

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

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In Memory of Comrade A. A. ZHDANOV OUTSTANDING FIGURE OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MOVEMENT

The Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, the entire democratic and anti-imperialist camp have, in great sorrow, lowered their banners in memory of Andrei Alexandrovich Zhdanov.

A faithful disciple and fellow-worker of the great Stalin, Zhdanov was also an outstanding builder of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and of the Soviet State. He was a leading figure in the international working-class movement, and was well known to the working people of all countries.

The death of A. A. Zhdanov—member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU(B) and a leading Marxist-Leninist theoretician—is a heavy loss not only to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people but to the whole international working-class movement. Genuine democratic public opinion throughout the world and all forward-looking mankind warmly treasure the name of Andrei Alexandrovich Zhdanov. Zhdanov won their esteem by his irreconcilable struggle for the cause of peace against the instigators of a new war who want to hurl mankind once again into the horrors of their narrow egoistical class interests.

The working people of all countries know and remember Comrade Zhdanov's great service. With anxious hearts the peoples of the world followed the heroic defence of Leningrad which the Nazis barbarously encircled in a starvation blockade. Supervising the defence of the city, Comrade Zhdanov brilliantly organised the execution of the Stalin plan to smash the Germans at Leningrad.

All Zhdanov's work was inspired by his boundless faith in the invincible strength of the great ideas of Lenin and Stalin. As a talented, ardent propagandist of Marxist-Leninist theory, he greatly helped the Soviet and other peoples correctly to master these great ideas.

Communists train themselves in the spirit of revolutionary vigilance on the example of Comrade Zhdanov's struggle against every attempt to distort the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, of his ruthlessness in exposing the covert and overt enemies of Marxism-Leninism and those traitors to the cause of international Socialism who camouflage themselves with hypocritical phrases about loyalty to Marxist-Leninist theory. Comrade Zhdanov made an invaluable contribution to the strengthening of the democratic forces of peace in their struggle against imperialist reaction.

Comrade Zhdanov's report at the Information Conference of the nine Communist Parties held in Poland in September last year, equipped the world Communist movement with a profound Leninist-Stalinist analysis of the post-war international situation, disclosed the new, post-war alignment of political forces by clearly and precisely describing the formation of two camps—the imperialist and anti-democratic camp on the one hand and the anti-imperialist and democratic camp on the other.

“The anti-imperialist camp,” said Comrade Zhdanov in this report, “is backed by the working class and democratic movement and by the fraternal Communist Parties in all countries, by the fighters for national liberation in the colonies and dependencies, by all progressive and democratic forces in

every country. The purpose of this camp is to resist the treat of new wars and imperialist expansion, to strengthen democracy and to uproot the remnants of fascism."

This noble aim which reflects the hopes and aspirations of all forward-looking mankind stimulates ever broader masses of the people in the capitalist countries who are vigorously fighting under the leadership of the Communist Parties against the machinations of the American and British imperialists. In the new democracies, the working people are devoting their efforts to strengthening their states which are genuine people's democracies, to building a new, free life on the basis of the real national independence of the people and national sovereignty of the country.

"A. A. Zhdanov," state the obituary signed by Comrade Stalin and the leaders of the CPSU(B) and Soviet Government, "was in the front ranks of the leading figures of the international working-class movement. His labours are well known to the working people of all countries.

"A faithful disciple and fellow-worker of the great Stalin, Comrade Zhdanov fought tirelessly for the cause of Communism, sparing neither energy nor health. His active life and work are an example of selfless service to the Party and the people. His selfless devotion to the great cause of Lenin and Stalin, his sincere principles which allowed no deflection from the general line of the Party, won him the warm love of the Party and of all working people."

The esteem in which Comrade Zhdanov was held was reflected in the numerous telegrams of condolence sent by the fraternal Communist Parties and progressive democratic circles throughout the world. In warm and moving words, Communists, progressive organisations and people of science, culture and art voiced their sorrow at this heavy loss. They mourned the loss suffered by the great Communist family, they spoke of the inestimable services of Comrade Zhdanov in strengthening the international solidarity of the working-class movement, in the struggle for a lasting peace, against

imperialism, and pledged themselves to continue the struggle for national independence, for a lasting peace, for the victory of Socialism.

Immeasurable, too, are Comrade Zhdanov's services in strengthening the bonds between the revolutionary workers' parties of the world in consolidating their Zhdanov did much to organised cooperation between the Communist Parties, to strengthen the international solidarity of the working people, to consolidate the camp of piece, progress and Socialism. Because of his consistent struggle for the cause of progressive mankind, because of his ability to combine practical work with the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its correct application, Comrade Zhdanov will always be a great example to the Marxist Parties in their work.

Comrade Zhdanov delivered a remarkable and inspired speech during the debate on philosophy in June of last year. He pointed out that Socialism was the order of the day in life of the peoples; that the brilliant victory won by Socialism in the Great Patriotic War, which was also a brilliant victory for Marxism , was a thorn in the flesh of the imperialists; that all the forces of obscurantism and reaction had been mobilised for the struggle against Marxism. Not only the Vatican and race theory, not only rabid nationalism and idealistic philosophy, the yellow press and corrupt bourgeois art, but also criminal writers such as Jean Genet and the reactionary mystical argumentation of contemporary bourgeois science, and so on, are all directed against the country of victorious Socialism, against peace and toward the kindling of a new war in the interests of the big capitalist monopolies.

From these words of A. A. Zhdanov leading people in the world of science, culture and art are drawing practical conclusions in their struggle against the proactive and disruptive activities of reaction which is endeavouring ideologically to prepare the masses for a new war.

Andrei Alexandrovich Zhdanov was a man of great erudition, highly cultured and an outstanding Marxist-Leninist

theoretician. He lectured and wrote on history, the theory of Party-structure, world economy and politics, literature, art and philosophy. He made valuable contributions to these and other questions, thus enriching Marxist-Leninist theory.

The memory of Comrade Zhdanov, true and staunch son of the Bolshevik Party—one of the Stalin mould of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of those who, after Lenin's death, raised still higher the Lenin banner under the leadership of Stalin, brought the Soviet land to the victory of Socialism and is now leading it on to the final victory of Communism—will live on in the hearts of the working people of the world as an outstanding personality in the international working-class movement, as a staunch champion of the great cause of Lenin-Stalin, of the ultimate triumph of Communism.

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WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WORLD DEEPLY MOURN THE UNTIMELY DEATH OF A. A. ZHDANOV

The news of the untimely death of Comrade Andrei Alexandrovich Zhdanov has been received with deep sorrow by the working people of the world. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)

received numerous telegrams mourning the heavy loss suffered by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people from the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Britain, the Bulgarian Workers' Party, Rumanian Workers' Party, Polish Workers' Party and other Communist and Workers' Parties.

"French Communists," reads the telegram of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France, "revere the memory of the great Bolshevik, Andrei Zhdanov, the valiant defender of Leningrad, whose whole life was spent in unbroken and outstanding service to the cause of the working-class and the democratic movement, to the cause of peace and Communism."

From the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party: "Communists, all working people and democrats of Italy, shocked by the news of the death of Comrade Zhdanov—a true son of the Party of Lenin-Stalin, a great leader of the Bolshevik Party—in deep sorrow lower their fighting banners in memory of a great fighter for the political and social emancipation of the working people, the heroic defender of Leningrad against the frenzied onslaught of the Nazis, the inspirer of the united socialist anti-democratic front in defence of peace, freedom and dependence of peoples."

The messages sent by the Central Committees of the different Communist and Workers' Parties, the numerous letters and telegrams from democratic figures and working people as well as the tributes in the press, stress the tireless and varied activities of Comrade Zhdanov, his selfless devotion to the cause of Marxism-Leninism, his remarkable abilities as a Party leader and statesman.

The telegrams speak of the great role he played in the international working-class movement. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain said: "the Soviet people and the working class of the world have lost a talented, courageous, outstanding and incorruptible leader of the Communists in all countries.

Zhdanov's inestimable services in strengthening the international solidarity of the working-class movement and in the struggle for a lasting peace, against imperialism, were noted by the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party.

The loss suffered by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people, said the message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, is the loss of the international working-class movement.

"In the person of Comrade Zhdanov we have lost one of the finest and most talented figures of the world labour movement," reads the telegram of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists). The Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party said: Comrade Zhdanov was a great defender of peace and democracy, a staunch fighter against the imperialist camp and for the rights and liberties of all peoples. The Hungarian newspaper "Szabadsag" wrote: "The news of Comrade Zhdanov's death came as a particularly heavy blow to the working people of the new democracies."

Particular mention was made of Comrade Zhdanov's services as a leading theoretician and talented propagandists of the ideas of Lenin and Stalin, his ability to combine active daily work with profound work on problems of Marxist-Leninist theory. The Polish newspaper "Glos Ludu" wrote: Comrade Zhdanov was not only a fighter and a soldier, but also a great revolutionary theoretician of the working class, the man who equipped Communists with the weapon of the ideological struggle against idealistic philosophical doctrines."

The life and work of Comrade Zhdanov are an example of selfless service to the people, to the Party of the working class, to the cause of Communism. "Our Party will always be inspired by the wonderful example of the work of this unflinching champion for the triumph of the ideas of Socialism throughout the world," reads the telegram of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party.

Deeply mourning this heavy loss, the Communists and the working people led by them, declare their readiness to fight for the triumph of democracy and Socialism with still greater energy and selflessness.

The memory of this outstanding figure of the Bolshevik Party and the international Communist movement is revered by the working people of the world. Soviet embassies in different countries abroad have received many telegrams and letters expressing sympathy and fraternal solidarity with the working people of the Soviet Union.

In Japan and Norway, in India and Brazil, in Finland and Denmark, in Holland and Argentina, in Sweden, Germany and the United States—everywhere Communists and democratic opinion received the news of Comrade Zhdanov's death with deep sorrow.

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WORK AMONG THE INTELLIGENTSIA. ONE OF THE PRIME TASKS OF COMMUNIST PARTIES

One of the chief weapons in the preparation of aggressive wars is the crusade against progressive culture and the persecution and slandering of democratic-minded scientists, writers and art workers generally. Recent history teaches that the burning of books on the squares of European cities, the concentration camps and the executions carried out among the democratic intelligentsia were a commonplace long before Hitler aggression was unleashed against the peoples.

At present, mankind, which has not yet recovered from the enormous destruction caused by World War Two, is called upon to witness a new outbreak of reactionary obscurantism and terror against freedom of thought on part of the latest pretenders to world domination—the American imperialists.

Following in Hitler's footsteps, and acting in exactly the same way—organising pogroms and violence, purging the teaching staffs of schools and colleges, throwing people into jail, having them shadowed, outlawed and so on—the ruling circles of the United States, steadily introducing fascism into the cultural life of the country, have, in the course of the past three years, outstripped the German fascists.

Entire branches of scientific-technological and cultural thought are doomed to stagnation and destruction. International reaction, headed by the American imperialists, is pouring money into the development and manufacture of weapons of mass annihilation and into the recruitment of its troubadours among the bourgeois philosophers, writers and poets.

Through the medium of these consciousness people—the various Sartres, Millers, Deweys and Elliots—there is cultivated the mysticism and feelings of misanthropy which are needed in order to kill in the minds of the people the growing confidence in their strength, in order to turn the working people into robots, and to neutralise their strivings toward unity, freedom and independence.

This threat of annihilation hanging over the national cultures of many lands is being resisted by more and more people among the intelligentsia, as was evident from the speeches at the World Congress of Culture for Defence of Peace which took place in Wroclaw at the end of August.

The Wroclaw Congress which was attended by leading intellectuals from 45 countries, in addition to its important decisions, afforded proof of the great progress made by the intellectuals after World War Two.

Of course, speeches in defence of peace had been made by intellectuals prior to the war. But the experience of the recent

past shows that alone, the efforts of the intellectuals are not sufficient to ensure victory over reaction, that success in the struggle for peace against the instigators of war is possible only on condition that these efforts are combined with the struggle of the people as a whole, of the entire democratic, anti-imperialist camp. This experience affords brilliant confirmation of Comrade Stalin's words that the intelligentsia can be strong only if it unites with the working class. If it goes against the working class it is reduced to nothing.

World War Two showed also that together with the national independence and cultural treasures of the enslaved countries (Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, etc.) the fascist aggressor resorted to the mass extermination of intellectuals.

The lessons of the recent past and the courageous and active struggle waged by the advanced intellectuals who fought alongside the working people of their countries against the fascist aggressor, led the forward-looking people of science and culture into the democratic, anti-imperialist camp. Today, the progressive intelligentsia constitutes a considerable force among the millions of fighters for peace, progress and democracy, a fact which was demonstrated in unmistakable fashion at the Wroclaw Congress.

The presence in the democratic camp of such outstanding representatives of culture as Einstein and Fast, Irene Joliot Curie, Prenant and Aragon, Haldane, Amado and Nexo and others of international repute means that this camp is more and more becoming the bulwark of all the forces of freedom and progress.

The World Congress of Culture in Wroclaw unfurled the banner of struggle against the instigators of war. It demonstrated the strivings of the intellectuals to unite in the struggle for peace. It called upon all professional workers in all lands to organise congresses and set up committees for defence of peace, and established an International Contact Committee with headquarters in Paris.

Undoubtedly, this splendid initiative of the people of culture will meet with a ready response and support on the part of all champions of peace and progress. The carrying out of the Wroclaw decisions will mean a greater consolidation of the democratic camp and will link the progressive intellectuals more closely with the masses of the people. It will deliver new blows against the plans of the American imperialists and their associates in Europe now rattling their sabres.

The Congress decisions confront the Communist Parties and especially the Communist Intellectuals with the important and honourable task of being in the forefront—in bringing together and organising the intellectuals of their countries for the defence of peace and culture. The Communist Parties of France, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland and a number of other countries, both during and after the war, achieved considerable successes in conducting work among the intelligentsia. Proof of this is the fact that in these countries the best people of science, art and literature belong to the Communist Party, are heading the movement of the progressive intelligentsia and by their creative and tireless struggle, are winning more and more intellectuals to the cause of Communism.

This means that still more attention must be given to work among the intellectuals to train them in the spirit of the most advanced and the only scientific ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Of course, intellectuals coming into the Communist Party, or who lean toward it, naturally bring with them a certain burden of bourgeois ideology and prejudice. It is necessary to help them in every way to overcome the survivals of bourgeois ideology and firmly take the path of scientific socialism. Work among intellectuals calls for special qualities, for a thoughtful approach and discretion. This, however, does not mean that the Communist Party should tolerate people who in words recognise the Communist world outlook but in practice remain in the toils of bourgeois ideology and who in their creative work claim “independence” and “non-partisanship”.

An example of able leadership and educational work among the intelligentsia was given by A. A. Zhdanov, whose untimely death a few days ago was mourned by the Soviet people and by progressive people throughout the world.

With Bolshevik zeal, Zhdanov exposed the putrid moral bases of bourgeois culture. He mercilessly castigated the theory of “pure art” by means of which the bourgeoisie endeavours to “distract the attention of the forward-looking elements of society from the burning problems of the political and social struggle, and to focus attention on vulgar literature and art, devoid of ideas...” Zhdanov called upon the men of culture not to tail in the wake of events but to be militant champions of Communism, to “march in the front ranks of the people and point out to the people the path of development.”

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Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party

A Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party, attended by the first secretaries of the provincial committees, was held in Warsaw on August 31, September 3.

The Plenum heard a report by Boleslaw Bierut, “The Right, nationalist deviation in the leadership of the Party and the ways and means of overcoming it.” Thirty-eight speakers took part in the discussion.

The resolution on the report was unanimously adopted. Before the resolution was passed, Wladislaw Gomulka (Weslaw) expressed his full agreement with it and made a self-critical speech in which he reconsidered his former fundamentally erroneous position.

