

*Workers of all countries, unite!*

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

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## **SELF-CRITICISM—THE KEEN WEAPON OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES**

The peoples of the new democracies, with great enthusiasm are building a genuinely free life for the first time in their history. They are devoting their labour and creative initiative to the cause of strengthening the people's democracy by extending and consolidating its economic and political foundations.

The economic and political successes of the new democracies, achieved under the leadership of the Communist and Worker's parties—the true and tried vanguard of the working people—were not easily come by. Socialist construction is developing in conditions of bitter class struggle, which finds expression in different forms. The development toward socialism does not proceed smoothly, without struggle, without difficulties and mistakes.

Self-criticism is the keen weapon which helps to lay bare and eliminate shortcomings and mistakes.

Criticism and self-criticism make it easier to combat the enemies of the working class and socialism, to expose their machinations, help to secure timely elimination of shortcomings, and thus pave the way for new successes.

Lenin and Stalin teach us that it is precisely when a revolutionary Marxist party has come to power that self-

criticism is urgently needed, because members of the government party, carried away by success may become conceited, fail to see their weaknesses and thereby facilitate the work of their enemies.

Hence the vital significance in the struggle for the steady development of the national economy in the new democracies, for improving the quality of all ideological, political and organisational work and raising it to higher levels.

Self-criticism is not just a passing phenomenon. In the arsenal of the Marxist parties, criticism and self-criticism are an ever active weapon which is indissolubly connected with the revolutionary spirit of the great teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. Self-criticism is a law of the Party's development, is a specific method of training Party cadres, the working class and the entire people in the spirit of revolutionary development.

There can be no genuine realisation of the organisational principles of a Marxist party, no strengthening of party organisations and their connections with the masses, no correct Marxist-Leninist education of Party cadres without criticism and self-criticism in the Party organisations.

The right to criticise any Party official at Party meetings is part of the principles of inner Party democracy; freedom of criticism and self-criticism makes it easier for the membership to exercise control over leading Party officials.

Bolsheviks cannot but know, says Comrade Stalin, that the slogan of self-criticism is the basis of our Party activity, the means of strengthening the proletarian dictatorship, the spirit of the Bolshevik method of training cadres.

These words by Stalin clearly and thoroughly determine the role and place of self criticism in inner Party life as a constantly operating method of work in Party organisations.

There can be no talk of inner Party democracy, and still less of criticism and self-criticism in Party organisations where there is no election of leading organs but only appointments from above; in such organisations Party members are reluctant to

express their opinion, and avoid criticising the existing order for fear of reprisals.

There can be no advance toward socialism without promoting criticism and self-criticism, without drawing the broad masses of working people into the work of disclosing and removing weaknesses and mistakes. That is why the masses of the workers, the labouring peasantry and progressive intelligentsia should be encouraged in making criticism and in exercising control from below. A non-Marxist attitude towards criticism and self-criticism, is often the outcome of conceit and at times of a non-understanding of the role of self-criticism as a vital method of Party work, the desire to restrict criticism, to stifle it, to take measures against those who make serious critical remarks.

An incorrect attitude to criticism is expressed in the fact that instead of admitting and correcting mistakes, criticism is taken subjectively, as an affront in prestige, an insult to the ambitions and reputation of one or another official, leader of an organisation, and so on. This attitude by no means strengthens the Party organisations. Nor does it promote the proper education of cadres. On the contrary, it is extremely dangerous to the life and development of the Party. An honest and frank recognition of mistakes on the other hand, and the taking of measures to rectify these mistakes strengthens the Party, educates cadres in the spirit of a self-critical approach to their work, sharpens their vigilance, and infuses life and vigour into inner Party work as a whole.

In this respect it must be said that the leaders of the Communist Parties of France and Italy proved equal to the occasion. At the Information Conference of the nine Communist Parties, held in Poland last September they recognised their mistakes and, in the manner of Marxists, accepted the severe criticism to which these mistakes were subjected. In their reports, which were published in the press, Comrades Duclos and Longo described these mistakes in great detail. After criticising their shortcomings before the broad Party membership, the

Communist Parties of France and Italy took the necessary measures to rectify these mistakes and in doing so strengthened their ranks and made a valuable contribution to the proper education of Party personnel in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism.

“All revolutionary parties which perished hitherto,” stated Lenin “did so because they became conceited, failed to see wherein lay their strength, and feared to speak of their weaknesses.” This important statement by Lenin is forgotten and violated by anyone who persists in refusing to recognise his mistakes and who in the fog of eulogy and exaggerated self-praise fails to see serious shortcomings in the work.

Self-criticism is a sign of strength and not weakness of the Marxist party, for only a strong party which has its roots in life and is advancing towards victory, does not fear ruthless criticism of its own shortcomings on the part of the Party membership and the people as a whole.

“Only parties that are living in the past and doomed to oblivion fear the light and criticism. We are not afraid of the one or the other because we are a party on the ascent, a party advancing to victory. That is why criticism ... is a sign of great strength and not weakness of our Party, a means of strengthening it and not its disintegration.” (Stalin)

Only bourgeois parties which conceal the truth, cover up their shortcomings by pretending all is well, only parties that are historically doomed, fear the light of day and criticism. Why, if the bourgeoisie were to indulge in but the slightest serious self-criticism, were to indulge in the least bit of free criticism of their shortcomings—not a stone would be left of the bourgeois order.

The Marxist parties see in the encouragement of efficient, fundamental criticism and self-criticism by the masses, in the ability to listen to their voice, a powerful weapon for still further strengthening their contacts with the working class, the labouring peasantry and the people as a whole.



By extensively developing criticism and self-criticism on the basis of principle, by educating cadres on the mistakes and generalising the positive experience of work, the Marxist parties will in this way still further strengthen their ranks and rally around themselves the working people in the struggle for new victories of the people's democracy and socialism.

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## **PARTY MEETINGS IN BULGARIA**

The decisions of the Political Bureau of the Bulgarian Workers' Party concerning the results of the recent election campaign were discussed at several conferences of leading comrades from party district committees and officials of the Fatherland Front and People's Councils.

The conferences were followed by regional and city meetings which took decisions to put the Political Bureau's policy into action. Central Committee members took part in these meetings, which were held between May 22 and June 10.

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# **FOR CONSOLIDATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES AGAINST IMPERIALISM**

## ***Nationalisation in Rumania***

On June 11 the National Assembly of Rumania unanimously adopted the Nationalisation Bill, submitted by the Government on the initiative of the Workers' Party. The nationalisation law takes in all the basic industries such as oil, mining, lumber, non-ferrous metallurgy, textiles, woodworking, paper mills, leather, food, and building materials, together with the main banks and insurance companies.

Immediately the bill was passed, Government-appointed directors, among them a number of outstanding rank and file workers, took over the nationalised enterprises.

The taking over was celebrated in all factories and enterprises. Speakers emphasised that nationalisation was the fruits of the

struggle waged by the working class, under the leadership of the Workers' Party, against the exploiting classes, for the reconstruction of the economy, for a higher standard of living and the building of socialism.

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### ***Resistance Movement in Spain***

One of the leaders of the Spanish resistance movement, general Juan Blasque recently stated that the number of guerrillas is steadily increasing. In place of the former isolated groups of 2-3 guerrillas who could only engage in minor operations there are now well organised guerrilla detachments which are operating in accordance with a strategic plan. These detachments carry out large-scale sabotage, dislocate transport and mete out punishment to traitors and police agents. At the same time the guerrillas are conducting political work among the peasants. The guerrillas have the active support of the population.

Indicative of the spread of the guerrilla movement and its growing strength is the fact that Franco has dispatched thousands of soldiers, artillery, tanks and planes against the guerrillas.

Franco has formed "anti-guerrilla" schools to train Falangists as agent provocateurs.

The resistance movement is spreading also in the cities. Strikes are taking place in the textile mills in Catalonia, Sabadell,

Barcelona and in the Basque country. Illegal trade union organisations are functioning in many Spanish plants.

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### ***Hungarian Workers' Party: Unity Congress***

The Fourth Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party and the Thirty-Seventh Congress of the Social-Democratic Party opened in Budapest on June 12.

Both conferences agreed to fuse the two workers' parties. The same afternoon a great rally took place at Heroes' Square, attended by 400,000 working people, to greet the unity congress. In the evening the unity congress of the Hungarian Workers' Party was opened.

Representatives were present from the Communist, Social Democratic and Workers' Parties of France, Italy, Poland, Germany, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Sweden, Austria, Denmark and Greece. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and other fraternal parties sent greetings.

The unity congress lasted for two days and was attended by 443 full delegates and 126 consultative delegates of whom 218 were workers and 116 peasants; 294 of them were former members of the Communist Party and 149 of the Social Democratic Party.

The agenda included the following questions:  
the political situation and the programme of the Hungarian Workers' Party—reports by Comrades Matias Rakosi and Arpad Szakasits;

the Statutes of the Hungarian Workers' Party—speaker, Comrade Farkas;

election of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

Congress ratified the Party's programme and Status and passed a resolution that it considered itself a member of the Information Bureau of the Nine Communist and Workers' Parties. Congress was marked by great enthusiasm. All decisions were carried unanimously.

A Central Committee of 66 members and 13 alternate members was elected. Among the members are Comrades Rakosi, Szakasits, Farkas, Marosan, Gero, Revai, Bonai, Raik. The Control Commission consists of ten members and three alternate members.

Congress sent a message of greetings to Comrade Stalin.

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### ***Soviet Union Cuts Reparations from Finland, Hungary, Rumania***

Finland's three Communist ministers, Leino, Murto and Janhunen on May 19 suggested that their government should ask the Soviet Union Soviet Union to cut reparations due under the peace treaty. Their suggestion was made because the political situation in Finland had stabilised, and the Soviet Union had, on more than one occasion, shown its friendly attitude to Finland.

It was whole-heartedly supported by the Finnish government and the people.

On June 3, the Soviet Government informed the Finnish Government that it had “decided to help Finland, and from July 1, would cut the remaining reparations due from Finland by 50 per cent”.

On the initiative of the Rumanian Workers’ Party and the Hungarian Communist Party, the governments of Rumania and Hungary also asked the Soviet Government to reduce reparations.

Anxious to help the Rumanian and Hungarian peoples in their efforts to rehabilitate and develop their economies, the Soviet Government likewise decided to cut their remaining reparations by 50 per cent from July 1.

The Soviet Government’s decision to reduce reparations for Finland, Hungary and Rumania clearly demonstrates the Soviet Union’s peaceful and friendly policy to all countries, even the former allies of fascist Germany who fought against the Soviet Union. This decision was warmly approved by the peoples of Finland, Hungary and Rumania.

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## ***Clement Gottwald Elected President of Czechoslovakia***

On June 14 the National Assembly of Czechoslovakia elected Clement President of the Republic.

Gottwald was nominated by the Communist Party and by the Central Action Council of the National Front. The people who know Gottwald as a genuine champion of democratic liberties and proved statesman and patriot, enthusiastically welcomed his nomination. In thousands of telegrams of greetings sent to Gottwald and the Central Action Council, the

working people stated that the vacant post of President would be filled by the man who had devoted his life to the cause of the working people.

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### ***Central Committee Meetings***

The June meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia heard a report by Comrade Gottwald on the political situation and defined the following tasks for the Party.

to improve the organisation of production and distribution and to increase output and exports;

to realise in practice the new Constitution, to introduce a new judicial system, to reorganise administration;

to consolidate the regenerated National Front and its leading organs, the national Councils;

to carry out the fusion of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party and thus end the split in the working class movement;

to raise the ideological level of Party members, to set up a network of advanced Party schools and to improve the standard of the Party press;

to thoroughly purge the Party of all alien elements.

The Central Committee emphasised the great importance of Marxist-Leninist theoretical training for Communists on the basis of the Party's political experience the importance of inner

party democracy, of drawing the rank and file into active party work, of a relentless struggle against conceit and any attempts to substitute dictatorial methods for explanatory work, the importance of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

The Central Committee noted the Party's successful work during the past three years and called on Party, members to work even better.

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Comrade Wladislaw Gomulka reported on the problems of the fusion of the Polish workers' parties to a meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party on June 3.

After discussing the report, the Central Committee authorised the Political Bureau to convene the Second Congress of the Polish Workers' Party and to approach the Central Committee of the Socialist Party about the date of the unity congress of the two parties.

In accordance with the decision of the Central Committee, preparations for the election campaign have started in all Party organisations.

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A meeting of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party on June 10 and 11 heard Comrade V. Luca report on the result of the election campaign and Comrade Georgiu-Dej on nationalisation.

The meeting decided to recommend that the Government should nationalise industry, transport, banks and insurance societies.

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## CONFERENCE OF LEFT SOCIALIST PARTIES

A conference of the Left Socialist Parties and groups was held in Warsaw during the first week of June. The French Democratic and Unitarian Socialist Movement was represented by Elie Bloncour; the Hungarian Social Democratic Party by Arpad Szakasits; the Socialist Party of Italy by Lelio Basso; the Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia by Zdenek Fierlinger; Socialist Party of Poland by Jozef Cyranciewicz, the Socialist Unity Party of Finland by Santeri Jakobson.

The political resolution unanimously adopted by the conference states that, despite their enormous war damage, the new democracies have made great progress because of the nationalisation of industry and agrarian reform. Industrial output has surpassed the pre-war level, the workers' living standards are rising steadily. The countries of Western Europe cannot boast of similar successes. The new democracies have been so successful because of their planned economy, economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and with each other and, still more important, because of the united action of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry and other progressive groups.

The resolution stressed that this was only possible because fascism was smashed chiefly by the heroic efforts of the Soviet people and the Soviet Army which liberated the new democracies.

Exposing the aggressive plans of American imperialism, the conference emphasised that the "Marshall Plan" is subjugating

the countries of Western Europe to the interests of American finance capital, is degrading their economy, cutting the workers' living standards, bringing unemployment and a loss of sovereignty and national independence. The plan of the imperialist offensive could never have succeeded had it been firmly opposed by the united working class of the countries threatened by the American imperialists.

The resolution denounced the Right-Wing Socialists as hirelings of American imperialism who "have been degraded into the position of betraying the working class" and have become the "third force of imperialism", a tool to split the working class.

The Committee for International Conferences of Socialist Parties has been turned into a weapon to put pressure on the countries which are defending their sovereignty.

The conference opposed the conception of imperialist ideologists who claim that peaceful cooperation between countries is impossible. "This false theory leads to political and economic blocs, "to an armaments race, instead of economic rehabilitation, and threatens world peace," says the resolution.

The conference counterposed the policy of the imperialists with one of international cooperation. It declared that the countries of the west, together with the new democracies and the Soviet union, can maintain healthy economic relations with the United States and effectively use American credits, provided that there is no infringement of national sovereignty.

