 title deeds whereby the land becomes the peasant's personal property.

Since February the people of Slovakia have been moving more rapidly toward Socialism. The election on May 30 undoubtedly consolidated the victory of the people's democracy and ensured its further successful development along the path to Socialism.

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FRENCH PEASANTS ORGANISE DEFENCE COMMITTEES

More and more committees for the defence of agriculture are being organised throughout France. Quite recently 25 local defence committees were set up in four districts of the Loches region (Yndre and Loire department) for the purpose of combating the Meyer plan.

The activities of the local organisations are coordinated by a regional committee. They are working to secure a lowering of the special tax; they are taking measures to combat foreign competition and are resisting the deliberately incorrect interpretation of certain laws, and so on.

The defence committees held highly successful joint demonstrations of several communes, demanding compensation for the 5,000 franc notes withdrawn from circulation.

The defence committees are busy organising resistance to the recent Geneva decision which deprives French agriculture of any protection from foreign competition.

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PERSECUTION OF COMMUNISTS IN UNITED STATES

The US House of Representatives by 319 against 58 votes approved the Mundt Bill, which now goes to the Senate. According to the Bill members of the Communist Party register with the Department of Justice and it provides for a maximum penalty of ten years' imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine for anyone trying to establish in the United States a totalitarian dictatorship under the leadership, or control of a foreign government. The Bill prohibits Communists from holding Government posts, or accepting such posts without first acknowledging their membership of the Communist Party; it demands that Communists at present in Government jobs resign in the course of 30 days. The Bill likewise prohibits anybody from joining or remaining in a nonregistered communist organisation and provides a maximum penalty of five years' imprisonment and a \$5,000 fine for officials of nonregistered organisations. The Bill also demands that organisations which have been labelled by the Department of Justice as belonging to the "Communist front", shall register with the Department of Justice.

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AMERICAN IMPERIALISM—THE ENEMY OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. A. Drugov

In their economic and political subordination of Europe and

Asia the American imperialists are covering up their expansion with an extensively planned ideological campaign. The essence of this campaign is to embellish the expansion of American imperialism which is violating the sovereign rights of peoples, to depict the United States as champion of the “rights of Man” and to present those who resist American penetration as the supporters of obsolete “egoistic” nationalism.

At the Conference of the nine Communist Parties in Poland last September, Comrade Zhdanov pointed out that American military-political intelligence agents of the Bullitt breed, yellow trade union leaders like Green, right-wing Socialists in France, headed by the inveterate apologist for capitalism Blum, the German Social-Democrat Schumacher, and Labour leaders of the Bevin type, all are united in close fellowship in carrying out the ideological plan of American imperialism.

This crusade against the sovereign rights of the nations has been joined by the ideologues of American imperialism.

The philosophising obscurant Mortimer Adler proclaims that the “sovereignty of nations and anarchy are inseparable”. Adler who endeavours to prove the need for a world government makes no mention of the profound contradictions between the capitalist countries and the dependence of many of them on the United States. Obviously a “government” of this nature would be dominated by the United States with the support of its numerous vassals.

Churchill too, who during the war suggested that France join the British Empire has become a “United States of Europe” evangelist, has started a crusade in Britain—today playing the role of American imperialism's junior partner—against the sovereign rights of peoples. The Churchill-sponsored “United Europe” conference at The Hague was attended by British Conservatives and by a number of leading Labour Party figures. The absence of official Labour Government representatives at the Hague was by way of camouflage.

The Right Socialist have zealously joined the crusade against the state independence of the European countries. On April 24

at a conference of the Socialist Parties in Paris, the question of the “United States of Europe” came up for discussion. At this conference Churchill’s reactionary idea, which is directed against the national interests of the people of Europe, was gladly upheld by a majority of the delegates. At The Hague, too, the Right Socialists parroted the views of the leader of the British Conservatives. The Dutch Socialist, Brugmans declared: “the cardinal task is the creation of a super-national. Europe, in which the countries will renounce their national sovereignty for the sake of revolutionary reorganisation on a continental scale.” The description of Churchill's reactionary idea as a “revolutionary” task is in line with the usual demagoguery propagated by the Right Socialists, the loyal servants of capitalism, designed to deceive the masses.

Lenin and Stalin years ago proved to the hilt that the United States of Europe slogan and the false theory of organised capitalism were reactionary through and through. As far back as 1915 Lenin wrote that under capitalism a United States of Europe would tantamount to an agreement on division of the colonies. However, under capitalism, continued Lenin, violence alone is the basis, the principle of division. The millionaire can share the “national income” with somebody, writes Lenin only in proportion to the “capital” (and what's more, with the reservation that big capital receives more than that to which it is entitled). Lenin admitted the possibility of **temporary** agreements between the capitalist states in order jointly to suppress socialism.

Behind the humanitarian talk about the so-called international commonwealth of nations lies the avid strivings of the American imperialists to secure the economic enslavement of other countries and to crush the growing forces of democracy and progress. Professor Laski, the somewhat garrulous theoretician of the British Labour Party, frankly explained the motives—which are by no means philosophical or humanitarian—behind the formation of imperialist unions and blocs such as a “United Europe”. In a recent article “The Crisis

of Our Civilisation” Professor Laski wrote that the working class has become such a force in every capitalist state that it represents a serious danger to capitalism. Anglo-American imperialism alone, he pointed out, is capable of crushing these forces. But it can cope with this “noble” mission only if the European capitalist states renounce their national sovereignty, which Laski is calling upon them to do.

The call of the Right Socialists to renounce national sovereignty ostensibly in the interests of internationalism, their support for the reactionary, “super-national” Europe and other imperialist unions which are directed against the democratic movement and the land of Socialism, the USSR—all this testifies to their betrayal of the sacred rights of nations and of the working class.

The anti-democratic, imperialist camp which has launched a crusade against the freedom and independence of peoples, is opposed by the camp of democracy, by the champion of the independence of the big and small countries. A new type of state has made its appearance in a number of countries in Eastern Europe—the state of the people’s democracy where, on the basis of democratic reforms and the removal of parasitic classes from power, the conception of sovereignty has acquired a deeper meaning.

In those countries which were occupied by Hitler Germany or imperialist Japan the bourgeoisie never lifted a finger against the invader. If anything they helped the enemy to crush their countries. The infamous words of the French bourgeoisie who said “better Hitler than the Reds! ... “ expressed their utter contempt for the past and present of their country, and hatred for the working people.

The people, and above all, the working class, led by the Communist Parties waged a valiant struggle for the liberation of their countries. The Communists proved to be the finest and most devoted sons of their native land. In the underground, in the partisan units, in the resistance movement the Communists,

heading the struggle of all genuine patriots, heroically fought for the honour and independence of their country. Carrying out the sacred task raised in the Declaration of the Polish Conference the Communist Parties are in the front line of struggle for the sovereignty of their countries.