The Plenum also heard a report by H. Minc on “The current tasks of the Party in its economic and social policy in the

countryside", and after discussion, unanimously adopted a resolution on it.

It was unanimously decided at the Plenum to release Wladislaw Gomulka (Weslaw) from his duties as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party and to elect Boleslaw Bierut in his place.

The Plenum decisions were unanimously approved by the All-Polish Workers' Party, held this month, attended by first secretaries of the provincial committees of the Party. A report on the results of the Central Committee Plenum was delivered by the General Secretary of the Central Committee, Comrade Boleslaw Bierut. Comrade Gomulka (Weslaw) made a self-critical speech during the discussion.

The conference adopted a resolution welcoming the Plenum decisions as a means of strengthening international solidarity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), with the Communist and Workers' Parties of the new democracies and with the revolutionary and progressive forces of other countries.

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Where the Nationalism of the Tito Group in Yugoslavia is Leading

The resolution of the Information Bureau of the Communist parties "Concerning the Situation in the Communist Party in Yugoslavia", adopted last June, stated that nationalist elements, which had previously existed under cover, had become predominant in the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, that the leadership of the Yugoslav Party had broken with its internationalist traditions and had taken the path of nationalism.

All the Communist Parties and the camp of people's democracy and Socialism as a whole, unanimously approved the resolution. The Communist Parties of the world recognised that the nationalist policy of the present Yugoslav leadership, that is, of the Tito group, is playing into the hands of the imperialists, is isolating and weakening Yugoslavia.

Has the Tito group learnt the proper lessons from these facts? Has the Tito group realised that its nationalist policy is leading to the loss of Yugoslavia's most faithful allies—the Communist

Parties of the world—that this has already resulted in the isolation of the Yugoslav Communist Party, in the weakening of the Party both inside and outside the country?

Has the Tito group realised that the only way out of the situation into which it has dragged the party and the country is to admit its mistakes, to break with nationalism and return to the family of the Communist Parties?

No, the Tito group has not learnt these lessons. Nor is there any sign that it has understood these simple and obvious things.

On the contrary, in reply to the justified and comradely criticism of its mistakes made by the fraternal Communist Parties, by the camp of people's democracy and socialism, the Tito group is using the Belgrade press to abuse the peoples of the neighbouring democratic countries and fan national enmity toward them. It is replying with widespread repression, with the arrest and murder of Communists and non-Communists who dare to question the correctness of its nationalist policy. Only recently the agents of Tito's deputy, Rankovic, killed Comrade Arso Jovanovic, Colonel-General of the Yugoslav army, a hero of the liberation war who had been chief of staff during the liberation struggle and chief of the Military Academy of Yugoslavia. Jovanovic was killed because he doubted the soundness of the nationalist and terrorist policy of the Tito group. It is now openly said in Yugoslavia itself that the Tito group is degenerating into a clique of political assassins.

It is clear that the Tito group has no intention of admitting and rectifying its mistakes. Or to be more correct, it fears to do so. It lacks the necessary courage—for courage is needed to admit one's errors and correct them. Desperate with fear, this cliques is persecuting anyone who dares to mention the word—"mistakes".

Lenin says:

The attitude of a political party toward its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is, and how it, in practice, fulfils its obligations

toward its class and the toiling masses. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the class, and then the masses.

It is obvious that the Tito group cannot be classified with those courageous and honest leaders who love their party and about whom Lenin wrote.

The Tito group committed its principal nationalist sin prior to the Conference of the Information Bureau, in the spring of this year. These men first started to pursue their open policy of nationalism when they refused to take part in the Conference of the Information Bureau and to discuss the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with the fraternal Parties. Despite repeated suggestions to send a Yugoslav delegation to the Conference to put their point of view there, as was the case at the previous Conference in relation to the other Communist Parties the Tito group flatly refused to take part in the work of the Conference. It was clear that the Tito group did not wish to treasure friendship with the Communist Parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This represented an open break with the internationalist united front of Communist Parties. It was a rejection of Internationalism and the going over to a policy of nationalism.

The Belgrade newspaper "Borba" claims that Tito and his associates support the united anti-imperialist front. This, of course, is a lie produced to deceive "simple people". In reality there can be no question of the anti-imperialist position of the Tito group when it cannot live in harmony with the Communist Parties of the countries bordering Yugoslavia.

The hypocritical and anti-Leninist attitude of the Tito group at the Fifth Congress of the Yugoslav Party can be regarded as the second principal factor which demonstrated the nationalist sin of the Tito group. Naïve people expected that the Congress would conduct its work under the slogan of friendship with the

Communist Parties, of strengthening the anti-imperialist front of the new democracies and the Soviet Union.

In practice the Tito group turned the Congress into the very opposite, into a battleground against the Communist Parties of the neighbouring countries, against the united anti-imperialist front of the new democracies. It became a crusade against the new democracies and their Communist Parties, against the Soviet Union and its Communist Party.

At the same time, it is a bit dangerous to come out openly in Yugoslavia against the Soviet union and the new democracies, for the Yugoslav peoples stand firm for an alliance with the Soviet Union and the new democracies. That is why the Tito group resorted to the stunt of camouflaging this reactionary crusade with phrasemongering about love for the Soviet Union, about friendship with the Soviet Union, about the great role of the Soviet Union in the liberation struggle, and so on. Tito's associates went so far as to propose even to Stalin that he should join the crusade and defend them against the criticism of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the other democratic countries.

Belgrade journalists tried all kinds of stunts and manoeuvres. They performed the most surprising and ridiculous acrobatics trying to prove to the Yugoslav people that black is white and white is black, that the crusade against Socialism and democracy is of secondary importance, but an "alliance" and "united Front" with the Soviet Union is the Tito group's main concern.

But what really happened was that the Tito group joined the common camp of the imperialists, engaged in a smear campaign against the Communist Parties of the new democracies and the Soviet Union, to the joy of the imperialists of all countries. Instead of a united front with the Communists there was united front with the imperialists. The Fifth Congress of the Yugoslav Party stamped and sealed the policy of the Tito group and planted it more firmly on the path of nationalism.

The political flying trapeze artists on “Borba” are asking the Communist Party to stop denouncing the Tito group’s mistakes and to show their confidence in this group by supporting it, otherwise such a “campaign” against the Tito group might cause Yugoslavia serious harm.

No, gentlemen! The Communist Parties can have no confidence in the nationalist policy of the Tito group nor can they support it. It may be that this will harm Yugoslavia. But the responsibility lies not with the Communist Parties but with Tito’s nationalist group which has broken with the Communist Parties and declared war on them.

The “Borba” acrobats must realise that Marxism and nationalism are incompatible. Nationalism as the ideology of the bourgeoisie is the enemy of Marxism. They must realise that Marxism-Leninism cannot reconcile itself with nationalism, or with any nationalist deviation in the Communist Parties; that it must destroy nationalism in whatever form it arises for the sake of the interests of the working people, for the sake of the freedom and friendship of people, for the sake of victorious building of socialism.

Lenin says:

Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism—such are the two irreconcilable hostile slogans corresponding to the two great class camps of the capitalist world and expressing two policies (even more—two world outlooks).

In conditions where the power of the bourgeoisies is overthrown, the exploiting classes and their agents try to use the poisoned weapon of nationalism to restore the old order.

In this connection Stalin says:

The deviation toward nationalism is the adaptation of the internationalist policy of the working class to the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie... The deviation toward nationalism reflects the attempts of “one’s own,” “national” bourgeoisie... to restore capitalism.

The nationalism in the Yugoslav Party is a blow not only to the common anti-imperialist front but, above all, to the interests of

Yugoslavia herself, the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia, the interests of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia—both in the sphere of home and foreign policy.

The nationalism of the Tito group in the sphere of **foreign** policy is leading to a break with the united front of the world revolutionary movement of the working people to the loss of Yugoslavia's most faithful allies, to the isolation of Yugoslavia. It is disarming Yugoslavia right in front of her foreign enemies. The nationalism of the Tito group in home policy is leading to a policy of compromise between the exploiters and exploited, to a policy of "uniting" the exploiters and exploited into one "national" front, to a policy of rejection of the class struggle, to the propagation of the false tenet that it is possible to build socialism without a class struggle and for the exploiters to develop peacefully to Socialism, to lulling the fighting spirit of the working people of Yugoslavia. The nationalism of the Tito group is disarming the working people of Yugoslavia in the face of their internal foes.

A year ago, before the Tito group had displayed its nationalist leanings and was cooperating with the fraternal Parties, Yugoslavia had confidence in herself and was going ahead boldly, relying on her closest allies in the person of the other Communist Parties. Such was the situation not so long ago. But when the Tito group took to the path of nationalism, the picture radically changed. After the Tito group had broken with the united front of the Communist Parties and had adopted a supercilious attitude toward the new democracies. Yugoslavia began to lose her most loyal allies and found herself isolated in face of her foreign and internal enemies.

Such are the grievous results of the nationalist policy pursued by the Tito group.

The Tito group has failed to realise what is quite clear and obvious to every Communist. It has failed to realise the simple truth that in the present international situation, the fraternal solidarity of the Communist Parties, mutual cooperation and friendship between the democracies, cooperation and

friendship with the Soviet Union are the essential conditions for the development and flowering of the new democracies on the front of socialist construction. These are the main guarantees of their national freedom and their independence from imperialist encroachment.

The “Borba” acrobats also claim that criticism of the mistakes of the Tito group has been turned into a campaign against the Yugoslav Communist Party and against the peoples of Yugoslavia.

This, of course, is not true. No campaign has been conducted or is being conducted against the peoples of Yugoslavia. It would be a crime, in any case, to wage any kind of campaign against the Yugoslav peoples, whose heroic exploits are known to all. It is likewise known that the peoples of Yugoslavia firmly support a united front with the new democracies and the Soviet Union. They are not in the least responsible for the nationalist policy of the Tito group. We regard the peoples of Yugoslavia as our true allies.

Nor, indeed, is any campaign being conducted against the Yugoslav Communist Party as a whole. We know full well that the bulk of the members of the Yugoslav Communist Party stand firmly for friendship with the Communist Parties of the other countries, for friendship with the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. There is no doubt whatsoever about the internationalist traditions of the majority of the members of the Yugoslav Communist Party. We are aware also that the majority of the members does not approve the nationalist policy of the Tito group. And we know that it is precisely because of this that the majority is being brutally persecuted by the Tito group’s agents.

The “campaign” is being waged not against the peoples of Yugoslavia and not against the Yugoslav Communist Party as a whole, but against the nationalist Tito group. It is being waged in order to help the Yugoslav Communist Party appraise the mistakes of the Tito group and end the nationalist policy of the Yugoslav leadership.

Finally, the political acrobats on "Borba" affirm that the Tito group is inseparable from the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, that it represents the majority of the Yugoslav Communist Party.

Neither is this true. A year ago, perhaps, the Tito group did represent the majority of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. But that was twelve months ago. Now that it has broken with the Communist Parties, has quarrelled with the neighbouring republics and has gone over the camp of nationalism, the Tito group no longer represents the majority of the Party.

Today the Tito group is a Tito faction which enjoys the confidence only of a minority in the Party and which uses the State organs to suppress the will of the internationalist majority of the Party. The Tito faction has cut itself off from the Party by placing the Party under the surveillance of executioner Rankovic and by setting up inside the Party a brutal terrorist regime of reprisals, mass arrests and assassinations. In effect, the Tito faction is actually at war with its Party. Only the blind can fail to see this. The fact that the Tito faction proved incapable of keeping order in the Party by ordinary democratic methods and that it has had to resort to large-scale reprisals, shows that it has long since lost the confidence of the majority in the Yugoslav Party.

The Tito faction represents but a minority in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and bases itself not on the confidence of the Party but on the administrative-police apparatus of Yugoslavia.

Tseka

(“*Pravda*”, September 8, 1948). (page 2)

Congress in Wroclaw: Battle for Peace and Culture. Emillo Serent

The international democratic press carried many articles, commentaries and reports on the work of the World Congress of Culture in Defence of Peace, convened in Wroclaw (Poland) on August 25-28.

The reactionary press which at first tried to build a conspiracy of silence around this great gathering of progressive intellectuals, was eventually compelled, in its own fashion, to take note of this important event in international life.

The reactionary papers of Britain, France, Western Germany, Italy and other countries specialising in war provocation followed in the footsteps of the Vatican organ "Osservatore Romana" and the American yellow press. To please their Wall Street masters, they continue to pour out a steady stream of lies about the results of the Congress and about many of those who took part in it.

To understand the real motives behind this vicious campaign against the Wroclaw Congress. It is only necessary to recall Comrade Stalin's words in his talk with H. G. Wells. He said that culture, too, is a weapon of which "the effectiveness depends on who holds it and against whom it is directed". The world's outstanding cultural figures declared at Wroclaw that they wished to place this weapon in the hands of the people and at the service of the people. They intended to use it against the Wall Street warmongers, against their accomplices and lackeys in the different countries of Europe, in Africa and Asia.

The advocates of an atom war, against whom this blow was directed were forced to admit that the Wroclaw Congress did not in the least resemble the usual academic congress. The keen and varied discussion showed the world that it was a congress of struggle for a united front of culture against imperialism and the warmongers, in defence of peace and culture.

The Congress did not set a tone of pacifism or conciliation of the various ideologies of its members. True, it was attended by people who had joined the struggle for peace through may contradictory ways: from Huxley to Fadeyev, from Julien Benda to Guttuso, from Picasso to Joe Davidson, from Abbé

Boulier to Rogge, from Anna Seghers to Taylor from Iwaszkiewicz to Vercors and Bedel, and so on.

Many delegates gathered in the spacious hall of the Wroclaw Polytechnic and they all differed from each other. This difference lay not so much in their national costumes or the colour of their skins as in the contrast of their political beliefs and cultural trends: liberal, Catholic, Communist and so on. The Communist intelligentsia was widely represented—it could not have been otherwise at a congress of struggle for peace. The liberal and Catholic intelligentsia, too, made an impressive gathering. In a number of delegations, as for instance in the American and British, they constituted the overwhelming majority.

But it was precisely this political mixture of the delegations that made the militant character of the Congress so outstanding. It would have been simple for delegates to succumb to the temptation of reaching formal unanimity, avoiding differences and making general declarations about peace and culture, which all of them could have signed readily, even those who are preparing for a new war.

As a matter of fact, one of the speakers, the British delegate Olaf Stapledon, fell into this temptation. In an endeavour to formulate a common united programme of intellectuals in defence of peace, Stapledon proposed in his report an impracticable plan of reconciling the different ideologies instead of a plan for definite action against the warmongers. Had the Congress taken this path, it inevitably would have become entangled in abstract pacifist phraseology which would have been very much to the taste of the warmongers, those experts in the art of camouflage.

It was clear from the reports of Fadeyev (Soviet Union) and Prenant (France), and later from Amado (Brazil) and Donini (Italy) when they took part in discussion, that the Congress intended primarily to define clearly who were the warmongers, the enemies of peace and culture. The cardinal task of the Congress was not to elaborate general resolutions about "inter-

penetration of Western and Eastern cultures” but to show what popular and national forces were in fact opposing the forces of imperialism in the battle for peace or war.

It was important not only to make speeches against imperialism in general but to name the imperialist circles which today, as Hitler did yesterday, brazenly declare their aim of world domination, come forward as the instigators of a new war and threaten the peace and independence of the peoples. To have concealed from the Congress this main problem of determining who are the warmongers, to have lulled it with eloquent speeches, slurring over or avoiding all sharp issues, would have meant that the Congress had attained not real results.

