

Workers of lands unite!

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

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COMMUNIQUE

Meeting of Information Bureau of the Communist Parties

During the second half of June, a meeting of the Information Bureau was held in Rumania. The meeting was attended by the following representatives:

Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), Comrades T. Koslov, B. Chervenkov; Rumanian Workers' party, Comrades G. Georgiu Dej, V. Luca, A Pauker; Hungarian Workers' party, Comrades M. Rakosi, M Farcas, A. Gero; Polish Workers' party, Comrades J. Berman, A. Zavadski; Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Comrades A. Zhdanov, G. Malenkov, M. Suslov; Communist Party of France, Comrades J. Duclos, E. Fajon; Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Comrades R. Slansky, V. Siroky, B. Geminder, G. Bares; Communist Party of Italy, Comrades P. Togliatti, P. Secchia.

The Information Bureau discussed the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and unanimously adopted a resolution on the question.

RESOLUTION of the Information Bureau Concerning the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia

The Information Bureau, composed of the representatives of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists), Rumanian Workers' Party, Hungarian Workers' Party, Polish Workers' Party, The Communist Party of The Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the Communist Party of France, Communist Party of Italy, upon discussing the situation on the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and announcing that the representatives of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had refused to attend the meeting of the Information Bureau, unanimously reached the following conclusions:

1. The Information Bureau notes that recently the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has pursued an incorrect line on the main questions of home and foreign policy, a line which represents a departure from Marxism-Leninism. In this connection the Information Bureau approves the action of the central committee of the CPSU (B), which took the initiative in exposing this incorrect policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, particularly the incorrect policy of Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, and Rankovic.

2. The Information Bureau declares that the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party is pursuing unfriendly policy of defaming Soviet military experts and discrediting the Soviet Union, has been carried out in Yugoslavia. A special regime

was instituted for Soviet civilian experts in Yugoslavia, whereby they were under surveillance of Yugoslav state security organs and were continually followed. The representative of the CPSU (B), in the Information Bureau, Comrade Yudin, and a number of official representatives of the Soviet Union in Yugoslavia were followed and kept under observation by Yugoslav state security organs.

All these and similar facts show that the leaders of communist Party of Yugoslavia have taken a stand unworthy of communists, and have begun to identify the foreign policy of the imperialist powers, behaving toward the Soviet Union in the same manner as they behave to the bourgeois states. Precisely because of this anti-Soviet stand, slanderous propaganda about the “degeneration” of the CPSU (B), about the “degeneration” of the USSR, and so on borrowed from arsenal of counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, is current within the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau denounces this anti-Soviet attitude of the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, as being incompatible with Marxism-Leninism and only appropriate to nationalists.

3. In home policy the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are departing from the positions of the working class and are breaking with the Marxist theory of classes and class struggle. They deny that there is a growth of capitalist elements in their country and, consequently a sharpening of the class struggle in the countryside. This denial is the direct result of the opportunist tenet that the class struggle does not become sharper during the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, as Marxism-Leninism teaches, but dies down, as was affirmed by opportunists of Bukharin type, who propagated the theory of the peaceful growing over of capitalism into socialism.

The Yugoslav leaders are pursuing an incorrect policy in

the countryside by ignoring the class differentiation in the countryside and by regarding the individual peasantry as a single entity, contrary to Marxist-Leninist doctrine of classes and class struggle, contrary to the well-known Lenin thesis that small, individual farming gives birth to capitalism and the bourgeoisie continually, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale. Moreover, the political situation in the Yugoslav countryside gives no grounds for smugness and complacency. In the conditions obtaining in Yugoslavia, where individual peasant farming predominates, where the land, and where can be bought and sold, where much of the land is concentrated in the hands of kulaks, and where hired labour is employed—in such conditions there can be no question of educating the party in the spirit of glossing over the class struggle and of reconciling class contradictions without by so doing disarming the Party itself in face of the difficulties connected with the construction of socialism.

Concerning the leading role of the working class. The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, by affirming that the peasantry is the “most stable foundation of the Yugoslav state” are departing from the Marxist-Leninist path and are taking the path of a populist, kulak party. Lenin taught that the proletariat as the “only class in contemporary society which is revolutionary to the end... must be the leader in the struggle of the entire people for a thorough democratic transformation, in the struggle of all working people and the exploited against the oppressors and exploiters”.

The Yugoslav leaders are violating this thesis of Marxism-Leninism.

As far as the peasantry is concerned it may be that the majority, that is, the poor and medium peasants, are already in alliance with the working class, with the working class having the leading role in this alliance.

The attitude of the Yugoslav leaders disregards these theses

of Marxism-Leninism.

As can be seen, this attitude also reflects views appropriate to petty-bourgeois nationalism, but not to Marxist-Leninist.

4. The Information Bureau considers that the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is revising the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the Party. According to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Party is the main guiding and leading force in the country, which has its own, specific programme, and does not dissolve itself among the non-Party masses. The Party is the highest form of organisation and the most important weapon of the working class.

In Yugoslavia, however, the People's Front, and not the Communist Party, is considered to be the main leading force in the country. The Yugoslav leaders belittle the role of the Communist Party and actually dissolve the Party in the non-party People's Front, which is composed of the most varied class elements (workers, peasants engaged in individual farming, kulaks, traders, small manufacturers, bourgeois intelligentsia, etc.) as well as mixed political groups which include certain bourgeois parties. The Yugoslav leaders stubbornly refuse to recognise the falseness of their tenet that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia allegedly cannot and should not have its own specific programme and that it should be satisfied with the programme of the People's Front.

The fact that in Yugoslavia it is only the People's Front which figures in the political arena, while the Party and its organisations does not appear openly before the people in its own name, not only belittles the role of the Party in the political life of the country, but also undermines the Party as an independent political force, which has the task of winning the growing confidence of the people and of influencing ever broader masses of the working people by open political activity and open propaganda of its views and programme. The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party are repeating the mistakes of

the Russian Mensheviks regarding the dissolution of the Marxist party into a non-party, mass organisation. All this reveals the existence of liquidation tendencies in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau believes that this policy of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia threatens the very existence of the Communist Party and, ultimately carries with the danger of the degeneration of the People's Republic of Yugoslavia.

5. The Information Bureau considers that the bureaucratic regime created inside the Party by leaders is disastrous for the life and development of the Yugoslav Communist Party. There is no inner Party democracy, no elections, and no criticism and self-criticism in the Party. Despite the unfounded assurances of Comrades Tito and Kardelj, the majority of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is composed of co-opted, and not of elected members. The Communist Party is actually in a position of semi-legality. Party meetings are either not held at all or meet in secret—a fact which can only undermine the influence of the Party among the masses. This type of organisation of the Yugoslav Communist Party cannot be described as anything but a sectarian-bureaucratic organisation. It leads to the liquidation of the Party as an active, self-acting organism, it cultivates military methods of leadership in the Party similar to the methods advocated in his day by Trotsky.

It is completely intolerable state affairs when the most elementary rights of members in the Yugoslav Communist Party are suppressed, when the slightest criticism of incorrect measures in the Party is brutally repressed.

The Information Bureau regards as disgraceful such actions as the expulsion from the Party and the arrest of the Central Committee members, Comrades Djulovic and Hebrang because they dared to criticise the anti-soviet attitude of the leaders of

the Yugoslav Communist Party, and called for friendship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

The Information Bureau considers that such a disgraceful, purely Turkish, terrorist regime cannot be tolerated in the Communist Party. The interests of the very existence and development of the Yugoslav Communist Party demand that an end be put to this regime.

6. The Information Bureau considers that the criticism made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) and Central Committees of the other Communist Parties of the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and who in this way rendered fraternal assistance to the Yugoslav Communist Party, provides the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with all the conditions necessary to speedily correct the mistakes committed.

However, instead of honestly accepting this criticism and taking the Bolshevik path of correcting these mistakes, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, suffering from boundless ambition, arrogance and conceit, met this criticism with belligerence and hostility. They took the anti-Party path of indiscriminately denying all their mistakes, violated the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism regarding the attitude of a political party to its mistakes and thus aggravated their anti-Party mistakes.

Unable to face the criticism of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) and the Central Committees of the other fraternal Parties, the Yugoslav leaders took the path of outrightly deceiving their Party and people by concealing from the Yugoslav Communist Party the criticism of the Central Committee's incorrect policy and also by concealing from the Party and the people the real reasons for the brutal measures against Comrades Djuiovic and Hebrang.

Recently, even after the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) and fraternal parties had criticised the mistakes of the Yugoslav leaders, the latter tried to bring in a number of new leftist laws. They hastily decreed the nationalisation of medium industry and trade, though the basis for this is completely unprepared. In view of such haste the new decision only hampers the supply of goods to the population. In a similar hurried manner they brought in a new grain tax for which the way is also not prepared and which can, therefore, only dislocate grain supplies to the urban population. Finally, only recently the Yugoslav leaders in loud declarations declared their love for, and devotion to the Soviet Union, although it is known that in practice they are pursuing an unfriendly policy toward the Soviet Union.

Nor is this all. Of late the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have, with perfect aplomb, been declaiming a policy of liquidating the capitalist elements in Yugoslavia. In a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), dated 13 April, Tito and Kardelj wrote that “the plenum of the Central Committee approved the measures proposed by the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to liquidate the remnants of capitalism in the country”.

In accordance with this line Kardelj, speaking in the Skupschina on 25 April, declared: “In our country the days of the last remnants of the exploitation of man by man are numbered.”

In the conditions prevailing in Yugoslavia this position of the leaders of the Communist Party in regard to the liquidation of the capitalist elements, and hence, the kulaks as a class, cannot be qualified as other than adventurous, and non-Marxist. For it is impossible to solve this task as long as individual peasant economy predominates in the country, which inevitably gives birth to capitalism; as long as conditions

have not been created for the large-scale collectivization of agriculture; and as long as the majority of the working peasantry is not convinced of the advantages of collective methods of farming. The experience of the CPSU (B) shows that the elimination of the last and biggest exploiting class—the kulak class—is possible only on the basis of the mass collectivization of agriculture, that the elimination of the kulaks as a class, is an organic and integral part of the collectivization of agriculture.

In order to eliminate the kulaks as a class, and hence, to eliminate the capitalist elements in the countryside, it is necessary for the Party to engage in detailed preparatory work to restrict the capitalist elements in the countryside, to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the peasantry under the leadership of the working class, to make socialist industry capable of producing machinery for the collective administration of agriculture. Haste in this matter can only lead to irreparable harm.

Only on the basis of these measures, carefully prepared and consistently carried out, is it possible to go over from restriction of the capitalist elements in the countryside, to their liquidation.

All attempts by the Yugoslav leaders to solve this problem hastily and by means of decrees, signify either that the venture is foredoomed to failure or that it is a boastful and empty demagogic declaration.

The Information Bureau considers that by means of these false and demagogic tactics, the Yugoslav leaders are endeavouring to demonstrate that they are not only for class struggle, but that they go even further, beyond those demands which—taking into account the real possibilities—could be advanced by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the matter of restricting the capitalist elements.

The Information Bureau considers that since these leftist decrees and declarations of the Yugoslav leadership are demagogic and impracticable in the present conditions, they can but compromise the banner of socialist construction in Yugoslavia.

That is why the Information Bureau considers such adventurist tactics as an undignified manoeuvre and an impermissible political gamble.

As we see, these leftist demagogic measures and declarations on the part of the Yugoslav leaders are designed to cover up their refusal to recognize mistakes and honestly correct them.

7. Taking into the account the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and seeking to show the leaders of the Party the way out of this situation the Central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) and the Central Committees of other fraternal parties, suggested that the matter of the Yugoslav Communist Party should be discussed at a meeting of the Information Bureau, on the same, normal party footing as that on which the activities of other Communist Parties were discussed at the first meeting of the Information Bureau.

However, the Yugoslav leaders rejected the repeated suggestions of the fraternal Communist Parties to discuss the situation in the Yugoslav Party at a meeting of the Information Bureau.

Attempting to avoid the just criticism of the fraternal parties in the Information Bureau, the Yugoslav leaders invented the fable of their allegedly "unequal position". There is not a grain of truth in this story. It is generally known that when the Information Bureau was set up, the Communist Parties based their work on the indisputable principle that any

party could report to the Information Bureau in the same way that any party had the right to criticise other parties.

At the first meeting of the Nine Communist Parties, the Yugoslav Communist Party took full advantage of this right.

The refusal of the Yugoslav Party to report to the Information Bureau on its actions and to listen to criticism by other Communist Parties means, in practise, a violation of the equality of the Communist Parties and is in fact. Tantamount to a demand for a privileged position for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the Information Bureau.

8. In view of this the Information Bureau expresses complete agreement with the estimation of the situation in the Yugoslav communist Party, with the criticism of the mistakes of the Central Committee of the Party and with the political analysis of these mistakes contained in letters from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia between March and May, 1948.

The Information bureau unanimously concludes that by their anti-party and anti-soviet views, incompatible with Marxism-Leninism, by their whole attitude and their refusal to attend the meeting of the Information Bureau, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have placed themselves in opposition to the Communist parties affiliated to the Information Bureau have taken the path of seceding from the united socialist front against imperialism, have taken the path of betraying the cause of international solidarity of the working people, and have taken up a position of nationalism.

The Information Bureau condemns this anti-party policy and attitude of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Information Bureau considers that in view of all this,

the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has placed itself and the Yugoslav Party outside the family of the fraternal Communist Parties, outside the ranks of the Information Bureau.

* * *

The Information Bureau considers that the basis of these mistakes made by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia lies in the undoubted fact that nationalist elements, which previously existed in a disguised form, managed in the course of the past five or six months to reach a dominant position in the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and that consequently, the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party has broken with the International traditions of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and has taken the road of nationalism.

Considerably overestimating the internal, national forces of Yugoslavia and their influence, the Yugoslav leaders think that they can maintain Yugoslavia's independence and build socialism without the support of the Communist Parties of other countries, without the support of the Soviet Union. They think that the new Yugoslavia can do without the help of these revolutionary forces.

Showing their poor understanding of the international situation and their intimidation by the blackmailing threats of the imperialists, the Yugoslav leaders think that by making concessions they can curry favour with the imperialist states. They think they will be able to bargain with them for Yugoslavia's independence and gradually, get the people of Yugoslavia orientated on these states, that is, on capitalism. In this they proceed tacitly from the well-known bourgeois-

nationalist thesis that “capitalist states are a lesser danger to the independence of Yugoslavia than the Soviet Union”.