The struggle of the peoples since the Conference in Poland, shows that the Communist Parties together with the genuine Socialists are valiantly guarding democracy and sovereignty and, in bitter struggle are repelling the attacks of American imperialism to enslave Europe and Asia. The Anglo-American intelligence service has repeatedly plotted conspiracies and reactionary coups in the new democracies. For a long time the threads of a conspiracy were spun in Czechoslovakia, which the Anglo-American imperialists had hoped to turn into a suitable base for struggle against the new democracies and the Soviet Union.

Defending the independence of their countries the Communists, like genuine internationalists, are, at the same time, the organising force of the international solidarity of the working people. International solidarity is reflected in the growth and consolidation of world-wide democratic organisations of the working people—the trade unions, youth and women's federations, which unite millions of ordinary people, in the strivings towards working—class unity and in the fusion of the Communist and Socialist parties. International solidarity of the working people is most vividly reflected in the growing sympathy for the Soviet Union. This great power stands guard like a watchful sentinel, over the peace, sovereignty and freedom of all peoples. The valiant Soviet people, at a very heavy cost, saved mankind, world culture and democracy from fascist vandalism. From its very inception the Soviet Union in defending its sovereignty is simultaneously waging a struggle for the freedom and independence of big and small states alike. Only in the land of Socialism, where the Lenin-Stalin national policy has been realised, have the people of many nations acquired full equality, friendship and fraternal

cooperation. The Soviet state is pursuing a similar policy in its relations with all other nations. In his speech at the dinner in honour of the Finnish Government delegation on April 7, 1948, Comrade Stalin said:

“There are many who believe that there cannot be equal relations between a big and small nation. But we Soviet people think that such relations can, and should, exist. Soviet people are of the opinion that every nation, whether big or small, has its own specific qualitative peculiarities, which belong to it alone. These peculiarities are the contribution made by every nation to the common treasure house of world culture, thus adding to it and enriching it. In this sense all nations, both small and big, are in the same position and every nation is equivalent to any other nation.”

It is these wise, human words of Comrade Stalin, who points the path to cooperation between big and small nations within the framework of their sovereignty and independence that will evoke a response among millions of people all over the world and not the reactionary propaganda advocating renunciation of State independence or the false, pacifist call for “unity” of the peoples of Europe.

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LABOUR LEADERS BETRAY THE NATIONAL INTERESTS OF BRITAIN. William Gallacher, Chairman Communist Party Great Britain

The Economic Survey recently published by the Labour Government is anything but an exhilarating document. It is enough to transform the most buoyant optimist into a sour and hopeless pessimist. For if we were to accept the analysis and the conclusions of that notorious document, Britain is finished, there is no possible way out of the crisis. Without “Marshall Aid” our industries close down and our economy suffers complete collapse. Here is how it is served up in paragraph 245:

“If we are forced, in the absence of external aid, to balance our overseas payments before our reserves are exhausted, we shall be obliged to make such drastic cuts in our dollar and gold purchases as will bring wholesale unemployment, distress and dislocation of our production and will delay for years the prospect of a decent standard of life.”

We are an “economic cripple” and cannot hope to keep on our feet unless we are propped up by “dollar crutches” from

America. This, after almost three years of a Labour Government! What has happened? Why are we in such a mess, and what must we do to get out of it?

We are often told by Churchill, Bevin and others that the Americans speak the same language. Nothing could be further from the truth. The British capitalist speaks in the language of Sterling; America speaks in the language of the Dollar. So much so that America refuses to recognise sterling, refuses to talk “our” language. Britain must talk theirs. All out payments had to be made in dollars. This made our difficulties very great before the jump in prices in the U.S. but when prices went up the effect was devastating. The loan that was to do so much to re-equip our industries and restore our economy had to be handed back to the Americans to meet our heavily increased current commitments. Then Canada and Argentina under pressure from America, also demanded dollar payments.

In the summer of 1947 it became obvious that the loan would run out by the end of that year. The financial-trickery perpetrated by the American money-lender made it impossible for Britain to re-equip her industries and restore her economy. The monopoly capitalists of America, bent on weakening Britain so as to dislodge her from the world market, deliberately pushed Britain towards a crisis.

The Labour Government, obviously aware of the menace that threatened the wellbeing of Britain and the British people, did nothing to remove this menace. They pursued the policy enunciated by Churchill at Fulton: subservience to America as the only means of maintaining decrepit capitalism in Europe. But even before Fulton, which revealed the real intentions of British ruling Circles, the Labour Government and especially the Foreign Secretary, Bevin, had betrayed the national interests by bowing to America. The “enemy” of the Labour Government was not the monopoly capitalists of America but the peoples of Eastern Europe. This Labour Government have sold their miserable souls and propose to sell the country for a mess of American dollars. All their moaning about “our

adverse balance of payments,” about “our ever-increasing difficulties in the sphere of “economy,” is meant to cover up their treacherous policy of taking the country into a third world war at the behest of America and against the working class of Europe. So the eyes of the people are directed towards the East, not for salvation, but with poisonous slanders, while a concentrated attack on their standard of life and their hopes of Socialism is delivered with unscrupulous cunning from the West.

As things are at present, a disproportionate amount of British imports are from America. As Dalton said when he was Chancellor of the Ex-chequer, Britain pays America for tobacco alone as much as America pays Britain for all the goods she takes from her. It is utterly impossible for Britain to balance her payments while that dependency remains. We could export to other countries and get as a result the wherewithal to close the gap, but the chances for doing so are growing less and less. The market, so far from expanding, is all the time contracting and in this contracting market we come up against not only the competition of British “allies” in the Western bloc, but the even more deadly competition of America. America will do all in her power to drive Britain out of the South American countries. It is typical of the gangster morality of American capitalism that while she incites and uses Britain for her own purposes in Europe, for attacking the Soviet Union and the Eastern Democracies, she, at the same time, uses the South American countries—Argentina, Chile and Guatemala—to attack British control of the Antarctic and Latin America.

Not only in the South American countries does Britain feel the effects of American competition, but even more so in the Dominions. One of the most virulent of the anti-Soviet, pro-American members of the House of Commons, speaking on the economic situation, said Some months ago that when he was in Australia it was difficult to see a British motor-car, while the American cars could be counted by the hundreds. Of course it

is obvious that America, which was unaffected by the war, has been able to develop industry to the highest point of efficiency, while British industry is dragging along in all too many cases with worn-out equipment.

In such circumstances what chance has Britain of closing the gap through exports in a competitive market. Only men deprived of their senses could ever hold such a futile hope. The Labour and Tory leaders have no illusions on this score. They know it cannot be done. That is why they are prepared to sell their country to America in the hope that they will thus be able to retain their dominant position in the country. They are prepared to give Britain as an advance base to America for a war against the Soviet Union, with the knowledge that in this sort of war the whole population of Britain would be imperilled.

