

Workers of all lands, unite!

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

**Bucharest. Organ of the Information
Bureau of the Communist and Workers'
Parties**



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POWERFUL IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Ten years ago; on October 1, 1938, Comrade Stalin's "Short Course of the History of the CPSU (B)" was first published.

The appearance of this great work of creative Marxism was not only of outstanding significance to the Communists and working people of the Soviet Union. It was also of great world historic importance. It was an important event in the ideological life of the Marxist parties to whom it became a new, powerful ideological weapon of Bolshevism, an encyclopaedia and treasure house of fundamental Marxist-Leninist knowledge.

On the example of, and in organic contact with the heroic history of the Bolshevik Party, this book adds to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory in the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat, to the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the epoch of the victory of Socialism on one-sixth of the earth.

This classic by Comrade Stalin was a new step forward in the development of scientific Communism.

The inestimable value of this book is that the great historical experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), unparalleled by any other party in the world, is expounded and scientifically generalised with Stalinist profundity. The look generalises, the experience of the International working-class movement, the political, economic and theoretical forms of the class struggle of the proletariat.

The "Short History of the CPSU (B)" has gained an unprecedented circulation in all countries of the world. It has become the reference book of all champions of democracy, the

reliable guide of the Communist and Workers' Parties in their struggle against the forces of reaction and imperialism. Comrade Stalin's book is of particular importance to the Marxist parties of the new democracies, equipping them with the experience of victorious socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.

What is the explanation of the great attractive force of Stalin's work? What does the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) teach us?

The "Short History of the CPSU (B)" acquaints us with the Marxist party of a new type, with its ideological, organisational, tactical and theoretical principles. The experience of the CPSU (B) teaches us that the victory of the working class in any country is impossible without a Marxist-Leninist party. The epoch of imperialism—the period of open class battles, mass social conflicts and collisions, the period of direct preparation by the proletariat and its allies for the overthrow of imperialist domination and for the conquest of power by the working-class—calls for a party of a new type, for a bold, militant and revolutionary party that has completely mastered the laws of social development and is capable of leading the working class and the working people into the struggle and to victory.

The history of the CPSU (B) shows that the forces of the Bolshevik Party were tempered in the irreconcilable and fundamental struggle against the petty-bourgeois parties, in struggle for the purity of its ranks against all kinds of opportunists, double-dealers, capitulators, and the enemies of the people—the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, national-deviators and other anti-Leninist groups.

Without this it would have been impossible for the CPSU (B) to preserve the organisational and ideological unity and discipline of its ranks; it would have been impossible for it to carry out its role as inspirer, organiser and leader of the

working masses in the struggle for power and in building a socialist society.

A study of the history of the CPSU (B), of its struggle against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the enemies of the working people, helps to master Bolshevism. It heightens the political vigilance of the Communist and Workers' Parties, equips them with the knowledge of the laws of social development and political struggle and strengthens confidence in the victory of Communism throughout the world.

The "Short History of the CPSU(B)" teaches the Communist and Workers' Parties to be self-critical in their activities, not to be heedless and complacent with success, to expose boldly and resolutely mistakes and shortcomings in their work and to overcome them.

The CPSU(B) has always been strong in its indissoluble ties with the masses, its readiness not only to teach the masses, but to learn from them.

The history of the Soviet Communist Party teaches that a Marxist party can carry out the role of leader of the working class and all working people only if it masters the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

In Chapter Four of the "Short Course"—"Dialectical and Historical Materialism"—Comrade Stalin concisely and brilliantly expounds the foundations of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, of all that Marx, Engels and Lenin have contributed to the doctrine of the dialectical method and materialist theory. He generalises the vast practical and theoretical experience of Bolshevism, substantiates the doctrine of dialectical and historical materialism on the basis of the latest data on science and revolutionary practice. Stalin's work "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" raises dialectical materialism to new levels and is truly a masterpiece of Marxist-Leninist philosophical thought.

Developing the thesis of dialectical materialism on the

contradictory development of the phenomena of nature and society, Comrade Stalin shows that the class struggle of the proletariat is a perfectly natural and inevitable phenomenon, that we must not cover up the contradictions of capitalism; but disclose them, must not check the class struggle but must carry it to its conclusion.

This remarkable thought of Comrade Stalin is aimed at all traitors to the cause of Marxism-Leninism, at the opportunist theory about the dying out of the class struggle during the transition from capitalism to Socialism, at the reactionary Bukharinite theory about the peaceful development of capitalism into Socialism.

Lenin and Stalin proved theoretically and through practice that the alliance of the working class and peasantry under the hegemony of the proletariat was Invincible. This alliance secured the complete defeat of all the enemies of the Soviet State and the historical successes of socialist construction in the USSR.

Comrade Stalin created a complete and integral doctrine about the Socialist State. He equipped the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people ideologically for the task of strengthening the Soviet State, which facilitated the building of Communism and which is a mighty bulwark of democracy, peace and security throughout the world.

After the appearance of the "Short History of the CPSU (B) Comrade Stalin continued to develop Marxism-Leninism, the strategy and tactics of the class struggle, the theory and practice of socialist construction. Inspired by the great ideas of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, the Soviet people bore the main brunt of World War Two. They played the decisive role in smashing the German fascist invaders, delivered the freedom-loving peoples ham enslavement and from the threat of Hitler enslavement, and are today successfully building the majestic edifice of Communism.

The appearance of Comrade Stalin's brilliant book helped to raise the ideological level of the Communist and Workers' parties, to bring about the Marxist-Leninist tempering and theoretical maturity of Party cadres. It is helping the Marxist parties to master Bolshevism, equips Party members with a knowledge of the laws of social development and the class struggle, raises their political vigilance.

The Tito clique, who have betrayed Marxism-Leninism, denying the significance of the experience of the USSR and the CPSU (B) for Yugoslavia, have slipped into the position of bourgeois nationalism and have become a gang of political assassins and adventurers. The Tito faction—like its forerunners in the betrayal of Communism, the Trotskyites—belittle the international significance of Leninism, regarding it as purely a Russian product. Comrade Stalin exposed similar anti-Party views many years ago. Replying to views hostile to Leninism, Stalin wrote: "Is not Leninism a generalisation of the experience of the revolutionary movement of all countries? Are not the foundations of the theory and tactics of Leninism suitable and obligatory for the proletarian parties of all countries? Was not Lenin right when he said that "Bolshevism, serves as an example of tactics for everybody"?"

Disregard of the heroic experience of the CPSU, of the Soviet Union, causes great harm to the international working-class movement. The September Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party noted that the former General Secretary of the Party, Comrade Gomulka and his supporters displayed little interest in educating the members of the Party in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist theory. Study of the history of the CPSU (B), was poorly conducted in the Polish Workers' Party. It is not accidental that these comrades made a Right and nationalist deviation that they attempted to revise the Marxist-Leninist theory regarding the socialist revolution.

The tenth anniversary of the appearance of Comrade

Stalin's book coincides with another outstanding date—the first anniversary of the conference of the Information Bureau in Poland. At this conference in September 1947, several Communist parties, taking into account the negative sides of the absence of contact between those parties represented at the conference, and for the purpose of mutual exchange of experience and coordination of their activities (on the basis of mutual agreement), decided to set up the Information Bureau.

The activity of the Information Bureau its famous Declaration on the international situation and the Resolution of the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have played a tremendous role in strengthening the Communist Parties ideologically and organisationally and in exposing the bourgeois-nationalist elements, the Right opportunists and traitors to Marxism-Leninism. The Communist and Workers' parties, rallying the forces of the working class and all working people, are ever more- resolutely and successfully waging a struggle against internal reaction and American imperialism, defending the honour and national independence of their countries.

There is a direct connection between the profound analysis of the contemporary international situation given in the decisions of the Polish Conference of the Information Bureau and the estimation of the international situation given by Comrade Stalin in 1938.

The "Short History of the CPSU (B)" contains an analysis, given with Stalin's brilliant foresight, of the international situation in the period preceding the war, an analysis which was confirmed by the entire course of subsequent events and which to this day retains its significance.

The book exposes the anti-popular activity of the fascist aggressors who prepared and unleashed World War Two and the policy of appeasing the aggressors, pursued by the Anglo-French-American imperialists, most damningly demonstrated

by the Munich agreement. Fearing the growing working-class movement in Europe and the national-liberation movement in Asia, the British, French and American imperialists reckoned that fascism was an “excellent antidote” to all these movements and wanted to direct the aggression of German fascism eastward, against the Soviet Union.

And in the Western zones today, are not the imperialists of the United States and Britain reviving German imperialism, which had been reduced to dust? Western Germany, so jealously guarded by the American and British imperialists from denazification and demilitarisation, is needed by them as a bulwark against the democratic movement in Europe, against the opposition of the peoples of Europe to the expansionist “Marshall Plan”.

The “Short History of the CPSU (B)” equips the Marxist parties and all supporters of democracy and peace with a sharp weapon to combat the ideology of imperialism, to combat decadent bourgeois culture. Guided by the experience of the Bolshevik Party, by the practice and militant traditions of their own parties, the Communists of all countries will continue to advance at the head of the forces of democracy and progress. They will be victorious throughout the world under the militant banner of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

WORKER'S PARTY OF BULGARIA TO HOLD CONGRESS

A Congress of the Workers' Party of Bulgaria (Communists) will open on October 31.

The Congress Agenda contains the following items:

1. Report of the Central Committee and tasks of the Party;
2. Report of Central Control Commission;
3. The Five Year Plan for the national economy;
4. Marxist-Leninist education and the struggle on the ideological front.
5. Discussion of proposals for the Party programme;
6. Changes in Party rules;
7. Election of new Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

**WORKING PEOPLE OF ALL LANDS STUDY
J. V. STALIN'S BOOK**



During the past ten years, Comrade Stalin's work, the "Short History of the CPSU (B)" has become the most widely circulated and the most popular book in the world.

On the rich experience of the struggle waged by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for Socialism, brilliantly generalised by Comrade Stalin, there are being trained and tempered millions of fighters for the cause of the proletariat throughout the world.

Comrade Stalin's classical work is a real encyclopaedias of revolutionary knowledge for the members of the Communist and Workers' Parties, for all genuine fighters for freedom and progress.

SOVIET UNION

In the USSR during the past ten years, over 200 editions of the "History" in 62 languages have been issued. Altogether 34 million copies of the book have been printed.

The Soviet press, featuring the tenth anniversary of the first edition of the book, is devoting numerous articles to its enormous role in the matter of educating the Party cadres and the Soviet people as a whole, and to its exclusive significance for the Soviet people who are building a Communist society.

FRANCE

During the 12 months between the publication of the "History", and September 1939, that is prior to the French Communist Party being driven underground, 300,000 copies of the book were sold in France.

Continuing the theoretical training of the membership, the leadership of the Party was able, despite illegality and repression, to secure the publication of the "History". After the

liberation, two editions were issued in 24,000 copies.

RUMANIA

The first (1945) Rumanian edition of the “Short History” which was issued in 12,000 copies was quickly sold but. So great was the demand for the book that a second edition of nearly 300,000 copies appeared last May.

A further 800,000 copies are due to come off the press in the next few days. This means that more than one million copies of this book will be at the disposal of the people of Rumania.

The “History of the CPSU(B)” plays a great role in educating the members of the Rumanian Workers’ Party. Over 40,000 members are engaged in an organised study of the book. It is the main text-book used for individual study in all the Party districts.

GREAT BRITAIN

A total of 123,000 copies of the “History of the CPSU (B)” were put on sale in Britain. Chapter Four, which is devoted to dialectical and historical materialism, was issued as a separate booklet in 27,000 copies. Ten thousand copies of a guide to the study of the “History” were printed by the British Communist Party.

BULGARIA

Until September 9, 1944, only illegal copies of the

“History of the CPSU (B)” were available in Bulgaria. So great was the demand for this work of Stalin that copies were passed round from hand to hand. The first post-war edition of 75,000 copies was quickly sold out. A fourth edition (20,000 copies) is due off the press shortly. In addition to those studying the book in Party courses and schools, 20,000 Communists are studying it in Party circles. Apart from this many comrades are making individual studies.

The chapter, “Dialectical and Historical Materialism” is being studied in all higher educational institutions and universities in the country.

ITALY

Until 1944, only illegal copies of the “Short History of the CPSU (B)” could be had in Italy. During the past three years, various editions totalling 250,000 copies have been issued.

A special place in the programmes of all Central Party Schools is devoted to a study of the “History of the CPSU (B).”

It is one of the main text-books used throughout the entire educational network of the Italian Party.

HUNGARY

Four editions of the “Short History of the CPSU(B)” have been published in Hungary since the end of the war. A total of 90,000 copies has been put on sale during the past three years.

POLAND

The first series (100,000 copies) of the fourth Polish edition of the “Short History” is now being printed. Following the September Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers’ Party, a special place in the curriculum of Party schools was given to the study of the “History”. The number of study circles and lectures devoted to the study of the Bolshevik Party has also been increased.

Special attention is being devoted to the experience of building Socialism in the countryside.

HOLLAND

Two editions of the “Short History of the CPSU (B), in a total of 30,000 copies, have been issued in Holland. The “History” is studied in the National Party School and in study circles throughout the Party.

BELGIUM

During the three years since the end of the war, 25,000 copies of the “History of the CPSU (B)” have been circulated in Belgium. It is the subject of careful, study in all Party groups and figures to the curricula of all Party schools from the National School downward.

AUSTRIA

The first post-war edition, (26,800 copies) issued in

Austria of Comrade Stalin's book was quickly sold out. A second edition (10,000) is now in course of preparation.

The study of the "History" is part of the curriculum in the central and district schools of the Party. Special courses for a deeper study at the book are also held.

CLASSICAL CREATION OF SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM. P. Yudin

Comrade Stalin's work, the "Short Course of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)" is an outstanding product of revolutionary Marxism, a classic of scientific Communism.

Its publication was an event of world significance. Scientific Communism was enriched with a new, classical production which became a powerful theoretical weapon of the international Communist movement.

International Significance of the "Short Course of the History of the History of the CPSU (B)

The scientific significance of the "Short Course of the History of the CPSU (B)" and its role in the international Communist movement are defined by the nature of events brilliantly generalised by Comrade Stalin.

Russia at the end of the 19th Century had become the centre and local point of all the contradictions of imperialism. The interests of international capital coalesced in Russia, and Tsarism was the faithful ally of western imperialism.

The significance of the struggle of the Russian working class extended far beyond the national boundaries of Russia.

At the beginning of the 20th Century the revolutionary movement began to shift to Russia. Lenin, in his work, "*What Is To Be Done*", written in 1902, pointed out that Russia was confronted with the most revolutionary of all revolutionary tasks confronting the proletariat of any country—the destruction of the most powerful bulwark of European and Asiatic reaction, Russian Tsarism—and the solution of this task

would place the Russian proletariat in the vanguard of the International proletariat.

After the death of Marx and Engels, and by the time the Bolshevik Party entered the arena of political struggle, the workers' parties in the countries of Western Europe had become corroded with opportunism. Indeed, the Second International, headed by Kautsky, Vanderveld, Adler and others, had taken the path of revisionism and opportunism in the workers' movement.