The resolution devotes special attention to working class unity. Stressing the leading role of the working class in building a powerful peace front, the conference points out that the principal duty of Socialist and Communists throughout the world is to achieve unity. The form of this unity takes depends on the historical and social conditions of each country, it adds, pointing out that in the new democracies the working class movement is being organically united.

In the capitalist countries the task of Socialists is to work for unity of action with Communists with the object of uniting the working class and the middle strata of the people.

Through unity of action in an atmosphere of mutual confidence it will be possible to immobilise the plans of international capitalism, to isolate the Communist Parties and smash the revolutionary forces. It will also make it possible to fight more strongly for urgent economic and social reforms. The conference called all genuine Socialists to fight unceasingly for working class unity, against the opportunism of capitulators, against conscious and unconscious treachery and influence alien to the working class movement.

The conference greeted the Soviet Union's policy for peace and called on all forces to rally in support of this policy which would save mankind from the horror of a new war and to support all anti-imperialist movements.

Another resolution expressed fraternal solidarity with the Italian Socialist Party. It condemned the subversive activities of the right-wing Socialists who, by supporting Saragat and Lombardo, had succeeded in splitting the Italian working class movement, and thus enabled Italian reaction, supported by imperialist intervention, to retain power. The Vienna decision of the Committee for International Conferences of Socialist Parties directed against the Italian Socialist Party, once again exposed the Committee as a tool of governments who were pursuing an imperialist policy.

In its message of fraternal greetings to the Italian Party, the conference called on it to follow an uncompromising of working class unity.

A resolution on Palestine condemned the criminal imperialist deal that brought about the war and greeted the heroic struggle of the people of the State of Israel for their independence. The conference hoped that the final settlement of the Palestine question would fully correspond to the interest of both Jewish and Arab working class.

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# **UNITY CONGRESS WORKERS' PARTY OF HUNGARY**

## **From Comrade Rakosi's Speech**

In his opening remarks at the Unity Congress Comrade Rakosi said:

The congresses of the workers' parties, the Communist and Socialist parties of Hungary adopted an unanimous decision to unite. This historic event is an occasion for joy and satisfaction not only to the working people of Hungary but also to the supporters of democratic progress throughout the world. In line with this decision, which marks a new epoch in the history of our country, we have gathered here to announce the fusion of the two fraternal parties, to discuss the problems of work of the new party and also the draft programme and statutes of the party, which have been submitted to the congress for consideration.

Comrade Rakosi then reviewed in great detail the international situation. He contrasted the growing contradictions and chaos in the anti-democratic, imperialist camp headed by the USA and the growing strength of the democratic, anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. In a special section of his report devoted to the work of the Communist Parties, Comrade Rakosi said:

The growing strength of democracy is reflected also in the fusion of the forces of the nine Communist and Workers' parties. Thanks to their exchange of experience and coordinated activities, these parties are waging with increasing success the struggle for peace and for the independence of the

nations. The Communist Party of Hungary is proud of the fact that it, too, thanks to the successes achieved in the course of three years of struggle, is numbered among the nine Parties. Being a member of this group of nine Communist and Workers' parties naturally increases our international responsibility in the struggle for peace and democracy, and we shall spare no efforts to do justice to the joint work entrusted to us.

## ***Economic Development***

We can now confidently state that this year agricultural and industrial production will reach the pre-war level. The harvest prospects, after three successive years of drought, are good. The area under crops this year is the biggest ever within the present frontiers of Hungary. The soil has been thoroughly worked over and the proportion of such crops as sugar beet and tobacco is growing; an area of 170,000 holds have been sown to sugar beet, that is, more than ever before. Even in the event of an average harvest there will be 20 kilograms of sugar per capita of the population, which is 50 per cent more than in the best pre-war years.

In April industrial output reached 97 per cent of the pre-war level, and has now topped the 1938 figure. The output of steel, iron, aluminium, machinery, paper, chemical products, footwear and coal is now far in excess of the pre-war target. During the first five months of the current year, coal output was 15 per cent above the last pre-war year, steel 12 per cent higher, and iron 5 per cent. Productivity of labour is increasing and discipline is improving. Labour emulation has stimulated production. The budget for the first ten months of the fiscal year showed an increase in income of 100 million forints over expenditure. Unquestionably, the budget for the second fiscal year, prepared on the basis of a stable currency, will also show an increase in income over expenditure.

Our war-devastated national economy is being rehabilitated along planned lines. Two-thirds of the dwelling houses have been restored and some 50,000 new houses built during the past two years.

The Three-Year Plan is going well and we can safely say that it will be completed in December of next year, that is, in two and a half years. The results of capital investments for the first year of the Three-Year Plan show that target figures have been exceeded by 3 per cent.

Thanks to this economic progress the standard of living of industrial workers had by May reached the pre-war level and in heavy industry, in the coal mining and textile industries had actually exceeded the pre-war level. Miners' wages are 30 per cent higher than in 1938. We can declare with pride that in this respect we have overfulfilled the Plan and this year the standard of living will reach the indices which we had anticipated attaining only at the end of the Plan.

During the past three and a half years, Hungarian democracy, headed by the Communist Party has fundamentally changed the economic system of the country. The exploiters and capitalists have been caught in a vice and a considerable part of industry and transport is now in the hands of the State. Of the 550,000 people employed in industry and transport, 472,000 or 86 per cent are working in the nationalised or other non-capitalist industries.

## ***Political Consolidation of Peoples Democracy***

The liberation of the country put an end to the power of the big landlords and capitalists. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, power passed into the hands of the working class, the peasantry and to that part of the bourgeoisie which was opposed to German imperialism and agreed to cooperate in abolishing the relics of feudalism.

The outcome of over three years of struggle is that the working class and labouring peasantry hold power in Hungary. During the past three and a half years the working class, headed by our Party, has proved its ability to govern the country. It has become the leading and decisive force and is recognised as such by the overwhelming majority of the people. This recognition brought into the Party this spring thousands of Social-Democratic workers.

The correct policy of the Communists isolated the Right Social-Democrats and brought about healthy conditions for the fusion of the two workers' parties.

Cadres of Party organisers were able, in a short space of time, to strengthen the Party which developed ideologically and increased numerically in the process of the struggle.

At the beginning of May we had 6,242 Party primary organisations with a membership of 882,000. As is known, when we carried through the exchange of membership cards, new cards were not issued to thousands of former Party members whom we considered unworthy of the Party's confidence. Indicative of the growth of the Party is the fact that during the first four months of this year more than 200,00 people joined the Party. Two-thirds of this number came from Budapest. Prior to the fusion the absolute majority of the workers in large enterprises in Budapest—60 per cent—belonged to the Communist Party. In Budapest alone 340,000 copies of the Party press are circulated daily and on Sundays the sales reach half a million. Since the liberation the Party publishers "Sikra", have printed more than two million copies of Marxist books.

Party education is proceeding smoothly. During the spring some 80,000 members attended different Party schools or lectures.

The social composition of the Party is made up of 45 per cent industrial workers and 35 per cent peasants. This is the Communist army which is now uniting with the Social-Democratic—a measure which will be approved by the present

congress. At the same time we must take note of our mistakes. We underestimated the resistance forces of reaction. We assumed that the enemy had been destroyed. As a matter of fact he is still strong. There is again the danger of turning dizzy with success.

### ***Fusion of the Two Parties***

One of the prerequisites for the fusion was that the Social-Democratic comrades should adhere to the position of Marxism-Leninism. In accordance with this we drafted a joint programme which we submit to the congress for consideration. This programme not only analyses international and domestic problems in the spirit of the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, but also outlines the tasks confronting the united party, tasks which the united Workers' Party must complete without any loss of time.

The other prerequisite was that the Social-Democrats had to expel from their ranks those who by their activity had shown that they were enemies of unity, of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union.

This programme is supplemented by the statutes of the party, the adoption of which will contribute to the organisational structure of the new party and still further strengthen the basic principles outlined in the programme.

The fusion of the two parties will considerably strengthen the foundations of Hungarian democracy. There will be less vacillation, development will proceed apace, the tempo of restoration and prosperity of our country will quicken.

It is too early as yet to predict what the membership of the party will be, but it will certainly exceed the million mark. This contains the danger of inflating the Party and of obliterating the demarcation line between the Party and the working class. That is why we have considered it necessary to introduce stricter rules when accepting new members and in this way ensure the healthy growth of the party.



We are proud of the successes won during the past two and a half years by Hungarian democracy under the leadership of our Party. However, never must we forget that the starting point of all our successes was the fact that the Soviet Union and Soviet Army released the Hungarian people from their fascist chains, that the liberations struggle of the Soviet Union made it possible to crush the armed forces and state apparatus of reaction, and that the Soviet union did much to help lay the foundation of our development and successes. The economic assistance of the Soviet Union rendered a great service to Hungarian democracy. Consequently, there can be no question of overestimating our own successes and forgetting about the starting point of our development.

It is of vital importance to us to turn the Party into a truly monolithic organisation, imbued with a single spirit, a single desire and a single will. It is imperative that the comrades who have come from the Social-Democratic Party quickly master the theory of Marxism-Leninism and accept iron Party discipline.

If we follow a correct policy the same development will take place in the Workers' Party and enriched with valuable Social-Democratic personnel, the party will quickly and successfully cope with the tasks, the realisation of which was retarded because of a lack of forces.

## ***Struggle Against Clerical Reaction***

A priority task facing the Workers' Party is the taking over of the church schools by the State. We shall be most careful not to offend the religious sentiments of the people. The Land Reform deprived the Church of thousands of acres of land. But this measure was not directed against religion; it was aimed against the big landowners. This is borne out by the fact that in the course of the land reform, we saw to it that the poorer clergy were provided with land. The Communist Party also came out

against reaction which took cover behind the Church. As a result of the Party's correct policy the religious-minded sections of the people have drawn closer to Hungarian democracy and the Communist Party. They give little credit now to the slander spread for 25 years about our Party and see for themselves that the path of democracy is the correct path and the only way to the improved wellbeing of the people. The contradictions between Hungarian democracy and clerical reaction are of a political, and not of a religious nature. As Bishop Ravas has stated, reaction, which is hiding behind a screen "is gathering the discontented and opposition elements into its camp. Adhesion to their camp defines a political and not religious position". And may I add an anti-popular, reactionary political position. And every Catholic democrat should know this.

In view of this a movement has begun in the Reformed Church advocating that the church take its place alongside the builders of democracy. The majority of the Catholic masses and part of the lower clergy connected this demand, while the Catholic hierarchy is resisting it frantically. So far Hungarian democracy has displayed considerable tolerance towards cardinal Mindszenty's provocative policy.

It has been tolerant in the hope that the positive and successful work of democracy would slowly but surely start the process of democratization also among the Catholics, as is now the case in the Reformed Church, and signs of which are becoming increasingly evident among the Catholics. But there is a limit to the patience of democracy and anyone who abuses this patience and takes its self-control for weakness, will learn that Hungarian democracy will be ruthless against all who oppose the interests of the people. Hungarian democracy and the Hungarian Communist Party has placed on the order of the day the matter of bringing the schools under the State and hopes to solve this question in the spirit of accord and conciliation.

## ***Vital Tasks.***

Another big matter, important for Hungarian democracy, is the reorganisation of the National Independence Front on a broad, popular basis.

The need for a united, mass organisation is clear—the national Front would put an end to the superficial cooperation between the parties. In this front, together with the political parties, a special place must be reserved for the big social organisations—the trade unions, cooperatives and the organisations catering for women and youth.

In the sphere of industry we must secure an increase in the productive forces of the country, extend planning and coordinate our plan with the economic plans of our neighbours. We must get down to the job of preparing a Five Year Plan of economic development, and a Ten Year Plan embracing electrification and irrigation. We shall reduce and, as far as possible, abolish income derived from exploitation; the establishment of a network of machine and tractor stations must be accelerated; the agricultural cooperatives, producers, purchasing and trading cooperatives and so on, must be strengthened in every day.

In the interests of safeguarding our national independence and territorial integrity, we must build up a democratic army and equip it with modern armament.

The keystone of our foreign policy is friendship with the Soviet Union, close cooperation with the other new democracies, and an endeavour—in the with the Lenin-Stalin minorities policy—to settle with Czechoslovak democracy the matter of the Hungarians residing in Slovakia.

The Hungarian Workers' Party regards the people's democracy as a specific, comparatively peaceful transition period to socialism.

The Hungarian Workers' Party is fully conscious that a peaceful advance of the capitalist elements toward socialism is unthinkable.

The restrictions placed on the capitalist elements, squeezing them out, and their gradual elimination will inevitably result in resistance on their part and will lead to a sharpening of the class struggle.

To the extent that the big landholders and capitalists lose their economic positions, their social and political strong-points, they will resort more and more to sabotage, espionage, conspiracy and armed action against democracy. And although the working people waging the struggle against reaction, have the state machine in their hands, they know that the struggle between the democratic forces advancing to socialism and the forces of reaction striving to restore capitalism, will not be decided until the economic and political grip of the capitalist elements is removed, and so long as foreign imperialists continue helping to restore reaction.

Consequently, the interests of the peoples' democracy require a strengthening of the organs of state security, the police, eternal vigilance and fighting preparedness of the people, the working class and the Party.

Concluding his speech, Comrade Rakosi dwelt on the national character of the Hungarian Workers' Party.

This Party, he said, carries forward not only the old militant traditions of the Communist Party and all that is best in the 75 years fighting experience of the Social Democratic Party, it is also the successor to and has realised the great aspirations of our finest sons, the old Hungarian fighters for freedom, Kossuth, Petöfi and Stanczyk.

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## **From the Speech by Comrade Szakastis**

No one doubts any longer the Soviet Union is a Socialist country, that the Soviet people are no longer exploited or oppressed, and that Soviet democracy is on a considerably higher level than Western bourgeois "democracy".

It is clear to all that the Soviet Union—the land of progress—has completely solved the problem of national minorities. The Soviet Union is the only country in which, by virtue of its social structure, there is not, nor can there be, crises and unemployment. The coordination of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism is fully reflected in the administration of the Soviet state.

The progress made by the young Hungarian democracy right from the day of liberation also confirms that creative Marxism is the best pathfinder for lighting up the onward march of the labour movement, and that the policy of cooperation between the two parties was a correct policy. The Communist Party of Hungary pursued a sound policy, a policy which was distinguished by its clear and far-sighted plans. Boldly and consistently the Communist Party realised these plans correctly disposed its forces, supported, inspired and encouraged the Left Social Democrats and did not permit any divergence between revolutionary theory and revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice.

Criticising the activity of the Social-Democratic Party, Comrade Sakaszite said:

The objective conditions favouring revolution had ripened even at the time of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. We, too, could have broken the imperialist front had the Social-Democratic parties, in Austria-Hungary, including the Hungarian Social-Democrats, been at all conscious of the weakness of imperialism, and had we applied the correct method of revolutionary struggle.

A revolution took place. The monarchy fell. But this revolution, national in character, did not grow into the socialist revolution. The proletarian socialist revolution did not take place because none of the Austro-Hungarian empire, was equipped with advanced revolutionary theory.