If we are to get out of the crisis and balance our payments, we must find alternative sources of supplies of food and raw materials on the basis of goods for goods. The only real alternative sources of supply that will meet these requirements are the Soviet Union and the food producing countries of Eastern Europe. But had Britain, during the past two and a half years, been helping them to restore their economy instead of, under the direction of the US State Department treating them as enemies and doing everything possible to injure and hinder them. we might have been well on the way to national recovery. We could get food for our people, timber for our homes, raw materials for our industries and in return we could supply manufactured goods which means that our industries would be kept going and our people employed for generations to come. There is no other way out of the crisis for Britain.

The Communist Party fights for the interests for the wellbeing of the people. It fights against the monopoly capitalists here and the vicious encroachment being made by the monopoly capitalists of America.

The Communist Party wants to see this country strong—strong and independent. It declares before the people that the Tories

and the Tory-dominated Labour leaders are selling the country and the country's independence to the monopoly capitalists of America. The road to lasting peace to real, not sham capitalist, democracy is the road that leads to Socialism the road of planned economy at home, and effectively planned trading based on close friendship with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe.

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WFTU—RESULTS EC MEETING.

Guiseppe Di Vittoria, Vice-President of WFTU; General Secretary, CGT of Italy

The meeting of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions held in Rome at the beginning of May yielded positive results.

To appreciate them correctly one should take into account the plans that were hatched against WFTU by the reactionary capitalist groupings and warmongers and also the serious difficulties that arose inside the Federation.

Reactionary imperialist circles want to split WFTU and to undermine the international solidarity of the working class. They want the working class of Western Europe to support their Governments and consequently the Western imperialist bloc.

Unfortunately, in the ranks of certain working class organisations, particularly in the American Federation of Labour, there are also people who would like to undermine trade union unity in different countries and to split the international trade union movement.

It was due to the efforts of these imperialist agents that the French trade union movement was split and the “Force Ouvriere” organisation set up, which was detrimental to the French working class movement. Another result of their efforts was the London trade union conference in March this year, which also threatened to split WFTU.

The trade union national bodies and minority groups that gathered in London were of the opinion that WFTU would be split over the Marshall Plan. In their view, the great united organisation of the working people of the world faced this dilemma: either to accept the Marshall Plan and therefore agree to cooperate closely with the governments tied up with this

Plan or to split their organisations.

Since it was known beforehand that many of the big trade union executives constituting the great majority of the WFTU would accept the first alternative, it looked as though a split was inevitable and as if it was impossible to save trade union unity. In their sensational reports of the meeting of the WFTU Executive Committee, many newspapers in the service of the imperialists of different countries predicted the inevitable split of the Federation.

But trade union unity was saved. This is the biggest positive result of the Rome meeting. It should be recognised that all the delegates contributed to this in different ways, but that the decisive role was played by the indefatigable work of the Soviet delegation.

The Executive Committee succeeded in reaching decisions which all delegates could accept. These decisions were summarised in the well-known resolution which was unanimously adopted by all the delegates, barring Carey (CIO) who abstained from voting at the general meeting of the Executive Committee, although he had voted for these decisions in the preparatory commission.

The resolution did not mention the Marshall Plan in accordance with the mutual agreement reached in the preparatory commission and later accepted by the Executive Committee.

According to this, each national trade union body was free to follow a policy on the Marshall Plan which in its opinion was most beneficial to the interests of the working people and to the country's national independence. It should be recalled that we took such a stand at the Paris meeting of the WFTU Executive Committee as early as last November, that a similar stand was taken by the All-Union Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions expressed in its declaration of February this year.

The Executive Committee has postponed discussion of the "Force Ouvriere" which shows that not all the difficulties have been overcome. However, we believe that they can be overcome and that after the Rome meeting of the Executive,

WFTU unity will be further strengthened.

Having solved the complicated matters on which WFTU's unity depended, the Executive Committee proceeded to a number of other important trade union problems. Interesting debates took place on the question of accepting WFTU as an equal member of the UNO Social Economic Security Council.

The Soviet delegation pointed out that While the representatives of the Soviet Union and Byelorussia supported the WFTU request in UNO, the American and British representatives did their best to get it turned down. The Soviet delegation at the meeting of the Executive Committee demanded that the trade union organisations of these countries should insist that their governments should get the demand accepted since it had been unanimously adopted and presented by WFTU on behalf of all its national trade union bodies.

However, at the meeting there were such "worker" delegates who felt offended at the criticism levelled against their governments even though these governments had refused to satisfy the demands put forward by these delegates themselves...

The same thing happened on the question of safeguarding trade union rights violated or abolished by the reactionary governments of Spain, Greece, Portugal, Argentina, India and others. And when delegates from Jamaica, India and Africa described the frightful poverty and slave conditions in the dependent countries and the persecution to which the trade unions and their members are subjected by the imperialists and by the reactionary governments, some delegates took this criticism as levelled-against themselves and the workers they represented.

Of particular interest was the discussion on the German trade union movement which followed reports by Comrade Bernhard Goering who together with Comrade Hvalek, represented the trade unions in the Soviet occupation zone. There were no delegates from the other zones, although they had been invited on an equal footing. The Executive Committee once again

confirmed its stand regarding the welding of the German trade unions into a unified confederation of labour, and undertook the corresponding organisational measures to attain this.

Keen debates took place on the question of equal rights for women workers. Comrade Popova (USSR), Comrade Witaschewski (Poland) and Comrade Salaj (Yugoslavia) described the big gains won by women in the Soviet Union and in the new democracies in contrast to the poverty-stricken and humiliating position of the women workers in the capitalist countries. Delegates justly and sharply criticised the attitude of certain governments, for example, the Labour Government in Britain, which opposed in UNO the demand for equal pay for equal work. However, here also one of the delegates took the criticism directed against his government for criticism against the trade unions he represented.

Resolutions passed unanimously on different questions (on the relations between the WFTU and UNO and the WFTU and International Labour Organisation, on the German trade union movement, on safeguarding trade union rights and the rights of women workers, on the formation inside the WFTU of international trades departments, etc.) were quite satisfactory. These resolutions will become the basis for developing all-round trade union activities in different countries, in defence of the working people, peace and national independence.

A big shortcoming of the meeting was that it postponed the discussion of Greece and thus was unable to make a vigorous protest that would express the deep indignation of working people throughout the world with the fascist murderers of the Athens Government who are slaughtering anti-fascists and patriots.

The Rome meeting of the Executive Committee of WFTU saved the unity of the international proletariat. Working people all over the world wholeheartedly welcomed this fact which makes it possible to hope for further consolidation of WFTU unity so that WFTU can safeguard effectively the interests of the working people and the cause of peace against the attack of

the trusts, warmongers and reaction.

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PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC CZECHOSLOVAKIA AFTER FEBRUARY. V. Voda-Pexa

Between the February days and the General Election on May 30, the Czechoslovak Republic moved a good way forward consolidating and extending its democratic gains, along the path to socialism.