The great revolutionary theory of Marxism began to be replaced by fragments of theory, and by contradictory theoretical postulates. It was in the process of being transformed into a threadbare dogma, divorced from the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

Confronted with a new period of imperialist wars and revolutionary upheavals, the Social Democratic parties of the West and the leaders of the Second International proved incapable of rising to the situation.

The Bolshevik Party, headed by Lenin and Stalin, alone among the parties in the international workers' movement, remained faithful to the revolutionary doctrine of Marx and Engels.

Lenin and Stalin headed the struggle against opportunism and not only in Russia, but on all international scale. To them belongs the honour of ridding Marxism of the opportunist dross of the Second International and of carrying forward the revolutionary banner of Marxism.

Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the working class of Russia fought (between 1905 and 1917) in three revolutions, the last of which, the Great October Socialist Revolution, ended in complete victory and in the creation in Russia of a workers' and peasants' state, in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin's brilliant prediction was realised. The Russian

proletariat became the vanguard of the international working class. After the victorious conclusion of the civil war, and having made good the damage caused by the imperialist war and the war at intervention, the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet State confidently led the people along the path of socialist construction.

This path was bestrewn with unheard of difficulties. It was necessary, in the conditions of capitalist encirclement, to bring about a radical transformation of the country. From being a backward agrarian country, it was necessary to transform it into a mighty socialist, industrial and collective-farm power.

This task, too, was completed by the Bolshevik Party with the great success. Socialist society, the first phase of Communism, was built in the USSR. The history of socialist construction in the USSR constitutes a glorious epoch. The working class and peasantry set the world a magnificent and inspired example. For the first time in history, the path to Socialism was hewn and Socialism was established. In the “Short History of the CPSU (B)”, Comrade Stalin, with superb skill, has generalised the entire historical experience of the struggle waged by the Communist Party and the working class of the USSR. Comrade Stalin, on the basis of the teaching of Marx, and showing how Lenin, proceeding from these teachings and adapting his method to the revolutionary struggle in the new historical setting, has given us an all-round development of the theory of revolutionary Marxism.

Indeed, Lenin added so much that was new to Marxism that without his great contribution, an understanding of the entire revolutionary essence of Marxism would be impossible. Marxism became Marxism-Leninism.

In his study of the history of the CPSU (B), the history of the revolutionary struggle of the working class of the USSR, Comrade Stalin regards this history not in isolation from the international revolutionary movement of the working class, but

in close contact with this movement.

Consequently, the “Short History of the CPSU (B)” generalises not only the experience of the CPSU (B) but the history of the struggle of the working class in all lands during the past 50 years.

In the “Short History”, Marxism was subjected to all all-round historical test.

Since the working class of the USSR is the most advanced, the most revolutionary class, and the Bolshevik Party the most consistent Marxist Party, it is but natural that all that is basic and essential in revolutionary experience and revolutionary theory should be concentrated in the experience of the CPSU (B), in the Lenin-Stalin theory.

All this gives to Comrade Stalin’s work a genuinely classical nature. It has entered into the arsenal of intentional Communism as a powerful weapon in the struggle for the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism.

Comrade Stalin likewise, is adding to Marxism-Leninism by enriching it with his scientific analysis of the new and great experience—the history of socialist construction in the USSR, of the existence and development of socialist society and also by the conclusions drawn from the history of scientific development in our epoch.

The “Short History of the CPSU (B)” is, for our day, the most exact and fullest presentation of Marxism-Leninism, which is presented a complete doctrine, combining history, political economy, philosophy, strategy and tactics and the ideological, political, organisational and theoretical foundations of the Marxist Party, the Party of a new type.

It is in the literal sense, an encyclopaedia of basic knowledge in the sphere of Marxism-Leninism. Another feature of this work is that the Marxist-Leninist idea is presented not in isolation from the concrete historical facts, but in close contact with them. Consequently, theory appears in

this work of Stalin's as a revolutionary weapon in the struggle for the liberation of the proletariat and for the construction of Socialism. Even the historical facts themselves acquire a revolutionary singleness of purpose.

In this work there is realised in a classical way Lenin's great idea of linking scientific Socialism with the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

The "Short History of the CPSU (B)" is a reference book for proletarian revolutionaries in all lands.

A study of the "History" is a powerful means of training fighters for the emancipation of the working class, for liberty, national independence, democracy and Socialism.

Ideological and Organisational Principles of Marxist Party

Comrade Stalin shows with remarkable force how Lenin elaborated the scientific principles of a Marxist party capable of leading the working class to revolution in the new historical conditions, the epoch of imperialism.

Above all, such a party must be well-equipped ideologically and must be guided by the most advanced revolutionary theory.

"Without a revolutionary theory", said Lenin, "there can be no revolutionary movement. The role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party guided by the most advanced theory". (Lenin, Selected Works, Eng. ed. Vol. II, p. 41). This was the conclusion drawn by Lenin on the basis of the entire preceding experience not only of the Russian but also of the international working-class movement.

In this connection, Lenin reached the brilliant conclusion that socialist ideology should be linked with the working class movement. Comrade Stalin writes that Lenin:—1) for the first

time in the history of Marxist thought, laid bare the ideological roots of opportunism, showing that they primarily consisted in worshipping the spontaneous working class movement and belittling the role of socialist consciousness in the working-class movement; 2) brought out the great importance of theory, of consciousness, and of the Party as a revolutionising and guiding force of the spontaneous working-class movement; 3) brilliantly established the fundamental Marxist thesis that a Marxist party is a union of the working class movement with Socialism”, (Short Course, p. 38).

Lenin and Stalin fundamentally elaborated the ideological principles of the Marxist party of a new type. The sections of Comrade Stalin book expounding the ideological principles of the Bolshevik Party are a great historical lesson for all Marxist parties, teaching them how to understand and appreciate the role of revolutionary ideology in the struggle of the working class, how to educate the Party in the spirit of irreconcilable struggle against any trends ideologically hostile to the proletariat.

In his work, “What Is To Be Done?”, Lenin wrote: “The only choice is either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course... Hence to belittle socialist ideology *in any way, to turn away from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology*”. (Lenin, Selected Works, Eng. ed., Vol. II. p. 62).

These theses of Lenin and Stalin are fully applicable to the activity of any party of the working class today. Contemporary opportunism and apostasy are based on the fact that they ignore socialist ideology, worship spontaneity and thus succumb to the influence of bourgeois ideology.

The British Labour leaders, the French and Italian Right Socialists are typical representatives of those “Socialists” who are completely enmeshed in snare of bourgeois ideology; they have become the open champions of imperialism.

The leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party has taken the path of ignoring socialist ideology. How else can one explain the shameful fact that for a number of years “Borba”, central organ of the Yugoslav Party, carried no propaganda of Marxism-Leninism? When the fraternal parties pointed out the impermissibility of this, the Yugoslav leaders tried to prove that they are themselves “developing” Marxism. In reality, however, whenever they attempt to explain something independently, it becomes apparent that they have nothing in common with Marxism. The groundless claim of the Yugoslav Party leaders that they “themselves” are “developing” Marxism, appears to be nothing more than the activities of charlatan theoretical jugglers.

Tito, for instance, asserts that the peasantry is the most stable basis of the peoples democratic order and Mose Pijade tries to claim that the working class of Yugoslavia did not play a leading role in the national liberation movement or in establishing the power of the people’s democracy.

Of exceptional significance are the organisational principle of the Marxist party of a new type, elaborated by Lenin and Stalin. Lenin’s outstanding merit lies in the fact that he, for the first time in the history of Marxism, worked out the *doctrine of the Party* as the leading organisation of the proletariat proving that the Party is its principal weapon in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, of the creation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of Socialism.

“In its struggle for power,” wrote Lenin, “the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation... the proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organisation which will weld millions of toilers into an army of the working class. Neither the decrepit rule of tsardom, nor the senile rule of the international capital will be able to withstand this army.”

(Lenin. Selected Works, Eng. ed, Vol II, p . 466)

In the “Short Course of the History of the CPSU (B)”, Comrade Stalin gives a classic definition of what the Marxist party of a new type should be. He teaches us that the Marxist party is part of the working class, its *vanguard* detachment, its class *conscious* detachment, its *Marxist* detachment, armed with knowledge of the laws of the development of society, of the laws of the class struggle, and for this reason is able to lead the working class and to direct its struggle. The Marxist party is the *organised* detachment of the working class, with its own discipline which is binding on its members. The Party, continues Comrade Stalin, is not merely an organised detachment, but is the *highest* of all forms of organisation of the working class, and it is its task to guide all the other organisations of the working class. Therefore, the Party must consist of the finest members of the class, equipped with an advanced theory, with knowledge of the laws of social development and the class struggle. The Party is an embodiment of the connection of the vanguard of the working class with the working class millions.

The Party must continually increase its contacts with the masses and will the confidence of the millions of its class. In order to function properly and to guide the masses systematically, firmly keeping a uniform discipline binding on all, the Party must be organised on the principles of *democratic centralism*.

All these and other theses by Comrade Stalin are the fundamental foundations of the activity of all Marxist revolutionary parties. Today, when the Communist parties in the capitalist countries are waging a heroic struggle for freedom and national independence against American imperialist expansion, it is more important than ever before to regard as sacred the organisational principles of Marxism-Leninism, for only on the basis of these principles can

Communists head the working class and lead the working people.

In the new democracies, the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Parties, has achieved big successes. The people's government in these countries have successfully solved the problems of nationalisation, industrial management and development of production. Marked achievements can be registered in agricultural rehabilitation. Great and truly revolutionary gains have been achieved in the political life of these countries, gains leading to the flowering of the people's democracy. All this has won great prestige for the Communist Parties and their recognition by broad sections of the people.

An expression of this recognition is the fact that masses of workers and peasants are joining the Communist Parties. Besides this, working-class unity in the struggle for Socialism and democracy has brought about fusion of the Communist and Left Socialist parties. This has also resulted in a considerable numerical growth of the parties.

All this raises forcefully the task of strengthening in every way the Communist and Workers' Parties ideologically and organisationally.

The CPSU (B) was able to achieve its world historic successes because it never allowed itself to be reduced to something organisationally amorphous and decrepit, because it constantly waged a struggle against all who tried to smash its organisational foundations.

As distinct from the Bolshevik ideological and organisational principles, all opportunist parties lack any ideological principle and are organisationally loose.

The proletariat is averse to organisational anarchy. Organisational nihilism has always been linked with lack of ideology, with disregard and underestimation of the importance of the ideology and socialist maturity of the revolutionary

working class movement.

Ideology, principle and organisation in its highest form are inherent in the working class as the most politically mature class in modern society.

That is why the Marxist-Leninist parties cannot reconcile themselves with organisational anarchy, for the latter is inevitably connected with political opportunism and ideological subordination to the bourgeoisie.

Political Foundations of the Marxist Party, Strategy and Tactics

The “Short History of the CPSU(B)” is an inexhaustible source of Leninist-Stalinist wisdom on questions of the strategy and tactics of the class struggle of the proletariat.

Lenin and Stalin contributed a new theoretical thesis to the doctrine of Marxism regarding the bourgeois revolution, the relation between the bourgeois and socialist revolutions and the driving forces of the revolution.

They proved, above all, that in the new conditions, the bourgeoisie ceased to be a revolutionary class. Even in the bourgeois democratic movements, in the national liberation struggle, the bourgeoisie is no longer a driving, guiding force. It has completely gone over to the camp of reaction, supporting the feudal elements and all reactionary forces against the working class and the peasantry.

This was borne out by the experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917; it was borne out by the experience of Germany, Italy and Japan, where the bourgeoisie constituted the main basis for fascism; it was borne out by World War two, when the bourgeoisie of Europe formed the camp of traitors and collaborators. It is being borne out in the post-war period when the European bourgeoisie has

categorically renounced even the idea of national independence and sovereignty.

As early as 1905-07, Lenin and Stalin advanced the new theoretical thesis that from then on, only the working class could be the leading force in all democratic movements. This was the Lenin-Stalin theory of the hegemony of the proletariat. In this connection, Lenin and Stalin elaborated the highly important thesis that semi-proletarian elements of town and countryside constitute an important reserve of the revolution, without which neither the bourgeois-democratic or socialist revolution can be effected. The peasantry constitute the main element of this reserve.

In the “Short History of the CPSU (B)” Stalin Writes that Lenin introduced a new factor in the theory of the socialist revolution, “*an indispensable* factor of the socialist revolution, namely, an *alliance* with the proletariat and semi-proletarian elements of town and country as a condition for the victory of the proletarian revolution”. (“Short Course of the History of the CPSU (B)” p. 711.)

The working class, as the leader of the revolution, draws broad masses of the people into the revolutionary movement, giving it a popular character. In the bourgeois-democratic revolution the working class must pursue a line that prolongs the state of revolution as far as possible, destroys the remnants of counter-revolution and develops the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution,

This was a new theory of the socialist revolution, a theory which finally smashed international opportunism and refuted the theory current among the West European Social Democrats who denied revolutionary potentialities of the semi-proletarian masses of town and country and held that in the socialist revolution the proletariat stands alone, without allies, against the whole bourgeoisie, against all non-proletarian classes and strata. This new theory of the socialist revolution refuted the

dogmatism of the West European and Russian opportunists according to whom a gulf of 50 to 100 years or even more separates the bourgeois from the socialist revolution.

Lenin, studying the laws of capitalism, arrived at the conclusion that at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, capitalism had entered a new phase of development—the phase of imperialism. Lenin showed that the principal law of imperialism was its unequal economic and political development. From this law of imperialism Lenin drew the brilliant conclusion that the simultaneous victory of Socialism in all countries was now impossible, that on the contrary, in the epoch of imperialism, the socialist revolution could be victorious first either in several or in one country.

The “Short History of the CPSU (B)”, shows how the new theory of the socialist revolution was borne out by the experience of the Great Socialist Revolution in the USSR, how the Bolshevik Party was able to lead the people in decisive attack and “merge into one common revolutionary torrent such diverse revolutionary movements as the general democratic movement for peace, the peasant democratic movement for the seizure of the landed estates, the movement of the oppressed nationalities for national liberation and national equality, and the socialist movement of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat”. (“Short Course of the History of the CPSU (B)”, p. 213).

Comrade Stalin brilliantly generalised the experience of socialist construction in the USSR. This section of the “Short History of the CPSU (B)” is an example of how Marxist-Leninists should approach the theoretical assimilation of the new historical creative power of the people, how they should generalise theoretically and draw conclusions from history and practice, in order to go forward to new victories.

The great Lenin left brilliant directives regarding the paths

of the transition to Socialism. To Comrade Stalin fell the task of turning these directives into a harmonious programme of the industrialisation of the country and the reorganisation of the countryside on socialist foundations.

The transformation of many million, backward and scattered house-holds into large-scale socialist economy is a new creative achievement, unprecedented in history.

The experience of the USSR in this respect is remarkable, for the peasant question in the socialist revolution is the most complex problem.