The working-class movement must be freed from bourgeois domination, from formal democracy. It is necessary everywhere to restore the unity of the working class and to get

rid of the traitors. Only in this way can the proletariat wage active struggle against imperialism, and take the path of socialism.

It may be said that we take an unjust attitude towards Social-Democracy and particularly towards its Western representatives—Bevin, Blum, Saragat and their predecessors. But does it not make your blood boil when I speak about the “civil war in Spain”. And do you not clench your fists when I pronounce the “Greece”. Just recall all the things that took place during the years between these two events. Right before our eyes there passes an endless train of treachery and villainy. And we don’t need to go very far back. Nor do we need to resurrect the McDonalds that were found in the Social-Democratic parties in all lands. In fact the Right Social-Democrats have become auxiliaries of fascism.

Who can deny now that had it not been for the valiant Soviet Army, the peoples of Europe would be living in conditions of servile slavery? The Soviet Army by its great victory in the Patriotic War liberated Europe from the worst tyranny in history. What happened to the newly won freedom in the West? Did not the Right Socialists play into the hands of the imperialists. They could find nothing better to do than to summon an international conference in support of the “Marshall Plan” and put their stamp on a document which, in effect, is a ratification of slavery. The British Labourites, among them Healy, sought and made contact with right-wing Hungarian Social-Democrats, including Peyer. This enabled the Rights to raise their heads and encouraged them in their plans for aggression.

It is quite clear now why the British Labour Party was so insistent about the Socialist International Bureau accepting those social chauvinists and Soviet haters—the extreme right party of Schumacher. The Anglo-American imperialists need the Schumacher party as a strongpoint in Western Germany.

Hungarian reaction began to show its head once more with the appearance of Truman on the arena. Such against this

background, the Right Social-Democrats in Hungary can be regarded only as traitors, traitors to the working class of their own country and betrayers of the international working-class movement.

The September action of the Rights proved to be a turning in the life of the Social-Democratic Party. At the moment of danger the left wing of the rallied the masses and in doing so settled the fate of the Rights.

Beginning with these events the situation led logically to the idea of merging with the Communists. Now, with the merger an accomplished fact, we have become a powerful party, and I recall with gratitude, the sincere, honest, loyal support and help accorded by my friend and comrade, Rakosi, support and help which enabled the Social-Democratic Party to take the path of unity not in the form of a beaten, routed army, but as an equal partner. Unity has been effected in the spirit of genuine fraternity. It will be, therefore, firm, unbreakable and lasting. We must see to it that the atmosphere which enabled us to realise the fusion in such friendly spirit, shall reach out to the wide masses of the parties. This is essential in order to bring about as quickly as possible, the complete unification of the masses of Social-Democratic and Communist members.

The Party must be monolithic, united and the members of both parties must be welded into a strongly-knit unit. This great Party opens up a wide range of activity for all, in accordance with ability. In this Party there is not, nor can there be, any criterion other than loyalty to the Party and honest work.

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## **From the Speech by Comrade Farkas**

The draft Statues presented to Congress give a clear answer to the question, what form should the Hungarian Workers' Party

take. It will be a Marxist-Leninist and, therefore, a revolutionary Party. By its programme, organisational structure and inner discipline, it corresponds in the teachings of Lenin and Stalin about the party.

Many comrades still do not fully understand the real reasons for the political, moral and economic superiority of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was able to win the historic victory in the Patriotic War firstly because the country and its peoples are guided by the party of Lenin and Stalin—a party which had been tempered in ceaseless struggle for the past fifty years and which is leading the working class and the peoples of the Soviet Union from victory to victory. Our Party will become a Marxist-Leninist one only when it meets the demands of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin in its ideology, organisational structure and inner discipline.

The great Lenin taught that if the working class is to achieve power it must have a revolutionary party of a new type that will train the working class for the struggle, will become its vanguard, its organised detachment. Only then will the great cause of the working class be victorious.

A genuine party of the working class is an invincible fortress. It educates and steels the fighters and the force whose task it is to carry forward the victorious banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It is necessary to understand that only those who comply with such a high standard should enter inside this fortress.

The Statutes declare that the Hungarian Workers' Party is a forward detachment of the only consistent socialist class—the working class. This definition is of prime importance. Even in our Party there are comrades who do not understand why we insist that our Party is, above all, the Party of the working class. It would be more correct, they say, to formulate it the following way.

The Hungarian Workers' party is a Party of the working class, of the working peasants and progressive intellectuals. This viewpoint is incorrect because it mixes up the working class,



peasantry and intelligentsia. A Marxist-Leninist party must base itself, in the first place, on the most revolutionary class and organise its best forces inside that class.

The Statutes say: "The Party is the highest form of organisation of the working class and of the working people." The Hungarian Workers' Party alone is called to lead all the organisations of the working people in the liberation, and even now, to a certain extent, there was confusion on this question. Our comrades in the trade unions did not understand, for instance, the leading role of the Party, and when the Party held them responsible or checked their work, they expressed their disapproval at such "interference." This attitude is a hangover of syndicalism and reformism.

It is inadmissible that a mass organisation or a parliamentary faction should take over the role of the Party or drive it into the background. This point should be stressed since there are comrades who, in view of the forthcoming transformation of the Hungarian National Independence Front into a powerful organisation covering many millions of members, are of the opinion that the Party should move into the background and cede a number of its positions to the Front.

In other words, they want to advance the Front to the detriment of the Party. Those who want to hide the face of the Party and to carry out its activities in some secret fashion are in reality, erecting a wall between the Party and the masses and are deviating from teachings of Lenin and Stalin about a proletarian party.

The members of the Party should be not merely fighters but first class fighters. For this they must steadily increase their ideological, political and cultural level and master Marxism-Leninism, otherwise they will not be able to work with the non-party masses and will not be able to increase the influence of the Party among the masses.

There should be no place in our party for groupings and factions. We must not allow the Party to be turned into a shelter for opportunists, capitulators and careerists.

Criticism and self-criticism should become a law for the Party's development. Criticism and self-criticism is the most powerful weapon of the Party for preventing its organisation, leaders and functionaries from committing major error, for quickly and correctly rectifying mistakes and for preventing any slightest deviation from Marxism-Leninism. The Party can move forward only by widely exercising criticism and self-criticism.

We must steadily strengthen the Party's bonds with the masses, but not by accepting new members indiscriminately. Those who want to join the Party will in future pass through a period of probationary membership.

The draft Statutes envisage that a comrade who is not conscientious in carrying out Party assignments, does not attend Party meetings and does not work to raise his Party level will not be accepted as a Party candidate.

There are comrades who do not understand properly the new changes in the Party Statutes and think that we will turn our Party into some kind of special Party of cadres. These people mix up the officer corps with the army. Those considering the Party as a party of cadres do not want to accept workers, peasants and intellectuals who have reached the level at which they can be accepted into the Party. This is an ultra-left point of view which virtually isolates our Party from the working masses. Despite the restrictions that have been made, our Party should remain a mass Party composed of the best elements of the working class and the working people and connected with the masses by thousands of links. Only such a Party may say that it is the vanguard of the working class and a people's party.

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**GUARD THE ORGANISATIONAL  
PRINCIPLES OF THE MARXIST PARTY.  
V. GRIGORYAN**

The growing influence of the Communist and Workers' Parties, around which the genuinely democratic and patriotic forces of the people are rallying in the struggle against imperialist expansion and aggression, calls for the further consolidation of the Party ranks on the basis of the Lenin-Stalin organisational principles of the revolutionary Marxist party.

The finest elements of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia to whom the interests of their country are dear, are joining the Communist and Workers' parties in order to take an active part in the struggle on behalf of the people and against imperialist aggression.

The membership of the French Communist Party is in the region of one million; the Czechoslovak Party numbers over two million members; the Italian Party has 2,283,000 members; the Hungarian Workers' Party has over one million members; in Yugoslavia 430,000 members, the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communist) about 500,000, the Polish Workers' Party nearly one million and the Romanian Workers' Party 800,000 members.

The steady strengthening of the Marxist parties organisationally, is all the more important in view of the numerical growth of the parties and their fusion in a number of countries. The numerical growth of a party is, of course, an indication of the growing confidence reposed in it by the working class and the people as a whole. Account should be taken of the fact that the rapid growth of a party tends to lower the level of consciousness of its ranks, to detract somewhat from the quality of the party. Consequently, greater discernment should be displayed when accepting new members into the Party, and serious political work conducted among the new members.

Recently the Central Committee of the French Communist Party discussed the matter of strengthening the basic units of the Party—the groups in the factories, mines, workshops, offices and in the villages. A detailed survey revealed that Party work had improved in this important sector. This improvement

is reflected in the quality of mass work, the growing influence and organisational strengthening of the party groups in the enterprises, in the increased attention displayed by leading party functionaries to the lower organisations. Serious attention is devoted to training personnel, in particular leading cadres in the lower units, to drawing every member into Party life and to work with new Party members.

The Hungarian Workers Party, urging the need for individual approach to new applicants for membership has instituted the principle of recommendations and a probationary period for applicants.

At the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Italy the organisational commission noted the weak organisational work of the Party and stressed that the cardinal reason for this weakness lay in the ideological and political backwardness of many members of the Party.

Systematic work to strengthen Party ranks organisationally, to popularise the Lenin-Stalin organisational principles of the structure of the party of a new type has always constituted an integral part of the daily activities of a Marxist party.

In his well-known book “One Step forward, Two Steps Back”, published in 1904, Lenin expounded the thesis which afterwards became the organisational principles of the party of a new type. In his article “The Class of the Proletariat and the Party of the Proletariat” (1905) Comrade Stalin, in consonance with Lenin’s teachings, demonstrated the soundness of Lenin’s organisational views and consistently upheld them. In this article Comrade Stalin stressed that “we must be extremely vigilant and never must we forget that our Party is a fortress whose doors are open only to those who have been tested”.

Organisational looseness and laxity, indiscipline and “anarchic autonomism”, typical of the “Socialist” opportunist parties, are alien to the Lenin-Stalin principles of Party structure.

The old social-democratic parties are electoral machines, adapted for parliamentary elections and parliamentary struggle,

an appendage and subsidiary of the parliamentary group; their organisational structure is adapted to serve imperialism.

It is obvious that the British Labour Party is not, and never was, connected with the broad masses of the workers that the present Parliamentary Labour party is made up, in the main of “labour” figures who have nothing in common with the working class. Over a long period the Labour Party was built up on the basis of accepting, en masses, trade union members who are not obliged to participate in the practical work of the party.

The French Socialist Party is “making up” for the withdrawal of progressive democratic elements by accepting into its ranks formerly expelled Right Socialists and Trotskyites. Of late the already narrow base of this party has shrunk still more, particularly in the industrial areas and in the departments of the Pas de Calais, Haute Vienne and the Rhone where Socialist influence was strong. The activities of the local organisations of this party are adapted to electioneering, and decisions by the Socialist Party Congress are by no means binding on the Socialist Ministers and deputies.

Such parties leave the proletariat completely helpless and betray their interests.

In his classic work “The Foundations of Leninism” Comrade Stalin outlined the specific features of a new type of the Leninist Party.

The Bolshevik Party is the **vanguard of the working class**, its political leader and General Staff; it is equipped with revolutionary theory, without which it would be incapable of directing the struggle of the working class, of leading it. The Bolshevik Party is closely bound up with the other elements of the working class, with the non-Party masses, who regard the Party of Lenin-Stalin as **their** Party, as a Party **near and dear** to them.

“I think” said Comrade Stalin “that the Bolsheviks remind us of the hero of Greek mythology, Antaeus. They, like Antaeus, are strong because they maintain connection with their mother,

the masses, who gave birth to them, suckled them and reared them. And as long as they maintain connection with their mother, with the people, they have every chance of remaining invincible.

“That is the clue to the invincibility of Bolshevik leadership”.

The Party is the **organised detachment of the working class, the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat**, whose political leadership extends to every other form of organisation of the working class. The Party is the embodiment of **unity of will, incompatible with the existence of factions**.

**By purging itself of opportunists and reformists it becomes strong**, rids itself of elements who introduce the spirit of demoralisation and disruption into the Party.

In an attempt to achieve their counter-revolutionary aims the Trotskyites and opportunists of all shades wanted to turn the party into a loose, amorphous organisation. They opposed iron Party discipline, scorned the Party membership, arrogantly referring to them as a “voting herd”. They tried to smash Party unity and to destroy Soviet power and the Socialist revolution.

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Party exposed the foul manoeuvres of the enemies of the people and smashed their nests of spies.

Any underestimation of the role and significance of the Party organisation, neglect of the organisational principles of the revolutionary Marxist Party, the desire to replace politically tested organisational forms of building the Party with loose, disconnected forms which dissolve the Party among the other organisations, including the People’s Front, mean depriving the Party of the principal role as the vanguard and organised detachment of the working class, mean turning it into a party of “khvostism” (tailing behind) and undermining the confidence of the masses in the Party and losing their support.

As is known, in 1907 the Menshevik, Axelrod proposed that a so-called “labour congress” be convened, which was to be something in the nature of a “non-partisan party” or a “broad” petty-bourgeois labour party without a programme, Lenin

denounced “Axelrodism” which attempted to obliterate the demarcation line between the Party and the working class, to abolish the Party as the vanguard unit of the working class.

Whenever the Party’s role in the political life of the country is belittled, wherever the leading role of the Party is glossed over, wherever there is a fear openly to speak in the name of the Party to the masses—all such instances provide the soil for the growth of liquidation tendencies in the relation to the Party itself.

Any Party organisation that does not hold regular elections, does not meet regularly and ignores collective Party leadership, is grossly violating the organisational principles of the Marxist party.

The strict observance of democratic centralism in the Party, as laid down by the Party Statues, said Comrade Stalin, the regular election of Party organs, the right to nominate and withdraw candidates, secret ballot, freedom of criticism and self-criticism—all these and similar measures must be carried out in practice in order to facilitate control of party leaders by the Party membership.

Inner Party democracy enables every Party member to take part in free and business-like discussion of practical questions of Party policy, to criticise any Party functionary at Party meetings.

In their practical activity Communists must be strictly demanding of themselves, must help in every way to promote criticism and self-criticism, listen to the criticism of others and draw the necessary conclusions therefrom.

He must be a worthy representative in the eyes of the broad masses, an example of staunchness and Party irreconcilability under all difficulties and hardships must always hold aloft the banner of the Party and not furl and hide it from the working class, from the people.