The victory over reaction brought about important political changes in the country. Specially important is the enormous

growth of the Communist Party, both in influence and numbers, the regeneration of the National Front on a new and higher level of mass unity and the weeding-out of traitors and reactionaries from administrative and public organisations.

Also extremely important is the forthcoming formation of a united working class party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This is the result of the defeat of the Right Social Democrat stooges of reaction in the ranks of the working people.

The growing consolidation of the people was also shown in the fusion of a number of big public organisations.

The power of the united working people was well-demonstrated in the joint May Day parades, in the labour enthusiasm of the workers and peasants and in the great election victory.

The process of firmly uniting the working people in all organisations is taking place alongside the consolidation of the alliance of workers and peasants. This is because the working class, led by the Communist Party, helped to realise the vital demands of the working peasants.

The joint election list of the regenerated National Front became possible only after reaction — which had used certain parties for subversive activities against the people and the state — had been smashed. By reorganising the basis of the National Front and by vigorously purging all the parties that had sheltered traitors, the working people put an end to the intrigues of reaction inside the Front.

Regenerated on the basis of the Action Committees that sprang up spontaneously during the February days, the National Front deprived reaction of any hope of waging disruptive activities by using legal methods, and it expresses the true will of broad democratic sections of the people.

Formerly an election on the basis of a joint list of candidates was impossible, since various reactionary groups had not then revealed themselves in their true colours and since the masses had not enough experience to estimate the situation and to differentiate between reactionaries and genuine democrats,

expelling the former and backing the latter.

The February events showed the supporters of the non-Communist parties that only those who had not separated themselves from the interests of the people could be placed on a par with the Communists who had proved their loyalty to the people and their love for their native land.

As pointed out by Comrade Gotwald, the divergence in the view points of the various parties in the National Front are now of secondary importance as a result of the people uniting in a popular democratic front.

The good work carried out by the reorganised Gottwald Government after these changes, which greatly increased the power of the people led by the working class, once again demonstrated the significance of the firm unity of the masses.

Most important of the new legislation is the Constitution which was unanimously adopted by Parliament. For a long time it had been held-up by the reactionary leaders and bourgeois "experts" who disputed a number of vital clauses. The Government and Parliament have also passed a number of laws improving the living conditions of the working people, providing social insurance reducing taxes for a considerable section of the people, creating a unified educational system.

Of great significance is the new land reform according to which holdings of more than 125 acres are redistributed to the peasants on favourable conditions. Industrial enterprises employing more than 50 people were nationalised.

Also nationalised were large commercial undertakings that until now had been in the hands of the capitalists and also foreign trade. As a result, about 93% of industry is now in the hands of the people.

These economic changes have drastically reduced the capitalist sector which after the first nationalisation steps still held a fairly strong position.

The working people expressed their approval of the new democratic gains by their great labour enthusiasm which, as pointed out by Comrade Gottwald, is now, after the defeat of

reaction, the main lever for further successful development and the chief factor in consolidating the political victories. This enthusiasm rose to a record height after the election campaign. The election slogans advanced by the Communist Party and the regenerated National Front were enthusiastically welcomed by the people who realised that the elections were a demonstration of the victorious unity of the people.

Although they had the opportunity of contesting with separate lists of candidates, the reactionaries did not do this in any locality, which proves their moral and political bankruptcy. Outstanding leaders of all the parties and organisations, prominent scientists and writers, mass organisations launched a great campaign for the joint lists.

They also campaigned against the use of “white cards” which, under the electoral law, were for the use of those who wished to vote against the Government.

All sections of the population and members of all parties took part in the election propaganda brigades and in the “week of individual canvassing” carried out by the National Front on the initiative of the Communist Party.

The call of the workers of the great nationalised Bata enterprise and other factories to greet the elections with higher and better quality output and with smashed production targets had a great response from the workers.

As early as February the people realised that the further successful development of the country called above all, for higher productivity and increased constructive work, Czechoslovak industry is raising its productivity and surpassing the pre-war level. Over half the workers are taking part in the “victory shifts”. The Communists, who even before February started a large-scale drive for 30 million voluntary labour hours to be given to the Republic by each individual are, as always, in the vanguard.

The powerful movement to complete the Two Year Plan ahead of time started in the factories on the initiative of the workers who worked out counter-plans. Reports received from these

factories before the elections showed a rapid increase in output and big economies resulting from a higher productivity of labour.

Workers in towns organised voluntary brigades to clear streets and sent brigades of mechanics into the countryside to help the peasants.

The peasants were also swept by this enthusiasm. Some time ago on the initiative of the peasants of the Hlumec and Nitra regions, many villages began to put forward plans for rationalisation in agriculture, for ensuring a good harvest, and for improved social and cultural activities. More than 6,000 villages made similar plans.

The present elections were held in an atmosphere of great constructive effort on the part of the working people — a radical change from previous elections which were characterised by sharp interparty struggle and personal and political battles.

The victory of the joint lists of candidates of the regenerated National Front is further evidence of the tremendous strength of a united working people.

The working people of Czechoslovakia, after their February victory and their demonstration of complete support for the country's path of democratic development and speedier advance to Socialism, have, in a few months, succeeded in accomplishing great work of national and political importance. Basing itself on the strong national conscience and activity of the working people, the people's democratic Czechoslovakia will, undoubtedly, overcome any difficulties on its way to further prosperity and well-being.

BOOK REVIEW

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE WARMONGERS. Jack Bering

The American reactionaries, intoxicated with war-time profits and thirsting for world domination are, withal, afraid of the future and, driven by this fear, are attacking the working class and the Communist Party in savage Hitler-like fashion. Laws similar to the Nazi anti-Communist laws are rushed through Congress. The Government are concocting “cases” against the Communists reminiscent of Goering's Reichstag fire. The press, church, cinema and radio—in a word the full weight of the capitalist propaganda machine—has been brought into play to smear the Communists as traitors, spies and agents of an alien country. Every conceivable form of anti-Communist slander and provocation is being used by the American war makers against the Communists who are frustrating preparations inside the country for a third slaughter. It requires no little courage to remain staunch to the principles

of democracy and peace In the present-day hysteria-ridden United States which is rapidly turning fascist. However, the American Communists with a courage worthy of the sons of the working class, are resisting firmly the onslaught of reaction.

This task was the keynote of speeches by William Foster, Chairman of the Party, Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Party and others at a recent Plenum of the Party. Excerpts from these speeches appeared in the March issue of "Political Affairs" the Party's monthly organ.

In his speech on the International situation Foster noted that American foreign policy has suffered serious checks and defeats in the recent past; that the fear of a coming economic crisis had become an obsession in capitalist circles, and that the growing democratic opposition both at home in the US and abroad, is infusing the American bourgeoisie with desperation for war.

Reviewing the American post-war drive for world domination, Foster observed that it took the form mainly, of a diplomatic blitzkrieg against the USSR backed by dollars, food and the atom-bomb threat. Imperialist expansion abroad and aggressive reaction at home are the coordinated policy of Wall Street.