In his report, Fadeyev, with great force and conviction, posed the problem of exposing the warmongers as the central issue in the discussion. Certain delegates, such as professor Taylor (Great Britain) tried to make light of the responsibility of the United States imperialists and their stooges, but the concrete proof offered by speakers from Italy, France, Latin America, Africa, Asia and even from the United States itself convincingly corroborated the indictment against the instigators of war, against Franco's accomplices, against the executioners of the Greek people, all of whom are threatening the national culture and independence of Brazil, France, Italy and many other countries harnessed to the yoke of the dollar.

And when Zaslavsky, replying to the diffident objections of certain American delegates, asked: “What have they done to Howard Fast in your country?” It became clear to all that the indictment against the Wall Street warmakers has been made not only by the countries of Europe, Asia, Africa but by the United States itself. This indictment comes from prison cells where people like Howard Fast were put behind bars because they upheld the traditions of freedom and the culture of their people.

The most substantial result of the Wroclaw Congress is that this Congress, in the name of the representatives of world culture, clearly defined the enemies of peace and culture in the person

of the Wall Street war instigators and their accomplices in the other capitalist countries. This was the finest contribution of the progressive intelligentsia to the struggle for peace.

The Congress Manifesto leaves no possibility of misinterpretation. It lays bare also the responsibility of those reactionary forces in the different countries of Europe, which have become the accomplices of U.S. imperialist circles in the their policy of war and enslavement of peoples.

However, in the struggle for a united front of the intelligentsia in defence of peace and progressive culture it is not enough merely to expose the war-makers. The progressive intelligentsia must clearly recognise that today the struggle for peace in each country takes on the concrete form of consistent defence of national culture and independence against the threat of new imperialist domination.

The discussion, especially contributions by delegates from Latin-America, France and Italy revealed this danger in all its sharpness. Not only is the economic and political independence of a number of countries threatened: their national culture is being overwhelmed by a continuous stream of compulsory imported U.S. books, magazines, newspapers, films and so on. This enormous output of trash can in no way be called "culture". It is diametrically opposed to culture.

It was against this threat to national culture that the most authoritative representatives of culture from the various countries raised their voices in protest. They declared that a world culture could only be built through its own free development and mutual enrichment—not on the ruins of a suppressed national cultural.

On this important question, the Congress discussion and manifesto defined a clear line of action for the united front of the intelligentsia in defence of peace. This line was elaborated through keen debate which was not without its dramatic episodes. Here, too, some delegates tried to divert the congress along channels of a colourless cosmopolitanism, with the aid of

which certain groups servilely camouflage American imperialism's fantastic plans for world domination.

In the course of discussion this cosmopolitanism, which is a negation of the sovereignty and national independence of peoples, was denounced as one of the main weapons used by the ruling imperialist clique to lull the vigilance of the peoples, and to win over to their side a large section of the intelligentsia who in this way become accomplices of the imperialists in their schemes for world domination.

The Congress counterposed to the imperialist plans for a "world government", "super-national sovereignty" and the "negation of national sovereignty", a concrete policy of peace and defence of the national independence, sovereignty and culture of all peoples. And once again the Soviet delegation demonstrated by its speeches, and by its multi-national composition that the free development of culture, the strengthening of national independence and sovereignty are today the best guarantee of the peaceful co-existence of nations.

The unbreakable ties between the struggle for peace and the struggle for national independence and culture became even more evident after many speakers—among them Ehrenburg and Cesaire and the delegates from Poland and Latin-America—pointed out that there is a new content in the struggle for national independence and culture now that the working people are taking over the leadership of the struggle. Lenin wrote that every national culture has its latent elements of democratic and socialist culture, for in every nation there are working and exploited masses whose living conditions inevitably give birth to a democratic and socialist ideology.

Since Lenin wrote this, we have seen the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union, the beginning of a new culture in the new democracies, the workers and the mass of the people taking the decisive role in the struggle against fascism in all countries at a time when the bourgeoisie and its ideologists have betrayed the national independence in their countries. These factors have

enabled the democratic and socialist principles in the national culture of all countries to develop rapidly. The Soviet Union—where flourishes cultures, national in form and socialist in content—is showing the way to peace and culture for all peoples, thus helping the struggle of the masses in different countries for their progressive culture.

The discussion showed that the new relations between the intelligentsia and the people and the new tasks of the intelligentsia in the struggle for peace, correspond to this new content in the struggle for peace, for national independence and for culture.

Certain delegates tried to maintain that intellectuals should remain aloof from the struggle. But the Congress expressed itself uncompromisingly in favour of a culture connected with the people and in the service of the people, for a culture which takes part with all its forces to play its part in the day-to-day struggle of the people. The delegates saw in the Soviet Union an example of the invincibility of this culture and that is why, at the congress, they realised the leading role of the Soviet people and of their culture in the struggle for peace.

The Congress Manifesto lays down a programme of action for a united world front of intellectuals in defence of peace and culture. The exchange of views was, in itself, an important step forward in creating such a front. The decision of the Congress to set up a permanent international committee in Paris will make it possible for the national movements to keep contact with each other and exchange experiences. The Manifesto justly stresses the need for forming national committees and promoting the movement among the intelligentsia of the different countries. Only in this way will it be possible to build a broad, firm basis for the struggle for peace among intellectuals and to link up their struggle with the struggle of the mass of the people.

The Wroclaw Congress also demonstrated that among men of culture also the forces of peace, democracy and socialism are growing, organising and coming out against the forces of war,

imperialism and oppression. The ice has been broken, the path charted and the first battle in defence of peace and culture won. The progressive intelligentsia of the world will draw new strength and confidence from the inexhaustible source of the popular and national forces in their victories along the path shown by the Wroclaw Congress. In our day, when all roads lead to Communism, the Communist intellectuals have proved, and demonstrate by new deeds, that they are at their posts in the front ranks of the battle for peace.

However, not only the members of the Plenum, but also the Party's active functionaries, and, through them, the whole Party, realised the exceptional importance of the directives on ideological questions given by the July Plenum of the Central Committee.

The directives of the July Plenum helped to raise the level of the Party's activities. However, the fact remains that the decisions and directives of the July Plenum were not immediately understood by Comrade Weslaw and a certain group of comrades who, through mistaken conceptions and partly through personal sympathy for Comrade Weslaw, hampered theoretical clarification of the Plenum—the need for making the Party ideologically fit

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Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of Finland

The 8th Congress of the Communist Party of Finland was held over August 29—September 3. A total of 403 delegates were present.

The opening speech was delivered by Comrade Uusitalo, Chairman of the party, who dealt briefly with the political situation in Finland.

Greetings were brought to the Congress from the Communist Party of Great Britain by Pollitt, from the Communist Party of Denmark by Sorenson, from the Workers' Party of Hungary by Joboru, from the Communist Party of Norway by Levlien, from the Workers' Party of Poland by Popel, from the Workers' Party of Rumania by Stoika, and from the Communist Party of Sweden by Linderut.

Warm applause greeted the reading of telegrams from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, from the Communist Parties of Italy, Czechoslovakia, France, Spain and also from the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Bulgaria.

In its greetings the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union said: "The central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union warmly greets the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of Finland and offers its congratulations on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Party. We wish the Communist Party of Finland every success in its struggle to secure the development of Finland along democratic lines, in strengthening its national independence and sovereignty, in building up the forces of Finnish democracy and in securing a fundamental improvement of the economic conditions of the Finnish workers and peasants".

The main item on the Congress agenda was the report by Comrade Pessi, General Secretary of the Party on the situation in the Communist Party of Finland and the Party's tasks. 40 delegates took part in the discussion which followed the report. Suggestions put forward covered organisational matters, publication of Marxist literature, and the political education of Party functionaries.

In his concluding speech, Comrade Pessi said that the Congress had demonstrated the strength of the Party, that it possessed splendid cadres who were tireless in working for the party. The Communist Party, Comrade Pessi continued, contrary to the false declarations of the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats, is a united, monolithic body, Congress had confirmed the correct line of the Party.

The Congress discussed the proposed changes in the Rules of the Party. The new draft with certain additions, was ratified by the delegates.

Congress elected the leading organs of the Party. Comrade Aaltonen was unanimously elected Chairman, and Comrade Pessi, General Secretary. The election of the Party Council followed, Comrade Parkkari being elected Chairman and Comrade Niskanen, Vice Chairman.

FOR COMPLETE ELIMINATION OF RIGHT AND NATIONALIST DEVIATION

(From Speech by Boleslaw Bierut, General Secretary of Central Committee of Polish Workers' Party at September Plenum of Central Committee, P.W.P.)

For the past three months our Party leadership has been in a state of crisis which is detrimental and dangerous for our Party. The Political Bureau of the Party tried to overcome this crisis and restore the leadership to its organisational consolidation and ideological unity.

The July Plenum of the Central Committee gave our Party a clear Marxist-Leninist analysis and estimation of the problems which constituted the ideological basis of the crisis in the Party leadership. Even then, it is clear to those attending the Plenum that a section of the Party leadership had serious ideological vacillations on essential questions of the international working-class movement, in estimating the historical traditions of this movement, in drawing from this analysis the conclusions for the policy and leadership of our Party, for the current tasks

facing the Party in connection with the central problem of fusion of the workers' parties.

The then General Secretary, Comrade Gomulka (Weslaw), whose incorrect anti-Marxist position was the reason for the crisis in the Party leadership, did not take part in the work of the July Plenum of the Central Committee. Because of the absence of Comrade Weslaw, the July Plenum could not discuss all the aspects of the crisis. It could not even make the statement that it had been protracted, could not take the necessary political and organisational decisions to solve the crisis quickly while it was in its initial stage.



However, not only the members of the Plenum, but also the Party's active functionaries, and, through them, the whole Party, realised the exceptional importance of the directives on

ideological questions given by the July Plenum of the Central Committee.

The directives of the July Plenum helped to raise the level of the Party's activities. However, the fact remains that the decisions and directives of the July Plenum were not immediately understood by Comrade Weslaw and a certain group of comrades who, through mistaken conceptions and partly through personal sympathy for Comrade Weslaw, hampered theoretical clarification of the Plenum—the need for making the Party ideologically fit to fight against vacillations, against mistaken views, against the influence of alien, petty-bourgeois-nationalist ideology which is trying to infiltrate into our Party.

That is why the main item on the agenda of the last Plenum was the question of combating the right-nationalist deviation within the leadership of the Party together with an analysis of the roots and causes of this deviation and the question of how it could be overcome.

It often happens in a revolutionary party that vacillations and ideological mistakes which are not rectified in time, or either concealed from the Party or are stubbornly upheld, inevitably develop into a deviation from the main line of the Party and the working class. They are used by the class enemy and in his hands become a weapon against the Party in order to weaken it and, if possible, deflect it from the path along which it had been advancing. That is why the Political Bureau and the recent Plenum of the Central Committee considered it imperative to raise before the Party, fully and unreservedly, the question of the Right nationalist deviation in the leadership so that it could be completely eradicated by the effort of the Party as a whole.

Even a year ago, at the time of the first conference of the delegates from the nine Communist and Workers' Parties, at which the Information Bureau of the nine Parties was formed. Comrade Weslaw displayed certain vacillations arising from his under-estimation of the international situation at the time.

Comrade Weslaw conceded his viewpoint only after pressure by the comrades and Political Bureau, but he maintained doubts and reservations. Criticising its attitude to the vacillations at that time, the Political Bureau stated at the last Plenum of the Central Committee that it had not taken a sufficiently clear and firm attitude toward these vacillations, that the differences had been glossed over and not fully thrashed out.

Consequently, when the serious crisis arose in the Yugoslav Party, thrusting this Party on to a false path, Weslaw's ideological vacillations became even more apparent.

The developments in Yugoslavia unquestionably encouraged Comrade Weslaw in his views stated at the June Plenum of the Central Committee.

Leninist Evaluation of Polish Workers' Movement

The history of our labour movement—the anti-Marxist and incorrect estimation of which was given in Comrade Weslaw's report, caught our Party leadership unawares and came upon them like a thunderbolt—developed in direct and continual contact with the theory and practice of the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin.

Lenin, with his profound intellect, followed the development of the Polish revolutionary movement, drew conclusions and lessons from the experience of our movement—from both its achievement and mistakes—which he exhaustively analysed, drawing general conclusions from it to his theoretical works.

He gave critical estimations of various trends in the Polish labour movement, estimations which are unequalled for their insight and Marxist analysis. He exposed the ideological roots of the sectarian theories of Rosa Luxemburg, theories which distorted the activity of the revolutionary Marxist political party, such as the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania was then (even though it was not consistently

Marxist). He mercilessly denounced the chauvinist and bourgeois-nationalist essence of the right wing in the Polish Socialist Party as bourgeois agents within the working class. In all probability, not a single section of the revolutionary movement was subjected to such a thorough estimation in Lenin's articles and theoretical works as the Polish revolutionary movement. There is nothing surprising in this. Lenin knew the leaders of our movement, met them time and again at Party congresses and conferences, heard their speeches and followed their statements over a number of years. Thus, until now, there has been no more penetrating analysis of our movement and its traditions, an analysis based on the methods of historical materialism, than that given in the works of Lenin. There is no doubt that Comrade Weslaw's June report was a conscious revision of the Leninist estimation of the history of our movement, a revision based on the complete rift of the national liberation struggle from the class struggle. In reply to the arguments stated by all members of the Political Bureau without exception, Comrade Weslaw announced his resignation from the post of General Secretary of the Party, without discussing the fundamentals of the matter. It was only after sharp criticism that Comrade Weslaw at the recent Plenum of the Central Committee delivered a lengthy speech which the Plenum regarded as an attempt to reconsider the position he had held until now, a position he had held until now, a position which was fundamentally dangerous.

Comrade Weslaw's estimation of the historical traditions of the labour movement in Poland is one-sided and incorrect. He presents the main problem of Poland's independence without linking it up with the class struggle of the proletariat. But the revolutionary labour movement of Poland, battling for national emancipation, set itself far-reaching aims. It strove to overthrow the bourgeois power and capitalist order and to win political power. And in this struggle it encountered not only the frenzied resistance of the bourgeoisie, but also the equally strong resistance of bourgeois agents who were active in the

labour movement. The right wing of the Polish Socialist Party occupied first place among these agents.

The leaders of the right wing in the Polish Socialist Party who were closely associated with the Pilsudskyites, took an attitude to the Party's slogan of an independence which was completely different from the views of the workers of the Party and its left wing section.

To the right leadership, this slogan was the main weapon for splitting the labour movement, a weapon directed against its revolutionary class aims in the political interests of the bourgeoisie.

The Polish bourgeoisie regarded the national state, even though restricted and dependent on the countries which had dismembered Poland, as essential to them from the point of view of entrenching their own political power. In accordance with this aim of the bourgeoisie, the right trend of the Polish Socialist Party tried to restrict the development of the revolutionary movement to the mere winning of independence, as a basis for a bourgeois state within the framework of which the working class could at most develop its economic and political slogans through parliamentary tactics.

Such was the difference in principle between the aims and tasks of the two opposite trends in the labour movement in Poland.

Comrade Weslaw was prepared to take this non-Leninist conception of the Polish Socialist Party in the struggle for independence as "the ideological basis for a united Party".

The absence of a revolutionary and class orientation in Comrade Weslaw's reasoning on the question of independence and his stubbornness in depending a position that was clearly wrong resulted in him overlooking how decisive was the victory of the 1917 revolution in Russia to Poland's independence. In answer to the draft resolution of the Political Bureau, Comrade Weslaw declared: "I cannot agree with the thesis that the Polish Socialist Party conception of independence has become bankrupt, for the question then

arises, whose conception has been victorious?” And this is how Comrade Weslaw replied to this question: “The Polish Socialist Party conception of independence was a bourgeois-nationalist conception and as such was not bankrupt but victorious in 1918. This does not at all alter the fact that Poland received her independence as a result of the Russian revolution and the revolutionary movement in Europe”.