Arrogance, boasting and conceit are alien to Communists. Here it is not amiss to recall Comrades Stalin’s warm description of Lenin, his simplicity and modesty, his “desire to remain

inconspicuous or, at any rate, not to draw attention and emphasise his high position”. Comrade Stalin ridiculed the “publicised leader” who has nothing in common with the type of genuine Party leader. Lenin and Stalin set examples of simplicity and modesty to every Party member. No matter how important a post he occupies the Communist must always remember that modesty is a tribute to a member of the Communist Party, that he must not only teach the masses but also learn from the masses, that he must be able to rectify errors in good time, not be afraid to admit them, to be just and honest. The Communist must be able, said Comrade Stalin to tell the whole truth to the Party as directly and honestly as Lenin did, as every Bolshevik obliged to do.

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The party of revolutionary Marxism rejects seeking forms of Party organisation and methods suitable for all phases of the revolutionary process.

The fusion of the Communist and Workers’ parties in a number of new democracies is an expression of the working-class unity that has been realised, and undoubtedly will be of enormous significance in further consolidating the forces of the anti-imperialist and democratic camp. The Communist and Workers’ parties, basing themselves on the doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, on creative Marxism, take into account the peculiarities of the concrete situation and determine the organisational forms and methods of work in accordance with the situation.

The exchange of experience of organisational and political activities between the fraternal Communist and Workers’ parties, publicity of this experience in the pages of the party press will contribute to the organisational consolidation of Party ranks to raising the ideological-political level of Party members and candidates, to educating them in the spirit of the militant Lenin-Stalin Party.



## **TRADE UNION CONGRESSES IN FRANCE**

During the first half of June, congresses of Paris regional federation of trade unions were held in France. They advanced slogans exposing the manoeuvres of the reactionaries, who aimed at sabotaging nationalisation, increasing unemployment and cutting the living standards of the working class.

The delegates reviewed the work of the CGT unions and outlined their tasks in accordance with the situation in the country.

The congress of the Paris federation (affiliated to the CGT) was attended by 1,200 delegates representing over 900,000 members. In his report to the congress, the general secretary of the federation, Eugene Henaff, stressed that for the past three months the activity of the workers had considerably increased and that in a number of cases they succeeded in winning their demands.

Delegates outlined urgent tasks in the trade unions' struggle for better conditions of the working class, and pledged themselves to strengthen it unity.

Many delegates to the miners' congress (also affiliated to the CGT) held in Saint Etienne, exposed governmental sabotage in the nationalised industries and condemned the

government's policy of economising in the mines at the expense of security measures.

The congress underlined that the fight against such sabotage is an integral part of the struggle for peace, democracy and national independence.

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**ITALIAN PEOPLE IN NEW PHASE OF  
STRUGGLE. PIETRO SECCHIA. DEPUTY  
GENERAL SECRETARY. COMMUNIST PARTY  
ITALY.**

The result of the April general election did not demoralise the mass of the working people of Italy. If anything, the May strikes and discontent, which involved hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants, demonstrated the strength and fighting spirit of the forward elements of the Italian people.

The election struggle was but a phase, a very important phase, it is true, in the life of the working people. And those who had calculated on burying the Communist Party, the Popular Democratic front and eight million Italians under the piles of voting papers, appear ludicrous indeed. The press of the Italian plutocracy and of American imperialism were somewhat rash in proclaiming victory. The battle which the Popular Front withstood during the election campaign, is being fought out in the form of the democratic struggle and actions of the people.

In this struggle for its vital demands and wider political and social aims, the working class is displaying its growing strength.

The experience of the struggle during the recent weeks and months is making it increasingly clear to millions of working

people that recovery cannot be brought about merely by parliamentary action and by struggles of an economic character. The election campaign helped shatter certain illusions about quick and easy victories without struggle and casualties—illusions of which the Party had warned Communists and all the democratic forces. The draconic repressions and blackmail which the Government and ruling classes applied to achieve their victory revealed to the broad masses of Italy the true colours of bourgeois pseudo-democracy.

It has been said that in the course of a conversation with his colleagues, the Minister of Police, Scelba, made this valuable admission: “A ruling party which decides to hold an election and then proves incapable of winning, is not a party but a gathering of fools”. In this “Christian” fashion Scelba admitted the colossal fraud practiced according to the American prescription.

But constitutional and pacifist illusions have suffered yet another blow. The police and military are being used in the growing struggle between labour and capital.

With the intention of cashing in on their election “victory” the big industrialists and landowners, supported by the Government, have launched an offensive against the working people.

This offensive aims to abolish or, at any rate, drastically to curtail the gains won by the people since July 1943, to isolate the working class, break working-class unity and split the trade unions; it aims to secure additional profits at the expense of the people and to force them to bear the brunt of foreign imperialism. The recent strikes showed how vigorously the working people are combating the offensive of reaction and how they are preparing for the battle ahead.

## **GROWTH OF STRIKE MOVEMENT**

As enumeration of the more important strikes and actions that have taken place since polling day, April 18, reveals on the one hand, the tense nature of the struggle and the militant spirit of the workers.

**April 25**—Notwithstanding the attempt of the Government to prohibit all celebrations on the anniversary of the national liberation, partisans and the people held big demonstrations. In Milan, squads of police armoured cars and tanks failed to disperse the demonstrators. Twenty workers were wounded by the police.

**April 30**—Discontent and lockouts at the Falc works in Milan.

**May 1**—For the first time since the overthrow of fascism. May Day was a day of celebration and struggle and nation-wide stoppage of work. Monster demonstrations were held throughout the country against the Government's policy and in support of trade union unity.

**May 9, 10**—Demonstrations in Naples and Genoa, Questions in the Senate, The General Confederation of Labour and the Popular Front insist on the right of asylum for 35 Greek patriots who had arrived from the Argentine and whom Scelba wanted to hand over to Tsaldaris.

**May 10**—General strike in Turin in protest against police raids on local Communist Party organisations.

The beginning of the big agricultural labourers' strike in the Rome province, which lasted several days and ended in complete victory.

**May 11**—Strike of 50,000 agricultural labourers in Mantua Province.

**May 12**—Strike spreads to the Rovigo, Udine and Modena provinces embracing 120,000 agricultural labourers who struck work because of the violation of agreements by landowners and Government, and who insisted on new collective agreements.

**May 16**—2,000 workers in the Upper Flumendosa Basin (Sardinia) go on strike. Strike continued for more than a fortnight.

**May 17**—Gas workers win their demands. Strike of municipal employees in Taranto.

**May 19**—University students in Palermo protest against increased fees and occupy the university premises.

**May 20**—Workers of the SIMA works in Iesi (Ancona) occupy premises to prevent dismantling equipment.

**May 21**—After a 16-day strike the agricultural labourers of Polesini win complete victory after smashing combined front of the landlords.

Thousands of spinners in Cremona province go on strike, demanding observance of labour agreement and payment of deferred earnings. Many mills occupied by women operatives. After several days, strike ends in complete victory.

**May 22**—General protest strike declared in the provinces of Venezia, Padua and Rovigo in reply to the police murder of a strikers in Trecenta.

Agricultural labourers' strike in Pisa province.

General strike of agricultural labourers in Bologna. Strike lasts 15 days.

**May 23**—Students strike at Bari.

**May 24**—Big demonstration in Milan in solidarity with the people of Greece.

General strike in Modena province against police violation of democratic liberties.

**May 25**—General strike of auto-transport workers to win their demands and recognition of their factory committees.

**May 26**—Strike of 25,000 agricultural labourers in Cremona.

**May 27**—Discontent among 60,000 tobacco workers in Salento (Apulia). The factory committees decide to continue the struggle until complete victory.

**May 28**—Agricultural labourers in Milan area join the general strike which has been in progress for several days already in the Mantua, Bologna, Reggio Emilia, and Cremona provinces and in different parts of Venezia. Total of 300,000 peasants on strike.

On the same day general protest strike is declared in Cosenza province against police persecution and in defence of democratic liberties.

Workers declare a strike in the Ducati plant in Bazzano (Bologna).

**May 29**—General strike in Placenza.

**May 30**—Strike of marker gardeners and horticulturists in the Naples province.

**May 31**—Monster demonstration of building workers, unemployed and homeless in Bologna. Strikes of iron and steel workers in Naples, electrical workers in the province of Reggio Calabria and agricultural workers in the province of Cagliari.

The miners of Aragona (Sicily) occupy the pits in Enna and remain underground for four days with little food or water.

**June 1**—Mineworkers' strike in Carbonia (Sardinia).

**June 2**—Big demonstrations in all cities celebrate the anniversary of the Republic. The demonstrations take the form of protests against the Government's violation of the Republican Constitution.

Sharecroppers in Pesaro province demand more favourable distribution of the harvest.

**June 3**—Mineworkers declare a general strike in protest against the closing down of industry miners in Valdarno, Ragusa, Foggia, Aragona (Sicily).

Shipbuilding workers in Palermo who a month ago seized shipyards declare a general strike in support of the iron and steel workers.

**June 4**—General strike in Bologna province in protest against the arrest of four trade union officials and against police persecution.

The above list refers only to the principal actions of Italy since election day, April 18.

While these actions were, in the main, of an economic character, they are important politically, from the point of view of character, scale and duration, and because in the present situation, they take on an altogether new aspect.

## AGAINST THE MARSHALL PLAN

Special note should be made of the action taken by the Palermo shipbuilding workers. When the owners of the shipyard decided to get rid of 78 workers, the other shipyard men protested. The management of the shipyard walked out and the workers took over and continued to run the yard. The significance of this incident goes beyond the framework of ordinary class solidarity.

Behind these events in the Palermo shipyard stood the Marshall Plan, threatening Italy's industry and the lives of her people.

In his message to Congress on December 20, last year, on the Marshall Plan legislation, Truman said that United States interests would be safeguarded better if commercial shipping built during the war was leased or sold to Marshall countries. Due to the steel shortage, the sale or leasing of these ships would be related to the cutting of shipbuilding programmes in the participating countries.

This explains why the Palermo shipyard was closed down. The same thing applies to the unrest among mineworkers, the first to feel the effects of the Marshall Plan. In Terni, Grosseto and Sicily, they took action against the mines being closed. Like the Palermo shipyard men, the mine-workers are fighting not only for bread and work, but also to save Italy's basic industry and for the country's economic and political independence. Once again they show that the interests of the working class are identical with the interests of the nation as a whole.

The students' strikes are a new and important factor. Undoubtedly they indicate a democratic and progressive awakening of Italian students. The students are beginning to protest at the clerical attacks against education and culture and see for themselves that the Popular Democratic Front is capable of breaking this reactionary onslaught.

## NEW CHARACTER OF THE STRUGGLE

The open interference by the government and the armed forces on the side of the big industrialists and landowners are changing the situation. The struggle of the working class is taking on a new and sharper character.

All over the country the police are violating the people's rights. The fierce attacks on strikers, the atrocities of the carabinieri, the arrests of strikers and trade union leaders are becoming the order of the day.

Carabinieri and police continually open fire on demonstrators. Today the police are doing the same job that the fascist mobs did in 1921-22. In rural districts the carabinieri are acting as strike-breakers. In the south, police are actually besieging towns and are conducting hundreds of unauthorised searches and arrests.

The police state which has been created by de Gasperi, supported by Saragat's "third force", is turning the Italian Republic—which, according to the Constitution, should be "based on labour"—into a clerical republic based on machine-guns and Scelba's police clubs.

Because of the interference of the Government and the armed forces, each strike becomes a pitched battle and each demonstration a street fight. This year there is the danger that even the fields may become battlefields.

However, the big capitalists, landowners and the gentlemen of the Government are making a mistake if they think they can smash the working class organisations with machine-guns. Violence is encountering the vigorous resistance of the masses. Every attack on the workers' liberties, on their right to strike and to organise, every violation of democratic liberties, will only sharpen the struggle; economic strikes will develop into political strikes, into the struggle for freedom and democracy.

The task of the Communists is to strengthen and consolidate the Popular Democratic Front which should become even more strongly the leading force in the broad mass movement.



For this it is necessary to maintain unity of action with the Socialist Party, the basis on which the Popular Democratic Front can, be strengthened and extended. We must prevent the vanguard forces of the working class from becoming isolated. The struggle for radical reforms, for freedom, peace and independence can be successful only if the broad masses of the people, and not just the vanguard, take part in this struggle. The strikes must not be restricted to isolated actions, not even to mass actions of a defensive and economic character. The task of the Communist Party, of the trade unions and of the Popular Democratic Front is to coordinate and lead these actions, and to combine the struggle for day to day demands with the struggle for structural and social reforms, to develop economic strikes into political ones.

Our task is to guide the struggle throughout the country, advance correct economic and political aims, take into account the new character of the struggle, so that the solidarity and alliance of the vanguard with the working people is strengthened and ever broader sections of the population are brought into the struggle.

There must be no concessions to illusions, to the hopes of any “miracle” and to revolutionary phrase-mongering; no concessions to those who advocate that “the worse things get, the better it will be for us”, but a resolute struggle against the opportunist influences of Social-Democracy. The entire party must be mobilised to strengthen the unity and improve the work of the trade unions!

Today not only the day to day interests of the workers, agricultural labourers and peasants but also freedom, peace and the future of the Italian people are menaced.

The working people of Italy, rallied around the Popular Democratic Front, will be able to remove this threat and win a better future for themselves. In this struggle for progress and democracy the Communists will remain in the forefront.

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# **LEADING ROLE OF BULGARIAN WORKERS' PARTY (COMMUNISTS) IN BUILDING THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY. V. CHERVENKOV**

The Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), taking its place at the head of the powerful popular movement and supported by the resounding victories of the Soviet Army, organised and led the victorious anti-fascist uprising of September 9, 1944, which put an end to the domination of the capitalist-fascist clique and gave to the people, headed by its working class, power in the shape of the Fatherland Front.

Taking over power together with the other democratic parties in the Fatherland Front, our Party embarked on the job of governing the state, of effecting the political, economic and cultural reorganisation of society and securing the leading role of the working class in the historical changes that are paving the way to the victory of socialism.

Our Party was confronted with new, complex tasks. It was hardly to be expected that in advancing and realising these tasks everything would be clear from beginning to end, that the further course of development and the nature and rate of this development could be foreseen in all its details.

But the principal course of the front and the people's power after September 9, a course aimed at ridding the country of the remnants of fascism, consolidating its national independence and state sovereignty, at promoting the steady development of

the people's democracy and at bringing about the necessary conditions for the transition from capitalism to a new socialist order—this course was charted by the Workers' Party, headed by Comrade Dimitrov. And it was a course that fully justified itself.

## **MAIN RESULTS OF THE STRUGGLE**

The Communists took their stand in the front lines of the struggle. They were the heart and soul of the Patriotic War of the Bulgarian people against the German invaders. The fact that on the very day after the uprising in 1944, the Bulgarian army turned its guns against the Germans is, above all, to the credit of the Workers' Party which sent practically its entire militant active into the army. The Communists were always on the most dangerous sectors, acted as an example to the others, and laid the foundation for conscious discipline in the army. They played an outstanding role in turning the Royalist army into a people's army.

The Communists were, and remain, the most consistent and vigorous fighters against the remnants of fascism and reaction.