American imperialism, he said, is pushing its atom-bomb diplomacy more recklessly than ever; is ignoring the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. It deliberately broke up the London Conference of Foreign Ministers over the issues of Germany and Austria. It is shamelessly cultivating Franco and other European fascists; it is by-passing the United Nations on many questions, acting unilaterally in vital matters as, for example; its armed intervention in Greece, in Indonesia and in China the establishment of military air bases in different parts of the world; the virtual establishment of a war alliance with the Latin-American governments, the West European war bloc, etc. Turning to the successful resistance with which the democratic people's everywhere are countering the drive of American imperialism Comrade Foster said:

“The historic September conference in Poland of the nine Communist Parties sounded the note of struggle against American imperialism. The big Communist Parties of Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, France, Italy, and the Soviet Union came together, reviewed the general situation, formed an Information Bureau, and called upon the people of Europe to defend themselves against the encroachments of American imperialism. A special task, said the Conference, falls upon the Communist Parties. They must take into their hands the banner of defence of national independence and sovereignty of their countries.

“The significant nine-Party Communist conference was followed throughout Europe with an intensified struggle against the American imperialists and warmongers. The new democracies of Eastern and Central Europe, together with the USSR, have rejected the Marshall Plan and are scoring great successes with their own programs of rehabilitation. The USSR especially, despite its terrible war losses, is making a swift recovery. Great strikes and political movements have occurred in France and Italy against the evil effects of the offensive of American imperialism. In Germany, too, in the American and British zones, huge protest strikes of the workers are also taking place against their new Wall Street masters. All over Europe, the masses are awakening to the new danger to their national independence from American imperialism. Also in Canada the question of preserving their national independence against American domination has become a live issue.

“The sum and substance of all these developments of mass resistance is that the United States is not succeeding in its drive for world domination. This is a fact of the most decisive significance for the peoples everywhere. Wall Street is finding the democratic opposition of the peoples too great.”

Denouncing the pessimistic out-look which foresees the inevitability of war Foster said:

“The decision still rests with the peoples. The democratic masses of the world have the potential strength to bridle the

would-be war makers and to make it impossible for them to plunge the world into war.”

Concluding his report Comrade Foster warned the people of the United States that they bear a tremendous responsibility in the matter of halting the warmongers. Since the effects of the Browder liquidationist policy which caused serious injury to the Communist movement in the United States, are still felt, it was only natural that Comrade Dennis devoted much of his report to the matter of building the Party.

Defining the Communist Party's attitude toward the Wallace Third-Party movement Dennis pointed out that this movement is neither Communist nor anti-Communist. It is developing as a mass people's party, uniting diverse anti-war and antimonopoly elements around a progressive, though non-Socialist programme. The Communists who support all progressive movements are supporting the Third-Party movement because “we are prepared to join hands with all workers and anti-imperialists who want to curb the monopolies and prevent the rise of fascism.” He stressed, however, that “we Communists have our own Party, and we are going to maintain, strengthen, and build it as a Marxist, vanguard party.”

Dwelling at length on the urgent need for Marxist-Leninist theory, Dennis said:

“It is clear that our Party can adequately perform its vanguard role only if it combines its active and leading participation in all economic and political mass struggles with a drastic improvement of its activity on the theoretical and ideological front.

“This is particularly true today, when the proponents of an American Century, the initiators of the Anglo-American anti-Communist Axis, are stepping up their ideological offensive at home and abroad, in order to confuse and divide the anti-imperialist people and, especially, to indoctrinate the American people with hostility toward the Soviet Union and the new democracies of Eastern Europe; when rampant reaction is striving to imbue the American people with a fascist-like spirit

of race hatred and national chauvinism.

“In view of this, we are confronted with a major task — or, rather, two phases of the same task— in our ideological work: to expose and combat Wall Street imperialism on the ideological field, and to enrich and extend our theoretical and propaganda work among the Party membership and the labour and progressive spheres in which we exert influence.”

Dennis then noted that the Communist Party must work to bring about a new Marxist understanding of the role of the Party as the vanguard of the American working class. “This is of decisive importance to build and strengthen our Communist Party and thus enable the working class to play the leading role in the people's fight against the monopolies, war and fascism, and ultimately to realise its Socialist objective.

“To enable our Party to fulfil its many new obligations, we must intensify and extend the Political, ideological struggle against the harmful policies of social reformist labour leaders, the reactionary activities of the Social-Democrats, the ACTU leaders, as well as the Trotskyite provocateurs.”

Comrade John Williamson in his report to the Plenum dealt with trade union problems and the Third Party movement.

Williamson pointed out that at the CIO Board meeting in January, representatives of one and a half million CIO members identified themselves with a pro-peace, anti-Marshall Plan programme and refused to be tied to Truman's candidacy.

This made clear to the American workers as well as to millions of trade unionists throughout the world, that the position of Murray, Carey and Reuter, who supported the Marshall Plan, does not represent the unanimous opinion of either the leadership or membership of the CIO.

Enumerating the serious errors made by Party comrades in trade union work, Williamson pointed out that, “some of these weaknesses are a reflection of the fact that we did not searchingly enough dig out all expressions of Browderism in Party trade union work and in the thinking and practices of some of our trade union forces.”

“The ruling circles of our country,” said Comrade Winston, in his report on Party work,” try to picture our Party as “subversive,” as “un-American” as an “agent of a foreign power,” and as “advocating the violent overthrow of the government.” Their purpose in this is to discredit the role of our Party and its contribution to the struggles of the American workers and the people generally, and to create a war hysteria that will enable reaction more readily to step up preparations for World War III.”

Comrade Winston was able to show, however, that the hysterical onslaught of American reaction, far from destroying the people's will to action was having the opposite result. He said:

“A new type of anti-war coalition is emerging, the new Third Party headed by Henry Wallace. New wage struggles are taking place in all the basic industries. Supported by the whole of organised labour, the fight for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law has entered a new stage and will become one of the biggest issues in the election campaign.

There is not the slightest doubt that by firmly and resolutely relying on the working class, by subjecting shortcomings to criticism and self-criticism, and by drinking deep at the fount of Marxist-Leninist theory the Communist Party of America will be able to head the struggle of the working people of America against the war markers for peace and democracy.

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DOLLAR DIPLOMACY EXPOSES ITSELF. M. Marinin

American diplomacy, which as the Washington “Star” puts it has been one chain of tragic mistakes and crude blunders

during the past three years, crowned its actions during the month of May by exposing itself to an unparalleled extent in the history of international relations.

On May 4 Mr. Beddell Smith US Ambassador to the Soviet Union, on behalf of his government submitted a statement to the Soviet Government in which it was said that the present state of American-Soviet relations is a source of keen disappointment to the American people and the US Government. Shifting responsibility for the strained international situation from US ruling circles onto the Soviet Union, and stressing the continuity of American foreign policy the Ambassador made it clear that the US Government was keeping the door open for exhaustive discussion to settle “our differences”.