The Yugoslav leaders evidently do not understand or, probably, pretend they do not understand, that such a nationalist line can only lead to Yugoslavia's degeneration into an ordinary bourgeois republic, to the loss of its independence and to its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries.

The Information Bureau does not doubt that inside the Communist Party of Yugoslavia there are sufficient healthy elements, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the international traditions of the Yugoslav Communist Party and to the united socialist front.

Their task is to compel their present leaders to recognise their mistakes openly and honestly and to rectify them; to break with nationalism, return of internationalism; and in every way to consolidate the united socialist front against imperialism.

Should the present leaders of the Yugoslavia Communist Party prove to be incapable of doing this, their job is to replace them and to advance a new internationalist leadership of the Party.

The Information Bureau does not doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia will be able to fulfil this honourable task.

Leaders of Yugoslav Communist Party Revise Marxist-Leninist Doctrine of the Party—D. Charpentier

The resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, condemns the opportunist line of the present leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party—a line which is hostile to Marxism-Leninism and which in effect, means liquidating the Communist Party.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have revised the principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the Party the invincible might of which has been confirmed by the century-old experience of the international labour movement.

They consistently follow a line of belittling the role of the Communist Party, of dissolving it in the broad, non-Party People's Front, composed of the most varied class elements, which undermines the foundations and threatens the very existence of the Party as an independent political force and as the highest organisational form and main weapon of the

working class in its struggle for socialism.

The liquidationist line pursued toward the Party by the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, and above all, by Comrade Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic, has resulted in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia finding itself in a semi-legal position. These leaders are cultivating in the Party military methods of leadership, similar to the methods advocated in his day by the worst enemy of Communism, the spy Trotsky. They want to construct the Party along the lines of sectarian-bureaucratic organisation, and impose on it a disgraceful, terrorist regime, which grossly suppresses the elementary rights of Party members, while the slightest criticism by Communists of the incorrect methods and line of the leadership is answered by brutal repression.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, eaten up with arrogance and conceit, have taken the path of breaking away from the united socialist front against imperialism. They have broken with the internationalist traditions of the Yugoslav Communist Party, have betrayed the cause of the international solidarity of the working people, and have taken a nationalist stand.

Intimidated by the blackmailing threats of the imperialists, Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, Rankovic and their like hope by making concessions to the imperialist states, to curry favour with them and to negotiate with them for the independence of Yugoslavia.

Under the flag of leftist “revolutionism”, which is simply a mixture of Narodnik, Menshevik and Trotskyite doctrines, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are trying to impose on the masses a false and adventurous programme of building socialism in Yugoslavia with the aid of the imperialist countries. In fact, however, this “programme” covers up a departure from socialism, a break with the united Communist front and an orientation on capitalism.

“Such a nationalist line can only lead to Yugoslavia’s degeneration into an ordinary bourgeois republic, to the loss of its independence and to its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries”. (From the Resolution of the Information Bureau).

Everything has its logic. By revising the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the Party, by betraying the Communist principles of internationalism, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have endangered the very existence of the Party.

Liquidation Tendencies in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia

The doctrine of the Communist Party as vanguard detachment of the proletariat, as the highest form of its class organisation, is one of the most important principles of Marxism-Leninism. Marx and Engels pointed out that without its own independent party, the proletariat cannot achieve political power and solve the problem of transforming capitalist society into a socialist society.

Lenin and Stalin developed this thesis by Marx and Engels and created the doctrine of the proletarian party, of its organisational, ideological, tactical and theoretical, ideological, tactical and theoretical principle applicable to the new historical period, the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

The organisational principles of Bolshevism, of the Party of Leninism, the party of the new type, were shaped through the years of irreconcilable struggle against opportunism, particularly against opportunism in organisational questions.

Lenin and Stalin teach us that the Party is the vanguard detachment of the working class, that, it cannot be identified with the class as a whole, and even less with the entire people.

Such identification would signify the obliteration of the

demarcation line between the Party and the non-Party masses. According to the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party is the highest form of organisation of the working people and stands above all other organisations, above the Soviets in the Soviet Union and above the People's Front in Yugoslavia. The Party stands above all these organisations of the working people, not only because it absorbs the best elements of the working people but also because it has its specific programme, its specific policy on the basis of which it guides all organisations of the working people.

But in Yugoslavia, contrary to these programmatic principles of Marxism-Leninism, the People's Front is regarded as the main guiding force and not the Communist Party.

“Since the People's Front best of all represents not only the political unity of our people, but also fraternity and unity in the national sense, it cannot be replaced by any other political party. Hence, the People's Front is becoming the permanent political organisation of the people”, said Comrade Tito at the Second Congress of the People's Front of Yugoslavia.

The first point in the Status of the People's Front (“The Main Organisational Principles of the People's Front of Yugoslavia”), states that “the People's Front of Yugoslavia is the main political force”.

Thus, according to the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the People's Front and not the Party, is the highest form, of class organisation of the proletariat.

In practice the People's Front is, to an ever increasing extent, substituting—or to be more exact, replacing—the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

What is actually taking place is the dissolution of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the People's Front.

In their political statements the leading political figures of Yugoslavia (Tito, Kardelj) habitually refer only to the People's Front.

Unquestionably, the People's Front of Yugoslavia played a great and positive role during the war of liberation against the fascist invaders; and unquestionably, the People's Front today ca, and should be, an important means of consolidating all the democratic forces of the country.

But the people's front cannot replace the Communist Party. And what is more, it can realise its political role only under the leadership of the Communist Party. Just what is the People's Front of Yugoslavia?

As is known, the People's Front developed on the initiative and under the leadership of the Communist Party prior to Germany's attack on Yugoslavia. The People's front was joined by different groups from the old political parties as well as by individual members from the leadership of these parties.

Apart from the Communist Party the People's Front was joined by the Croat republican Peasant Party, the bourgeois Republican Party of Serbia, the bourgeois Democratic and Independent Democratic Parties, the National Peasant Party of Serbia and the Agrarian Union (the last two parties merged after the war and became known as the United Agrarian Party of Serbia). In addition to the political parties the people's front was joined also by such mass organisations as the Anti-Fascist Youth League, the Yugoslav trade unions and the Women's Anti-Fascist Front.

Thus, the People's Front comprises not only the Communist Party, but also bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties; not only the working people, but also kulaks, traders and small manufacturers.

According to Comrade Djilas "there are no ideological, religious or any other obstacles to joining the People's Front". (From the volume "The Information Conference of Representatives of a number of Communist Parties", p. 93).

To regard the People's Front as the main, guiding political force in the country considering its class differences, is

tantamount to deviation from the Marxist theory of the class struggle and Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the party.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that the Party is not only the vanguard, but also the organised detachment of the working class.

The structure of the Party and its organisational principles are embodied in the Status of the Party, without which the Party inevitably becomes a loose, amorphous, disorganised “formation”, that obliterates the dividing line between the Party and the class. The Party Statutes determine the practical activity of Party organisations, the forms of building the Party and the rules of its internal life.

The break made by the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party from the organisational principles of a Marxist revolutionary party is reflected in the fact that whereas the People’s Front of Yugoslavia has its programme and statutes, the Communist Party has neither statutes nor a specific Party programme.

The leaders of the Communist Party see nothing wrong with this. Even more. They are inclined to make a virtue of this opportunism in relation to programme and organisation, claiming that the Communist Party does not need a specific programme.

In his report to the Second Congress of the People’s Front of Yugoslavia on September 27, 1947, Comrade Tito stated:

“Has the Communist Party of Yugoslavia any other programme other than the programme of the People’s Front? No. The Communist Party has no other programme. The programme of the People’s Front is the programme of the Communist Party”.

This attitude toward the programme of the Communist Party and the People’s Front was voiced by the Secretary of the Central Committee. Comrade Kardelj, at the Conference of the Nine Communist Parties in Poland. At this Conference the propaganda secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade

Djilas referring to Comrade Tito affirmed that there was no difference between the programme of the front and the Party programme.

And Comrade Djilas in his report to the Conference of the Nine Parties declared that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia “always and in all conditions resolutely adhered to the organisational principles of Bolshevism” (p. 89). What is this but outright Pharisaism. It is nothing but a downright lie. In practice, the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is departing more and more on organisational and programmatic questions and is taking a Menshevik-liquidationist stand.

Semi-Legal Position of the Yugoslav Communist Party

Lenin and Stalin showed that the proletariat needs a party not merely to gain political power. It needs it still more to maintain its political power and to secure the complete victory of socialism.

Speaking of the significance of strengthening and extending the political power of the proletariat in the interests of the complete victory of Socialism, Comrade Stalin points out that “it means imbuing the millions of proletarians with the spirit of discipline and organisation, it means creating among the proletarian masses a cementing force and a bulwark against the corrosive influence of the petty-bourgeois elements and petty-bourgeois habits; it means enhancing the organising work of the proletarians in re-educating and remoulding the petty-bourgeois strata; it means helping the masses of the proletarians to educate themselves as a force capable of abolishing classes and of preparing the conditions for the organisation of socialist production. But it is impossible to

accomplish all this without a party which is strong by reason of its solidarity and discipline”(Stalin: “Problems of Leninism”, p. 80).

The opportunist line of the present leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party has led to the fact that the Party’s role as an Independent political force is being increasingly undermined. Thanks to the efforts of Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia has actually been forced into a semi-legal position.

Important decisions relating to the political, economic and ideological life of the country are adopted and made known to the masses not in the name of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, but in the name of the People’s Front.

Until now the organisations of the Party have been on an illegal footing. This refers to the primary Party organisations as well as to the district, regional and central Party organs.

The situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party is such that Communists are obliged to keep silent about their membership of the Party and to appear before the masses as members of one of the People’s Front organisations. Many Party members say that “a Communist has no right to announce at work or in public that he is a member of the Party. If he does so he is subjected to Party punishment”.

At the big Zeleznik works near Belgrade there are some 4,000 workers. According to the Secretary of the Party organisation there are 160 Communists. They meet secretly and nobody is supposed to know of the decisions taken at these meetings. The Communists attending the meetings are supposed to put these decisions into effect in the corresponding organisation without referring to them as Party decisions. The workers in the plant do not know that there is a Communist Party organisation or Communists among them. Some of them only guess that there are. Nobody ever addresses the workers on behalf of the Communist Party factory

organisation. New members are accepted into the Party after a secret invitation from the secretary to join the Party.

The same conspiracy shrouds the district committees of the Party, which also hold their meetings in secret. The non-party masses are not informed in any way of the decisions taken by the district committees. District Committee officials never address non-party people in the name of their committee.

In the same way, the Central Committee of the Party does not come forward as the leading Party body. No meetings of the Central committee take place. The cardinal questions of the Party life are decided in a narrow circle of leading workers (Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Rankovic, Djilas) without collegiate leadership; broad circles of active party members are not drawn into carrying out Party tasks.

Since the very inception of the new Yugoslavia and until now not a single Party decision has been published from the Central Committee of the Communist Party right through to the lower Party organisations.

Party life is in no way reflected in the organ of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia "Borba". It is characteristic that for a number of months in 1947-48 "Borba" hardly carried any articles or information on Party life, on the work of the basic Party organisations.

During this period not a single leading figure of the Communist Party has contributed an article on Party questions. Even more, the leading articles written on various subjects do not as much as hint at the role of the Communists in solving state tasks, do not present Party organisations with tasks and do not call upon Communists to be the organisers and initiators of carrying out government measures.

Thus, until recently the organisations of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia actually carried out their work illegally. The Yugoslav Communists are compelled to conceal the fact of their Party membership. What is regarded as the pride of every

champion of the cause of Communism—the proud title of Communist Party membership—is veiled in secrecy in the peoples republic of Yugoslavia.

The concealment of the Party from the people when it is the ruling party, is absolutely unjustified and politically harmful. To cover up their liquidationist line in relation to the Party, the leaders of the Yugoslav Party falsely claim that by concealing from the people the leading role of the Communist Party, they give no grounds for other parties to develop their forces and their struggle. By means of this petty ruse, Tito and Kardelj hope to change the laws of historical development and to deceive the class.

However it is ridiculous to imagine that the class enemy will be taken in by a stunt of this nature and will give up the struggle. By concealing the banner of the Party from the people, the Yugoslav leaders are, in fact, merely belittling the role of the Party are blunting this weapon of the working class, are disarming the working class.

The present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, having broken with Internationalist principles and having taken the path of nationalism, and in this connection fearing the justified indignation of broad circles of Party members and of the peoples, have inaugurated a shameful and purely Turkish terrorist regime.

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia is built along the lines of a sectarian-bureaucratic organisation. The majority of the Central Committee members have been co-opted, and not elected. The Party members have no opportunity for open political activity, or open propaganda of the Party's views. Due to Comrades Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic the most elementary principles of inner-Party democracy are grossly suppressed, there are no elections, criticism or self-criticism; a bureaucratic regime has been instituted which is disastrous for the life and development of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia do not regard the Party as the highest form of organisation, as an independent militant organisation of the working class, built upon the principles of inner-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism, as an organisation in which every Party member has the right to express his opinion. It looks upon the Party as a partisan detachment, the members of which must not discuss any questions but unconditionally obey the whims and instructions of their “chief”. By implanting military methods in the Party, by suppressing the principles of inner-Party democracy on which a Marxist party is built, the Yugoslav leaders are actually resorting to the military bureaucratic methods which the “bureaucrat of bureaucrats” Judas Trotsky, tried to implant in the Bolshevik Party and which were condemned and thrown overboard by the Bolsheviks.

This crude trampling upon the basis of inner Party democracy the suppression of all criticism and self-criticism leads to isolation of the cadres from the rank and file, results in bureaucratisation and hamstrings, the work of the Party organisations. Party members are loath to express their opinion, to criticise the state of affairs in the Party and, in order to avoid repression, they prefer to keep silent.

The terror regime in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia is revealed, for example in the monstrous fact of the expulsion from the Party and placing under arrest the Central Committee members Comrade Djulovic and Hebrang who were bold enough to criticise the anti-Soviet line of the Party leaders and who expressed themselves in favour of friendship between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

This infamous terror regime implanted in the Communist Party by the leaders is the main obstacle hindering the rectification of the basic errors and distortions of the Party leadership in relation to the basic questions of foreign and internal policy, and which constitutes a deviation from Marxism-Leninism.