Over a period of years, the CPSU (B) steadily created conditions under which the peasant question could be solved in the spirit of Socialism. First of all, new socialist productive forces were developed in industry; a material base was laid, an agricultural machinery industry built for the reorganisation of agriculture on socialist foundations.

Time and again, Comrade Stalin said that collectivisation could only be successful when the peasantry voluntarily joined the collective farms. Over a number of years, the Party conducted political work among the peasantry, convincing them of the superiority of collective farming, demonstrating this by means of State and the then existing collective farms.

A veritable revolution of far-reaching significance took place in the minds of the peasantry; there was a turning point in favour of collective farms. Thus, in every way, the transition to the collective farm system was prepared.

The mass transition to collective farming showed in itself that the new productive forces in the USSR were insistently demanding corresponding new, socialist productive relations throughout the whole national economy.

Comrade Stalin writes in the "Short History of the CPSU (B)": "This was a profound revolution, a leap from an old qualitative state of society to a new qualitative state, equivalent in its consequences to the revolution of October 1917, ("Short

Course of the CPSU (B)” p. 305).

The last exploiting class—the kulaks—was eliminated on the basis of solid collectivisation. “This”, wrote Comrade Stalin “destroyed the last mainsprings of the foundation of capitalism within the country and at the same time created new and decisive conditions for the building of a socialist economic system”. (ibid.).

The world historic task of building Socialism in the USSR, of recognising peasant economy into large-scale socialist economy, was brought under the leadership of the working class led by the CPSU (B).

The experience of building a Socialist order in Soviet agriculture is an example to all countries who have taken the path of Socialism.

The leaders of certain political parties—for instance, Comrade Gomulka of the Polish Workers’ Party—commit a big political mistake by ignoring the experience of the USSR. Through their lack of confidence in the ability of the working class to lead the peasantry to Socialism, they take in fact the opportunist and anti-Marxist position, alleging that the working class is not the main force in building Socialism.

Every country has its peculiar and specific features of a political, economic, cultural and national nature. These peculiarities give a certain specific character to the forms and methods of transition to Socialism, but the brilliant path to Socialism blazed by the Soviet Union is an historical example which will be followed, and its experience is now being studied in other countries in order to avoid mistakes and to advance confidently to Socialism.

Great work lies ahead of the Communist Parties in popularising the collective farm system of the USSR among the peasantry of their own countries. On the basis of sound economic experience and political consciousness, the peasantry of other countries will duly appreciate the great successes of

the Soviet peasantry, and, when all the necessary conditions for this are ripe in their respective countries, will follow the example of the Soviet peasantry.

The Soviet peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, have raised high the banner of Socialism in agriculture, the banner of collectivisation. They hold it aloft with honour in the battle for new, hitherto unprecedented successes in raising the economic and cultural well-being of the people.

The “Short History of the CPSU (B) shows clearly how the Communist Party of the USSR, to secure the victory of Socialism, waged an irreconcilable struggle against all enemies of Bolshevism: the bourgeois parties, opportunists and revisionists in the camp of the Right Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries. It waged an irreconcilable struggle against the traitors to Communism; the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, Zinovievites, nationalist deviators and others. True Bolshevik cadres were tempered in this struggle. The fraternal Parties of all countries are learning from the examples of the struggle waged by the CPSU (B) against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism now to conduct the revolutionary line, undeterred by anything in the struggle for the victory of Socialism.

Theoretical Principles of the Marxist Party

The “Short History of the CPSU (B)” is permeated with unity of outlook, singleness of purpose and inner iron logic. It expounds Marxism-Leninism as a unified and integral world outlook. The whole book, permeated with Marxist-Leninist dialectics, gives examples of the dialectical approach to questions of history, economy, policy, strategy and tactics.

However, in view of the fact that the Marxist-Leninist philosophy is the theoretical foundation of scientific

Communism, throughout its history the Party has been waging a struggle for the purity of Marxist philosophy and is enriching it. The “Short History of the CPSU (B)” contains a special section devoted to the theoretical foundations of the Party, to dialectical and historical materialism. In the section “Dialectical and Historical Materialism”, Comrade Stalin summarises the results of the development of Marxist philosophy since Lenin’s brilliant work “Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, and shows that the philosophy of Marxism has withstood all tests and remains the most scientific most advanced world outlook.

Following the classical examples of Marx and Lenin, Comrade Stalin generalises the data of social development and the progress of science as a whole, and on this basis gives a contemporary formulation to Marxist-Leninist philosophy, raising it to the level of contemporary science, culture and social development.

Comrade Stalin with particular force emphasises the feature or dialectics which speaks of the struggle of opposite tendencies as the internal content of any process of development. He stresses the peculiarity in the dialectical method that the struggle of contradictions is a struggle between that which is living out its last days, is dying away, and that which is being born, is new and is entrenching itself in life through irreconcilable struggle against the old.

These aspects of dialectics best express the nature of contemporary social relations and the nature of contemporary scientific development. Hence, Stalin writes: “If the world is in a state of constant movement and development, if the dying away of the old and the upgrowth of the new is a law of development, then it is clear that there can be no ‘immutable’ social systems, no ‘eternal principles’ of private property and exploitation, no ‘eternal ideas’ of the subjugation of the peasant to the landlord, of the worker to the capitalist”. (ibid p. (10).

These postulates of Comrade Stalin are fundamental pointers showing how to approach scientifically the phenomena of social life and questions of the class struggle. In order not to err in policy, “one must pursue an uncompromising proletarian class policy, not a reformist policy of harmony of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, not a compromising policy of the growing of capitalism into Socialism” (ibid p. 111).

Only those parties that are guided in their policy by dialectics, and not metaphysics, will be able to cope with their historic tasks. Any departure from dialectics inevitably leads into the swamp of metaphysics, into the slough of opportunism.

Comrade Stalin has, in particular, contributed much that is new to historical materialism. This part of his work is, in truth, an inexhaustible source of profound postulates pointing the way to an understanding of the most complex social phenomena and showing how to discover the new laws of social life. Comrade Stalin developed the Marxist-Leninist teaching concerning the economic bases and social super-structures, concerning classes and the class struggle; developed this theory to the point of the paths of the construction of Socialism and the abolition of classes, the question of national minorities, the role of advanced ideas in social development, with special stress on the point that the role of these ideas increases with the victory of Socialism.

An invaluable contribution to the theory of historical materialism was the development by Comrade Stalin of the doctrine concerning the building of Socialism and Communism in the USSR, concerning the Soviet Socialist State and its role in the construction of Socialism and Communism.

The chapter on “Dialectical and Historical Materialism” equips Communists everywhere with the most advanced and most revolutionary world outlook for the struggle against all enemies of the working class, against all enemies of

Communism.

* * *

The final chapter of the “Short Course of the “History of the CPSU (B)” contains a remarkable exposure of the way Britain, France and the USA, despite the unmistakable threat to peace on the part of the Fascist aggressors, gave the impression that they failed to see any danger of war, and what is more, helped the aggressors to unleash the war, calculating that Hitler would throw all his forces against the USSR, and that they—the US., Britain and France—would step in when the two adversaries had exhausted each other, and by this means, seize Europe and the USSR.

Now, after World War Two, because they failed to realise their hopes, the British and American imperialists have, with renewed energies, taken the path of preparing and unleashing another world war, and just as the fascists did are preparing in the first instance against the USSR.

Comrade Stalin’s brilliant work, the “Short Course of the History of the CPSU (B)” equips the Communists in all lands with a great revolutionary weapon—the theory of Marxism-Leninism.



THE BOOK THAT IS AN INSPIRATION TO STRUGGLE AND VICTORY. Jacob Berman, Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee Polish Workers' Party

The Tenth Anniversary of the first edition of Comrade Stalin's work, the "Short Course of the CPSU(B)", is being celebrated not only by the working people of the Soviet Union, but by the whole of progressive mankind.

What is the historical significance, the greatness of this book?

This book is the brilliant embodiment of the great experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) enriched by the history of three revolutions, the history of the heroic struggle to build Socialism in the USSR.

The greatness of this book lies in its conclusive picture of the tense struggle of the Party, a struggle unparalleled in the history of mankind, a struggle inseparably linked with the popular masses which mobilises these masses to realise the most sacred aspirations of millions of people.

The greatness of this book lies in its profoundly truthful reflection of the fundamental turning point in the history of mankind for, as Lenin wrote, revolution is carried out at a time of the upsurge and straining of all human abilities—consciousness, will, passion, the imagination of millions—spurred on by the sharpest struggle of classes.

That is why this book is treasured not only by all Soviet people, but also by the working people of the world who consider it their own and a most valuable weapon in the struggle against the forces of reaction and imperialism.

There is hardly another book in the world which contributes so much to the ideological growth of millions of people, to deepening their consciousness and political maturity,

to mobilising their activity. Among the characteristic features of this book are its fight against dogma and its profound principles. It vividly reflects the creative and bold path taken by the Bolshevik Party, the priceless contribution made by Lenin and Stalin in developing and enriching Marxism.

At the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party in August 1917, Comrade Stalin explained what should be the attitude of Bolsheviks to theory. He said: “There is dogmatic Marxism and creative Marxism. I am for the latter.”

It is this creative Marxism, the fraternal aid of the CPSU(B) and personal assistance of Comrade Stalin that served as a strong incentive toward helping the leading cadres of the Communist and Workers’ Parties in the new democracies to find the correct solution to the most complex questions in the struggle of the working class in new conditions, taking into account the concrete historical and national features of the respective countries.

“It is necessary,” said Comrade Stalin, “that the Party in its work combines high principles (not to be confused with sectarianism!) with the maximum contact with the masses (not to be confused with khvostism!), without which it is impossible not only for the Party to teach the masses, but to learn from them, not only to lead the masses and raise them to the level of the Party, but to listen to the voice of the masses and divine their sore needs.”

Whoever tries, under the pretext of artificially exaggerated “national specific conditions” to hinder the class struggle, to counterpose his own path of development to the general path of socialist construction realised by the people of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the CPSU(B), inevitably slips into an anti-Leninist position, inevitably joins the camp of the enemy.

This is fully borne out by the criminal activity of the Tito faction in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

The danger of such ideological and political distortions are the outcome of alien and hostile ideological influences penetrating into the Parties. The Polish Workers' Party was also faced with such a danger. The danger was all the more serious since Comrade Gomulka, then General Secretary of the Party, was the exponent of the Right and nationalist deviation.

The September Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party, an important event in the history of our Party, resolutely rebuffed these anti-Party leanings. The fact that the Polish Workers' Party, in good time, was able to expose the Right and nationalist deviation, to declare war on it and overcome it, was only made possible because the main cadres of our Party were guided in their activity by the rich experience of the CPSU(B), by its irreconcilable struggle against all attempts to distort Marxism-Leninism its irreconcilable struggle for the ideological and organisational unity of the Party.

Our Party would not have been able to overcome the Right and nationalist deviation had not its main cadres understood and generalised the experience of the Polish working-class movement, had they not been educated through a deep study of the works of Lenin and Stalin, and on Stalin's "Short History of the CPSU(B)".

The revolutionary cadres of the new democracies are drawing strength and confidence in their struggle for Socialism, from the "Short History of the CPSU(B)", the rich arsenal of Marxism-Leninism. Note should be taken of certain theses in the "Short History of the CPSU(B)", which serve as a programme for the revolutionary activity of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

"If development proceeds by way of the disclosure of internal contradictions," states the "Short History of the CPSU(B)", "by way of collisions between opposite forces on the basis of these contradictions and so as to overcome these

contradictions, then it is clear that the class struggle of the proletariat is a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon. Hence, we must not cover up the contradictions of the capitalist system, but disclose and unravel them; we must not try to check the class struggle but carry it to its conclusion.”

This was the guiding thesis of our Party when it vigorously combated the opportunists who tried to overlook the class struggle instead of developing it, who tried to hold up the struggle to restrict the capitalist elements and dislodge them from the national economy, especially in the countryside.

In laying the foundation for a Socialist Poland, our Party remembers that “... Socialism cannot be built without the peasantry, just as the peasantry cannot emerge from poverty without the proletariat.”

A spirit of profound internationalism, of the indissoluble community of interests of the Land of Socialism with the working people of the world runs throughout the “Short History of the CPSU(B)”. The experience of war against German fascism, the liberating role of the valiant Soviet Army have deepened feelings of a common historical destiny of all freedom-loving peoples and the knowledge that their destiny is indissolubly linked with the growth of the forces and might of the Soviet State. The experience of the post-war years and the increasing aggressive policy of American imperialism, which is bent on destroying the national independence and sovereignty of the peoples of Europe, are strengthening the ties of fraternity and the close ideological bonds between the new democracies and the USSR.

The past few months have been an education in profound self-criticism for the Polish Workers’ Party. The Party leadership also self-critically acknowledged the under-estimation of the study of the “Short History of the CPSU(B)” in Party studies. Hence, in accordance with measures taken to educate not only the Party Active, but the Party as a whole, in

the spirit of Marxism-Leninism the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party has decided to publish a new edition of the "Short History of the CPSU(B)" in the Polish language, to introduce a special course on the history of the CPSU(B) in all Party schools, and also to publish the works of "Lenin and Stalin in the Polish language within the next few years.

The enthusiasm with which the Party and the working class received the decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party shows that in the struggle against the Right and nationalist deviations the Party is strengthening its contact with the masses, seeing in this an inexhaustible source of its strength; it is advancing along the path of Lenin, reflecting the aspirations of the broad masses of the people.

We remember Lenin's words: "We are but a drop in the ocean among the popular masses and we can govern only when we correctly voice what the people feel."

In order to live up to these words of Lenin, in order to strengthen our ties with the masses each day and to learn from them, it is necessary that millions of members of the Party should study closely the experience of the CPSU(B), Stalin's "Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)".

This will help the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries to guide successfully the struggle of the popular masses for the victory of Socialism.

“SCANTEIA DAY”

On Sunday, September 19, the working people of the Rumanian People's Republic, amid great rejoicing, celebrated the fourth anniversary of the first legal issue of “Scanteia, the central organ of the Workers' Party.

In Bucharest, over half a million people took part in the celebration which turned into a great manifestation of their loyalty and confidence in the advanced Party of the working class, in its Central Committee and in “Scanteia,” the Party organ.

The celebrations demonstrated once more the close contact between the masses of people and the Party which is leading them along the pathway of socialist construction. It was a demonstration of the mobilising force, of the popularity and the esteem in which “Scanteia” is held by the people. “Scanteia's” popularity is a result of its treatment of the development of people's democracy in Rumania in the spirit of sharp criticism and self-criticism. The entire Rumanian press, newspapers, journals, in editorial comments and articles, stressed “Scanteia's” role as agitator, propagandist and organiser, the participation of the masses of the people in the celebrations, and the significance of this event for the development of a genuine people's culture.

THE GREAT EXAMPLE OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. Gheorghiu-Dej, General Secretary, Central Committee Rumanian Workers' Party

Today, Communists and working people throughout the world recall that exactly ten years ago the first edition was published of Comrade Stalin's work, "Short Course of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)".