On May 9 Molotov in his reply to the American Ambassador declared that the Soviet Government took a positive view of the desire of the US Government to improve American-Soviet relations and “with this aim in view agreed to the proposal to discuss and settle the differences between them”.

The news about forthcoming talks between the United States and the Soviet Union was received with profound satisfaction by the people in literally every country. It strengthened the belief of all genuine supporters of peace that a settlement of the differences between the two countries would eliminate the tension in the international situation and consolidate peace and security. It was universally admitted, in the United States, where the non-stop propaganda machine succeeded in whipping up a war hysteria, that the prospect of American-Soviet talks had evoked all-round feeling of relief.

But a toning down of the war hysteria does not enter into the US Government's scheme of things. Consequently, the Government ran away from its own words declaring that it had no intention of entering into talks with the USSR to settle differences. Slamming the door the US Government announced that there was no concrete programme for these talks.

Expressing the hopes and aspirations of millions of “ordinary

people”, the Third Party candidate Henry Wallace, in his Open Letter to Stalin, outlined a concrete programme for settling the differences between the two countries.

Although this programme does not cover all the differences between the USSR and the United States, and although it contains formulations which call for improvement it is, nevertheless, of immense international significance.

What does the Wallace programme propose? First, a universal reduction of armaments and prohibition of atom weapons, settlement of the German question by signing a peace treaty with Germany and the setting up of a peace-loving German government which would guide a united Germany, pledged to the letter of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements.

Wallace also proposes, on the basis of agreements already concluded, the signing of a peace treaty with Japan. Foreign troops should be withdrawn from Germany and Japan at a stipulated interval after the signing of the peace treaties.

The Wallace programme urges respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. This means, naturally, that China and Korea must be cleared of foreign troops. Simultaneously, military bases must not be permitted on the territory of member countries of the United Nations.

Taking into account the consequences of World War II and the tasks of post-war economic relations, Wallace advocates an all-round development of international trade on principles that preclude discrimination of any kind. At the same time Wallace calls for facilitating real relief to the war--devastated countries within the framework of the United Nations.

Unquestionably this programme corresponds to the vital interests of peace and security. It could serve as a basis for discussing and settling the differences between the USSR and the United States, a basis for agreement.

This precisely is how the Soviet Union regards the programme. “As far as the Soviet Government is concerned,” wrote Comrade Stalin in reply to Wallace's Open Letter, “it is of the

opinion that Mr. Wallace's programme could serve as a good and fertile basis for such agreement and for promoting international cooperation, for the USSR believes that notwithstanding the differences in economic systems and ideologies, the coexistence of these systems and peace settlement of differences between the USSR and the US are not only possible, but also absolutely necessary in the interests of universal peace.”

With suspicious haste, which betrayed its intention of paralysing the effect of Comrade Stalin's reply the State Department announced that the US Government did not wish to negotiate with the USSR. It thereby proved that it was not the absence of a concrete programme but simply a matter of not wanting to improve American-Soviet relations.

The prospect of discussing and settling American-Soviet differences least of all entered or for that matter, enters into the calculations of the “strategists” in the ruling American camp, who, according to “United States News” “don't feel at home” every time a move towards peace is made, or whenever there is a real possibility of overcoming the difficulties and tension in the international situation.

TASS (the Soviet Telegraph Agency), expressing the opinion of Soviet circles, stressed this circumstance in its comment on the State Department's announcement, and pointed out that the aggressive policy of the present US Government, which has discarded the Roosevelt policy, is the cause of the strained international relations. The State Department answered this comment with a long declaration of 11 points, in which the American Government tried to lay the fault at another's door. The American allegations were so tendentious and their arguments so naive that TASS had no difficulty in refuting them point by point and proving to the hilt that the responsibility lay in the abandonment of the Roosevelt policy.

Even the huge American propaganda machine, supported by the press and radio of its British, French, Italian and other satellites, failed to convince world public opinion and the

people of America that the US Government was correct on this issue. Arising from this exchange of notes, letters and statements between the USSR and the United States, the peoples of the world, including the Americans, have seen for themselves that, first, only by agreement between the USSR and the US can the tension in international relations be overcome; second the Soviet Government, faithful to its policy of strengthening peace throughout the world wants, and is striving to achieve agreement, while US ruling circles who, bent on establishing their world domination and who are pursuing an aggressive policy all over the world, do not want to consolidate the peace and therefore are avoiding agreement with the USSR.

Why then did the US Government, through their Ambassador in Moscow, express the desire on May 4 to settle disagreements? It was simply a manoeuvre, dictated above all, by election considerations.

A sharp struggle is developing in the election campaign between the combined forces of the reactionary two-party bloc against the Third Party, the Wallace party which, although it has not yet emerged from the phase of organisational formation, has become a powerful factor in US political life. Problems of foreign policy, of American-Soviet relations are the central issues in the struggle.

The Wallace peace programme, which expressed the need for agreement between the US and USSR is winning the support of the people. Truman and his colleagues fear that the people who in the past voted for Roosevelt will as a token of approval of his foreign policy, vote for Wallace and thus deprive the Democrats of their chance of retaining power. So, in an attempt to retain the votes Truman resorted to a diplomatic manoeuvre. In submitting their proposal to the Soviet Government, the US Government, as was practically unanimously stressed by the world press, calculated on the proposal being rejected or accepted. In the event of the Soviet Government rejecting the "peaceful proposal" the American ruling clique intended telling

the world that the USSR does not want peace and, during the ensuing hullabaloo to submit a huge armaments programme to Congress to introduce universal military service and join up with the military “Western bloc”. In the event of acceptance of the proposal the American diplomats reckoned on protracted secret talks to be interrupted or broken off, whenever they thought fit and then, choosing the opportune moment inform the electors of their “peace efforts” in an attempt to win votes. But they failed to foresee a third variant—that chosen by the Soviet Union. That is why the publication in Moscow of the correspondence between Beddell Smith and Molotov irritated them so much. Having prepared a clumsy pitfall for the Soviet Government, the American ruling clique got themselves trapped.

American diplomacy schemed to “expose” the Soviet Union and to ascribe to it its own aggressive plans. Instead the word was offered the spectacle of the unprecedented self exposure of American diplomacy.

By throwing overboard their own proposal for negotiations to settle outstanding differences between the USSR and the US, by rejecting the Wallace programme which corresponds to the vital interests of all peace-loving peoples, the ruling circles of America once again confirmed the well-known fact that their policy in the past was aggressive, is aggressive now and will continue to be so.

The more outspoken troubadours of this policy even give it a certain “theoretical” basis. They reject, in general, the possibility of the coexistence of different economic systems and ideologies. This strange “conception” is dictated by a feeling of weakness and not at all by a feeling of strength. This “conception” reflects the fear of its authors at the outcome of peaceful competition between two systems. That is precisely why their gamble on another war is presented as a matter of “principle” .

The Soviet Union is counterposing this stand with a consistent policy aimed at strengthening peace, international cooperation

and security.