The decision of the Information Bureau states that “in the interests of the existence and development of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia this regime must be ended”.

Yugoslavia is laying the foundations for the transition to the path of socialist development. The working class of Yugoslavia is confronted with serious and complicated tasks. The socialist reorganisation of Yugoslavia’s economy, the elimination of her technical and economic backwardness, the development of socialist industry ousting of capitalist elements, socialist reorganisation of the small peasant house-holds—all this represents an enormous strain on the material and spiritual forces of the working class as the leading element in the new Yugoslavia. It would be a big mistake to imagine that these matters can be solved without class struggle, without overcoming the difficulties and contradictions and that the advance to socialism will be peaceful, smooth and tranquil. Moreover, it is known that the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, proceed from an opportunist line, denying the fact of the growth of capitalist elements in the country and the consequent sharpening of the class struggle in the countryside. Organisational and ideological firmness on the part of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia as the leading and inspiring force in socialist construction is a decisive condition for the successful solution of these tasks.

The elimination of the terror regime in the Party and of the sectarian-bureaucratic distortions in its organisation and activities, complete legalisation of the Party, restoration of the leading role of the Party a full-blooded Party life, with regular Party meetings and conferences, with the Party members taking part in active constructive, creative work, the development of inner-Party democracy, criticism and self-criticism—all this constitutes the immediate, and urgent task of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The Break with Internationalism, the Leadership of the Yugoslav Party Takes the Path of Nationalism

The present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are propagating slanderous fabrications concerning the “degeneration of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), the “degeneration” of the Soviet Union, and so on, fabrications taken from the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite arsenal. The foolish and slanderous writings of the “theoreticians” of the Moshe Pjade type about the degeneration of the Soviet Union and about Yugoslavia as the only genuinely revolutionary factor, are not accidental. The attitude towards the Soviet Union is the test not only for genuine Socialists but also for all genuine people throughout the world. It is clear to everybody that the people’s democracies gained their independence and were able to take the path of socialist development thanks only to the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, thanks to the fact that under the leadership of the Lenin-Stalin party of the Soviet Union—the mighty socialist state of workers and peasants,—was created, that the Red Army destroyed the powerful machine of Hitler imperialism, redeemed the European peoples from the fascist yoke and thereby created the necessary conditions for the free development of the new democracies. And if now the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are diligently circulating the fable that Hitler imperialism independently, that the Soviet Union had nothing to do with her liberation, they are doing so deliberately and for anti-Soviet ends.

The Soviet Union, the land of Socialism, enjoys a great and undisputed prestige among the people of Yugoslavia. These slanderous anti-Soviet fabrications are needed by the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in order to undermine among the masses of the people the great prestige enjoyed by the USSR, and the great respect and love which they have for

the Soviet Union; they are needed in order to cultivate nationalism under the slogan of leftist “revolutionism” and to counterpose Yugoslavia to the Soviet Union and the other countries of the people’s democracy. This is the path of breaking away from the united Socialist Front of struggle against imperialism, the path of betrayal of international solidarity of the working people, and the passing over to positions of nationalism.

The struggle in defence of peace, for the independence of peoples and for the triumph of socialism cannot develop other than under the slogan of internationalism, under the slogan of the militant cooperation of the peoples, headed by the great land of socialism. The united front of the Soviet Union, the new democracies, the Communist and democratic movement in the capitalist countries is an essential condition for the successful struggle of the working class in the new democracies and capitalist countries against imperialism and for the victory of socialism.

The adventurous plans of the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia to build socialism without the help of the Soviet Union and the new democracies, without the support of the Communist Parties of other countries and in isolation from the Communist and democratic movement is nothing more than camouflage for the abandoning of socialism and going over to the camp of the enemies of democracy, to the imperialist camp.

Orienting themselves on capitalism the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have taken the path of deceiving the Party and the people. They conceal from the Yugoslav Party and from the people the criticism of the incorrect policy of the Central Committee of the Party, and are consistently following the line of stifling the Party in order to hush up, by terror methods, any expression of protest and criticism inside the Party and also among broad sections of the

working people of town and countryside. For this reason the leaders of the Communist Party refused to report to the Information Bureau on their actions and to listen to criticism by other Communist Parties. They fear open discussion, friendly criticism by other Communist Parties; they fear their own party and people, from whom they conceal the real state of affairs in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party crudely violate the Marxist-Leninist teachings about the attitude of a political party toward its mistakes. Suffering from boundless arrogance and conceit, they react to the fraternal support and friendly criticism on the part of the Central Committee of the CPSU (B) and of the Central Committees of the other Parties, with belligerence and hostility.

Because of this the Information Bureau has every reason for arriving at the following decision: "The Information Bureau unanimously considers that by their anti-Party and anti-Soviet views, incompatible with Marxism-Leninism, by their whole attitude and refusal to attend the meeting of the Information Bureau, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have placed themselves in opposition to the Communist Parties affiliated to the Information Bureau, have taken the path of seceding from the united socialist front against imperialism, the path of betraying the cause of international solidarity of the working people and have taken up a nationalist stand".

Having taken the path of nationalism, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia are losing sight of the international revolutionary perspective; they are organising themselves within a narrow framework, and are abandoning the important principle of the Lenin-Stalin theory of socialist revolution according to which the revolution of a victorious country should not be regarded as an end in itself but as a support, as a means for accelerating the victory of the proletariat in all countries.

As we see, the present Yugoslav leaders do not treasure the united socialist camp, the powerful united front of the new democracies and the Soviet union, and the support of the Communist Parties in their countries. Having yielded to the blackmail of the imperialists, the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia think that by means of separate agreements with the imperialist states, they will be able to curry favour with these states and secure the independence of their country. They do not understand or pretend not to understand that such a line signifies direct capitulation before capitalism, irrespective of the “ultra-left” phrases used to camouflage this line. It is absolutely clear that this nationalist line can lead only to the loss of the socialist gains of the Yugoslav people, to degeneration of the country into an ordinary bourgeois republic, to the loss of Yugoslavia’s independence and to its transformation into a colony of the imperialist countries.

Having broken with the internationalist traditions of the Yugoslav Communist Party and taken the path of nationalism, the leaders of the Party, with the adventurism which is typical of them, are trying now by means of extraordinary measures to create a false semblance of, observing the principles of inner-Party democracy. Just now a congress of the Communist Party is being convened hastily and without adequate preparation. Statutes and a Party programme have been elaborated with haste. All kinds of leftist decrees and declarations are issued to the effect that in Yugoslavia the days of the capitalist elements and the exploitation of man by man are numbered. Evidently these extraordinary measures are aimed at securing that the congress, hastily convened, will in the absence of real inner-Party democracy and criticism, approve the opportunist policy of the present Party leadership.

The incorrect line pursued by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in matters of foreign and domestic policy, threatens the very existence of the Communist Party. It is a menace fraught with the danger of the degeneration of the people's republic of Yugoslavia.

However, inside the Communist Party of Yugoslavia there are sufficient healthy elements loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the international traditions of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and to the united socialist front.

“The task of these healthy elements”, says the resolution of the Information Bureau, “is to compel their present leaders to recognise their mistakes openly and honestly and to rectify them; to break with nationalism, return to internationalism and in every way to consolidate the united socialist front against imperialism.

“Should the present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party prove incapable of doing this, their task is to replace them and to advance a new, internationalist leadership of the Party.”

There can be no doubt that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with its glorious fighting traditions will find the strength to put an end to the present terror regime in the Party, to put an end to the incorrect line at the present Party leadership, the line of deviation from Marxism-Leninism and that under the great banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, and with the support of the Communist Parties of other countries, it will lead the working people of Yugoslavia in the struggle for the victory of socialism.

Betrayal of Revolutionary Marxism— Georgiu Dej, General Secretary Central Committee Rumanian Workers' Party

The present leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, gradually moving away from the position of revolutionary Marxism, have taken a hostile attitude toward Soviet Union and the CPSU (B).

It is obvious that to identify the ... internationalist policy of the USSR with the predatory policy of the bourgeois states, to behave toward the USSR and its representatives to the same manner as they behave toward imperialist states and their representatives, which is what the present leaders of Yugoslavia are doing, ... incorrect understanding of the international significance and role of the great October Socialist Revolution, means regarding its victory, the victory of socialism in the USSR as a purely national affair in the interests of one country alone, means taking a narrow, nationalist view unworthy of a Communist.

Today, in the epoch of imperialism and the general crisis of capitalism, ... when the world is divided into two camps—the camp of imperialist reaction and the camp of democracy and socialism,—a proper understanding of and correct attitude toward the international role of the USSR is the cardinal duty not only of the leaders, but also of the rank and file members of the Party.

The CPSU (B) and the founders, Lenin and Stalin, time and again showed the international significance and role of the

Great October Socialist Revolution. They set an example of correct, historical, and international understanding of the role played in the victory of the proletariat and its allies.

It was precisely the victory of the great October Socialist revolution set the building of socialism in the USSR on one-sixth of the earth, the transformation of the country of socialism onto one of the greatest power in the world, that shattered the foundations of imperialism and gave a tremendous impetus to the struggle, the ideological and organisational forces, to the prestige and influence of the working class and the revolutionary labour movement in all countries. The land of socialism constantly rendered active and extensive help to the international labour movement.

It was precisely the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution that led to the consolidation of the united front of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of all countries against imperialism. But the role of the Soviet Union was not confined to this alone. As it gained in strength the Soviet Union increased its support in the united front of the anti-imperialist forces, of the struggle of the peoples for their national and social liberation. Thanks to the victory of the Soviet Army in World War II, the peoples of Eastern Europe were able to break away from the yoke of imperialism and lay the foundation of socialism in their countries. The might of the Soviet Union and its tenacious struggle were the decisive factors which made it possible to turn the anti-imperialist democratic camp into a powerful invincible force.

There is a deep gulf between the Marxist world outlook and the narrow nationalist views of the present leaders of Yugoslavia.

Comrade Kardelj stated in 1945 that Comrade Tito regards the development of the people's democracy in Yugoslavia as being "self sufficient, and not linked with the development of the proletarian revolution and socialism". Is it not clear that this is a ... and absurd viewpoint which far from strengthening the

international front of the anti-imperialist struggle of democracy and socialism, aims to disrupt and weaken it? There are a number of Communist Parties which can be proud of the victories won in the struggle for the national independence of their countries. However, they do not boast of their victories and are not resting on their laurels.

The present leaders of Yugoslavia who have become boundlessly concealed, have forgotten certain things that are of extremely great importance:

a) They have forgotten, firstly, that without the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the victory in the struggle for the genuine independence of the country would have been impossible.

It was precisely the historical victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution that made it possible for the proletariat of the countries dependent on and enslaved by imperialism, including Yugoslavia, to take the leadership of the national liberation struggle into their hands and to achieve national independence and social liberation.

b) The present leaders of Yugoslavia have forgotten about the concrete conditions under which the countries of Eastern Europe, including Yugoslavia, became independent and took the path of a people's democracy.

In his report to the conference of the Communist Parties in Poland, Comrade Kardelj, enumerating the factors which, in his opinion, determined the victory of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia, forgot to mention one such fact, namely that the victory of the democratic popular forces of Yugoslavia would have been impossible without the direct assistance of the Soviet Army. At a critical period for the national liberation struggle in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Army liberated Belgrade, drove the armies of German imperialism out of Yugoslavia and afterwards completely routed them, thus making Anglo-American imperialist intervention impossible in

Yugoslavia. In this way the USSR, for the first time in history, created the conditions for the extension and development of an independent, democratic and people's Yugoslavia, and continues to give wholehearted support to the just demands of Yugoslavia on the international arena. The Soviet Union played the same historical liberating role toward the other peoples of Eastern Europe and won their warm love and gratitude.

The fact that the Soviet Army which has won the love and respect of the working people even in the vanquished countries it has liberated, has been treated with hostility by the present leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, much to the indignation of working-class and democratic public opinion of the world, can be explained only by the petty-bourgeois arrogance and nationalist conceit of the present leaders of Yugoslavia.

The present leaders of Yugoslavia are hypocritically endeavouring to represent the unwavering loyalty and love of the peoples of Yugoslavia for the Soviet Union as the result of their "educational work". Fortunately, the sentiments of the peoples of Yugoslavia toward the USSR are much stronger than the present leaders of Yugoslavia care to see. Even Djilas, who has more than once slandered the land of socialism, was compelled last year to recognise the deep roots of these sentiments. "Our forefathers", said Djilas, "rose up in the mountains and pointing to the East, told their children and grandchildren: that is where Russia is. The day will arrive when the Russians will come here and liberate us". And it was also Djilas who had to admit that this prophecy has become true.

The present leaders of Yugoslavia are trying in vain to prepare the Communist Party and the people to betray the united front of the countries of the people's democracy and the USSR. In spite of them the Communists and working people of Yugoslavia will realise that an independent Yugoslavia cannot

exist **outside** of this united front, that such a policy is tantamount to betrayal of the independence and freedom of Yugoslavia.

c) In order to conceal their betrayal of the international solidarity of the working people the leaders of Yugoslavia are distorting the Marxist-Leninist doctrine of the possibility of building socialism in one country alone.

Socialism cannot be built in one or several countries **without** the support of the USSR, or **against** it, **without** the support of the people's democracies or **against them, without** the support of the international labour movement or **against** it, as the present leaders of Yugoslavia seem to think. Such a stand means placing the country in the bondage of capitalist loans, such as the "Marshall Plan", means leading it along **the path of capitalism, of betrayal of socialism and national independence.**

Who can be so naïve as to believe that a country like Yugoslavia can take the "middle-of-the-road" position, can alone resist imperialist expansion in the epoch when a struggle is being waged on the international arena between two camps? Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, Rankovic and others are preparing for the People's republic of Yugoslavia the same fate that has overtaken the "Benelux" countries which have been subordinated to American imperialism, the fate of the countries seized and dismembered by the imperialists. There can be no "neutrality" between the two camps that now divide the world. Whoever breaks away from the camp of democracy and socialism, inevitable, opposes this camp and upholds capitalism, upholds subordination to the imperialist West.

And it is these same "leaders" who have created the danger of the degeneration of the People's Republic of Yugoslavia and the loss of its independence who dare to talk about the so-called "degeneration" of the Soviet Union—the invincible bulwark of socialism and democracy. It is highly probable that

having forgotten so much, they have also forgotten about the bankruptcy of Trotsky who likewise used ultra-left phraseology to camouflage his criminal activities directed at restoring capitalism and dismembering the Soviet Union.