Our Party realised that the class struggle in the country would become more acute, if anything, with the establishment of a democratic regime. The removal of all capitalist elements from state and economic administration is accompanied by the resistance of these elements who are bent on regaining their domination. These elements are linked with international imperialist reaction.

The attempts of the imperialist powers to interfere in the internal affairs of the country with the aim of preventing the victory of the people's democracy and of helping reaction to rally its forces for the restoration of the anti-popular regime had to be combated by all means. Naturally, the Communists, were the most consistent and resolute champions in defending

the national sovereignty of the country and in smashing internal reaction.

The crushing blows struck at reaction were struck on the initiative and with the active support of the Communists. Under the leadership of the Workers' Party, the people's democracy launched a decisive offensive against reaction which had a legal platform and organisation in the form of Petkov's so-called Agrarian party. As is known, this offensive ended in the destruction of the reactionary nests and the isolation of their headquarters from the people.

The Workers' Party was the initiator and consistent advocate of the far-reaching measures introduced by the Fatherland Front and the people's power. The Communists initiated the cultural-labour brigade movement, the rapprochement between the working people of town and countryside; they are the backbone of the powerful youth brigades and labour emulation movement.

Our new Constitution which secures the victory of the people's democratic regime in the country and opens wide horizons for the transition to socialism, and the great reforms which secured the nationalisation of the banks and industry, are associated with the name of the Workers' Party.

As a result of this bold and consistent struggle the Bulgarian Communists, true to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, relying on the support of the great Soviet Union were able to solve correctly the different vital questions that cropped up at all stages of the development of the people's democracy after September 9, 1944. That is why our Party was able to win such great prestige and influence in the country, why its leading role in the state, in the social, economic and cultural life of the country was recognised by all.

However, it does not at all follow from these statements concerning recognition of the leading role of the Party, of the working people, under the leadership of our Party, overcoming serious difficulties, and advancing along the path toward socialism, that the Bulgarian Communists must neglect one of

their most serious tasks—that of consolidating their role as vanguard of the working people.

We must not rest content with our achievements. There is no room for conceit in the ranks of the Party. There is nothing more dangerous than conceit for the development of the Party. The Central Committee has time and again warned the Communists of this danger. The Party must in every way strengthen and extend its leading role, must prevent all and every existing enemy influence, from weakening and undermining this role.

## **STRENGTHENING THE PARTY**

It would be incorrect and harmful to claim that at present our party contains only the most advanced and militant elements of the working class and people as a whole. Quite a considerable number of Party members are actually only candidate members. This category includes Communists who are dominated by petty-bourgeois prejudices and habits and therefore trail behind events, become the exponents of backward ideas and far from rallying the masses to overcome the difficulties, themselves succumb to these difficulties.

In our Party, precisely because it is the Government party, we have, together with loyal, honest, although politically immature members, chance elements and careerists seeking to use the Party for their personal ends.

Immediately after September 9 the Central Committee decided to open its doors to new members. The probationary period for candidate membership was abolished, and very soon the membership increased twentyfold. Today the Party numbers 500,000 members, so that many people have joined the Party who are not yet ready to carry out a vanguard role, and whose place, if anywhere, was in the trade unions and other public organisations as a preliminary to joining the Party.

At the time the Party considered it necessary first to open its doors wide to new members and then to tackle the job of their political education. It was of the opinion that notwithstanding the large number of as yet politically immature members, it could fulfil its leading role by relying on its cadres at the centre and in the localities who had been tested in the underground struggle, and by taking measures for the speedy ideological and political education of new members. But this proved very difficult. Serious difficulties arose in effecting the leading role of the party in the localities its policy and cooperation with the other democratic organisations. Some Party members, especially in the countryside, to this day have failed to carry out the role of vanguard. Such, for instance, was the case last year when certain Communist resisted the Government's extra-ordinary measures in connection with grain deliveries.

Last year, taking into account the danger of extreme inflation, the Party adopted stricter rules when accepting new members and took measures to purge the Party of chance, unstable and careerist elements. At first membership was closed to non-industrial workers, but at the moment recruiting has been suspended until the Party congress which will discuss the matter of restoring the probationary period for new members.

Main attention is now focussed on the ideological and political education of our members, which is lagging dangerously behind. The Political Bureau of the Party had taken a number of measures to secure the Marxist-Leninist education of leading personnel and rank and file members.

It demands from the Party organisation that they "pay special attention to raising the ideological and political level of Party members, that they thoroughly acquaint the Party members with the role and character of the Party, with its programme and statutes".

It raises as immediate tasks "the systematic study and mastery of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by extending

and improving the study circles in the factories, offices and mass organisations; the popularisation of scientific knowledge concerning the laws of the development of society and nature; to explain the question of the class struggle during the transition from capitalism to socialism showing that the class struggle becomes sharper and is an essential factor in building a socialist order; a concrete study of the class differentiation in the countryside and the realisation of a firm policy to rally the poor and middle peasants for the struggle against the kulak and capitalist elements in the countryside”.

The main Marxist-Leninist works are available in the Bulgarian language. Our Party publishing house—the biggest in the country—puts out Marxist-Leninist literature and also scientific and political books.

We are striving to get most of the leading officials in the localities to go through a course at the short-term Party schools. Last year we had over 700 of these schools with a total enrolment of 27,422 students. At present we are extending the one-year course at the central Party school, where there are 50 students.

The Central Party school at Plovdiv—six month course—has a student roll of 87. In a number of other towns there are district schools each with from 40 to 50 students. The number of these schools will be increased. In most towns evening courses have been organised for the Party active and for the leaders of study circles.

In the district centres there are courses ranging from a week to three days. In line with a decision of the Central Committee, teachers and lecturers for Party schools are being trained in the central school. The students are members who have graduated from the school.

In Sofia we have a Party university with evening courses ranging over a period of two years. So far two groups of students have graduated from this university. At present 70 people are attending the course.

Study circles for leading Party officials are functioning in all important towns and under all district committees. There are over 5,500 circles attended by about 80,000 members who study the Statues of the Party, the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the history of the Bulgarian Workers' Party, current politics, philosophy and political economy. However, not all of these circles are working systematically, especially in the countryside. Party organisations devote one meeting a month to educational matters.

The Party organises lectures and discussions devoted to problems of Marxism-Leninism. For example, in the Gabrov region alone, 694 lectures were held during the first three months of this year. Hundreds of lectures are held in Sofia and other towns.

However, these measures are not sufficient to meet the great demand for raising the ideological, political level of Party members. It would be wrong, of course, to think that question of mastering Marxist-Leninist teachings by the Party cadres can be resolved solely by means of schools and study circles. Self-study is undoubtedly the best means of raising the ideological-political level of the cadres and members, and must be encouraged in every way.

“If, notwithstanding severe trials and great sacrifices, the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) was able to win recognition of its leading role in the Fatherland Front and in governing the country,” said Comrade Dimitrov, “this should be attributed, mainly, to the fact that its starting point was a correct understanding of the interests of the people, and that it was guided in its work by the true and tried Marxist-Leninist science covering the laws of social development and the struggle for the national and social liberation of the working people.

“The better the Communists master this great science and educate the masses in this spirit, the more successful will the working class, headed by the Party of the Communists, fulfil its



historic mission of completely liberating the people from imperialism and building a new, socialist society.”

## **THE PARTY—LEADER AND GUIDING FORCE IN THE FATHERLAND FRONT**

On the initiative of the Party, and due to the better and extended cooperation between the Communists and the other democratic organisations, the Fatherland Front has been transformed into a popular, social-political organisation in which the Workers’ Party (Communists), by common consent, plays the leading role. The discipline of this organisation is binding on all members and its general programme is designed to prepare the groundwork for the building of socialism. This represents a big advance along the path of people’s democracy.

However, the transformation of the Fatherland Front into a single, social-political organisation does not signify the setting up of a single party. The parties will carry on as before, each with its organisational and educational work. But the cooperation between them is so close that they have voluntarily taken upon themselves the obligation to subordinate all their work to the interests of the Front, and they are working in complete harmony with the programme and rules of the united organisation.

The main task of the parties belonging to the Front consists of deepening the political enlightenment and education of all their members in the spirit of the constitution of the republic and programme of the Fatherland Front—in providing them with the enlightenment and education that will enable individual members of the parties in the Front to become active and conscious builders of socialist society.

Does this re-organisation of the Fatherland Front imply a lessening of the role of the Workers’ Party in the social, political, economic and cultural life of the country? Certainly not. Since its leading role in the Front is generally recognised,

the party will not be in a subordinate position in the front in the sense of restricting its leading role or of becoming dissolved in the Front.

Nor will the Party identify itself with the front, since the Party, as the vanguard of the working people, stands above the Fatherland Front, its programme goes beyond the programme of the front, and its leading role is absolutely essential for the further progress and fruitful work of the Front.

The Bulgarian Communists realise that the fatherland front is a special form of organisation—a special form of militant alliance between industrial workers, peasants, peasants, handicraftsmen and the people's intelligentsia—which can fulfil its role—only under the leadership of the working class and its leadership of the Bulgarian Workers' Party.

The Central Committee has stated more than once that we Communists are not just for any kind of Fatherland Front—that we are for a Fatherland Front—that we are for a Fatherland Front which reinforces the militant alliance of the democratic forces, and that such a Front is impossible without the active and leading role of the working class, without the active and leading role of the Communists as an organised and battle-stepped Marxist-Leninist unit of the working class.

Consequently, the first consideration, the basis for the development and consolidation of the front is the all-round strengthening—organisationally and ideologically—of the party of the Communists, the extending and deepening of its roots among the masses.

And this can be achieved only by the Communists coming out openly before the people, by convincing the masses of the soundness of the Party's policy, rendering it understandable to them and in this way taking the masses with them.

This can be achieved only if the Party organisations live a full-blooded life, if they do not become conceited, do not rest on their laurels, if they have no fear of criticism and self-criticism, and regardless of individuals, if they show no fear in uncovering and correcting mistakes and shortcomings, if they

take all measures to tighten discipline, and do everything possible to raise the political and theoretical level of their members.

In this way only can the Communists play their role of vanguard of the working people, their role as the leading force in the in the Fatherland Front and in the struggle for the victory of socialism in our country.

Comrade Dimitrov has time and time again pointed out the need for better work in raising the ideological level of the Party cadres, for strengthening discipline and the moral-political unity of the Party, in order that the Party shall be able to realise its leading historical role.

He had this in mind at a district conference of the Party held in Sofia in February 1948, when he urged the membership to be absolutely ruthless with careerists and hostile elements who penetrate into the Party with the aim of causing disorganisation and setting up factions.

“It is often whispered”, said Comrade Dimitrov, “that our Party, the leading force in the Fatherland Front, has become just another democratic party, that it is silent about and has relinquished socialism; that there are contradictions between the struggle for the realisation of the programme of the Front and the struggle for socialism.

“We’ve had enough of this... Anyone who sees a contradiction between the policy of the Fatherland Front and the struggle for the unification of all progressive and democratic forces in the Front and for the realisation of its programme, and the struggle for socialism, is either a non-Marxist or a provocateur”.

In view of the necessity for an all-round strengthening of the Party as the vanguard of the working people, the Central Committee of the Workers’ Party, in its May Day message to the membership, wrote: “... the Central Committee of the Workers’ Party, in its May Day Message to the membership, wrote: “... the Central Committee draws the attention of all members to their obligations and great responsibility for the

fate of our country. Now, with even greater energy and consistency than during the severe days of the resistance struggle, the Communists must display great and noble strivings, they should be first in all things concerned with realising the historic cause of the Fatherland Front.

Never should it be forgotten that the true Communist is he who sets the example of selflessness, of boundless devotion in the service of the people, who gives all his strength to secure the fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the people's economic plans and who infects others with his enthusiasm; who fights for increased production and for improving the quality of production; who serves as an example of labour discipline; who popularises and promotes shock work and who inculcates among the people confidence in their own strength.

The true Communist is he who wages a struggle for firm State discipline; who combats bureaucracy, speculation; laziness; who encourages popular vigilance against hostile elements; who works hard to improve his ideological-political qualifications; who is ever on the alert and is never caught napping, and who subordinates his personal interests to the interests of the people as a whole.

Communists must master Marxist-Leninist science—the invincible ideological weapon against the enemies of the people.

Communists must keep pure the ranks of the Party, and reinforce its unity and discipline. They must be ever on the alert and vigilant in relation to the enemies and hostile agents, they must not permit any violation of law. At all times they must preserve, unstained and unsullied, the fighting banner of the Communists.

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## **VICTORY OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM. RUDOLF SLANSKY, SECRETARY. COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

The general election held in Czechoslovakia resulted in a resounding victory for the National Front. This victor rounded off the defeat suffered by reaction at the hands of the people during the glorious February days.

The election results confirmed once more that the main reason for the anti-Government reactionary putsch in February, was fear of the approaching election. Three months prior to the election the 12 reactionary Ministers tendered their resignation, in an attempt to change the relation of forces in the Government and in the country, to cause chaos and disorder, to bring down the Gottwald government and secure the abolition of the people's democratic order.

The election proved that the vast majority of the people are solidly behind the people's democratic order, the regenerated National Front. The joint lists put forward by the front polled 6,424,734 out of 7,198,766 votes or 89.2 per cent. There were 774,032, or 10.8 per cent, blank papers.

93.5 per cent of the electorate voted, the highest per cent for any election held so far in the republic.

The fact should also be taken into consideration that many people who prior to Munich did not enjoy the right to vote, voted for the first time. All citizens—male and female—of 18 years and over have the right to vote. Voting rights were also extended to soldiers who formerly were denied the franchise. Those deprived of voting rights numbered merely 65,800 or 0.8 per cent of the total electorate.

Voting, which took place in a calm and orderly atmosphere, was secret and free, as was noted by the foreign correspondents

who had free access to the polling booths. There was no need for special security measures or for armed police and armoured cars, as was the case during the recent election in Italy. There were celebrations everywhere; the people turned election day into a joyful holiday.

For the first time, the people of Czechoslovakia saw that an election did not divide the nation, that it strengthened and consolidated their unity. The election campaign differed greatly from previous elections when speakers belonging to different political parties attacked each other and disorders were frequent. Nor were there the usual shallow election promises.

Formerly, during the election campaigns, labour productivity usually fell, due to the arguments caused by wrangling and agitation. In this election, for the first time in the history of election campaigns, emulation for increasing the productivity of labour spread among the workers and became part of the campaign. The workers expressed their determination to complete the Two-Year Plan two months ahead of time, that is by October 28 when the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Czechoslovak republic falls due. The peasants also joined in the labour emulation and pledged themselves to work better and to secure better yields.

Such elections were impossible formerly when power was in the hands of a few capitalists and landlords whose aim was to keep the people from uniting together.