The past few weeks have been in a way, a test of the attitude of broad democratic sections in all countries to the two opposing lines in international policy. None can deny the fact that the clumsy manoeuvre of the transatlantic “strategists” has been condemned everywhere. None can deny the fact that the democratic forces in all countries have demonstrated their profound gratitude for, and support of the noble policy of the great Socialist power.

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ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET AND RUMANIA

The third number of “Problems of Economy”, monthly organ of the Supreme Economic Council of Rumania, is devoted almost exclusively to Rumanian-Soviet relations.

In an article entitled “The Rumanian-Soviet agreements and the rehabilitation of our country”, Jon Gheorghe Maurer writes that economic bonds with the Soviet Union are a decisive factor in Rumania's rehabilitation. The author points Out that World War II completely disorganised Rumanian economy. It was the Soviet Union that saved the country from economic catastrophe. In 1947 the import of 115,980 tons or coke and thousands of tons of cast iron from the Soviet Union made a speedy recovery possible in the engineering industry.

An article by the Director of the National Bank, Aurel Vijoli, deals with Rumania's financial relations with the Western capitalist countries and with the Soviet Union.

The monarchy often resorted to foreign loans which were issued under extremely onerous conditions. Usually every new

loan was accompanied by new concessions being given to foreign capitalists. As the author correctly points out, "Rumania was a typical example of political dependency brought about by foreign loans."

Vijoli also says that the ten million dollar credit given to Rumania by the Soviet Union in 1947 was on the most advantageous terms and carried with it no demands for guarantees or concessions.

Analysing Rumanian-Soviet economic cooperation, engineer Zeigwer wrote that at a time when the remnants of Rumania's fascist and reactionary circles were deliberately holding up the country's rehabilitation, the Soviet help given to the Rumanian democratic slate in accordance with the economic treaty of May 8, 1945 played a decisive role.

Under this treaty joint Rumanian-Soviet societies were set up for the first time in the country's history. They differ radically from the previous joint companies in which foreign capital played a big role exploiting the country's wealth in a predatory way. The Soviet-Rumanian societies are based on full equality in shares, administration and distribution of profits. The societies are legal institutions of Rumania, run in accordance with Rumanian laws.

A characteristic feature of the old societies was that they sabotaged national production plans, evaded tax payments, exported wealth illegally and encouraged illegal exchange. The Soviet-Rumanian societies are acting in accordance with signed agreements and are strengthening the economic independence of democratic Rumania. For example, the Rumanian Soviet Transport Society has solved in a practical way the problems of river and sea navigation and shipbuilding repairs. It has 199 river and sea-going ships and has reconstructed the dockyards.

The domination of foreign capital which hampered Rumania's economic development was especially powerful in the oil industry. For instance, in 1940 foreign societies owned 80 per

cent of the entire oil production.

The Rumanian-Soviet cooperation in exploiting oil resources began on October 21, 1945. "Without the Rumanian-Soviet treaties," says engineer Rasvan, "our oil industry would be in danger."

This issue of "Problems of Economy" also carries other interesting material, showing the economic experience and great creative work carried on in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

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STRUGGLE AGAINST CLERICAL REACTION IN HUNGARY

Part of the reactionary hierarchy of the Catholic clergy in Hungary, led by Cardinal Mindsenti, is opposing the Government draft for a unified educational system which would bring the church schools under the jurisdiction of the State. Hungarian reaction, which has suffered a number of heavy defeats during the past three years, is now trying to launch an offensive through the medium of the church. Pastoral letters from the Cardinal slandering the democratic regime and threatening those who support the separation of the schools from the church, were read in all Catholic churches.

A wave of protests against clerical reaction has swept the country in answer to the threats and church terror. The reactionary body in the leadership of the Reformed Church, which supported Mindsenti, has been replaced by a new leadership which has announced its readiness to uphold the democratic order. Opposition to Mindsenti's provocative policy is growing among Catholic public opinion. The leaders of the democratic parties favoured bringing the schools under the State and spoke against the pulpit being used for political and anti-democratic purposes. This demand has the support of the

overwhelming majority of teachers in the clerical schools, the leadership of the youth organisations, and so on.

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AGRARIAN REFORM IN JAPAN SABOTAGED

According to reports in the “Nippon Times”, highly influential circles in Japan are afraid of the realisation of the land reform, since it directly threatens their influence. The landlords and their supporters are afraid that it will be difficult for them to subjugate peasants when they are better off.

Those against the reform rely on the following factors. First, big landlords now control production and prices of agricultural fertilisers. Second, big landlords own the forests which are not effected by the programme of the agrarian reform. Third, the landlords and industrialists are directly linked with the big political figures.

The newspaper reports also on a further increase in the price of fertilisers and an increase of obligatory deliveries to the state.

In one village, according to the reform, only 840 out of 6,700 peasants could buy the land. The amount of land for sale was 655 zio (one zio is roughly 2½ acres). These figures mean that the reform would not even provide a frugal hiving for an average family of five. When the sale of the land was announced in the village, only two peasant farmers could take advantage of their right provided by the reform.

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BEVAN REFUTES McNEIL

Addressing the recent Geneva Conference on Freedom of Information, Hector MacNeil, the right-hand man of British Foreign Minister Bevin, in the vicious manner characteristic of Bevin diplomats, attacked the Soviet delegate who had accused the British press of misrepresenting facts and inciting hatred.

Calling upon the conscience of the British reader to prove his point, MacNeil blusteringly declared that the British press is the most objective, humane and respectable press in the world. The conscience of the British reader was silent, evidently because it had been gagged long ago.

But Minister of Health, Aneurin Bevan, MacNeil's colleague in the government, managed to express a somewhat different opinion on the British press in a speech at the Labour Party Conference at Scarborough.

“It is the most prostituted press in the world. Most of it is owned by a gang of millionaires”, said Bevan. “These newspapers and employers and owners are engaged in diverting the social will.

“The national and provincial newspapers are pumping a deadly poison into the public mind week by week. If you listen to carefully to it, and allow it to weaken your will, the consequences will be disastrous”.

Why didn't MacNeil, who was also present at Scarborough, abuse Bevan as he had abused the Soviet delegate in Geneva? Because British readers would have howled him down had he dared to address them with such falsehood.

POLITICAL NOTES

1. THE WAR IN PALESTINE

At midnight on May 14-15 the Jewish National Council, meeting in Tel-Aviv, announced the formation of the Jewish state of Israel. Hardly had this announcement been made than the five British-controlled Arab states: Egypt, Syria, Transjordan, Iraq and the Lebanon acting on the instructions of the British Government, declared war on Israel. At 1 a.m. on May 15, when Egyptian, Syrian and Transjordan troops simultaneously crossed into Israel from the South, North and East, they thereby proved that the new slaughter had been arranged beforehand in accordance with a well prepared plan.