This kind of scholasticism predominated in Comrade Weslaw’s views, thus showing that he had drifted to a very dangerous platform, clearly alien to Marxism.

Comrade Bierut then dealt with Westlaw’s false attitude to the slogans advanced by the Polish Communist Party between the two wars. Comrade Bierut said: The Communist Party has been a revolutionary, Marxist party and it is difficult to understand how a Marxist can accuse the Party of linking the question of independence and government with the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

P.W.P. in Struggle for People’s Poland

It stands to reason that during the period when Hitler was preparing to attack Europe, an attack which threatened Poland also, the Communist Party had to advance the slogan of the defence of Poland’s independence, which it did. At such moments the very problem of the class struggle changes in principle. A common national front is formed in the struggle against the imperialist robbers endeavouring to impose their will on weaker nations. The war then becomes a national, just war against the more dangerous enemy—in the given situation—the imperialist plunderers. This was precisely the position taken by the Polish Workers’ Party at the time of its inception. Taking up its position in the vanguard of the national-liberation struggle, the Polish Workers’ Party linked the struggle for the country’s liberation with the struggle for the conquest of power by the working people, headed by the working class. The

formation of the Kraiowa Rada Narodowa, to represent the people, was an expression of this.

During the period of struggle for political power through the Kraiowa Rada Narodowa, and its local bodies, we achieved most successful cooperation of the internal forces of the Polish working people of town and countryside with the revolutionary forces of the Soviet State which developed as an armed force on the basis of the Socialist order, that is, the order which grew out of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is precisely because of this cooperation of the international revolutionary forces that there could develop this specific form of political power which we have called the people's democracy in Poland and other countries.

There is no question about the class character of these forces and the class character of the political power in the countries of people's democracy, a power which relies on the hegemony of the working class, moving at the head of the wide front of the working people, and above all, the poor and middle peasantry.

At the same time when the Kralowa Rada Narodowa was formed, certain comrades in our Party underestimated the actual relation of class forces, and especially the significance in the struggle for political power of the cooperation of these forces with the armed might of the Soviet Union, as a revolutionary and liberating force, not merely as a military ally, but as a class ally.

The incorrect estimation of the particular relation of class forces resulted in these vacillations, a reflection of which was the attempt to distort the conception of the Kraiowa Rada Narodowa. This is noted in Point 5 of the Plenum resolution.

The nature of these vacillations is best seen from the article by Comrade Benkowski, "Our Position", printed in the central organ of our Party, "Tribuna Wolnosti", on July 1, 1944, with the consent of Weslaw.

This article determined the Party's position on the principal question, namely that of political power on the eve of the liberation of Poland. But it carried no conception at all of the

Kraiowa Rada Narodowa. On the eve of the liberation of Poland, at a decisive moment in the struggle for state power, we see that the author of this article based his position on the political groups which were in fact the support of the reactionary camp—on the right wing of the Stronnictwo Ludowa, headed by Mikolaczyk and on the Centralni Comitet Ludowa, which was a subversive creation of the London Poles, formed to undermine the Kariowa Rada Narodowa. This can only be qualified as an opportunist rejection of the slogan of the working people's struggle for power under the leadership of the working class, as an attempt, at this decisive moment, to desert the front of struggle which was organised and headed by our Party, the pivot and leader of the Armia Ludowa, the leading force of the Kraiowa Rada Narodowa.

At a time when the working people were preparing to introduce new revolutionary laws, relying on State power under the leadership of the working class, the author of the article confined himself to persuading reaction of the need for a constitutional form which would secure hegemony for Mikolaczyk. What outlet did the opportunists in our Party offer at that time? We read:

“The pressure of these forces must be in the direction of the immediate removal of persons from positions they have unlawfully seized at the head of the state (for instance, president, commander-in-chief) who do not enjoy the support of the people, who pursue a policy contrary to the elementary interests of Poland, that is, contrary to the reorganisation of the Government in accordance with the demands of Polish democracy.”

And so, the reorganisation of the reactionary London Government by a reshuffle of the posts of president and commander-in-chief in order to secure the positions of Mikolaczyk, Kwapiszki and other leaders of the Stronnictwo Ludowa and the W.R.N., such was the opportunist programme advanced by the right wing group in our Party at the time of the

struggle for state power, a programme which Comrade Weslaw did not oppose.

I must say that this so-called “our position was not the position of the Party, but of the right group in the Party. During that period the Party formed local bodies of the Rada Narodowa throughout the country as well as new detachments of the Armia Ludowa. It consolidated the successful workers’ and peasants’ alliance not by “top” combinations but through the mass struggle and organisational work in the lower bodies. Our Party confidently prepared for the struggle for state power. There was no indication that anybody in the lower organisations doubted the victorious outcome of this struggle. Why then did the opportunist group in our Party leadership at the time—the group covered by Comrade Weslaw—seek other ways and means? I think I can briefly point out two main reasons for this disbelief.

Firstly, it was the result of the under estimation of the forces of the working class, an underestimation of the alliance of workers and peasants, which, under the leadership of our Party, grew and strengthened in the struggle against the occupation forces.

Secondly, it was the result of failure to understand the essence of the Soviet Union’s aims of social liberation, arising from the ideological principles of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and from the role of the Soviet Communist Party in the international front of struggle of all peoples, of all democratic forces against imperialism. We consider this failure to understand the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism by which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always been guided, and which today, too, determine its leading role in the international front against imperialism, as one of the chief sources of Comrade Weslaw’s ideological vacillations. Hence, our open Party criticism in order to help Comrade Weslaw and all those who, like him, failed to understand matters to overcome their vacillations.

In this critical analysis, one cannot fail to point out other mistaken views mentioned in the Central Committee Plenum resolution, views which gradually led Comrade Weslaw to a Right, and nationalist deviation from our main Party line. What was behind Comrade Weslaw's vacillations, behind his opposition to the section of the Information Bureau Resolution which outlines the ideological platform of Marxist parties on the socialist reorganisation of agriculture and the liberation of the poor and middle peasant from the exploitation of speculators and capitalist elements?

His position reflected the undoubtedly opportunist tendency of avoiding the class struggle with the capitalist elements in the countryside—a struggle without which the victorious advance toward Socialism is impossible.

The same opportunist tendency is glaringly apparent in Comrade Weslaw's recent statements, on the question of the fusion of the Polish Workers' Party and Polish Socialist Party, and the methods by which the two workers' parties can be united. His statements reveal the mistaken conception that the two parties can be united without first eliminating the ideologically consolidated right elements existing among a section of the old cadres of the Polish Socialist Party who, in the not too distant past, were connected with the W.R.N., or without a sharp struggle against the influence of alien ideology. One cannot fail to see in this a relapse to the opportunist social-democratic conceptions which have not been completely eradicated and are again showing themselves, and against which our Party waged and must continue to wage an irreconcilable struggle.

The Sources of Comrade Gomulka's Mistakes

We characterised Comrade Weslaw's mistakes which, as pointed out in the Plenum resolution, are not isolated or accidental mistakes but a definite point of view of a right-wing and nationalist character, despite internal contradictions.

Every one of us must ask ourselves the question: what are the sources of these mistakes? What are their roots and why have they fully come to the surface precisely during the past few months?

In his reasoning, Comrade Weslaw is influenced by national narrow-mindedness, nationalist provincialism which restrict his political horizon prevent him from seeing the close connection today between national aspirations and internationalism and lead to erroneous and extremely harmful political conclusions in practice.

Hence the tendency, in his estimation, of the Polish working-class movement, to separate the struggle for independence from the class struggle of the proletariat: hence the incorrect conception of the essence of people's democracy and the changes taking place in it, hence the position to strike a kind of "happy medium" between liberal-bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy.

Hence, as the resolution points out, the inclination to pass over in silence or soft-peddle the truth that the Polish path to Socialism, despite certain specific features, is not something qualitatively different from the general path of development toward Socialism, that it differs only in form from the general path of development, a difference that arose precisely because of the preliminary victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union, a difference that is based on the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, taking into account the possibilities afforded by the new historical period and the specific conditions of the historical development of Poland.

Hence, the failure to understand the essence of the relations uniting the countries of the new democracy with the land of victorious Socialism, and the deep-going solidarity of their interests—relations which differ fundamentally from those existing between the new democracies and the capitalist countries.

Hence, the failure to understand the essence of the struggle for sovereignty, which is threatened by expansion on the part of American imperialism and its German agency.

The mistakes are the outcome of the fundamentally incorrect, anti-Leninist position in relation to the national question, the outcome of the fundamentally incorrect opportunist position on the peasant question. These mistakes have much in common with similar developments which found no rebuff and consequently, led to complete degeneration in Yugoslavia.

There is nothing fortuitous about the similarity of these developments, for they spring from the same roots.

What is the explanation for the fact that these mistakes became apparent only quite recently?

While our Party was battling against the reactionary fascist forces who frequently openly endeavoured to restore landlord-capitalist rule, the ideological opportunism of Comrade Weslaw's views was not apparent. During that period Comrade Weslaw undoubtedly rendered great service to the Party. However, with the smashing of the main reactionary fascist forces, people's democracy in Poland entered upon another phase of its development.

At the time when the capitalist-profiteering elements, taking advantage of the difficulties of the post-war period and exploiting the rural poor, began to enhance their positions, a new, cardinal contradiction came to the fore: one between the popular forces—consistently democratic forces, namely the workers and toiling peasantry on the one hand, and the capitalist elements in town and countryside on the other.

The question of the sharpening class struggle against the capitalist elements, especially in the countryside, became the order of the day. It was then that cracks appeared in Comrade Weslaw's militant position and his ideological weakness became apparent. Without doubt, the contradictions between the capitalist and anti-capitalist forces in the people's democratic order, is pointed out by the resolution, are becoming ever more obvious not only in Poland but also in the

other countries of the people's democracy (as is eloquently borne out by the alarming Yugoslav signal).

The capitalist forces are endeavouring to "freeze" the present relationship of class forces (in the hope of gaining a more favourable position for themselves); they want "stabilisation" while preserving the people's democratic order even with its existing scope of possibilities for capitalist elements, calculating on their flexibility, on the birth of capitalist forces out of small economy and finally on possible support from abroad.

The working class, on the other hand, is striving to secure the further development of the socialist elements by dislodging and abolishing the capitalist elements. As for the poor and middle peasantry, they want to throw off the yoke of kulak exploitation and the overwhelming superiority of the rich peasant in the countryside. This helps to put the alliance of workers and peasants on a firmer basis.

It was in this situation that the concealed opportunist germ of the right group in our Party became apparent and also the tendency to tone down the class struggle, to create a suitable climate for the kulak and his natural striving for economic expansion and its inevitable corollary, political expansion.

As long experience of the working-class movement teaches us, opportunism as a rule goes hand in hand with nationalism, and mainly in the form of "social-nationalism". This is exactly how matters stand with us. I would say that here more than anywhere else opportunism is interwoven with nationalism, utilising for this purpose the, as yet, unburied residue of nationalistic prejudices and also the anti-Russian and anti-Soviet sentiments assiduously fanned by the class enemy.

In view of the growing polarisation of forces on a world scale between the imperialist and anti-imperialist camps, now more than ever before, the attitude toward the USSR becomes the touch-stone of genuine internationalism, of loyalty to the cause of socialism and, at the same time, the firm and sole bulwark of our independence and sovereignty.

The class content alike of opportunism and nationalism, is one or another form of agreement or rapprochement with the bourgeoisie.

In 1915 Lenin, polemising with the Menshevik, Potresov, wrote:

“There is no doubt whatsoever about the idea-political kinship, bonds and even identity between opportunism and social-nationalism. ... Social-nationalism is an outgrowth of opportunism and it was the latter that gave it strength... It may be that individuals of this type regard themselves as “internationalists”, but people are judged not by what they think of themselves, but by their political conduct, and the political conduct of such “internationalists” who are not consistent and resolute opponents of opportunism, will always be either help or support for the nationalist trend”.

What brilliant foresight! How appropriate for our conditions are these words!

Does it not make one think that this Leninist analysis should be applied to the arrogant, empty and false “internationalist” phrasemongering of Tito?

Should not an understanding of the essence of this question sound the alarm for the whole Party?

Should not this understanding mobilise for decisive struggle all Party members loyal to the fine traditions of our movement?

There is no doubt whatsoever that it is in precisely this way, that our whole Party, which has time and again proved its loyalty to the interests and ideals of the working class, will react to this danger.

Unquestionably, the Party will be helped in this by the self-critical attitude taken by Comrade Weslaw on the third day of the Plenum. Comrade Weslaw’s self-criticism shows that in response to the criticism of the Plenum, which, though sharp was candid and sincere, he has realised that it is essential for him to reconsider his hitherto fundamentally incorrect position.

Criticism and Self-criticism Strengthen the Party

In spite of the opportunist and nationalistic vacillations of Comrade Weslaw which were particularly pronounced after the first conference of the Information Bureau, the Central Committee and the Party worked out a correct political line, guarded the ideological Marxist principles of the Polish Workers' Party and strengthened the Party's ties with the working class.

As a result of this correct line, our Party considerably enhanced its prestige among the masses, and above all, among the working class. This was reflected during the campaign for elections to trade union and factory committees. This was reflected among the mass of the peasantry by the cooperative elections. Also the rapid growth of our ranks is an indication of the masses' growing confidence in our Party.

However, it would be an abandonment of the principles of Marxism if we, who are here considering the question of the Right nationalist deviation in our Party, failed to criticise the serious shortages and mistakes in all leading branches of our Party, starting with the political Bureau.

Here it should be stated that the opportunist and Right tendencies of Comrade Weslaw were not always rebuffed with sufficient energy by the Party leadership before they became a deviation.

The experience of our Party fully bears out the correctness of the thesis advanced ten months ago in the Declaration of the Information Bureau to the effect that "the principal danger for the working class today lies in underestimating its own forces and overestimating the forces of the imperialist camp."

The Central Committee of the Party did not analyse the relationship between the growth of forces of the socialist, small-scale production and capitalist elements in the economy of the countryside which accounted for an absence of clarity in the Party's policy. The Central Committee, likewise, was not sufficiently vigorous in repelling the opportunist conceptions about the harmonious coexistence and development of "three

sectors" in our economy, which were voiced in different Party branches. This gave rise to a tolerant attitude on the part of the Party leadership to certain instances of neglect of the sharpening class struggle in the countryside and to the growth of capitalist elements in the countryside. All this could only result in Party organisations overlooking the revolutionary perspectives, in the weakening of their class militancy in certain sections, in the theory about the dying down of the class struggle.

A glaring example of the subordination to the right and opportunist tendency of overlooking class contradictions in the countryside was the introduction of a fixed price for all peasants for the services of agricultural equipment from the machine-stations. This could only result in a distortion of the very idea that machine-stations are a weapon to protect the poor peasant, who has no implements, from exploitation by the village rich.

A similar absence of class differentiation was also reflected in the matter of the appeal to the peasants to give each other neighbourly assistance.

Finally, the Party leadership failed to criticise its rural policy regarding settlement of the liberated territories. Consequently, the rich peasants gained a privileged position during the re-settlement campaign.

The tolerant attitude of the Party leadership to Comrade Weslaw's right-nationalistic mistakes, especially to his tendencies to fence off the path of the people's democracy from the path of the Soviet union and, arising from this, the opportunist glossing over of the sharpness of the class struggle in the development of people's democracy, could only have a negative effect on the practical activities of the Party and on the education of its membership.

Work to acquaint the Party with the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union was poor and insufficient. During the entire period since the People's Poland came into being, we have done nothing concrete to acquaint the Party

with life in the socialist countryside, to bring to it the truth about collective farm building and so equip it to counter the inventions of reaction which endeavours to present conditions in the Soviet countryside in a distorted form.