The four parties of the National Front—Communist, Social-Democratic, Czech Socialists and the Slovak People's parties—agreed that they would not contest the elections with separate lists of candidates. They took this decision because after the February events, when the unity of the people had strengthened and reaction had been cleared from the National Front, separate lists of candidates for the National Front parties and an election battle between them would but result in weakening unity. After February the National Front parties pledged themselves to a common programme and together worked out the new democratic people's Constitution. That is

why they agreed to contest the elections with joint lists of National Front candidates.

The electoral law permits any group to present its list of candidates, provided that not less than one thousand electors sign this list. The law did not demand any financial guarantee as was formerly the case. But in spite of this not a single list of opposition candidates was presented.

The remaining opposition groups dared not contest the election for they feared the people who had rejected them.

Having lost all hope after February of organising a reactionary coup d'état with the help of internal forces, reaction exposed itself in the eyes of the people as agents of the Republic's foreign enemies, as agents who had betrayed their country. After the February events a number of bankrupt politicians found asylum with their foreign masters in the west. It was impossible for them to conceal from Czechoslovak public opinion that in the Western zone of Germany they had aligned themselves with the forces hostile to the Republic, and had accepted their programme of including Czechoslovakia in a Western Union, a programme which meant a new Munich. They found themselves in the same camp with the German imperialists, with the Sudeten reactionaries who are thirsting to wreak revenge on Czechoslovakia, in the same camp with the Slovak irredentists who proclaimed the separation of Slovakia and the destruction of the Czechoslovak Republic. Our people saw that reaction's programme is a programme of betrayal of their native land, a programme that advocates the destruction of Czechoslovakia's sovereignty.

These facts explain why the election results were so devastating for reaction, why they spelt the moral-political defeat of the bankrupt politicians. Nearly 90 per cent of the electorate voted for Gottwald Government, sanctioned the home and foreign policy of the Republic, gave their answer to the war-mongers—the Western imperialists who wanted to wrest Czechoslovakia from the camp of peace and progress. On May 30 the people of Czechoslovakia unequivocally expressed

the view that Czechoslovakia should continue to strengthen the allied relations with the Soviet Union and the new democracies, to pursue, shoulder to shoulder with them, a consistent peace policy, the view that in these allied relations and mutual cooperation the Czechoslovak people see the best guarantee of their independence and sovereignty.

The election results also showed that the people of Czechoslovakia are determined to continue along peaceful channels to transform their country into a socialist state. Not only the workers but also other sections of the people came out in favour of this. If reaction had hoped to find support among the peasantry, the election results showed that it miscalculated. Reaction's insidious smear campaign and socialist bogey, which allegedly threatened the property of the peasant, were of no avail. The peasants saw for themselves that the new order which deprived the big capitalists and landlords of political and economic power, defends the interests of the peasantry. They know that they are better off today, in alliance with the workers than they were before when the agrarian capitalist magnates were in power.

Very important, too, is the fact that in Slovakia the election dealt a crushing blow to Slovak reaction. The National Front lists in Slovakia polled 86 per cent of the vote; only 14 per cent of the electorate turned in blanks.

The situation in Slovakia has radically changed since the elections held two years ago, when the so-called Democratic Party, run by reactionary, politicians, succeeded in securing the majority of votes. This time there was hardly any difference in the elections in Czechia and Slovakia. In both cases the overwhelming majority of the people, were victorious. This will still further strengthen cooperation between the Czech and Slovak peoples, who will develop in accordance with the principles of equality guaranteed by the new constitution.

The victory of the national front strengthens the unity of the working people, a unity which will be enhanced with the fusion of the Communist and Social-democratic parties into



one Communist Party. The merger will be announced on June 27, at a special unity meeting in Prague.

The composition of the new Parliament, which has been elected for a term of six years, is as follows: of the 300 deputies 159 are from the Communist Party, 23 from the Czechoslovak Social-Democratic Party, 23 from the Czech Socialists, 23 from the People's Party, 52 from the Communist Party of Slovakia, 12 from the Party of Slovak Regeneration, 12 from the Freedom Party, 2 from the Slovak Social Democrats and 2 Independents. After the fusion of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties, the united Communist Party will have 236 deputies in Parliament or 79 per cent of the seats. This is a guarantee that it will be possible in the future to strengthen and further develop the people's democratic order in the country at a much quicker rate.

The election results show that the working class, headed by the Communist Party, is becoming the master of the country. The prestige of the Communist Party has grown. It enjoys the confidence of all sections of the people.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party and Clement Gottwald, the people of Czechoslovakia will go forward to a happy socialist future.

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**ANTI-LABOUR POLICY OF THE  
LABOUR LEADERS. HARRY POLLIT,  
GENERAL SECRETARY BRITISH  
COMMUNIST PARTY**

The last time the Labour Party Conference was held in Scarborough was in the crisis year of 1931. I was naturally interested to watch how the Labour leaders who, at that time had fought against the policy of the MacDonalds who in alliance with big business in Britain and America, were trying to solve that crisis at the expense of the working class, would now face up to a still graver and deeper economic and political crisis in 1948.

Let me say at once, there is no fundamental difference between what was done in 1931, under the National Government of MacDonald and Baldwin, and the developments that can arise—unless the workers fight against it in time—in 1948-49 under a Labour Government of Attlee, Morrison and Bevin.

There are two ways of solving Britain's crisis; a working-class or a capitalist way.

Scarborough has made it plain to every serious political observer which course is being adopted. It is the capitalist way.

The labour leaders aimed to do two things through the Scarborough Conference. First, to secure support for a general line of policy which will inevitably lead to an all-round worsening of the whole living standards of the workers and their families. Second, to prepare the way for a general Election programme which, when it is presented and in the conditions that are then likely to exist, will come as a profound shock to all Socialists.

I consider that Morrison made the most significant statement at the Scarborough Conference when he stated:

"Social security was an historical fact. The next problem was to consolidate, humanise and pay for it. Could the gains be held?"

While Morrison is posing this question what is actually happening as far as the present conditions of the workers are concerned? Real wages are falling. Wage tribunals have been given the strong hint not to grant any further wage increases; the cost of living is rising, rents and the price of coal will soon

be increased. The agitation on clothing coupons, at rock bottom, is largely because the workers have not got the money to buy the goods which are already in the shops. Unemployment is rising and will continue to rise. In July the workers will have a serious deduction from their wages to help pay for a scheme of social security that has only become a glorified panel system, devoid of the main thing both workers and progressive doctors had expected—the Health Centres.

On the other hand, three years of a Labour Government have left the capitalist class with all its principal class privileges and luxurious ways of living untouched. Today no Labour leader ever attacks capitalists or capitalism; all onslaughts are reserved for Communists and Communism.

On top of this is the grim fact that there is now a growing fear of a new world war because of the foreign policy of the Labour Government.

All the attacks against the Communists cannot hide this grave and disquieting situation. They cannot hide the fact the proposed line of solution of the crisis as formulated at Scarborough is increased production, freezing of wages, further capitulation to the demands of the capitalist class for slowing down on social services and nationalisation, and increasing dependence on the United States. It was amazing to hear so many people at Scarborough explain that while they appreciated the gravity of Britain's position and problems, "even if our difficulties get worse. America cannot afford to let us down". And this at the very moment when America is already putting the screw down.

The delegates, however much they were convinced or stampeded by the anti-democratic methods of the platform into supporting the general policy of the leaders, were nevertheless apprehensive of its results.

The same note of concern was also expressed in relation to the urgency with which the nationalisation of steel should be carried through, but again the platform and certain trade union leaders allowed the leaders to get away with it.

On foreign policy you had the disgraceful spectacle of a war actually taking place in Palestine as a result of British policy without a single delegate making a fight on the conference floor that it should be discussed. And the point to note is that it is Bevin's foreign policy which has led to this war, and unless checked can lead to others.

Sooner or later the fact will have to be faced that it is not just certain aspects of foreign policy which are wrong, while the domestic policy is correct. To make this false division in order to placate the platform was one of the mistakes of certain speakers in the discussion. If the policy as a whole has been correct, then there would have been no need for Morrison to pose the question? "Could the gains be held?"

No one should be deceived by the size of the vote that Bevin obtained at the conference. We are quite sure that neither Bevin nor the Government is under any illusion about it. The bloc votes of all the big trade unions had been decided upon before the conference commenced and before a single speech or explanation had been made on any issue.

The Scarborough Labour Party Conference has come and gone, but the problems for the Labour movement remain. England is faced with a crisis. There is not a single delegate to Scarborough who can honestly say he is satisfied with what took place at the Labour Party Conference. None better than the leaders know that their "victory" will soon demand its price-and bring its nemesis.

"Democratic Socialism" will face within months a deeper crisis. All the treats, intimidations, purges, expulsions, all the policy adopted at Scarborough will not produce one extra ton of coal or steel, one extra yard of cloth, or turn one ship round any quicker. There are too many doubts, too much concern and suspicion as to where the Labour Government is leading the nation.

On the very day the conference terminated, the latest figures showing the disparity between exports and imports were released, and they again reveal the adverse trade balance

running at the rate of £650 million a year, and Marshall “aid” only comes to half this amount.

It is the whole fundamental basis of British imperialism which has been shattered, and the Labour Government, in trying to restore a rotten and outworn edifice, is only paving a harder road for the British workers than they are even now experiencing.

“Pseudo Socialism” as practised by the right-wing Labour leaders cannot ignore the growing strength of the Soviet Union and the new democracies, or charm away the coming economic crisis in the United States. For a time it is being staved off with war orders and Marshall Plans, but it will come, for if it could be avoided in the future it could have been avoided in the past. Let us be on guard lest the that crisis, because of the Government’s present policy, should enormously accentuate every problem we are now faced with.

As it becomes harder to live, as the Palestine tragedy unfolds itself still more and its complications develop, as American imperialist interference in our internal affairs becomes more arrogant—as the insufferable burdens of our enormous armed forces and overseas military commitments all become more evident, the revolt against the policy of the right-wing leaders will grow more pronounced.

The divisions already existing inside the Executive Committee of the Labour Party and the Labour Government—some of which were clearly visible at Scarborough—will increase. The Left inside the Parliamentary Labour Party and the trade unions will yet find common ground. At the same time, it needs to be fully understood that there will never be an effective Left mass movement unless it is one that is prepared to work in unity with the Communist Party.

That is the principle lesson we now need to drive home to every worker we come in contact with in the street, the factory or the branch room.

Once this lesson is learned, then all workers by hand and brain alike will be organised to successfully solve the crisis in

their way—the way that leads to economic prosperity, lasting peace, and a speedy development towards socialism.

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## **SWEDEN AND THE WESTERN BLOC. C.H. HERMANSSON**

The Swedish Communist Party held its Fourteenth Congress at the weekend beginning May 15, and established as its main tasks in the present situation struggle for peace and national independence, for democracy, for the prosperity of the people.

This policy was clearly expressed in the political report of the Party Secretary, Gunnar Ohman, and in the speech of the Chairman, Sven Linderot. It was further developed by the many delegates who discussed the report and later embodied it in the political resolution adopted by Congress.

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The aggressive attitude and war propaganda of the imperialist powers and their attempts to create a western bloc under the leadership of the United States, make the defense of peace and national independence the foremost and imperative question for Sweden today. The Government has included Sweden in the sixteen Marshall Plan countries. The Communist Party opposed this policy stating that “the Marshall Plan menaces Sweden’s economic and political freedom of action,

by opening the way for American influence and control over our country's economic life and foreign policy.”

At the same time as joining the Marshall bloc, the Swedish Government proclaims neutrality as the leading motive of its foreign policy.

The attitude of the Communist Party to this “neutral” line was dealt with in the Party's Chairman's, Sven Linderot's speech. He said:

“In so far as ‘neutrality’ signifies freedom from alliances, we are agreed. We will not be a party to Sweden's joining any alliance directed against other countries or peoples, but we have also stated that neutrality as the guiding star for Swedish foreign policy is an abstraction and a meaningless phrase. We have said, and we repeat, that neutrality cannot be used as a principal working hypothesis for our country's foreign policy. Therein we differ from the Social-Democratic government and the bourgeois parties with regard to neutrality. We believe our country should conduct a democratic foreign policy, together with all the forces struggling for peace. This is in accord with the profoundest desire of the broad masses of the Swedish people”.

While the bourgeois and Social-Democratic parties formally announce their acceptance of the “neutrality” line, various groups and press organs are energetically making propaganda for a Swedish alliance with the Western bloc. This propaganda takes two lines. Some groups speak only of collective measures to be taken between the Scandinavian countries, Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Other groups refuse to accept this limited cooperation which they consider insufficient and state openly that Sweden can only win “security” by joining a bloc with the United States.

The Communist Party Congress brands this as either a direct or indirect means of dragging Sweden into the Western bloc.

The avowed adherents of the Western bloc in Sweden are becoming increasingly more open in their war propaganda.

They have even gone so far in cynical insolence as to advocate the point of view that Sweden should not defend itself in the event of an attack from the Western powers.

“There is only one word which describes this sort of propaganda, and that word is treason,” said Gunner Ohman in his report.

In this situation the Communist Party assumes as its first task the struggle for peace, freedom, and national independence. One of the Congress resolutions reads:

“The working class must be in the forefront of all peaceloving groups for the defense of peace and national freedom. That is the first task of the Swedish Communist Party, to work for a people’s resistance against imperialism and war policies.”

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Part of reaction’s preparations for a third world war is a terrific propaganda drive against the Soviet Union, the people’s democracies and the Communist Party. This reveals the extent of Swedish reaction’s coalition with world reaction. In this campaign they declare that the Communists are not democrats like the bourgeois and Social-Democratic parties which they claim are “upholding democracy” and “Western civilisation”. This propaganda campaign is intended to conceal reaction’s attack on the people’s freedom.

The Communist Party Congress assumes as an important task the complete exposure of this false definition of democracy, shared also by the right-wing Social-Democrats, to show that the real meaning of such “democracy” is to allow capitalism the right to plunder and exploit the people. A strong, broad campaign of information and education must be conducted in order to make clear which parties are really democratic—those which protect the rights of the people, or those which, under the cloak of “democracy” only protect the oligarchy.



The Swedish Communist Party leads the struggle for the defense of democratic rights and freedom, which the people won in hard struggles against the ruling class. But the fight for democracy cannot stop here. Democracy must develop and expand into a real people's rule in every phase of social life. The decisive task in this struggle is to break the power of monopoly capital. The people's rule cannot be secure until the people exercise control over all social life. This is expressed in the political resolution of the Party Congress which states:

“The Swedish Communist Party is the most reliable force in the people's struggle to develop and extend democracy into a real people's administration in every phase of social life”.

Such a struggle for a genuine people's administration requires the collective efforts of all progressive forces of the people against monopoly capital, the main barrier to real democracy.

The Social-Democrats have now abandoned the idea of cooperation among the workers and instead are trying to cooperate with big finance. The Government has neglected measures to solve the vital problems envisaged in the so-called post-war programme. Their leader, Premier Erlander, has declared that any question which might give rise to an open conflict with the bourgeois parties should not be considered for the present. At the same time the Social-Democratic leaders launched a special campaign against the Communist Party. The essence of this campaign is a struggle against socialism, against people's democracy. This move to the right was confirmed by the recent Social-Democratic Party Congress, which even adopted a special resolution against the new democracies.