In the ideological arsenal of the Marxist-Leninist Parties all over the world, this work by Comrade Stalin is a trusty weapon of struggle for the victory of Communism. Brilliantly generalising the experience of the Bolshevik Party which throughout its history fulfilled and continues to fulfil a vanguard role of the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat, Comrade Stalin produced a genuine encyclopaedia of Marxism-Leninism, a guide to action for Communists everywhere.

For the Rumanian Workers' Party, too, the "Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)" play a great role. Right from the very moment when the Party, then working underground, begin to pass round the first copies that reached us, the first translation in typescript, and later the first printed translation in Rumanian, the "Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)," became our guide in all matters of strategy, tactics and Party building.

The historical experience of the Lenin-Stalin Party is particularly valuable now that we have established the new democracy in Rumania, and with our Party taking the leading role in state administration.

For our country Socialism is no longer an aim of the distant future. The task of building Socialism is on the order of the

day. Our Party is directing the effort and energies of the working people toward the Socialist reorganisation of the national economy, and to the building of a new life. The rich experience of the Soviet Union helps us to cope with the most difficult— questions—questions of the greatest significance for the successful building of Socialism. This experience enables us to avoid mistakes and makes it easier for us to achieve our aims.

One of the big jobs on the way to Socialism in Rumania is that of creating a modern, Socialist industry. The people's state inherited from the old regime an extremely backward economy. The British, French and American imperialists who had lorded it in our country since the end of World War I, pursued a policy deliberately retarding development in Rumania and of keeping the country in a state of backwardness and complete economic dependence on foreign states.

The German imperialists, who on the eve of the anti-Soviet aggression took the place of the Anglo-French-American imperialists, treated Rumania as an agricultural adjunct to the German war economy. The young democratic state is faced with the task of rapidly overcoming this economic backwardness, of creating a material base which will secure economic independence—the task of rapidly developing heavy industry. Had we not been guided by the experience of the Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party, a serious danger would have been created, since opportunist elements more than once tried to dictate to our country the path of development usual for capitalist countries, that is, the path to industrialisation via the development of light industry.

However, our Party, enriched with the experience of the Bolshevik Party, rejected this policy. We recall in this respect Comrade Stalin's words that industrialisation of this kind "is a long process, requiring several decades, in the course of which it is necessary to await the development of light industry and

vegetate without heavy industry”.

Comrade Stalin pointed out that the Communist Party of the USSR rejected the “usual” way of industrialisation and began by developing heavy industry. This task, while difficult, was capable of realisation. Of great help in this matter was the nationalisation of industry and the banks, which made possible the rapid accumulation and transfer of funds into heavy industry.

These theses of Comrade Stalin govern our policy of reorganising the economy along Socialist lines.

Already in 1945, a resolution adopted at a national conference of the Rumanian Communist Party declared: “In order to develop the resources of our Country, to supply our agriculture with modern machinery, to ensure the maximum use of the productive capacity of our industry, it is necessary in the first instance to restore and develop heavy industry—the iron and steel and mining industries.

The Rumanian Workers’ Party regards the development of heavy industry as the decisive link in the economic reconstruction and industrialisation of the country.

In the course of overcoming the difficulties connected with the capitalist encirclement, in the struggle against the enemies of Socialism such as Trotsky, Zinoviev, Rykov and Bukharin, in the process of overcoming the evil consequences of the landlord-capitalist regime, the Lenin-Stalin Party successfully solved all the main problems connected with the building of Socialism. This is of the greatest significance **not only for the USSR and for the Soviet working-class; it is of immense significance for the working class of any country taking the path of Socialist construction.**

For our Party and for other fraternal Communist and Workers’ Parties, the question of building Socialism in the countryside is a particularly complicated matter. While in the towns and cities, notwithstanding fierce resistance by the class

enemy, we experienced no great difficulty in depriving the exploiting capitalist class of its economic power in the countryside, even after the agrarian reform which expropriated the land of the landlords, there still remains the numerous capitalist class of kulaks. The countryside is an ocean of small individual peasant households (over 3 million) who, as Lenin expressed it, give birth to capitalism daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale. The output capacity of these households is exceedingly low, which is not surprising since 77 per cent of them possess three hectares and even less. Over 40 per cent of these peasant households do not produce enough to satisfy their own needs and are forced to purchase supplementary agricultural products. More than half of them do not possess draught animals or ploughs.

Our Party is faced with the difficult job of putting an end to this backwardness of our agriculture, of getting high productivity of rescuing the toiling peasant from poverty—with the job of abolishing exploitation in the countryside.

The answer to the question: what path to take in order to fulfil these tasks successfully, was found by our Party in the historical experience of the CPSU(B).

“What is the way out?” asked Comrade Stalin.

“The way out,” he said, “is to turn the small and scattered peasant farms into large united farms based on the common cultivation of the soil, to introduce collective cultivation of the soil on the basis of a new, higher technique. The way out is to unite the small and dwarf peasant farm gradually but surely, not by pressure but by example and persuasion, into large farms based on common, cooperative, collective cultivation of the soil with the use of agricultural machines and tractors and scientific methods of intensive agriculture. There is no other way out”.

The valuable points contained in the Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation in the Yugoslav

Communist Party are also derived from the historical experience of the CPSU (B).

The Resolution declared that undue haste in the matter of the socialist reorganisation of agriculture is harmful, and that the liquidation of the capitalist elements in the countryside calls for patient and tireless work in the matter of **restricting** the capitalist elements, for the strengthening of the alliance between the working class and toiling peasants under the leadership of the working class, for the developing of a socialist industry capable of providing agriculture with the necessary machines.

These points serve as a guide to our Party in its practical work of reorganising our agriculture along socialist lines.

We had in our ranks too, individual comrades who ignored the need for a socialist reorganisation of agriculture, who failed to appreciate the obvious truth that it is impossible to build Socialism without building it in the countryside also. We had also an arrant opposition from people like Patrascanu who, at the very height of the struggle for the people's democracy, advocated an alliance of the working- class with the peasantry as a whole, including the kulaks, and who attempted to substitute for the class struggle against the exploiters, a "social-peace" between exploiters and exploited. Equipped with the lessons of the militant path taken by the Bolshevik Party, our Party decisively rejected this attempt to divert it onto the wrong path.

There is not the slightest doubt that in this respect, the great historical merit of the Bolshevik Party was that it found the **only correct solution** to the problem of the socialist reorganisation of agriculture, not only for its own country, but for all countries taking the path of Socialism.

The fact that the path to Socialism which, in the main, is the same for all countries, was blazed by the Soviet Union, lies at the basis of our Party's policy in the sphere of socialist

construction.

Naturally every country, including ours, has its specific features conditioned by the definite differences in the process of the country's development toward Socialism. It was precisely these specific features that Lenin had in view when he said that "the transition from capitalism to Communism, of course, cannot but furnish a great abundance and diversity of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same—the **dictatorship of the proletariat.**" (Lenin, Vol. XXI, p. 393, Rus Ed.),

Exaggeration of the significance of these specific differences and propagation of the theory that each country has its own special path to Socialism, implies a rejection of the leading role of the working class in socialist construction, is a harmful and dangerous opportunist trend. This theory is in fact an attempt to negate the international historical significance of the experience of the Bolshevik Party. It is an opportunist attempt to substitute the path to Socialism laid down by the Bolshevik Party—that is, the path of building the Socialist system through revolutionary struggle against all exploiting classes—with the path of the so-called "peaceful" development of Socialism, the path of the "peaceful growth" of capitalist elements into Socialism, based on the conception that the class struggle dies down.

The nationalist Tito-Kardelj-Djilas-Rankovic clique in the Yugoslav Party leadership is guided in its policy by this "theory". It is clear that this is a departure from Marxism-Leninism, a rejection of the class struggle, a lapse into bourgeois-nationalism.

Obviously, when studying and applying the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we must never forget that Marxism is not a dogma but a guide to action.

"Mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory," Stalin teaches us, "means assimilating **the substance** of this theory and learning

to use it in the solution of the practical problems of the revolutionary movement under the varying conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.” (“Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)” p. 355).

A study of the work of Comrade Stalin is the best and most effective way of assimilating the essence of Marxist-Leninist theory. The ability of our Party members to carry out their Party tasks depends on how well they master the lessons of the historical path traversed by the Bolshevik Party.

Our Party studies are based on the works of Comrade Stalin. Forty thousand of our members are studying the “Short History of the CPSU(B)” individually or in study circles. This work of Comrade Stalin has been published in 300,000 copies and we plan to increase this figure to one million copies in the near future. Also broad circles of non-Party people read and study this book which has become a manual for every conscious worker in our country.

Inspired by the experience of the Bolshevik Party, which was created, built and tempered by Lenin and Stalin—the great geniuses of mankind, the leaders of the working people of the world—our Party has achieved a number of successes in laying the foundations of Socialism in our country. But we realise that our successes will be greater if we continually bear in mind the lessons of the glorious path traversed by the CPSU(B), just as neglect of this experience can only lead to mistakes and cause irreparable harm to the work of building Socialism in our country.

Inspired by the experience of the CPSU(B), we are tirelessly strengthening the firm unity of our Party. We know that before we can win new successes we must do this as well as preserving and developing its militant traditions and its fundamental features as a revolutionary party of the proletariat, irreconcilable to opportunists, compromisers and capitulators—staunch and firm toward the bourgeoisie and other exploiters.

We also know that the Rumanian Workers' Party will not be able to carry out its role as leader of the working class and the people as a whole, if it is carried away by success and conceit, just as we realised that the Party will be invincible if it takes a self-critical and Bolshevik approach in estimating its work, in teaching and educating its cadres, drawing the necessary lessons from its mistakes and correcting these mistakes in good time.

The experience of the Party of Lenin and Stalin teaches us that only by maintaining close contact with the masses and constantly strengthening and developing this contact, only by listening to the voice of the masses and upholding their vital interests, will our Party be able to become a genuine mass party capable of leading the millions of working people, headed by the working class, to the victory of Socialism in our country.

A MIGHTY IDEOLOGICAL WEAPON. Rudolf Slansky, General Secretary, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Stalin's "Short Course of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)" is by far the most popular Marxist-Leninist book in Czechoslovakia.

Among Communists and an working people there has been a marked growth in interest in the works of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. The classic works of the founders of scientific Communism are published in editions far greater than the biggest pre-war editions of scientific, political and artistic literature.

Among the Marxist-Leninist classics, the "Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)" holds a special place. Since the liberation of the country from the Hitler yoke, this excellent book has appeared in several editions in the Czech and Slovak languages, totalling 200,000 copies. Chapter 4 of the "History", devoted to "Dialectical and Historical Materialism", has been issued separately in an edition of 65,000 copies.

The publication of the "Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)" in Czechoslovakia has its own glorious history. It was first published in the Czech language in the underground, during the Hitler occupation. The Gestapo failed to prevent its circulation. Among the secret Gestapo papers found after the liberation was the copy of a telegram sent by the underground Central Committee in Czechoslovakia to Comrades Dimitrov, Manuilsky and Gottwald informing them that despite the Gestapo the "Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)" had appeared in full in the Czech language.

Under the difficult conditions of the Hitler occupation, the Czechoslovak Communists found in the "Short Course of the

History of the CPSU(B)” strength to grapple with fascism and through this were conscious of their unbreakable bonds with Marxism-Leninism. The experience of the CPSU(B) enabled them to find orientation in the complicated situation, and enabled the working class to head the national liberation movement.

The preparation of the first edition of the “Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)” in the Czech language was supervised by Comrade Gottwald who insisted on an exact translation of the content of the book and on retaining the clarity and simplicity of the original.

After the liberation, the “Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)” became the treasured companion of our Party members. At the Eighth Congress of our Party, held in 1946, each delegate was presented with a copy of the book with all inscription from the Central Committee of the Party.

The “Short Course of the History at the CPSU(B)”, an encyclopaedia of the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism helped our Party to wage a successful struggle for the solution of the tasks of the national-democratic revolution, and enabled us to combine these tasks with the general struggle for Socialism. The historical experience of the CPSU(B) constitutes the basis for training the Party cadres in the spirit of internationalism.

The “Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)” generalises the historical path traversed by the CPSU(B)—the vanguard of the Communists of the whole world. The Lenin-Stalin Party, for the first time in history, succeeded in overthrowing the rule of the capitalists and landlords and in building Socialism over one-sixth of the earth’s surface. Under its leadership, the peoples of the Soviet Union liberated Czechoslovakia from the Hitler enslavement. All this has increased immeasurably the prestige and attractive force of the, ideas of Marxism-Leninism among the working people of

Czechoslovakia.

The decision of the Central Committee of our Party “Concerning the Ideological Education of Party Members”, adopted last November noted that “victory in World War Two was a moral-political victory of scientific Socialism... The doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, subjected to the most severe historical trials, revealed its vitality and superiority over all hitherto existing philosophic systems, ideologies and political trends.”

Of exceptional importance to our Party was the fact that the essential manual of Marxism-Leninism—“The Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)”—expounds revolutionary theory in **action**, in practice, in the **closest** contact with the revolutionary activity of the Communist Party and working class and shows how the CPSU(B) used this ideological weapon in the various stages of the struggle. We have learnt and we are learning from the CPSU(B) how to combine high political principles and loyalty to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism with a concrete analysis of the situation at each stage of historical development, and on this basis to determine correctly the Party’s strategic and tactical tasks.

After the liberation of our country, our leading cadres made a particularly close study of the theory of Lenin and Stalin in order to give an accurate definition of the tasks of the working class in the national democratic revolution and the path leading to the growth of this revolution into a socialist revolution, the path leading to the working class conquest of power. The “History of the CPSU(B)” helped our Party to orientate itself in the complex conditions of struggle against reaction, contributed to our February victory, to the victory of the people’s power under the leadership of the working class.

Today, when we have entered a period of sharpening class struggle, when socialist construction is underway in our

country, when class forces are regrouping and the Communist Party is being faced with new responsibilities, the “History of the CPSU(B)”, will again be our torch and guide in struggle.

It is not accidental that such an outstanding document of the international working-class movement—the Resolution of the Information Bureau regarding the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia—shows the Communist and Workers’ Parties how invincible are the Marxist-Leninist principles of the paths of transition from capitalism to Socialism, principles tested in the historical experience of the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The “History of the CPSU(B)” helps us to understand clearly all questions relating to the class struggle in the period of this transition. It helps us to understand better the role of the different classes and to secure the leading role of the working class in its struggle to strengthen the alliance with the working peasantry, intelligentsia and the middle urban strata.

The “History of the CPSU(B)” helps us to carry out the policy of restricting and dislodging the capitalist elements and of the gradual transference of small-scale production onto the rails of socialist production.

This book is a constant reminder of the reading role of the Communist Party as the organiser and inspirer of the struggle for Socialism. It reaches us how to eliminate mistakes and shortcomings in our work, how to lead the masses forward to new victories.