It is no secret that this plan was elaborated in the metropolis of Britain which had only just “withdrawn” from Palestine after 30 years of uncontrolled administration there. All the Arab forces operating against the Jews are equipped with British arms and are led by British officers who have hurriedly taken to themselves the title of “pasha”, or receive orders from these officers through their Arab leaders. In consequence of this Britain, in the eyes of world public opinion, which supports the charge as absolutely indisputable is guilty of armed aggression in Israel.

It would be wrong, however, to regard Britain as being solely responsible for the new war. The US government, which is now trying to play the role of friend and patron of the Jewish state, has pursued a policy in Palestine which, if anything, aggravated the situation in the Near East.

As is known, after long discussion of the subject the UN

General Assembly agreed last November to create two independent states in Palestine—a Jewish and an Arab state. This decision, which was to put an end to the feud, was warmly welcomed by the people of Palestine and also by world public opinion.

Then, a few weeks later the US Government suddenly abandoned this UNO decision, thus returning Palestine to the atmosphere of strikes, armed clashes, fear and terror. By means of its mechanical majority in UNO the American Government rendered the Assembly decision on Palestine, null and void.

Progressive American newspapers claimed at the time that the abandoning of partition by the US Government had been dictated by the American oil concerns, particularly by the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Oil Company, who own the Arab-American Oil Company (Aramco), which is closely tied up with the Arab feudal chiefs. This disgraceful and irresponsible behaviour of the American Government caused bitter indignation both in Palestine and in the United States.

Alarmed at the growing dissatisfaction with American foreign policy Truman and Marshall performed yet another somersault. With a haste that surprised every UNO delegate Truman announced US recognition of the new Jewish state. While the US representatives in UNO, using their usual pressure methods tried to steamroller through their trusteeship proposal for Palestine as a single entity, the US Government first, recognised the fact of Palestine's division and second, gave its blessing to the new Jewish state.

Even that section of the American press which as a rule approves every aspect of the Government's aggressive foreign policy, is practically unanimous in condemning the Palestine policy pursued by Truman and Marshall, calling this policy “muddled”, “irresponsible”, and “dangerous”. The newspapers, however, are careful not to give the reasons for these unprecedented diplomatic somersaults. Evidently they don't dare inform their readers that the present US government,

which is wholly in the hands of the trusts and bankers and their professional military hirelings, was trying to keep on both sides of the fence; it is anxious to secure the interests of a handful of monopoly concerns, which have big investments in the Near East and at the same time they are playing for popularity at home on the eve of the Presidential election. Last November the US Government prevented a UNO decision on Palestine in the interests of the oil monopolies which hope to rake in an annual profit of 550 million dollars there. Now, conditioned by the quest for votes in the forthcoming Presidential election, the Government has announced recognition of Israel.

2. LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE IN SCARBOROUGH

The 47th annual conference of the British Labour party was held in Scarborough on May 17-21. The conference heard but did not discuss (since most of the delegates in the opposition were not given the floor or were cut short on their first words of criticism) the report of the Executive Committee, Attlee's report on the Parliamentary Labour Party, the Labour Government's economic programme "Production—the Bridge to Socialism" and a number of other reports on the home and foreign policy of the Labour Party.

On the eve of the conference the right-wing leadership took what some newspapers described as "prophylactic measures" to render the opposition harmless. Seizing on the telegram sent by 21 Labour MPs to the Italian Socialist leader, Nenni, wishing him success in the election, the Executive Committee expelled John Platts-Mills, M. P. the initiator of the telegram and presented an ultimatum to the other 20 requesting them to cease criticism of the Government, or else... expulsion.

But the party leaders had not a single word to say against the group of Labour M. P. s who, flouting a party decision on the matter, attended Churchill's "United Europe" congress at The

Hague.

The Right Labour leaders tried on the one hand, to terrorise the Left opposition and, on the other, to encourage and inspire all the Right forces inside the Party.

Even so both the foreign and internal policy of the Labour Party came in for sharp criticism at Scarborough despite the strenuous efforts of the chairman, Shinwell, to gag opposition speakers. Nearly all who took the platform noted the indisputable fact that the Labour Government had placed the full brunt of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working class.

The Executive's programme "Production — the Bridge to Socialism", which was sharply criticised, showed in sections at least a bit of sharp practise, aimed at deceiving the working class. Thus, for instance, the programme stated that the Labour Government, unlike the governments of other countries, had prevented a rise in the cost of living. While in France the cost of living had gone up 109 per cent and in the US 29 per cent, in Britain the programme alleged the cost of living had only gone up 4 per cent during the past three years. Just how false is this assertion is proved by the fact that during the last nine months alone, the cost of living in Britain increased 7-9 per cent.

Deliberately boosting the amount of nationalisation, the Labour leaders at the same time did not conceal their intention of slowing down the "rate of nationalisation" and of avoiding, in particular, nationalising the iron and steel industry, thus leaving the basic economic foundation in capitalist hands. Morrisson, one of the big bosses of the Party even declared that it was high time to stop squeezing the capitalists and frankly proposed increasing the exploitation of the workers by intensifying labour.

Labour's foreign policy, which has turned Britain into a base for the aggressive machinations of American imperialism in Europe, likewise came in for sharp criticism. It was noted that Bevin's policy is directed toward unleashing the third world war, prepared by the American monopolies and military

adventurers.

Despite the sharp criticism of the internal and foreign policy of the Labour Government the conference, by a substantial majority, approved the Executive's report and on its insistence, avoided expressing in self on the Palestine issue. The Labour leaders were able to fall back on the fact that their policy has the approval of the Party majority. This is simply not true, for the approval by the conference of the Labour Party's policy by no means reflects the sentiments of the party and trade union membership. The Labour Party machine is such that it enables the leadership to get any decision that suits their purpose.

The conference was attended by 1,266 delegates representing 5,051,000 members. There were 162 Ministers, deputy Ministers and ex-Ministers. This group, naturally, tamely followed Attlee, Bevin, Morrison and other party bosses. Present, too, were 449 trade union delegates representing actually only the top leadership of 62 trade unions affiliated to the Labour Party. These trade union delegates hold 4,129,000 votes while the 576 delegates representing the local Labour Party organisations have a combined voting strength of only 856,000 (according to the number of members). Since the membership represented by the delegates is taken into account and not the number of delegates when voting for a proposal the 449 trade union delegates, who comprised only a third of the total number present, but held four-fifths of the total vote, were able to dictate their will to the conference.

The leadership of the Labour Party is so intertwined with the trade union leadership, which has produced Bevin, Isaacs, Shinwell and others, that it can dispose of the majority of the trade union votes as it sees fit.

Consequently the Scarborough decisions cannot be regarded as approval by the Labour Party and trade union membership of the reactionary line of the present Government. These decisions speak of the treacherous conspiracy between the Right Labour leaders and their colleagues — the Right leaders in the trade unions — a conspiracy which is directed against the interests of

the British working people and the people of Europe.
Jan MAREK

EDITORIAL

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