We have done very little to bring the achievements of Marxist-Leninist thought to the Party, and our publishing work in this sphere has been very poor. We are particularly backward in studying the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), its leading role in the international working-class movement.

The poor Marxist-Leninist propaganda in the party went hand in hand with the tolerant attitude toward ideological confusion among the Party intelligentsia and with an insufficiently Marxist study of questions of literature, art and science, which, incidentally, was reflected in the position of the literary journal "Kuznital." This held up the Party's work on the cultural front and is affecting the work of our universities, where non-Marxist, pseudo-scientific ideological premises hold sway, especially in the humanitarian sciences.

The tolerant attitude toward opportunist and nationalist mistakes also resulted in a retreat from the principles of Marxism-Leninism on the question of the role of the Party. The Party leadership did not wage a sufficiently energetic struggle against the tendency to recruit members into the Party without discrimination. This signified a disregard for the principles of Leninism which state that the Party is the organised detachment of the best elements of the working class, the vanguard detachment of the working class and the highest form of class organisation of the proletariat.

The disregard for these principles and the absence of vigilance when new members were accepted into the Party, resulted in the Party being loaded with socially-alien elements and with careerists who looked upon their Party card as a stepping stone to promotion or as a means of obtaining other advantages.

These shortcomings are mainly due to the underestimation of the leading role of the Party in all its sections in introducing the political, economic and cultural reforms in Poland.

Bierut then went on to point out the bad style in the work of the Party leadership, its isolation not only from the central Active but also from members of the central Committee, the absence of cooperation in the work of Party branches, the insufficient attention paid in selecting and promoting cadres, the under estimation of the role of the trade unions as the conveyor belt between the Party and the working class.

He continued: Our great concern is the permanent and acute shortage of cadres and the reason for this shortage is to be found in the above-mentioned negative aspects in the life of our Party. For the fundamental truth of Leninism is that “the Party as the rallying point of the best elements of the working class, is the best school for training working-class leaders capable of guiding all forms of organisation of their class”. (Stalin).

Bold criticism and self-criticism will not cause harm to the Party. On the contrary, it strengthens it ideologically. The concealment or overlooking of mistakes can weaken the Party. Then again, the stubborn defence of wrong positions creates a grave danger which, if not countered, can result in an acute crisis causing vast and irreparable damage not only to the Party but to the whole country.

The anti-Marxist position of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party is an example of such a grave crisis, a crisis which is causing irreparable damage to the peoples of Yugoslavia, is braking the ideological and organisational ties, with the Soviet Union and the new democracies and is encouraging the aggression of the imperialists. The leaders of the Yugoslav Party denied the Parties of the Information Bureau the right to criticise their mistakes, thus avoiding ideological control by the international organisation and placing themselves outside this organisation.

After discussing the situation in the Yugoslav Party, the July Plenum of the Central Committee characterised the mistakes of

this Party and denounced its leadership who did not even hesitate to split the united front of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism at a time when imperialism is intensifying its aggressive attacks. Since then, the Yugoslav leaders held a Party Congress which was entirely devoted to attacking the new democracies and the Soviet Union. Yugoslav figures who oppose this disastrous policy pursued by the Party leadership are forced into silence by terror, reprisal and assassination.

What is there Communist or democratic about a Party whose leaders arrogantly declare that it is the best and most revolutionary Party, that it will build Socialism quicker and better than the other countries, that it has no mistakes and never had, that it will tolerate no criticism whatsoever? Nothing. All that is left is a hostile attitude to the Parties in the Information Bureau instead of solidarity and ideological contact. Such are the consequences of the denial of the Leninist method of criticism and self criticism within the framework of an ideological international organisation.

On the other hand, we can see for ourselves from the example of the recent Central Committee Plenum of our party the beneficial effects open and frank criticism and self-criticism has on the development of the ideological forces of the Party. As a result of this open and frank criticism and self-criticism, the Party was victorious in the battle against ideological vacillations in the Party leadership. The weapon of such criticism and self-criticism helped the Party leadership to raise considerably the political, theoretical and ideological level of the Party, strengthened and enriched the Party leadership and will, unquestionably, enrich the whole Party with the great experience of struggle against the danger of deviations from the main line of the Party. This weapon helped to raise the militancy of the Party and its vigilance, to increase the activity of Party cadres and to speed up the struggle against alien ideological influences. It still further consolidated the Party and enhanced its prestige.

We are faced with the important task of overcoming this ideological deviation. We shall mobilise the whole Party to do this. But we shall not allow the struggle against the right, nationalist deviation, which threatened to destroy our achievements, to be accomplished by the revival of pernicious, sectarian and leftist practices.

We shall treasure, like the apple of our eye, the valuable ideological achievements of the Polish Workers' Party, its splendid and glorious traditions of struggle against the invaders, its creative work in laying the foundations of the People's Poland to attain which thousands of members of our Party sacrificed their lives or gave unstintingly of their labour. Our Party holds its leaders in high esteem, appreciates their contribution to the work and struggle of the Party and has confidence in them. But it regards them solely as executers of the idea which guides the Party and the working class. The Party places loyalty to the idea of revolution and vigilance toward any attempt to smuggle in alien influences, higher than personal attachment to Party individuals. Therein lies the strength of our Party which will base its work not on the leader principle, but above all, on the collective efforts of the Active and the entire membership.

We are struggling against the right and nationalist deviations under the difficult conditions of the onslaught of petty-bourgeois spontaneity and rabid baiting on the part of our class enemies who are bringing up against us their entire arsenal of demagogic, chauvinism and anti-semitism. But despite the difficulties, we are confident that the Party will emerge from this struggle stronger and more consolidated than ever before, better equipped ideologically, steeled against opportunist influences and matured politically for the unification of the working class—the creation of a united working class party.

For Building a Socialist Poland

The Plenum defined concrete paths of struggle for the working class and the poor and middle peasants, aimed at restricting the exploitation by the capitalist elements of the working strata in the countryside, at helping the vast majority of the rural population, and at depriving the kulaks of their privileged positions.

The Plenum defined the concrete ways and means of realising these aims in all spheres of rural life; in the matter of maintaining a sufficiently profitable prize for grain; a correct tax policy; a correct class policy in relation to agricultural credits; extending and reorganising the network of machinery depots, enabling them to serve first of all those in the greatest need of help, that is, the peasant household lacking adequate agricultural implements; large-scale development and the democratisation and more efficient working of the volost cooperatives of the Peasant Mutual Assistance Union and, finally, the purging and renovation of the entire economic and administrative apparatus in the countryside.

There can be no doubt that the carrying out of these decisions of the plenum will lead to a big increase in the activity of the masses of peasants, will enable them to improve their position and to counteract the rural rich in the struggle to restrict capitalist exploitation in the countryside, and will raise their material and cultural level.

In developing the July decisions, the Plenum clarified the position of the Party in relation to the producer cooperatives in the countryside, and gave concrete answers to a number of doubts expressed by the peasants on this matter.

While strongly emphasising that the process of switching over from individual to collective farming would require a long time, the Party is of the opinion that this is the only way to secure a rapid improvement in rural welfare, to abolish poverty and capitalist and capitalist exploitation. At the same time the Plenum warned against any harmful haste in the matter—for haste in this respect would be equivalent to adventurism.

The Plenum laid down as a principle the absolutely voluntary character of the producer cooperatives and declared that extreme measures would be applied against any attempt to violate this principle. There can be no doubt that the decision of the Plenum will clear up the matter of developing the producer cooperatives in the rural areas and to a considerable degree will dip in the bud any attempt by the class enemy to cause confusion in this matter.

An importance place in the decisions of the Plenum was taken by the big farms in the hands of the State; ways and means for the rapid development of their husbandry were outlined and measures for increasing aid to the peasant households by the State-owned farms.

During the four days in which it was in session, the Plenum of the Central Committee reviewed the path along which the Party is leading the working masses of Poland, on the basis of the unity of action of the entire democratic bloc. Our guiding idea on this path is the idea of a People's Poland, developing in the direction of a new, social system. And this new system is Socialism.

Strengthen International Contacts of Working Class

The daily pulsating life of the working masses nourishes man's creative power, and his great ability to bring about social change. The greatest representatives of progressive social thought drew their revolutionary inspiration from the springs of this creative power. And from the springs of this creative forces, there emerged the revolutionary ideology of the proletariat, transformed by the brilliant minds of Marx and Lenin into a great social programme, and which is now headed and enriched by the great and brilliant leader of the world proletariat and Communist Party of the Soviet union (Bolsheviks), Generalissimo Stalin.

In the course of the long years of revolutionary struggle against czarism, foreign and native fascism, against the barbarous Hitler invasion, the Polish working-class movement, headed by our Party, acquired a strength and maturity that has enabled it to lead the broad social movement of the working mass of town and countryside, the political expression of which is the bloc of the democratic parties.

In the heroic life and death struggle against the invader, the working masses received selfless, fraternal aid from the liberating army of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. Thanks to this aid, our country which had been devastated by the Hitlerite invaders, acquired freedom, and the masses of the people, working tirelessly, are building the new Poland. The plan of this construction will be prepared by the united workers' parties, the faithful and steadfast guardians of the great revolutionary ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of political alliance and aid by all the parties in the democratic bloc.

Utilising the eighty years' experience of the Polish working class movement, the experience of the hundred years' struggle of the international working-class, the experience of the victorious Russian Revolution, the thirty years' successful Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., and basing ourselves on the ideological foundations of Marxism-Leninism we are carrying out the great historical act of uniting the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist party, the act of political unification of the Polish working class.

The united workers' party is taking upon itself the historical responsibility for the future of the Polish people, and will guarantee its well being. It will firmly unite the forces of the democratic bloc, and will be able to secure that political and cultural eminence which Poland can and shall attain among the progressive nations of the world. This Party alone, on the basis of the alliance of workers, peasants and intelligentsia, the political expression of which is the democratic bloc, can

provide the working people of the Poland with an ever increasing prosperity.

Not for a single moment can we rest on our achievements, because what we have accomplished so far in the way of building the new Poland, is merely a beginning toward realising the great aims and tasks that confront our people.

Marching boldly forward beneath the banner of Marxism-Leninism, at the head of the working masses of Poland, our Party, as the leading element of the future united party will successfully fulfil its historic tasks.

(page 3, 4)

Speech of Gomulka at the Active of the Polish Workers' Party

The crisis in the Party leadership, the outcome of ideological differences between myself and the Political Bureau, is now a thing of the past, said Gomulka. The Central Committee of the Party correctly noted that my position on the principle political questions was a mistaken and anti-Marxist one and created the danger of Right and nationalist deviations in the Party. This danger has now been abolished in the leadership of our Party.

The recent Central Committee Plenum defined a firm and united position of the Party leadership and unanimously outlined our Party's political line. The fact that we are today returning to questions that belong to the past is not merely because the Central Committee has drawn the correct organisational conclusions about me and other comrades for the mistakes committed, but primarily in order to explain to the Party as a whole the essence of the mistakes and thus temper its ranks and eighteen its resistance to the onslaught of alien ideology.

Realisation of my mistakes and the desire to strengthen the Party make it necessary form me to view, self-critically, the

position I held on the principal questions of our Party's current policy, as well as on the question of the traditions of the Polish working-class movement.

Gomulka went on to say that the class enemies at home and abroad were eagerly expecting to see a weakening in the Party's forces, to see the confidence of the working class and working people in the Party undermined, were trying to drive a wedge into every chink, no matter how small, in the ranks of the Party, and especially in the leadership.

Gomulka continued: An example of this is the flood of malicious gossip about me spread by reaction at home and the foreign reactionary press. All these efforts of the reactionaries are doomed to failure. They will not find anybody in the Polish Workers' Party prepared to take the disastrous path of the Yugoslav renegades. Our Party emerges from the crisis in the Political Bureau stronger, more consolidated and better equipped with the invincible weapon of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Concerning the essence of his mistakes, which are analysed in the Plenum resolution of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party as a Right and nationalist deviation, Gomulka said that this deviation found first expression in his report to the June Plenum of the Central Committee, in which he gave an anti-Leninist estimation of the history of the Polish working-class movement.

In his report, the estimation of the predecessors of the Polish Workers' Party—the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania and the Communist Party of Poland—which represented the Polish working-class movement—was incorrect and false.

He said: In spite of its mistakes, the Social Democratic Party was a party of revolutionary Socialism, and this is the decisive element to be considered when estimating this party. I, in my report, analysed the Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania from the point of view of its mistakes on the question of the national-liberation struggle, which was tantamount to

obscuring the real face of this party. I, likewise, took an incorrect stand in my estimation of the activities of the Communist Party, and, in particular, wrongly estimated its attitude to the question of Polish independence.

In spite of its Luxemburg mistakes and the fact that they were not completely eliminated, the Communist Party was at that time the only party in Poland which indissolubly linked the struggle for the country's independence with the struggle for the social emancipation of the working class and the working people as a whole.

I also incorrectly estimated the past history of the Polish Socialist Party and the conception regarding independence at the time of the partition of Poland, when I claimed that "on the question of the independence of Poland, the Polish Socialist Party displayed considerable political realism," and also that "the struggle for independence is one of the splendid traditions of the Polish Socialist Party which we must take as the foundation for a united party."

These views were wrong because the Polish Socialist Party's conception of independence was based on Poland's cooperation with two invaders, namely, with Austria and Germany against a third invader, czarist Russia. But, in fact, Poland regained her independence in 1918 not as a result of the military victory of one of the invaders, but as a result of the Russian revolution.

The Polish Socialist Party represented a nationalist and reformist trend in the Polish working-class movement. The estimation of the Polish Socialist Party in my June report shows that I took the Polish Socialist Party viewpoint when examining the position of the Polish Socialist Party and Social Democratic Party of Poland and Lithuania on the question of Poland's independence. This signified a switch-over to a position of supporting the bourgeois-nationalist and reformist traditions of the Polish Socialist Party and transferring these traditions to the ranks of our Party. This danger of right, nationalist deviation in the Party was confirmed by the Political Bureau and the central Committee.

The incorrect estimation of the traditions of the Polish Socialist Party gave rise to a wrong approach to the fusion of the Polish Workers' and Polish Socialist Parties, an approach which in practice led to a position of ideological compromise.

Gomulka declared that his vacillations dated from the latter period of the occupation. They were expressed, in particular, by the erroneous desire to set up a broad national front at the expense of violating the principles of the Krajowa Rada Narodowa.

I also, said Gomulka, took a wrong stand on the question of reorganising productive relations in the countryside, and their development in accordance with the vital interests of the main mass of the rural population. This position was reflected in the negative attitude to the section of the resolution of the Information Bureau of the Eight Communist and Workers' Parties, which outlined the programmatic questions of reorganising agriculture.

Detailing his mistakes on the peasant question, Gomulka stated that they were due in the main to his underestimation of the exploiting make-up of the kulak.

The nationalisation of large-scale and medium industry and the introduction of the agrarian reform, continued Gomulka, abolished the order of big capitalist and landlord exploitation in People's Poland, but did not completely eliminate the exploitation of man by man. The peasant who had been given the land of the large landowners and the Germans has improved his condition and thrown off the yoke of the landlord. However, after the landlords, there still remains in the countryside a second section of exploiters which is by far the bigger section of the two, namely the rich peasants who in various ways exploit the mass of the rural poor. During the past years this stratum, taking advantage of the food difficulties that existed until very recently in the country, entrenched itself economically, grew rich by exploiting hired labour, by speculating and appropriating a considerable part of the national income.