A profound study of the history of the Soviet Communist Party will help our Party to understand the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to struggle against every distortion and falsification of this doctrine. It will strengthen the Party organisationally and ideologically, enabling it, on the basis of Bolshevik principles, to master the tasks connected with the successful struggle for Socialism. The “History of the CPSU(B)” will continue to help us to educate the Party in the

spirit of proletarian internationalism and the international solidarity of the working class.

The ten years that have elapsed since the first appearance of the “History of the CPSU(B)” have been years of fierce struggle by the working class under the leadership of the Communist and Workers’ Parties, for peace and democracy, against reaction and imperialism. This struggle has resulted in a change in the relation of forces between capitalism and Socialism in favour of Socialism. Here lay the great, invincible merit of the ideas of Communism which found their most vivid reflection in Stalin’s “Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)”—this great work of contemporary times is a keen and victorious ideological weapon of all the Communist and Workers’ Parties in their struggle for democracy and Socialism.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN—DECLARATION OF EXECUTIVE

A statement issued by the British Communist Party on September 20 calls on the working class of Britain to take the offensive for higher wages and better conditions.

A grave situation faces the British people, the statement declares. War preparations are being speeded up. The armed forces are being expanded. Fighter aircraft production is to be doubled, armaments increased. A large-scale colonial war has begun in Malaya.

Of a deficit of £1,320 millions in three years, £,745 millions have been due to military expenditure abroad.

Full-blooded defence of the interests of the monopolists—this is the policy of the Labour Government. It must be challenged, fought and defeated by working class action.

It is this policy which has led directly to dependence on the United States. The “Marshall Plan” will not help to solve Britain’s or Europe’s problems. It means still more crippling military expenditure in the interests of the American drive against the Socialist Soviet Union and the European countries advancing to Socialism.

The Communist Party, continues the declaration, calls on the British working class to fight against the Government’s policy of freezing wages, for lower taxes on the people and increased taxes on the rich, for a speed up in demobilisation and reduced military expenditure, against the policy of hostility and preparations for war on Russia, and to end the stranglehold of the “Marshall Plan” on Britain’s industry and trade.

LEARN FROM THE C.P.S.U.(B) HOW TO STRUGGLE AND WIN. Z. Biro., Member, Central committee Workers' Party of Hungary

Never in the history of mankind, since the classics of Marx and Lenin appeared, has a scientific work exercised such a tremendous influence on the international working class movement, as Comrade Stalin's brilliant work, the "Short History of the CPSU(B)".

Like a powerful beacon, it illuminates all the historical experience of the workers' movement, and points the way forward to Communism. This treasure house of Marxism-Leninism served, and serves today, as a source of strength and knowledge not only for the Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union, but for the Communist and Workers' Parties all over the world.

At the time the first edition of the "History" was published, the Communist Party of Hungary was an illegal, underground body. Nevertheless, separate chapters of this brilliant work, despite all obstacles, penetrated into the prison cells, reached the underground organisations, and were read vividly by the masses.

With the liberation of our country by the valiant Soviet Army, the "History" became the most sought-after book by the Party' cadres. Taking into account the immense experience of the CPSU(B), the leaders of our Party worked out the vital strategic and tactical tasks of the Party during the transition from capitalism to Socialism.

The great historical significance of the "History" for our country was particularly appreciated by us during the elaboration of the platform and rules of the Hungarian Workers' Party. The political and social changes which have taken place in the Hungarian People's Republic were defined

in the platform statement in these words: “Since the liberation of the country and the victory of democracy, the power of the big landowners and capitalists has been mashed. Power has been taken over by the working class, by the entire peasantry and by those elements of the bourgeoisie who resisted German imperialism. In the course of the struggle against reaction, under conditions of growing international contradictions, the representatives of the capitalist class and likewise a considerable section of the rural exploiters, were removed from power and deprived of their positions in the administration. Today in Hungary, the working class and its ally, the labouring peasantry, are at the helm. The majority of the people recognise the working class as the leading force and decisive element.”

Another vital problem concerned with the development of our Party, which we are deciding with the experience of the CPSU(B) as a guide, is the character of the Party, the Party as the vanguard of the working class.

After the liberation, the Party, fighting to win over the masses of the working people opened wide its doors to all who wished to join its ranks. This circumstance facilitated the penetration of the Party by non-proletarian elements. The demarcation line between the Party and the class began to be obliterated. Focussing the attention of the Party on this serious mistake, Comrade Rakosi showed how it arose, called upon the Party to correct at once the mistakes made during the recruitment of new members, and urged leading cadres to observe strictly the Bolshevik principles of Party structure.

This means purging the Party of alien and unworthy elements, giving priority to workers, strict verification of new entrants, and better ideological preparation of the cadres.

For the purpose of forestalling the dangers connected with the rapid numerical growth of the Party and the likely contamination of the party organisations, the Party leadership decided that as from September 2, recruitment would cease for

a period of six months, and that a verification of the membership would be carried out. These measures, together with the intensified theoretical work and study, will enable the Party to restore the purity of its ranks, sharpen vigilance and improve discipline. We want to see our Party become a militant Marxist Party of revolutionaries, basing all its work on the fundamental principles of the Lenin-Stalin doctrine of the Party as a Party of a new type, as defined in the "Short History of the CPSU(B)".

The entire course of socialist construction in the USSR and the development of the countries of the new democracy is proof of the correctness of the Lenin-Stalin teaching concerning the State especially from the viewpoint that the transition to Socialism cannot be realised through the growth of capitalist elements into Socialism, but only by ever-sharpening class struggle. This struggle gains in intensity accordingly as the working class takes to the building of Socialism in the countryside, through the medium of cooperation between the labouring peasantry and the restriction and squeezing out of the kulaks.

The experience of recent years has shown that in coping with the difficult task of building Socialism, any attempt to detract from the Lenin-Stalin teaching concerning class struggle leads to the degeneration of the Party. That is what is taking place today in Yugoslavia. Opportunist elements have raised their heads in other Parties also, including the Hungarian Workers' Party. The clearest expression we have had of this was the resistance on the part of certain rural Party functionaries to measures taken by the Party against the kulaks, and to measures for developing cooperation on the part of the labouring peasantry. Opportunism in our Party was particularly evident in the attitude of certain functionaries who, during the organisation of rural cooperatives, railed to observe how kulaks succeeded in getting a grip on some of the cooperatives and,

contacting officials of the Cooperative Centre, began to exploit cooperatives for their own enrichment, as a means of exploiting the labouring peasantry.

The Party leadership is taking resolute action to purge the Party of these corrupt opportunist elements. devoid of any class vigilance. At the same time, the Central Committee is taking energetic measures in the rural areas to explain Party policy, to direct the peasantry onto the path of cooperation, of collective management of agriculture.

In this respect, too, our Party leans heavily on the CPSU(B) experience which is presented in such striking and convincing fashion in Comrade Stalin's brilliant book.

The history of the CPSU(B) teaches us that "only a Party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can confidently advance and lead the working class forward."

How has our Party tackled the problem of mastering the teachings of Lenin and Stalin?

As a result of developing a network of Party schools and study circles during the past 3½ years, some 242 comrades finished the National Party School, 2,200 members studied in the medium Party schools and 15,000 members in the lower schools. During the same period, over 200,000 of the more active Party members attended evening courses while 8,000 studied in the special evening party universities. A total of 10,000 members and candidate members are taking part in correspondence courses.

One hundred members are studying at present in the one year course at the Central Party School, and 425 comrades are attending the seven three-month courses. At 52 points throughout the country, 1,600 members are attending 8 courses of one month's duration.

However, this increased condemnation of theoretical work in our Party must not blind us to serious shortcomings in this respect. The level of our theoretical propaganda and Party

study is still very low. Measures have been taken by the leadership to secure an improvement. Among these is the establishment of a Chair of the History of the CPSU(B), and an Institute for the History of the Hungarian Working Class Movement will be created.

In all our ideological work, we are indebted to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism—the “Short History of the CPSU(B).”

The membership of our Party, assiduously assimilating this excellent Stalinist work are being educated in the spirit of internationalism, in the spirit of fraternal solidarity with the great Lenin-Stalin Party and in the spirit of being true to the ideas of scientific Communism.

ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY'S PRESS

Each September, the Communist Party of Italy holds its "Communist Press Month."

This year, the authorities did their utmost to break up the celebrations and demonstrations organised by the Party in the localities. Despite the obstacles placed in the way, the celebrations were held throughout the country. In Bologna, for instance, over 100,000 people were present at a great mass meeting, in Milan 350,000, working people from all parts of Italy attended a great meeting in Rome, for the paper "Unita," the central organ of the Italian Communist Party. The Rome meeting, attended by 500,000, was a magnificent demonstration in honour of the Communist Party and its leader, Comrade Togliatti who addressed it. The participation of millions of working people in the celebrations and demonstrations in honour of the Communist press was an indication of the growing influence of the Communist Party among the masses, who see in the Party the organiser of the struggle for peace, freedom and national independence.

THE HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U.(B) AND THE PROBLEMS OF FRANCE TODAY. George Cogniot, Member, Central Communist Party of France

There was only a short interval between the appearance of the “Short Course of the History of the CPSU(B)” and its translation into French. The circulation of the great Stalin’ new, brilliant work started in France at the beginning of 1939.

The French proletariat welcomed it as a guide and a powerful weapon in their struggle. Nearly 300,000 copies of the book were sold by September 1939.

That was when the first act of France’s national disaster was being staged. Her rulers were pushing her toward the abyss through the Munich policy of appeasing the aggressor, a policy which sacrificed the national interests of the French people to the selfish class interests of the monopolists, to the preservation and consolidation of the privileges of the bourgeoisie.

The double-dealing diplomacy of France and Britain, which was in all respects anti-popular, sabotaged the talks between these countries and the Soviet Union. The Tartufes of Paris and London made war inevitable by appeasing Hitler.

A merciless light is thrown on these machinations of the bourgeois politicians by the “Short History of the CPSU(B)”. By studying these pages of Stalin rich with scientific truth, following this profound analysis of the relation between the classes, seeing exposed the economic background to the struggle between the two main classes in contemporary capitalist society (the bourgeoisie and the proletariat), hundreds of thousands of French proletarians have come to understand the historical significance of the Munich betrayal, the secret of the beginning of the second world war which, in the words of the “Short History of the CPSU(B)” was imperceptibly stealing

on the people.

The working people of France learned from the experience of the Bolshevik Party to understand the interplay of the opposing social forces. Chapter Twelve of the “Short History of the CPSU(B)” lays bare the treacherous policy of the ruling circles. This chapter shows how the bourgeois rulers in Paris and London, spurred on by their class interests, by their fear of the working class movement in Europe and the national liberation movement in the colonial countries, “washed their hands” of fascist aggression.

War broke out—first it was that phase of the war which the French proletariat called the “phoney war”, a false and treacherous war which the rulers of France, the Daladiers and Paul Reynauds refrained from waging against Hitler, preparing instead to wage it against the Soviet Union. In effect, by helping the Finnish White Guards, they we’re already at war with the Soviet Union.

At the end of September 1939, these wretched traitors outlawed the French Communist Party, whose central organ, “l’Humanite”, they had already banned. Unable to answer the criticism the Communists levelled at their catastrophic policy, these traitors confirmed Engels’ words about the so-called parties of “order” and their leaders who “them” selves violate the law which has become fatal for them.”

It was in those difficult days for the French Communist Party that we started to publish illegal editions of the “Short History of the CPSU(B)” in pamphlet form. Even after the German fascists had enslaved France, the Gestapo itself failed to lay hands on these editions. They appeared everywhere, even in concentration camps and prisons, inspiring the functionaries and partisans to struggle.

The Soviet Union played the decisive role in the military defeat of fascist Germany. The “Short History of the CPSU(B)” explains how the power, the invincible strength of

the Land of Soviets, was forged. The Soviet Union, led by the Bolshevik Party and by the genius of Stalin, saved Europe and saved France from fascist enslavement because it is the country of Socialism with a powerful socialist industry and collective agriculture, because the fraternal alliance of workers and peasants and the firm friendship of peoples have been achieved in the Soviet Union, because the soviet Union has given birth to a new man, inspired by Soviet patriotism to accomplish glorious feats.

* * *

Immediately after the liberation of France, and more particularly after the Communists had been excluded from the Government on the orders of the American millionaires (May 4, 1947), the reactionary circles of France did everything in their power to wrest from the people the economic, political and social gains won in the struggle for liberation from the Hitler yoke.

Once again, as at the time of Munich, the analysis given in the "Short History of the CPSU(B)" has been confirmed: driven by their fear of the movement of the working people, the puppets of the monopolists are placing themselves under foreign "protection" regardless of its disastrous consequences for the country. Last year, in an interview given to the newspaper "Rude Pravo" on the occasion of the anniversary of Munich, Maurice Thorez showed how "the same social and political elements who preached agreement and collaboration with Hitler are today "the obedient servants of American imperialism."

The popular masses are beginning to see for themselves that the path of France's reactionary rulers is fatal. They remember that this same policy brought disaster in 1940. A month ago the working people of France successfully fought

against the entry into the Government of Paul Reynaud—agent of U.S. monopolists and symbol of the reactionary policy of 1938-40. The indignation over this impudent attempt spread far beyond the ranks of the working class. Today, more than ever, are the people of France capable of mastering the great lessons of the history of the CPSU(B).

In his report to the Central Committee of the Party in September 1947, on the ideological struggle, Comrade Fajon spoke of the need for more educational work among the Communists and the working people of France. In the resolution adopted on his report, the Central Committee recommended “all Communists to make the “Short History of the CPSU(B)”—this encyclopaedia of the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism—their reference book.”

Not only Communists, but all the working people look with the greatest confidence and affection to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), which is carrying out with honour its task of leader and teacher of the world proletariat, as was particularly demonstrated this year by its initiative unmasking the treason of the Tito clique.

Ten years ago, when the “Short History of the CPSU(B)” first appeared, the French people were suffering from the consequences of Munich. Today, American imperialism is once again encroaching on the sovereignty and independence of France. But the forces of the working class and of the French people are growing.

The unity of action of the working people is gaining strength through the daily struggle for bread, freedom and democracy, against the de Gaulle assassins, against reaction at home and abroad. The results of the trade union split were in reality nullified only eight months after it had been engineered by the Third Force on the orders of the American millionaires. This Third Force is exposing itself more and more as the direct tool of reaction and is increasingly losing its influence among

the Socialist workers. The anti-people's governments, one after another, see their basis narrowing and they are crumbling in a matter of weeks or even hours.

The effective resistance of the masses is making it increasingly difficult to carry out the Marshallisation of France.

After the strikes of November and December 1947, and the split in the trade unions, the salesmen of the American monopolies thought it would be an easy matter to wrest the working class from the French Communist Party and to isolate the Party. But these calculations ended in fiasco. Reaction has not succeeded in striking its hoped-for blow against the working class. And now, once again, the movement of the masses has gained momentum; big strikes are taking place throughout the country.

The slogan calling for a government of democratic unity in which the Communists will occupy their rightful position as the premier party in the country, and which will change French policy fundamentally, has the support of the masses, as instanced by the thousands of resolutions, letters and telegrams from the working people.