It is clear that the thousands of Communists and working people of Yugoslavia who fought shoulder to shoulder with the men of the Soviet Army did not shed their blood for this. Unquestionably all that is healthy and honest in the Communist Party, in the working class, in the working people of Yugoslavia as a whole, will be able to find the correct path leading to the genuine strengthening of the people's democracy in Yugoslavia, the path of its development towards socialism.

The Communist and Workers' parties have drawn serious lessons from all that has taken place in Yugoslavia.

It is obvious that any underestimation of the role of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies in Eastern Europe is a dangerous nationalist phenomenon and inevitably leads to the departure from the position of Marxism to that of capitalism.

The nationalist short-sightedness displayed in relation to the role of the USSR has led to the fact that the present leaders of Yugoslavia regard the "weakening of the class struggle" to be the principal factor in the success of the people's democracy of Yugoslavia. This is an anti-Marxist idea from which follow the other features of the nationalist line pursued by Tito, Kardelj and others: denial of the role of the Party as the leader in the alliance of the working class with the labouring peasantry, denial of the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the proletariat and the transformation of the Party into a semi-legal, sectarian-bureaucratic organisation, dissolved in the People's Front and subordinated to it; abandonment of the struggle to restrict capitalist elements in the countryside, and so on.

The other lesson that must be drawn is that conceit and the absence in the Party of systematic criticism and self-criticism

combined with ignorance of Marxist theory can only lead to disastrous results. That is why the plenum of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party passed a decision to practise criticism and self-criticism as one of the important measures of combating this kind of phenomenon, to develop work to raise the ideological level of Party cadres and all Party members, as well as of the working class, as a regular method of educating Party cadres. These measures must be based on the rich experience of the CPSU (B).

It is necessary that the Communist and Workers' parties continue with still greater firmness to combat the nationalist influences in the Party and among the masses and that they educate the working class and the people as a whole in the spirit of internationalism.

It is the honourable duty of our Party to spare no efforts to educate the members of the Party and the masses in the spirit of boundless love and loyalty to the Soviet Union, the CPSU (B), and to the great teacher of all working people, Comrade Stalin. Only thus will we prove our devotion and loyalty to the powerful camp of peace, democracy and socialism, the great strength of which remains unshaken, all enemy attempts notwithstanding.

Fusion of the Two Workers' Parties in Czechoslovakia

At a meeting of the representatives of the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties in Prague on June 27, attended by nearly 3,000 people, the fusion of the two parties into a single Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was announced.

In his opening speech Comrade Zapotocky stressed the historical significance of this fusion, which embodies the dream of many generations of the working people of Czechoslovakia for working class unity.

In this message of greetings to the meeting, the chairman of the Party, Comrade Gottwald noted that "unity was attained on the basis of the rich experience of the working class as is reflected in the doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. This doctrine has withstood all tests: it led the working people of Russia to the Great October Socialist Revolution; it showed the way to a socialist state; it inspired the people in their struggle against Hitler fascism and today it is the guiding ideology in building the new people's democratic states.

"The unification of the working class is the concern of our people, of our two nations".

Only the working class can show the way forward.

The meeting was addressed by Comrade Flerlinger who gave a historical review of the labour movement in Czechoslovakia, showed the reasons for the split in its ranks, denounced the policy of the Right Socialists, the hirelings of imperialism and, in the name of the Social-Democrats, pledged to devote all energies to the Communist Party.

The meeting was also addressed by the Secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia, Comrade Rastovansky who

spoke of the need of uniting the Communist Party of Slovakia with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Comrade Slansky, who closed the meeting stated:

“Unity of the working class is the principal guarantee of national freedom and state independence, of the strength and prosperity of our Republic. It would be wrong to think that there are no longer any remnants of the capitalist classes in our country. We must combat them. Our path to socialism is based on the united socialist, front, which is headed by the powerful Soviet Union. We can preserve the independence of our country and build socialism only if we continue to strengthen our ties with the Soviet Union, with the new democracies and with the progressive forces of the world”.

Comrade Slansky then dwelt on the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class.

A resolution was adopted proclaiming the fusion of the Communist and Social-Democratic parties.

Strike Movement in France

France was the scene recently of a powerful strike movement. Some three thousand workers of the Bergougnen and Ollier factories in Clermont-Ferrand struck work, demanding a wage increase and occupied the factory premises. A week after the strike had started a considerable police force, sent by the Socialist Minister of the Interior, Jules Moch, arrived at the factory. A number of incidents took place in the course of which the police brutally clubbed men and women. The first police attempt to seize the factories was frustrated by a monster demonstration of the working people of Clermont-Ferrand who came out in solidarity with the strikers. On the night of June 16 the police once again attacked the workers who had taken possession of the factories. Several hundred workers were wounded, many of them seriously. Three hundred were arrested.

The workers met this police violence with a powerful counter-offensive. On the following day all the factories of Clermont-Ferrand and the entire department stopped work in solidarity with the strikers.

Some sixteen thousand workers of the Michelin factory also went on strike and occupied the factory.

Before long the protest movement had spread throughout the country. The Communist deputies in the National Assembly demanded the immediate cessation of all repressive measures against the workers. On June 19 in response to the call of the CGT a one-hour general strike was declared throughout France. In Paris, Marseilles, Lyons, Bordeaux, Lille, Rouen, Toulouse, Strasburg, Havre, Limoges thousands of workers downed tools. Faced with the powerful resistance of the workers the

government and employers were compelled to retreat. The management of the Ollier and Bergeugnan works had to agree to a wage increase.

Italian Workers Combat Trade Union Splitters

The government parties in the service of the big Italian capitalists have renewed their attempts to split the trade union movement of the country. Every is being done to organise an opposition group inside the General Confederation of Labour. With this aim in view the Christian-Democrat, Saragat and Republican trade union leaders recently formed a “trade union league”, on the pretext of defending “trade union independence” and the “rights of the trade union minority”. Actually, however, the aim is to prevent political strikes and split the unions.

Knowing that they represent less than 20 per cent of the working people organised in the CGT the splitters are reckoning on the support of the government and the church. However, the resistance and energetic counter-offensive of the working people was more than the traitors had expected. The principal bodies of the labour exchanges, and trade union and workers’ meetings denounced the splitters, while a number of Christian-Democrat workers and Saragat followers expressed themselves in favour of trade union unity.

However, the Italian working people denounced the splitters not only at meetings and in resolutions but also by fighting for their rights. This is eloquently borne out by the strikes in Turin and Venice by the railway strike in Genoa, by the recent strike action of the food and agricultural workers, led by the

Communist Socialist trade union leaders.

The recent trade union elections in Turing, Naples and other cities as well as in the countryside have shown that the subversive activities of the splitters are, if anything, weakening their own positions in the trade unions.

“Sokol” Festival in Prague

“Sokol”, the biggest physical, culture organisation in Czechoslovakia recently held its eleventh festival in Prague.

This festival demonstrated the strength and patriotism of the “Sokol” organisation; it was also a demonstration of Slav friendship, democracy and progress.

Sports delegations from a number of countries participated in the festival.

This year’s “Sokol” festival went far beyond the framework of an ordinary physical culture event both as regards the number of participants and its significance as a display of the unity and strength of the democratic Slav peoples.

Rome Workers Close “Anti-Communist Exhibition”

An “Anti-Communist Information Bureau Exhibition” made up of exhibits of the gutter press, of anti-Soviet and anti-Communist caricatures and pictures, was recently opened in Rome on the initiative of a certain neo-fascist newspaper and with the support of the reactionary press and leading circles of the Catholic Action Party.

Since the authorities turned a deaf ear to the protests against this exhibition. Rome workers on June 18 made their way to the exhibition where they destroyed all the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet exhibits.

Italy—the South in Motion—Giorgio Amendola

Bearing in mind the general situation in which the April elections took place—foreign intervention and operation—special importance should be attached to the big successes of the democratic and popular forces in the South where the Popular Democratic Front received 400,000 more votes than the Communist and Socialist parties on June 2, 1946. The question is asked how did the popular movement achieve such comparatively big successes in the regions most backward socially and politically?

It should not be assumed that the elections in the South were held in an atmosphere of freedom. Just the reverse. The government and the church brought heavy pressure to bear on the electorate and foreign intervention was expressed in the most blatant forms.

In these circumstances the successes of the popular democratic forces speak of the development in Southern Italy of a powerful people's movement headed by the Communist Party. This is an entirely new element in Italian history.

The specific social-economic conditions in the South after the unification of Italy (1860), the absence of modern industry, apart from the beginnings of such in Naples, Taranto, and Palermo, the existence in the cities of a considerable mass of de-classed elements, big feudal estates, and the fact that the bourgeois-democratic revolution had not been completed—all this gave rise to the so-called southern question, that is, the social and economic isolation of the southern regions from the north in which large-scale industry took shape and developed, capitalist agriculture expanded and the working class grew and

became organised. The alliance between the industrialists of the North and the landlords of the South formed the backbone of the entire-political system of pro-fascist Italy. The South was regarded as the “internal colony” of Italian capitalism the political reserve of the bourgeoisie from which the government could draw the votes necessary to win a majority.

While in the north the labour movement spread during the period 1900-1920 in the South it remains weak, forming but small islands in the different industrial centres and districts with a large number of agricultural workers. During the political crisis of 1919-21 and at the time of the stormy development of the labour movement in the movement in the North, the South played the role of reserve of the bourgeoisie, thus giving the latter wide possibilities for manoeuvring. In the North the Socialist Party received 50 percent of the vote, and often more, while in the South it polled less than 10 per cent.

The old Italian Socialist Party not only ignored the “southern question”, but in many instances even collaborated with the industrialists of the North at the expense of the population of the South.

Antonio Gramsci, the founder of the Italian Communist Party was the first to moot the question of an alliance between the workers of the North and the peasants of the North and the peasants of the South. Gramsci considered this to be essential for the political development of Italy, the means of solving the “southern question” within the framework of the revolutionary transformation of the social order in Italy.

The Italian Communist Party consistently upheld this line during the years of illegal struggle against the fascist dictatorship. After the overthrow of fascism, when the liberation war was still being waged, the peasant masses of the South went into action to realise their long-standing demands for land and freedom. Thus there was born, with the political and material support of the workers in the North, headed and

organised by the Communists and workers of Naples, Taranto, and Palermo, a broad peasant movement for a radical agrarian reform.

This was no longer the spontaneous outbursts of popular indignation. The Communist Party which had become a big mass party came forward as the organiser of the mass struggle: trade unions, cooperatives and peasant leagues were organised. True the mass organisations are as yet, sometimes of a very primitive character. Even so, they represent a considerable force in the midst of social disorganisation where the popular effort has always been dispersed and disunited.

The struggle for land and for the realisation of the decrees issued at the time by the Communist Minister of Agriculture, Gulle, was marked by dramatic episodes. But the brutal landlord reaction, police, violence, and assassination of trade union leaders did not weaken the movement. The victory of the Republic in 1946, to which the vote of the South contributed, increased confidence in the speedy realisation of the agrarian reform. The treachery of the Christian Democrats, however, and the expulsion of the Communists and Socialists from the government showed the broad masses of the South that only a big militant movement could put into effect democratic reforms in the economic, political and social spheres.

This is how the Democratic Front of the South was born in the autumn of 1947. In the districts where the masses came into contact with political life for the first time, the new people's organs—the production councils, agrarian reform committees and people's councils—played an extremely important role. The Front developed not as a coalition of the Communist, Socialist and other democratic parties but as an organisation of struggle for the regeneration of the country, an organisation formed on the basis of new people's organs with the direct participation of the working people.

The movement last autumn for the seizure of land is of special

importance. It was accompanied by the struggle of the sharecroppers and tenants for better agricultural agreements and the struggle of the medium landowners against the new tax impositions. The whole South was in motion at the time.

This powerful political upsurge of the masses of Southern Italy was reflected in the huge congress of the South in Pozzuoli (Naples), which was attended by more than 7,000 delegates from the lower Front organisations.

The April elections coincided with the beginning of this political upsurge. Here it should be noted that the election campaign, if anything, retarded this movement. This is explained by the fact that despite our intentions, the Front was regarded, to a large extent as a bloc of parties which went in for the traditional speeches, meetings and posters, and not as a militant organisation of the masses. The Front therefore lost a great part of its magnetic force in the very regions where the people's movement had not as yet sufficiently developed.

Speeches and posters are not enough in the struggle against religious terror and the violence of reaction, particularly in the countryside where the process of mobilising and organising the masses has only just started. Only a struggle for concrete aims (the seizure of feudal land, revision of agricultural agreements), which corresponds to the urgent needs and aspirations of the peasantry can set broad sections of the labouring peasantry in motion, can wrest them from the influence of the ruling circles, and inspire them with the hope in a radical improvement in their existence. The movement swept forward and gained considerable victories in the very regions where the Front retained its character as a militant people's movement during the elections, and where thousands of men and women were drawn into the struggle against the landlords and government.

The struggle is far from being over. Learning from their experience the masses who are taking a conscious part in political life, for the first time, are beginning to realise that the

election was but an episode in the struggle of the working people for their liberation from capitalist slavery; they are beginning to realise that an election struggle alone will not solve the major problems of the political, economic and social regeneration of our country. The political consciousness of the popular masses has matured as a result of the experience acquired during the past few months and we all appreciate the need of maintaining the sweep of the movement, of strengthening and developing the organisations of the people by extending the network of the lower people's committees.

The general election has come and gone, but the problems of the South remain and are being aggravated as a result of the government's policy. Now with the election over, the demagogic promises of the bourgeois parties are seen to be nothing but a crude bluff even by those who have been deceived by these promises.

Political reaction and mass arrests are accompanied by the rapid growth of the unemployment in the South. One of the initial measures taken by the new government was to take close many industrial enterprises in Naples, which already has an army of 130,000 unemployed and to discharge workers, especially iron and steel workers. The offensive is conducted against the shipbuilding industry in order to strike at the working class of Naples which has shown it is capable, politically and organisationally, of being the leading force of the popular movement in the South.

But the working people of the South, the workers of Naples and the peasants of Calabria faced with the offensive of the employers and police are prepared for the new battles. They realise quite clearly that they can depend only on themselves, on their ability to fight, and on their organisation.

Notwithstanding the resistance of the capitalists and foreign intervention by the struggle continues for the realisation of structural reforms which will give the broad masses of the

South  independence and a better future.