Our Party, which has been the principal driving force of all social changes introduced in Poland to date, inscribed on its banners the slogan of struggle for Socialism. This slogan, however, did not especially when we speak of a programme of reorganising productive relations in the countryside. A slogan calling for Socialism, without showing the ways and countryside, could only remain suspended in mid-air. While we were at the stage of abolishing the big and medium capitalists and landlords, while we were engaged in a sharp struggle to stabilise the people's power, crushing the reactionary underground and resistance of fascist bands, while the foundations for a people's democracy were very firmly established—then the absence of a programme concretising the slogan of Socialism, clearly defining the way of a socialist order did not in the main, have a political line of the Party, neither had a result in any serious distortions in the day-to-day work of the Party. This distortion arose only in the new phase of the historical development of Poland which we entered after the foundations of the peoples democracy had been established after the first line of the class enemy's front had been broken.

The new phase in Poland's historical development demanded, above all, to answer to these questions: how to combat exploitation by the rural rich, how to guide the countryside along the path of socialist economy. Without supplying the correct answers to these questions, there could be no talk of building Socialism in Poland.

There could be only one answer to these questions, namely that given by the Information Bureau of the Eight Communist and Workers' Parties is the Resolution on the question of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Information Bureau's programme for reorganising productive relations and abolishing the exploiting class in the countryside gave a clear perspective to the Communist and Workers' Partiers of the new democracies, including the polish Workers' Party.

Though I was unable to point out any other basic path toward achieving this aim, I disagreed with the path outlined by the

Information Bureau. I actually took the position of the automatic, spontaneous development of relations in the countryside and in general, of people's democracy in Poland. This position was fundamentally wrong and held many dangers both for the Party and the entire further development of social relations in Poland.

Analysing the danger that could arise as result of his anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist position, Gomulka said that the automatic development of the people's democracy signified in practice the economic strengthening of the capitalist strata still in Poland, particularly of the rural rich.

In these circumstances, there could be no question of a movement, toward Socialism, of the complete abolition of the exploitation of man by man. On the contrary, the development of social relations would be of a regressive nature, taking the line of a return to capitalist productive relations.

My position, he went on, with regard to the section of the Information Bureau Resolution dealing with the perspectives of the socialisation of agriculture could only threaten our Party with paralysis, distortion of its ideological principles, and loss of its Marxist-Leninist essence. Had our Party not had a clear perspective of further reorganisation of productive relations in the countryside, had it considered that the expropriation of the landlords and the agrarian reform completed the process of this reorganisation, the Party would have slipped down to the position of revisionism and social-democratism. This danger was averted by the decisions of the July and August Plenums of the Central Committee of the Party.

In conclusion, Gomulka said: The resolution adopted by the recent Plenum of the Central Committee, with which I fully agree, detailed the sources of my mistakes, which created the danger of a right and nationalist deviation in the Party. Yugoslavia is the best example of where this deviation could have led our Party and Poland, had it not been liquidated in good time by the leadership of the Party. The nationalism of the leaders of the Yugoslav Party has resulted in its complete

isolation from the international working-class movement, has caused a rift between Yugoslavia and the united front of the new democracies and the Soviet Union and is thrusting her backwards into the clutches of imperialism. For not a single country of the new democracies can secure its independence and sovereignty, can develop and advance toward Socialism without the closest cooperation with the Soviet Union.

At the root of my mistakes lay an underestimation of the real ideological content in the relations between the new democracies and the Soviet Union, the failure to understand the leading role of the Communist Party of Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) in the international front of struggle against imperialism.

This failure to understand was the reason for my vacillations on the Yugoslav question.

Utilisation of the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the strengthening of the most internal relations with the Soviet and other Communist Parties are important conditions for the defence of national sovereignty and the victorious advance to Socialism.

Comrades, when you return to your Party organisations, tell the membership that I have committed a number of mistakes in my work.

However, I have admitted these mistakes under the influence of sharp, comradely criticism and have subjected them, to exhaustive self-criticism of the Plenum of the central committee. And as a loyal member of the Polish Workers' Party I shall carry out the political line.

Tell all the members of the Party to treasure the unity of the Party like the apple of their eye, for the unity of the Party is the principal element of the strength and the essential condition under which the tasks outlined by the Central Committee can be carried out.

Treacherous Policy of the C.C. C.P.Y. J. Duclos, Secretary, Communist Party of France

After the publication of the resolution of the Information Bureau on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the Communists in all lands condemned the criminal attitude of

the leaders of the Yugoslav Party—Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic—who have deliberately renounced the united socialist front of struggle against imperialism.

The French Communist Party, from the Central Committee and Federation Committees to the groups and branches, categorically rejected the policy of the Yugoslav leaders, the policy of abandoning the principles of proletarian internationalism, of denying the decisive, leading role of the USSR in smashing German fascism, and of impermissible hostility in relation to the Soviet Union.

The meeting of the Central Committee of the French Party held over July 8-9, guided by the Resolution of the Information Bureau, took certain steps with a view to improving the work of the Party and its Central Committee.

With the aim of raising the ideological level of the membership, the Central Committee recommended a close study of the resolution of the Information Bureau., a deeper understanding of its principles and their widest possible circulation among the masses. At the same time the Central Committee stressed the need for waging an irreconcilable struggle against any underestimation of the role of the Soviet Union—the bastion of the proletariat of the world and unshakable bulwark of peace and democracy, whose sacrifice contributed enormously to the liberation struggle of the French people, a struggle which was the starting point for a powerful working class and democratic movement in the country.

The decision of the Central Committee was approved by the Party as a whole, in spite of the fact that the Tito agents in France had anticipated that the noise raised by them around their “great man” would have had the effect of stimulating a certain resistance to any condemnation of the Yugoslav leadership, or at any rate of causing a certain amount of wavering in the matter.

How little they know the French Communists. The Party membership correctly estimated the situation in Yugoslavia, and was quick to realise that Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic

are slandering the great land of Socialism, and are the standard-bearers of anti-Soviet policy. That is why the membership resolutely condemned these traitors of Socialism.

Of course there are traitors, Hitler collaborators who have always hated the USSR, but those men and women who fought for the liberation of French soil, know how much they owe to the land of Socialism. They have not forgotten how, during the dark days of war, all their hopes were linked with the valiant struggle of the Soviet Army, with its steadfast resistance and with its great victorious which played such a decisive role in securing the destruction of fascism."

The attitude of French reactionary circles in relation to tito is most instructive. In its July 20 issue, "Le Monde", featuring two big articles on Yugoslavia, lauded Tito's "courage". "Despite the obvious differences between capitalist Washington and Communist Belgrade," said "Le Monde" hopefully, "it is possible to find grounds for agreement."

The reactionaries are attempting to depict the ant-Soviet policy of the Yugoslav leaders as a display of courage and "independence". But they are quite well aware that this pretence at independence means neither more nor less than rejection of the anti-imperialist position and taking to the path of subordination to imperialism.

Such is the outcome of the policy of the Yugoslav leaders who, having turned their backs on proletarian internationalism are wallowing in bourgeois nationalism and who, in the final count, are dragging Yugoslavia backward on to the capitalist path, into the imperialist camp.

When Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic declare they alone liberated Yugoslavia, when with boundless presumption and unexampled double-dealing on their part they declare that they wish to build socialism alone, without the aid of the USSR, without the new democracies and the international working class and democratic movement, they are merely attempting to cover up their activities on behalf of the American imperialists and their agents.

The Information Bureau exposed the criminal policy lately pursued by the Yugoslav leaders. But a close scrutiny of the past activities of the Yugoslav Communist Party confirms that this deviation existed in concealed form in the past, whereas now it is apparent to all.

It can be regarded as a fact that, over a fairly long period, elements connected with the imperialist camp worked secretly inside the Yugoslav Party: it may be that certain circles believed that the double-dealing and masked anti-Soviet policy would be utilised in the near future by the Yugoslav leaders in anticipation of a complex international situation when their abrupt change of front could undermine the anti-imperialist camp.

The great merit of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was that it understood quite well what was taking place in the Yugoslav Party, what was being prepared there, and that it raised the matter with the membership of the Information Bureau.

The first result of this was that all over the world the Communists, reflecting the sentiments of the mass of the people, came out against the attitude of the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party and displayed their determination to strengthen the united socialist anti-imperialist front.

At the same time when American imperialism is menacing the very existence, freedom and the national independence of peoples, the struggle of each country either to defend or to gain independence cannot be regarded as an isolated struggle. I can be successful only if there is international solidarity in the common struggle of all those threatened by the menace of imperialism.

This means that the bourgeois nationalism of the Yugoslav Communist leaders represents a betrayal of the national interests of Yugoslavia which these traitors plan to hand over to enslavement by American imperialism.

On foreign policy Tito, Kardelj, Djilas, Rankovic and others of their kind have completely exposed themselves. Their double-

dealing declarations will not deceive anybody, while the fact that the reactionaries are praising them and putting great faith in them still further makes clear to the masses the nature of the present situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

But what is happening in Yugoslavia? What is the reaction of the Communists and the mass of the people to the Information Bureau decision? Everyone of us is anxious to know this.

Had it not been for the Resolution of the Information Bureau, the recent Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia would have built up more illusions. But the public exposure of the policy of the Yugoslav Communist leadership made it considerably more difficult for Tito and his supporters to manoeuvre.

Not a single representative from other Communist Parties was present at the Yugoslav Congress, which isolation, undoubtedly, impressed members of the congress. It is necessary here to speak of members, and not of delegates to the congress since the so-called delegates were sent not by the Party branch organisations (which, incidentally, can hardly be said to exist), but by the leading organs, that is by Tito and his clique.

At the congress, or rather the parody of a congress, Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic attacked the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and other Communist Parties and tried to prove that they alone were right while the Communists of all other countries were wrong.

It is natural that at such a congress no loyalty could be expressed to Marxism-Leninism. The repressive measures taken against Comrades Zulovic and Hebrang make it quite clear that the congress could not be held otherwise but under the control of Rankovic police.

However, while the Yugoslav leaders and the reactionaries, incited and flattered by them claim that they were victorious at the congress, it should be noted that it is an extremely unstable victory, a Pyrrhic victory fraught with new difficulties.

It can be said that many Yugoslav Communists are beginning to act and to express themselves in favour of the Information Bureau Resolution. The fact that such a stand is being taken by responsible people is the first sign of progress in the ranks of the Yugoslav Communist party. Faced by this movement which is just in its initial stages and which is bound to develop more or less rapidly, the Rankovic police machine will in the end find itself powerless, for the use of police methods as a means of pressure on the Party is ineffective in the final count.

Therefore, if it is true that Tito and his supporters plan to bring Yugoslavia back to the orbit of imperialism, this criminal policy will inevitably be answered by increasing resistance on the part of the Communists and the mass of the people in the country.

The path down which Tito is pushing Yugoslavia, is the path leading to the imperialist camp. The Congress of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was another step along this path. It displayed restraint toward the American imperialists and at the same time slandered the Communist Parties of a number of countries and, above all, the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

However, there are grounds for believing that Yugoslav Communists, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, together with the mass of the people will frustrate this plan and enable Yugoslavia to be brought back to the path of the united anti-imperialist democratic front. The wider the struggle against the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party becomes on the international scale, the wider it will become inside Yugoslavia. It can be definitely said that the present leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party will continue to expose themselves with every passing day and show their true face as enemies of the Soviet Union. This will help to blow away the smoke-screen behind which they have been concealing their treacherous activities.

The most important thing for every worker and every progressive person is the existence of the great land of

Socialism which is playing such a decisive role in the development of history.

The final victory rests with the cause of Marxism-Leninism, with the cause of proletarian internationalism, with the great cause of socialism, the triumph of which has been secured on one-sixth of the globe by the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the brilliant guidance of the great Stalin.

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Collapse of the Monarcho-Fascist Offensive in Greece

The battle in the Northern Pindus between the Greek Democratic Army and the monarcho fascist troops which began on July 24 is of the greatest significance for the liberation struggle of the Greek people.

The monarcho-fascists concentrated their main forces in this area and strove might and main to win a decisive strategic success.

They set themselves the task of annihilating the main forces of the Democratic Army and of smashing the national liberation movement of the Greek people. The American imperialists believed that the successful completion of this operation would put the seal on their domination of Greece and transform the country into their military strategic base.

The leaders of the Democratic Army divined the intentions of the enemy. By concentrating their reserves in the Smolikas-Grammos sector, they compelled the monarcho-fascists to switch their main forces precisely in this area. The intention of the Command of the Democratic Army was to draw the enemy forces into the Grammos area for the purpose of enabling their

own forces in Roumeli, in the Peloponnese and Epirus to extend to the utmost the range of their operations, enlarge the liberated territory and to make conditions unbearable for the enemy in these sectors.

The results of the battle in the Northern Pindus reveal first the complete failure of the joint American-monarcho-fascist plan, and second that the plan elaborated by the Command of the Democratic Army was realised. The efforts of the monarcho-fascists to secure the annihilation of the main forces of the Democratic Army ended in complete collapse. Despite a tenfold superiority in manpower and equipment, and their complete domination of the air, the 70 days operations yielded the enemy the bare Smolikas and Grammos Mountains. These mountains cost them 30,000 men, one third of their total forces. The Democratic Army carried out in the main the plan of the High Command. Its stubborn resistance compelled the enemy, after numerous failures on the wings, to change his plan and to regroup and concentrate his forces against the centre.

The monarcho-fascists were compelled to use up reserves drawn from the other sectors. An overwhelming numerical superiority enabled them to advance. But nowhere did they succeed in compelling a disorderly retreat of the Democratic forces. Not a single unit of the Democratic Army was annihilated or taken prisoner. Withdrawal was carried out in accordance with the plan of the High Command.

While the battle was in progress in the Pindus, the Democratic forces in Roumeli, acting according to plan, assumed the offensive in that sector. Territory taken earlier by the enemy was recaptured and the liberated area extended.

Simultaneously with this, other units of the Democratic Army which had been engaged earlier in the Smolikas sector, began offensive operations in Thessaly, where they are fighting successfully, inflicting losses on the enemy and enlarging the liberated territory. The splendid morale of the Democratic forces, and the impotence of the enemy troops who were tied down in the Pindus, have created a critical situation for the

enemy in the Peloponnese. In Epirus too, renewed offensive action by the Democratic forces is causing difficulties for the monarcho-fascists.

In the course of the operations in the Northern Pindus, the monarcho-fascist chieftains and their American bosses bragged of their successes and announced that victory was just around the corner. Sophoulis crowned these announcements with this boastful declaration that the “fighting in Greece was finished.” The wishful thinking on the part of the reactionaries bears little resemblance to reality. For the latest efforts of the enemies of the Greek people to annihilate the Democratic Army have ended in dismal failure, and the crisis of the monarcho-fascists has entered into a new and more acute phase.

Summing up the results of the Pindus battle, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Greece declared that the Democratic Army would continue to grow and would become stronger. The Political Bureau called upon the people to intensify the struggle against the monarcho-fascists and their American guardians.

The statement of the Political Bureau ended with an extract from the resolution of the 4th Plenum of the Communist Party, which said; “the end of monarcho-fascism is not far off, all that is needed is for every Greek to fulfil his duty to motherland.”

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EXCHANGE OF EXPERIENCE IN PARTY WORK. Political Agitation in Countryside, Ilia Tudose, Secretary, Tereorman District Committee, Workers' Party of Rumanian

Teleorman is a big agricultural district in the People's Republic of Rumania. As well as wheat and maze, the people also grow such valuable crops as cotton, hemp, rice and grapes. More than 6,500 hectares are covered by orchards. Cattle-breeding is widely developed.

The fertile soil and favourable climate did not greatly help our peasants in the past. Under the old regime, the land belonged to a handful of exploiters—the boyars and rich villagers who kept the peasants in bondage. Exorbitant and varied taxes made by State officials deprived the peasant of the fruits of his labour. Though he worked hard, he lived in poverty and ignorance.