A radical change in French policy and the annulment of the agreements strangling the nation depend, in particular, on two conditions, the significance of which enables us to appreciate fully the "Short History of the CPSU(B)".

The "History" teaches us that if we do not smash those parties which, to deceive the people, call themselves "socialist" but which are in reality the agents of foreign bourgeois intelligence services, it is impossible to achieve the unity of the proletariat, without which the country could not be saved from foreign intervention.

On September 9, 1948, Maurice Thorez, addressing a Paris audience of 50,000, delivered a speech on the "government that awaits France", and called upon Socialist workers to develop the joint action with the Communists in which a great many of

them are taking part, in spite of the ban imposed on it by all the Blums. Thorez uncompromisingly and mercilessly denounced the traitors to the working class who are endeavouring to split the masses and to force their more backward sections to submit to the imperialist yoke.

The history of the CPSU(B) teaches us that a party is invincible if it is able to link itself, to keep close touch and to merge with the broadest masses of the working people—primarily with the proletariat, but also with the non-proletarian working masses—if it is capable of “leading the working class millions and all the labouring people.”

This fundamental principle in the Work of the Marxist parties is particularly valuable to French Communists now when the policy of American imperialism, by strangling the economy (including agriculture), by increased tax burdens, by external devaluation and instability of currency, are rapidly ruining broad sections of the peasantry and middle classes in the towns.

All former members of the Resistance and all freedom-loving French men and women are aghast at the sight of the neo-fascists of the would-be dictator de Gaulle murdering the heroes of the liberation struggle, as was the case in Grenoble. Socialists Catholics and republicans and all patriots are joining forces with the Communists in mass demonstrations. The people of France are rallying their forces to fight reaction under the leadership of the working class.

The broader the mass movement against the American Party in France and its anti-popular and anti-French policy, the deeper will the working masses feel the need for uniting the democratic, all imperialist forces on an international scale as an important condition and guarantee of national independence, the more will the working class—whose interests express those of the nation—realise the significance of proletarian internationalism based on recognition of the decisive, leading

role of the Soviet Union and the party of Lenin and Stalin in the international democratic, revolutionary movement. And hence, all the greater becomes the importance of the bible of the proletariat, the “Short History of the CPSU(B)”.

The working people, all democrats and patriots in France, will honour this tenth anniversary of the great event—the appearance of the “Short History of the CPSU(B)”—in the annals of the working class and anti-imperialist movement by redoubling their efforts, to popularise the masterpiece of Marxism-Leninism and will win thousands of new readers for the “Short History of the CPSU(B)”.

FOR MASTERY OF THE IDEAS OF MARXISM-LENINISM. B. Drensky

The modest experience of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) bears out the great significance of Comrade Stalin's work, the "Short History of the CPSU(B)" for all Communist and Workers' Parties.

The circulation of the "Short History of the CPSU(B)" was extremely difficult under the illegal conditions in which the Bulgarian Workers' Party lived and fought up to September 9, 1944, even so, shortly after they were first printed in "Pravda", chapters of the great Stalin work got into our country and soon appeared in book form. However, since there were very few copies of the book, until September 9, 1944, a collective reading of the "History" was the main study in illegal circles.

What was a study of the "Short History given to the Communists, working people and people's intelligentsia of Bulgaria? Throughout the period of underground struggle this book gave them confidence not only in the strength and invincibility of the great Soviet Union and the Bolshevik Party but also in their own forces, in the justice of their cause and in the possibility of victory over fascism. It made them confident that Socialism would triumph in our country.

Mastery of the lessons of the History of the CPSU(B) helped to eradicate the remnants of the Left sectarian trend in our Party and to advance the slogan of the people's front; it helped us to take advantage of all legal possibilities for revolutionary work among the mass organisations among the working people.

But the great significance of the mastery of the ideas of the "Short History of the CPSU(B)" became particularly evident after the victory of September 9, when our country, under the leadership of the Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) took

the first decisive steps along the path to Socialism. Stalin's outstanding work, giving a scientific theory of socialist construction, a theory tested in practice, is the main source from which our Party draws its knowledge and experience for socialist construction.

We are learning from the CPSU(B) to build the Party as the vanguard, organised and conscious detachment of the working class and of all working people.

Basing itself on the experience of the CPSU(B) and taking into account the relation of class forces in our country, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party has defined the line of the Party in the transition from capitalism to Socialism. The Marxist-Leninist ideas of the state organisation of the people's republic together with the democratic traditions of the Bulgarian people, are the foundations of our Constitution.

The experience of planned economy in the Soviet Union was the basis for working out Bulgaria's Two Year Plan and her new Five Year Plan. The Lenin-Stalin ideas of electrification and the creation of heavy industry as the foundation of socialist economy are being applied in our country. We are guided by the Lenin-Stalin ideas of the socialist reorganisation of the countryside in building the State farms and the machine and tractor stations.

It would be impossible to estimate correctly the actual situation today and to go forward without understanding Marxism-Leninism, without mastering the experience of the CPSU(B).

The Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party declared as far back as 1945 that it was necessary to "base the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism on a study of the "Short History of the CPSU(B)" combining this with a study of the historical and political experience of the Bulgarian workers' movement." The resolution of the recent

Sixteenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party says it is necessary to "... study and widely apply the experience of the CPSU(B), adapting it to our conditions, to listen, as hitherto; to the wise counsel of the great teacher and leader of the working people of the world, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin."

Over 100,000 copies of the "Short History of the CPSU(B)" have been circulated in Bulgaria, of which 80,000 were printed in the country. This number however, does not satisfy the demand for this Stalin work among our Communists and non-Party people. and the same copy is often shared by several readers. Because of this, our Party publishers are preparing a new edition of the book.

The resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party recommended the tested method of individual study of the history and theory of Bolshevism as the main form of Marxist-Leninist education. The Party is giving every assistance to members studying individually, by using the press, by consultations, lectures and reports. Special circles on the history of the CPSU(B) are being organised for the benefit of comrades who find it difficult to study individually. During the last two years more than 1,200 of these circles were attended by 20,000 members. In Sofia alone, more than 350 circles were functioning at the beginning of the year.

City and regional committees are organising special courses and lectures for study circle leaders. Last year, the Central Party School organised a 45-day refresher course for provincial lecturers.

The history of the CPSU(B) is the main subject at the one year and six month courses of the Stanka Dimitrov Central Party School, at the Party evening university in Sofia and in evening schools now being organised in Plovdiv and Varna.

However, the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism so far

carried out, by no means satisfies the demand. In his report to the Sixteenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Workers' Party, Comrade Dimitrov emphasised that our theory lagged behind practice. Propaganda through lectures and the press is poorly conducted. The classics of Marxism-Leninism are rarely popularised in the press. Articles exchanging propaganda experience are seldom printed. Marxist-Leninist theory has not yet become the chief individual study of our Party cadres.

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party has taken a number of steps to eliminate the shortcomings in the organisation of Marxist-Leninist education and training. These steps as well as the coming Party Congress, the agenda of which includes the question of Marxist-Leninist education will undoubtedly help to rectify our mistakes, will help to enliven ideological and political work in the Party.

WHAT A STUDY OF THE SHORT HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B) HAS GIVEN ME. Joseph Stekler, Secretary, Monor District Committee, Worker' Party of Hungary

From my earliest years I have taken part in the working class movement. Members of the Hungarian Communist Party helped me to understand the main principles of Marxism-Leninism.

From the very moment that the valiant Soviet Army liberated our country from the German fascist yoke, and enabled the Party to emerge from the underground, I began a serious study of Comrade Stalin's book, the "Short History of the CPSU(B)." I am much indebted to that book.

I learned from it how Lenin and his followers created a Marxist Party in Russia. This enabled me in struggle for the unity of the working of our country, to explain to workers the need for unity in the struggle against the capitalists and landlords. The "History" taught me how to apply the tactics and strategy of Marxism. With its help we welded the finest representatives of the working class into one Party—the Workers' Party of Hungary which is based firmly on the theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

The "History" taught me also to realise unity between workers and peasants in practice.

This task was not an easy one. Horthy's fascists had tried to incite workers and peasants against each other, while the peasant policy of the Social Democratic traitors was designed in make the peasants fear the working class and to isolate them.

Taking into account the experience of the CPSU(B) and by means of serious educational work, we convinced the small and medium peasant households of the correctness of the Leninist theory that the interests of the peasants are akin to the interests

of the working class and that their place in the revolutionary struggle was alongside the working class.

We also learned how to win the intelligentsia, the handicraftsmen and other strata of workers for the building up of people's democracy.

We learned from the "History" the art of selecting cadres according to qualifications and political principles and how to train them. In my daily work I adhere to the principle of selecting and training cadres in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. In the educational courses that are under my charge, I make a point of educating the Party members to be staunch in relation to the Party, to have absolute confidence in the justice of our cause.

The "History" has taught me that our place is alongside the Soviet Union, together with the CPSU(B).

We shall never forget that we owe our liberty to the sons of the great Soviet people who shed their blood to smash German and Hungarian fascism.

CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNISTS FULFIL OBLIGATIONS

In January the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia gave a pledge that its members would put in 30 million hours of voluntary labour in honour of the 30th Anniversary of the Czechoslovak Republic.

Reports to hand show that by August 26, the member of the Party had put in 30½ million hours. This result means that the Communist Party redeemed its pledge to the people two months ahead of time.

A great part of this voluntary work was performed in the countryside where the Party members helped in gathering the harvest. Kladno and Usti are leading the competition between the districts for the highest average of hours worked per member. By October 28—the date of the anniversary—the undertaking given by the Communist Party will be considerably surpassed.

IMPORTANT TASKS POLISH WORKERS' PARTY IN COUNTRYSIDE. Hilary Minc, Member, Political Bureau, Central Committee Polish Workers' Party

The July Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party adopted decisions on the class struggle in the countryside, on increasing aid to poor and medium peasants, on restricting the growth of capitalist elements in the countryside and worked out a programme for the socialist reorganisation of the countryside through the all-round development of the cooperatives, socialisation of the principal means of production and the elimination of capitalist elements. These decisions were widely welcomed not only by our Party, by the active members of the Stronnictwo Ludowe, the Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, and the Polish Socialist Party, but also by the broad masses of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia.

Discussion of these questions raised by the July Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party has heightened the country's political life and raised the activity of the masses. The working peasantry fiercely began to oppose the kulaks who stopped at nothing in their attempts to disorganise the countryside and to retard the process of their isolation from the working peasantry.

The explanatory campaign conducted by the Party about the Plenum's decisions showed how timely they were. Had the question of intensified struggle against the kulaks not been raised so sharply, if the question of the Polish Workers' Party planning the socialist reorganisation of agriculture had been left without a clear answer, the work of the rural Party organisations might have slackened, facing a number of Party branches with the danger of degeneration.

The campaign revealed the need for concretising the

Party's policy in the countryside in the near future, the need for formulating more clearly a number of the Party's programmatic points.

As a Marxist-Leninist programme, our agrarian policy has no room for half measures. It must be a programme to achieve Socialist construction in the countryside by switching the individual peasant households to take the path of collective farming, by socialising the main means of production and eliminating the kulaks as a class. This programme should be based on the world historic experience of the Soviet Union which has built Socialism. At the same time, this programme should, in a constructive fashion, apply this experience to the conditions prevailing in Poland's development from a people's democracy to Socialism.

The September Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party stressed the need to eliminate the discrepancies in some of the Party's programmatic points on the agrarian question, formulated at the July Plenum and to concretise the tasks facing the Party in the countryside in the coming period. These decisions are a big step in the elaboration of a Party programme of Socialist reorganisation in the countryside.

The Party's Measures in the Countryside

As a Marxist party we know that the elimination of the rural capitalists as a class is possible only on the basis of uniting the peasant households into collective farms. Such socialist reconstruction of the countryside can only come about through a long process. That is why we set ourselves the immediate job of consistently restricting capitalist elements in the countryside. Our Party will pursue a policy which will help to isolate the rural capitalists and smash their influence in all

spheres of rural life.

The 1948 harvest in Poland was a good one. In such years before the war, grain prices would drop catastrophically. Had prices dropped this year it would have been a heavy blow to the countryside, especially to the medium peasant. That is why Polish Government policy ensures stable and profitable grain prices by buying the peasant's grain at good prices. This is one of the measures which protects the interests of the poor and medium peasant. At the same time, the kulak income is restricted by taxes.

Although the rural rich are the biggest producers of marketable grain, they are manoeuvring to bring down prices in order to buy up the grain and re-sell it to cooperatives and state farms at higher price, pocketing the profits.

In this situation the task of our Party is to mobilise the mass of poor and medium peasants against the rural rich and the speculators and so smash their attempts at speculation from the outset and ensure the success of the Government's policy of profitable and stable grain prices.

The September Plenum adopted a number of important decisions on the policy of taxes and credits. In view of this year's exceptionally good harvest, taxes on the rich section of the countryside have been increased. The aim of this increased taxation is to restrict still further the growth of capitalist elements in the village.

The Plenum declared that one of the Party's most important tasks was that of steadily combating the attempts of the kulaks to shift their taxes onto the shoulders of the poor and medium peasants through the help of their puppets in the lower organs of administration and finance. At the same time the Plenum obliged Party organisations to secure the proper and consistent observance of the laws and decisions of the Government which allow for certain privileges for the medium peasant. The Plenum decided that it was necessary to release

900,000 poor peasant households from paying their regular instalment of the land tax. It was pointed out to this mass of the peasantry that this was made possible through the increased taxation of the kulaks. The Plenum's proposals were accepted by the Government and put into effect.

The Plenum devoted serious attention to the question of Government credits to working peasants. It pointed out that a considerable part of the 13 billion zloties allocated for credits to poor and medium peasants had, in spite of Government instructions, fallen into the hands of the rural rich. In order to end this impermissible distortion of Government policy, the Plenum called for the radical reorganisation of the banking and credit apparatus with the object of steadily effecting a class differentiation in all measures for credits to the countryside.

The Plenum of the Central Committee rectified the big mistake of policy committed when organising the machine stations (there are 1,104 such stations in Poland to date and their number will steadily increase), which were often used by the kulaks to the detriment of the interests of the working peasantry. The Plenum proposed that special commissions, elected by the peasants themselves, should be formed at all the machine stations, to make sure that the machines are hired out first to poor peasants who have no agricultural implements and then to medium peasants.

Only under certain conditions, after the plan of work has been fully carried out and the needs of the first customers satisfied, can the machine stations be used to cultivate the land of rich peasants and to do other work at specially fixed, higher rates. The Plenum of the Central Committee obliged to all Party organisations to pick the right leadership for the machine stations and tractor stations who would carry out a correct policy in their work.

The Plenum also paid great attention to the question of improving the work of the Consumer cooperatives in the

countryside. Pointing out that the volost cooperatives united only 35 per cent of the rural population, the Plenum called on Party organisations to take measures to draw the mass of the rural population into the cooperatives and the same time break the influence of the kulaks in the cooperatives.