Creation of United Working Class Party-A. Zapotocky

“Complying with the mutual desire, representatives of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties of Czechoslovakia came together and reached agreement for the fusion of the two parties.

“The common, ideological basis of the united party will be the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, which, as proved by historical experience, and particularly by the experience of World war Two is the invincible weapon of socialism. In view of its experience and also for practical reasons, the Communist Party will constitute the organisational base of the fusion.”

The above statement was made by the unity committee of the two parties. Seventy years ago, fifteen delegates met in an inn on the outskirts of Prague and founded the Social-Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia. The programme adopted by the meeting declared: “In contemporary society the means of production are the monopoly on one class. The position of dependence in which the working people find themselves as a result of this situation is the main cause of their poverty and slavery. The emancipation of labour calls for the common ownership of the means of production, and for organisation of labour on collective principles with universal, beneficial and just distribution of its fruits. ***The emancipation of labour is the concern of the working people.***”

In this rather unclear way, the advanced representatives of the Czechoslovak working people gave expression to Marxist principles for the first time in their history, outlined their opinions and put forward their demands.

Neither the subsequent arrest and imprisonment of the fifteen delegates, nor the severe persecution of the working class

movement, could halt its onward development.

Later, the socialist working class movement began to issue its own newspapers. It organised a number of societies and began campaigning. A political party had come into existence which advanced political and economic demands, drew the working class into struggle and paved the way for victory. The 70 year old history of this movement was distinguished not only by numerous successes but also by many mistakes, shortcomings and defeats. There were periods of rapid progress and periods of abrupt decline—of division and disunity. The most critical period for the Czechoslovak working class was that which followed World War One.

With the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the people of Czechoslovakia were enabled to realise their dearest aspiration—they set up their own independent state. The vital question of what should be the nature of the new state, on what foundations to build, and what social force should be the decisive element in the new state was the source of heated discussion which led finally to a split in the ranks of the working class and the Social Democratic Party.

The Party broke up into two wings. The right abandoned the path of class struggle, cooperated with the bourgeoisie and took part in a coalition government. Relying on this coalition and on the subservience of the Socialists in the democratic republic, the capitalists strengthened their economic positions and class domination.

They enslaved the working people and made them bear the burden of economic crises and unemployment. Finally, the bourgeoisie betrayed the people and, submitting to Hitler fascism, accepted the German protectorate.

The Communist Party played a decisive role in the national resistance, both within the country and beyond its boundaries against German fascism, and its mercenaries—the traitors and collaborators.

The valiant Soviet Army liberated our country and expelled the invaders, and the victorious national revolution made it possible to lay the foundations of a new Czechoslovak republic. The Communist Party became the decisive factor in building up the Front and in nationalising heavy industry and the big banks, the Party had a reliable bulwark in the Left Social Democrats.

Supported by imperialist forces from without, capitalist reaction at home tried to hamstring the development toward socialism. And once more, the Right elements in the Social Democratic Party became a tool in the attempt to attain this end.

Relying on the support of the Rights, reaction sought to isolate the Communists from the people, to secure their exclusion from the Government. They caused a governmental crisis with the aim of paving the way for a reactionary coup designed to smash the people's democracy and bring about the restoration of the capitalist regime.

But reaction failed. The Communist Party was on the alert. The attempts to bring about a coup were utterly defeated. The relation of class forces in Czechoslovakia in 1948 was different from what it was in 1918. Together with a powerful Communist Party conscious of its aims, there was a united trade union organisation, two millions strong, and eager to realise the slogan: "The people are the sole source of state power."*

Together with the Party stood the great bulk of the peasantry whose demand was: "Land to the tillers of the soil."

Last February, the reactionary putsch encountered the unbreakable will of the people who were determined to prevent any return of the old order of capitalist enslavement. The majority of the people were behind the Communist Party and its leadership.

* From the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The reactionary putsch was liquidated. A similar fate met the attempts of the Right Social Democrats to seize the party. These events led to the setting up of a stable socialist bloc.

A new, regenerated National Front was created. A new government of the regenerated National Front was formed, which in the course of a few weeks enacted legislation concerning more nationalisation, internal and foreign trade, a new land reform, state social insurance and so on.

The recent election held on the basis of a joint list of Front candidates firmly united the people around the platform of people's democracy. Common work and common struggle against reaction, saboteurs and traitors closed the ranks of the workers and peasants. The determination to adhere to socialist aims and to a socialist future, put an end to old disagreements and paved the way for fusion.

The unification of the Communists and Social Democrats into a single Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is the natural result of the past joint activity. The existence of two Marxist parties is no longer necessary, since both are fully determined, not only in theory but also in practice, to pursue but a single aim—that of strengthening the people's democracy, of eliminating capitalist privilege and exploitation and of paving the way for socialism.

The history of the working class movement in Czechoslovakia during the past 70 years contains a clear and vivid lesson. The moment the socialist parties and their representatives abandon the socialist path and show a preference for coalition and alliance with the bourgeoisie, a split takes place in the socialist parties and in the trade union organisations, the working class movement is weakened and the bourgeoisie are the victors. And where socialist parties remain loyal to socialist principles, the working class camp is consolidated, the trade union movement is strengthened, socialist unity is secured.

The welding of the socialist movement into a unified

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia brings added strength to the forces of the democratic front. This unification is a political necessity in order to ensure the successful construction of socialism.

The forward elements of the working people of Czechoslovakia who today are establishing a united Communist Party, will always remember that the liberation of the country from the yoke of German fascism was secured by the heroic Soviet Army. Only firm, friendly relations with the Soviet Union can guarantee the independence of the Czechoslovak state and the peaceful, creative labour of its people.

The working people of Czechoslovakia will always remember that the building up of a united party, the preservation of its organisational and ideological unity, will be possible only by the party adhering to the great principles of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, never deviating from these principles and by remaining faithful to them.

Unity of the Working Class Movement—Z. Fierlinger

These are historic days in Czechoslovakia. The ideological and organisational unification of the two workers' parties—the Communist and Social Democratic Parties—is taking place. These parties represent practically the entire working class and socialist movement in the country.

In this way, a united, powerful socialist working class movement is being created—a movement which will be a strong enough ideologically and politically to lead the people in their struggle for social progress and which in the near future will realise their socialist aims.

One need only to recall the significance of the working class movement for the national life of the Czechs and Slovaks, to understand that the merging of the forces of the working class and of its parties is the best and the only way to secure national development of the Czech and Slovak peoples.

The ideological and organisational rift which characterised the Czechoslovak working class movement from its very inception explains why it was unable to make any serious claim to state power. Only adherence to the ideology of Marx and Engels by the majority of the politically maturing working class, turned the tiny streamlets into a mighty torrent that shattered the basis of the old world threatened the rule of the bourgeoisie.

Social reformism had a ruinous effect on the working class movement. Prior to World War One, reformism which was embedded in the movement, undermined it, and led to the decline of the Second International. However, at that time, a workers' party of a new type made its appearance and was gaining strength in Russia. This Party led the working class along the path of revolutionary struggle. Lenin and Stalin carried forward the teachings of Marx and Engels. Developed their theory in the new conditions and put their theoretical vies

into practice.

In the course of the October revolution and the Civil war which followed, the first socialist state—the Soviet Union—was created. The reformists interpreted and utilised for their particular purpose, the inevitable difficulties with which the young Soviet republic was beset.

In Czechoslovakia, the Socialist movement represented by the Social Democratic Party, was faced with the problem of choosing one of the two paths. However, the orientation on the capitalist Entente, facilitated the abandonment of the revolutionary struggle by the Social Democratic leadership and their unconditional acceptance of cooperation with the capitalists, who, under mass pressure, made partial concessions.

This tactic, enabled the bourgeoisie to retain its shattered position, to organise a counter-offensive and strengthen its domination. Thus policy gave rise to fierce discussion inside the Party.

The socialist revolution in Russia stood out as an example to many. The left elements, dissatisfied with the policy of the Party and striving in vain—notwithstanding their numerical majority in the leadership—to get their point of view adopted, decided to break with the Social Democrats and to form a Communist Party based on the teachings of Lenin and Stalin and on the principles of the Bolshevik Party.

It came about that part of the socialist movement which collaborated with capitalism, resorted at times in the course of the internal Party struggle, to helping and protecting the bourgeois organs of power.

Social Democracy proved incapable of fighting against placing the burden of the economic difficulties on the shoulders of the masses, and against the growing fascist aggression that led to World Two. This disastrous policy became really clear to the Czechs and Slovaks precisely at the time when the Western

Socialist parties loudly approved the Munich dictate and the policy of the Chamberlains.

After World War Two and the victory over fascism, in which the Soviet Union played a decisive role, the socialist movement in Europe once again was confronted with the vital question of its future.

Revolutionary sentiment on the part of the broad masses of people was the feature of the day. In the struggle against the fascist invaders the desire for real democratic and socialist unity had become widespread. The example and the might of the Soviet Union indicated the road to unity.

The Social Democratic Party of Czechoslovakia and its post-war leadership, fully conscious of the possibilities arising from the international situation for realising the aims of socialism, took the path of close cooperation with the Communist Party.

Close cooperation with the Soviet Union, and the weakening of the forces of world imperialism, provided the pre-conditions for the successful building up of a people's democratic republic in our country.

The reactionary forces, led by American imperialism, which at first did not dare raise their head in Western Europe, and disguising themselves with the mask of democracy, started a counter-offensive. The contours of the counter-offensive were the same everywhere—reaction sought above all to get the Communist Parties out of the governments.

In France and Italy where the reactionary manoeuvre was successful, we can see how attempts are being made to form neo-fascist governments camouflaged as yet by the mask of democracy, but governments whose aim is, by means of anti-labour laws and other measures, to abolish the entire socialist and in general the progressive, democratic movement.

International capital had reserved a similar fate for Czechoslovakia. Two of the four National Front parties in Czechia and Moravia—the Nationalist Socialist and the

Catholic People's—which as demonstrated by the 1946 election results represents together with the Slovak Democratic Party less than half the electorate placed themselves at the disposal of the people's democracy. To make this possible, it was necessary for them to secure even before the elections a majority in Parliament.

But success depended on the support of the Social Democratic Party. However, the leadership of the Party remained loyal to its socialist programme and to the line pursued by it since the liberation. Throughout the year it combated the reactionaries who were supported by some renegades from the same leadership.

The violence with which the struggle was fought out can be fully appreciated only by those who experienced it. The struggle seemed to end with the victory of the Rights at the Brno congress of the Party. But, ...? under a false banner, it could hardly be called a victory.

Reforming its ranks after the Brno defeat, the Left wing kept up the fight for a socialist policy. Reaction which was banking on the collaboration of the Right leadership, was in a hurry to deliver the decisive blow and get the Communists and all progressives out of the Government. Their plan failed and for two reasons.

First, the strength and fighting capacity of the Communist Party and the working people who were fully determined to combat reaction. Second the firm stand and the vigilance of the Left wing of the Party. The Left wing prevented the Party from leaving the Government with the parties of the Right, and by doing so prevented the setting up of a bureaucratic government or a frankly reactionary government.

The Left wing greatly facilitated the constitutional, peaceful solution of the difficult internal political crisis. Despite its vacillations, the Social Democratic Party Czechoslovakia confirmed in the hour of struggle, the loyalty to socialism.

After these critical days and days of joint struggle it is only natural broad masses of the Communists and Social Democrats are uniting in a single party of socialism, to crown the great job of the democratic transformation of the country and of creating a socialist state.

After the February events, the working class, headed the entire people in building a socialist state which will forever be free from the disastrous consequences of capitalist economy.

The further strengthening of the people's democratic republic as a result of uniting the working class in a single party, will also help to consolidate peace. The people of Czechoslovakia—the masters of the people's democratic Republic—will achieve all their aims and realise the great ideals of socialism.

Worsening of the Conditions of the People of France—Georges Cogniot

The bankruptcy of the French Government's policy on the

question of wages and prices is now, at the end of the first half of the year, fully apparent.

The Government keeps reiterating that it is pursuing a policy of lower prices. Actually, however, it is doing the very reverse. Even the Socialist Party journal "Revue Socialiste" pointed out that retail prices increased by 79 percent in the course of a year. Last April the index of wages was 750 compared with 1937, and the price index 1555.

The second half of 1948 will be marked by a further jump in the cost of living. As a matter of fact, starting with July 1, the import of American coal, hitherto paid at the rate of 119 francs to the dollar (exchange rate prior to the devaluation of the franc) will be paid for at the rate of 214 francs to the dollar! In other words the price of American coal will go up 80 per cent. This levelling of prices on French coal will result in a 20 per cent general price increase on coal which, in turn, will mean still higher prices for manufactured goods and essential commodities.

In an attempt to avoid the official price increase on coal the Socialist ministers are suggesting that the state should camouflage the business by granting a subsidy to pay the difference. According to this proposal the state would buy coal at the high price and resell it at a lower rate, that is, apply the very method so vigorously condemned only a few months ago in the Government's economic and finance programme. All this reveals the inconsistency and utter bankruptcy of the Government's policy. Should the Government decide on further subsidies this will only add still more to the budget deficit.

It is becoming increasingly clear to the workers in factory and office that the reason for the price rise, including agricultural prices lies in the ill-designed arbitrary policy pursued by the Government, in the policy which goes by the name of the finance Minister and is known as the Mayer Plan. Here are some of the characteristic features of this policy.

The devaluation of the franc was the immediate reason for the jump in prices. The withdrawal from circulation of the 5,000 franc notes aggravated this tendency and undermined confidence in French currency. The return to the free circulation of gold and foreign currency had a similar effect and stimulated the growth of prices. Finally, the introduction of the extraordinary Government tax impelled this group of taxpayers to raise prices in order to compensate themselves for this tax.

The Mayer Plan also aims to strangle the handicrafts, small and medium industries (this year bankruptcies have averaged 148 monthly compared with 57 in 1946 and 107 in 1947), in favour of French and American monopoly capitalism which seeks to fix prices exceeding commodity costs. A year ago Maurice Thorez in his report to the XI Congress of the French Communist Party denounced the influence of the trusts which is reflected "in a policy of prices that secures "in a policy of prices that secures profits which release the executives of enterprises from all organisational and rationalisation efforts". Since the beginning of the year the profits of monopoly capital have soared to fantastic dimensions. The General Confederation of Labour cites figures showing that during the first quarter of 1948 profits increased by 285 billion francs. The capitalist share of the national income went up from 29 per cent in 1938 to 43 per cent while wages dropped from 45 per cent to 39 per cent.