This policy of the Social-Democratic government of appeasing big finance has meant to the broad masses of the people high prices and a lower standard of living. Sweden came out of the war with a production potential that was not only unscathed but strongly developed. Industrial production has continued to increase and is now between 25 and 30 per cent above pre-war. But the results have not been a higher

living standard for the people. The workers' standard of life is no higher than before the war and is actually being reduced by the increase in prices and by the Government's new, indirect taxes.

The Swedish Communist Party is the only force which consistently fights for the daily needs of the workers as well as for their demand for a better society. The Party in this situation has raised the slogan: Increase wages; lower prices; raise the living standard and secure the social gains already won. Sweden's natural resources and productive forces can assure the development of a general prosperity.

To carry out this policy, to safeguard peace and national independence, to further develop democracy, and the prosperity of the people, the Communist Party will work together with all forces which place the general welfare before private gain. In the first instance we turn to the working class, to the Social-Democratic and non-party workers, and propose unity, in the struggle for our common interest.

A number of delegates emphasised the need for the ideological equipment of the Party. The principal features of the struggle in the ideological arena at present are: to defend Marxist theory against the attacks of reaction and attempts to dilute and revise it; to apply Marxist theory to the concrete situation in Sweden; to expose the anti-socialist character and policies of right-wing Social-Democracy, to fight the false interpretation of the meaning of democracy and of the people's movement which is being given by bourgeois parties and right-wing Social-Democrats.

The feverish anti-Communist propaganda which has been carried on in Sweden during the past year has not produced any wavering in the ranks of the Communist Party. Since the last Congress the Party has increased its influence among the masses, increased its membership, extended its organisation, increased and improved the Party press and its circulation. The resolutions of the Fourteenth Congress will, properly used, be a powerful contribution to the battle for peace and democracy.

## **EDUCATION IN RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY. L. RAUTU. MEMBER CENTRAL COMMITTEE. RUMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY.**

A little over a year has passed since the Rumanian Government accepted the Communist Party's proposals for improving the economic situation of the country. These proposals were the starting point for a series of important social, political and economic changes.

The general trend of Party education development confronts our Party with great new tasks, tasks which necessitate intensive work to train qualified party personnel and simultaneously raise the general political level of all Party members.

This question is particularly important for our party, and for other fraternal parties as well, because the overwhelming majority of the members are young in experience, having joined the Party only during the past four years. The fusion of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties confronts us with serious new problems.

The general trend of Party education should correspond to the tasks facing the Rumanian Workers' Party as the decisive political force in the country. Proceeding from this we must daily draw the membership into a study of Marxism-Leninism, which illuminates the path of social development. We must educate Party cadres to resolutely fight the exploiting classes in town and countryside who have not the least intention of giving up their political and economic positions without a bitter struggle. All Party members must understand that the sharpening class struggle is a natural part of the development

of people's democracy toward socialism. Hence the need to impress upon Party members the idea of the leading role of the working class led by our Party—the idea that the alliance of the working class and peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, is the basis for the development of the people's republic along the path of socialism.

At the top of our Party educational network is the Stefan Georgiu Higher School (this year the six-month course there will be extended to one year). There is also a special Party school in the Hungarian language and another for leading women comrades.

A special six-month school will be opened in the near future in Bucharest to train people for ideological work to help overcome the acute shortage of cadres in the theoretical and ideological sphere.

The medium educational network consists of 30 district schools which in the first five months of this year graduated 1,610 members. Another 2,400 members will graduate by the end of this year.

The elementary network is made up, in the main, of three-month evening courses for Party members working in the daytime. There are about 300 such courses attended by some 12,000 Party members.

More than 34,000 members attended short-term courses for propagandists during the first half of this year. Forty-one issues of "The Propagandist's Notebook" have been published to date.

This year for the first time we have arranged individual studies and Marxist-Leninist study circles on a wide scale. We have recommended J. Stalin's "Short History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)" as a basis for individual studies and classes. We rejected the fears expressed by some comrades that a study of the History of the CPSU might result in a "mechanical adaptation" of the experience of the Bolshevik Party to Rumanian conditions. We regard the "Short Course", which is really an encyclopaedia of Marxism-Leninism and a treasure house of the great historical

experience of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, as the most suitable scientific work for raising the political and ideological level of Party cadres.

We had difficulty increasing the number of circles studying the History of the CPSU because the first two editions of the book were completely sold out. The first 130,000 copies of the new third edition, which is being printed in one million copies, only recently came off the press.

Apart from this "A Guide to Self-Study" is periodically issued. We are also planning to organise study circles on current politics.

Here it should be noted that extensive political educational work is carried out by the mass democratic organisations of the People's Republic, particularly by the trade unions, the union of Working Youth and the union of Democratic Women.

The Party Publishing House is taking the necessary steps to satisfy the growing demand for Marxist-Leninist literature. To date, the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin have been published in 1,200,000 copies. A second edition of Vol. I of "Capital", Engels' "Dialectics of Nature" and Lenin's "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism" will shortly come off the press. The works of Stalin have been printed in 580,000 copies.

The Party press, and above all, the central organ of the Party "Scantein" (circulation 500,000 copies) are of considerable help to party schools and members engaged in independent study. The paper now devotes much space to questions of propaganda which is adapted to the programme of the Party schools and first and foremost, to the medium educational network. Periodically it carries supplements devoted to ideological problems and publishes a special column entitled "The Propagandist's Guide". In addition "Scanteia" issues a weekly supplement (130,000 copies) specially for peasants.

A study of the world historical role and great achievements of the Soviet Union occupies an important place in the ideological and political education of the Rumanian Workers'

Party. Special lectures are delivered on such subjects as the Soviet Union's liberating role, which made it possible to establish people's democracy in Rumania; the Soviet union's role as the main bulwark of national independence and the new features of the relations between the USSR and the small states; the Soviet union as the principal force in the anti-imperialist camp.

Another important aspect of Party education is its political pointedness and military character. We try to avoid lending an academic character to party education and apply Marxist-Leninist teaching to current problems and sharpen propaganda against instances of hostile ideological influences.

Serious work still lies ahead in this sphere. There have been attempts to substitute the "idea" of an alliance with the exploiting classes of town and country for the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the allies of the proletariat. Patrascanu, for instance, claimed that "the bourgeoisie as a whole, or at least, the greater part of the bourgeoisie, can be drawn into the struggle to democratise the country and secure the independence of the people of Rumania," and that "objective conditions make it possible an alliance of the workers with all the peasantry, including the kulaks."

On the other hand, following the recent successes achieved by the people's democracy, certain members of the Party are showing signs of opportunist complacency, reflected in their view that "the overthrow of the monarchy has removed the last obstacle in the way to the development of the people's democracy." Both oral and printed propaganda are weak in exposing the resistance put up by the class enemy.

Party studies must thoroughly equip Party members against all rotten opportunist theories, against every expression of complacency and survivals of reformism.

The influence of bourgeois culture is felt in the sphere of literature, art and science, and certain Party members are not immune from this. We are waging a sharp struggle in the press, by oral propaganda, in special study circles for cultural workers

and in the Party schools against these alien trends. The Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Party's Central Committee arranged a discussion of Zhdanov's reports on philosophy and literature, and the decisions of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) on literature and art. A number of new works by Rumanian writers, poets, artists and composers are now being critically discussed. The theatre repertoire has been radically altered and a successful struggle is being conducted against the disruptive influence of Hollywood films. We cannot regard with satisfaction the results achieved in the ideological and political education of our members. The Party members either individually or in schools have not been drawn into study on a wide enough scale. Some of our Party cadres still cling to the narrow outlook that practical experience will "see them through" any situation and hence neglect to study problems of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The time has come to make a serious theoretical study of such problems as the class essence of the people's democracy in Rumania, social alignments in the countryside, the role of social property in economy, and so on. It is also time to make a critical analysis of philosophical and historical works that have appeared lately.

The question of improving and extending the scientific-research section of the Propaganda Department was discussed in connection with these tasks. It was decided to form a group of lecturers on problems of Marxism-Leninism. The Central Committee also decided to renew publication of the theoretical magazine "Lupta de Clasa" ("The Class Struggle").

We fully realise that open Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism is one of the chief ways we can overcome our shortcomings and mistakes. Only a party whose policy is imbued with the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism; only a party which educates its members in the spirit of genuine patriotism which knows no chauvinism and nationalistic limitations, in the spirit of selfless devotion to the cause of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, in the spirit of love for the

land of victorious socialism—only such a party is capable of solving the tremendous problems of social reorganisation and of building socialism in its own country.

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## **TREACHERY OF THE RIGHT SOCIALISTS. JOSEF CYRANKIEWICZ. SECRETARY. POLISH SOCIALIST PARTY**

Lenin wrote that the abuse of words is a common phenomenon in politics. Time and again, stated Lenin, the supporters of bourgeois liberalism in Britain and of Bismarck and the friends of Pope Leo XIII. called themselves “Socialists”.

There is nothing new in the fact that today, partisans of the “Marshall Plan”, agents of American imperialism, companions of Sophoulis and Tsaldaris, defenders of Chiang Kai-shek and patrons of general Franco call themselves “Socialists”. What is new, perhaps, is the fact that these “Socialists” having shed the last remnants of political shame, openly acknowledge their role. It would therefore, be more correct to give up calling them Socialists since they no longer have anything in common with Socialism in the broad sense of the word.

To give, with the minimum of words a picture of the contemporary role of the Right Socialists and an outline of their characteristic traits, the following peculiarities should be stressed.



The Right Socialists are not only the allies and tool of their own bourgeoisie, they are now the allies and tool of foreign imperialism—American imperialism.

Collaboration with the bourgeoisie, class compromise, political opportunism and reformism have always been characteristic of the right wing of the Socialist movement. In the past, however, the Right Socialists, as a rule compromised and collaborated, with rare exceptions, with the bourgeoisie of their own countries. Casting aside the Marxist principles about the state and regarding the state as a kind of superclass structure, as the organ of the “common weal”, the Right Socialists compromised with the propertied classes of their countries in the “interests of the state”.

After World War II the bourgeoisie in the majority of the West European countries proved to weak, politically and economically, to steer the helm of state and placed themselves at the mercy of American capital hoping to find in it a patron and guarantee of their power. The Right Socialists, for their part, welcomed without a moment’s hesitation this “idea” of subordination to American imperialism.

Often ahead of their own bourgeoisie the Right Socialists have today come forward as the out and out supporters of American economic and political hegemony. This results in paradoxical situations. Alarmed at the domination of American imperialism, certain capitalist circles in Britain, France and also Belgium are trying, unsuccessfully, it is true, to safeguard their interests against Transatlantic pressure. The Right Socialists are not tied down by such considerations and Attlee and Bevin are more compliant to Marshall than Lord Beaverbrook.

Someone with a sarcastic frame of mind coined the soubriquet “Marshall Socialists” for the gentlemen of the Right. This expression apart from being very much to the point, in my view epitomises the degeneration of the Right Socialists since the time of the Second International. In those days the Rights were known by the names of their own patrons. There

were the Scheidemanns, McDonalds and Blums. Today there are only the “Marshallites”. The bitter enemies of the idea of genuine international working-class solidarity have, at last, found a super-national platform—American imperialism.

“Marshall internationalism” has produced another feature of the present-day Right Socialists—they have become anti-national.

For years the Right Socialists donned the national mantle and attacked the revolutionary Left wing of the labour movement for its alleged indifference to the national interests. Today the Right Socialists, consistently pursuing their policy of betrayal of the class interests of the working people are, as the logical outcome of this policy, betraying their own national interests. Naturally, it has always been clear to Marxists that a proper understanding of the class interests of the working people coincides with the national interests in the best sense of the word.

In Poland today we claim that only the realisation of socialism can secure real independence, that our national existence, security of our frontiers and the wellbeing of our people, depend on the achievements of a united working class, leading the country to socialism.

But, with the course of events, it was only natural that the Right Socialists, harnessed to the chariot of foreign imperialism, had to forswear their own national interests. It is perfectly clear that American imperialism is not concerned one iota with the national interests of France or Belgium. Bent on safeguarding their own interests the leaders of American politics are banking on Western Germany and are not the least bit concerned with the danger threatening Germany’s neighbours.

The alarm with which every Frenchman, Belgian and Dutchman regards the restoration of Western Germany’s economic potential is quite understandable. There is nothing surprising in the fact that fear, bordering on panic, is rampant among broad sections of the public in Western Europe. We

appreciate these fears and heartily sympathise. But the Right leaders of the Socialist Parties in the West, who are taking an active part in determining the policy of their governments, which are following the dictates of the State Department, are today the joint authors of plans to restore the might of German imperialism and militarism.

When the decisions of the six-power conference (USA, Britain, France and the Benelux countries) in London on the question of Western Germany evoked alarm among the rank and file of the French Socialist Party, the British Labour leaders hastily ordered their political salesman, Morgan Philips to Paris to pacify the discontented and to remind them of their duties to Marshallism. Mr. Philips was in Vienna at the time, attending the Socialist conference which expelled the Italian Socialists, supporters of the united front, from the Committee for International Conferences.

With one blow the British Labour leaders are undermining the foundations of their country's security and the interests of their own empire. There are even labour leaders who like to think of themselves as Lefts, who justify this policy with radical phrases about the labour Party liquidating the British Empire. They merely forget to add that the liquidation does not take the form of recognising the rights of the colonial peoples but is expressed in the wholesale disposal of their property to American imperialism. And for the next to nothing, at that!

The Right Socialists who, as a rule, had a penchant for pacifist and humanitarian slogans, are now the advocates of a war policy and imperialist intervention. During the civil war in Spain, and at the time of Munich, the Right Socialists, behind the mask of "saving" the peace, upheld non-intervention and compromise with Hitler and Mussolini. Today the Labour Government supports the dictatorship of Franco in Spain and engages in armed intervention in Greece. It provoked war in Palestine, and took a hand in terrorising the Italian electorate.

By associating themselves with the policy of American imperialism, the Right Socialists have completely identified

their policy with the policy of the warmongers and organisers of the Western bloc against the USSR and the new democracies. They have become more Marshall than Marshall himself. We had proof of this when the world learned of the recent exchange of notes between the USA and the USSR.

Public opinion welcomed the statement of the Soviet Government announcing its readiness to begin talks with the United States to settle outstanding differences, and saw in it additional evidence of the peace policy of the Soviet Union and its determination to fight for a stable peace. But the reaction of the Right Socialist leaders was just the reverse. They simply felt that the ground was slipping from under their feet. To them the very idea of the possibility of accord is a terrible spectre. Such agreement would signify the complete bankruptcy of their policy. Attlee and Bevin were offended because their American protector did not inform them, if you please, of Bedell Smith's note which they first got to know about from the radio. It wasn't the violation of diplomatic protocol that upset them. They realised all of a sudden that they were losing their foothold. And that is why the Right Socialists from Bevin and Blum to Saragat and Spaak now form the "irreconcilable" wing of the camp which is sowing political chaos and inciting attacks against the peace-loving peoples of the Soviet Union and the new democracies.