An important condition for the development of the cooperatives on a mass scale is to get the peasant to realise that he stands to gain personally as a member of the cooperative. For instance the sale of meat products in Poland greatly affects the work of the peasant households. The present method by which cattle are sold is not in the interests of the working peasantry or the worker consumer. An extension of the network of cooperative supplies would release the peasant from the middleman, the speculator, and would convince him that the cooperative is to his advantage.

The incorrect practice of poor and rich peasants paying the same deposit, which is against the regulations, must be changed if we want to get the peasants to join the cooperatives on a mass scale. There must be a difference between the sums deposited.

If the various economic functions of the cooperatives are handled exclusively by a board through the administrative personnel and without the active participation of the cooperative members, without their systematic control, the apparatus inevitably becomes bureaucratic. This makes it easier for the rural rich to infiltrate into the leadership of the cooperatives and creates an opportunity for all kinds of abuse. That is why it is necessary to establish such forms of administration as provide for the active participation of the membership in the work of the cooperatives and the control of their activities.

Generalising the experience gained up to now, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party recommended such measures as public committees in the rural

shops to control the proper distribution of goods, producers' committees to control the work of the rural cooperatives and so on.

The Plenum raised the question of purging and reorganising the lower economic and administrative bodies as an important task. Rich peasants, those who in the past had been connected with the landlords, speculators and various careerists who are squandering public property, are to be found in our economic and administrative apparatus. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party declared that it was necessary after thorough preparatory work to hold new elections in all volost and district cooperatives, and in all the rural, volost and district organisations of the Peasant Mutual Assistance Union.

The class principle should be strictly observed in the election of the executive organs of the Peasant Mutual Assistance Union. The rural capitalist can be a member of the cooperative, but he must not be in its leadership. In the district and volost Rada Narodwa, deputies whose activities are opposed to the interests of the working people should be recalled, in keeping with the rights of citizens to do so. The campaign to purge and reorganise the apparatus in the countryside should be turned into a big political campaign conducted by our Party in close cooperation with the Stronniectwo Ludowe, the Polskie Stronniectwo Ludowe, the Polish Socialist Party and the Peasant Mutual Assistance Union.

This campaign will undoubtedly help to weaken the influence of the rural exploiters and to isolate them, will increase the activity of the broad masses of the peasants and the Peasant Mutual Assistance Union, will improve the administrative apparatus and bring it closer to the masses, which in turn will result in big achievements in the advance of the countryside.

Concerning Producer Cooperatives

Of all the questions advanced by the July Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, undoubtedly the most interesting and controversial was the question of the producer cooperatives in the countryside.

The questions asked at the meetings which followed the July Plenum showed that the peasants are interested above all—and rightly so—in knowing exactly what the producer cooperatives will look like, in knowing how they will work, what will be the results and what advantages will be derived from them.

The September Plenum laid down the general line for the Party organisations in the sphere of producer cooperatives, announced measures for concrete help to those groups of peasants who, in different parts of the country, reacted to the July Plenum by expressing the desire to unite their farmsteads into a producer cooperative. With regard to the form of these cooperatives, the initial experience revealed a tendency toward a simple comradesly, joint cultivation of the land, and also a higher form of producer cooperative including the agricultural artel, with a pooling of the main implements of production and sharing of income on the basis of the work put in.

The Plenum declared that the strivings of the peasants to organise producer cooperatives alike in the simple and higher forms, would receive the wholehearted support of the Party.

It obliged the Party organisations to explain to the peasants that in the matter of organising producer cooperatives the Party would uphold the principle of voluntary entry, that kulaks would not be allowed to take part in forming the producer cooperatives since kulaks were trying to get a grip on the cooperatives, with the aim of undermining them from within and that the mutual accounts between the producer cooperatives and the state would be based on normal trading

relations. In joining the producer cooperative the peasant retained the right to his own land.

The rural capitalists did their best to cause confusion in the countryside. They declared that the Party wanted to rush the entire peasantry into the producer cooperatives. This was completely absurd since the Party considered—and the September Plenum specially emphasised this—that nothing could be more harmful] than light-minded haste in the matter of organising the producer cooperatives, or chasing after large numbers of cooperatives. It is a matter of quality rather than quantity, because the cooperatives must be vigorous, healthy bodies, good working organisations capable of really improving peasant life, they must serve all models and examples of the new path in life, and by virtue of this, win the confidence and respect of the peasantry.

With regard to state aid, by 1949 the Government will have at its disposal machinery and financial means sufficient to secure the organisation of producer cooperatives, which should be in a position to embrace about one per cent of Poland's agriculture. It is understood, of course, that the succeeding years will see a steady increase in the means at the disposal of the state.

Clearly, the significance of these producer cooperatives cannot be measured by their number, since they will represent, even though they are not very numerous, an exceptionally important off-shoot of the future.

The development of the socialist sector in agriculture by means of organising producer cooperatives, and the changing over to collective labour by the individual peasants, will be a slow process. However, as foreseen by our economic plans, the development of industry and the accompanying numerical increase in the non-agricultural population, demand for our economy a strong socialist base in agriculture. An essential element of this base must and will be found in the state

administered lands which account for ten per cent of the total crop area.

These state lands can and will play serious role in Poland, fulfilling three main functions: they must become the base for supplying the growing non-agricultural population of the country; they must help the peasant farms by supplying them with selected seed, with pedigree livestock, etc., they must set an example to the individual farms and give it a stimulus to the poor and medium peasants to abandon individual cultivation and take to collective farming.

To ensure the successful solution of the question of the state lands, it is necessary to exert serious efforts. That is why the Plenum of the Central Committee decided that the economic plans which are calculated for a considerable period, should make provision for a special short-term two-years' plan for transforming the state lands into a model socialist economy producing from 15-20 per cent of the country's grain, and from 7 to 10 per cent of its meat products.

Guided by the Experience of the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union is the only country which has switched over from petty backward, individual farming to large-scale, advanced, socialist agriculture. This transformation has taken place in a country which under tsarism was, in relation to economy, incredibly backward in general and its agriculture in particular.

In 1910 the agriculture of tsarist Russia had 10 million wooden ploughs, 4.2 million iron ploughs, 17.7 million wooden harrows. Most of the iron ploughs belonged to the landlords and rural rich, while 34 per cent of the peasant households lacked any implements whatsoever. In 1940, 523,000 tractors and 182,000 combines were in use on the

fields of the Soviet Union, and the countryside had a total of 230,000 motor lorries. Whereas in tsarist Russia not more than six rubles were spent on implements for every hectare cultivated, by 1938 the collective farms were spending 60 rubles on equipment per hectare. In tsarist Russia the total number of agronomists in the service of the Government and local authorities was 2,100; in 1938 the number of agronomists in the U.S.S.R. exceeded 100,000. Due to collectivisation, the new agricultural machines supplied by socialist industry were successfully used in the fields of the USSR. Due to the successful collectivisation, the 1940 harvest in the USSR reached 7.13 billion poods, compared to 4.5 billion harvested in 1928.

Simultaneously with the growth of the machinery park and the increased productivity of labour on the collective farms, the material level of the collective farmers was raised. For example, between 1936 and 1940 the amount of grain and cash income shared by an ordinary collective farmer apart from other products, increased, on the average, one and a half times.

World War Two was the decisive test for the collective-farm system. Despite the call to the colours of millions of men, despite the requisitioning of lorries, tractors and other motive power, the area sown to crops in the non-occupied territory of the USSR increased from 62.6 million hectares in 1940 to 66.3 million in 1942. This result was possible because every member of the collective farm worked on the average 4.1 hectares compared to the 2.2 hectares worked by the individual peasant in 1913.

The Soviet Union triumphed over Hitler Germany not only because the Soviet Army proved to be stronger than the German Army; not only because Soviet socialist industry proved stronger than German industry, but also because Soviet agriculture, thanks to the fundamental changes which had taken place, proved stronger than German agriculture. Despite the

fearful havoc wrought to Soviet agriculture by the war, the fact that now it is being rapidly restored and that it disposes of a considerable surplus for export from which Poland benefited during the past few years, is the result of the triumph of large-scale, socialist agriculture in the Soviet Union.

The September Plenum of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' party called upon the entire membership to study and to be guided by the experience of the victorious construction of Socialism in the USSR, to study and be guided by the experience of the Lenin-Stalin party, which is of world historical significance, and to apply this experience to Polish conditions.

BANNER OF STRUGGLE FOR ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. Ambro Donini, Member, Central Committee, Italian Communist Party

For more than 12 years, right until the publication of the “Short History of Communist the CPSU(B)”, the Communist Party of Italy, under the leadership of Comrade Ercoli (Togliatti), waged ceaseless struggle against the Mussolini dictatorship.

Hundreds of the best Communists were arrested and thrown into the fascist penal prisons and concentration camps. But others were ready to take their places and, thanks to the heroism and self-sacrifice displayed by the working class and revolutionary Communist Party activity in the main centres, in the factories, in the countryside, even in the fascist schools, in the trade unions and in the armed forces, never ceased for a single minute.

However, in view of the battles that lay ahead, it was essential to improve and extend the entire work of the Party. Above all, it was essential to raise the ideological level of both cadres and rank and file, to deepen their knowledge of the theory and practice of Bolshevism, the doctrine of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin.

Enormous help was rendered the Italian Communists by the publication of the “Short History of the CPSU(B)”. A resolution of the Central Committee of the Italian Party, adopted on May 15, 1939, and published in the Party journal, “Lo Stato Operaio” described the appearance of the “Short History” as an event of historical importance in the ideological life of all Communist Parties. Prior to the publication of the “History” in the Italian translation, copies in the Russian and French languages found their way into Italy via the

underground. The members of the glorious Garibaldi brigade carried with them the first copies of the book, and found in it fresh strength, renewed faith, a clear understanding of the struggle ahead, of the battles that would be fought on the soil of their native Italy, and were Inspired by the Bolshevik example of selflessness and staunchness,

The “Short History of the CPSU(B)”, this excellent work by Comrade Stalin, written in his usual straightforward, lucid style and, withal, scientific language, became the reference book for every Italian Communist.

The May 1939 resolution of the Central Committee of the Italian Party declared that “it must become the principal book of every fighter in our Party, a text book of Marxism-Leninism, which every comrade must always have about him in all circumstances if he, really wants to become a trained soldier of the mighty army of Communism, a soldier capable of successfully fighting against fascism, for democracy and Socialism.” The resolution recommended that the book be studied not only by members of the Party. A large-scale campaign was initiated to secure a wide study of the “History” “among everybody taking part in the anti-fascist movement, because all active anti-fascists need a firm theoretical basis for their daily work.”

In the new situation which developed as a result of the war, the German occupation and the national liberation movement, that is, during the period 1939-45, the Communist Party of Italy strove to honour this serious obligation which it took upon itself ten years ago.

Accordingly as the Italian edition of the “History” circulated in those countries where Italian anti-fascists were living, the political and ideological work of the underground Party inside Italy steadily improved.

Eight thousand copies of the book were sold among Italian anti-fascists living in emigration in France, to say nothing of

sales among those living in the United States, Canada, Belgium, Switzerland and other countries.

Its publication in Italy was the starting point of intensified study among the *advanced workers and intelligentsia*. Copies in typescript made their appearance all over the country. In 1944, when the terror of the SS and Mussolini's black-shirts was at its height, the first Italian edition of Comrade Stalin's book came off the press in a Milan print shop.

Some of the chapters were printed separately, especially Chapter 4 devoted to dialectical and historical materialism, which is a classical presentation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, complete and profound, and at the same time in a form capable of being understood by the mass of readers.

However, self-criticism compels us to recognise that after the liberation, our Party did not succeed in making full use of the new situation to secure a wider study and mastery of the "Short History of the CPSU(B)" among the membership of the Party and among the Italian working people.

True, since 1944 until the present day, several editions of the book have been published, beginning with the edition issued in Naples immediately after the liberation of the city, to the edition (100,000 copies) published in Milan, ~and editions in Bologna, Brescia, Florence and Rome. Altogether, until now, the "Short History" has been published in Italy in 250,000 copies. But much still remains to be done in this respect. Undoubtedly, the shortcomings in the ideological work of the Party, the elimination of which constitutes a task of first priority, can be traced also to the poor knowledge and mastery of the "History of the CPSU(B)" among the membership of the Party.

The tenth anniversary of the publication of the "Short History" must serve as a stimulus to remove these shortcomings. The Central Committee of the Party has prepared a far reaching plan of work designed to secure a

greater circulation for the “History” and to mobilise the working class for study of the great lessons which the Lenin-Stalin Party contains for progressive mankind especially now when reaction is again attempting to raise its head and when the imperialists in their impotent hatred of Socialism and the people’s democracy, are threatening another war.

It is impossible to fight for peace, liberty and bread without understanding the leading role which the Bolshevik Party has always fulfilled and which it is fulfilling today to a greater degree than ever before, in the struggle for peace, freedom and human dignity.

In the history of the Bolshevik Party, Italian Communists will find strength that will enable them to lead the people of Italy in the decisive struggle for peace and democracy against clerical-obscurantism and imperialism.

25th ANNIVERSARY OF BULGARIAN PEOPLE'S UPRISING AGAINST FASCISM

Twenty-five years ago, on September 23rd, 1923, the people of Bulgaria took to arms against the military-fascist dictatorship.

The rising was the culminating point of a five years struggle waged by the Bulgarian workers and peasants for the democratic development of their country after World War One.

The Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communists) utilised the lessons of this uprising for the purpose of training its cadres and the working class, disclosing the reasons for the defeat of the uprising.

In a number of articles and talks by the leaders of the uprising, Georgi Dimitrov and Vassili Kolarov, as well as in the memoirs of other comrades who took part in the struggle, the activity of the Party both during the uprising and in the subsequent period, is subjected to detailed analysis and the results summarised.

Boldly acknowledging and rectifying its mistakes, the Party succeeded in strengthening the alliance between the workers and peasants, in consolidating the antifascist democratic forces and paved the way for a broad Fatherland Front.

In its selfless struggle against fascism, the Party headed the partisan struggle during World War Two. It organised the people's uprising of September 9, 1944, and, aided by the victorious Soviet Army, secured the overthrow of fascism. Today it is leading the people of Bulgaria along the highway to Socialism.

STATEMENT BY E. C., ARGENTINA COMMUNIST PARTY ON SITUATION IN YUGOSLAVIA COMMUNIST PARTY

A statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Argentina expresses solidarity with the Resolution of the Information Bureau concerning the situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party.

The statement stresses that for Argentine Communists the Resolution represents an important generalisation of the experience gained in creating the democratic and anti-imperialist front in the struggle for the leading role of the Party and is of special significance in conditions of the movement against the colonial policy of imperialism and for the defence of national independence.

FORTHCOMING CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF AUSTRIA

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria has announced that the 14th Congress of the Party will open in Vienna on October 29.

The Congress agenda will include:— 1) a report on the political situation and the work of the Party; 2) the fight against the Marshall Plan for an economic plan which would secure Austria's independence; 3) the drafting of a Party programme; 4) amendments to the Rules of the Party; 5) election of Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE BANNED

On the instruction of the United States imperialists, the President of Chile, Gonzales Videla, signed legislation banning the Communist Party. This law, operating from September 3, also provides for the removal of Communists from elected posts, the closing down of Communist publications.