Notwithstanding the huge increase in the incomes of the big manufacturers the Government has refused to honour its pledge of December 1947 when it undertook to increase the wages of industrial and office workers beginning with June 1, 1948, the date fixed by the Government itself.

The lawful demand of the working people to revise wage scales in keeping with the high cost of living, was met with police violence (Clermont-Ferrand in mid June), the use of tear gas

and, on the instructions of the minister of the Interior, Jules Moch, the actual abolition of the right to strike. On June 19, a successful one-hour strike of solidarity with the movement in Clermont-Ferrand took place throughout France. This strike was a fitting answer to the policy of repression; it was an unmistakable demonstration of the strength of the CGT and of the will of the working people for unity.

In combating poverty and defending their standard of living the working people of France are simultaneously defending their country's right to independence.

The iron and steel workers, threatened with mass unemployment and drastic wage cuts as a result of the closing down of aircraft plants, are aware that this is the outcome of the Government's anti-France policy which is bent on closing down engineering works in the interests of the American trusts.

The miners who are suffering because no measures are taken to re-equip and modernise the nationalised pits, know that the reason for this is the Government's subordination to American policy. This policy which has spread its tentacles to the Ruhr allows credits for the coal magnates of Western Germany.

Workers in the film industry know that the reason for them being without work today is the Blum Byrnes' agreement which stipulates that French cinemas shall screen mostly American films.

All this explains the alarm felt by public opinion in France when it learned of the London agreement, alarm which was reflected even in the National Assembly where the Government with great difficulty managed to squeeze a majority of eight in favour of the agreement, which Maurice Thorez described as a "new Munich".

The people of France recognise more clearly that the leader of the Communist Party was right when he declared a year ago that the Marshall Plan will be detrimental to the economic and political independence of France, that it abolishes reparations

and that it will take our country into the camp of the imperialist forces who are preparing for war against the Soviet Union and the new democracies.

The Marshall Plan which envisages a credit of 250,000 million francs for France, not only deprives the country of deprivations. It will cost the country 450,000 million francs this year in military expenditure. Consequently, far from improving the conditions of the working people, it places a heavy burden on them.

Small wonder that today quite a lot of people in France including often the Government press, sound protests genuine or otherwise—against the Marshall Plan and its consequences. Newspapermen close to the Foreign Ministry and who for months spared no efforts to deceive public opinion, are now compelled to recognise that the US Government is trying to turn Germany into **a nation occupying a favoured position**, while the bilateral agreement between the US and France is made to resemble an agreement forced on **a conquered country**.

But in the attempt to ensure ratification of the London agreement, the same people are pretending that the French representatives at the London conference were faced with the alternative: “either accept the proposed conditions, or isolation of the country”. This is sheer sophistry. The real dilemma is: “either subordination to the US or agreement with all our friends and allies including the Soviet Union. Faced with the menace of a restored reactionary and aggressive Germany, there is for France but one tried and traditional policy—that is the policy of agreement with her natural allies in the East.

Today this policy is all the more imperative and fruitful since the Soviet Union is the main bulwark of peace in the world.

French reaction is not striving for peace. On the contrary, it is banking on war. War speculation constitutes the essence of all the statements and speeches made by the neo-fascist de Gaulle.

De Gaulle has made certain “reservation” with regard to the London agreement, But, he least of all can denounce the policy of Bidault and the Government, since Bidault’s policy has always been de Gaulle’s policy.

De Gaulle is responsible for the war policy of the so-called Western bloc. Speaking at Nevers on June 13, he repeated the Hitler thesis about de-industrialisation of France, but this time in favour of the American expansionists; he suggested that France should become an agrarian country which would supply Western Germany under the joint rule of the Krupps and Morgans, with her surplus agricultural goods.

The solution of the present difficulties in France cannot be sought in the policy of economic strangulation, destruction and war pursued by de Gaulle and the Government. The only effective solution is that provided by the Government which demands the re-equipment of industry and agriculture in order to increase production, instead of sacrificing them to American imperialism; the restoration of normal trade relations with the countries of Central and eastern Europe which represent a bid and stable market for French goods; the reduction of the amount of money in circulation both by reducing budget expenditure (military credits) and by increasing incomes (introduction of a democratic tax system), and the restoration of the independence of the franc; struggle against monopoly domination in French economy and restriction of excessive profits, particularly of the monopolists. None of these measures can be realised without defending democratic liberties and national independence. Successes can be guaranteed by forming a government of national unity which the decisive role will be played by the working class and its party. Such is the real perspective which can be transformed by the fighting capacity of the working class and the unity of all sections of the people, into a basis for saving the country.

A year ago, the American press screamed with delight over the

exclusion of the Communists, from French Government. They believed that after this France would abandon her national position without resistance. But the French people understood and accepted the challenge. Guided by the Communists Party, they are fighting might and main to secure the national independence against those who are conducting themselves as the gendarmes of the world and who would like to become complete masters of the world.

Bulgarian Youth Helps to Build People's Democracy—J. Jivkov. Secretary, People's Youth Union of Bulgaria

Last December the inaugural congress of the People's Youth Union of Bulgaria was held in Sofia. After working for a

long time to consolidate its forces in the struggle against fascism and capitalist reaction, our youth set up at the congress a completely united organisation.

All democratic youth organisations praised the new Union, including the Workers' Youth Union, the Peasant Youth, Socialist, Zveno and Student Youth organisations.

This unity of people's youth was achieved through the struggle waged by our people and by the youth against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship, against the German invaders and their Bulgarian hirelings. Since September 9, 1944, the day of the liberation, unity has been steadily developing in the common work of building the people's republic and the struggle against the machinations of the class enemy.

A leading role in this struggle was played by the Workers' Youth Union which had maintained its organisation even under the fascist regime. From the union came of 70 per cent of the Bulgarian partisans. The Union took an active part in the Patriotic War and was the first to organise its forces for the country's reconstruction. It was the organiser, the core, and the driving force of the youth movement in Bulgaria.

During the armed anti-fascist resistance Fatherland Front youth committees were set up immediately after the liberation special youth commissions were established in the front committees to coordinate the work of the various organisations.

At the first congress of democratic youth held in 1946 the Fatherland Front youth commissions were reorganised into democratic youth committees, a step toward the complete unity of the young people.

Six months have passed since the Union's inaugural congress. During this short period, Union branches have been set up in nearly all towns and villages in the country. They are now carrying out widespread organisational and educational work. The Union has 600,000 members.

The Union is a unified youth organisation of a new type,

corresponding to the present conditions and interests of our people's democracy. It is affiliated to the Fatherland Front, the social-political organisation of the people of Bulgaria led by the Bulgarian Worker's Party and fully accepts the programme of building the People's Republic and of achieving socialism in our country.

A profoundly patriotic organisation, **...** trains the young people to uphold and safeguard the rights and liberties won by the people on September 9, 1944, and to defend unwaveringly the national independence and state sovereignty of our People's Republic.

It mobilises the youth to wipe out the remnants of fascism, bourgeois reaction and capitalism, to consolidate the people's democracy on a firm basis and to win socialism.

The formation of the union strengthened and improved work among Bulgaria's young people. The right-hand of the Bulgarian Workers Party and of the Fatherland Front, the Union mobilises all youth forces to fulfil the Two Year Plan from the ranks of our working youth came the first shock workers., textile workers like Maria Todorova, Olga Nidenova, Violeta Berbenkova, Milke Biserova, Savva Dimitrov and many others.

The youth of Bulgaria has many glorious patriotic deeds to its credit. The Sime Dimitrov youth brigade at the "Brigader" mine used the first modern mining methods. There are now nearly 2,500 youth brigades in industry.

In the countryside, the Union mobilises the young people to improve ploughing, sowing and harvesting.

The young people take an active part in setting up and running the agricultural cooperatives in many of these, special youth brigades have their own land, equipment and livestock, Throughout the country there are over 360 such brigades.

Apart from its activity in industry and agriculture, the Union is starting a broad movement to form youth shock

brigades which will build factories, reservoirs, electric-power stations, highways, irrigation canals and similar undertakings. These shock brigades are an important way of drawing young people into work for the Two Year Plan.

In 1946, the 2,000 strong Dimitrov youth brigade helped to build the Main-Bossak pass in Stara Planin. Last year the Dimitrov National Youth Building Brigade, 85,000 strong, took part in many similar undertakings. Their work is valued at 1,134 million leva.

This year the shock brigade movement is developing on an ever larger scale. Some 250,000 young men and women are now working on construction of local and national importance. The corner-stone of the shock brigade movement is the local brigades which build roads, bridges and irrigation canals, work in the fields and, in fact, do anything to fulfil the local targets of the Plan.

At present there are 3,364 such local youth brigades with 97,800 members.

Seventy youth shock brigades are now working on construction sites. One of these has started to build Dimitrovgrad, a new industrial town. Here a chemical factory and a heat and power station will be built.

The laying of the Lovech-Throyan railway which will be completed this year, is another big undertaking. Equally important is the building of two large reservoirs. Young people are large reservoirs. Young people are also working to complete the Samuil-Silistria and Ljaskovez-Slatariza railways, the Pasarel reservoir, a physical-culture centre in Sofia, five power stations and are also building roads and machine-tractor stations.

Their voluntary labour is a great patriotic contribution to the building of the People's Republic and socialism.

Labour emulation among young people is already increasing.

The shock brigades also take a keen interest in educating young people and in developing sport. Performances by amateur art groups and sports festivals are organised in regional centres. The young people of the country are preparing with particular enthusiasm for a national sports day on Jul 20.

The People's Youth Union is guiding the work of the children's organisation with its 650,000 members.

Every day the youth of Bulgaria is gaining new successes and steadily consolidating its unity. However, we also have some weaknesses, against which the People's Youth Union is persistently fighting.

In the first place, measures must be taken to raise the ideological and political level of our young people. Reactionary bourgeois influences must be combated more successfully. The Union is resolutely struggling against smugness and conceit.

It is also necessary to improve work among the young peasants, to strengthen their organisation in the countryside, to increase its membership, to draw the young girls into work.

Led by the Bulgarian Workers' Party, the People's youth union will overcome its weaknesses, improve its work among the young people of the country and will be in the forefront of the builders of the People's republic and of socialism in Bulgaria.

Third Congress Communist Party of Tunisia

The Communist Party of Tunisia recently held its third congress at Ferrival, attended by 198 delegates.

The congress resolution denounced American imperialism which, with the support of the French colonisers, is trying to use North Africa as a strategic base for aggression, as the arch

enemy of Tunisia and of all other peoples. The resolution noted that the struggle of the people of Tunisia is part of the general struggle of all nations for peace and democracy, that unity of the people, and hence, the unity of the Tunisian and French peoples, is imperative in this struggle.

The congress elected a Central Committee and Political Bureau. Comrades Mohammed Ennafa, Hedi Ferah, Maurice Nizar, Muhammed Sefuki and Victor Ober, were elected secretaries of the Central Committee.

Training Cadres in Communist Party of Italy—Paolo Robotti

Training the cadres and raising their ideological level is one of the major problems of the Italian Communist Party.

The numerical growth of the Party, and the complex tasks facing the Party, demand radical improvements in the political

education and ideological tempering of the leading cadres and indeed of the entire membership.

Too few of the Party functionaries have a through grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory and of the history of the Italian and international working class movements. This shortcoming is understandable. For more than twenty years the Communist Party of Italy waged an underground struggle which took heavy toll of the trained and experienced cadres and severely handicapped the ideological preparation of new personnel.

The policy of the national unity pursued by the Communist Party during the war of liberation and the example set by the Communists in the course of the partisan struggle and in all political and trade union work, led to an extension of Party influence throughout the country and especially in the southern provinces.

Everywhere, considerable numbers of workers, peasants and members of the intelligentsia were drawn into political life. They placed their trust in the Communist Party and joined its ranks. Tempered in numerous struggles with the enemies of the republic, these people became excellent leaders and organisers. But they lack as yet the necessary theoretical knowledge and, consequently, the ability to react quickly to changes in the political situation.

An important place in the matter of educating and training new cadres is held by the national, province and district Party schools.

Immediately after the liberation, the political bureau of the Party set about organising three-month courses at national, provincial and district levels. A considerable number of the leading workers in the province federations of the Party passes through these schools. They became acquainted with the history of the Italian working class movement, and they studied current politics. But the schools worked under very different conditions. They suffered from a shortage of Marxist-Leninist

textbooks. A number of the provisional bodies were too weak to organise schools—they had to be helped in the matter by the executive committee—especially in the south. These organisations were allocated more places in the national schools.

But despite the difficulties and shortcomings, the network of schools had by the end of 1945 grown to an extent that enabled us to train several hundred Party functionaries.

A party conference held in Florence in January last year, discussed, among other organisational problems, the matter of the ideological-political training of cadres. The conference regarded the work of the Party schools as being unsatisfactory. After the conference special attention was devoted to the schools as the vital link in the ideological work of the Party. The experience gained was utilised for the purpose of improving the organisation of the schools, the curriculum and the teaching methods.

For example, two national schools, one for men, the other for women, were set up. This division was made necessary by the need to take into account the traditions peculiar to a number of regions in Italy.

At the present moment, the students selected for the national school for women are members with experience of full-time Party work or of work in one of the mass organisations. The national school for men accepts only members of the province committees of the Party.

At the present moment, the students selected for the national school for women are members with experience of full-time Party work or of work in one of the mass organisations. The national school for men accepts only members of the province committees of the Party.

Several hundred students have already graduated from these schools. At the moment the two national schools have a student body of 100. The course lasts for six or seven months, with a

brief interval for practical work.

The curriculum includes: the foundations of Marxism-Leninism; history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; history of Italy; history of the Communist Party of Italy; political economy; political and economic geography of the principal countries of the world; current political and organisational problems of the Communist Party of Italy and, finally, an outline of journalism.

In addition to the national schools a number of the province organisations have their own schools, some with evening courses ranging from three to four months.

The Party members studying at these evening courses have no easy time, since their whole day is taken up with work. Nevertheless, these schools, thanks to the care exercised in selecting students and to the keenness of those selected, have provided the Party with several thousand members trained for work at district and lower levels. In Liguria, Lombardy, Emilia, Tuscany, Naples and other areas these schools have graduated several contingents of students.