After Rumania's liberation by the valiant Soviet Army and the abolition of the hated monarchy, extensive work was started in the countryside under the leadership of our Party to reorganise the economy, industry and agriculture on Socialist lines.

Remarkable changes took place. The Land Reform gave our peasants land. In the Teleorman District alone, for instance, poor peasants and agricultural labourers received 31,457 hectares of land which had been the property of 278 landlords. The distribution of land, and state help in buying draught cattle, seed and agricultural implements, greatly improved the living conditions, especially of the poor peasants and labourers. The working class, too, is greatly helping our peasantry. The workers of Bucharest and Teleorman district have given the

peasants thousands of ploughs and have repaired vast quantities of agricultural machinery.

The land reform was the first of many democratic changes which our Party initiated. At the decisive of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party, the rural organisations undertook political work among the peasants. This helped to develop the political consciousness and activity of the broad mass of the peasantry.

* * *

There are 163 rural Party organisations in our district and there is a branch in each community. Eighty-seven thousand peasant men and women of the district are members of different democratic organisations, such as the Ploughman's Front, the People's Democratic front, women's and youth organisations. The Rumanian peasant women who never went beyond the threshold of her home is now being drawn into political and public life.

The Party organisation in our district is the recognised leader of these organisations. Supported by the mass of the peasants the Party organisation in the village conducts extensive political work to mobilise the working peasantry around the slogans of our Party. They explain why it is important to fulfil the State sowing plans on time, as well as the targets for an increased yield and for grain deliveries.

The Rumanian peasant used to cultivate his small plot of land by primitive methods. Now we are working to develop an understanding of agricultural technique. The Party organisations in the villages are campaigning to increase the yield and to introduce high quality wheat, maize, rice as well as pedigree cattle. This activity is warmly supported by the working peasants.

The agents of international reaction are making all kinds of slanderous assertions decrying the achievements of democratic construction in the new democracies. For instance, the British

and American radio broadcast that the area under crops in Rumania is being curtailed and the crop yield lowered. The actual state of affairs in our district shows facts to refute these despicable provocations. In 1940, 120,000 hectares were sown to wheat. In 1948, 153,000 hectares were sown although the plan target was only 148,000. These figures demonstrate the enthusiasm of our peasants and the great organisational and political work carried out by the Party in the countryside.

The first steps toward improving technique have already given positive results. In 1947, an average of 1,200 kilograms of wheat per hectare was harvested and in 1948, 1,450 kilograms per hectare.

The democratic changes in the villages of our district are taking place under conditions of bitter class struggle. The class enemies in the person of the landlord and rich villagers are resisting fiercely. They refuse to accept the loss of their leading position in the village. Landlords and kulaks, aided by legionaries, ex-offenders of the royalist army and officials of the gendarmerie now hiding in the countryside, are carrying on subversive activities against the democratic measures of our Government. They sabotage grain deliveries to the State, incite the peasants to leave the land un-titled and circulate all manner of counter-revolutionary rumours.

Our political work, which aims to raise the class consciousness and political activity of the working section of the peasantry, is based on the class struggle. We explain to the peasants that the landlords and their hirelings are the enemies of the people, the enemies of our democratic republic, the agents of international reaction, and we are mobilising them against these enemies.

We draw our propagandists from among the agricultural labourers, the poor and middle peasants: 1,300 peasant propagandists are carrying on political work in the countryside. They are assisted by the industrial workers. For example, during the last few days, 300 propagandists from the towns came to several communities where they led political discussions.

At the time of the harvest and the grain deliveries, the District Committee of the Party sent 30 of its most politically developed functionaries to the villages.

Our members of the National Assembly are greatly aiding the District Committee in organising political work in the countryside. They frequently visit their constituencies to give political reports. Recently the District Committee invited its ten M.P.'s to attend a special conference, at which they helpfully criticised our work and discussed their plan of work in the district.

We have opened 163 libraries as well as 55 Party and 30 trade union libraries in the villages. These libraries are important centres of culture and their activities are keenly followed by the peasants. However, there is a lack of popular political literature and fiction which would be easily understood by the semi-literate peasant.

The District Party organisations fully realise that only the first steps have been taken, and only the first successes achieved. That is why they sharply criticise their shortcomings and regard criticism and self-criticism as a powerful weapon in raising the level of work in the countryside.

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Daily Guidance to Youth Organisations. Enrico Berlinguer, Leading Members, Communist Party, Italy.

The youth of Italy suffer bitterly from the yoke of capitalist exploitation, they are the victims of the reactionary policy of

the Christian Democrats and of the American meddling in the national life of the country.

Hardly any young people have entered industry in recent years. Hundreds of trade schools have been closed. Industrialists have been trying hard in recent months to get rid of additional thousands of young metal workers, textile operatives, miners, chemical workers and so on.

According to data supplied by the General Confederation of Labour, there are 2,390,000 people out of work. Of this number at least half consist of young people between the ages of 14 and 25. Malnutrition, tuberculosis and the absence of trade or profession make the lot of these young people tragic indeed.

Conditions of rural and student youth presents the same sorry picture. Unemployment is increasing among agricultural labourers. The big landowners and the kulaks are tightening their grip on the weaker and medium farmsteads, who at the same time are being plundered by the banks, speculators and Government tax gatherers. University fees have been doubled, and due to the widespread poverty and misery, the school doors are being closed to hundreds of thousands of young people. In these circumstances, disgust over the home and foreign policy of the Government is growing among the youth. Alarmed at the growth of the youth movement, the Government is trying both by means of terror and mental poisoning, to break the fighting spirit of the young people.

Immediately after the general strike, thousands of young people were thrown into jail and maltreated by the police.

Reactionaries in the Catholic Action organisation, operating under the direct guidance of the Vatican and flaunting the false slogan "social Christian faith", are agitating among the young people for a "Christian crusade against Communism", urging the youth to have nothing to do with strikes and working class demonstrations, and in general is acting as a strike-breaking organisation.

Allied with the Catholic Action in this disgusting business of deceiving the youth, is the splinter group of Saragat elements.

The “garibaldi Vanguards” movement which arose spontaneously at the beginning of the year did considerable work to unite and develop the youth organisation. In the course of a few weeks, more than 4,000 organisations of the “garibaldi Vanguards”, with a membership of over 250,000 were formed throughout the country. The Congress of this organisation in Genoa last February was a great success. The de Gasperi Government was so alarmed by this movement that it hastened to list it among the “secret military organisations” and issued a special law prohibiting the youth from wearing the red tie, the badge of the organisation.

Our young people are taking an active part in the agrarian movement, in the course of the recent agricultural labourers’ strike and in the peasant movement in Northern Italy, the peasant youth were an example of the high political consciousness and revolutionary determination.

The names of Ennio Tosarello from Rovigo and Luigi Venturini from Cremona who fell victims to the police terror, will long be remembered in the history of the class struggle of the Italian people.

The numerous student demonstrations—in a number of instances they occupied university buildings—compelled the Government to reduce tuition fees. The student movement shows that among this section of the youth—for the most part under the political influence of the reactionaries—unrest and discontent over Government policy is increasing and the fighting spirit is growing.

The young Communists are the organisers of the struggle to unite Italian youth. During the years of fascist tyranny they alone among the anti-fascist youth succeeded, in the face of heavy odds, in preserving their underground organisations. Despite brutal terror, they continued to work inside the fascist youth associations, mobilised the youth to struggle for freedom and against aggressive fascist war. Thousands of young fighters and militant youth leaders were steeled in this struggle.

After September 8, 1943, during the liberation struggle, thousands of young fighters displayed their heroism. It was then that the first united organisation of the Italian youth came into being: the Youth Front, built up by the young Communist Eugenio Curiel who died fighting the fascists in February 1945. The Youth Front was then composed of the youth organisations of all parties and all National Liberation Committees. More than 50,000 young men and women were members of the Youth Front.

After the liberation of Italy, the Youth front took an active part in the struggle of the democratic forces for peace and democracy. It was able to organise and unite under its banner new sections of young people, including many Catholics and Socialists and those who belonged to no party. The programme of the Youth front was and still is a programme of consistent struggle in defence of democratic liberties, peace and national independence, in defence of the economic, cultural and recreational needs of the youth. Today the Front unites nearly 400,000 members and has more than 2,500 clubs.

Among the democratic youth organisations mention should be made of the Young Women's Association of Italy (100,000 members), the Italian union of People's Sport (20,000), and the National Association of Technical Students (80,000).

All the democratic youth organisations are united in the Youth Alliance which coordinates their activities through the National Council.

While the democratic organisations in Italy have registered quite substantial successes, they suffer from a number of organisational and political weaknesses. They are still a long way from having won an absolute majority of the youth of Italy. One of their major shortcomings lies in their poor ideological and propaganda work. In view of the offensive now being waged on the ideological front by American imperialism and its agents inside the country, the Catholic, Saragat and neo-fascist organisations, the democratic youth must reinforce their

propaganda work, they must prevent the youth from being doped by American imperialism.

The successful carrying out of the tasks now confronting the democratic youth of Italy depends on the correct leadership given the movement by the valiant Communist Party of Italy. The Communist Party has done much in recent years to consolidate the youth ranks. Four hundred thousand young men and women are today members of the Communist Party of Italy. Youth committees have been formed in all sections of the Party.

At the Florence Party Conference held in January 1947, a decision was taken to set up special youth sections in all local organisations of the Party. At the moment we have some 4,000 youth sections. Theirs is the job of leading the mass work of the Communist youth in the trade unions, cultural and sports organisations of the youth and of training their members in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

In preparation for the Second national Congress, which takes place in November, the democratic youth organisations are redoubling their efforts in the struggle for the interests of the youth, in the struggle for the freedom, peace and the independence of their country.

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Tito's Agents Driven from Trieste Communist Party. Viltorio Vidalli. Member, Executive Committee, Communist Party, Free Territory of Trieste

For a number of years, Tito's men, carrying out his national policy, operated in the leadership of the Communist Party of the Free Territory of Trieste. The information Bureau resolution on the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia made all honest Communists, all genuine fighters for democracy aware of the state of affairs in our Party.

It helped the healthy elements to free the Party apparatus of the bureaucratic, nationalist clique associated with Tito, the clique which had caused much harm to the Party and which pursued a policy of abolishing the militant anti-fascist Marxist party in Trieste.

After the Resolution had been published, Trieste Communists demanded that a Special Congress of the Party should be called. This Congress, held at the end of August, denounced the traitors to Marxism-Leninism in the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party, expelled their henchmen from the leading bodies of our Party, brought to light serious shortcomings in the Party policy and mistakes committed by the former leadership of the Central Committee. It outlined the main tasks of the Party in the future.

The Congress was preceded by a bitter political struggle. Tito's and Kardelj's agents in our Party—Babic and Jursic—had set up a regime which had nothing in common with the ideological and organisational principles of a Marxist-Leninist Party. In our Party organisations they cultivated the Turkish methods of the Yugoslav leaders, suppressing inner-Party democracy, the rights of our Party members and all criticism.

For a number of years any disagreements with the directives of the Babic-Jursic group were qualified as "slander", as intrigues by the agents of "Anglo-Saxon imperialism", as expressions of "factionalism", and so on. On the orders of the Slovenian Rankovic, Boris Kreiger, nationalist Minister of Police in Lubljana, honest Communists who differed from Tito's policy, were brutally prosecuted.

The Babic-Jursic group tried to cloak the Information Bureau Resolution with silence and prevent it being discussed in the Party. At a Party meeting, Babic proposed that a neutral position should be taken, declaring that "in view of the fact that the Communist Party of the Free territory of Trieste is not a member of the Information Bureau, there was no need to take a definite position." Later, after contacting Tito and Kardelj, this group of traitors and double-dealers manoeuvred anew. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Party, Tito's agents announced that they agreed with the Information Bureau Resolution, but asked that it should be kept a secret and "discussed" only among "real" Communists and in an "organised" fashion.

The majority of the Executive Committee rejected this swindle. Tito's agents were denounced as double-dealers. The majority of the Executive Committee expressed its complete agreement with the Resolution of the Information Bureau. They decided to rally all Trieste Communists in defence of proletarian internationalism, to purge the Party of petty-bourgeois nationalists and to develop far-reaching criticism and self-criticism in the Party.

The struggle for the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party took place under difficulties. Tito's men resorted to the foulest methods in order to seize the Party leadership, to paralyse the Party apparatus and to intimidate the healthy elements in the Party.

In "A" zone (the city zone occupied by Anglo-American troops) and in "B" zone (the rural maritime zone, occupied by Yugoslav troops), the overwhelming majority of Party members immediately announced their agreement with the Information Bureau resolution. Also the anti-fascist mass organisations of the working people (women's, youth and trade union organisations), supported the Resolution. Communists and Young Communists in the factories and ship-building yards took over the Party premises and drove out Tito's treacherous agents.

Then the followers of the Tito clique started to use the methods cultivated by their chiefs in Belgrade. They fanned national hatred and circulated the foulest slanders. Tito's agents declared that "those who support the Information Bureau, support the return of Trieste to Italy and are against the Slovenes."

The renegades raised the slogan of a new party, "a party for Slovenes". They mailed letters from Yugoslavia calling upon the Slovenes "not to betray their native land". This vicious nationalist campaign only met with fiasco in working-class districts and was spurned in the rural areas of Slovenia. Former partisans who had taken part in Yugoslavia's liberation struggle

sharply denounced the Tito adventurers, as was done at our congress by the mother who had lost her four partisan sons.

Tito's agents resorted to terror and intimidation to undermine the weak and achieve their aim. In the "B" zone, occupied by Yugoslav troops, they organised mass terror raids. May comrades who supported the Information Bureau Resolution were beaten up, dismissed from work and arrested. Others were forced to leave this zone, although in the Anglo-American zone the police were searching for them as anti-fascists. Rankovic's agents handed over these honest champions of democracy to the Anglo-American intelligence service.

At meetings organised by Yugoslav police, in wall newspapers and posters got out by Tito agents—Communists and other antifascists were declared enemies of the people who must be destroyed. It was only because the workers declared they would call a general strike that this persecution of democrats by Rankovic's hirelings did not assume more brutal forms.

Notwithstanding the threats and mass dismissals of workers, notwithstanding the ban on all political and cultural activities in "B" zone, the majority of the Communists in this zone remained true to the banner of proletarian internationalism. Electing their delegates to the Special Congress of the Party they demanded that these delegates should staunchly defend the Marxist-Leninist position of the Information Bureau.

In "A" zone and in Trieste at that time there were attempted assassinations of Italian and Slovene Party functionaries.

Here Tito's puppets tried to use as "propagandists" Slovenes—civil servants in the Yugoslav State institutions. Students of the so-called "school for cadres" were used for subversive work. This school had been secretly established by Babic and Juric under the leadership of Sedmak and Srechko who had been expelled from the Party as Trotskyites and who were linked up with the British Intelligence Service.

Distorting the real state of affairs, these traitors tried to present the matter as if "the reason for the conflict is the existence of

two and more Socialist states, at a time when principles regulating their relations have, as yet, not been elaborated."

Babic and Jursic tried to depose functionaries of the Party apparatus who had remained true to Marxism-Leninism. But these party workers refused to give in. They courageously defended the Party and preserved the Party publications which successfully exposed the traitors, and in spite of being banned and in spite of terror, were distributed in "B" zone and even in Yugoslavia.

The Anglo-American authorities aided the subversive activities of Rankovic's agents which aimed at destroying the vanguard of the heroic Trieste working class, the Communist Party. But the hopes of the imperialists were in vain. The Special Congress of the Communist party of the free Territory of Trieste summarised the results of the two months' bitter struggle waged by the healthy elements of the party for Marxism-Leninism, for proletarian internationalism and against the agents of Tito. Babic and Jursic were driven out of the Committee and out of the Party.