LETTERS FROM OUR READERS

Words and Deeds of Double-Dealers in Central Committee

A few yards away from the University building in Belgrade is a small square. On the opposite side of the square stands a sombre building, guarded by high wall-surmounted with thick barbed wire.

This is the “Glavnajaca”, the central prison of Belgrade.

Who are being thrown into an overcrowded prison, and on what charges? Who are these people so heavily guarded night and day?

I shall only give the names of a few, since a complete list would fill several issues of your paper. But these examples will show the true worth of all the declarations of Tito and Company about their “love” for the Soviet Union.

In one of the prison cells is Suzanna Belubekova, a modest newspaper seller. She was arrested because she sold the issue of “Pravda” which carried the letter from Yugoslav Communists protesting against the anti-popular policy of the Central Committee of the Party. Officially “Pravda” has not been banned. But it is impossible to buy it openly in Yugoslavia, especially those issues with news dispatches from Belgrade.

Those who are taken to Glavnajaca disappear without a trace. But people know that Dr. Dragan Jovanovic, Party member since 1928 and Chairman of the Medical Workers’ Union was taken to this prison. Jovanovic had sharp differences with the Party leadership on the question of the trade unions.

Jovanovic was arrested in Slovenia, together with his

invalid wife, Neda Oklotsija, who was head of the Committee for Higher Education and Science in Serbia. Neda has been a member of the Party since 1941. For a long time she was in a concentration camp where the fascist executioners tortured her. They made her an invalid, but they failed to break her proud spirit. Rankovic's janissaries are now trying to succeed where the fascist hangmen failed.

A wave of arrests swept Belgrade on August 3 and 4. Rankovic's agents broke into the homes of people known to be sympathetic to the Soviet Union, ransacked their belongings and drove them off to prison. When they broke into the home of one prominent Serbian Party member who supported the Resolution of the Information Bureau, they took not only him but also his three guests who happened to be visiting him at the time.

The wife of one of the arrested men told me: "When the security agent told my husband that he was arrested, he demanded to be shown the warrant for its arrest. The agent pulled out a thick stack of warrants from his pocket and began to turn them over until he came across our name. You can just imagine how many innocent people were taken to prison that night."

Terror is rampant in our country. People who have lived in the Soviet Union at any time are arrested. Officers who graduated from Soviet military schools are being demobilised. Shops selling Soviet literature are watched and everyone who enters them is under suspicion.

Arrests are not only made in Belgrade. Recently "Borba" announced without any explanation, that Lumovica, Deputy Chairman of the Montenegrin Republic, had been removed from his post, as well as the Montenegrin Minister of Trade and Supplies, Vuko Tmucica, the Minister of Education, Niko Pavica and the Minister of Industry and Municipal Enterprises, Blazo Borovinica.

There are strong rumours in Belgrade that the dismissed Ministers have been arrested, and comrades arriving from Montenegro confirm this.

“Borba” has also reported the removal of three Ministers from their posts in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Minister of Finance, Obrin Starovic; Minister of Education, Slavko Miganovic; Minister of Lumber, Vojo Luic. In this case, too, the reason for their dismissal is kept secret. But as a Serbian proverb has it, truth will come to the surface from the bottom of the sea. The people say: “The reason is obvious—disagreement with Tito’s policy”.

Not only Ministers are arrested. Barefooted peasants in dust-covered clothes can be seen every day in front of the Ministry of State Security. They have come from distant villages to learn of the fate of relatives arrested by the executioners.

Using Gestapo methods, Rankovic is trying to bring every Yugoslav citizen under police control. All Communists were instructed to hand in a written statement of their attitude to the Resolution of the Information Bureau. Those who had the courage to express openly their support for the Resolution are being expelled from the Party, dismissed from work and arrested. This method is now being applied to non-Party people. Civil servants also have to give a written statement of their attitude to the Resolution.

Rankovic’s henchmen are doing everything to keep the truth from the people. But the Bolshevik truth is gradually reaching the masses. It is impossible to hide it. Truth is not afraid of an unjust court. The more interesting material in “Pravda” and in “For a Lasting Peace, for a People’s Democracy!” is recopied by hand and eagerly read.

In Belgrade, typewritten material in Serbian is being passed from hand to hand, including the statement made by the Yugoslav Ambassador in Rumania, P. Golubovic, when he

resigned in protest against Tito's anti-popular policy; the editorial from your paper "Traitors to International Socialism"; articles by Anna Pauker and Vasile Luca from your paper; the dispatch from "Pravda's" Correspondent in Belgrade "Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party Takes Place in an Atmosphere of Terror". This material helps the people to understand what is taking place in Yugoslavia today.

Let me cite a minor, but indicative example. During the Danube Conference Tito's diplomats arranged a trip for the delegations of the Soviet Union and the new democracies to the Serbian village of Orasats, This village is renowned in our history as the seat of the great national uprising against the Turkish yoke. It seems that Bebler and Company hoped through this trip to show delegates how "solidly" the people were behind Tito. But the attempt backfired and the papers carried only a short item about the trip. What happened in Orasats? I had the opportunity to speak with a peasant from this village. He told me the story.

When the delegates arrived they were met at the school building by a group of cheer leaders who greeted them with the words "Tito—the hero," "Tito—the Party". They kept this up for a time and then left since the weather was hot and they were hungry. The guests were then invited to sit at a table in the garden. Bebler went up to an elderly peasant, the Chairman of the People's Front Committee and said to him "Well, comrade, dear guests have come to visit us. Tell them how our people love our Tito." The peasant rose from his seat, thought for a while and then said: "I have an idea. Let's drink to the great Soviet Union, to our dear Comrade Stalin, to the valiant Soviet Army and to all our free people's countries, and then let's go and dance the kolo." Bebler grew red, moved to the other side of the table, gulped three tumblers or rakia and was silent. Imagine his discomfiture—the peasant had not said one word about Tito.

I think this example is symbolic. It shows that our simple peasant realises what is taking place in our country and does not succumb to provocation. In spite of the terror unleashed by Rankovic and the false propaganda of Tito's lackeys, the people are true to the principles of internationalism, to the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

The ordinary people are beginning more and more to voice the opinion that it is high time Yugoslavia's firm friendship with the Soviet Union and the new democracies was restored not in words but in deeds. Tito's popularity is gradually being deflated.

I recently paid a visit to Montenegro. After the war Tito's flunkies hastened to rename the town of Podgorica Titograd. Today the people persistently call it by its old name, Podgorica.

Tito has shut himself up in his remote residence at Lake Bled, pinning his faith on his troops. But Tito should not forget that the troops are made up of the same Yugoslavs. I do not want to create any illusions: the agents of Tito and Rankovic still have a firm grip on the reins of the State machine. But it should be borne in mind that even in the army people are beginning to see things.

Rankovic's men were unable to keep secret their murder of Colonel-General A. Jovanovic, one of the most popular heroes of the Liberation War. Jovanovic was killed by Tito's bandits because he had remained true to Marxism-Leninism, because he opposed the adventurous policy of the traitors of Yugoslavia and demanded friendship with the Soviet Union.

Commenting on the vengeance wreaked on Jovanovic, "Borba" calls for new repressions against those who oppose the disastrous and anti-popular policy of Tito. However, there is no doubt whatsoever that by intensifying their terror the adventurers in the Central Committee of the Communist Party are merely hastening the outcome of events. They are still the masters of the situation. Arrests continue, but the adventurers

will not be able to balance themselves for long on bayonets.

Slavko NIKIC
Belgrade.

BOOK REVIEW

Dollar Invasion of Latin America¹. I. Tolkunov

At the end of World War Two, geologists discovered rich oil deposits in the extreme South of Chile. This small South American republic wanted to develop this wealth for its own national interests.

A wave of meetings spread throughout the country, the people unanimously demanding “Chilean oil for Chile.” The demands were so insistent that even the local capitalists were forced to ask the Government to form a state corporation to develop the oilfields. The American oil magnates were unable to grab Chile’s oil immediately.

Then, because of financial difficulties, the Chilean Government asked the United States Export-Import Bank for a loan to develop the oilfields. The Chileans cherished illusions about the principles of the north American monopolists who at each step of the negotiations, emphasised their “disinterest” and “gentlemanly outlook”.

But things very soon became clear. As the Associated Press Agency reported from Washington, the Export-Import Bank refused the loan to the Chilean Government. The law, said the report, did not allow the financing of projects in which private firms were not allowed to take part.

At the same time, the Standard Oil Company became interested in the exploitation of these fields, trying to get concessions.

¹ R. Arismendi, *“Dollar Invasion in Latin America”*, pub. Ediciones Pueblos Unidos, Montevideo.

Soon after this, news came over the wires to Latin-America of the Truman plan for the military unification and strategic and technical organisation of all the countries of Northern, Central and Southern America—under the sole command of the U.S. This Plan made no attempt to hide the fact that the twenty Central and Southern American countries would forfeit their national character and would be transformed into a hired subdivision of the U.S. army and navy.

Though these two developments are quite different, they have one and the same foundation—the insatiable thirst of the North American imperialists for profits and their craving for world domination.

The U.S. began its penetration of the Latin American countries by means of economic enslavement. Big American corporations, which had profited from World War One, were looking for new and profitable ground for capital investments. They found this in the great areas south of the Rio Grande. If, in the course of five years (1914-19) U.S. investments in Latin American securities exceeded 100 million dollars, in the ten years after that literally a torrent of capital rushed from the North which put these countries' into debt to the tune of 2,000 million dollars. This expansion was only stopped by the 1929 crisis. In 1940, the total value of North American Investments in Latin America was 3,700 million dollars. Every year the U.S. monopolists made a clear profit of over 400 million dollars from their investments.

However, the monopolists have to guard the security of their invested capital and make sure it continues to give a high rate of profit. In his recently published book, "The Dollar Invasion of Latin America"² R. Arismendi, Communist Member of the Uruguay Parliament describes very well how the U.S. imperialists are doing this. The book is clearly and

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vividly written.

Arismendi's chief conclusion is that the U.S. imperialist, .are turning Latin America into a semi-colony, and only the struggle of all the Latin-American peoples for their independence can save them from complete enslavement.

His assertions are well-documented. He often quotes figures of various Latin American statistical bodies.

He has done his utmost to use these bourgeois estimates, compiled as they are to hide the real facts from the people to show where Latin America is going.

There is not a single industry in Latin America where the Wall Street businessmen do not hold dominant positions. Moreover, having subjugated Latin America, the U.S. is preventing the countries from developing their own productive forces. They are being turned into a U.S. reserve of food and raw materials. Monopoly capital is trying to close the circle by investing capital in raw materials and agriculture so that it can sell the products again on its own conditions.

"A general analysis of the distribution of U.S. capital," writes Arismendi, "makes it possible to expose quite simply that it is colonising capital and to realise that it stands in the way of the development of the productive forces of these countries, adversely influencing their E tire social life. The spheres of influence created by this capital is harnessing the production of whole countries to the interests of a monopoly, sometimes merely as a branch of a certain trust. On the basis of these interests, diplomacy follows to build up its policy of subjugation."

Venezuela has oil—so hand it over the Americans; Chile has nitrates—give them these too. Over 90 per cent of direct U.S. investments in Mexico and South America are connected with mining and smelting. The Americans own all the asphalt, bauxite and vanadium mines in South America. They control nearly the entire iron ore production over nine-tenths of copper,

seven-tenth of silver, two-thirds of zinc, over half the oil and almost the entire production of manganese and platinum.

During one year alone, the U.S. invested 572,000,000 dollars in the oil industry beyond their southern borders.

This is nearly all controlled by the Rockefeller Standard, Oil trust. Arismendi declares that the oil monopolies have their interests in Venezuela, Bolivia, Peru, Panama, Mexico. Honduras, Ecuador, Cuba and Costa Rica.

The whole iron ore production in Latin America belongs to Morgan's United States Steel and Bethlehem Steel trusts. Dictating their own conditions, the imperialists are squeezing out enormous profits. For example, in the course of three years, the Swift Company in Uruguay made a profit of 7,277,553 dollars—though its capital only amounted to 6,875,000 dollars.

The U.S. is successfully fighting any attempt to industrialise Latin America. All the Latin American Governments have found themselves caught in the web of financial and economic dependence. Now they are forced to do whatever Wall Street wants. Washington does not allow the Latin-American countries to sign mutual economic agreements. Argentina and Chile once ignored this blatant command from their master but reprisals were taken at once. One of the prominent U.S. bourgeois economists, Seymour Harris, frankly admitted that mutual agreements between the Latin American countries were very dangerous since they led to certain consequences regarding the most favoured nation principle. Mutual concessions between Latin American countries would mean open discrimination against the rest of the world. This discrimination is naturally not welcomed by the countries it affects. And since, he argued, these countries formed a considerable market for goods from Latin America, it would be rather unwise of the latter to step too far in this direction. This is how the imperialist wolf began to talk when he saw his victim slipping away.

At the same time the U.S. is categorically insisting on mutual agreements between all the Latin American countries and the U.S.

The threat of economic crisis in the U.S. makes the adventures of the monopolists still more wild. Needing free markets for their own goods, they oppose trade between the Latin American countries and the industrialisation of these countries.

To those national capitalist groups which are still allowed by the Americans to take part in their countries industry, the price is the destruction of national industrialisation plans. The landlords are also getting some crumbs from the rich man's table: while the ruling clique—the Dutras and Perons and other American mercenaries—are making sure that things are “peaceful” and facilitating the unrestricted exploitation of the working people. The bourgeoisie as a class will not defend the national interests of its own oppressed people; it sells the people as cannon-fodder to rich Uncle Sam.

R. Arismendi correctly points out that the contradictions between Latin America and the U. S. are continually sharpening.

Monopoly capital works for complete domination in the countries it penetrates; it tried to kill even the embryo of industrial development, to preserve the one-sided economy of these countries and to get maximum profits while keeping the workers on the lowest possible wages. By building up colonial conditions in these countries the imperialists are gaining domination over the state machine, over foreign policy, economy and trade, and in the long run are isolating Latin America from the rest of the world.

But the peoples of Latin America will never allow themselves to be degraded into oppressed peoples: They are fighting for the development of their national industry, for real

national independence and for higher living standards. /

They can achieve this only by taking an active part in the common struggle of the peoples of the world against subjugation by U.S. imperialism.

Arismendi's book clearly shows how the American imperialists are enslaving the Latin American countries.

As is known, the U.S. imperialists are ousting the British colonisers from these countries and the clash of imperialist contradictions in Latin America is now finding expression in a fierce struggle. However it does not say anything about this aspect of the subject. Moreover, the author is making a big mistake in underestimating the importance of the class struggle which is directed against the foreign imperialists and their servants—the local rulers and capitalists. This considerably reduces the value and the militant nature of the book.

The peoples of Latin America can overthrow the yoke of American imperialism only by resolutely fighting against capitalism, against all its evils, for democratic liberties, and for higher living standards. And this must be said openly and boldly.

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