Although much has been done by other Party in the matter of training personnel, we are far from satisfied. We intend to extend the network of Party schools in the localities, regions and provinces. Special attention will be devoted to training personnel for the lower organisations.

Our Party schools will impart to the students—already tried and tempered in the struggle—still loftier Party principles, a broader outlook concerning the methods and aims of the struggle waged by the Communists on a national and international scale, and a more precise understanding of the role of the Communist Party as the leading force in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

Knowledge of the achievements of socialist construction in the USSR, and the successes secured by the New Democracies, will infuse students with confidence in the justice of our cause

and equip them ideologically for the struggle against the ideological offensive now being waged by the enemy. With Comrade Togliatti's words in the mind that "cadres are formed in struggle," we shall see to it that our Party schools train fighters and not doctrinaires.

Conditions of the Working People of Chile

In a statement to the press the secretary of the Latin-American Confederation of Labour, the Chilean Communist senator, Ocampo, denounced the Videla regime in Chile for "persecuting the workers and democratic forces under pressure from the American imperialist companies".

Describing conditions in Chile, Ocampo declared that while taxation has increased and the currency devaluated, the Chilean worker averages a little over 50 American cents a day. Naturally this state of affairs is only to the advantage of the American capitalists who control Chile's copper, nitre, iron and sulphur mines.

Unprecedented inflation has had a drastic effect on the standard of living. A "New York Post" correspondent reported that privation and poverty are rampant in Santiago. The percentage of sick in the country is extremely high and child mortality has reached shocking proportions.

French Blackmail in Vietnam

According to the Vietnam News Agency (VNS) extortion and blackmail are widely practiced by the French authorities in the occupied areas of Vietnam.

The agency describes an accident that occurred at Anhal, a fishing village near Tourane, where "in the manner of a Hitler gauleiter" the local French Resident had 36 of the villagers arrested. The remainder of the villagers were then told that the 36 men would be executed failing the immediate payment of several thousand piasters.

Thus, under penalty of death the colonial master forces the

peasants to sell their miserable belongings in order to pay taxes.

Labour Emulation in Poland—Zigmund Kratko

This year the working class of Poland is striving to reach the probation targets set for the second year of the three Year Plan. To rehabilitate Poland's we-shattered industry and overcome the technical backwardness inherited by the new Poland from the old reactionary regime, the country's economic resources must be exploited to the full and in particular there must be a widespread drive for labour emulation, so that the Plan can be fulfilled.

Since the liberation and establishment of the people's

government, the Polish working class under the leadership of the Polish Workers' Party, and to the basis of the united front, has gradually overcome the difficulties which held up the country's economic development.

As early as 1944 the workers rebuilt the factories which had been destroyed in the liberated territory of what was then known as "Lublin Poland", and started to operate them. Behind the liberating armies of Soviet and Polish troops, factory committees organised groups to guard their plants against destruction and sabotage, and gradually got the factories working. Even then the working class was already conscious of the changes taking place in Poland.

The nationalisation of industry, decreed on January 3, 1946, gave new impetus to the people's efforts to rebuild the national economy and became the basis for the labour emulation movement.

The movement started in 1946 on the initiative of the more conscious workers, who were mostly members of the Polish Workers' Party. Young people were in the front ranks of the movement.

In August 1945, the call from a group of young textile workers in Lode, addressed to all young people in industry, was the starting point of the campaign among the youth. Before long 3,600 workers from 65 enterprises joined the movement.

The second phase of the movement started two years' ago on June 30, 1946. By then, 40,000 young workers had been drawn into the movement. On the eve of the general election in January 1947, it had spread still further with 78,466 workers competing. By May, 115,000 young workers were taking part in the drive to fulfil the Three Year Plan.

The example of the young people had a great influence on the whole emulation movement.

Weavers in the textile mills initiated a more looms system. In the mining industry there was a movement for increased

output.

After the victory of the People's Front in the election, competition to exceed the level set for the first year of the Plan spread all over the country. But the turning point in the labour emulation and its beginning as an organised movement dates from July 1947.

It started on the initiative of the miner Vincenty Patrowski, a member of the Polish Workers' Party, who was the first in the country to break the output target by 260 per cent. His challenge was enthusiastically accepted. Before long, miners, iron and steel workers and textile workers were in the forefront of the emulation movement. The vast majority of the miners took part in the movement either in groups or individually. In December 1947, for instance, 133 collective agreements and 485 individual pledges were signed, whereas in February 1946 the figure was 396 and 1,799 respectively.

In the weaving section of the textile industry, emulation is taking the form of operating more looms. The movement has also spread to the iron and steel, woodworking, chemical, oil and shoe industries. Building and agricultural workers have also recently joined this movement.

The 80,000 workers in the sugar industry have been especially successful in increasing labour productivity.

Civil servants and other white-collar workers are taking part in the movement. It is also being taken up by peasants. Members of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Society are striving to secure high yields, for better quality live-stock and to accelerate the progress of rural electrification, the growth of the cooperative movement and the construction of village clubs.

Notwithstanding its obvious success, the emulation movement is encountering serious obstacles, the elimination of which is a major task for the Party organisations.

Firstly, the wages system does not correspond to the needs of the new movement. For a successful emulation campaign—

especially where individual efforts are concerned—it is essential that production targets should be worked out and piece rates and bonuses introduced as rewards when these targets are broken.

The miners' union, on the initiative of the Polish Workers' Party, was among the first to tackle this problem by introducing progressive wage rates.

In the textile industry the bonus system has been revised upwards so that operatives working more looms are earning more. Similar measures have been taken in other industries.

Secondly, work methods needed to be reorganised and readjusted for labour emulation. It was necessary to improve working conditions and to rationalise work.

The third obstacle was the stagnant bureaucracy of the managerial and technical apparatus which is gradually being eliminated through explanatory work by Party organisations and trade unions and also as a result of the desire on the part of the workers to raise labour productivity.

This mass movement is expressed in various forms, both group and individual. The first five four-month agreement signed between miners and textile workers in September 1947 is worthy of special attention. Although the miners won the competition, the textile industry considerably increased its output and smashed the 1947 production targets.

Labour emulation is popular among the workers because it corresponds to their vital interests, is helping the speedy restoration of the national economy and the reorganisation of the country's economic system and so strengthens the foundation of the people's Poland.

Thanks to this emulation, the 1947 plan was completed ahead of schedule.

The second reason why the emulation movement is so successful is that it raises real wages. For example, between April and December last year, the average earnings of miners

taking part in the movement increased by nearly twice as much and of metal workers by 37 per cent.

Innovations brought in by the workers and technical personnel play a considerable part in developing the movement and raising labour productivity.

In the textile industry an economy which saved many millions of zloty was made by these innovations. In the first three-quarters of last year the metal industry saved 53 million zloty. The inventors benefited by about 2 million zloty. In the Butomakle coal administration alone, 44 innovations which were found practicable gained awards totalling half a million zloty for the innovators.

The full unfolding of the emulation movement is still hindered by reactionary elements who, taking advantage of the lack of consciousness among certain groups of workers, agitate against the movement. Polish workers remember only too well the capitalist rationalisation that resulted in unemployment and increased exploitation. Today reactionaries are trying to scare backward workers with the bogey of unemployment. However, life itself has proved the reactionaries wrong. The workers see for themselves that labour emulation, based on a nationalised industry and planned economy, brings with it increased output, more unemployment and improved standard of life. The development of the emulation movement is proof that its enemies have met with a fitting rebuff.

Nevertheless, the struggle for a still higher level of emulation needs great vigilance, day to day propaganda and explanatory work and the systematic solution of vital problems.

At present the Polish Workers' Party is considering a number of questions the solution of which will speed the development of the movement.

The main problem is how to introduce new organisational forms of emulation. The numerous ways competitions are carried out at present, the fact that the workers are not given

definite tasks and that no proper leadership is given by the trade unions—all this is hampering the movement. Today it is of primary importance that the movement should be under better and stronger guidance.

Together with these organisational problems there arise new tasks of improving the entire nature of the movement. To fulfil the Three Year Plan, our national economy must be based on the full mobilisation of the country's internal resources and finances. The struggle for financial discipline, for lower production costs, for quality production, for economy in raw materials, electricity and fuel is of no less importance than the quantitative fulfilment of the Plan. Collective and individual pledges must also cover these questions.

Present methods of transmitting the experience of the leading workers to the factory personnel as a whole, are not satisfactory. This weakness might result in driving a wedge between the leading workers and their fellows in the shops and factories. The press, and the trade union and factory papers in particular, devote too little attention to this matter. Meetings of the entire personnel are one of the main ways the movement can be developed. At these meetings it is possible to explain the Plan to the vast majority of the workers, to define precisely the tasks and to encourage greater activity of the workers and technicians.

Better organised production meetings which include the technical personnel are essential to the movement of emulation and nationalised industry.

Labour emulation is now deeply rooted in the Polish working class. It is the object of their pride and shows them as the real vanguard of the entire people.

Labour emulation and the strenuous work to rebuild the country, are consolidating the organic unity of the working class and the alliance between the workers and persons.

Agrarian Policy of the Communist Party of China—Mao Tse Tung's Address to Cadres of Shansi-Suiyan Liberated Area

The Communist Party of China has developed into a powerful militant party with a membership of nearly 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions. The Party, with great success, is leading the valiant struggle of the Chinese people against the Kuomintang puppets of American imperialism, daily liberating more and more regions from the enemy.

Not long ago Comrade Mao Tse Tung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China, addressed a gathering of Party cadres of the Shansi-Suiyan Liberated area, Comrade Mao Tse Tung dwelt mainly on the results of Party work in the Shansi-Suiyan area and on the tasks facing the Party and the people's liberation struggle.

During the past few months, said Comrade Mao Tse Tung, the

People's Liberation Army utilised the intervals between campaigns to carry out retraining on a large scale. The fighting qualities of officers and men have improved and the bonds between the army and the people strengthened.

It is clear that the Kuomintang forces cannot achieve such results. They are involved in irreconcilable internal squabbles that are daily multiplying and, far from consolidating their positions, are heading toward inevitable destruction.

In this situation, the Communist Party is developing the struggle for its general line, for the New Democratic Revolution. The New Democratic Revolution can only be, and must be, no other than the revolution of the great masses of the people, led by the proletariat, against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. This revolution can have no other class and political party but the proletariat and the Chinese Communist Party acting as its leader.

The united front organised by the people participating in this revolution, is very broad. It comprises workers, peasants, artisans, professional people, intelligentsia, the liberal bourgeoisie and a part of the gentry who have split off from the landlord class. This is what we call the "broad masses of the people".

The state and government established by these great masses of the people are the Chinese People's Democratic Republic and the democratic coalition government representing the joint sovereign rule of all the democratic classes. The enemies which this revolution aims to overthrow are only, and must be only, imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. The concentrated expression of these enemies is the reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang.

Feudalism is the ally of imperialism. Therefore the reform of the agrarian system is the main content of China's New Democratic Revolution. The general line of the agrarian reform is reliance on the poor peasants and unity with the middle

peasants in order to eliminate the feudal and semi-feudal system of exploitation systematically and with discretion, and to develop agricultural production.

The force on which the agrarian reform relies can only be and must be, the poor peasants. This stratum of the poor peasants together with the agricultural labourers forms about 70 per cent of China's rural population. The main task of the agrarian reform is to satisfy the demands of the masses of poor peasants and agricultural labourers.

In the agricultural reform there must be unity with the middle peasants. The poor peasants and agricultural labourers must form a firm united front with the middle peasants who comprise about 20 per cent of the rural population. If this is not done, the poor peasants and agricultural labourers will be isolated and agrarian reform will fail.

One of the tasks of the agrarian reform is to satisfy the demands of certain middle peasants who must be permitted to retain a portion of land above the average portion obtained by the poor peasants in general. Our support of the peasants' demands for equal distribution of land is not at all an advocacy of absolute equalitarianism. It is to facilitate the rousing of the broad masses of the peasants to eliminate swiftly the system of land ownership of the feudal landlord class. Whoever advocates immediate, absolute equalitarianism is in the wrong. The kind of thinking now current in the villages which destroys industry and commerce and advocates absolute equalitarianism on the question of distributing the land is reactionary, backward and retrograde. We must subject it to criticism. Special care must be taken not to encroach upon middle peasants, artisans and professional people.

The aim of the agrarian reform is to eliminate the feudal system of exploitation, which means to smash the feudal landlords as a class out not to eliminate the person of the landlord. Therefore, land and property equal to that of the

peasants, must be distributed to the landlords and they must be given the opportunity to work and produce for themselves and to join the ranks of the national economic life.

The elimination of the feudal system of exploitation must be carried out systematically, that is to say, with due regard to tactics. The tactics for arousing and carrying on the struggle must be devised on the basis of these conditions according to the existing situation and on the level of consciousness and organisation of the masses of the peasants.

The entire feudal system of exploitation cannot be eliminated overnight. The whole front of attack against which the agrarian reform strikes in general cannot be more than eight percent of the rural households or ten percent of the rural population.

In the old and less recently liberated areas, this figure must be reduced still further. Deviating from actual conditions and erroneously enlarging the front of attack is dangerous.

In areas which the People's Army has just liberated, the tactics of neutralising the rich peasants and small and medium landlords should be employed, limiting the front of attack only to the elimination of the Kuomintang's reactionary armed forces, striking at the big feudal elements and concentrating all forces for the fulfilment of this as the first stage in the work in the new areas.

Afterwards, according to the circumstances in which the level of consciousness and organisation of the masses has been raised, we can advance step by step to the stage of eliminating the feudal system as a whole.

In the new areas, the distribution of movable property and land must all be done after the situation is comparatively stable and the overwhelming majority of the masses have been roused, otherwise it is adventurist, insecure and wholly detrimental. In the new areas, the experience of the anti-Japanese war period must be fully utilised.

The direct aim of the agrarian reform is the development of

agricultural production. Only by wiping out the feudal system can the conditions for developing agricultural production be obtained. In any area, once the feudal system has been eliminated and the tasks of the agrarian reform have been completed, the Party and the democratic government must immediately bring to the fore the tasks of restoring and developing agricultural production, organising cooperative mutual aid, improving agricultural technique and undertaking irrigation.

The major energies of the Party in the rural areas must be devoted to the restoration and development of agricultural production and industrial production in market towns. Every effort must be exerted to preserve all usable means of production and livelihood.