The Special Congress of our Party was the first resolute step to overcome the disastrous consequences of the policy of the old leadership. In the keen discussion at the Congress, questions of inner-party life, of improved Party contact with the mass organisations of the working people, of the ideological education of Party members and of intensified political vigilance were discussed in a democratic spirit. The Congress elected a new Executive Committee and Central Control Commission.

Difficult tasks face the Communists of Trieste today. World reaction is endeavouring to use the "Trieste question" for its imperialist ends. With the aid of governors, spies, police, military forces, warships, armoured cars, and with the active assistance of nationalists of all shades, reaction wants to destroy the democratic organisations of Trieste and our Party.

The task of Trieste Communists is to firmly repulse the offensive of reaction and mobilise the working-class forces of

Trieste in the struggle for democratic liberties. The Communist Party of Trieste will steadfastly fight for the fulfilment of the clear and concrete programme outlined by the Party Congress. It will strengthen the unity of all democratic forces, will resolutely defend the interests of national industry against the expansion of the Marshall men. It will fight for the letter and spirit of the Peace Treaty; it will fight to strengthen its influence in the democratic movement, in the local administrative organs and end all traces of political adventurism inherited from the old leadership.

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People of France Struggle for bread and freedom, Peace and National Independence.

P. Hentgés

During the past six weeks, three French Governments fell, one after another. Irrespective of what gave rise to the differences within the Government majority, one thing is clear, namely, the main reason why Schuman, Marie, Reynaud, Blum, Meyer and Moch were unable to remain at the helm, is the growing discontent of the French people and especially the widespread strike movement.

Since Spring 1947, the persistent and vigorous struggle of the French working class has assumed greater dimensions and an ever-increasing political significance.

The strikes of metal workers and railwaymen in May and June of last year, the great strikes of last November, the 24-hour general strike which took place on June 19th, in solidarity with the strikers at Clermont-Ferrand who were defending themselves against Moch's police, and finally the wave of anger which swept France and brought the working people against the emergency powers granted to Reynaud—all these were stages in the struggle, in the course of which the forces of the working-class, marching at the head of all the democratic forces, grew, gained strength, matured and, rebuffed the criminal attempts to split their ranks, maintained and consolidated the unity of their organisations.

In this struggle special significance is attached to the fact that, accordingly as the struggle developed, the French people saw for themselves that each successive Government acted against the vital interests of the working people, and that the policy pursued by them corresponded to the strivings of the American magnates toward expansion and war.

Way back in May 1946, Blum, by signing the French-American financial agreement with Byrnes, paved the way for the vassaldom of France. But never before have the fawning rulers

of France bowed so slavishly to the Americans as in recent months. The Brussels military pack means the armies of Western Europe are the advanced guard of the United States army. The recommendations of the London Conference on the question of Germany put the seal on American domination over the Ruhr industrial-strategic base.

The high-light of this policy was the bilateral agreement signed by Bidault on June 28, which tightened the shackles on France and the French Union, by virtue of the French Government's acquiescence with the "aims and principles" of foreign legislation, the so-called "economic cooperation" law ratified on April 2 by the United States Congress.

After Schuman and Meyer, Blum and Reynaud entertained hopes of overcoming the resistance of the people to the agreement and tried to carry it out. In fact, the Reynaud-Blum plan both in the matter of the budget and the measures against the nationalised enterprises (which provided for them being leased on hire before turning them over to private enterprise) in the regulation of imports and exports and in devaluing the franc, emanated from, or rather was formulated, in the bilateral agreement.

Schuman, Meyer, Blum, Reynaud, all tried to place the burden of this treacherous policy on the shoulders of the working people and, above all, on the working class.

In the process of the struggle of the working class for their rights, for freedom and national independence, they were joined by the civil servants whose salaries had been reduced or who had been dismissed in violation of the rules governing civil servants, and also by the peasants suffering from the emergency tax introduced by Meyer. It must not be forgotten that the peasants are also threatened by American competition. The influence of the working class increased among the handicraft trades at whose expense Reynaud planned to extract, via taxation, a supplementary 85 billion francs; working class influence grew among the small traders many of whom are facing ruin, as can be seen from the growing number of

bankruptcies—there were 206 bankruptcies in July compared with 196 in June.

Organising the working class in defence of their interests, the Communists headed the broad movement for unity of the democratic forces. This united action by the masses hampered the traitors of the Johaux breed who tried hard to split the ranks of the working people.

The General Confederation of Labour demanded wage increases corresponding to the rising cost of living on the basis of the subsistence minimum and automatic revision of wages to meet any new increase in prices. On the basis of the C.G.T. estimates, the subsistence minimum was fixed at 13,500 francs. The Christian trade unions, the Force Ouvrière splitters and the National Confederation of Cadres, pressed by their members, estimated the minimum at 13,405 francs. In this way, the wage demands of all the unions coincided—to be more precise, they corresponded—to the demands put forward by the C.G.T. many months ago. Long before the leaders of the reformist and Christian trade unions found themselves compelled to change their attitude, the working people themselves had realised unity in action.

In the factories, decisions concerning strike action and resolutions demanding a Government of Democratic Unity are more and more being adopted jointly by representatives of the C.G.T., Force Ouvrière, Confederation of Christian Workers.

In their struggle, the Communists correctly express the discontent of the working masses and their longing for peace. The French people are made to bear the heavy burden of a 545 billion francs military budget. They are protecting bitterly at the extension of the period of military service and over the long drawn-out, criminal war in Indo-China. They are determined to preserve the glorious traditions now threatened by clerical reaction.

By raising the political consciousness and militancy of the working class, the Communist Party is not only placing obstacles in the way of realising the policy of capitalist reaction

and its allies, the Right Socialists, but is at the same time erecting an insurmountable barrier to the attempts to establish a fascist regime under De Gaulle who, after Reynaud-Blum, is endeavouring to play the role of American gauleiter.

During the Governmental crisis, the Communist Party publicised its programme for national salvation. The chief planks in this programme are the modernisation of industry and agriculture, restoration of normal trade relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, reduction in military expenditure, a democratic tax system, and cuts in profits.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the programme contains the demand for denunciation of treaties which bind France to the foreign policy of the imperialist camp. In home policy the programme calls for defence of the laws of the Republic and constitutional liberties.

This programme has met with a wide response among the masses of the people, fighting against the reactionary governments. Last November, the Socialist leaders were alleging that the French Communists had lost their influence among the working class. But their capacity for self-deception is as great as their treachery. The influence of the French Communist Party, far from decreasing, has grown in the same way that the confidence placed in it by the people of France and the esteem in which they hold it, have grown.

Precisely because of this, our Party, conscious of its strength, has declared that it is ready to take the place due to it by right, in a government of democratic unity, in order to carry out the policy that is needed for the economic and financial rehabilitation of the country, in order to secure increased purchasing power for the working class and the working masses as a whole, in order to safeguard national independence, preserve the Republic and to build a firm and just peace.

Measures to Improve Czechoslovak Party Journal

In "Party Worker", issue No. 17 (journal of the central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia), the article about the journal in "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!" is reprinted. In its editorial the journal acknowledges the criticism of its shortcomings as justified and correct.

Acting on the suggestions of the Organisation department of the Central Committee and the comradely criticism made by the Information Bureau organ, the Editorial Board has drawn up rules for future work. The journal will now deal with the theoretical problems of Socialist construction, will link these up with the practical tasks of Party work and will generalise the experience of Party work. At the same time, "Party Worker" will not lose sight of the practical and instructive nature of its articles.

The Editorial Board likewise sets itself a number of concrete tasks, such as carrying information about the work of other

Communist Parties, especially the Parties in the new democracies, and settings the country's internal problems in the perspective of the international situation. The Editorial Board pledges itself to encourage criticism and self-criticism, using it as an essential weapon for building the Party and the State, to keep close contact with the Party organisations, to study concrete problems of Party and State life, to generalise and popularise the positive experience gained by Party organisations in their work.

In conclusion, the Editorial Board calls upon its readers to seriously consider the comradely advice offered by "For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy!", for this will help to overcome the shortcomings of "Party Worker," and help the editorial Board to raise the level of the journal. (*page 6*)

Third Anniversary of Liberation of Korea. P. Krainich

The people of Korea celebrated the third anniversary of their liberation from the Japanese colonial yoke on August 15. These past three years have greatly affected the destiny of the people of Korea.

The liberation of the North by the Soviet Army genuinely emancipated the people from imperialist domination. A democratic system was set up, progressive reforms were introduced and today the country's economy and national culture are flourishing.

A great deal has been done in the North Korea to overcome the disastrous consequences of Japanese domination in all spheres of life. Factories, mines, railways, shipping, communications, trade and cultural institutions, banks and financial organisations, all of which formerly belonged to the Japanese or to Korean quislings, have now been nationalised.

New labour legislation has introduced an eight hour working day. Child labour, widely employed by Japanese industrialists,

has been abolished. Social insurance and labour safety precautions have been introduced. A monetary reform was carried out at the end of last year to stabilise the budget, the economy and general living conditions of the working people. More than one million hectares of land formerly belonging to the Japanese, Korean landlords, kulaks, monasteries and local quislings were confiscated by the land reform. Land was given to 725,000 households of agricultural labourers and landless peasants which are 72 per cent of all the households in North Korea.

Thus, poverty and exploitation are now a thing of the past in the northern zone. Agricultural production has considerably increased as a result of the land reform.

Korean Communists who had worked underground or who had returned from emigration led the struggle for these changes in the country. They rallied round them other mass organisations and initiated the formation of the United Democratic National Front, which is composed of all the political parties and public organisations in North Korea.

The Communist Party, which united with the New People's Party to form the Workers' Party, was the vanguard of the Korean working people, reflecting their interests and energetically championing the creation of an independent democratic Korean state.

The Second Congress of the Workers' Party, held last spring, called on its members to consolidate the democratic gains in North Korea, to uphold the proposal of the Soviet Union for a simultaneous withdrawal of foreign troops from both zones of Korea and to give the Korean people an opportunity to settle for themselves the question of establishing an all-Korean democratic government.

The successes of democratic construction in North Korea were possible because of the disinterested and friendly aid of the Soviet Union.

What have the American authorities, who occupy South Korea, brought to the people there?

They have brought ruin, poverty and slavery. Instead of Japanese enslavers, the people of South Korea have American enslavers. Practically the same order exists there as was under the Japanese. When the American occupation authorities came to South Korea they worked with the Korean reactionaries and collaborators and created intolerable conditions for the progressive parties and organisations.

The American military administration announced that the system of land ownership would remain unchanged—that is, the land would stay in the hands of the landlords. Unlike the Soviet Command in the North, the American authorities refused to give to the people the industry, banks and communications that had formerly belonged to the Japanese. The Americans, if anything, regard these things as their booty to dispose of as they think best. They have sold some of the plants and mines to Korean capitalists.

Leaning on Korean reactionaries, the American occupation authorities are doing more than attempting to plant a regime of terror and violence in the South: they are also pursuing their imperialist aim of turning Korea onto a colony and into a strategic military base in the Far East.

The mercenary and unilateral activity of the United States was glaringly exposed during the General Election last May. The object of the Americans was to create the outward impression of democracy, whereas in fact they worked to put in power their own imperialist agents, to extend their influence to the northern zone at the first opportunity and to impose the will of Wall street on the Korean people.

By forcing the Korean people to hold separate elections, the United States grossly violated its international obligations undertaken at the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers in December 1945. By bribery, falsified votes and bridled terror, there were “elected” to Parliament out and out reactionaries headed by Li Sin Man (Syngham Rhee) who spent many years in the U.S. in the service of Wall Street tycoons.

With the help of his patrons, this ringleader of Korean reaction has been made "president" of the South Korean Parliament and hopes to extend his power to North Korea. On American instigation, the South Korean reactionaries claim that since "refugees from the North took part" in the election, the "National Assembly formed in the South is the body of authority for the whole country."

After the phoney election, the American authorities set up the so-called Korean National Government of its puppets, the Korean reactionaries.

The American capitalists are losing no time in getting control over South Korea's economy. The U.S. is forming army units, re-inforcing existing naval and air bases and building new ones. A South Korean police force of 60,000 has been formed and armed with the help of the Americans. This force is used to suppress the democratic movement.

The South Korean reactionaries and American occupation authorities centre their attacks against the Workers' Party of South Korea, the organiser and leader of the Democratic National Front in the South, the organiser of the masses in the struggle against foreign bondage. The prestige of this party can be seen from the fact that its membership exceeds one million (according to the figures of the Korean newspaper "Sege Ilbo", October 9, 1947) and that of the Democratic National front nearly five million.

The American plans to enslave Korea and to turn her into a Wall Street appendage is being countered by vigorous resistance from the Korean people. This resistance is taking the form of demonstrations, strikes and sabotage against the anti-democratic measures of the American authorities and their henchmen. Neither mass arrests nor brutal repression can stifle the people's demand for the unity, freedom and democracy of their country.

The progressive forces of the Korean people opposed the anti-democratic measures of the U.S. A conference of leaders of the of the country's political parties and public organisations was

held in Pyongyang from June 29 to July 6. which called for Korea's unification.

The resolution noted that the separate election for the so-called "National Assembly", organised by the American authorities with the aid of traitors such as Li Sin Man and Kim Son Su were boycotted by the absolute majority of the Korean people, which showed that they considered the election unlawful.

As shown by its composition, this Assembly does not represent the broad mass of the people, says the resolution. There is not a single progressive among the deputies who is willing to fight for the country's unity and independence. There is not a single worker or peasant. But there are 84 landlords, 32 capitalists, 23 pro-Japanese officials and leaders of the most reactionary parties in the Right camp.

The conference of leaders of the parties and public organisations of both zones resolved to elect a Supreme People's Assembly of Korea and to establish a single Korean Government composed of representatives of North and South Korea.

The conference called on the people to fight for Korea's unity and for an independent democratic Korean state.

The election for the Supreme People's Assembly held on August 25, coincided with the third anniversary of the liberation of Korea.

In North Korea the election was yet another demonstration of the political unity and consolidation of the people in the struggle to unite Korea and build a united independent democratic Korean State.

Five hundred and seventy-two deputies were elected to the Supreme People's Assembly, 99.97 per cent of the electorate of North Korea took part in the elections and 77.48 per cent of the electorate of South Korea. The Supreme People's Assembly of Korea is the genuine people's legislative organ of power in Korea. An All-Korea People's Government has been formed.

On the third anniversary of Korea's liberation, meetings were held throughout the country which stressed the Soviet Army's

role in liberating Korea and the disintegrated and friendly aid given by the Soviet union to the people of Korea. All these meetings insistently demanded the acceptance of the Soviet proposal for the withdrawal of foreign troops so that the Korean people could have the opportunity of settling their own internal affairs.

The feelings of the people of South Korea are expressed in the telegram of greeting sent by the representatives of the political parties and public organisations of South Korea to Comrade Stalin on the occasion of the third anniversary of the country's liberation by the Soviet Army from the Japanese colonial yoke. The telegram reads:—"Despite the savage terror and persecution by Korean reaction and the American authorities, the people of South Korea, together with the people of free, democratic North Korea, are stubbornly battling for the unity and independence of their native land. The Korean people have the sympathy and support of the great Soviet Union and the new democracies in this struggle. Our people hope that also in the future the great Soviet Union will uphold our national sovereign rights and support us in building up a united independent democratic state without foreign interference."

These words show most strikingly the attitude of the Korean people to fight for genuine national independence and against the American imperialists and their agents among the Korean reactionaries.

EDITORIAL BOARD

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