Directed against peace, the policy of the Right Socialists is logically bound up with the policy that seeks to split the unity of the working class.

The unification of the working class around a programme of struggle for peace, progress and democracy, against imperialism, would mean the end of the political role of the Right Socialists. Defending their political existence, which is now gravely threatened, the Right Socialists have become the main instrument in splitting the united front of the working class.

Most glaring in this respect is the role of the international bureau of the Socialist Parties, the Committee for International

Conferences. During the past few months the Right Socialists have been using the Committee for their splitting tactics. Realising this, the Left Socialist Parties in the new democracies immediately protested and withdrew from the Committee. Today this Committee is the tool of Marshall socialism and openly propagates the policy of the Rights.

The struggle for working-class unity, for the independence of the nations, and against imperialism, the struggle for peace and progress—this, today is the struggle against the Right Socialists.

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## **RESOLUTION OF FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY'S POLITICAL BUREAU**

The recent meeting of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of France discussed the results of the London six-power conference, the danger of closing nationalised enterprises, the question of reducing employment, and wages and prices.

A resolution condemns the Government's policy on Germany for its abandonment of French interests. It calls on the French people to prevent Parliament ratifying the decisions taken at the London Conference.

The Political Bureau also protested at the dismissals of Civil Servants and workers of nationalised plants. It declared

that workers have the right to demand a revision of wages to correspond to the cost of living, since the Government has shown itself incapable of reducing prices on a large scale by cutting surplus profits of big monopolists.

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## **STRIKE MOVEMENT IN THE U.S.**

Low wages and bad working conditions in American industry are causing wide-spread dissatisfaction among the workers.

Six maritime unions with a total membership of 150,000 members affiliated to the CIO have declared that they will strike unless a collective agreement is signed and wages raised by 25 per cent.

Some 150,000 locomotive engineers, firemen and signal men are demanding a wage increase of 50 cents an hour.

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# **RUMANIA CELEBRATES CENTENRY OF 1848**

In celebration of the centenary of the 1848 revolution the Rumanian People's republic is organising a Centenary Month in June.

In the provinces great demonstrations are taking place.

On June 8 in Bucharest, Professor Constantinescu Jassy gave a lecture on the manifesto which was the programme of the 1848 revolution in Walachia.

On June 9 in a village in Walachia where exactly a century ago the revolution started, a great demonstration took place attended by representatives of the Government, the workers and peasants.

Comrade Bodnaras, member of the political Bureau of the Rumanian Workers' Party and Minister of National Defence spoke.

He stressed the merits of the local military garrison, the whole of which in 1848 joined the revolution. He also pointed out that today the people's army is the bulwark of peace, for which the people's Republic of Rumania is fighting.

On June 10 a special meeting was held in Atenua Romin addressed by Premier dr. Petru Groza.

On June 11 an inter-school competition was held in Bucharest in which over 6,000 young people took part. On the same day the "N. Balcescu Cultural Society" was inaugurated and a monument to the struggle of the Rumanian people for their freedom was unveiled.

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# **POLITICAL NOTES**

## **LONDON DEAL ON PARTITION OF GERMANY**

Six weeks' negotiations behind closed doors on the part of the six powers represented at the London Conference, culminated in the decision to set up a West German state, complete with a government, a constitution and a currency. It is intended to summon a Constituent Assembly on September 1, which will consist of representatives from the eleven German lands in the three western zones.

This means that the governments of the United States, Britain and France have completed the partition of Germany. It means that the decisions of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, which bear the signatures of the leaders of these governments and which received the assent of world public opinion, have become mere scraps of paper.

The monopoly circles of the U.S. and Britain have demonstrated to the world they are determined to maintain German imperialism as the gendarme of Europe.

Deliberately sabotaging the Potsdam decision concerning the demilitarisation and democratisation of Germany, the governments of the U.S., Britain and France, immediately after signing the agreement, proceeded to restore the military-economic potential of Germany and carefully nurtured the German concerns and monopolies and their chieftains.

This policy has reached its logical conclusion in the setting up of Western Germany as the seat of new wars and the jumping-off ground for future aggression of the imperialists against the democratic movement in Europe, against the new democracies and against the USSR.

In announcing the decisions of the London Conference the



State Department, as usual, clumsily tried to put the responsibility for the division of Germany on... the Soviet Union! It is extremely doubtful, however, if this knavery on the part of the imperialists will succeed in deceiving public opinion.

The indisputable facts are common knowledge. At the Moscow and London meetings of the Foreign Ministers, and in numerous official documents, the Soviet Union insisted time and again on the creation of an all-German government, and on the restoration of the political and economic unity of Germany. The Soviet proposals concerning the preparation of the peace treaty with Germany and for the setting up of Central economic departments for Germany, were turned down by the US and its satellites.

Only the other day, in conversation with the leaders of the Christian democratic Union, the Soviet Commander in Germany, Marshall Sokolovsky, speaking for the Soviet Government, confirmed once more that the Soviet Government is striving to turn Germany into a united, democratic, peace-loving state on the basis of the decisions formulated at Potsdam.

The deal negotiated in London is the subject of considerable comment in the world press. For perfectly understandable reasons, public opinion in France is greatly perturbed. The capitulation of the French Government in the matter of Germany, means that the security of the country is seriously threatened. The democratic press, with every justification, described the deal as betraying the national interests of France. "Intransigent" declared forthright: "renouncing our conception of the political structure of Germany means the renunciation of our security."

Most French newspapers consider, and justly so, that the acceptance by the US and Britain of the proposal for an Allied Control Council which will supervise distribution of Ruhr output does not remove the threat of the Ruhr again becoming the arsenal of German aggression. The Ruhr, as is known,

accounts for 90 per cent of Germany's coal output, 72 per cent of her iron, 74 per cent steel and 69 per cent rolled steel.

The international control organ, as mooted by the American imperialists, will lack the right to exercise control over output which will remain, as before, in the hands of the old firm. In fact, supervision of Ruhr production will be in American hands.

In dividing Germany, the parties to the London conference completely ignored the aspirations of the German people who want to see a Germany united and democratic.

## **PRO-AMERICAN POLICY OF THE RIGHT SOCIALISTS**

An international Socialist conference took place in Vienna the other week. A previous conference held in London, was attended only by representatives of the socialist parties in the Marshall countries.

The Vienna conference failed to muster delegates from countries other than the Marshall lands. And while the Socialist press hailed the conference as a "Socialist International", the democratic newspapers described it as a gathering of "Marshall socialists".

The agenda included such items as democracy, planning, the question of the Ruhr, and relations with the Socialist Party of Italy.

It was a hush-hush conference, held behind closed doors. Nowadays the Right Socialists fear to hold their international conferences in public, their preference for the dark is not without its reasons. What good tidings could these delegates bring the working people? Discussions about democracy and planned economy were simply camouflage. The purpose of the conference was to bring more grist to the American imperialist mill by adding its voice to the decisions of the six power conference in London.

As was anticipated, the right Socialists expressed agreement with all the decisions of the London conference. In their resolution, the socialist corporals of General Marshall shamelessly described the dismemberment of Germany as the “re-entry of Germany into the European production system.”

The conference welcomed the Saragat grouping into “Comisco” and excluded the Italian Socialist Party of Nenni until its forthcoming congress.

The leader of the Austrian socialists, Schaerf, declared that the sole reason for the exclusion of the Nenni Socialists was their cooperation with the Communists.

At the same time, quite a number of delegates gossiping in the corridors spoke warmly of the effort of the American delegate who sought a place in the Socialist International for the groups of emigre Socialists from the new democracies.

Why the request of the “honoured” American guest was not discussed officially, we are not in a position to say, but we shall be surprised if at the next conference of the right socialists, his request is not granted.

**Jan MAREK**

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## **BOOK REVIEW. STRUGGLE OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE. G. PAJETTA**

The world knows all too little of the epic of Italy’s liberation struggle.

The guerrilla movement in Italy started at the end of 1943. But

the main reason why Italy's liberation struggle is little known is the campaign of the Anglo-American occupation authorities and Italian reactionaries to gloss over and minimise the importance of the movement and to discredit it from the very outset and especially after the country's liberation.

In view of this, Luigi Longo's book, "The Italian People's Resistance,"\* is of particular importance as a serious study of the inception and development, both political and military, of the Italian resistance movement.

The author is not an archives investigator. He was a leader of the armed struggle of the Italian people against German invaders and fascist traitors.

During the war, Longo, now deputy general secretary of the Communist Party of Italy, led the garibaldi brigades. These brigades comprised over 70 per cent of the resistance fighters in Northern Italy and during the liberation struggle were responsible for most of the military operations. Longo was the organiser and virtual leader of the "Freedom Volunteers Corps" that embraced the entire guerrilla movement.

Longo quite correctly relates the events of 1943-45 to the anti-fascist struggle which had been waged continually by the vanguard of the Italian people, the Communist Party, during the twenty odd years of the fascist dictatorship. These were the years when Churchill declared, "Were I an Italian I would be a fascist"; when the American bankers generously financed Mussolini; when the French "democrats" kow-towed before the murderers of Matteotti and Gramsci, before the aggressors then enslaving Abyssinia, Spain and Albania.

Thousands of Italian Communists were then fighting in the difficult conditions of underground work, suffering in prison or exiled to the islands.

Those who had escaped from the country were fighting alongside French and Belgian workers and defending democracy in Spain.

The cadres that were later to lead the liberation struggle in

\* Un Popolo Alla Macchia. Ediz Mondadori, 1947.

Italy received their tempering on these battle fronts. Luigi Longo is one of the finest representatives of this glorious legion. For many years he led the underground work of the Communist Party, despite repeated arrests. He was general Commissar of the International Brigade in Spain and was tortured more than once in concentration camps in France and later in Italy.

Longo's well documented book reveals the singleness of purpose that inspired the Communists and the garibaldi fighters during the resistance movement.

Italian resistance developed under extremely difficult and complicated conditions. Every page of Longo's book contains examples showing how external and internal political and military factors influenced the development of the struggle and defined its nature.

For a long time the organisers of the resistance movement had to combat the "Attesisti", the people who, under the screen of talk about the need to wait for Allied assistance, to preserve the forces and so on, actually sabotaged the resistance movement, tried to sow panic and split the ranks of the antifascists. The "Attesisti" revealed not only the personal cowardice of the leaders of the parties of the right—Christian Democrats, Liberals and Monarchists—but also how much they feared an armed people, and the popular movement. In fact, these tactics spelt treachery and played into the hands of the enemy.

A circular issued by the Turin fascist command, quoted in the book, says: "Badoglio detachments are beginning to exhibit signs of unrest because of the predominance of the Communists in the movement. This made it possible for our command to establish contact with certain representatives of these detachments... Some Badoglio detachments are already cooperating with the Italian (fascist) authorities and with the German troops in the struggle against the left detachments."

In this way, those who had betrayed the army in the autumn of 1943 continued their treacherous work of splitting

and sabotaging the resistance movement. After the liberation, in alliance with the Anglo-American authorities, these same elements left no stone unturned to wipe out the gains won by the Italian patriots.

They performed exactly the same role as the handful of bankrupt politicians who during the early years of fascism betrayed the interests of the people or cooperated with fascism. Emerging after the overthrow of Mussolini from their comfortable sojourn in the Vatican, in emigration and elsewhere they hastened to form parties and committees and made a stubborn bid for power encouraged by Anglo-American support.

During the war the gentlemen of the Bonomi, de Gasperi and Sforza type operated as a fifth column inside the national liberation committees and sabotaged the liberation movement. Aided by the American imperialists they succeeded in forcing back the left parties which had borne the entire brunt of the war against fascism and the German invaders. Relying on that same help they are now guiding the fortunes of the Italian people.

Together with the political and military difficulties that had to be overcome by the organisers of the guerrilla movement, there were the added difficulties caused by the attitude of the Allied Command on the Italian front who scarcely bothered to conceal their hostility toward the guerrillas.

The author gives many such examples, including the example of General Alexander's call to the people in November 1944 to lay down their arms and go home. All these incidents are a complete exposure of the real attitude of the Allied Command to the Italian resistance movement.

In their anti-fascist struggle the Italian guerrillas, workers and peasants, derived strength from the resolute struggle of the Soviet people.

The example of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Yugoslav and Greek partisans encouraged the Italian people, made it easier for them to combat the "Attestisti" and inspired the first garibaldi detachments which were set up in 1943.

The resounding successes of the Soviet Army, which showed that there were forces capable of smashing the Hitler Army, the political measures taken by the Soviet Union—the declaration of the Moscow Conference of October 1943, the recognition of the Italian Government in spring 1944 and so on—all this directly aided the growth of the liberation struggle in Italy, encouraged the Italian people and infused them with new strength.

The significance of these factors in the development of the Italian movement was all the greater in view of the long inactivity of Allied troops on the Italian front, and their reluctance to allow the formation of an Italian army in the war against fascism.

In his book Longo writes that “the struggle against the big industrial collaborators was an integral part of the liberation struggle. The close connection between the armed struggle and the strike movement not only against the Germans but also against the employers was important for another reason: it gave the resistance movement a democratic and popular trend, rallied the progressive and militant forces of the nation around the committees of the National Liberation Front. From the beginning to the end the factories were the outposts on this front and the working class its leader and inspirer.” Nearly half a million Italian patriots fought against the invaders; 76,500 patriots gave their lives for the happiness of their people, on the battlefield or in the Gestapo torture-chambers.

For twenty months the Italian people waged a stubborn and unequal struggle against the enemy, and in spring 1945, responding to the call of the Communist Party, they rose in arms and with their own forces, liberated hundreds of towns, introducing everywhere democratic order and punishing the fascist criminals.

Only the interference by the Anglo-American occupation forces prevented the movement from taking the direct and natural course of bringing democracy to Italy and introducing and developing a people’s democratic order.

After the victorious uprising in April 1945, the very opposite took place, fostered by the Anglo-American authorities, and having recovered from its defeat, Italian reaction strengthened its forces and launched an offensive against the democratic gains of the people.

Today new attempts are being made to impose a reactionary, neo-fascist regime upon the people of Italy and to subordinate the country to American imperialism.

But the spirit of resistance is not dead. It inspires the Italian people in their struggle for democracy and progress. The experiences of the struggle are still fresh—a struggle in which hundreds of thousands of Italians learnt how to fight for their freedom with arms.

Longo's book gives one confidence in the forces of the Italian working people who succeeded in winning their freedom and independence in the struggle against Hitlerism and fascism.

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## EDITORIAL BOARD

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