To develop agricultural production, it is necessary to advise the peasants to organise step by step and under the voluntary principle, various types of producers' and consumers' cooperatives such as are permissible under existing economic conditions based on the system of private property.

The elimination of the feudal system and the development of agricultural production lays the foundation for the task of developing industrial production and transforming an agricultural country into an industrial one. This is the ultimate goal of the New Democratic Revolution.

Reliance on the poor peasants, unity with the middle peasants in order to eliminate the feudal-system of exploitation systematically and with discretion, the development of agricultural production—this is the line and the policy of the Chinese Communist Party in the work of the agrarian reform in the period of the New Democratic Revolution.

Concluding his speech, Comrade Mao Tse Tung said: "The revolution of the great masses of the people, led by the proletariat, against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism—this is China's New Democratic Revolution. This

is the general line and general policy of the Chinese Communist Party in the present stage of history.”

Planning in Poland

Poland has already started to work out targets of the economic plan for 1949.

The total of industrial production will be increased by 21 per cent more than 1948, steel by 20 per cent, rolled steel 15 per cent, electrical equipment 29 per cent, artificial fertilizer 34 per cent.

Not only basic industry but also vital consumer goods will considerably increase. According to the plan, output of cotton fabrics will go up 17 per cent, woollen goods 25 per cent, silk fabric 26 per cent and leather 70 per cent.

Special attention will be devoted to the industrial development in the Central and Eastern regions.

Agricultural output will be increased by 15 per cent. Two thousand machine servicing depots will be built and three thousand agronomists trained.

Scottish Miners Support Communists

The recent Annual Conference of the Scottish Area of the British Mineworkers' Union held in Dunoon, denounced the anti-Communist witch-hunt in the trade unions. By a big majority the conference, representing 80,000 miners, rejected a resolution to the effect that prominent Communists should not hold office in the union.

The conference also condemned the Government's wage freezing policy.

Agriculture in the Liberated Areas of Manchuria

Government departments and the units of the People's Liberation Army of Manchuria are organising large-scale modern farms in the liberated areas.

The organisation of these farms is part of the 1948 reconstruction programme which plans to harvest a record crop and to extend to all the liberated areas the experience of mechanised agriculture.

In the Ho-Tsiang province (Eastern Manchuria) there are now 29 such farms employing 3,842 people. Many farms have their own tractors and other modern agricultural equipment. In the Kirin province such farms will be organised near the well-known Siao-Fin-Ming hydro-electric station.

REVIEW OF THE PRESS—Venezuela Workers Start New Paper

On February 17 this year the first number of “Tribuna Popular”, a daily four-page newspaper, appeared in Venezuela. For months Communists and progressive democrats of the country had collected, penny by penny, the necessary money with which to issue their daily paper.

Looking through the issues of “Tribuna Popular”, published so far, one can easily understand why the working people of Venezuela campaigned so stubbornly to launch a militant daily newspaper.

Despite Venezuela’s enormous natural wealth, the working people live in the most miserable conditions, Venezuela has the second greatest oil production in the world. But hunger, poverty, unemployment and disease are rampant. This is the result of the colonial regime which has been supported by American imperialism, first through the brutal dictatorship of the feudal Gomez and now through its agents in the ruling Party of democratic Action.

This small, four-page newspaper reports daily on the international situation, on the life and struggle of workers and democrats at home and on the work of their party and trade unions.

In contrast with the capitalist newspapers, “Tribuna Popular” does not strive for sensational headlines. At the same time it presents the material vividly, publishing cartoons and pictures

in an efficient lay-out. The style of the articles and reports is, in the main, clear and militant; numerous letters from working class organisations and from readers make the paper more alive and reflect various aspects of national life.

The paper devotes much of its space to the fierce struggle waged by the trade unions against the arbitrary attitude of the large United States oil companies, against the splitting manoeuvres of the ruling party and against the high cost of living (prices are 50% higher than pre-war). Much space is also devoted to exposing the bad housing conditions and demanding normal health measures for the workers.

“Tribuna Popular” combines the fight for the workers’ demands with the fight for national independence. It exposes the corruption of the government and the state apparatus and its tie-up with the “La Creole” oil company and the American Nelson-Rockefeller super-trust which in effect is a master of the country.

The social, labour and agrarian reforms achieved in 1945 by mass pressure have been sabotaged on the instructions of the American imperialists. The agents of the trust engineered a split in the trade unions which was followed by appalling working conditions being imposed on the oil workers and which broke their solidarity movement with oil workers of neighbouring Colombia.

Reporting glaring examples, “Tribuna Popular” shows that U.S. imperialism brings with it the destruction of home industry, agriculture and trade.

The newspaper widely features the anti-imperialist struggle and the solidarity movement among the freedom loving people, and it exposes the real essence of the anti-Communist crusades of the dictators in Chile, Paraguay and Brazil.

“Tribuna Popular” vigorously exposes the clerical fascist “Copel” organisation and castigates pseudo-democrats in the government party. However, it should be noted that, apart from

this criticism, it is not easy to get from the newspaper any idea of the work carried on by the Communists and the militant workers of Venezuela in relation to these genuine democrats who belong to the Party of Democratic Action.

The alignment of political forces in the country gives the following picture: the progressive workers and peasants follow the Communist Party, but they are in a minority. Reaction and the imperialists, through the Copel party, have seized the government and are turning it into a puppet of American trusts. With the sharpening of the class struggle and the struggle against imperialism, certain changes are taking place among the rank and file of the Party of Democratic Action. But the political and organisational forms assumed by the struggle against oppression do not receive the necessary treatment in the columns of the paper.

“Tribuna Popular” carries detailed information not only on the American countries but also on European countries. It devotes special attention to economic and cultural reconstruction in the Soviet Union and the new democracies and on their peace policy. However, here one observes a certain abstractness in this kind of information, which finds expression, for example, in the fact that the questions which are vital for the working people of Venezuela are not adequately stressed. The newspaper pays too little attention to the problems of the intelligentsia, though in the semi-colonial countries fighting against imperialism these problems are of great political and social significance.

The regular feature of party building systematically reports activities of party organisations, and shows how they work to carry out various campaigns in defence of the working people. The newspaper popularizes concrete examples of the trade union struggle, the initiative displayed by the peasants in seizing uncultivated land and so on.

The working people of Venezuela have in the Communist Party

a militant vanguard which daily strengthens its bonds with the popular masses and wins their confidence. “Tribuna Popular” helps the Party to unite all the democratic forces for struggle against the colonial enslavement of their country by American imperialism.

Pedro GOMEZ

***Book Review*—A CHART OF AMERICAN EXPANSION**

American politicians of the Truman, Vandenberg, Marshall breed was most indignant whenever the words “Yankee imperialism” and “dollar diplomacy” are mentioned. Imperialism, like fascism, is a highly unpopular term nowadays and so the American aspirants to world domination endeavour to divert attention from their predatory policy by humbug about the American way of life the four freedoms and so on ad nauseam.

However Mr Marshall and his friends, in an effort to cover up their real aims, often use harsher language, and let it be said, language that is a complete stranger to truth.

Addressing a gathering on July 1, 1947, Marshall delivered himself on these words:

“There could be no more fantastic representation, no more malicious distortion of the truth than the assertion that the United States has imperialist aims.”

Senator Vandenberg was equally explicit.

“American imperialism? I think it’s silly. I hope we shall end up with a few bases for national defence. We plan no conquests anywhere.”

The facts, however, contradict these statements. The facts of aggressive, imperialist expansion by the US, form the subject of an excellent survey by the left-wing journalist, George Marion,

published under the title “Bases and Empire”.[†]

At the turn of the century American colonial possessions were assessed at an area of 170,000 square miles, with a population of 10 millions.

A bare 25 years later, the American colonial empire measured 900,000 square miles and counted over 21 million people. Dependencies in the Far East and South Pacific, leased territories in Panama, Cuba and Nicaragua and a number of nominally independent dependencies had been absorbed by means of marines and dollars.

To this empire, Marion adds what he describes as the American Strategic Empire after World War II.

Kuomintang China, dominated by American military and political missions, is included in this strategic empire and so, too, are Canada and other nominally British possessions.

According to Marion, this strategic empire embraces practically all the western hemisphere; included in the Atlantic theatre are Greenland, Iceland, the Azores, Ascension, the Bermudas and Liberia—countries covered by the United States air-base chain; the Pacific theatre takes in hundreds of islands which secure control of 70,000,000 square miles of water; in Asia the list includes Japan, Kuomintang China, the island of Formosa and southern half of Korea.

“Thus,” writes Marion, “in the course of World War II, the United States acquired or consolidated **de facto** domination and control of 13, 825,000 square miles of land with 645, 815,000 inhabitants.”

This does not include such decisive strategic areas as Europe, North Africa, the Mediterranean, Central Africa, the Near East and Greece.”

In the light of these incontrovertible facts it is pertinent to ask what becomes of the platitudes uttered by Mr Marshall that “US has no imperialist aims”.

[†] Bases and Empire, George Marion.

All in all the American military, naval and air bases acquired in the Pacific and in the Atlantic almost reach the 500 mark.

Five hundred bases scattered around the world! Between Senator Vandenberg's "few bases needed for national defence" and 500 far-flung bases ranging across the globe from the West Indies to Greece and Turkey, and from Saudi Arabia and Iran to the Philippines, Korea and Japan, is a far cry indeed. Even the humblest layman in matters of military strategy knows that American bases in North Africa, Greece, Turkey and Iran have nothing whatsoever to do with "defence" of the American continent which is 5,000 miles away.

On the other hand, the fact that only a few hundred miles separate them from Baku, Odessa and Sebastopol and from the New Democracies in eastern Europe, indicates pretty plainly the aggressive purpose of these bases.

The methods employed by the "generous" peace-loving Marshall men in acquiring these bases are highly illuminating.

In 1942 the United States authorities acquired 134 base sites in Panama. According to the agreement, the sites would revert to Panama within one year of the termination of war. The American, anxious to retain their grip on the bases, argued that the war was not over until the peace treaty with Japan had been signed. They wanted permanent bases, and in the case of the Rio Hato base, asked for a sixty-year lease meant, in effect, a cession of territory and infringement of national sovereignty, the Panamans refused. For 16 months, Panama was subjected to pressure on the issue.

According to Marion, the facts of the case were completely hushed up in the "free" United States press. At the Inter-American Conference in Rio de Janeiro, in 1947, Secretary Marshall tried horse-trading with the Panama Foreign Minister. He suggested a fifty-year lease which he later reduced to thirty. A few months later, at the United Nations General Assembly, Marshall again approached the Panama Foreign Minister and

suggested two fifteen-year periods for the thirty-year lease. When this failed he suggested a “last bid” for a ten-year lease. The “last bid” failed, and finally on November 10, 1947, Marshall’s State Department sent a note—the author calls it an ultimatum—to Panama. The government of this small country was bullied into submission by Mr Marshall’s “big stick” policy. They agreed to give him the bases on a ten-year lease. Their Foreign Minister, Alfaro, who had resisted all along, resigned in protest. His action was followed by mass protest demonstrations throughout Panama denouncing American imperialism.

So overwhelming was the popular indignation that the Panama National Assembly repudiated the treaty and Mr. Marshall was forced to beat a diplomatic retreat.

Similar pressure exerted on Portugal, resulted in that country giving its “consent” on February 2, 1948, to the Americans having a base in the Azores. Marion writes: “We sent warships to Portugal to demonstrate that we would obtain her consent to our use of the Azores or else! And we obtained what we wanted, because, as Portugal’s dictator, Dr Salazar said, ‘Portugal has passed to the American sphere of influence.’”

But it is not only little Panama and the fascist-ridden, decrepit Portugal that are brought tamely to heel by the arrogant Marshall men. British imperialism is being ousted and ousted most unceremoniously by Bevin’s unkind “kindred souls” across the Atlantic. The British diehard Tories and their bootlicking allies, the blustering Bevin and the timid Atlee, toe the line when Marshall barks.

Churchill initiated the humiliating process of selling British possessions to the Americans. In 1940 when it seemed that Britain, due to the treacherous policy of the Munich men, would be overwhelmed by the then powerful and victorious Nazi war machine, Churchill, anxious at all costs to accelerate the entry of the US into the war, began to surrender bases and

points of vantage to the Americans. Thanks to the Soviet Army and the war effort of the Soviet people, the land of Socialism which is now being vilified by Churchill and Bevin however were unable to save the “Empire” from their American friends. Marion describes the Churchill sell out to America in these words:

“The virtual ousting of Britain from the American hemisphere, beginning with the surrender of Canada and completed by the military rapprochement of the United on Argentina was one of the more obvious costs of American aid. The ultimate price was the surrender of British positions in the Atlantic and Pacific which must spell like surrender of British claims in the continents across the two oceans. Loss of control over the oceans symbolised permanent surrender of the British Empire, permanent dependence upon the Unites States...”

Answering those who laud the “generosity” and “disinterestedness” of Marshall Plan, Marion quotes the cynical but at least frank words of Commodore Perry, one of the earlier American imperialists: “We can only smile at the simplicity of those who expect to deceive the world by profession of pure, disinterested friendship”.

Marion declares that American imperialist expansion is an hourly invitation to war. In his view this is a policy of self-destruction. He writes: “We underestimate the strength of the anti-imperialist forces in the world today and we overestimate our own forces... we are hastening an economic collapse on a scale horrible to contemplate”.

Marion, however, doesn't merely diagnose the evil canker of present-day American aggressive policy. He prescribes, too. And in doing so he sees in the Wallace Third Party programme a policy which the peoples so ardently long.

A firm supporter of Wallace's candidacy for Presidency he advocates a reversal of American foreign policy, and calls for a return to the Roosevelt policy, for an end to the militarisation

of the country.

Certainly his study of the aggressive, world-domination aspirations of the American imperialists, is a timely and valuable work. He calls it a primer of facts, culled chiefly from anti-Communist sources. The sources, carefully and deliberately chosen, will pass the loyalty test of even the Un-American Committee. He leans heavily on the "New York Times", for, as he says, "the Times reflects so closely the policy of the men presently governing the country, that specialists must accept it as semi-official rather than as a purely independent paper, and it presents the considered programme of the most powerful American financial-industrial interests.

With America in the grip of reaction, Marion could not find a publisher willing to publish his book. He was told that the bookshops would not sell it, that it would be kept under the counter. Banned, in effect, by the publishers, Marion published the book himself.

Jack BERING

Editorial Board

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